

Hyde Park Debate: The Traditional Research Library Is Dead

Rick Anderson
University of Utah, rick.anderson@utah.edu

Derek Law
Strathclyde University, d.law@strath.ac.uk

Follow this and additional works at: <https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/charleston>



Part of the [Library and Information Science Commons](#)

An indexed, print copy of the Proceedings is also available for purchase at:

<http://www.thepress.purdue.edu/series/charleston>.

You may also be interested in the new series, Charleston Insights in Library, Archival, and Information Sciences. Find out more at: <http://www.thepress.purdue.edu/series/charleston-insights-library-archival-and-information-sciences>.

Rick Anderson and Derek Law, "Hyde Park Debate: The Traditional Research Library Is Dead" (2012).
Proceedings of the Charleston Library Conference.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.5703/1288284315082>

Hyde Park Debate: The Traditional Research Library Is Dead

Rick Anderson, Interim Dean, Marriott Library, University of Utah

Derek Law, Professor Emeritus, Strathclyde University

The following transcription is of a live presentation given at the 2012 Charleston Conference on Saturday, November 10, 2012. Video and slides for the session are available on the Charleston Conference website at http://katina.info/conference/video_2012_debate.php.

This session was opened by asking the audience to vote whether they supported or opposed the proposition, “The traditional research library is dead.” The votes were cast using PollEverywhere.com via text message, Tweet, or by a numerical code entered online. The results of the opening poll (Figure 1) were that 34 people (52%) voted “Yes,” they agreed with the proposition, and 31 people (48%) voted “No,” they disagreed.

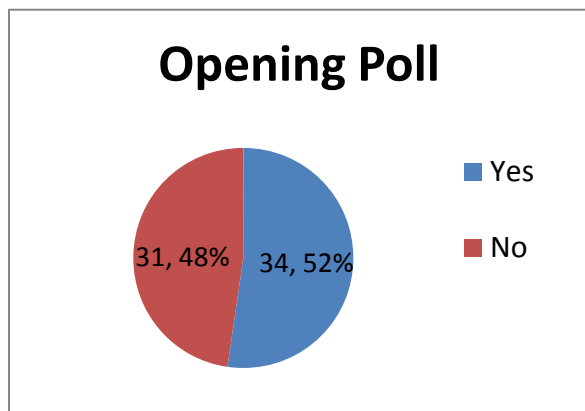


Figure 1. Opening Poll

Rick Anderson: So speaking for the proposition: The traditional research Library evolved to solve problems that were largely created, not by the needs or desires of scholars, but by the limitations inherent in a print-based environment. In that environment, information was captured in a format that made documents expensive and difficult to create and transport, hard to discover, and expensive to house and care for. In light of this reality, trained librarians were needed to seek out documents that non-librarians would have had great difficulty in locating on their own; to pool their constituents’ resources to make possible the purchase of those documents that

those constituents could not have purchased or housed on their own; to create proxy documents that made it possible, more or less, to locate particular primary documents; to organize physical collections; to make them more or less navigable and to place similar documents close to each other on the shelves; and to stand on call to help people negotiate those unavoidably complex collections and the equally complex system of stopgap services, such as suggest-a-purchase and interlibrary loan, that were created to make up for the library's frequent failure to guess preemptively what patrons would need in order to do their scholarly work. That was the traditional research library. It is dead, and the world of scholarship is a much, much better place for it.

“But how,” (I hear you cry), “can one say that this model of librarianship is dead? After all, high-quality documents are still hard to find, or can be, and are often expensive, while at the same time the explosive proliferation of available documents has made good metadata more important than ever and also makes the kind of guidance librarians offer more necessary than ever. Surely what we are entering is a golden age of the traditional research library, not a period of decline.”

In some ways this may be true, but it's important that we draw a bright line between the traditional research library, which (did I mention?) is dead, and what the research library has now become, which is something both very much alive and also radically, fundamentally, different.

