California State University,

Fullerton

PARADOXES AND PLAY: AN EMERGENT THEORY OF
HOW COMMUNITY COLLEGE LIBRARIANS SUSTAIN
LIBRARY INSTRUCTION PROGRAMS

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ABSTRACT

This constructivist grounded theory study proposes an explanation of community college library instruction coordinators' efforts to sustain effective library instruction programs in southern California. The theory explains library instruction coordinators' positive approaches to the paradoxes, or persistent tensions, that they encounter when they work to improve the educational context in which they are teaching information literacy. Identity and role conflict, student learning outcomes assessment, curriculum integration, and instructional improvement emerged as core concerns among library instruction coordinators. Librarians who avoided burnout described the following techniques that have kept them engaged in their work: gaining allies, embracing iteration, holding goals lightly, challenging their assigned roles, learning and influencing the organizational rules, and staying motivated by the prospect of getting to teach more meaningfully. Library instruction coordinators who use these tactics in their classrooms, in their program development, in their efforts to integrate information literacy into the curriculum, and in their attitudes toward traditional library services are taking a positive approach to the paradoxes of their work by applying a play-framework to remain flexible and engaged.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My fellow students in the Ed.D. cohort enriched my experience throughout the program and created a safe place where I could confront my weaknesses and develop my strengths as a learner and as a leader.

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And I dedicate this dissertation to Nadine Crooks. She loved that I became a librarian and she would be so proud of me now.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

A recent survey of higher education administrators at two and four-year institutions showed that 93% of leaders in academic affairs believed that the library would continue to be an essential resource on campus for at least the next 20 years (Fister, 2010). Some leaders within librarianship are less sanguine, warning librarians that if they are going to remain relevant and valued in the new information environment they must shift their focus from materials to learning outcomes and separate "their goals from the tools they use to achieve them" (Lankes, 2011, p. 15). However, even now, much of the work academic librarians do is not tied to their buildings or even to managing their collections. Instead, academic librarians are pursuing opportunities to teach students, partner with professors, and lead college-wide initiatives that bring them out of the library and into the arena of higher education.

The Current Situation for Librarians

This dissertation focuses on librarians' teaching, a role that remains controversial and is not yet fully integrated into the profession's popular identity (O'Connor, 2009; Schonfeld & Housewright, 2010). The discussion about librarians-as-educators is part of a larger professional debate about the future of librarianship. Administrators, researchers, and practitioners express faith in the persistence of academic libraries, but vary in their projections of what librarians'

work will look like in 20 years. Suggestions include blended librarians who are focused on technology and who are responsible for instructional design (Bell & Shank, 2007); librarians who are partners in knowledge creation working to develop digital repositories to manage scholarly materials and playing a role in scholarly publishing (Case, 2008); librarians who act as research assistants for professors, keeping them updated on the current literature in their fields (Moncrieff, Macauley, & Epps, 2007); and diffuse librarians who leverage the capabilities of distributed technologies and open source software in order to make themselves available and valuable to people seeking information outside of the library (Lougee, 2009). The variation among these suggestions reveals conflicts and contradictions in librarians' identities, but some librarians are starting to see a common thread among this variety. They are predicting a role for librarians that transcends the increasingly de-centered library (Pritchard, 2012), calling the next professional phase "the great age of librarians" (Plutchak, 2012, p. 17). These commentators foresee that librarians will continue to pursue their "mission to improve society through facilitating knowledge creation in their communities" whether traditional libraries remain or not (Lankes, 2011, p. 29).

Making this transition to locating the value of the profession in the librarians themselves, rather than in the collections they controlled, will not happen without sustained effort and strategy. Abbott's (1988) theories of professional jurisdiction suggest that librarians will encounter significant obstacles if, in their efforts to innovate, they try to retrofit the profession by adopting responsibilities that have already been staked out by other fields, such

as computer science, publishing, instructional design, and knowledge management. On the other hand, Abbott (2005) has also described how the ecology of professions can evolve when internal or external forces that affect the jurisdiction of one profession lead "adjacent professions into new openings or defeats" (p. 246).

Whether librarianship will exploit openings or suffer defeats, however, will not be the result of the profession's aspirations or the visions for the future that they share with one another. According to Abbott (2005), the success of a profession's claims for legitimacy following shifts in professional jurisdictions will depend on the preferences of external audiences. In the case of librarianship, these external audiences will include state legislators, higher education administrators and governing bodies, faculty, students, publishers and vendors, and library science educators.

