Implications of the Adoption of BISAC for Classifying Library Collections

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Abstract: We analysed the written statements of libraries that have adopted the bookstore model for coherence or lack of coherence with common public library guidelines. We used a text-based Foucauldian genealogical discourse analysis to investigate the written statements used by libraries that have adopted BISAC and other aspects of the bookstore model. Libraries adopting bookstore models such as BISAC should consider the potential consequences of adopting a commercial model for a public entity. This paper has practical implications for libraries considering adopting any aspect of the bookstore model, but especially the BISAC system, as it examines the potential benefits and drawbacks of the bookstore model popular in some libraries with respect to the purposes and goals of public libraries. BISAC application in libraries seems to be part of a trend of applying commercial practices, values and terminology in libraries, perhaps not with the purpose of replacing libraries with bookstores, but with the aim for both systems to converge into a new kind of commercial entity and context. The influence of one kind of system over the other does not seem to be totally reciprocal, since the application of library practices, values and standards in bookstores has not had the same effects and resonance as has occurred in the opposite direction.

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1.0 Introduction

Libraries and bookstores are often perceived to be similar entities by society and individual people, since both can basically be defined as open spaces with books. However, there are some practical and theoretical characteristics that make libraries and bookstores dissimilar entities. That does not mean that the two institutions cannot learn from each other. Many libraries benefited from incorporating comfortable seating, better signage, more book and media displays, lower shelving, and coffee shops. A more recent change includes changes to organization with some public libraries abandoning the Dewey Decimal Classification (DDC) and replacing it with the Book Industry
Standards and Communications Subject Headings List (BISAC). However, these commercial practices also raise some questions: What are the potential impacts of the use of bookstore methodologies, such as the BISAC subject headings, in libraries? How might the use of bookstore methodologies affect the balance between the mission and purpose of libraries and bookstores?

According to the IFLA Public Library Service Guidelines (Koonitz and Gubbin 2010, 1):

A public library is an organisation established, supported and funded by the community, either through local, regional or national government or through some other form of community organisation. It provides access to knowledge, information, lifelong learning, and works of the imagination through a range of resources and services and is equally available to all members of the community regardless of race, nationality, age, gender, religion, language, disability, economic and employment status and educational attainment.

The public library should also provide opportunities for personal creative development, create and strengthen reading habits in children, provide a focus for cultural and artistic development in the community, and provide a public space.

Conversely, the ultimate goal of a bookstore, as any business, is profitability, making money while offering a service or good, which could benefit society or not. If the bookstore can accomplish some constructive goals for society it may be rewarded as a consequence of corporate social responsibility, but if a bookstore is not profitable such a service would not be sustained since the main motivation for the private sector is profit. A library as a public service would offer such a good or service to all the community it serves irrespective of their ability to pay. This argument is traditionally recognized even among the customer-driven library advocates (Woodward 2004, xiv): “Bookstores exist primarily to make money.... Libraries are focused not on profit but on their mission to support a democratic, information-literate society.... We provide services to the people who need them, not just the people who can pay for them.” The dilemma arises when funding for public libraries is reduced. Librarians may start to look to private sector industries related to books, bookstores, in the hope they will be able to reduce costs by using bookstore methodologies, including the use of alternative classifications such as BISAC. But is it possible to accomplish this goal without changing the fundamental, defining purpose of the library? In our paper, we give a brief introduction to BISAC, analyse the arguments used by libraries to justify the adoption of BISAC (as well as other commercial techniques), and finally we discuss the main differences between bookstores and libraries that illustrate the bigger issue for libraries in which this classificatory experiment is cast.

2.0 Methodology

Our text-based approach could be described as either a Foucauldian genealogical discourse analysis or investigative reporting. As Foucault pointed out (Foucault cited by Andersen 2003, 13), the field of discourse analysis is “the compilation of all actual statements (spoken or written) in their historical dispersion and in their specific momentary value.” While it is also hard to dissociate genealogy and archaeology in discourse analysis (Martínez-Ávila 2012), in terms of quantifying consumption, this means an exhaustive number of sources would be recovered and an attempt would be made to consult everything related to the object (Foucault 1998, 263): “One ought to read everything, study everything. In other words, one must have at one’s disposal the general archive of a period at a given moment. And archaeology is, in a strict sense, the science of this archive.” In this regard, it is vital that statements from institutions should be read, as well as those statements that illustrate the practice and concepts that are not necessarily integrated into the mainstream. In addition, care must be taken not to make preconceived distinctions between official sources and those which are more private and individual (as if these last were somehow outside the discourse). To operationalize this approach we have gathered texts from the library literature, the popular press, library websites and online catalogues, corporate and institutional websites, other reports, and the texts of DDC and BISAC. While we have tried to be comprehensive and include scholarly literature in addition to existing material from professionals and the popular press, the scholarly literature on the subject was limited.

While other studies on the adoption of BISAC have focused on the discourses and motifs of the developing institutions, such as the BISG and OCLC (Martínez-Ávila et al., 2012a; 2012b), and its relation to reader-interest classifications (Martínez-Ávila and San Segundo, 2013; Martínez-Ávila et al., 2014), in this paper this paper we focus on the fundamentals of why librarians say they make the change to using bookstore methodologies in relation to the fundamental differences between bookstores and libraries.

3.0 Brief introduction to BISAC

The BISAC Subject Headings List, also known as the BISAC Subject Codes List, is a standard used by many
companies throughout the supply chain to categorize books based on topical content. It is maintained and developed in the US by the Book Industry Study Group (BISG). Many major businesses require that publishers use BISAC Subject Headings when submitting data. One of the biggest assets of BISAC is that the scheme is available online at no cost for one-to-one look-ups. However, those organizations that want to download versions of the subject headings list in Excel, PDF and Word, in order to incorporate the scheme into their internal systems need to request an end user license from the BISG.

The BISAC Subject Heading list is an industry-approved list of subject descriptors, each of which is represented by a nine-character alphanumeric code. The descriptor itself consists of two, three or four parts, which means that, by definition, the system is not allowed to reach a higher level in the hierarchy than 4. The list of headings includes 52 main subject areas: 51 subject terms in a first level of the hierarchy (e.g., HISTORY) plus a Non-classifiable term (NON000000 NON-CLASSIFIABLE) for titles that do not have subject content, i.e. a blank book. An example of a BISAC term of a third level of specificity would be “HISTORY / Military / Vietnam War.”