It's also important when assessing the health and the future prospects of the research library that we separate “should” questions such as, “Shouldn't patrons still rely on librarians’ expertise in locating high-quality documents?” from “is” questions such as, “Do patrons still rely on librarians expertise in locating high-quality documents?” I will first address some of the many

ways in which what we have called “the traditional research library” has died. I'll then address the very important issue of “is” versus “ought” questions and the significance of that distinction for the health of research libraries in the future.

First, and most obviously, what has always defined the traditional research library is the centrality of its large and more-or-less comprehensive print collection. Despite the claims of some, print is not dead, at least not completely, and in fact, the Internet makes possible a potential renaissance in the usefulness and relevance of print by making localized print-on-demand a feasible option for the first time in human history. But the permanent printed collection, a collection built on the speculative purchasing decisions by the librarians and stored in a centralized location, is thoroughly dead, at least in North America. Not because we have stopped buying books (we certainly haven't), but because those books are used so rarely by the people for whom we buy them. Print circulation rates are down both dramatically and nearly universally across major North American research libraries over the past decade and a half, and reports of continued robust use in the humanities disciplines are largely products of rumor and anecdote. While there is no question that humanists, and even many scientists, continue to use books, whether they continue to check books out from the library is a different question. Nor is this only a question of format; the permanent online collection shares many of the limitations and problems of the print collection and is increasingly under scrutiny as a fundamental library service.

Another basic feature of the traditional research library is its system of classification and organization. This system has never been particularly helpful, but it was the best we could do during the print era. Unfortunately, we've dragged that mastodon of a system into the online environment with us, where we tend to insist, shrilly and against all reason, that it remains relevant and useful. Traditional cataloging was a process of creating proxy records made necessary by the fact that printed records are not

themselves searchable. In the online environment, one in which it's possible to interrogate the full text of the document without actually reading the whole thing, an entirely new approach to metadata is called for, and we shouldn't assume that it will require the same type or even the same depth of expertise as was needed during the print era. The practice of traditional cataloging, as understood during that era, is dead; or more accurately, it's undead. It continues to walk among us, eating our brains, despite having no wholesome life force left in it.

A third basic feature of the traditional research library is the role of the librarian as intermediary. During most of the print era, librarians acted as literal gatekeepers between the unwashed and untrustworthy masses who couldn't be counted on to know what books they really needed (or even how to use them and who probably just wanted to look at dirty pictures anyway) and the sacred relics of the collection. In most libraries, for many centuries, if you wanted a book you had to make your supplication to the librarian, who would judge the appropriateness of your request and either grant or deny it accordingly. We were well into the 20th century before open stacks became the norm, but even then the librarian's gatekeeper role remained important, because only librarians understood how call numbers and card catalogs and indexes worked, and you couldn't hope to find anything in the collection without access to the librarian's expertise. Librarians were and still are also very good at helping their patrons construct productive research strategies and learn discrimination in selecting sources. Unfortunately, the services were never scalable to the populations they were intended to serve, and only a tiny fraction of those who needed such help could possibly ever get it.

Today our patrons generally feel, rightly or wrongly, that they are perfectly capable of finding and evaluating documents on their own, thanks very much, and the librarian's role as intermediary is effectively gone. The research library, interestingly enough, does continue to be demonstrably important as a place. Every academic library that I know of reports the same thing: that while usage of the physical collection is

declining at a steady and alarming rate, gate counts (the number of people coming through the doors each year) are rising. This points to the fact that when we refer to the library as a place, we're referring not to a simple function but rather to a complex and multifaceted one. The library's role as a place to go and do scholarly work has been enhanced while its role as a place to go and get access to scholarly resources has been radically undermined and continues quickly to diminish. This is not a bad thing. On the contrary, we serve our scholars well by making it less necessary for them to go out of their way in order to use the resources we provide to them and by providing them with congenial and well-equipped spaces in which to do both private and collaborative scholarly work—but it is also true that even (or especially) in the online realm, our patrons very often bypass the information resources we provide them in favor of ones that are frequently available and easily discoverable on the open web and that can be found without recourse to the inexcusably user-hostile interfaces that libraries, publishers, and aggregators impose on their constituents. And they do so despite the fact that, in many cases, those user-hostile interfaces will connect them with better and more focused results than Google will, which brings us to the question of "is" questions and "ought" questions.