Understanding the views of external audiences about libraries and can help librarians strategize to remain relevant. For example, Fister (2010) found that administrators' observations about their libraries' contributions to student learning, including information literacy initiatives, individualized instruction, and faculty outreach, indicated that administrators had an accurate awareness of the current functions and value of academic libraries. Recognition that libraries make unique contributions to student learning is not new. Boyer's (1987) landmark study of the undergraduate experience in America noted that at least one administrator predicted the end of the academic library by 2012, but Boyer considered the library to be essential to the goal of developing independent

learners and called on librarians as well as faculty and administrators to strengthen the role of the library in students' undergraduate experience.

Administrators interviewed in Fister's (2010) study also made it clear that they consider the resources allocated to the library at two-year and four-year institutions as the cost of being part of higher education, and not an undue expense. In fact, many administrators expressed that they wanted to see more evidence-based advocacy from their library directors when additional funds would lead to improved outcomes or proposed cuts would threaten core roles (Fister, 2010). To support that type of advocacy, the Association of College & Research Libraries published a research review in 2010 called *The Value of Academic Libraries* (Oakleaf, 2010) that synthesized the existing findings on the importance of academic libraries to the mission of higher education. According to the report, some areas of library value include: (a) student retention and graduation, (b) student success, (c) student achievement, (d) student learning, (e) student experience, and (f) faculty teaching. Whether working at research universities or community colleges, librarians who judge their success by how well they have contributed to their institutions' core mission have the potential to continue making positive contributions to student learning and other academic objectives for the foreseeable future. By better understanding librarians' own perceptions of the value of their work and relationships, educational leaders inside and outside the library can ensure that institutions get the greatest possible benefit from librarians' efforts and get value from the considerable resources dedicated to libraries.

Background of the Problem

Many librarians teach as part of their regular duties, but this role remains contested within the profession. This tension is due, in part, to the fact that librarians' teaching takes many forms. Librarians' educational role has long been defined broadly as not only formal classroom instruction, but also the selection and organization of materials for students' independent learning (Johnson, 1977). The emphasis on information literacy and librarians' classroom teaching has grown stronger over the past 30 years but it is not so much a change in professional definition as a change in the structure of librarians' professional work. In particular librarians at community colleges have long seen the need and had the authority to reach students not only through faculty's invitations and cursory library tours during student orientations, but also by offering workshops and teaching credit courses (Arnold, 2010; Branch & Gilchrist, 1996; J.O. Wallace, 1977; Wheeler, 1965). Both credit instruction and research workshops provide librarians a venue to actively shape their own curriculum instead of merely reacting to the instructional goals of other faculty.

A study of librarians' experiences at a university in the mid-nineties showed that some librarians believed that information technology would reduce the need for library instruction (Watson-Boone, 1998). Contrary to these predictions, analysis of recently published articles show that librarians are teaching in increasingly diverse contexts including online, graduate and professional courses, developmental programs, and student services contexts (Johnson, Sproles, & Detmering, 2010). Students need more remediation and

four-year colleges and universities are feeling pressure to strengthen undergraduate students' research experiences (Fister, 2010). Accreditation agencies are scrutinizing schools for evidence of students' learning outcomes in areas including information literacy (Heu & Nelson, 2009). Feeling pressured to teach skills and concepts outside their disciplines, some instructors will seek specialized guidance from librarians (Peacock, 2001).

However, without support from faculty and administrators, librarians' evolving role as teachers can create a dilemma for librarians themselves. For example, developing a teaching identity requires a deep psychological commitment. Librarians who make this commitment may feel frustrated if they are treated as support for instruction rather than as instructors in their own right because they may never get see the effects of their instruction (Julien & Genuis, 2009). Librarians in this position struggle with the incongruity between the power of the psychological commitment they make to teaching and the weakness of their position among faculty, administrators, and students (Schwartz, 2001). In almost every case, faculty control librarians' access to classroom teaching (Eisenhower & Smith, 2009). Librarians' relationships with faculty can make them feel controlled, silenced, marginalized, supplemental, and "like ventriloquists' dummies" embodying values that they do not share (Eisenhower & Smith, 2009, p. 315). In situations where these conditions exist, librarians often suffer from early burnout and feelings of diminished efficacy (Affleck, 1996).

