EMOTIONAL LABOUR IN LIBRARIANSHIP
AN UNPUBLISHED CASE STUDY AND POSTSCRIPT
BY

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ABSTRACT
University students are increasingly disregarding library rules, leading to emotionally demanding rule-enforcement in library reading rooms. A librarian at the University of the Witwatersrand kept a record of the incidents that evoked his emotions during twelve episodes of rule-enforcement. He then interviewed ten other librarians with regard to rule-enforcement. The investigation confirmed that misbehaviour is widespread and that where librarians oppose this with rule-enforcement they perform much emotional labour. Nonetheless, the majority of librarians claimed it did not affect their job satisfaction seriously.

KEYWORDS
Emotional labour; Higher education libraries; Rule-enforcement in libraries; Librarian-patron relations; Noise in libraries

THE PROBLEM
There are reports of widespread disregard or abandonment of library rules in the Anglophone world. Kniffel (2004, p. 46) describes the abandonment of library rules as an accepted fact in Detroit public libraries: 'When Detroit mayor Kwame Kilpatrick casually mentioned that he expected the staff to ensure that the renovated library would be a quiet place in which to read and learn . . . the librarians present started booing and groaning . . . at the mere suggestion that we might actually shush a patron.' Cell phone noise has become a problem at the British Library (Lyall, 2008). During visits to three university libraries in Australia in 2006 the main author of this article noticed disregard of library rules in one major library. A librarian colleague from the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) who visited university libraries in the United States in 2007 reported that students eat ('He was carrying a giant pizza into the reading room!'), drink, sleep and talk in libraries.[1] Indeed, many writers and policy-makers encourage talking, eating and drinking in libraries (for example Sinclair, 2007, p. 5; Waxman, Clemons, Banning & McKelfresh, 2007).

Reaction amongst university librarians to this has not been uniform. Librarians who cherished the traditional idea of a library as a quiet and orderly venue resorted inter alia to rule-enforcement in reading rooms and succeeded in maintaining high standards. Others phlegmatically accepted the new status quo, even though university rules did not change to sanction the new patterns of behaviour, and even though many students still preferred a traditional library. It is important to note that while disregard or abandonment of library rules is widespread, it is by no means universal. Another Wits colleague who visited north America reported that he saw many libraries that were not being abused, for example the main library at the University of British Columbia, and the Bass Library at Yale University. In addition the study below showed that most Wits librarians have not abandoned library rules.

This study concerns librarians who continue to resist the decline in standards, doing so, perhaps naively, by enforcing library rules. It investigates the nature of rule-enforcement practised by librarians at Wits, and assesses the frequency and intensity of the emotional labour that this requires.

ABOUT EMOTIONS

Emotions are upheavals of thought directed at someone or something (Nussbaum, 2001), for example, a librarian's pleasure in response to students who assist with litter clearance or her resentment in the face of fresh graffiti on a table. Emotions have a strong cognitive dimension and are indicative of value judgements that we hold about people, things or principles. For example, a librarian's outrage at oily chicken remains in a study carrel is indicative of her value judgement that students should not eat in libraries. Emotions are also intricately bound up with our motivations and actions. For example, a librarian's low-level fear, or anxiety about job performance can motivate her to try harder, to resign or to withdraw her initiative.

Further, we are not free to express emotions where and when we choose. Society has strong rules that govern the display of emotions. These emotional 'display rules' (Turner & Stets, 2005, p. 37) stipulate, for example, that parents should show love toward their offspring, and not be indifferent to their pain or careless of their well-being. It requires effort to follow emotional display rules in a context of dissonance, as emotions result in involuntary (autonomic) bodily arousal that prompts 'characteristic overt expressions' (Weiten, 2007, p. 399). Controlling this near-instantaneous chain reaction is difficult for all, impossible for some. Suppressing rage and displaying tolerant urbanity is hard work and requires 'emotional labour'. The effects take time to wear off, as 'people can't click their emotions on and off like a bedroom light' (Weiten, 2007, p. 399).