The future health and status of the research library will not be determined by whether its roles and functions remain important. They will be determined by whether libraries' patrons believe that those roles and functions remain important, and by how patrons act on that belief. If students and faculty bypass our services, ignore the resources we've purchased for them, stay out of our buildings, and elect not to call upon our expertise to help with their scholarly work, the impact on libraries will be the same regardless of whether they are right or wrong to do so. In other words, what the libraries' patrons ought to do is an interesting and arguably important question, but it has little bearing on the future of research libraries. What does have a bearing on the library's future is what the patrons actually *do*.

Does this mean that we should ignore questions of principle and philosophy? Absolutely not. It

matters very much why we do the things we do in libraries, and we should constantly measure our policies and practices against the fundamental principles that inform our work. However, we need to be very careful not to make the mistake of assuming that reality will conform to our ideals, that our patrons will necessarily act in harmony with their own long-term best interests, or that they will share our assessment of the value of our resource and service offerings. What ought to be matters very much, but the future of the research library will be determined by what is; and what the traditional research library is, is dead. What has emerged from its ashes and continues to emerge and change shape constantly is something very different. The world of scholarship is clearly a much better place for it, though what the future will look like for traditional research librarians remains to be seen. Thank you.

Derek Law: Thank you very much. I'm not at this stage going to comment on the obvious oxymorons, dissembling, and tautological nonsenses which represent the arguments in the parallel universe of the tea party candidate, but I will at this stage simply speak in favor of tradition and traditional libraries. My theme is that, "Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose." The more things change, the more they stay the same. I guess most of you were at the session with the Provosts yesterday, which I find fascinating. Not in the least because I recently had occasion—this is true—I recently had occasion to look at the University of Bologna in the 12th Century when it had not long been founded, and at that time there were four concerns in the University. First, the faculties were complaining about budget cuts. It's true. Secondly, the students were complaining about tuition fees. Thirdly, the University was complaining about competition from commercial competitors who used under qualified and underpaid teachers; and finally, rights holders were complaining about illegal mass copying of manuscripts in the scriptorium. Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose. And of course, universities are modern inventions compared with libraries. They're only 1,000 years old. So I want to take the phrase "traditional research library" and deconstruct it. and look at each

word in turn, and in the case of library to look at both user and content.

So let me begin with tradition, and let me make it clear that the biggest mistake one can make is to confuse tradition with stasis. Tradition is about evolution. Research libraries go back at least 3,000 years. The problem is print is a relatively new thing for libraries. Three thousand years ago the great research libraries were filled with tablets of stone, a medium that played havoc with circulation figures. Traditional research libraries have always adapted to changing medium, making print a relative novelty. Oral records, tablets of stone, papyri, manuscripts, short loan manuscripts from scriptoria, print, photographs, CD, tapes, punch cards, and so on all have a place in traditional libraries, because tradition is not the same as stasis. We adapt to change and changing media. I have worked in libraries whose collections have included a desk owned by Napoleon and a kayak owned by Shackleton. Most of the libraries I have worked in have lots of fine art, and the medical library I worked in had unspeakable specimens in jars which we had to catalog.

The second word: research, in "traditional research libraries." This is a research library, it is not a children's playground, and research training and information handling is essential. Children don't come to University to teach themselves, they come to be taught; and, for the most part, they are still children, and being taught how to use information is part of that learning. Universities are hierarchies and self-perpetuating oligarchies. They are not democracies. The reason that we teach scientific disciplines is because they are subjects which cannot be self-taught.