Some librarians are succeeding despite these challenges. Librarians who successfully communicate and who apply their knowledge of students' learning

have refocused their teaching in order to promote the overarching academic principles, like information competency, that give value to individual research assignments and classroom interventions. These broad academic principles constitute the tacit curriculum of undergraduate education that students often struggle to learn by osmosis in their courses (Weetman, 2005; Weetman DaCosta, 2010; Wilson, Lowell, & Reed, 1951). When handled by discipline specialists, information literacy and other academic principles can remain mysterious to students who often miss opportunities to transfer their learning from one course to another. Without guidance, students may not perceive the academic principles that weave through all of their courses. An instructional approach that makes cross-disciplinary academic values explicit can help students reinforce their learning. Community college librarians are particularly well positioned to take the lead on interdisciplinary education on their own campuses as well as to lead their profession in this direction because they have always been generalists who are "unhampered by vested interest of membership in any subject department" (Knapp, 1959, p. 96), who are comfortable with crossing disciplines (Holleman & Peretz, 1992).

Problem Statement

My study will address the structural conditions that shape community college instruction librarians' efforts to (a) integrate their applied knowledge of information sources and of students' research practices, (b) re-assert their professional jurisdiction to contribute to student learning, and (c) promote the cross-disciplinary perspective that they can bring to students' learning. Structural

conditions often cause fracturing and alienation of actors from their actions, in this case, by limiting librarians' influence on student learning. Nevertheless, many librarians still find effective ways to leverage their knowledge, drive, and perspective in order to achieve their instructional goals. Up to now, the professional and scholarly literature has not included an explanation of the ways that community college instruction librarians have solved this problem and established their value as teachers.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this grounded theory study is to conceptualize how community college instruction librarians in southern California gain access to classroom teaching. The theory will account for (a) variations in their reasons for seeking that access; (b) the ways they have cultivated reciprocal relationships with other faculty through their instruction-related negotiations; and (c) the structural conditions of resources, policies, and practices that influence the ways librarians contribute to student learning at community colleges.

Research Questions

The following research questions guide this qualitative study, designed to conceptualize the structural conditions influencing librarians' efforts to contribute to the instructional mission of their colleges:

- How do instruction librarians at California community colleges define their contribution to the instructional mission of their institutions?

- How does librarians' teaching affect their access to resources (including space, materials, technology, and staff)?

- How does librarians' access to teaching opportunities affect their
  perceptions of their professional efficacy and their reciprocity with other
  faculty?

- What structural conditions inhibit or facilitate community college librarians'
  access to teaching and how do librarians manage these conditions?

Significance

Community colleges enroll 45% of the nation's undergraduate population
(Goldrick-Rab, Harris, Mazzeo, & Kienzl, 2009). In California, 70% of the
students enrolled in public higher education are at community colleges
(Sengupta & Jepsen, 2006). The comprehensive nature of community college
programming makes community college libraries an important subject for
investigating the wide range of ways that librarians contribute to varied
instructional goals. Based on the patterns of courses that first year California
community college students took in 2003, the Public Policy Institute of California
estimated that up to 48% of students had transfer to a four-year institution as
their educational goal (as cited in Sengupta & Jepsen, 2006). Since the plurality
of students are not preparing to transfer, librarians at community colleges have to
consider not only the needs of students in traditional academic programs, but
also the needs of vocational, basic skills, and English as a Second Language
students as well as the needs of students without a stated goal and those of
community members taking classes for enrichment. The diversity of user needs
is much higher at community colleges than it is at other institutions. Researchers
interested in the library experiences of users from varied ethnic, generational,

socioeconomic or educational backgrounds, or with different physical or cognitive abilities would also benefit from studying community college libraries where the student populations include higher proportions of non-traditional college students (Goldrick-Rab et al., 2009).

Despite the size of the population they serve and their history of innovations in services and instruction, community college libraries have rarely been the subject of research. Instead, studies often focus on elite university libraries. Presuming that the research agendas relevant to these elite research libraries will suffice to guide librarianship in other segments of the diverse higher education environment denies the many differences between university and college libraries. Some of these differences include recruitment, tenure/contracts, retention, librarian-faculty relationships, professional development, pedagogical practices, user characteristics, materials and staffing budgets, collection development philosophies, and institutional missions (Arnold, 2010). This study focuses on community college librarians because their experience as instructors and faculty will vary significantly from the experiences of instruction librarians at research universities who have been the subject of past studies (Walter, 2005; Watson-Boone, 1998). The focus of this study will also provide the opportunity to investigate how experiences may vary among community colleges, a perspective that is not possible in studies that aggregate data from librarians across the spectrum of public and academic libraries (Julien & Genius, 2009).