In contrast, DDC has a much more extensive hierarchy and provides much more specificity in subjects than BISAC. For example the BISAC term for all books on the United States Civil War from 1850-1877 is “HIS036 050 HISTORY / United States / Civil War Period (1850-1877)” whereas DDC subdivides this subject into dozens of important subcategories including (top level categories only): 973.71 Social, political, economic history, 973.72 Diplomatic history, 973.75 Naval history, 973.76 Celebrations, commemorations, memorials, 973.77 Prisoners of war; medical and social services, and 973.78 Other military topics and personal narratives. Thus, there is a tension between the simplicity of the BISAC terms and the specificity of DDC.

Since the second half of the 2000s, several public libraries in the United States have been experimenting with BISAC as an alternative classification system to DDC. These libraries have dropped DDC for the physical location and arrangement of books and have organized their collections using BISAC and other bookstore and commercial marketing techniques. Although this trend in classification might be included in the broader trend of building a customer-driven library following the bookstore model (Woodward, 2004), the truth is that most libraries adopting the book industry standard primarily emphasized the adoption of this classification system over any other additional consideration as their main force for improvement.

4.0 Why are libraries changing? What libraries say

Changes in libraries should be motivated by the search for improvements or extensions to core services. Even when changes are motivated by third party pressure such as budget cuts the changes should be made with an eye to maximising the potential of user services. In order to study whether changes made in libraries are indeed improvements for the libraries or not, it is necessary to study the reasons given for the changes and the potential impact of these reasons on the core mission of the library. This section will examine two different groups of arguments for switching from the DDC to a BISAC or BISAC-based scheme. We have examined published and unpublished materials from libraries that have switched from DDC to BISAC or have considered doing so.

4.1 Motivations to adopt BISAC in U.S. public libraries

The most common argument given is that the DDC is outdated and not appropriate for the needs of the users of our time. Officials at the Rangeview Library District in Adams County, Colorado, one of the libraries that adopted BISAC, claim that DDC no longer meets the needs of a new generation of readers (Whaley, 2009). Commenting on the case of Maricopa County Library District in Arizona, the first library to adopt BISAC in the United States, Karen G. Schneider (2007) pointed out in “The ALA TechSource blog” that “years of focus groups had taught the Maricopa County system that 80 percent of their users came to their libraries to browse popular reading, and Dewey organization didn’t meet their needs: it wasn’t friendly, and it wasn’t familiar.” This statement suggests that most of their users are browsers who are not looking for specialized materials but popular reading. DDC does not seem to be the most appropriate system for browsing those materials, since it is not considered friendly or familiar for casual users.

Schneider also added that “complaints from users indicated they wanted the library to be more like a bookstore,” a suggestion which some libraries have taken to indicate that they should switch to BISAC, since bookstore classifications are felt to be more friendly and familiar for users. The familiarity concept related to the bookstore scheme is being expressed in terms of comparison with a better-known pattern. However, this claimed lack of familiarity might also mainly be caused by a lack of understanding of the system. According to Barbara Fister, an online survey of over one hundred public librarians in August 2009 revealed that one of the three main factors related to patrons’ difficulty in finding non-fiction is that they feel intimidated by a classification system they do not understand well, while the other two factors are related to the online
catalogue and the desire of going straight to the right shelf without having to look anything up. Fister also reflects statements by Marshall Shore (2008), consultant and former adult services coordinator at Maricopa, reporting that when interviewing non-users “I heard over and over ‘those numbers scare me,’ 'I don't understand them,' ‘they make me feel stupid.’ The goal of having a BISAC-based scheme is to put customers at ease and help them become more self-sufficient and comfortable using the library.” “The Arizona Republic” also reflected Shore’s words (cited by Wingett 2007): “A lot of times, patrons feel like they're going to a library and admitting defeat because they don't understand Dewey Decimal and can't find the book they're looking for.” And in “The Man Who Said No to Dewey: Marshall Shore,” he also states that “he’s simply serving another, often-ignored group: people who don’t want to learn our complicated system [DDC].” It seems that the solution proposed by Shore and the Maricopa County Library District was to adopt a simplified system that does not make the people feel stupid, by making it more familiar and intuitive according to the standards of the people that do not want to ask for help or learn the system.

Similar aspects were pointed out by Nanci Hill (2010, 16), when talking about the Maricopa County Library District case: “Some customers were embarrassed to ask for help because they didn't know how to use Dewey and felt uncomfortable. In these situations, customers probably left the library without finding what they wanted;” and when citing Nicole Lyons in a blog post about Darien (Connecticut) Library (cited by Hill 2010, 18): “What impressed me most about the new Darien Library is the fact that the books, everywhere, but especially in the children's room, have been shelved, labelled, and organized in a way that makes me feel less like a moron and more empowered to find what I'm looking for on my own.”

This argument was also shared by the “Dewey free” working team at Frankfort (Illinois) Public Library District, who acknowledged having been inspired by the Maricopa project, when they commented on their blog that: “We do not expect our patrons to learn a new system, but hope that in de-coding Dewey by replacing numbers for a particular subject, we can enable our patrons to locate materials in an easier and timely manner. We are aiming to make the categories as intuitive as possible by considering what our patrons ask for and how they ask for it.” Thus, both the Maricopa and Frankfort projects are trying to solve a known problem with libraries: the disconnect between users and library classification systems. According to Kathy Shimpock-Vieweg (1992, 77), Director of Library Services at O’Connor, Cavanagh, Anderson, Westover, Killingsworth, & Beshears, in Phoenix, Arizona: “it should be noted that no other service-oriented organization requires its users to learn an arbitrary system in order to access needed materials,” which can be seen as a justification for such a change.

Additionally, many libraries suggest that DDC does not support browsing as well as BISAC (Oder, 2007; Hill, 2010), either because it separates related materials, such as, for instance, travel books and language (Darien librarian Kate Shehaan cited by Fister, 2009) or because DDC “is simply not suited to a popular collection intended more for browsing than research” (Casey and Stephens 2009, 19). Paul Scott (2007) suggested that BISAC is more intuitive than Dewey because “History is History not 979, no system is required of patrons” and added that “a patron who doesn't know Dewey, wouldn't be able to find the Dewey section. They would have to learn the system first, then they could go right over.” Many libraries also add signage to help patrons navigate, displaying BISAC literals to indicate general subject areas available on a shelf instead of DDC numbers and mimicking the way subjects are identified in bookstores.