Research outcomes: let's look at them, because training and information handling applies as much to research as it does to students. Look at the recent seminal case of Climategate at the University of East Anglia and the destruction, not just of personal reputations, but of an entire department and to the undermining of the university itself, and all because they ignored what librarians contribute to the research process. The climate change center at East Anglia held the United Nations contract for analyzing data on the

controversial topic of climate change. They needed to be squeaky clean. But under freedom of information legislation, e-mails were uncovered which could be interpreted as showing that they had manipulated data. Then they became defensive about releasing data, and it really looked as though they were cheating and making up results. After a committee of inquiry, it became clear that they were simply incompetent. They had no data audit trails, no record of where data came from, no record of when and how data was merged, and no record of what was deleted or why. They, in common with most researchers, haven't the faintest idea of how to do records management and preservation. Who knows that stuff? Traditional librarians.

Content of libraries. Well, it's true that many libraries have been distracted by the rather pointless collection of substantial runs of the usual scientific journals which are held by everybody else. But the traditional research library is best defined by its noncommercial material; in a real research library the majority of items cataloged each year haven't been bought. They are gifts, donations, papers, rare books, annotated books, papers of our Nobel Prize winners (*Aside to Rick*: Do they have them in Utah, too?), government and states publications, reports, theses, grey literature, incunables, and more recently websites, blogs and other non-print, noncommercial material. A great library is, and will always be, defined by its collections and its acquisitions, not by its purchases. I make no apology that the traditional research library is, and will continue to be, full of what technocrats call "dead tree format." You'll remember that when Mao Tse-tung was asked what he thought about the French Revolution, he said it was too early to tell. Well, that's a bit like the Internet, really. It's just beginning to show the first signs of aging in its very short life. So the traditional library remains useful, if nothing else, in part as backup. First, it's useful when BlackBerry or Google has service disruption, like when the odd hurricane hits. Did you notice how many of the exhibitors who were here early in the week had their services not provided because the power had failed? Second, it's universal, while countries as varied as China and Iran began to withdraw from

the Internet—and remember that's over a third of the world ; you still need to find out about them as scholars. Thirdly, a great physical collection gives a sense of the sheer weight and progress of human thought and knowledge.

And let us also be clear that one of the great and almost completely unheralded triumphs of international diplomacy in the 20th century is the inter-lending system. No library, however great, can be comprehensive, or seriously aspire to it, nor can the Internet. As the great library philosopher Ranganathan prescribed in one of his five laws of librarianship, "Save the time of the reader." The ability we have to get access to the material we don't have in our collections is of much greater significance than is generally allowed or particularly allowed. But collection building is moving on to building collections of electronic resources. The University of Texas Human Rights Collection, for example, is a wonderful example of how the best research libraries are evolving traditional skills to work with new media.

Let me talk briefly about collection management. Now crowd sourcing and folksonomy are fine in their way; the definition of crowd sourcing, by the way, is waiting for the lift downstairs in the Francis Marion Hotel. Crowd sourcing and folksonomy are fine, but they lack intellectual rigor. Try telling botanists or chemists that they can call plants or chemicals by any old name. I contend that is the same with the organization of knowledge. LC and Dewey are universal languages for the majority of the world who don't speak English. And remember that for centuries, literally centuries, first Latin then German were the universal scientific languages. English too will pass, and as China becomes the dominant world force, standard nomenclature for the organization of knowledge is critical. Now, I will admit that in the past I have been a critic of catalogers; but of who they are, not what they do. It's a little-known fact that the word "geek," first recorded in 1511, is derived from the Low German word for a cataloger. Most of that statement is true. However, the organization of knowledge is a noble thing. If you think education, and by extension libraries, are expensive, try the

alternative; and just remember that wonderful description of the howling waste of the Internet: "It's like going into the library where all the lights are out, where the books are not in any discernible order, and the instructions are in Arabic." The undervaluing of expertise in favor of the wisdom of the masses is why you have Fox News and we have the British Broadcasting Corporation.