Despite its focus on librarians' own voices and localized explanations rather than emphasis on managerial interests, community college decision

makers at various levels may find value in this research because one of the goals of this study is to advocate for libraries' worth in the educational process. Board members who are responsible for approving library renovations, transitioning the library into a learning resource center, and funding professional development and sabbaticals for librarians can find in this study a useful encapsulation of librarians' contributions to their colleges' missions. Helping board members better understand the impact that successful libraries can have on student learning is essential because library services have long been a significant expense that "can command continued public support only so long as the college library is being used for the purpose for which it was designed: the furtherance of learning" (Hostrop, 1968, p. 7). College administrators will benefit from knowing how librarians define their work so they can facilitate collaboration across departments, clarify the value of new technology to librarians' support for students' learning, and explain the effectiveness of the funds and resources dedicated to the library. Faculty leaders may find evidence in this study that librarians are strong, engaged allies for initiatives on their campuses.

The study will also be useful to instruction librarians who are engaged in reflective practice, providing a framework when considering how they define and communicate their value to their college communities. It provides a window into the current state of library instruction in selected community colleges, a sample that has not been represented in the professional literature until now. Because it fills a significant gap, this study will be useful to library and information science faculty who prepare future librarians. Community college librarianship is a distinct

form of academic librarianship that requires skills that are not explicitly taught in most programs (Arnold, 2010). By reflecting the experiences of librarians in the field, this study can provide the professors teaching future librarians with a source that reveals current practices.

Finally, this study contributes more broadly to the scholarly literature on structural conditions and current trends in higher education. Librarians are on the vanguard of the "new normal" in higher education, reacting to changes in the needs of student populations, experiencing pressure from competition by private companies, and responding to altered working conditions created by new technologies.

Assumptions of the Study

A fundamental assumption of this study is that instruction librarians have an important role to play in higher education generally and in California community colleges in particular. Despite understanding community colleges as imperfect institutions with contradictory functions (Beach, 2011), and acknowledging the criticism of their role in class-reproduction (Hanson, 2010; Karabel, 1972) I maintain that the community college movement demonstrates a clear commitment to student learning at the core of college missions (Cohen & Brawer, 2008), whether the colleges are comprehensive, narrowly focused, or conflicted about their own mission definitions (Dougherty & Townsend, 2006). The functionalist view of community colleges informs my basic assumptions. According to this view, community college expansion was driven by goals of broadening access to higher education, securing vocational education, and

facilitating selectivity at universities (Dougherty, 1988). I ground the value of my study of instruction librarians in my belief that community colleges have, in fact, broadened educational opportunities and that librarians' contributions to this learning environment are meaningful. Community college librarians are responsible, above all, for facilitating students' independent learning.

Study Delimitations

Investigating only instruction librarians' subjective experiences may be criticized as too narrow. Some might suggest that this study would be improved by including counselors and academic support staff, such as tutoring center directors, who have different student and faculty relationships than librarians have but who are marginal insiders much the same way that librarians have been. But because instruction librarians' identities are uniquely hybrid (divided between teaching and academic support) and subject to redefinition in the current climate of higher education, I chose to focus only on this group in order facilitate imaginative understanding (Charmaz, 2006) of these particular circumstances.

Study Limitations

The study was limited by time constraints inherent in dissertation research. Given more time, I would have expanded the scope of this study by interviewing community college instruction librarians outside of the southern California region. Having more time would have also permitted me to test my grounded theory during additional interviews with librarians and other educators.

The study is also limited by my familiarity with the general setting of California community colleges and with some of the participants. Although this closeness to the research context creates my sensitivity and allows me to efficiently gather data and recognize underlying structural commonalities among the participants' experiences, it will also create the risk of blinding bias that I will have to actively avoid by reflective journaling and bracketing during the data collection and data analysis phases of this study.

Definitions of Key Terms

Community colleges in California are defined in the Master Plan that the legislature first adopted in 1960. The Master Plan has since been reviewed and updated multiple times. Community colleges admit any high school graduate or adult over the age of 18, whether a high school graduate or not, who can benefit from the instruction offered. Community colleges provide students with basic skills remediation, English as a Second Language instruction, vocational training, academic programs, preparation for transfer to a four-year school, and enrichment.

Instruction librarians at most California community colleges are primarily responsible for coordinating the library's instruction program. The position has different names and slight variations in job descriptions depending on the college. For the purposes of this study, any position with primary responsibility for teaching will be referred to as an instruction librarian.

This study will use the terms information competency and information literacy interchangeably even though some would distinguish between the terms.

One trend in the way that these terms are used is important, however. The California community colleges most often use the term information competency rather than information literacy, while other academic libraries and the American Library Association most often use the term information literacy. Some librarians in this study have chosen to use the term information literacy in communication on their campus because they feel that it creates continuity with the initiatives in other segments of higher education.