Although libraries’ adoption of bookstore practices has generally been considered enriching and innovative, not everyone agrees that bookstores always have better commodities and signage than do libraries. Francine Fialkoff (2009, 8) stated:

I decided to compare the new Barnes & Noble in my New York neighborhood with some of the libraries I've been to recently. The store spans two floors below ground (no window displays to entice me), with lots of open spaces, few places to sit down other than the cafe (but what a huge number of tables and chairs there), and poor signage … There's no doubt that the library trumps the bookstore, not to mention that its services are free, paid for by our taxes.

With so many changes, it is hard to separate and evaluate all the factors involved in bookstore-model adoptions by
libraries to indicate which are successful and which have little impact or a negative impact on the functioning of the library.

Raymond (1998), from the bookstore point of view, claimed that bookstores have been traditionally better in some regards, such as selection, opening hours, and comfortable amenities including coffee and couches, while bookstores fall short in aspects related to customer service, payment and employee morale, and a classification system that is flawed and frustrating. This author strongly criticizes the bookstore classification system claiming that it not only discourages browsing, but due to daily classification headaches; books are frequently lost, missing, or otherwise not locatable, and items are routinely miscategorized. Similarly, Hassett (2007, 47) claimed that “while libraries have already learned much from the popularity of bookstores (availability of food and drink, frequent cultural programming, friendly customer service), organization is not one of the strengths of commercial book vendors.”

Brisco showed that bookstore organization and information systems are not necessarily more efficient than those in libraries and also demonstrated that the emphasis on market requirements (such as the new books department) can negatively affect the performance of retrieval and access, being designed to encourage users to find staff for assistance (Brisco 2004; Alt 2007), and suggestion of further items for purchase (Stauffer 2008). Stauffer noted (49) that “Ironically, many promote the ‘bookstore arrangement’ for libraries to encourage patron independence and reduce the need to ask librarians for assistance.”

As van Riel and Forrest (2002) pointed out, browsing is also a new emerging pattern in consumer buying behaviours. They cite research quoted in Bookseller of 2002 revealing that 72% of customers’ decisions to buy are made after they have entered the shop. Similar reasoning is given by Woodward (2004, 205): “Bookstores want to call attention to their merchandise so that customers will make more purchases... Most of our customers do not arrive at the library with any special titles in mind. They want to look or browse around and find something that appeals to them. When books are stuffed on shelves, they are far from appealing.”

However, Hopkins (2007), justifying the introduction of a bookstore-based classification in Bayside Library, Victoria, Australia, pointed out that observational research on shopping behaviour indicated that shoppers have extremely limited tolerance for obstacles placed between them and the object they desire. This aspect has also been pointed out as a disadvantage in bookstores when both systems are compared (Sullivan 2010): “Entry to a bookstore usually disorients me with items for sale everywhere; in a library, all I need is to see is where the catalog is and where the Dewey numbers begin.”

So while customers often make decisions about what they want while inside the bookstore or library, suggestions should be subtle since they are not willing to work hard to make a decision and their tolerance is not high. This raises the question of what mechanisms or factors exist in bookstores that might facilitate customer decision-making and whether they are related to the classification systems or to some kind of guidance by clerks and marketing techniques, such as recommendations by experts, facings, latest releases etc.

Finally, a strong argument against DDC is the bias seen in some of its classes. However, the social-cultural argument does not seem to be directly used by any of the librarians promoting these changes, although it is commonly used by academics or analysts, such as Andrew Lavallee (2007) or Bob Hasset (2007). This may not be seen as a valid argument though, since BISAC also is biased.

4.2 Justifications for adopting BISAC in public libraries

Libraries that have switched to BISAC or have considered switching have provided a number of justifications for their actions. A common justification is the opening of a brand new library, which offers an opportunity to “experiment with ways of providing better access to our materials,” as suggested by Michael Casey (Casey and Stephens 2009, 19), knowing that “if it doesn’t work they can always go back to Dewey” (Courtright cited by Schneider, 2007). Other advantages for testing this change in a new library are that “the community hadn’t been conditioned into what to expect in a neighborhood library and also there weren’t issues with retrofitting records” (Schneider, 2007). The retrofitting argument is a good one that must always be kept in mind with changes, no matter what type, but the expectations argument is again implicitly related to perceptions and comparisons with previous experiences more related to concepts such as usability, training, marketing, interests, etc.

Another justification for the experiment is the influence of other libraries that have adopted bookstore practices and claim good results, although, in most cases, exactly the same experiment was rarely implemented and the previous libraries just served as examples of “innovative practices” (Rice, 2009; 2010; Noonan et al., 2010; Pyko et al., 2008). The almost evangelistic, commitment of these libraries in dropping DDC for other schemes is noteworthy. For instance, in Henry County Library in Kentucky they started a website called Dewey Free: Trying to Change the Library for the Better, where influence on other libraries was stated in their mission (Dewey Free 2014).

Schneider notes that Jesse Haro, from the automation department at Phoenix Public Library, “has been demonstrating that at least in the world of online library cata-
logs, BISAC may be better than Dewey for topical browsing of large library collections ... the language is simple, the subcategories broad, and the main groupings are designed around user browsing and buying habits, such as 'I’m looking for new mysteries’ or ‘I am planning a wedding’” (Schneider 2007). Schneider also wrote that “the Dewey system wasn’t designed to be easy for casual users in a neighborhood library where the emphasis is on self-service; it was designed to be efficient for large collections organized and managed by knowledge workers.”

Size in relation to specificity is explored by Scott (2007), who states that “for a smaller collection, 50 subject headings work, but a library would have to break it down if they decided to change course and provide a strength in a particular collection, or if they became bigger.” This concern was also noted by respondents of an online survey on BISAC use in libraries by Barbara Fister in August 2009 regarding whether the system would scale in larger collections. Respondents also noted that libraries that have implemented BISAC were small branches (Fister 2009): “When you get to the larger collections with a much greater subject range, I’m not sure how well one can divide everything into a smaller group of categories,” a respondent wrote. Similarly, Andy Barnett (2010, 7) of McMillan Memorial Library, noted that libraries implementing subject-based displays, especially BISAC, tended to be small libraries with approximately 30,000 books or fewer, stating that: “It works best in a smaller branch, where a deep collection is near at hand. It is harder to implement at a large library, since it takes up a great deal of space, but would involve only a small portion of the collection.” Barnett also notes that “In smaller libraries, [the] entire collection can be displayed.” Michael Casey of Gwinnett County Public Library in Lawrenceville, Georgia, also suggested a link between library size and the efficiency of DDC-less shelving in relation to findability, recommending a maximum 100,000 books (Casey and Stephens 2009, 19): “the relationship between shelving style and findability has a lot to do with the size of the collection. Smaller collections (perhaps 100,000 volumes or less) are probably better suited to de-Dewey shelving strategies.”

