The Celebration of Health in the Celebration Library

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Introduction

"Certainly Celebration, though still irredeemably optimistic in names and objectives," wrote architectural historian Vincent Scully (1996) of the Florida town developed by the Walt Disney Company, ". . . may suggest a reasonable shape of reality at last." The reality, however, is shaped by a number of factors extending beyond the town's New Urbanist façade. As displayed in the Preview Center, the five cornerstones of the town of Celebration are education, wellness, technology, place, and community. Although Disney selected these concepts to attract potential residents, Frantz and Collins (1999) point out that "[t]he cornerstones represent a new way of living as much as a new development" (115). In other words, the cornerstones serve as guideposts for the conceptualization of this new town as both a public venture of the Disney corporation—one referred to by a Disney executive as both "our fourth [theme] park" and as "a living laboratory for the American Town" (47)—and as the actual community this venture engenders.

Of the five cornerstones, community is perhaps the most fundamental and the most difficult to define. On the one hand all New Urbanist developments focus on community. On the other hand, a multitude of characteristics work together to create the "social infrastructure" of a particular community (Frantz and Collins 1999, 116). For example, the formation of a community can flow from the other cornerstones of Celebration. The role of education and health care, and the sense of place as expressed through a town's physical environment,

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all contribute to the identity of a community, both in terms of how the community views itself and how others perceive it.

As Lewis (1979) remarks, even seemingly inconsequential aspects of the human landscape are a significant part of "our unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears, in tangible, visible form" (12). Beginning with the premise that a library is an ideological formation, or what Meinig (1979) refers to as a "symbol of the values, the governing ideas, the underlying philosophies of a culture" (42-43), we examine the Celebration public library within the context of this nascent community. The choices, whether conscious or subconscious, made in the creation of this environment make a statement about its intended inhabitants, its community members. As first time visitors in someone's house, we scan this manufactured environment for clues about its inhabitants. Invariably, such factors as the arrangement of rooms and the (often ostentatious) display of certain items and the concealment of others reflect more than just decorative taste. Indeed, such factors reveal something fundamental about the people who dwell there. In the same way, we gravitate to bookshelves because we are convinced that the books—their topics, authors, genres—provide insight into the personality of the individual. In a very concrete sense, we read and interpret the character of this person through his or her intellectual surroundings. This can also be done on a larger scale.

Starting from the premise that public libraries reflect the intellectual landscapes of their respective communities, we compare the nonfiction print collection of the Celebration, Florida, library with another branch library—Buenaventura Lakes—in the same Osceola county system and with a standard collection development tool—the *Public Library Catalog*—used as a benchmark by many public libraries. We argue that the Celebration library contributes to what George Ritzer calls "the new means of consumption." The nonfiction collection of Celebration contains health and fitness books to an extent not found in Buenaventura Lakes or in the *Public Library Catalog*, thus reflecting the philosophical emphasis of Celebration as a whole. Our analysis of the Celebration library is part of a larger goal to explore the collection development practices of public libraries in small towns of the United States and to interpret their collection choices and emphases as an integral part of the socio-cultural history of each community.

Cyzyk (1993) and Quinn (1995) have argued that the act of collection development is an inherently political gesture that has real consequences for how a community understands and filters the world. Library collection development, therefore, not only shapes a library, but also is a means of expression of what Pitts (1996) refers to as "community topography" (49). Wiegand (1999) suggests that much of the historical scholarship on library and information science is concentrated on "biography, library expertise, and big library institutions, and its focus largely devoid of analysis of the impact collections and services have had on library users . . ." (23). He approvingly quotes Zweizig, who believed that library scholars should examine carefully "the library in the life of the user"

rather than the "user in the life of the library" (Wiegand 1999, 24). We attempt to fill in some of the gaps identified by Wiegand by examining the role of small libraries in the life of a community. In addition, we follow the tradition of Harris (1973) and Garrison (1979), who argue that American libraries in the late-nineteenth century functioned as loci of control—"stabilizing agents"—through an emphasis on proper behavior and the provision of "approved" books. We ask whether small public libraries at the turn of the twenty-first century are also functioning, through their collections, as homogenizing centers where power, in the Foucauldian sense, is exercised through the promotion and valorization of a particular viewpoint.

Welcome to Celebration

Encompassing 4,900 acres, the town of Celebration is a 30-minute drive south from downtown Orlando. Originally part of a 10,000-acre parcel of Disney-owned land that bridged both Orange (home to Walt Disney World) and Osceola (home to Celebration) counties; Disney got the 1965 Florida State Legislature to make the area an autonomous district outside the jurisdiction of either county. Named the Reedy Creek Improvement District (RCID), it was granted "the autonomy and centralized control of a private government" (Frantz and Collins 1999, 69). The Disney company was freed from county controls. Although both "Orange and Osceola County officials felt slighted . . . when Disney revealed its plan to bypass the counties entirely as administrative districts" (Fjellman 1992, 119), these feelings were ameliorated because "Disney would clearly bring a great deal of money into the area if it were allowed to do what it wanted" (120).

The relationship between Disney and Osceola County became further complicated during the planning of Celebration. Disney needed to de-annex from RCID the 4,900 acres designated to become Celebration and re-incorporate them with the county. While this shift from autonomy to county authority might seem out of character for Disney, the underlying reason for this de-annexing was quite clear. If Celebration were to remain part of RCID, which contains the four Disney theme parks, then its residents would by law be able to vote on matters pertaining to the district as a whole. Since the area had no residents, the Disney Company alone held voting rights. As an Osceola County official explained, Disney "didn't want eight thousand dwelling units full of people voting on how to paint the Magic Kingdom" (Frantz and Collins 1999, 70). Thus while Disney retained ownership of the Celebration land, the developmental guidelines for the town—from zoning regulations to housing prices—were established through lengthy negotiations with Osceola County.

The county played a key role in establishing housing prices in Celebration. The neighborhoods or villages that comprise the town were developed in phases. In the first phase, Disney built 350 houses and 150 apartments in Celebration Village. Twelve hundred prospective buyers and renters entered a lottery to win occupancy of one of these 500 residences. The second phase added 230

apartments and 95 houses in the West Village and 300 houses in the North Village. Although housing prices ranged widely, they differed significantly from Osceola County as a whole. When Celebration Village opened in 1997, the cost of townhouses—the most affordable purchasing option—began at $120,000. This was followed by cottage homes priced at $220,000 and village homes at $300,000. At the other end of the spectrum, the price of estate homes began at $600,000. In comparison, United States census data shows that in 1990, before Celebration entered the picture, only 15.2 percent of "owner-occupied housing units" in Osceola County were valued between $100,000 and $149,999—the starting range for houses in Celebration. Rather, 64 percent of houses in Osceola County were valued between $50,000 and $99,999, with 13.6 percent valued at less than $50,000. Furthermore, only 7.5 percent of Osceola County homes were valued at more than $150,000. In January 1999, Celebration promotional literature listed house prices starting at $160,000—double the average price for the county (Ross 1999, 285). Interestingly, the county itself wanted higher priced housing in Celebration. Florida officials wanted Disney to provide non-rental housing options below $100,000, which would have been consistent with Disney's intent "to foster a community that is diverse in age and income" (Rymer 1996, 69). In contrast, county officials wanted Disney to build predominantly extensive, upscale houses that would generate significantly more property-tax revenue, which, in turn, would cover Celebration infrastructure costs (Frantz and Collins 1999, 74).

Yet, as Rymer (1996) points out, "diversity doesn't mean license" when it comes to the physical appearance of Celebration (69). All homeowners must conform to the standards set forth in the Celebration Pattern Book, from which residents select their preferred style of house. These guidelines not only proscribe the structural details of the various options but also regulate these elements within he town. For example, while homebuyers may choose from an approved list of ıouse paint colors, the color selected must not already be present on the same ;ide of the street within a three-house radius unless the color is white. Similarly, a particular style of house cannot be repeated within a two-lot space. Guidelines restrict landscaping options as well. For instance, the Pattern Book stipulates that "no more than two different species of canopy tree, two different species of ornamental tree, five different species of shrub or hedge, and four different species of ground cover" can adorn a house (Ross 1999, 88). The result is a rather homogenous environment—one that feels "packaged, . . . somewhat more like a theme park than a town" (Pollan 1997, 57). Disney, however, argues that such homogeneity is necessary for fostering a sense of community. Joe Barnes, the author/architect of the Celebration Pattern Book, explains that "[i]f you're building a house at Celebration, you're building more than just an individual ouse on an individual lot; you're creating community" (Rymer 1996, 69).