Definitions of information literacy have been the subject of professional debate both before and after the Association of College and Research Libraries adopted the Information Literacy Competency Standards for Higher Education in 2000. Commonly referred to as the ACRL Standards, this influential document defines an information literate person as someone who is able to:

- Determine the extent of information needed.

- Access the needed information effectively and efficiently.

- Evaluate information and its sources critically.

- Incorporate selected information into one's knowledge base.

- Use information effectively to accomplish a specific purpose.

- Understand the economic, legal, and social issues surrounding the use of information, and access and use information ethically and legally. (ACRL, 2000)

In 2008, the American Association of Community Colleges released a position statement declaring the importance of information literacy for community college graduates.

Information literacy classroom instruction is designed to develop students' abilities to identify, access, evaluate, use, and manage information for academic and lifelong learning. Information literacy instruction is most often provided directly by librarians but can also be taught by discipline faculty. Information literacy instruction can take place in one-shot sessions during which a librarian acts as a guest speaker who introduces students to the information resources they will need to complete a particular assignment. It can also take the form of workshops that librarians design to address a range of information literacy skills and concepts that students will need for academic success. More in-depth information literacy instruction takes place in credit courses, designed and taught by librarians. Other related terms include *bibliographic instruction, library instruction*, or *user education* (Hinchliffe & Woodard, 2001). However, these generally suggest something more limited and library-focused than is implied by the term information literacy instruction.

In this study the term library instruction program will be used when referring to the set of in-person, on-line, direct, indirect, for-credit, and not-for-credit instructional interventions that are part of librarians' work. While in education the term *program* often connotes a formalized system in which the parts relate in defined ways, in this study the focus is on the strategies that librarians are using to sustain the full complement of efforts listed above. This is most often an informal collection of instructional activities rather than a formal program.

Structural conditions result from accumulated actions taken by all groups in the institution. Actions that individuals in an organization take to improve their status (by increasing their influence inside or outside of the institution) are driven by values. Values influence perceptions and give context for interpreting the environment. Organizational subunits that top managers believe share their values will be better positioned to demand resources. Through this process of perception and action, values shape structural conditions. Giddens (1979) describes the duality of structure that connects culture and structure as social agents create social reality at the same time that they are shaped by it. Social conditions are simultaneously the context for and the result of social actions.

Organization of the Dissertation

This chapter introduced the research problem and the questions that will guide this study of librarians' efforts to gain access to classroom teaching. It also defined the purpose and significance of the study's focus on instruction librarians at southern California community colleges and explained the assumptions, delimitations, and limitations of the study. Finally, I identified important terms used in the study.

In the next chapter I will use the professional literature from higher education and librarianship to build a philosophical and historical framework for the study and to locate my study in the context of recent research about librarians' professional lives. In subsequent chapters I will describe the qualitative grounded theory design, report the results of my study, and discuss the findings.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This review of the literature connects the current study to long traditions of inquiry in librarianship and higher education. Because libraries have often been studied in isolation from their institutional environment and studies of higher education often neglect the library, this literature review will provide a bridge between these two related but distinct areas of study. The purposes of this chapter are: (a) to provide a philosophical and historical framework for studying the problem of librarians' relationships to the academy and to larger cultural trends, (b) to define the study's context of community colleges and community college libraries, and (c) to identify research on librarians' professional relationships.

Philosophical Framework

This section establishes the current philosophical and structural issues shaping higher education and academic libraries. Postmodernism and late capitalism have accelerated cultural and technological trends that are changing the nature of academic work for faculty and librarians. Vestiges of modernism are limiting the ability of academic institutions to adapt to crises.

Philosophical Issues in Higher Education

Higher education is in the midst of a transformation spurred by the societal pressures of postmodernism and sociotechnical rationality. Postmodernism's

influence has evolved from being a reaction among philosophers against the grand narratives and positivism of the modernists; now it describes the relativistic thinking and revolt against cognitive authority that opened the way to valuing pastiches of collective knowledge. Higher education lost its cultural cache when students, influenced by trends in the culture at large, began having easy access to crowd sourced intuition that they valued more than authoritative expertise (Meszaros, 2010). This permitted them the convenient belief that all truth-claims are basically equal, freeing them from the rigor of tempering subjectivity with empiricism and inquiry (Meszaros, 2010). Postmodernism is, in part, the realization of modernism's goal of escaping conformism by rejecting appeals to traditions based in faith and metaphysics. But whereas modernists generally accepted the truth-value of empiricism and observation and often created ways to validate ethics and values "objectively", postmodernists re-defined all knowledge and truth-value as situated and dependent on cultural power structures (Foucault, 1980).