Moving onto one of the key roles of the traditional research library, and a much undervalued one at that, permanence and preservation; or perhaps I should say persistence. Technological change isn't new, but the companies associated with it often are. Remember Remington, or Kodak, or Universal Studios, or MySpace, or Sun? Anyone here dumb enough to buy Facebook shares? Anyone know of a publishing company that's even a century old, apart from the university presses? Did you know that *Avatar*, the first and arguably greatest 3-D movie, is being preserved in 2-D format because nobody asked librarians how to do it? And who is preserving Tetris and Super Mario? Librarians. Preservation is not fashionable, but it is important, and traditional research libraries do it.

The role of librarians has been slowly changing. Traditional research libraries have lots of staff and so are expensive to maintain, which is a good thing. The embedded librarian is a recent term but really echoes the sort of subject support faculty that librarians have given to medical libraries, law libraries and education libraries for decades. In the best traditional research libraries, the subject librarian is part of the research team. Then look at supporting students: there's a huge difference between information literacy and information fluency. Pandering to this year's fashion for crowd sourcing is a way to destroy tradition, not to take the best from it. The supine acquiescence in the notion that students can do it for themselves derives from a world model more suited to the NeverNever Land of Peter Pan, and the Lost Boys who fall out of their prams when the nurse isn't looking or who are lost by their nannies in places such as Kensington Gardens or Utah. As a result they are self-taught and wholly ignorant. The benighted egalitarianism, which so many

reformers preach, is a recipe for disaster. Getting information management skills into the curriculum is what we should be doing as the provosts were arguing yesterday.

And finally, we probably can agree on the importance of library as place. The library has evolved into new traditions. We've moved from closed stacks and the quiet of a mausoleum into becoming a welcoming social space. Some of that comes from an evolutionary response to changes in teaching. We've become adept at supporting group and project work. Opening hours better reflect study patterns rather than library staff needs. Plus there's sex. It's where students, I think the euphemism is "meet," or for those of you who were in the last session, this lovely new phrase "perform academic intimacy."

So to conclude, tradition is about adaptability and flexibility. The kilt I proudly wear is fundamentally different in design from the kilt worn 200 years ago. Around the world every January 25, there are Burns Suppers to celebrate over 200 years of Robert Burns; and every Old Year's Night, or New Year's Eve, as you know it, we all sing his great song "Auld Lang Syne." Do you ever suppose that there will be a "Mark Zuckerberg Annual Supper?" Or will he, like my opponents arguments, prove a febrile notion and, in the words of Burns in that great poem *Tam O' Shanter*, his arguments are, "...like a snowflake in the river, a moment white, then gone forever." Thank you.

Questions and comments were taken from the audience, followed by a closing statement from each side.

Derek Law: I had written most of this before we started, but to answer the specific points: John mentioned the Bodleian. The Bodleian has delusions of adequacy, which we have to allow. It is a modern research library compared to most of the ones in Scotland where I come from, but nonetheless, one of the great things that Bodley is doing, and I really take my hat off to Sarah, the new librarian, is, who do you think puts all of the entries up on Wikipedia? It's the Bodleian staff. They've evolved to making sure that new media actually have traditional material. So some of the

things that traditional research libraries, like the Bodleian, do are actually very modern.

Secondly, on the HathiTrust and all that stuff, that goes back to my point about preservation, I think. Librarians have grandmothers. Publishers don't, because it's the role of publishers to sell the last copy. They sell their grandmothers. We still have them. We're all about preservation. The important point about things like digitization is not so much about making stuff available; it's about the ephemeral nature of the publishing industry, which is a modern and arguably failed construct. But we still want to make sure the information is there. There is a view at the moment, I think, that research and education exists to support publishing. No! It's the other way around.