Notably, the homogeneity that characterizes Celebration's physical pearance also characterizes the town's demographics. According to United ,ates census data for 2000, the total population of Celebration is 2,736. Of this

population, 93.6 percent of residents indicated their race as White only, compared to 1.7 percent as African American only and 2.4 percent as Asian only. Furthermore, 7.6 percent of the total population identified themselves as Hispanic or Latino (of any race). Blair (2001) reports that "only 12 of Celebration's 1,093 houses and apartments are owned by blacks" (A21). By contrast, the population of Osceola County is 7.4 percent African American, 2.2 percent Asian, and 29.4 percent Hispanic or Latino (of any race). In addition, according to an AT&T phone survey of 145 families who moved to Celebration during phase one, 98 percent "had some college education" while 38 percent "had graduate, medical, or law degrees" (Ross 1999, 327).

The nonfiction print collection

Celebration can be examined as a community through its "community topography" (Pitts 1996, 49) that is expressed through its library collection. Indeed, the emphasis placed on conformity in Celebration raises the question of whether the library contributes to a subconscious promulgation of value judgements based on a ready acceptance of existing societal standards and opinions, what Gramsci (1971) in *The Prison Notebooks* identifies as the acceptance of the commonsensical, the status-quo or "the spontaneous philosophy which is proper to everybody" (323). In order to address this issue, we analyze what the residents of Celebration have available to read in the permanent collection of their branch library through an identification of predominant topics present in the nonfiction section according to their classification within the Dewey Decimal Classification system (DDC). We use the twenty-first edition of DDC, published in 1996.

Interestingly, the original plan for Celebration did not include a stand-alone public library. Instead, a group of residents, all retirees, persuaded the Osceola County library board to open a branch within the Celebration School in 1998—a process that appears to have bypassed Disney altogether. Considering that education is one of the town's cornerstones, the exclusion of a library would seem to be an oversight. Instead, the education cornerstone included a K-12 grade school and a Disney Institute, envisioned as a type of modern-day athenaeum that would offer social and intellectual programs, including seminars taught by prominent academics. Ultimately, Disney chose to build the Institute in Orlando, closer to the theme parks as "something that would appeal to middle-class Americans and keep adults coming to Disney after their children had grown too old for Disney World" (Frantz and Collins 1999, 48).

Although the community of Celebration lost The Disney Institute, it did, ultimately, gain a library branch, and, therefore, a library collection. A detailed examination of collection choices in a library has the potential to reveal much about the way a community sees itself in relation to contemporary social and economic currents. To be sure, budgetary and space constraints have a large impact on collection development, but they only provide a framework within

which individual choices are then made. In the same way, while some public libraries make use of approval plans—the contracting out of collection development functions to external vendors or wholesalers—the creation of "purchasing profiles" (a detailed compilation of categories and types of books to be bought or not, by the vendor on behalf of the library) still remains the responsibility of library staff.[1] Thus, whether or not libraries use approval plans, decisions about what to include in their collections are based on choices made by library staff operating within the prevailing intellectual, psychological, and emotional fabric of their individual communities.

Method

We asked the library system of Osceola County, Florida, to generate a computerized shelf list for the Celebration branch. This shelf list contained the Dewey Decimal call numbers, titles, and author names of all fiction and nonfiction material held by the Celebration branch library as of October 2000. In order to examine whether or not the Celebration library's collection reflects the town's profile, we compared the data collected from the content analysis of nonfiction titles in Celebration with that of the Buenaventura Lakes library, another branch of the Osceola system.[2] This comparison is used to further substantiate observations made based on the distribution of titles across the DDC classes. In other words, we examine whether the representation of certain DDC classes is a Celebration phenomenon or is characteristic of more than one branch in the Osceola county system. In addition to its flagship location in Kissimmee, the Osceola system has seven branches. For comparison we chose at random the Buenaventura Lakes library which is just outside the city limits of Kissimmee, but for all intents and purposes is an extension of Kissimmee.

According to United States census data, the population of Kissimmee in 2000 was 47,814—far greater than Celebration's population of 2,736. Kissimmee's population is more diverse than that of Celebration. While 67.2 percent of the city's residents identified themselves as White only, 10 percent listed their race as African American only and 3.4 percent cited Asian only. These percentages are more reflective of Osceola County as whole than are those of Celebration. An even more pronounced disparity is the 41.7 percent of Kissimmee residents who identified themselves as Hispanic or Latino (of any race), compared with 7.6 percent for Celebration.[3] According to the City of Kissimmee Community Development Department, the median household income for the city was $27,591 in 1989.[4] By contrast, the AT&T phone survey of 145 families that moved to Celebration during the first phase (1997) indicates that 54 percent of households had incomes under $75,000, 31 percent fell between the $75,000 to $150,000 range, and 10 percent of households had incomes above $150,000 (Ross 1999, 327).

While the Buenaventura Lakes shelf list provides one comparison with the Celebration library collection, another method is to use an established collection

development tool. Therefore, we also examine the Celebration shelf list in relation to the titles listed in the *Public Library Catalog* (PLC). Now in its eleventh edition, PLC consists of a base volume, with four annual supplements. The latest edition of this base volume was published in June 1999, with annual supplements for 1999, 2000, 2001, and 2002.[5] PLC is an annotated list of reference and nonfiction books for adults, classified by subject, that are "recommended" for inclusion in a public library's collection. As stated in its introduction, "the retention of titles from the previous edition enables the librarian to make informed decisions about weeding a collection . . . and the newer titles help in identifying areas that need to be updated or strengthened" (vii). Because they are arranged according to DDC class, the books recommended by PLC can be examined in terms of both specific titles and percentage representation of topic areas. That is to say, PLC can be used as a rough guide as to the recommended percentage distribution of books by broad Dewey classes.[6] Insofar as PLC serves as a standard collection development model recommended for any public library, the comparison of the Celebration shelf list with PLC, together with the comparison of the Celebration branch with the Buenaventura Lakes branch, addresses the issue of the Celebration collection and community profile both within and beyond the borders of Osceola County. In other words, these two comparisons allow us to gauge the uniqueness of the Celebration nonfiction collection.

Categories of nonfiction

We examined the nonfiction materials, excluding biographies, in terms of their categorization within the Dewey Decimal Classification system (DDC).[7] There were 1,081 nonfiction titles in the Celebration collection and 20,661 nonfiction titles in the Buenaventura Lakes collection. First, we calculated the number of titles within each of the ten main classes of the DDC, known collectively as the First Summary. The results for Celebration showed that the five most represented classes (those with the highest percentage of the library's nonfiction collection) are by percent: Technology (Applied Sciences) (28); The Arts (14.3); Geography & History (13.8); Natural Sciences & Mathematics (11.6); and Literature & Rhetoric (11.2). A complete list appears in Column 3 of Table 1. The most numerous class—600—contained almost twice as many titles as the next most represented class within the collection. These rankings are very nearly replicated in the Buenaventura Lakes nonfiction collection (Column 4 of Table 1). A notable exception is Class 300: Social Sciences, which at 18.4 percent is the second most represented class at Buenaventura Lakes, but is not among the five most represented classes at the Celebration library.