EMOTIONAL LABOUR

The term 'emotional labour' was coined by American feminist writer Arlie Russell Hochschild (1983) who investigated the lived experience of two occupations: flight attendants and debt collectors. Flight attendants were trained to smile in a particular way so as to convey the message to passengers that they were using a good airline and that the plane would land safely; while debt collectors were trained to withhold empathy for resistant debtors, to show aggression and be suspicious. Hochschild presents three conditions for work to qualify as emotional labour: (*a*) it must entail face-to-face or voice-to-voice contact with people; (*b*) emotions must be used as part of the job to affect other people, and (*c*) the rules for displaying these emotions must be formalized in the conditions of service agreements. She wanted to show that workers could be alienated from themselves through the commercial use of their emotions. If only (*a*) and (*b*) are met, it is a less sinister matter and then Hochschild calls it emotion work. Subsequently, however, the term 'emotional labour' has gained currency, and

is used to denote managing emotions at work, even if emotion display is not formalised in the job description.

The concept of emotional labour has also been profitably investigated with regard to nursing (e.g. Yang & Chang, 2007; Theodosius, 2008). Nurses are trained and charged to be cheerful, optimistic and empathetic when dealing with patients, who respond by recovering more swiftly than those treated less well. This has been shown to be gratifying to the nurses and contribute to their job satisfaction. Emotional labour has been documented not only in healthcare, nurturing or hospitality occupations, but also in police work (Van Gelderen, Heuven, Van Veldhoven, Zeelenberg & Croon, 2007) and other law enforcement occupations. Even accountants are said to perform emotional labour (Strongman & Wright, 2008).

DIMENSIONS OF EMOTIONAL LABOUR

Hochschild and other scholars (e.g., Lin, 2000) have identified different dimensions of emotional labour. These include:

1) **Variety of emotion required** (Lin, 2000; Yang & Chang, 2007). In some jobs workers are expected to flit from emotion to emotion. Thus a nursery school teacher is expected to display in quick succession, say, earnest attentiveness, severity, caring, happiness, dismay, surprise, etc. The more emotions, the more strenuous the work.
2) **Frequency of interactions**. Clearly the more often a worker has to express emotions the more taxing his work will be (Lin, 2000).
3) **Duration of interactions**. Likewise, the longer an interaction continues, the more draining it is.
4) **Intensity of emotion**. Not all situations are equally upsetting. For example, rudeness is less upsetting than sexual harassment.
5) **Surface acting**. Here the employee is required to suppress her true feelings. Instead she must display certain approved emotions, in other words, she is tasked to follow the emotional display rules of the job. The airhostess who feels annoyance towards an obstinate passenger is thus required to suppress this and smile.
6) **Deep acting**. Employees may also be trained to do deep acting. Here they call up images, empathize and try to produce real emotions. Thus a person who cares for the elderly may be urged to imagine that her patient is her grandmother.
7) **Cognitive work**. The employee summons up thoughts and ideas to help him change an inappropriate emotion (Turner & Stets, 2005, p. 38). In this way a frustrated librarian may think: 'Hold on. They are under exam pressure – don't get cross.'

EMOTIONS IN LIBRARIANSHIP

'Empathy is a relatively new concept in the field of librarianship research,' note Briony Birdi and her colleagues in their literature review of empathy (Birdi, Wilson & Cocker, 2008, p. 587), and their only reference to emotional labour is from the field of management and organizational behaviour (2008, p. 586). Librarians have always been shy to mention emotions. For example, Susan Lacey's outstanding pamphlet on library vandalism and textual mutilation contains only one mention of librarians' emotions: '. . . but they don't horrify us so much as the mutilation, which is the worst thing spiritually to a librarian' (Lacey, 1979, p. 4). The assumption seems to be that it is part of the job to pick up the pieces. Topper (2007, p. 562), in her brief study of stress amongst librarians, mentions relationships with patrons as a stressor, but does not go into further detail. In their study of personality types in librarianship Williamson, Pemberton, and Lounsbury (2008, p. 278) acknowledge the existence of emotion work in librarianship. They measured personality traits by means of the Personal Style Inventory, which has thirteen categories. Of these, two measure emotional traits: assertiveness

('this refers to a person's ability to assert him/herself, taking charge of situations, speaking up on matters of importance, defending personal beliefs, being forceful'); and emotional resilience ('this is the overall level of adjustment and resilience in the face of job stress and pressure'). Their complex cluster analysis of the data from their questionnaires confirms what we have known impressionistically – that there are personality extremes within librarianship, and that staff expected to be in contact with the public are quite different from those who work in the back office. At the time of writing it would seem that the concept of emotional labour has not yet entered the literature of librarianship.