The question about media and so on; roles do change and will change. I think Rick and I actually agree about that. Most roles do change and will change. But principles don't, and the underlying principle, whether you're teaching or whether you're in the library or wherever, goes right back to Ranganathan for me—getting the right information to the right user at the right time. That's a fundamental principle of librarianship.

And the last point about—I'm not going to argue about medical libraries. I used to be, a long time ago, a medical librarian, but one of the things I do actually feel very, very strongly about, apart from the joking and debates, is e-material and the way in which libraries and librarians have absolutely failed to deal with e-material. Faced with a huge proliferation of born digital e-content, we've gone out and bought stuff. The vast majority of e-material is non-commercial, and we're neglecting it and ignoring it. We're actually destroying what could be used in the future by simply not doing anything with e-material. Perhaps Rick and I might agree about that, I'm not sure. It's really slightly to the side of this debate. But that failure to deal with non-commercial e-material and to build collections, I think, is a fundamental issue.

So coming back to the quality of the arguments, my opponent here is a man who speaks his mind, which is why it didn't take him very long. He comes from Utah, and he is an alumnus of

Brigham Young University. Alumni of that University haven't done well this week when seeking your vote. Let's keep it that way! And I'd like to talk just a little about failed states. You know them: Libya, Syria, Iraq, Mali, Rwanda—they don't have natural boundaries because they are colonial things. They all have square edges and right angles for boundaries like Utah. These are not real traditional states, but inventions which are ephemeral, like my opponent's arguments. Now, I realize that to mention history and Utah in the same breath presents a classic oxymoron, and it is a place where tradition is defined as anything that happens three times. The original inhabitants of Utah were the Fremont Indian tribe, famous for building houses of straw, rather like my opponent's arguments. What I have described may be denigrated as a "come to us model" but stability, access to electricity and coffee, heat, light and social intercourse are what we offer, as opposed to the bunch of itinerants, traveling gypsies, the street-corner homeless beggars, and folksonomists championed by my opponent. My principles are unchanging but not fickle. It is that Ranganathan principle. In traditional research libraries, we will continue to deliver the right information to the right user at the right time. So in the words of the conference theme, you've got to spread joy up to the maximum, bring gloom down to the minimum, have faith; or pandemonium is liable to walk upon the scene. You've got to accentuate the positive. Eliminate the negative. Latch onto the affirmative, and don't mess with Mr. In-between.

Rick Anderson: So, obviously, it's impossible to respond comprehensively to a 10 minute statement in 3 minutes. I'm going to instead pick three specific sentences from Derek's statement that I think summarize, and I hope you agree, summarize his primary points. First, to survive for 3,000 years we must've been doing something right. Obviously, I'll have to take my worthy opponent's word for that as I've been witness to considerably less of the last 3,000 years than he has. So, but actually, I agree that as a matter of fact, we were doing something right during those 3,000 years. In fact, I think that we were doing the only thing that reasonably could have been done during those 3,000 years, because during that

time information was trapped, as I said, in physical objects, whether they were clay tablets or sheets of paper or compact discs, the distinction between those is nothing compared to the distinction between all of them and the information environment in which we currently work, which has of course emerged in the last 30 years. So the practice of seeking out, gathering, and organizing those objects was, of course, the only right thing to do during those 3,000 years, and it was the only reasonable way of giving patrons access to them. The problem with traditional research librarianship is not that it's too traditional. The problem with it is that it doesn't make sense in an environment in which information is no longer trapped in physical objects.

The second, hopefully, summary statement from his statement that I wanted to answer is that research training in information handling is essential. Obviously this is true, but it hardly constitutes an argument in favor of the ongoing vitality of traditional research libraries. As my worthy opponent carefully and accurately explained, what happened at East Anglia represented a massive failure, not only of professional standards, but of records management. But as one of our audience members pointed out, this has nothing to do with traditional research librarianship. Research librarians have not traditionally done data auditing or records management or e-mail preservation. This is the kind of work that may be done by archivists and data managers, but archives and research libraries are very different animals. It may well make sense for research librarians to become data managers, and, in fact, I would argue that that is an area of significant opportunity for us, but to do that would constitute a departure from traditional research librarianship, not a continuing embrace of it.