The classes themselves, however, are very general at the First Summary level. For example, Technology (Applied Sciences) covers such disparate topics as Home Economics & Family Living as well as Chemical Engineering. Our next step, then, was to see how the collection was distributed among these top

Table 1: Holdings Comparison at Dewey 10s Level between Celebration and Buenaventura Lakes

Dewey Class	Dewey Topic Description	Celebration* (Percentage)	Buenaventura Lakes* (Percentage)
000	Generalities	1.5	2.8
100	Philosophy & Psychology	4.5	4.1
200	Religion	1.9	3.5
300	Social Sciences	11.1	18.4
400	Language	2.2	2.1
500	Natural Sciences & Mathematics	11.6	4.3
600	Technology (Applied sciences)	28	20.1
700	The Arts (Fine and Decorative Arts)	14.3	12
800	Literature & Rhetoric	11.2	13.2
900	Geography & History	13.8	19.7

*Percentages do not add to 100 percent because of rounding.

five classes within the hundreds level of the DDC, using the topics list from the DDC's Second Schedule. Again, we identified the five most populated classes at this more specific level for Celebration by percent: Medical Sciences (13.7); Recreational & Performing Arts (8.5); Home Economics & Family Living (7.8); American Literature in English (5.9); Animals (4.4); and General History of North America (4.4). This list appears in Column 3 of Table 2. As was the case with the First Summary results, the top five classes identified within the Celebration collection at the hundreds level are also the most heavily represented classes at the Buenaventura Lakes branch (Column 7 of Table 2). The exception was Class 590: Animals, which was represented at Celebration only.

Although the nonfiction collections of the two branches share a similar focus, as defined by the concurrence of the five most represented DDC classes, the actual percentage distribution of books within these five classes also needs to be taken into account. The top two classes in the Celebration library—610: Medical Sciences and 790: Recreational & Performing Arts—appear fourth and fifth respectively in the analysis of the Buenaventura Lakes collection. Conversely, the two classes which house the greatest percentage of the Buenaventura Lakes collection—810: American Literature in English and 970: General History of North America—are the fourth and fifth most numerous classes in Celebration's collection. Only Class 640: Home Economics & Family Living did not shift in rank. In addition, the two classes which house the majority of Celebration's nonfiction holdings—610 and 790—do not have the same ranking within the Buenaventura Lakes collection, although the two are ranked within

Table 2: Comparison of Most Popular Dewey Topics between Celebration and Buenaventura Lakes Branch Libraries

Celebration Rank	Dewey Class	Dewey Topic Description	Number and (Percent) of Books within Collection (n=1,081)	Buena-ventura Lakes Rank	Dewey Class	Dewey Topic Description	Number and (Percent) of Books within Collection (n=20,661)
1	610	Medical Sciences	148 (13.7)	1	810	American Literature in English	1314 (6.4)
2	790	Recreational & Performing Arts	92 (8.5)	2	970	History of North America	1294 (6.3)
3	640	Home Economics & Family Living	84 (7.8)	3	640	Home Economics & Family Living	1149 (5.6)
4	810	American Literature in English	64 (5.9)	4	610	Medical Sciences	1143 (5.5)
5 (tie)	590	Animals	47 (4.4)	5	790	Recreational & Performing Arts	1062 (5.1)
5 (tie)	970	History of North America	47 (4.4)	6	910	Geography & Travel	975 (4.7)

the top five classes. The percentage of books classified within 610 in terms of the library's entire collection is 13.7 for Celebration, but only 5.5 for Buenaventura Lakes. Furthermore, while the percentage difference between the first and fifth most represented classes at Buenaventura Lakes is 1.2, it spans 9.3 within the Celebration collection.

In our final step we examined more closely the breakdown of titles and topics within the three most represented classes identified at the hundreds level, using the third, thousands-level DDC schedule. Over 75 percent of the titles within Class 610: Medical Sciences fall under just two topics: Promotion of Health (40.5 percent) and Diseases (34.5 percent). Likewise, within Class 790: Recreational & Performing Arts, almost half represent just one subclass, in this case 796: Athletic & Outdoor Sports & Games (48.9 percent). By contrast, the second most represented topic—Public Performances—comprised only 11.9 percent of this class. The results of the breakdown of Class 640: Home Economics & Family Living follow a similar pattern to that of Class 610. Again, over 75 percent of the titles in this class are distributed between two topics: 47.6 percent within 641: Food & Drink and 29.8 percent within 649: Child Rearing & Home Care of Persons.

A similar pattern emerges in the comparison at the hundreds and thousands DDC levels between the Celebration library's collection and the distribution of titles recommended by PLC. Focusing again on the five most numerous hundreds level classes in the Celebration library, the number of titles that fell within these classes in PLC was calculated as a percentage of the total number of titles listed in this publication.[8] These percentages were then compared with the percentages for Celebration. As shown in Column 5 of Table 3, PLC recommends that public

libraries devote, by percent about 4.2, of their nonfiction collection holdings to Dewey Class 610, 3 to Dewey Class 790, and 2.8 to Dewey Class 640. However, as shown in Column 4 of Table 3, the Celebration branch library has percentage holdings in these Dewey classes that are double and triple that recommended in PLC. We find the biggest difference of all in class 610: Medical Sciences. While 13.7 percent of the books in the Celebration library concern topics in the medical sciences, only 4.2 percent of the books mentioned in PLC fall within this category.

Celebration thus has more than triple the number of books in class 610 recommended by PLC, although the eleventh edition of PLC "features extensive revision in the areas of health science and personal finance, and ample coverage

Table 3: Comparison of Most Popular Dewey Topics between Celebration and the *Public Library Catalog*

Celebration Rank	Dewey Class	Dewey Topic Description	Number and (percent) of Books within Collection (n=1,081)	Number and (percent) of Books within *Public Library Catalog* (n=11,865)
1	610	Medical Sciences	148 (13.7)	494 (4.2)
2	790	Recreational & Performing Arts	92 (8.5)	353 (3)
3	640	Home Economics & Family Living	84 (7.8)	338 (2.8)
4	810	American Literature in English	64 (5.9)	882 (7.4)
5 (tie)	590	Animals	47 (4.4)	170 (1.4)
5 (tie)	970	History of North America	47 (4.4)	427 (3.6)

of cooking and gardening" (vii). Indeed, the percentage weight of five of the top six classes relative to the total nonfiction collection size in Celebration is greater than their respective percentage weights in PLC. The only exception to this is class 810: American Literature. It is also significant that the percentage weight of class 610: Medical Sciences, at the Buenaventura Lakes branch is 5.5, a figure that is much more in line with the recommended 4.2 percent figure of PLC than is Celebration's percentage of 13.7. We are confident in saying that the difference between Celebration and Buenaventura Lakes is a real one in terms of medical science holdings. Whereas Buenaventura Lakes adheres approximately to the recommended weightings of PLC in class 610, Celebration is truly anomalous.

Using the thousands-level DDC schedule, we compared the breakdown of specific topics represented in PLC and in the Celebration library's holdings within each of the top three ranked classes: 610, 790, and 640. Interestingly, in both cases the majority of titles in each of the classes was distributed between the

same two topics. These topics are listed in Table 4. Despite this congruence of topics, the actual number of titles per topic—calculated as a percentage of the total holdings for the corresponding hundreds-level class—varies greatly between the Celebration library and PLC. For example, although 649: Child Rearing & Home Care of Persons is the second most represented topic within class 640 in both the Celebration collection and PLC, only 14 percent of PLC titles housed within 640 cover this particular subject. In contrast, 29.8 percent of the Celebration library holdings in class 640 pertain to the topic of Child Rearing & Home Care of Persons. The reverse situation occurs in class 790: Recreational & Performing Arts, where the percentage of PLC titles classified as 791: Public Performances (26.6) is more than double that of the Celebration library's collection (11.9). Nonetheless, as with the hundreds-level distribution shown in Table 3, the most substantial discrepancy pertains to class 610: Medical Sciences. In this instance, the 40.5 percent of books that fall under the topic of 613: Promotion of Health in the Celebration library proves to be significantly greater than the 13.6 percent of books classified within 613 in PLC.