The requirement of emotional labour has however always been implicit in certain types of librarianship. Children's librarians are expected to be friendly, patient and nurturing. Community librarians are increasingly being recruited for being 'good with people' (Birdi et al., 2008, p. 584) as they are expected to display empathy and actively include minorities in the mainstream of society. So much for the nurturing side of librarianship. The regular rule-enforcement practised by some university librarians, however, involves emotional labour of a different kind, and to our knowledge this has not yet been investigated.

MEASURING EMOTIONAL LABOUR IN RULE-ENFORCEMENT
The Education Librarian at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, kept a record of the frequency of emotions experienced during rule-enforcement. First a checklist of situations that generate emotions was decided on and refined over four days of rule-enforcement. A record sheet was then devised with five positive categories: students studying quietly, greetings received, courtesy shown, assistance offered with tidying or litter-clearance, and requests for information. It also had twelve negative categories. Seven of these recorded instances of active disregard of library rules, necessitating intervention: talkers compliant to intervention, talkers resistant to intervention, MP3 player noise, cell phone noise, eating in progress, paper-snipping, and furniture abuse. The remaining five negative categories recorded evidence of earlier disregard of rules: food remains, 'clean' litter, fresh graffiti, relocated furniture, and damage to the facility.

The Education Library has three floors with six reading rooms and serves 1200 undergraduates (as well as other groups that do not concern this study). The student body is male and female, and multi-ethnic. The architecture is not conducive to quiet, as ground floor noise is clearly audible on the mezzanine, nor are reading rooms sealed off from the noise of the photocopiers, tattle gate and Desk. There are study carrels geared for individual study, but most of the seating consists of chairs arranged invitingly around large and medium sized tables.

The Education Librarian does not delegate the task of rule-enforcement, and performs it once only per day and not more than four times per week. Greater frequency has been found to be risky, as it leads to impatience and then to loss of temper, which is not only unprofessional but may also result in being reported by students.

For the purposes of this study the Education Librarian typically entered a reading room with a clipboard and recorded the number of students studying individually and the number of talkers. He then intervened, asking talkers to disperse, eaters to leave, furniture abusers to desist, etc. While waiting for the dispersal to take place he recorded statistics of litter, graffiti, food remains, etc., and tidied the area. He would then jolly along loiterers (if any) before tackling the next reading room. The Education Librarian kept records from 17 October till 6 November 2008, during which time he performed his rule-enforcement duties twelve times.

THE FREQUENCY AND INTENSITY OF EMOTIONAL LABOUR IN THE EDUCATION LIBRARY
The Education Librarian encountered 763 individuals. Of these, 263 were actively disregarding the rules of the library, while 500 were studying quietly. Of these 500 individuals, 9 were pleasant or supportive. The Education Librarian also encountered 99 traces of litter, food remains, graffiti, etc. – evidence of earlier disrespect for the facility that caused him dismay, disappointment or disgust. These may be classified as passive hurt experiences. No instances of damage were recorded. If the 99 instances of passive hurt are added to the human encounters, the total number of emotional experiences rises to 862. Of these 500 (58%) were positive, while 362 (42%) were negative.

When intensity of emotions is considered, this balance changes. Only 9 interactions were actively positive, while 491 interactions were passively positive. The negative interactions can be differentiated into actively negative, i.e. talkers compliant to dispersal (195) and intensely negative, i.e. talkers resistant to the insistence on dispersal (36, or 16% of all 231 talkers). Of the 36 students resistant to dispersal, one was defiant and needed to be removed by security personnel. This increased the duration of the intensely negative emotion interaction – by 10 minutes in this case. Overcoming the resistance of rule-breakers – the most emotionally taxing part of the policing exercise – was necessary during 9 of the 12 episodes of rule-enforcement (75% of the episodes).