And then the last statement, and I'm condensing it slightly, is that the traditional library is best defined by its non-commercial material, and in a real research library the majority of items cataloged each year are gifts, donations, papers, rare books etc. Young and winsome as I am, I have nevertheless supervised technical services in

collection development departments in several research libraries, and I have to disagree. First of all, many of the unique and non-commercial items that Derek describes are never cataloged at all. Instead they are registered in container level indexes when they are registered at all, and in most traditional research libraries they also constitute only a minority of the items in the collection, as one of our audience members pointed out. But, more importantly and more centrally to today's topic, the materials that Derek lists are not in fact central to the day-to-day life of a research library. What are central to their work are commodity journals, books, and databases. Unique and non-commercial materials may make a research library unique, but unique and vital are not the same thing. What determines the vitality or moribundity, yes I went there, moribundity, of the traditional research library isn't its ability to build a wonderful and unique collection but its ability to support the scholarly work of its primary constituents.

And I'll just close by sharing a quick story. When my oldest child was very small, I took her to our local public library and ran into a strange person working behind the reference desk who, completely unprompted, having no idea that I was a librarian, let alone a librarian who goes around saying inflammatory things about traditional libraries, he just started in on this rant about how print resources are better than online resources; and he said "I'll give you an example. Here's the *Kelly Blue Book*." For those of you who don't know, the *Kelly Blue Book* is where you look up used cars to see what they are worth. And he said, "There's this online version of the *Kelly Blue Book*, and it's ridiculous. The print version is much better." I said, "Really? Okay, I'll tell you what kind of car I have, and you look it up online and I'll look up in the book and we'll see who finds the more comprehensive answer more quickly." And obviously, using the online version was unbelievably quick and effective and it gave about 10 times as much useful information as the book itself did, and he sort of grumbled and muttered

and went back to his work, and I thought that was a very strange experience. Probably 8 months later he showed up in my office at the library looking for a job and the fact that he didn't, he obviously didn't recognize me, because I think if he had half a brain he would've turned around and walked out when he saw me. I'm trying to remember what the point of this story was. Oh, the point was that in the course of his rant, he had talked about what makes the library unique is its physical collection and, I didn't say it to him, but I remember thinking that making the library unique is not the point. What matters is whether the library is useful to the people whose money is going to create the library so that it can help them. I can create a unique document for you right now and it will be absolutely worthless, but it will certainly be unique. Okay, thanks.

The session was closed by asking the audience to vote again whether they supported or opposed the proposition, "The traditional research library is dead." The votes were cast using PollEverywhere.com via text message, Tweet, or by a numerical code entered online. The results of the opening poll (Figure 2) were that 43 people (65%) voted "Yes," they agreed with the proposition, and 23 people (35%) voted "No," they disagreed.

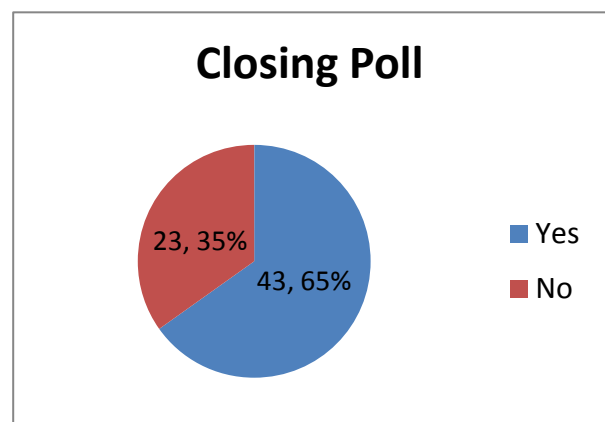


Figure 2. Closing Poll