Through the analysis of the three most numerous classes in the Celebration library collection at the thousands level of the DDC schedule, an interesting pattern of topics emerges. The two most heavily represented subclasses of 610, as well as the most populated subclasses of 790 and 640, all contain titles that focus on health and fitness, encompassing the topics of Promotion of Health,

Table 4: Breakdown of Most Popular Dewey Topics in the Thousands-level Schedule

Dewey Class	Dewey Topic Description	Percentage of Celebration Holdings	Percentage of *Public Library Catalog* Titles
613	**Promotion of Health**	**40.5**	**13.6**
616	**Diseases**	**34.5**	**44.1**
791	**Public Performances**	**11.9**	**26.6**
796	**Athletic & Outdoor Sports & Games**	**48.9**	**45.9**
641	**Food & Drink**	**47.6**	**63.3**
649	**Child Rearing & Home Care of Persons**	**29.8**	**14**

Diseases, Athletic & Outdoor Sports & Games, and Food & Drink. An examination of the titles housed within these subclasses supports this interpretation. The first topic, Promotion of Health, is in part defined by the prevention of illness through dietary and lifestyle changes. While some titles present a more general treatment, such as Denise Webb's *Foods for Better Health: Prevention and Healing of Diseases*, other titles target a specific demographic group, such as *Dr. Attwood's Low-Fat Prescription for Kids: A Pediatrician's Program of Preventative Nutrition* by Charles Attwood, and *Fight Fat: A Total Lifestyle Program for Men to Stay Fit and Healthy* by Stephen George. The emphasis on the use of dietary and fitness techniques in disease prevention suggests a holistic approach to health. By the same token, some titles connect the idea of better physical health with that of a healthier life in terms of self-fulfilment. One example is the enormously popular book written by Bob Greene and Oprah Winfrey entitled *Make the Connection: Ten Steps to a Better Body—and a Better Life*. Another example is *Personal Best: The Foremost Philosopher of Fitness Shares Techniques and Tactics for Success and Self-Liberation* by George Sheehan. Some of the more prominent lifestyle books in the Celebration library's collection, such as *Make the Connection* and Andrew Weil's *Eight Weeks to Optimum Health*, are cited by PLC. Yet, of the 60 books classified in 613 in the Celebration branch, only 10 percent are PLC-recommended titles. Many of the Promotion of Health titles not mentioned in PLC focus specifically on weight loss. Moreover, many of these books promote specific programs, such as that of Jenny Craig and *The Hilton Head Diet*.

Similarly, titles contained in subclass 616: Diseases discuss ailments not only from a traditional, medical diagnosis and treatment perspective, but also in terms of alternative health approaches. A primary example is Deepak Chopra's *Healing the Heart: A Spiritual Approach to Reversing Coronary Artery Disease*. Also in common with previous examples is the idea of disease prevention, as opposed to treatment alone, as exemplified by the title *Cancer Free: The Comprehensive Cancer Prevention Program*. While books on sports such as tennis and golf easily fit within the emerging pattern of a health and fitness-focused collection, so do some of the titles contained within the Food & Drink subclass 641. This includes titles on vegetarianism and low-cholesterol and low-calorie cooking. As with a number of examples from 613, some of the books are written by or affiliated with prominent diet programs or exercise mavens, such as Weight Watchers and Richard Simmons.

The overrepresentation of health and fitness books in the Celebration library suggests that some topics are underrepresented. For instance, the highest percentage of books recommended by PLC is biographies (class 920 in the DDC) at 14.4 they represent less than 1 percent of the Celebration library's holdings. At the same time, underrepresented topics occur within a numerous class, such as 610. More than 30 percent of class 610 in both the Celebration library collection and PLC focus on the topic of Diseases (616), see Table 4. Nevertheless, the breakdown of PLC titles classified in 616 reveals that 37.6 percent of these

books specifically examine Diseases of the Nervous System & Mental Disorders (616.8). In contrast, 21.6 percent of books in class 616 in the Celebration library focus on these subjects.

To examine what is absent from the Celebration collection, we again compared the shelf list from the Buenaventura Lakes branch library with the Celebration shelf list. As shown in Table 1, the percentage of each library's collection contained within the First Summary classes does not vary to any great extent. Two notable exceptions, by percentage, are 500: Natural Science & Mathematics, which accounts for 11.6 percent of the Celebration collection, but only 4.3 percent of the holdings of Buenaventura Lake, and 900: Geography & History, where Buenaventura Lakes has 19.7 percent of its nonfiction collection, compared with 13.8 percent for Celebration.

Within the second-level DDC summary, however, more subtle distinctions arise. Table 5 lists six topics that receive substantially greater coverage in the collection of Buenaventura Lakes than in the Celebration collection. Buenaventura Lakes has more than double the holdings of Celebration in the top five Dewey classes. For example, by percentage, class 290: Comparative Religions constitutes only .5 of Celebration's nonfiction collection, compared to 1.1 of the nonfiction collection of Buenaventura Lakes; class 320: Political Science constitutes .7 of Celebration's collection, compared with 1.7 in Buenaventura Lakes; and class 330: Economics constitutes only 1.4 of Celebration's nonfiction collection, compared to 2.9 in Buenaventura Lakes. Particularly intriguing is that Buenaventura Lakes has double the holdings of Celebration in class 360: Social Problems and Social Services, perhaps an indication of the ideal community that Celebration theoretically embodies. Both the range of topics and the size of the percentage difference between the two

Table 5: Less Popular Non-Fiction Subject Areas in Celebration compared with Buenaventura Lakes

Dewey Class	Dewey Topic Description	Percentage of Total Celebration Holdings	Percentage of Total Buenaventura Lakes Holdings
290	**Comparative Religions & Other Religions**	**.5**	**1.1**
320	**Political Science**	**.7**	**1.7**
330	**Economics**	**1.4**	**2.9**
360	**Social Problems & Social Services**	**1.6**	**3.3**
820	**English & Old English Literatures**	**1.3**	**2.7**
910	**Geography & Travel**	**3.8**	**4.7**

branches' coverage of these topics suggest that Celebration's emphasis on health-related books could be at the expense of overall depth and breadth of the nonfiction collection.

The discrepancies between the distribution of titles in the Celebration and Buenaventura Lakes branch libraries also need to be examined in conjunction with the Osceola County Library System's *Collection Development & Materials Selection Policy*. Applicable to all branches in the Osceola system, the policy stresses that "[i]dentifying the community's needs, and meeting or exceeding them, is a fundamental principle and obligation of public library service" (1). Guidelines and criteria are used to meet these needs, including suitability of format and subject, appropriateness of style and level for the intended audience, reviews by critics and staff, reputation of the author and publisher, timeliness or permanence of the material, writing quality, relevance to community needs, price, and appearance of the title in special bibliographies or indexes (3-4). In addition, "substantial demand" is also identified as a reasonable criterion for the acquisition of specific materials (3). Finally, although the library director has "[u]ltimate responsibility for materials selection," he or she is guided by the Library Advisory Committee and by professional staff members, to whom selection responsibility has been delegated based on specific collection area expertise (19).[9]

Arguably, the disparity in the distribution of topics between the Celebration and Buenaventura branches may be construed in terms of the Osceola County library system's particular interpretations of the differing needs of the communities that each branch serves. On the one hand, despite the System's broad mission of "mak[ing] available the widest possible diversity of information, books, and materials" (1), the relative homogeneity of the Celebration collection could be seen to reflect the relative homogeneity of the town. Similarly, the diversity of topics in the Buenaventura Lakes collection could be viewed as reflecting the more diverse community of Kissimmee. On the other hand, this interpretation does not account for the particular focus of the Celebration collection. Certainly, the *Collection Development & Materials Selection Policy* cites "a strong demand for current information on health related issues" and contends that the "area of medical sciences is one of ever changing technologies and needs to be updated on a continuous basis" (43). This recommendation, however, applies to all branches in the Osceola County Library System. The question still remains, then, of why there are so many health-related books in the Celebration library.[10]

Celebrating health

The emphasis on health and fitness exhibited in the Celebration library's nonfiction collection suggests a connection to the concept of wellness—one of the five cornerstones of the community. It is manifested materially in Celebration Health, a combination hospital and wellness facility which opened in November 1997, under the management of Florida Hospital. Designed by Robert A.M.