These records indicate that rule-enforcement in this particular library demands intense emotional labour, including a 75% chance of encountering resistance and the possibility of defiance. The Education Librarian experienced this emotional labour as punishing, generating in him an unwillingness to continue policing the library. The records also reveal a large-scale disregard on the part of the patrons for the rules of the library. The next step was to see if these conditions apply in other branches of the Wits Library.

THE INTERVIEWS
A questionnaire was devised and ten librarians who practice rule-enforcement readily agreed to be interviewed in their libraries. The Education Librarian interviewed himself by writing his own responses to the questions, bringing the sample up to eleven librarians in nine libraries. The questionnaire repeated the five positive and the twelve negative categories used in the policing record kept by the Education Librarian. In addition, it requested librarians to name additional factors and to identify emotions felt. They were asked if they practice rule-enforcement, if they enjoy it, and if it leads to any positive experiences. They were then asked if they encountered the same five positive experiences identified by the Education Librarian. The same process was followed with regard to negative experiences. They were then asked how they deal with talkers, asked to estimate the degree of resistance shown, and the number of individuals who had at any stage defied them. Next the impact of policing on their job satisfaction was probed, and lastly they were asked to indicate how upsetting the same twelve negative experiences were.

QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS
One of the eleven librarians indicated that he walks through his library once a day, but that there is never the need for rule-enforcement. He attributed this happy situation mainly to peer pressure and the high academic standards of the particular school that he serves. One of the remaining ten librarians confessed to having ceased regular policing, instead only responding

to complaints about noise – some 20 per week. This amount of rule-enforcement exceeds that of most of the other enforcers. Two librarians indicated that they maintain a constant vigilant presence. The frequency of the policing of the remainder varies: once per hour (2); twice per day (1); once per day (4).

All eleven librarians enjoyed positive encounters like observing students working quietly, being greeted or treated courteously and responding to requests for information. Additional positive experiences noted were: receiving unasked-for assistance from students (4); satisfaction in maintaining order (3); receiving apologies at the time of caution: 'Sorry, Mammie!' (2); receiving apologies subsequently (2); pleasure at seeing peer pressure applied (1); pleasure in seeing students among the bookshelves, searching for books (1).

As for negative experiences, one librarian had none. The rest had numerous:

Table 1 Negative experiences

Experience	Yes	No
Talkers	10	1
Food remains	10	1
Furniture relocated	10	1
Furniture abuse (rocking, feet on)	9	2
Cell phone noise	8	3
Eating in progress	8	3
Litter (non-food)	7	4
Fresh damage to facility	7	4
MP3 player noise	6	5
Fresh graffiti	6	5
Paper cutting out in progress	3	8

Additional negative experiences noted were: kissing and petting (4); soiled tissues left on tables or floor (4); socializing (3); insolence (3); loitering noisily after agreeing to depart or disperse (3); card games (3); pencil-sharpening debris left on tables or floor (2); newspapers taken apart or scattered (2); rudeness (2); discovery of computer theft (2); fiddling with library machines (1); spillage from drinks (1); sarcasm (1); books left splayed open, or scattered on tables (1); rummaging in shelves, leaving chaos (1); sleeping (1).

Dealing with defiant talkers and the discovery of graffiti or damage to the facility were experienced as most upsetting; while eating, evidence of prior eating and needing to intervene when patrons talk were also high on the list.

Librarians had five different ways of dealing with talkers: unsanctioned caution (4); caution followed by expulsion (2); summary dispersal (2); caution followed by dispersal (1); persistent caution to the point of departure (1). Fortunately, the majority of students were reported to be compliant to caution or intervention. Estimates were: 80% (1); 84% (1); 95% (1); 99% (2); 100% (3). In two cases estimates were not given; one has no talkers.

The interviews revealed that the librarians performed all seven dimensions of emotional labour in varying degrees.
    (*a*) Variety of emotions: of the eleven, two did not reveal any emotion, but the remainder mentioned between one and five emotions.
    (*b*) Frequency of interactions: except for one who has none, the rest have numerous, e.g. an average of 64 per episode of rule-enforcement for the Education Librarian.
    (*c*) Duration of encounters: four of the eleven manage to avoid extended confrontations, but seven suffer these regularly.
    (*d*) Intensity of emotions: only one has no intense emotions caused by policing, the rest have many, as analysed above.
    (*e*) Surface acting: eight of the eleven do much surface acting.
    (*f*) Deep acting: three of the eleven generate empathy, but the rest did not reveal whether they do any deep acting.
    (*g*) Cognitive work is performed explicitly by all eleven librarians, and merits a paragraph of its own in the next section.