Neither modernist empiricism nor pre-modern faith in authority survived postmodern criticism and this left a void that has been filled with the logic of technology (Feenberg, 2005). Under a guise of neutrality, the logic of technology eliminates any potential for a critical stance by creating a society where all ways of knowing are equally grounded by their lack of grounding (Feenberg, 2005). In this context, the university no longer has a central role in asserting privileged ways of knowing (Kelly, Luke, & Green, 2008). Indeed, all it can assert is its naked authority whereby its gate-keeping role is paramount (Mackler, 2010).

Higher education's value is not located in its rigorous methods of creating and disseminating its knowledge base but in its ability to control its brand image and maintain its monopoly on career preparation for professionals (Bledstein, 1976).

Structural Issues in Higher Education

The corporatizing trends in higher education have brought some benefits. The sheer numbers of colleges and universities in the United States is a direct result of the key role that educational attainment plays in vetting job applicants, a role that higher education encourages through its participation in college ranking efforts and other demonstrations of prestige anxiety. Without this position as the link between the middle class and professionalism, higher education would be significantly smaller because it could only appeal to the wealthy for support (Bledstein, 1976). Instead, because it is positioned as the primary avenue to accessing professional careers and it maintains (however tenuously) its mystique as an engine of prosperity, governments and corporations provide resources that have permitted higher education to keep growing (Torres, 1995; Wolf, 2009).

These same forces creating demand for higher education and leading to growth also contain the seeds of the dissolution of the academy. These contradictions have led to adaptive strategies. According to the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), more than half of all faculty are part-time and a total of 68% of the faculty workforce are contingent employees, meaning they teach full- or part-time but are not eligible for tenure (AAUP, 2010). The increase in the proportion of contingent faculty has been caused by a combination of several factors including the simultaneous growth of higher

education and reduction in government support that goes directly to colleges and universities. Positions that are teaching intensive rather than research focused are the most likely to be non-tenured, raising concerns about the proletarianization of teaching in higher education (Beverly, 1982). As a profession, academic librarians have always been split between those who work at institutions that grant them tenure and those who do not. Recently a trend has started that even at colleges where librarians have long been tenured, newer librarians are being hired in contingent or staff positions, creating a two-tiered system within these libraries (Berrett, 2011).

Faculty in tenured positions outside of libraries who are responsible for research and publishing are often highly specialized. At the same time, faculty working conditions at universities have continued to reduce the proportion of time dedicated to teaching by increasing the proportion of time spent on seeking and managing grants, taking responsibility for bureaucratic paper work, and publishing research (Aronowitz, 2001). Even faculty at community colleges, who have traditionally been more focused on teaching, report feeling that quasi-administrative and bureaucratic responsibilities increasingly take time away from their work with students (Levin, Kater, & Wagoner, 2006). The popular perception does not distinguish between different segments of higher education and views professors as unaccountable and out of touch with the needs of undergraduate students (Hacker & Dreifus, 2010).

Some critics cite professors' disengagement from teaching as a sign that higher education itself is unresponsive to students' needs (Bruininks, Keeney, &

Thorp, 2010; Levine, 1997) but this ignores the large sector of higher education, including community colleges, some small liberal arts schools, some comprehensive universities, technical colleges, and for-profit colleges that focus on providing undergraduate students the instructional formats and educational content they demand (Oakley, 1997). In fact, efforts to meet students' needs and expand access to more diverse populations of students have significantly changed higher education in the past 50 years. Student services have grown rapidly. Alternative modes of delivery, especially on-line education but also compressed or accelerated course offerings, have become more popular. Attention in many segments of higher education is shifting away from initial access and is instead focused on successful completion. This shift will likely lead to additional innovations to meet students' diverse needs.

Educational trends are stretching professors beyond their customary subject matter as colleges try to address students' demands by emphasizing learning to learn and critical thinking. These skills are best acquired when students have to find, analyze, and apply information to solve problems or make critical inferences from facts and background information (Davis, 1995). In this view independent learning is the most important purpose of higher education because it leads to the deepest engagement with content and develops students' perseverance, problem solving, and reflective practice. Changes in higher education pedagogy have, by and large, been for the better, focusing efforts on teaching and learning, student development, inclusive curriculum, social justice,

and challenges to the canon (Banks, 1993; Thelin, 2004) but the changes have made demands on professors that they often cannot meet alone.