Stern and situated on 60 acres north of downtown, Celebration Health advertises itself as "a mix of old-fashioned customs and futuristic concepts [where] warm, personal attention is combined with the power of new technology" (Florida Hospital 2000c, ¶ 5). This combination of old traditions and new technology suggests both the prominent role that Celebration Health was intended to play in the community and the means of carrying out that role, which the facility's literature refers to as a "mission" (Florida Hospital 2000b, ¶ 1). Celebration Health contends that "true health is achieved not only by treating the disease, but [also] by addressing lifestyle habits and environmental factors that impact your health" (Florida Hospital 2000a, ¶ 4). Like Celebration itself, the intent of Celebration Health is to create or foster a particular lifestyle—one that "celebrate[s] a happier, healthier you" (Florida Hospital 2000c, ¶ 8). Health is equated with wellness, and wellness with happiness.

For Celebration Health, the process of fostering lifestyle changes is predicated on a holistic approach to wellness that combines state-of-the-art facilities with educational programs. There is the 60,000 square-foot Fitness Center, complete with a full-length basketball court and a warm water pool that accommodates underwater treadmills. In addition, there is the Celebration Health Lifestyle Enhancement Center, offering a number of health education programs. These range from the Rippe Health Assessment—"established to offer high level, comprehensive health, fitness and lifestyle evaluations for men and women executives" (Florida Health 2000b, ¶ 48)—to the Pathways to Potential program—designed to "empower individuals to live with more passion, direction, purpose and peace" (¶ 38). All of the programs offered by Celebration Health reinforce what the institution identifies as "the eight universals of health," which form the acronym CREATION:

> **C**reation is the first step toward improved health.
> **R**est is both a good night's sleep and taking time to relax during the day.
> **E**nvironment is what lies outside our bodies yet affects what takes place inside us.
> **A**ctivity includes stretching, muscle development and aerobic activity.
> **T**rust in God speaks to the important relationship between spirituality and healing.
> **I**nterpersonal relationships are important to our well-being.
> **O**utlook colors our perspective on life, influences our health and impacts progression of disease.
> **N**utrition is the fuel that drives our whole system. (¶ 2)

In keeping with the concept of technological innovation, residents of Celebration also have access to Celebration Health programming through the fiber optic network that links this facility to their homes.

The connection between Celebration Health and this holistic and spiritual idea of wellness is not particularly surprising, given that the facility's management by Florida Hospital is under the direction of the Church of the Seventh-Day Adventists. Through their combined emphasis on health reform and spirituality, the Seventh-Day Adventists were an integral part of what Engs (2000) identifies as the First Clean Living Movement, from 1830 to 1860. She defines Clean Living Movements as "broad periods in history when concerns about alcohol, tobacco, other mood-altering substances, sexuality, diet, physical fitness, diseases, and other health-related issues have manifested themselves on multiple fronts" (2). In the mid-nineteenth century, the Seventh Day Adventists focused on a number of these points, advocating vegetarianism, cleanliness, exercise, fresh air, and the avoidance of tobacco, coffee, tea, and doctor-prescribed medications.

Engs (2000) contends that society is in the midst of a Third Clean Living Movement, begun in 1970. In the 1990s it focused on the concept of wellness. The basis of wellness is the viewpoint that health is not simply the absence of illness, but instead can be seen as a personal goal, or as a way of "achieving one's potential" (Goldstein 1992, 18)—an idea encapsulated in Celebration Health's Pathways to Potential Program. The wellness model emphasizes preventative measures through lifestyle changes, rather than physical treatment and medication. While diet and exercise are primary examples of how individuals can alter their personal behavior, wellness also embraces the idea of a mind-body connection. In the words of wellness guru Andrew Weil, "[y]ou cannot look after the needs of your body without addressing the needs of the mind and the spirit" (cited in Engs 2000, 195). This viewpoint underscores the eight universals of health taught by Celebration Health.

The idea of wellness and the means of achieving it have been collectively embraced by both Celebration management and by the town's residents. By February 1998, just three months after it opened, Celebration Health's Fitness Center boasted membership of over 50 percent of the town's residents. According to one Celebration Health executive, "[i]n the average community . . . 10 percent of the residents belong to a fitness center" (Frantz and Collins 1999, 263). Beyond Celebration Health, there is the physical layout of Celebration itself. The topography of the town—the public golf course, the parks that anchor every neighborhood, even the front porches and balconies that adorn most of Celebration's residences—encourages residents to spend time outside. At the same time, the cultivation of healthy people has been promoted through the placement of most of the town's amenities within walking or cycling distance. In keeping with the New Urbanist credo, there is scant distinction made among the residential, commercial, and recreational districts of Celebration. This integration obviates the need for cars within the town, although the maze of surrounding highways makes them a necessity for travelling beyond Celebration's boundaries.

Promoting health, however, produces effects beyond that of personal wellness. Engs (2000) notes that each Clean Living Movement is marked by a period of "moral suasion," characterized by "education and social pressure to change attitudes or behaviours" (xi). Similarly, Callahan (1998) sees a coercive element to wellness, noting "a recognition by individuals that their personal behavior will significantly determine their life-time health prospects and that they have a social obligation to take care of themselves for their own sake as well as that of their neighbor" (176). Healthy living, therefore, extends beyond the personal to include a greater social responsibility. Celebration has not been immune from such social pressure. Observing that "[s]elf-scrutiny was a heady narcotic in a town that had been designed to perform," Ross (1999) relates an incident in which a somewhat portly resident of Celebration was asked "How can you be so fat in such a healthy community?" (262-263). This comment emphasizes the expectation not only that Celebrationites should be healthy, but also that individual healthy (or unhealthy) behavior reflects the health of the community as a whole. In terms of "health moralism" (Ross 1999, 262) the incident suggests that this overweight individual did not adhere to Celebration's expected standard of wellness.

Given Celebration's emphasis on wellness, how, then, should one interpret the relationship between the library and this community cornerstone? To be sure, the library's provision of wellness-related books can be seen as reflective of the "community topography" (Pitts 1996, 49) of Celebration. The range of facilities provided in Celebration and the residents' use of them suggest that wellness is an important factor in the community. Furthermore, both Goldstein (1992) and Engs (2000) note that wellness is a predominantly middle- and upper-middle class phenomenon—as is Celebration. At the same time, this factor could also shed light on the lack of wellness-related material in the Buenaventura Lakes collection, considering the socio-economic profile of Kissimmee. Similarly, Engs also observes that "[i]n all three [Clean Living] movements, fear of foreign immigrants and other 'dangerous classes'—minority groups, poor people, and rebellious youth—was an underlying factor in campaigns against activities engaged in by these individuals" (13-14). Although an interest in wellness obviously should not be equated with a fear of "dangerous classes"; nonetheless, such Clean Living Movements have historically excluded minority groups. While minorities comprise a significant portion of the population of both Kissimmee and of Osceola County, they are underrepresented in Celebration. On the one hand, both of these factors suggest how characteristics of communities are reflected through collection development. On the other hand, that Celebration is the town that Disney built cannot be overlooked. Therefore, an interpretation of the relationship between the concept of wellness and the role of the public library in Celebration first requires an examination of the town as what Ritzer (1999) terms "the new means of consumption."

A town designed to be consumed

Ritzer identifies "the new means of consumption" as the multitude of settings that "allow, encourage, and even compel" individuals to consume any quantity of goods and services (2). Ritzer stresses that the new means of consumption extends beyond traditional markets—shopping malls, the internet, and catalogues—to include casinos, amusement parks, athletic facilities, luxury gated communities, educational settings, and hospitals. The sheer range of these examples reflects its newness—"the dedifferentiation of consumption." Bryman (1999) explains that this dedifferentiation signifies "the general trend whereby the forms of consumption associated with different institutional spheres become interlocked with each other and increasingly difficult to distinguish" (33). In other words, as both the quantity and type of new means of consumption increases, the division between these various settings in terms of how they operate and the goods and services they provide will become increasingly indistinct. Ritzer (1999) provides the example of HealthSouth, "a chain of mainly outpatient rehabilitation and surgery centers" (24). He describes how the chain "uses sports stars to increase its visibility, puts its logo on jogging suits and gym bags, and is in the process of creating a catalog of HealthSouth products" (24). In addition, the idea of "co-branding athletic shoes and nutritional drinks" has also been broached (24-25). As HealthSouth strives to become a brand-name, it simultaneously promotes the idea that health care is simply another "context for shopping" (Bryman 1999, 33).