On the other hand, by arguing that DDC is not appropriate for browsing in modern libraries as a consequence of the characteristics of the library service during the 19th century when it was conceived (more focused on knowledge workers than on browsing and library self-service), these librarians are also assuming that this change of classification system should be a natural consequence of a new era of library self-service in search of user-friendliness and customer-satisfaction. Bosman and Rusinek (1997, 72) stated that there is not necessarily an implication that a user-friendly library means self-service, “but that patrons have a right to use the library without having to ask for assistance.” However, the dominant view in today’s most innovative libraries tends to be self-service as a sign of quality, ever since Paco Underhill (1999) stated that self-service is often the best service. What is often not stated is that a very important risk of self-service is non-service, which is rarely considered to be the best option in libraries. While it might be argued that customers prefer to be left alone in stores and malls, this argument does not necessarily apply to libraries.

Concerning the self-service nature of bookstores, Susan Varscsak, transitions coordinator for the district of Maricopa, stated in “Sun City Library Embraces Deweyless World” that “[their library] is more like a bookstore, so it makes them [the users] a little more independent, which we think is a good thing” (Varscsak cited by Wang, 2009). On the other hand, Shonda Brisco (2004) and Suzanne Stauffer (2008) point out that users in bookstores need guidance as well. The original reasoning expressed by Haro about BISAC being user-centric and adequate for browsing has further implications too: if old systems are not appropriate for casual users, and we are adopting “user-centric” schemes designed for customers, we are also assuming an equivalence between public library casual-users and customers with buying habits (at bookstores?), at least in the nature of their needs and browsing behaviours.

By accepting the argument about customers, buying habits and best sales in libraries, an equivalence between uses (or the easier to measure indicator, loans) and sales could also be established. This would fit the first BISAC benefit alleged by the BISG (2014a) perfectly: “provide the publisher with the opportunity to tell the retailer and the general book trade of the primary and secondary store sections within which the title will best fit (and, hopefully, sell best). There is further benefit in that the language of this suggestion is standardized.” It might be argued that the expression “sections within which the title will best fit and sell best” could be translated into librarians’ terms as reaching a wider audience or meeting the users’ needs, which could be achieved by improved browsing and better arrangement.

The second important benefit of using BISAC suggested by the BISG, standardization of language, is, ironically, also a justification for retaining DDC. However, few of the libraries that have adopted BISAC use this as a justification for the change, probably because they are trying to depart from the standardized nature of DDC and they are not thinking about long-term consequences. But the key here seems to be that, if BISAC is being proposed as a local solution to most DDC shortcomings, open recognition of the standardized nature of BISAC can hardly be presented as an advantage, at least for the library.
Many of the libraries that have adopted BISAC or a similar approach argue that this change will increase use of their collections. For instance Pyko et al. (2008) of Topeka (Kansas) and Shawnee County Public Library, stated that: “our library’s goal was to increase circulation in non-fiction ... [by] pulling together the best features of libraries and bookstores.” These objectives seem to be commonly repeated in the “second generation” of libraries that have dropped DDC, such as the Frankfort Public Library District’s ultimate goal (Rice and Kolendo 2009, 12); “there are many reasons why we undertook this project, all with the ultimate desire and hope to provide greater accessibility to our non-fiction materials.” Promotion of browsing and accessibility as synonyms or near synonyms of use seems to be Frankfort Library’s ultimate goal.

Fister (2009) suggested that “many librarians feel BISAC’s relative simplicity and user-friendly language have an advantage over Dewey’s complexity.” Pam Sandlian Smith (cited by Fister 2009), director of the Rangeview (Colorado) Library District, where the Wordthink BISAC-based system was adopted, claimed that “customers often comment that when they visit bookstores, they can find things easily and would like that ease of use in libraries,” and “the elegant simplicity of the system becomes evident immediately. People love the idea of simply finding all their favorite books together under a word heading, which is so easy to navigate.” In a more general way, Rice and Kolendo (2009, 15) stated that:

We’re not in the business of selling information and content, but we want to encourage patrons in our library to feel the way they feel when they are in bookstores—enjoying the browsability of materials and utilizing our space to gather with friends and colleagues ... there are elements that customers respond to in a retail setting and we believe that libraries need to recognize those elements and adapt them to their own library and community.

Returning to Marshall Shore’s (2008) argument about buying habits and serving people who do not want to learn a complicated classification system, some librarians have suggested simplifying (or enriching) DDC for people who do not understand it. This idea is supported by almost half of Fister’s online survey respondents when asked about the best solution (Fister, 2009). Of the respondents, 11.8% agreed with the idea that libraries would be better off if they scrap DDC and adopt the kind of user-friendly browsing categories they have in bookstores, 9.7% agreed with the idea that throwing away DDC is throwing away something valuable and widely used just to follow a trend, 3.2% did not see any reason to change, 26.9% agreed that simply adding better signage would improve the ability of patrons to find what they want easily, and 48.4% agreed with the idea of combining some categories and that adding words to the call number label in order to indicate a general subject area would be sufficient. In total, 88.2% of the respondents disagreed with completely dropping DDC or even with the assumptions in the phrase “the kind of user-friendly browsing categories they have in bookstores.” The majority of the respondents, in fact, felt that better signage and labelling would be sufficient to improve browsability in the library.