Colleges and universities are more dependent on librarians, counselors, and other academic staff to provide instruction to students in academic skills and co-curricular development because of a combination of the following trends: growth in part-time faculty (Gappa, 2008), intensified faculty specialization that may be shifting resources away from undergraduate education (Massy & Wilger, 1992), increased work responsibilities and pressures to improve efficiency (Levin, 2006), accountability expectations (Bruininks, Keeney, & Thorp, 2010), and increased needs for developmental and supplemental instruction to support students (Jez & Venezia, 2009). These trends, in turn, are changing the nature of work of academic professionals who, although not faculty, often seek jobs in higher education precisely because they want to be directly involved in teaching or because they want to support it (Kane, 2007).

Philosophical Issues in Academic Librarianship

Despite the influence of postmodernism, academic librarianship maintains many of the modernist assumptions out of which it grew into a profession in the late 19th century (Budd, 2001). Librarians are largely defined by their relationship to libraries, which one former American Library Association (ALA) president called "children of the Enlightenment" (Gorman, 1999, p. 43). Libraries remain deeply modernist institutions that embody values of control, neutrality, and authority. They also uncritically maintain the assumption that information in and of itself is a social good, access to which perfects democratic citizens (Kapitzke,

2003; Kranich, 2001). Librarians' expertise in accumulating, classifying, and preserving information became infused with purpose through association with these values. The assumptions inherent in classification have been effectively critiqued (Bowker & Starr, 1999), librarians' positivist conceptions of knowledge (Kapitzke, 2003) and their reification of neutrality have been challenged (Lewis, 2008), and the technological determinism at the root of librarians' anxiety over information poverty and the digital divide has been revealed (Haider & Bawden, 2007). However these reappraisals, applying postmodernist theories and methods to study librarians' core functions, remain unusual and exert minimal influence (Buschman & Brosio, 2006).

The same forces challenging traditional higher education have significantly undermined librarianship, leading to predictions about the end of libraries and the obsolescence of librarians' expertise. Many efforts to define librarians' expertise have led to unsatisfying lists of responsibilities that do not inspire efforts to save the profession. Core components of librarians' expertise have included: classification schemes, the theory of intellectual freedom, procedural rules, library users' experiences, information technology, and the ability to perform some tasks with greater speed and accuracy than non-experts can (Stover, 2004). Librarians have responded to threats to the profession by redefining the library (Radford, 1998), redefining themselves (Stover, 2004), chastising each other (Candido, 1999), and pining for the past (Cain, 2002). They also created a new term for the skills and concepts that they have mastered and that they can

take responsibility for by teaching them to students, faculty, and any other library users: Information Literacy (Association of College & Research Libraries, 2000).

Teaching information literacy has become one of the important ways that academic librarians can demonstrate their value to their institutions at a critical moment when librarians' traditional work of controlling and distributing information has changed and become less time consuming and ostensibly less necessary (O'Dell, 2009; Pedersen, 2006). Information literacy fits into many of librarians' professional tropes: information for democracy, information as economic prosperity, and information for personal growth (O'Connor, 2009). Because librarians have not sufficiently critiqued these values, however, the actual connection between information literacy and the goals that it is meant to support has not materialized in practice (O'Connor, 2006). Nevertheless, academic librarians continue their efforts to expand their teaching roles and improve their status by showing themselves to be engaged in the core instructional mission of their institutions (Rossides, 1998). Unfortunately, fundamental incongruities between librarians' traditional professional ethos and what is required of effective teachers are creating tensions that have not been fully studied. These may be limiting librarians' effectiveness as teachers and leading to frustration and burn out (Affleck, 1996).

The combination of objectivity and neutrality that have characterized librarians' reference service and collection development philosophy (Stover, 2004) does not translate well to classroom teaching. Neutrality is an "essentially-contested" concept in contemporary librarianship (Harris, Hannah, & Harris,

1998, p. 128), negatively defining librarians as not having agency or

insight. Reflective practitioners recognize that knowledge is created through

interactions among learners and all participants must bring their own subjectivity

to the learning relationship. Librarians who have ingrained beliefs that they are

instruments positioned to neutrally facilitate searchers' information needs are not

prepared to effectively develop a teaching identity. Some commentators have

even criticized librarians' efforts to teach, insisting instead that the library's

organization and the access tools provided there should simply be made easier

to use and then people would not need any additional instruction from librarians

because the infrastructure would be transparent (Gorman, 1991). Placing

themselves in the role of assisting other's research but never engaging in

inference, synthesis, interpretation, or evaluation (Stover, 2004), keeps librarians

stuck as objects for others' use rather than agents with their own goals.