Summarising these quantitative findings about the frequency and intensity of librarians' emotions, we can say that reading room rule-enforcement evoked a complex range of conflicting emotions. All librarians experienced some pleasure during the task, both from observing the library being used for its proper purpose with the library rules being followed and from pleasant interactions with their patrons. All but one librarian also had negative emotions in response to what they encountered, caused by a wide range of experiences: from talking to facility damage, from insolence to sleeping. The higher intensity of negative emotions in some cases had an impact on job satisfaction, which was affected as follows: not at all (6); moderately (4); seriously (1). For six librarians the positive experiences compensated for the negative, for four they did not, and one was deeply affected by his negative experiences – indeed, soon after the interview he managed to get transferred to a less stressful post.

QUALITATIVE FINDINGS
The librarians also talked freely about their experience of emotions. These responses indicated the predominance of negative emotions – out of 39 responses containing emotions, only 4 were positive. The positive emotions were all in response to seeing students quietly at work:

'I enjoy seeing them'; 'It is satisfying'; 'I feel it is worthwhile'; 'Feels good to maintain order'. The negative comments expressed the anger, frustration, indignation, anxiety and defeat that librarians experience during episodes of rule-enforcement.

Negative emotions requiring emotional labour
The most common negative emotion was varying shades of anger, so much so, that anger appeared to be a constant companion of policing the reading rooms.
    'I have been so frustrated.' (referring to insolence encountered)
    'It is very annoying.' (referring to rudeness and disrespect)
    'I find it frustrating.' (talkers resistant to intervention)
    'I feel disgust.'(at food remains)
    'It annoys me.' (relocated furniture)
    'The moving of furniture is a student privilege.' (frustration expressed sardonically)
    'Kissing and petting annoys me.'
    'I especially hate offensive ringtones, such as dogs barking, babies crying . . .'
    'I get cross when books are left in a mess on tables.'
    'Why can they not sharpen their pencils on a sheet of paper and then bin the lot?'
    'I feel anger. They are taking me away from my work, which is to help people.'

This prevalence of anger induced feelings of exhaustion, avoidance and finally alienation and defeat. If librarians have no means of debriefing or otherwise calming their anger, it is no wonder that they dread the task of rule-enforcement.
    'It is soul-destroying.'
     'It is draining, depleting.'
    'I am unfriendly and unapproachable at this time.'
    'You feel depleted.'
    'There is anxiety.'
    'I dread it.'
    'This experience left me trembling, even though it was successful. Is it worth it? I wondered.'
    'I think, F*** you too, I don't care if you don't like me.'
    'I used to get upset, but now I find it more irritating and frustrating. I used to get cross. No longer . . .'
    'They've won.'

Some comments provided indications of how the librarians attempted to deal with the intense emotions that arose. We found examples that fit Hochschild's (1983) categories of emotional labour.
Surface acting. 'I have to use Dutch courage.'; 'I huff and puff and make a thing of it.'; 'I hate it. I tell them, No games allowed in the library!'
Deep acting. 'I have to calm myself.'; 'I find a firm attitude coupled with concern reduces my stress level.'; 'I ask them: Are you doing this at your mother's place?'
Cognitive work. Cognitive work – summoning up thoughts to help rein in spontaneous feelings and express instead strategically apt emotions – proved to be a constant, almost obsessive method used by all the librarians.

Most of the librarians were dismayed at the childish and inconsiderate behaviour on the part of tertiary students. They were at a loss to understand why students behaved as they did: 'Why must they . . .?'; 'You would think adults . . .?'; 'Why are students behaving like this?

They should have had twelve years of schooling.'; 'There is an absence of a culture of civilized behaviour.'; 'They are so young but so lazy!'

Sometimes the cognitive work involved finding excuses for the students: 'I think of them as children who don't know how to behave, or are scared and show bravado. We actually need to teach them.' Another reflected generally: 'I am not harsh to them. They are here to learn. Give them a break.'