However, the highest overall response calls for a hybrid model, that is a combination of DDC number with BISAC literal, where BISAC can be the primary facet for physical arrangement and DDC numbers can be used for ordering within categories or, at best, retained in case the collection needed to go back to DDC. This is the approach followed by many libraries embracing bookstore-based systems, including the Anna Porter Public Library (Gatlinburg, Tennessee) and the Phoenix Public Library. Additionally, justification for this hybrid approach is given at Darien Library, by librarian Kate Sheehan (cited by Fister 2009) who stated that “we wanted to retain the findability of Dewey while encouraging and enabling browsing” and “Dewey is great for the grab-and-goers, and we didn’t want to lose that. Dewey is not so great for the destination users ... don’t those two make more sense with each other?,” or as Michael Casey noted (Casey and Stephens 2009, 19), when talking about Rangeview: “improving findability will not take us closer to becoming bookstores nor will it lead to the ‘commodification’ of libraries in general. It will make access to our materials easier for our users to understand, which will improve use, which will result in happier library customers.”

5.0 Differences between bookstores and libraries

As Brian Kenney recalled (2007, 9), the idea that “libraries should be run more like businesses” came into play during the Reagan Administration and is one still heard from time to time, usually referring to finances and the privatizing of libraries in order to make them more profitable. The private solution, however, contradicts the IFLA Public Library Service Guidelines, which suggest that primary sources of funding for public libraries should be taxation at local, regional or central levels and block grants from central, regional or local levels (Koontz & Gubbin 2010, 28); and the IFLA/UNESCO Public Library Manifesto, which states (120): “collections and services should not be subject to any form of ideological, political or religious censorship, nor commercial pressures.” The private solution and partnership with the commercial sector would need to be carefully managed since private sector partners always want a return on in-
vestment. As Miranda McKearney noted (1990, 61), for the public library: “commercial money was available, but only on the right terms. Firstly we had to be careful about identifying the likely objectives of the sponsors and setting out to meet them, rather than just expecting them to be happy with a logo on the printed material.”

According to Gloria Leckie and Jeffrey Hopkins (2002), however, it is not only growing dependence on private funding, but also decreased government funding together with increasing costs of information management and dissemination, and the need for on-site commercial ventures, which indicate that the library’s place identity has changed. Costs and ways of classification and organization of information might also be included here. They also point out (330) that:

Public institutions (hospital, libraries, museums, schools, universities) are increasingly challenged by politicians and citizens alike who adhere to a user-pay mentality suspect of universal services for all. When underfunded by governments and compelled to compete for private philanthropists who are global in scope and not necessarily committed to any one institution, city, country, or continent, such public institutions necessarily turn more and more toward private, corporate sponsors and commercial ventures to fill the financial void.

Miller et al. (2003, 14) also note that the cultural significance of bookstores and their use as public spaces is mainly a result of genuinely public institutions being treated as wasteful: “there are clear limits to how people use Chapters [a bookstore] as public space. And it is important to recognize that Chapters is not motivated by altruism. Indeed, when the costs of providing an inviting space outweigh the ability to induce customers to purchase more books, the chain acts less like a congenial host and more like the corporate enterprise it is.” However, not so long ago, the public nature of libraries, distanced from the activities of the private sector, was a matter of pride. One example of this importance can be found in John Drinkwater’s words, cited by John R. Allred (1972, 203), highlighting the importance of the public role of the libraries: the most important thing in a good modern city is “the public health; but second only to this far reaching influence on the lives of citizens is its public library.”

Nowadays, studies continue to examine new ways of measuring the importance of public libraries in contributing to social capital and social trust, including both society-centred and institutional viewpoints. According to Varheim et al. (2008, 886): “it is reasonable to assume with socio-psychological research that contacts made on an equal footing in a public space like the library could have more positive consequences for social capital than more asymmetrical meetings in commercial spaces, where buying power is crucial.”

This point is also very important in relation to the construction of social capital and social trust in those elements and actors who most need it, those who are outside the systems or even the margins of the classification schemes. Some of those groups will inevitably overlap with what Varheim et al. call “disadvantaged groups of non-users,” who are also socially benefited from the public component of public libraries and often ignored by the private sector. In addition, the level of socializing, although also present in bookstores (Dixon et al. 2001, 172), has been observed to be higher in libraries (McKechnie et al. 2004).

On the other hand, the assumption that bookstore practices, including classification and display of books, will improve results in physical libraries, thus enabling them to give better service to society does not always seem to be true. Indeed, in 1999, at the height of economic prosperity and the rise of the online bookstore market (and also before the electronic book explosion), sales in physical bookstores also went down (Carvajal 1999). Indeed, it is hard to imagine how adopting practices from a sector in crisis might improve library results. In 2008, Fister also pointed out this crisis and claimed that while library visits were surging, the book business had an aura of crisis and gloom and really did need to be saved from itself. She also suggested some areas where bookstores could learn from libraries, such as collaboration; and a culture of sharing. Fialkoff (1999) suggested that, even if bookstores adopt some library activities, they will never be a real threat since libraries are better and free. In addition, Raymond (1998, 42), from the bookstore’s point of view, claimed: “no, librarians have little to fear from bookstores, and, trust me, probably even less to learn.”

5.1 Use of commercial terminology in public library discourses

A related issue of interest is the terminology used to refer to those who use the library or shop in a bookstore. On this, Barnett (2010, 3) says: “language can confuse as well as enlighten. Libraries loan (and that loan is free), which scrambles most business models. Adopting business models in such situations leads to using terminology that conceals more than it reveals—e.g. customers.” However, it should be recognized that the popularity of the term “customer” has increased during the last ten years to the level of being authorized and preferred by the IFLA Public Library guidelines. While the first edition of “The Public Library Service: IFLA/UNESCO Guidelines for Development” used the terms user and patrons interchangeably throughout the text, it still had a whole chapter titled “Meeting the needs of the users” (Gill 2001, 23).
However, in the second, completely revised edition this chapter was retitled “Meeting the needs of the customers” (Koontz & Gubbins 2010, 35), and stated that: “Customer is the term used primarily throughout the Guidelines (just as user, patron or client might be) to optimise consideration of public library non-users as potential customers. Also implicit in the term customer, individuals have expressed wants and needs to be identified and met.”

As Siess (2003, 1) pointed out, this commercial vocabulary was unusual ten years ago, perhaps because of economic connotations: “most librarians, especially those in public libraries, are unaccustomed to calling the people they serve customers. For years we have used the term patron or sometimes user.” Hernon and Altman (1998, 3) noted that: “perhaps we have avoided the term customer because it implies an exchange [of money] occurring between the library and the people using the service.”