To "encourage and compel" individuals to consume goods and services (Ritzer 1999, 2), the settings that constitute the new means of consumption have to exert some form of control over their customers. Ritzer explains that these places entice individuals through "the fantasies they promise to fulfil" and secure them "by a variety of rewards and constraints" (29). Credit cards, for instance, reward their best customers with increased credit limits and card upgrades that come with a variety of perquisites. Shopping malls lure visitors not only by their wide range of goods for sale, but also by controlling "the emotion of customers by offering bright, cheery, and upbeat environments" (89). This interplay of rewarding and controlling customers is particularly evident in amusement parks. According to Ritzer,

> Theme parks such as Disney World are notorious . . . for their attempts to control both employees and visitors. Controls over employees tend to be blatant, but controls over visitors, though subtle, are present nonetheless. For example, the parks and the attractions are structured to lead people to do certain kinds of things and not to do others. The paths are set up in such a way that people think they are making free choices when in fact they are generally moving in directions preordained by the designers. (90-91)

In effect, these new means of consumption appear to offer choices but instead control the settings and consumers.

In discussing the theme parks, Ritzer comments that other Disney enterprises such as the Disney Institute and the town of Celebration all are "means of consumption in their own right" (5). Although striving to achieve recognition as a "normal," albeit unique, small American town, Celebration nonetheless occupies a precarious position between a Disney fantasyland and a luxurious gated community. Both of these associations, in fact, bolster the idea of Celebration as an example of the new means of consumption. The seal of the town of Celebration is a silhouette of a pig-tailed girl riding her bicycle past a low picket fence, accompanied by her scampering dog; it is meant to symbolize the town as described in the promotional literature: "A place that recalls the timeless traditions and boundless spirit that are the best parts of who we are" (Ross 1999, 18). Rymer (1996) points out that while the image "is an icon of innocence and freedom," it also "bears a Disney copyright" (67). In addition, that the Celebration seal is "emblazoned on everything from coffee cups to manhole covers" (69) renders it a logo, with both the brand and product being the town itself. Rymer downplays Celebration's pretence to a New Urbanist pedigree, describing the development instead as "a new corporate city" and as "a town off the shelf, meant not to be built but to be consumed by its residents" (76-77). What is being consumed, however, is more than simply houses. Rather, Celebration as a new means of consumption involves the selling of a concept—"the comfortable tradition of a 1930s Main Street with the technology of Tomorrowland" (Clary 1996, A1)—a safe, neighborly, clean, healthy community backed by the assurances of the Disney Corporation.

As with other examples of the new means of consumption, the issue of control arises in the context of Celebration. John Kasarda of the Kenan Institute of Private Enterprise at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, comments that "Disney again has its thumb on the pulse of the American Public—to return to community, to a neighborhood, to a place where they think they have control" (Wilson 1995, A1). This sense of control, in turn, is predicated on the idea of choice. For instance, Celebration Health promotes the concept that health care "starts with you being in control. Making choices, obtaining information and gaining access to the latest and most advanced medical technology and services available" (Florida Health 2000c, ¶ 2). Arguably, Celebration Health itself can be viewed as a new means of consumption, similar to Ritzer's (1999) example of HealthSouth. The equal emphasis placed on fitness and medical treatment blurs the distinction between health club and hospital. This dedifferentiation of consumption is further underscored by the metamorphosis of the hospital cafeteria. As described in the facility's promotional literature, "Hospital food takes on a whole new flavor at the award-winning Seasons café restaurant, which features international cuisine along with a mesquite brick oven" (¶ 50). In addition, the Café sells health-conscious baked goods made and marketed by Florida Hospital. Patrons of Celebration Health, therefore, can make choices

and have access to not only advanced medical technology, but also current culinary trends, such as mesquite brick ovens and designer breads.

Perhaps the most crucial component of Kasarda's description of Celebration is that it is "a place where [residents] *think* they have control" (emphasis added) (Wilson 1995, A1). In order to provide an environment to draw people to the town in the first place, Disney has to exert a certain amount of control over that environment and, therefore, over the residents themselves. The Celebration Pattern Book, is a source of such control. Its rules for homeowner conformity, however, are not strictly a Celebration phenomenon. As McKenzie (1994) notes, they are a crucial factor of all Common Interest Developments (CIDs)—a category that includes any planned-unit developments of single-family houses, condominiums, and cooperative apartments. He cites the example of a CID near Philadelphia that required all children's swing sets be constructed of wood. Although residents produced a petition signed by 75 percent of homeowners and an Environmental Protection Agency report citing the dangers of poisonous chemicals used in pressure-treated wood swing sets, a couple was ordered to dismantle their children's metal swing set. The rule reflected a preconceived notion of "what the overall community should look like" (17). Echoing Rymer's (1996) description of Celebration as "a new corporate city," McKenzie views CIDs as "a new kind of community that serves as a monument to privatism" (8) by emphasizing "property values over considerations of individual privacy and freedom" (15).

CIDs implement specific control mechanisms to ensure both compliance with regulations and retention of property values. McKenzie explains that everyone who moves into a CID automatically becomes a member of the community's Homeowner's Association (HOA). Membership is compulsory and is invalidated only when the homeowner sells his or her property. The HOA, in turn, is run by a board of directors that is heavily weighted with Disney development company executives, although there is some community representation. In Celebration, for instance, two of the five board members are reserved for homeowners when 50 to 74 percent of all units are sold. This increases to three memberships when 75 percent of Celebration's units have been sold. The board of directors is responsible for enforcing a development's rules and regulations, referred to as "Covenants, Conditions, and Restrictions" (CC&Rs). Any amendments to CC&Rs are voted on by the HOA as a whole. This voting power, as well as the elected positions to the board of directors, promotes the idea that homeowners have control over the way a CID is managed. The reality, however, is more indicative of an illusion of control. Amendments to CC&Rs require a super majority of 75 percent of *all* HOA members, not just those members who vote (McKenzie 1994, 127). Moreover in mixed owner/renter developments like Celebration, renters cannot vote. This results in a de facto disfranchisement of an entire subset of the community. In essence, control of the CC&Rs—"the rules of the regime under which, ultimately, the residents will be living" (128)—rests solely with the HOA board of directors. Likening a

CC&R to a "quasi-constitution," McKenzie stresses that a HOA board of directors is in effect "a private government"—one that "[t]hrough private property relations . . . does, indeed, have greater power over its residents than does a city" (20).

The effects of privatization and the illusion of control are particularly pronounced in Celebration. In addition to the 75 percent super majority needed to amend the town's CC&R, the contract signed by all future Celebrationites states that the governing rules cannot be changed "without prior notice to and the written approval of the Celebration Company" (Pollan 1997, 60). In other words, the Celebration Company (i.e., Disney) has, and always will have, the final say in any matters concerning Celebration. And these matters extend beyond town aesthetics. In describing CIDs as private governments, McKenzie (1994) observes that "the words public and private may seem distinct enough—and they are used in popular and political discourse as if they were—but they are not" (123). The division of services in Celebration attests to this increasingly blurred distinction between public and private spheres. For example, Celebration is within the realm of the Osceola County Sheriff's department, yet off-duty officers and private security agents also are paid from HOA fees to patrol the community (Wilson 1997, D2). Similarly, the Celebration School's board of trustees is co-managed by Disney and Osceola County.

Wellness, the Celebration library and "the new means of consumption"

Celebration as the new means of consumption provides an interpretative context for the emphasis on wellness-related materials in the town's library. The Celebration project differs from other CIDs not only in the prominence of the Disney name, but also in the scope of the development. In constructing a community, Disney provided a wide range of facilities for health, education, and security. Yet, at the same time Disney is also selling a community. The facilities and amenities are a means for the company to entice residents and to control the environment of Celebration in order to produce the promised product. As we have seen, wellness is a cornerstone of the Celebration product. Success is to be measured by its residents living healthy lives. It therefore becomes the "responsibility" of Disney to see that the residents live in accordance with the wellness principles. At the same time, however, the emphasis on personal lifestyle choices suggests that the individual is in control of his or her own well-being. The result is an illusion of control that characterizes the new means of consumption.