Much of the cognitive work, however, involved librarians trying to understand why there was such a wide-spread disregard of library rules. The following five explanations were offered during the interviews:

> (*a*) **Multi-ethnic and gender factors**. Six librarians stated that members of one ethnic group will not caution members of another. 'They are terrified to confront each other' was a common sentiment.
> (*b*) **'The customer is always right' philosophy**. The prevalent notion that the customer is always right 'communicates unequal power in the customer-employee transaction' (Yagil, 2008, p. 143) and this has bred a clientele that disrespects service staff and hence their environments. Two librarians mentioned this factor.
> (*c*) **A changed concept of public space**. All the librarians interviewed agreed that individuals ought to inhibit their behaviour in public spaces, that is, they ought to be considerate, and that this should be done for the common good. Many students, however, do not approach public spaces with respect but instead treat them as extensions of their private spaces. This is why they abuse library furniture, leave books splayed open on tables, eat, etc.
> (*d*) **Changed pedagogic methods**. Ten of the librarians noted that there has been a sea-change in methods of teaching and learning. The rules of the library are built on an understanding that teaching occurs in lecture rooms, by lecturers, and that learning is a quiet, solitary act. By contrast, many lecturers today have a different understanding of teaching, where students teach each other in venues outside the lecture room, and do joint assignments accompanied by discussion. In some cases, final year dissertations have multiple authorship.[2] The students, equally, have been schooled in a group-work tradition. They are products of outcomes-based education (OBE). One of the critical cross-field outcomes of OBE is that learners become able to 'work effectively with others in a team, group, organisation and community' (Department of Education, 1998, p. 34). Many students accordingly prefer to study together, talking when necessary. Talking in the library is therefore considered legitimate by a proportion of both lecturers and students. This prompted one librarian to say, 'I suppose I am out of date.'
> (*e*) **Group pressure**. Seven of the eleven librarians raised the issue of peer pressure, more correctly known in social psychology as group pressure. Social psychology shows that all that is needed for a group to form is a common purpose (see Kiesler & Kiesler, 1969, p. 30). Once a group is formed, gender and ethnic differences do not play a role. Groups of quietly working students can thus exert noticeable pressure. Some librarians noted that group pressure successfully inhibits cell phone or MP3 player noise, but most thought that it was the absence of group pressure that allowed inconsiderate behaviour to flourish.

REFLECTIONS ON THE FINDINGS

In general terms, the study confirms the argument of Weiten (2007, p. 399) that there are 'fewer positive emotions than negative ones and that positive emotions are less clearly differentiated from each other than negative emotions [and that] negative emotions tend to have more powerful effects than positive emotions.' Nevertheless, far from students having no respect whatsoever for the library, the study reveals that the students do have an informal, minimal code of conduct. To be sure, it is acceptable to litter, to produce small, mild items of graffiti – Jesus loves you – and even tease the librarians. It is not, however, acceptable to perpetrate malicious damage to the facility, to be rude to the librarians, to steal library property, to produce large-scale graffiti or to commit other worse offences.

That there has come about a changed concept of public space is clearly true. As for reading rooms, however, the study shows that the changed concept of public space is not universal. The Education Librarian's survey showed that 34% of patrons who were encountered were actively disregarding library rules. Of the 34%, 30% were talking, which is partly justified by group teaching and social studying, while only 4% were guilty of offences such as using cell phones and eating, which cannot easily be justified. It is then a minority of students who have a changed concept of public space and impose their standards on the majority.

Likewise, the librarians' explanation that peer teaching and social studying have led to noise must be examined. Undeniably these methods are in use, but they have by no means swept the board. Many departments at the University do not set group assignments at all (e.g. English, History, Philosophy). The majority of students prefer solitary study (68% in the survey above by the Education Librarian) and study carrels enjoy a high occupancy rate. These students complain about noise, or prefer to work elsewhere, such as in empty seminar rooms. One librarian reported: 'Students thank me for the quiet library.' It is worth noting that the need for silent spaces in which to work is not always a matter of choice. Occupational therapists have recognized differing levels of sensory sensitivity amongst people. Those with high neurological thresholds can work happily in a noisy environment, but 'low threshold individuals often struggle to work with background noise . . .' (Lombard, 2007, p. 16). Here too, it would seem, a minority is imposing its will upon the majority. Meanwhile the effect of these changes in pedagogic methods is to place librarians in a position of structural vulnerability. This was starkly highlighted when the chair of a departmental library committee, a lecturer, told his branch librarian that only complete silence was acceptable in the library. At the same time his colleagues were setting joint assignments without considering that their department lacks seminar rooms for the required discussions.