Although it is more and more common to use commercial terminology in librarianship and in libraries, it should be noted that bookstores and commercial environments rarely use library terminology even when they want to appear socially committed or culturally grounded. Bookstore customers are never called users, perhaps because, although they can use services and goods for free (while they are inside the building), this use without an exchange of money is not considered at all desirable over the mid-to-long term. The final goal of every bookstore is to turn customers’ undecided wants into sales.

5.2 The educational role of libraries in society

Another current difference between libraries and bookstores is their role in research and education. According to the “IFLA Public Library Service Guidelines,” the first purpose of the public library should be education (Koontz & Gubbins 2010, 2): “Supporting both individual and self-conducted education as well as formal education at all levels.”

In the United States, since modern day library classifications like DDC were adopted, the commonly accepted main role of public libraries and special libraries is research and educational support. Melvil Dewey claimed that libraries should be more like schools than museums and the role of librarians more like teachers or educators than curators. The DDC was intended to facilitate this goal by creating a map of knowledge to educate the user (Miksa 1998, 78). Based on a 1994 survey published in “The Bowker Annual” this view is shared by the American public, who believe that the main role of a library is to be an education and research centre. Studies show that Americans see the public library as: educational support for students (88%), a learning centre for adults (85%), and a discovery and learning centre for preschool children (83%). One must look further down the list to find the library listed as “recreational reading center of popular materials and best-sellers” (45%), which is the area in which library operations overlap most with bookstores as new “public spaces.” In 1998, Bernard Vabrek (2000) took a survey of adult Americans for Clarion University that dealt with the question of the impact of the public library on their daily lives. 51% of respondents (the majority) perceive that public libraries contribute to quality of life, while 46% of respondents think libraries are more important than bookstores in providing books for enjoyment or hobbies. When asked (61): “how has the library made your life better?” 98% of respondents answered “as a source of educational enrichment” while only 87% answered “as a source of entertainment.”

Regarding the educational role of libraries through classification, by teaching and reinforcing a structure of knowledge that shapes and affects society, some researchers have also warned about the dangers and consequences of using and transmitting such structure in the scheme, especially when this can be discriminatory and biased (Olson 1999; 2002; García Gutiérrez 2007 and 2013; Martínez-Ávila and Guimarães 2013). The dangers of transmitting any kind of insensitive and unethical practice may be higher when using a standard developed by the business world that is more interested in promoting and exalting the best-selling and most carefully calculated trend than in attempting a universal classification of knowledge. In this regard, the view of the world represented in BISAC, and the privilege of some classes over others, would not follow the literary warrant as in the Library of Congress Classification, or any other kind of Baconian and Hegelian epistemology as in DDC (Olson 2001, 2004 and 2010), but a new criterion for the inclusion and arrangement of classes based on current market demands and interests, what we have called “market warrant.”

5.3 The recreational use of libraries in society

However, according to Lyn Donbroski (1980, 4), former East Sussex County librarian in the United Kingdom, various user surveys conducted before the 1980s showed that public libraries were used primarily for recreational purposes. The same argument was given by Ainley Tottel (1978, 13), also in the United Kingdom, who stated that “it is significant that all the evidence from surveys suggests users have ‘voted with their feet’ for a largely recreational service, the one aspect of library purpose most consistently ignored by the theoreticians.”

More recently, several studies have supported the recreational use of libraries (Proctor et al. 1996; Smith 1999; Davis 2009). Denise Davis ranked recreation in US libraries over education at the top of the list of library purposes (4): “After borrowing library materials, Americans rank entertainment (35%) and educational purposes, such
as for homework or taking a class (28%), as the top two reasons for using the library. That's more than 145.8 million Americans.”

Similarly, Douglas Betts (1982) claimed that several unpublished surveys in the United Kingdom pointed out the importance of libraries as recreational centres and that a substantial majority of public library borrowing is, by a variety of definitions, for recreational or leisure-orientated purposes. Betts seemed to suggest that everything outside the recreational purpose might go against the clientele’s needs (61): “While by no means wishing to negate the educational (more accurately self-educational) role of the public library, it has to be seen in perspective; too often that role, through stock selection, resource allocation, staff attitudes and stock presentation, takes precedence to the detriment of satisfying the major needs of most of our clientele.”

Ainley and Totterdell (1982) also drew attention to a study of David Spiller’s (1980) that stated that 60% of public library loans are fiction. In 2000, Spiller attributed this problem to the divergences between users’ needs (what they respond/want) and the official statements more concerned with educational development. Spiller summarized the problem as follows (5): “In part, the public libraries’ problems arise from the very broad claims made for them in various official statements in relation to different groups of users and different types of user needs. These look good on paper, but librarians, with limited budgets, have to pick and choose from the official claims as they translate them into services and collections.” Sharr (1974), in Australia, defended the recreational purpose of libraries as positive but only if it does not prevail over the educational purpose.

5.4 The educational role of bookstores in society

Several studies have shown that bookstores do not function well as research centres. Despite this, some librarians began looking at bookstores’ practices when they started to be viewed as competitors. Vabrek (2000, 60) pointed out that some libraries want coffee shops to be part of the library community because they want to compete with bookstore chains where people are encouraged to hang out at the coffee shop. On the users’ side, an observational study by McKechnie et al. (2004, 55) concluded that “one of the most telling observed differences between the super bookstores and the public library was the coffee that people brought with them or purchased on site for consumption.”

However, there does not seem to be a homogenous opinion in the literature concerning competition between bookstores and libraries. For instance, a 1996 Benton Foundation report concluded that:

The super bookstores, such as Borders and Barnes and Noble, surfaced as strong competitors to libraries. Not only did these stores have popular books in stock (something libraries fell down on), but they created a welcoming atmosphere with comfortable chairs, coffee, and music playing in the background… Among other key findings of the public opinion research: There is enormous overlap among library users, bookstore patrons, and home computer users. While some library leaders fear that computers and bookstores will increasingly draw library users away from libraries, at least for now this concern appears groundless—one market seems to draw sustenance from the other markets.

On the other hand, a different argument is reflected by Siess when she said (2003, 18): “not only do our users have and use other sources, they also measure our libraries against them. Your competition may be the mega-bookstore (Borders, Barnes and Noble, W.H. Smith, and others). Does your library look as inviting or as well lit?… Even academic libraries are not immune to competition.” She also pointed out that many college and university students are using the Internet for their academic research, because of the comfort of their dorms and alternative spaces to libraries, also suggesting a possible parallel in competition between libraries and the Internet with the competition between libraries and bookstores.