An analogy can be found in the observation that there is virtually no refuse in Disney World. In fact, Disney has an elaborate system to dispose of the trash generated by the park's daily visitors: constant patrols by costumed street sweepers are supplemented by an underground pneumatic garbage disposal apparatus into which bagged refuse is fed at frequent intervals. Fjellman (1992) explains that "[a] central aspect of Disney's utopian utilization of space is

cleanliness, so collection and disposal of this trash are crucial to [Disney World's] control of the environment" (193). He further observes that "Disney people as well as a number of reporters have argued that whether through suggestability or shame, people are trained at [Disney World] in the civility of trash can use" (194). In other words, just as the presence of overflowing trash bins on Disney's Main Street U.S.A. would ruin the utopian effect of the theme park, the presence of overweight people on the streets of Celebration would undermine the image of a healthy and vibrant community. The effect, instead, would challenge Celebration's ability to uphold its cornerstone of wellness. Wellness in Celebration is predicated on the idea that each individual citizen can and should "celebrate a happier, healthier you" (Florida Health 2000c, ¶ 8).

The Celebration library, then, can be seen as contributing to the way in which Celebration operates as a new means of consumption. Given that these settings are characterized by a dedifferentiation of consumption—a scenario in which it is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish among the products and services offered by various institutions—one could argue that the Celebration library is offering the same goods and services as other facilities in the town. In other words, there is an implosion of the role of the library, the hospital-cum-fitness center, the golf course, even the topography of the town itself, based on the shared emphasis on and promotion of wellness. It should be remembered that the Osceola County library board, not Disney, runs the Celebration library. The original Celebration plan called for a Disney Institute to promote Celebration and a healthy and happy community. Yet CIDs are characterized by a breakdown in the boundary between public and private spheres—an effect that is particularly pronounced in Celebration, given the historically complex relationship between Disney and its local counties. This breakdown, in turn, reflects not only an increasing influence of the private sector on public institutions such as libraries, but also the phenomenon of public institutions serving roles traditionally reserved for the private sector.

In the context of the Celebration library operating as a new means of consumption, the phenomenon of what Bryman (1999) describes as "the dedifferentiation of consumption" has a particularly intriguing final twist. Despite the emphasis that the Osceola County Library System's *Collection Development & Materials Selection Policy* places on determining community needs and ensuring a diverse collection, the basis of the Celebration branch nonfiction collection resulted from weeding the collections of the other branches of the Osceola system.[11] That is to say, those volumes that, for reasons of duplication or lack of shelf space, were deemed surplus at other branches, found their way to Celebration. They were then supplemented by books that have "fast turnover" in such areas as computers, travel, and health. But, as we have seen, a defining feature of the new means of consumption is that, because of the proliferation of "different institutional spheres" where consumption occurs, divisions between these various spheres in terms of operation and the goods or services they provide have become blurred. Even though Celebration's library collection *appears* to

be different than the other branches of the Osceola system and PLC, the goods provided by the Celebration branch are, in fact, similar to those offered by other branches, since they have literally been pulled from those other libraries. In the final analysis, this is a delicious tension, a fun-house mirror effect that creates the illusion of difference among a welter of conformity.

Recall, too, that Rymer (1996) refers to Celebration as "a town off the shelf"—a description that takes on ironic force because the Celebration library collection is, for all intents and purposes, off the shelf. Just as residents of Celebration have scant control over their house styles and landscaping options while believing themselves to be in control of their homes—a manifestation of Celebration's precarious position between fantasyland and gated community—they also have little control over what is available for their nonfiction reading pleasure in the Celebration library. Left with only the illusion of control both in their physical and intellectual environments, residents of Celebration facilitate, both willingly and unwittingly, Disney's social and cultural control of their lives. To be sure, the library's emphasis on health-related matters is an accidental representation. Yet, it works hand in glove with the deliberate wellness nexus that Disney markets as a cornerstone of the town. When all is said and done, the library is another aspect of the reification of the prevailing purpose of Celebration, reinforcing the notion of wellness in the same way that its inhabitants embrace and celebrate what they perceive to have been *their* healthy decision to move to Disney's planned community. Accidental or not, the appearance of collection difference in Celebration substantiates the sameness of the totality of goods and services offered to Celebration residents. While Disney claims that its town is different from all others, in essence it is not, since the consumable values on display and for sale in Celebration are extracted from larger social trends and then adroitly packaged as exuding difference. So too is the library collection. Extracted from other collections, the content of the Celebration collection differs significantly from PLC recommendations and from Buenaventura Lakes. Nonetheless, the difference is only a simulacrum insofar as it replicates already existing and well-developed strategies of social control. No matter where they turn, Celebration residents cannot but buy into the concept of wellness, in all its psychological, social, and economic forms. Despite its predominantly accidental origins, the branch library nonfiction collection assumes its place as a locus of control simply because it does not differ from the other consumer items and values that Celebration residents call their own. It is this simulacrum of difference—the seeming difference from all other surrounding towns and the distant communities from which they came—that makes residents of Celebration willing participants in the "new means of consumption" under the illusion that they are exercising control over their lives.

Indeed, there is a historical precedent for the idea of libraries as loci of control—one associated with the development of the public library movement in the nineteenth century. While scholars agree that this movement began with the creation of the Boston Public Library in 1852, the motivations behind the

development of the public library system have been subject to debate. Harris (1973) debunks what he refers to as the "public library myth" (2509), a time-honored tale of the creation of the public library as a purely humanitarian exercise with the goal of improving the common man through education. In contrast, Harris argues that a major impetus for the founding of the Boston Public Library was the desire of local elites to exercise control over recent immigrant populations, especially the Irish. Such control would be manifested through the availability of quality books, so that readers could be inculcated with proper habits and ways of thinking—a form of what Harris refers to as "moral stewardship" (2512). Accordingly, one of the central functions of the library was to act as a "stabilizing agent" in society through the provision of "approved" books (2513).

Breisch (1997) notes that, in the decade before Boston Brahmins Edward Everett and George Ticknor formed the Standing Committee of the Boston Public Library, educational reformer Horace Mann suggested the use of public schools as a forum from which to combat "the disintegration of traditional values brought on by large-scale industrialization, urbanization, and immigration" (6). In confirmation of Harris' (1973) theory, Breisch suggests that the Boston Public Library played a similar role. While the goal of the library was the moral and intellectual improvement of the working classes, the underlying motivation was the preservation of societal norms favored by the local gentry. As Garrison (1979) observes, "Like other custodians of culture in this period, [the library planning committee] sought not so much to aid in the assimilation of moral, social, or economic change as to keep the challenge at arms length" (14).

This desire to maintain the status quo was in evidence in the development not only of the Boston Public Library but also of public libraries in such smaller Massachusetts towns as Quincy, Woburn, and Malden. Breisch (1997) points out that each of these towns underwent dramatic demographic and economic shifts that changed both their physical layout and cultural fabric. Industrialization and immigration accompanied growth. It altered the familiar landscape of the town as tenements replaced stand-alone houses, turning rural towns into suburban developments. Fuelled by such changes, the opening of public libraries was fuelled as much by nostalgia as by perceived moral challenges. Evidence of this phenomenon can be found in contemporary librarians' conception of the library as an "appropriate repository for . . . records of the town's early history" (23).