CONCLUSIONS
A variety of changes in society and in teaching methods have led to the disregard of library rules by a significant minority of students. The majority of branch librarians at the University of the Witwatersrand oppose this by practising rule-enforcement and hence perform a considerable amount of emotional labour. While most of the librarians find this unpleasant, all except one declare that it does not affect their job satisfaction seriously. We argue that the idea of the library as a quiet, orderly place is worth defending, and that the evidence of intense emotions and emotional labour of librarians presented in this study justifies the need to start investigating these matters.

SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS – A POSTSCRIPT
I was alarmed at my own findings, at the clearly untenable amount of emotional labour I was performing. Yet I was not ready to throw in the towel. Following my co-author's suggestion, I asked four of my colleagues to share the burden of policing with me. They gallantly joined me

in highly effective twice-daily sessions. But my heart was no longer in rule-enforcement. I wanted to toss my badge into the sea, as they do in Hollywood cop movies. One evening my children, who study at Wits, told me there is a 24-hour reading room that is unsupervised yet quiet. My investigations confirmed this and it was immediately clear to me that the mechanism was group pressure. I started wondering whether I was somehow *causing* the noise in my library. It gradually dawned on me that standards of behaviour have to be voluntary, that they cannot be enforced. The last straw was the rejection of the first version of this article on the grounds that, in the opinion of some of the reviewers, teaching styles had changed and that library journal readers are no longer interested in the traditional idea of a library. I decided to swallow my pride and cease regular policing. I would stop attempting the impossible, and instead devote my energies to implementing a list of material changes that could affect the noise level.

My staff and I accordingly set about de-socializing the reading rooms. We removed several large and medium sized tables from the reading rooms and moved others away from each other. We also removed some of the chairs. We introduced a swarm of small tables and scattered them throughout the library. I enlisted the help of the cleaners to reduce instances of passive hurt. The emptying of waste paper baskets was rescheduled so that food remains were removed promptly. I ensured that the washrooms were fully functional and we posted cheerful notices urging students to respect the facility. I assisted in finding the right solvents to remove all graffiti.

In order to make our presence as librarians felt through non-authoritarian means I did a thorough inspection of the building, and tenaciously had all deficiencies remedied. I introduced a shelf of dictionaries in a remote reading room to signal that we care about students' convenience. We refreshed signage and decorative posters. We created a post-graduate reading room so that senior students could have a quiet space. We displayed photographs of students studying independently. We thus enhanced the cared-for character of our library.

After a few weeks my deputy urged me to venture into the reading rooms again. 'You'll be surprised,' she said, 'it is QUIET!' Indeed, as I entered the silent reading rooms heads twitched – group pressure had developed!

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[1] A fictional example cannot count as evidence, but is worth recording for its vividness. In his searing exposé of conditions in an elite American university Tom Wolfe (2005, p. 560) describes a group of four sorority girls making a nuisance of themselves: ' . . . the whisper party had begun. In these Reading Room whisper parties, girls whispered entire conversations, they whispered chuckles, they popped consonants and sighed vowels until everyone within earshot wanted to cry out "Shut the f*** up!" Nothing could be any worse than these whispered conversations, which got under your hide like an unreachable itch.'

[2] The following fourth-year dissertation, essential for obtaining the qualification B. Sc. Property Studies, Construction Management, & Quantity Surveying was authored jointly by four students:

Kent, E. M., Bourhill, G. T. P., Kapp, W. D., & De Villiers, R. P. (2007). *Increased housing costs: Is renting still an affordable housing option?* Unpublished undergraduate dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

This is one of many jointly authored dissertations. It is stocked in the University Library at TH 435 INC.