Feinberg (1998, 50) noticed that many undergraduate students were apparently using superstores such as Barnes & Noble as libraries, claiming currency, number of copies, and conditions of materials and organization as their reasons. According to some of these students, books in their library were disorganized, and it was “not as good as it could be… [it was] hard to find things. Things were cataloged strangely. The only good thing about the library is you can take things out.” However, some of the students also pointed out that although Barnes & Noble and the Internet allowed them to complete most of the course work, for “heavy research” it might be better to use the library.

The educational use of bookstores was also noticed by Dixon et al. (2001) and Miller et al. (2003) in Chapters, a Canadian equivalent to Barnes & Noble, although Dixon et al. also pointed out that (165): “overall, in contrast to the library’s more serious purpose, Chapters seems to function more as an entertainment centre.” The advantage of availability based on the number of copies, at least for the more popular readings, was something that was also echoed by Barnett (2010) of McMillian Memorial Library (Wisconsin Rapids, Wisconsin) and an alleged reason to use bookstores by some of the Benton Foundation report’s survey respondents.
However, not everybody seems to be satisfied with the research possibilities of bookstores, one of the students said that she had difficulty finding research material at the store (Holloway, 1999), because "they were just listed by author at the store. The computers are not set up to find things by subject." In addition, Raymond (1998, 42), an American bookstore clerk, claimed that: “the scholastic potential of the bookstore environment has been greatly exaggerated,” pointing out that there are not enough retrospective materials, scholarly materials or even copying machines. According to Raymond only procrastinators and last-minute C-students think that bookstores are about to supplant libraries. Finally, in Canada, a Chapters bookseller complained (Miller et al. 2003, 12) that: “We were having problems with students, coming up and using Chapters as a big happy library…. Students were going in there and just staying in there for like 10 hours. Studying, horsing around. But usually studying, you know and it’s, why would you go to a retail store to do school work? That’s like going to a food court in a mall to do school work.”

5.5 Differences between bookstores and libraries:

The nature of stock and its availability

Perhaps the major differences between libraries and bookstores are in the nature of the use and the availability of their materials. Tisdale (1997) linked this availability to a library’s most essential purpose and the threat of the market when she said that libraries are market-driven when books rarely read are seen as books without value. In addition (73) she wrote:

One of the several ways I seem to be out of touch with the new library is that I consider ‘potential use’ to be one of the most important aspects of any library—because the things subsumed under that term are often found nowhere else…. This is what the library does best: it provides a place where the culture is kept, without judgment or censor, a record of life as it was, is, and may be. And the most important part of that record is what cannot be found anywhere else and will be lost forever if the library doesn’t keep it.

Along these same lines, while bookstore stock has to be sold and in superstores, renewed even if it is not sold, library stock will not “disappear” since profitable is not a synonym for useful, and that is not the purpose of public libraries. Indeed, an overload of titles and copies might also have a negative effect on retrieval tasks, which is one of the perceived advantages of bookstores. This finding was also noticed in libraries in the mid 1950s by Baker (1986 and 1988).

This is also related to the costs and consequences of keeping pace with each version of BISAC. In strict adoptions of BISAC, the process of reclassification within each new release would be assisted by an approved list of changes provided free of charge by the BISG, so, in the end, this problem would not be bigger than with the new release of any other classification, such as the DDC. In bookstores this problem is considered minor since it is assumed that old stock will be sold sooner or later (BISG 2014b): “What happens if I do not deactivate the inactivated headings? The Subject Codes Committee anticipates that most users would not re-categorize backlist. After all, in due time, most titles with inactivated headings will go out of print and the headings will retire with the books.” In the case of libraries strictly adopting BISAC, not only the situation is different than in the case of bookstores since the stock classified with the outdated versions will not be sold, but it is also assumed that there would be less support by the BISG given the previous statement.

On the other hand, differences in the material available in libraries and bookstores are not only a matter of numbers, but also concern the nature of this material. A bookstore will only stock books which they believe will be immediately profitable while a library may be able to stock books by local authors or books with potential longer term benefits to the community. Bookstores may have a large inventory, but fewer titles and more copies than do libraries. While Coffman claimed that (1998, 40): “the average superstore now stocks anywhere from 150,000 to 200,000 titles or more, and the number seems to grow steadily” and “the typical Barnes & Noble now houses more books than 85% of all the public library systems in the United States,” these numbers include far more duplicate titles than would be present in a library and will not include material which is still relevant and useful but no longer in print. Additionally, these numbers for bookstores may also include additional copies of books that are not displayed on the shelf (or that are put in more than one location, making the overlap of BISAC categories irrelevant). Maker (2008, 171) stated that:

When borrowing from another model we must be sure to understand not only the nature of the model itself, but how and what elements will be transferred. A library is not a bookstore. The two models are not, to use a mathematical term, isomorphic but they are analogous in that they correspond in some particular but not in all respects. A bookstore, for example, does not stock large print books. It would be foolish to assume, though, that a library should not do so. A certain amount of selectivity obviously comes into play.
While the bookstore by necessity defines book utility by the probability that it will sell quickly, whether in answer to a specific need or a specific want induced by marketing, the library defines utility by the potential benefits to the user community. While from the bookstore point of view every sale counts equally when customers are willing to pay for a book, in libraries high loan rates of materials (which barely meet that need) do not necessarily mean a high rate of user satisfaction. As Morris (1994) pointed out, while citing Andrew Green (1990), a user-centred approach to reference (and this reflection might well be extrapolated to any other information service) has at its core the assumption that it is the information need that should be addressed, not wants or demands, although they are not necessarily the same.

Information needs are often ambiguous and not easily articulated (Taylor 1968), and understanding and clarifying ambiguous information needs is a primary goal of information professionals. In bookstores and commercial institutions user needs are defined by marketing, which can involve the use of advertising to convince users that they need a particular book, while the library on the other hand concentrates on providing access to information, not on selling specific titles. In addition, it should be noted that in libraries the bookstore-driven paradigm was not solely caused by (library) user orientation, but by the need to deal with financial problems and maximize resources, which means that this practice might not always be desirable. Some of the alleged advantages of this philosophy include such unrelated aspects to users as “having a lot more money, as a result of paying your staff a lot less than you do now and getting a lot more public-service hours out of them” (Coffman 1998, 44).