In the case of Celebration, what the Boston Public Library's founders referred to as "healthy general reading" has metamorphosed into general reading about health. Considering the use of "education and social pressure to change attitudes or behaviours" (Engs 2000, xi) that characterizes both Clean Living Movements in general and Celebration's wellness cornerstone in particular, the emphasis on wellness-related material in the Celebration library provides a contemporary example of how the public library assumes the role of a "stabilizing agent" through the provision of approved books. In the process, the Celebration library reinforces a certain homogeneity and conformity that characterizes the

community topography of Celebration, thereby promulgating "the spontaneous philosophy which is proper to everyone" (Gramsci 1971, 323). There is, however, a significant distinction between Celebration and its nineteenth-century counterparts. Wiegand (1989) comments that the "goal of American librarianship was obvious—offer library patrons only good reading; buy no bad reading" (100). This maxim was based on a generally held assumption that "good reading led to good social behaviour, bad reading to bad social behaviour" (100). Arguably, the proliferation of wellness-related titles in the Celebration Library also supports the ideology that "good reading [leads] to good behaviour"—in other words, the idea that reading about healthy lifestyles will lead residents to healthy lifestyles. Yet, at the same time, this wellness emphasis in the context of Celebration suggests that the determination of good behavior, and therefore of good reading, is inextricably linked to what is good for the marketability of the town as a whole. Hall (1996) observes that early libraries can be "linked to movements for political, spiritual, and economic empowerment" (26). While the concept of wellness might include the notion of spiritual empowerment, the emphasis on wellness in the Celebration library nonfiction collection suggests the political and economic empowerment of Disney's Celebration more than the empowerment of the residents of the community.

Conclusion

We have presented a case study of how one public library's collection of nonfiction books is a reflection of its community. Collection development practices in public libraries are often perceived as mechanical exercises that do not hold much interest on a socio-cultural level. Yet, as we have tried to show here, public library collections can be interpreted as indicators of "community topography" (Pitts 1996, 49). In general terms, a public library, through its collection, does not deliberately set out to be an ideological formation, but it does have a tendency to become, in the course of time, "a symbol of the values, the governing ideas, the underlying philosophies of a culture" (Meinig 1979, 42-43). To be sure, public libraries become symbols of broad societal values, but they also address, in sometimes surprising ways, the governing ideas of its specific community. In the case of Celebration, an ideology of therapeutic self-help and wellness is a central governing idea. Everyone who lives in Celebration has moved from someplace else. Certainly, the reasons for such a move vary, but, in large part, people are seeking to become "well" by moving away from their current metaphorically "unwell" residence into the wellness of Celebration, as represented by its attention to order, sublime control, and ineffable standardization. In short, they are trying to become whole and to retain that wholeness, once it has been achieved. Of course, Disney is the driving force behind the ideological formation of this community, thus raising intriguing issues about the way in which corporations, as representatives of capital, have become the preferred delivery system for culture. It is therefore logical that the Celebration

branch library would emphasize, through its nonfiction collection, values of wellness to a degree not found in another branch library a short distance away and to a degree not found in the *Public Library Catalog*. The Celebration library, a part of the Osceola public system, is therefore an example of the blurred distinction between public space and private corporate interest, where corporate philosophy intrudes on the service and cultural role of the public library.

From a larger perspective, the present study is part of a broad goal to explore public libraries in small towns of the United States with a view towards understanding in detail the extent to which they have become an integral part of the intellectual landscape of their community. Accordingly, we are concerned with the question of how the public library "fits into the larger area of cultural transmission" (Davis and Aho 2001, 26). Our focus is the extent to which collection development practices and choices of a public library reflect the public history of that particular community. Ultimately, these practices and choices result in libraries becoming (very) selective repositories of cultural heritage, with different emphases. In a real sense, library collections assume a political force insofar as they help in filtering the world for the patrons of that community. The interaction of that selectiveness with larger socio-cultural currents can therefore contribute to understanding the history of a specific community and its intellectual trajectory.

Notes

1. For example, Nardini, Getchell, and Cheever (1996), analyzing the books supplied on approval by a single vendor over a one-year period to two research libraries and two medium-sized academic libraries, found that when the titles received by the four libraries were compared, only 6 percent were acquired in common. St. Clair and Treadwell (1989), examining the approval selections supplied by four vendors in response to a science and technology profile, found that only 4 percent of the titles would have been supplied by all four vendors and concluded that "the diversity of titles that would have been supplied by different vendors using the same profile makes the selection of a vendor (and careful construction of a profile) even more serious" (387).

2. A donation of $250 was made to the Osceola County Library system in return for their kindness in producing these two computerized shelf lists. We would like to extend heartfelt thanks to the former Director of the Osceola Library System, Bill Johnson, as well as to Sharon Pesante, Technical Services, for their help with these shelf lists.

3. These figures should be compared with Blair (2001). Blair states that census figures show 2,376 residents in Celebration, with a white population of 88 percent. However, a document entitled Census 2000 Redistricting Data, available at www.floridacensus.com/census/summaries/place.summary.txt, shows the population of Celebration as 2,736.

4. As of September 2001, this is the latest available income data available at the city level for Kissimmee. Income data for states and cities based on Census 2000 data is projected to be released in the middle of 2002. To be sure, national income data showed that the median household income in 2000 was $42,148. For African Americans, this figure was $30,439; for Hispanics, $33,447. Seelye (2001) provides a succinct overview. These figures represent an increase from comparable 1990 figures, and it is therefore to be expected that median income in Kissimmee will follow national trends.

5. The base volume includes recommended books published in or before 1998. The yearly supplements typically include books published in the year of their spine date.

6. The total number of titles contained in PLC is readily accessible from the publisher and printed information contained in the volumes themselves. The number of titles listed in each Dewey class and subclass can be determined by simply counting them. Dividing the number of recommended titles in a certain Dewey class by the total number of titles in PLC provides information about the relative percentage weight that a certain Dewey class should assume in a library's total collection. For example, if PLC contained a total of 5,000 recommended titles and

250 of these titles were listed under Dewey Class XYZ, a library would understand that its collection of Dewey Class XYZ should be approximately 5 percent of its total collection.

7. We used the latest available print version of the DDC, published in 1996 by Forest Press. The electronic version of DDC, available at http://www.oclc.org/dewey, contains slight modifications to the wording of Dewey topic descriptions. Editors of DDC occasionally change the wording in topic descriptions, but the underlying categorizations remain the same. These modifications in no way detract from our argument. The modifications are as follows: 000 Computers, Information, & General Reference; 290 Other Religions; 360 Social Problems & Social Services; 610 Medicine; 640 Home & Family Management; 700 Arts & Recreation; 790 Sports, Games & Entertainment; and 900 History & Geography.

8. Because the shelf lists for Celebration and Buenaventura Lakes were generated in October 2000, we used the PLC eleventh edition base volume and the 1999 and 2000 supplements. The 1999 supplement covers books published in 1998, and the 2000 supplement covers books published in 1999. The total number of PLC titles was therefore calculated as 11,865. We added together the number of titles listed in the eleventh edition base volume (9,424) and in the 1999 and 2000 supplements (1,401 and 1,040, respectively). The figure for the eleventh edition was provided by Mr. Phil Taylor, Director of Customer Relations for the H.W. Wilson Co., publisher of PLC, who observed that the statement in the introduction to the base volume of PLC to the effect that it contained "over 8,000 volumes" was slightly understated (private email dated September 6, 2001). Each of the supplements supplied the total number of listed titles in its introduction.

9. We would like to thank the current director of the Osceola County Library System, Mr. Ed Kilroy, for sending us a copy of the Osceola County Library collection development handbook.

10. It would have been appropriate to examine Celebration circulation data to see whether health-related books circulated more than other titles. However, the Celebration Library does not keep track of circulation according to Dewey classes, limiting itself to circulation statistics in terms of nonfiction, biography, fiction, mystery, easy, and rental books.

11. We would like to thank Ms. Joyce Gibson, currently manager of Human Resources for the Osceola County Library System, for taking the time to speak to us about the development of the Celebration branch collection on September 7, 2001. Ms. Gibson was chiefly responsible for implementing the Celebration branch and ensuring that there were books available at Celebration. During our phone conversation, Ms. Gibson stated that the nonfiction collection came about as a result of weeding the collections of other Osceola branches, with particular attention to duplicate copies, surplus copies, and the lack of shelf space at those other branches. The assembled collection was then supplemented by "new orders of computer, travel, and health books that have fast turnover."

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