In addition to the issue of materials availability, both bookstores and libraries must also deal with the question of access to materials. A number of studies have indicated that the majority of patrons gain access to materials in physical libraries by browsing.

5.6 The application of the bookstore model in libraries

Studies of the behaviours of library patrons and bookstore customers show a certain convergence, as not only are libraries adopting the characteristics of bookstores but bookstores are also adopting the characteristics of public spaces such as libraries, and are being perceived as such by the population. Indeed, according to Leckie and Hopkins (2002) the shopping mall could be considered a public space by Canadians, ranked third after home and work or school as the most popular place they use. As these authors point out, shopping malls or bookstores are “public” places in that they are used by and open to the public, but they are privately owned and subject to the control and management of private interests: not everyone is welcome in a shopping mall.

However, Jennifer Miele (cited by Whelan 2007), manager of the Perry Branch Library in Maricopa County, which adopted a bookstore model using BISAC to organize books, noticed that “Students don’t seem to care or know the difference” between DDC or BISAC, however, it seems that what people do notice are changes related to the new environment such as, conveniences, refreshments (especially coffee), signage, etc. “The kids are more interested in the fact that the library allows food and drinks and that it has its own semi-private Teen Oasis section, equipped with red and purple velvet lounge chairs and lots of computers” (Whelan 2007). Library adoption of bookstore approaches, even when the media highlights the classification scheme as the main aspect of the project, seems to also be related to those facilities and new features.

According to Hill (2010, 15): “The Dewey-less concept is more than just using words on books rather than numbers. It includes the way the library is arranged, the signage, the furniture, and shelving. Self-service and one-customer service desk are also integral parts of the effort.” Similarly, Hill also pointed some critical reception and public reactions to the whole environment in Maricopa:

They [librarians that came from all over the United States and Canada as well as South America because they were interested in trying the bookstore method in their own libraries] also were fascinated by the libraries’ other features such as the many New York Times bestsellers and latest DVDs, the One Service Desk model, snack/beverage machines in the libraries, flat-screen TVs showcasing new books, best-sellers and library announcements—all standard in the library district.

Therefore, all of these additional changes made in the BISAC experiments had the purpose of attracting more young users and making libraries more appealing. However, the idea of libraries being inspired by bookstores’ facilities, with no relation to the classification scheme, was previously suggested by authors such as Hicks (1994), Sannwald (1998), and, in a very broad sense, Underhill (1999).

Maker (2008a, 169) pointed out the outdated image of libraries among the youth in the UK: “public libraries are under increasing pressure to correct the perception that they are outmoded and largely irrelevant institutions, particularly by today’s youth” and cited an Audit Commission of 2002 in the United Kingdom which recommends the adoption of “bookshop” approaches by the library in order to improve its services. The report specifically suggests that the aspects that libraries should learn from
bookstores are all those related to “customer” expectations (24): “the challenge is to cater to a wider audience. Libraries need to buy more of the books people want, and make them available when they want them. Councils need to look at what it is that bookshops are getting right and rethink their services in line with rising customer expectations (particularly as bookshops have themselves learned from library services—extending opening hours, encouraging browsing, etc.).”

Another point covered by the report is the competition between libraries and bookstores in relation to services and people’s habits. The report also adds that: “While the Government is expecting them [library services] to deliver more, libraries are having to compete with an increasing range of alternatives to their services - in particular, bookshops and the Internet. Spending on library books and access to services have been cut significantly” (Audit Commission 2002, 8).

The underlying assumption in the Audit Commission’s Report is that bookstores deal with the users’ recreational needs much better than libraries. However, while recommending libraries learn from bookstores in this aspect, it also points out that they should not forget their core values (25): “Providing what people want does not mean stocking only bestsellers. Learning from bookshops does not mean giving up on core values.... Making popular books more available will help to overcome people’s views that libraries have little or nothing to offer them.” This example was given in the context of the provision for the most demanded books in the collection, something that might not be the primary mission of libraries, but it might also be linked to other aspects related to the differences between the public purpose of libraries and its practices, such as the classification and arrangement of books to make them available to the public.

6. Conclusion

One of the main motivations for adopting BISAC in US public libraries is criticism of the Dewey Decimal Classification. This criticism includes arguments suggesting that it is an outdated system, it does not meet the needs of users, is not appropriate for browsing, it is unfamiliar and unfriendly, complicated to learn, and it scatters related books and subjects across the library. Justifications for using BISAC include the opportunity that a new branch opening offers, the opportunity to go back if the experiment does not work, the inspiration of its use in other libraries and bookstores, BISAC's adequacy for present times, its simpler language, and the fact it is friendlier, more familiar and more intuitive for users, it is better for browsing, for grouping together related books that otherwise would be scattered, and for promoting self-service. Criticism of BISAC, however, notes that it is based on “market warrant” rather than on actual user needs, it is no less biased than DDC, it does not deal well with multi-lingual populations, it is not well-suited for medium to large sized collections, it is not designed for re-classification and updates in libraries, and that it does not allow users to locate books precisely or browse within specialised and academic topic areas due to its broad categories. Additionally, it has been claimed that some of the alleged advantages of BISAC might be inherited from some other factors introduced at the same time and therefore probably unrelated to the classification system.

Regarding BISAC’s field of application, there does not seem to be a great deal of continuity in the discursive formations of bookstores and libraries. What this means is that it hardly seems acceptable to talk about these two kinds of institution and their functions as though they were similar and interchangeable entities for the application of all types of information organization systems without creating exclusions. Although the desirability and advantages of bookstores over libraries have not always been agreed, BISAC application in libraries seems to be part of a trend of applying commercial practices, values and terminology in libraries, perhaps not with the purpose of replacing libraries with bookstores, but with the aim for both systems to converge into a new kind of commercial entity and context. The influence of one kind of system over the other does not seem to be totally reciprocal, since the application of library practices, values and standards in bookstores has not had the same effects and resonance as has occurred in the opposite direction. While libraries have usually needed to adopt hybrid approaches to accommodate the adoption of bookstore approaches (such as the retention of DDC in BISAC-like classification systems adopted in libraries), the equivalent hybrid approach in bookstores seems to be ameliorated by the market-driven forces that lead their functioning.

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