As a predominantly feminine profession, this lack of agency is troubling,

but has clear historical precedents. Applying Butler's (1997) theory of subjection

to librarians' situation suggests that being of assistance may in fact have been

the best role for librarians to adopt if they wanted to secure their position at the

"heart of the university" even though they are peripheral to the academy.

Unfortunately for librarians who are striving to become more engaged in their

institutions' core instructional missions, teachers cannot be effective if they

subscribe to librarianship's proscriptions against inference, synthesis,

interpretation, and evaluation. Librarians who critique neutrality embrace a

positive stance, affirming that instruction librarians are engaged in the praxis of

education with responsibilities that include interpreting and analyzing academic principles in order to reveal to students the tacit values that are otherwise opaque (Eisenhower & Smith, 2009).

Historical Framework: Community Colleges

Community colleges are considered marginal to academe because their mission of access means that they have many roles besides students' academic development and because they focus on student learning rather than research (Townsend & LaPaglia, 2000). When researchers in higher education ignore or misrepresent community colleges, they make invisible the experiences of a vast number of students, faculty, administrators, and staff. Beyond that, the theoretical and practical discussions about the future of higher education are weaker without insights from the trends, challenges, and innovations that are best observed at community colleges. The research that is dedicated to investigating issues in community colleges falls into common problems of irrelevance; suffering from the typical patterns that separate academic interests from practitioners' experiences.

The gap between the culture of research and the culture of practice creates "mutual indifference" even when the researcher and practitioner are the same person, as when college faculty or administrators enter graduate school programs, design studies based on scholarly mores, and then find there is little or nothing in their research findings that they can apply in their own work (Cohen, 2005, p. 51). Merely increasing the frequency or status of studies of community colleges will not affect these barriers locally or in higher education more generally. Researchers and practitioners can bridge the divide by employing

more qualitative methods, engaging in action research, understanding how the level of abstraction affects the usefulness of the knowledge that is produced, critiquing ideological perspectives that place blame on students and institutions, and focusing on relationships between educational processes and outcomes (Cohen, 2005). Taking these different approaches to researching community colleges will reduce scholars' imposition of values and assumptions that are common in higher education but may not be appropriate for community colleges. Definitions of academic goals and institutional effectiveness, for example, expand when researchers are open to the colleges' perspectives rather than only imposing their own. This review of the literature will establish the history and importance of community colleges in the United States in general and in California, in particular. I will also review the elements of the community college context that have had particular influence on the development of community college libraries.

History and Development

Many of the first two-year colleges that started in the late 19th and early 20th centuries grew out of the K-12 system of education and remained under the control of local school boards (Veit, 1975). In these junior colleges, high school teachers taught classes that matched what students would receive in their first two years at a four-year college (Veit, 1975). They offered students the benefit of college level instruction close to their communities (Cohen & Brawer, 2005). Following World War II, demand for two-year colleges increased, technical and vocational programs expanded, and by the 1960s the community college

movement had led to rapid growth and new emphasis on meeting the needs of diverse students (A. Wallace, 1977). The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1970) saw the importance of comprehensive community colleges and set a goal to make "open-door colleges" available, within commuting distance, to all people by 2000.

Community colleges serve a large proportion of postsecondary students. According to the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES, 2008), in 2006-2007, 6.2 million students enrolled in community colleges, making up 35% of all postsecondary students enrolled that year. In 2008, 39% of first time freshmen nationwide were community college students (NCES, 2009, table 198). In California in 2007, 74% of undergraduate students who enrolled in public institutions were attending community colleges (NCES, 2009, table 216). Because community colleges are local, open-access, and cost less than four-year institutions, they often serve high proportions of lower-income and minority students who experience structural barriers to attending four-year colleges. Based on statistics from the 1990s, 35% of all White undergraduates were at community colleges, while 40% of Black undergraduates and 54% of Latino undergraduates were students at community colleges (Grubb, 1999). In California in 2009, 62% of Black first-time freshmen who entered public colleges or universities were enrolled at community colleges, 65% of Latino first-time freshmen were at community colleges, and 58% of White first-time freshmen entered community colleges (California Postsecondary Education Commission (CPEC), 2011). Seven percent of all California community college students are

Black; 45% of community college students are Latino; and 32% are White (CPEC, 2011).

California community colleges, serving approximately three quarters of all public undergraduate students in the state, have served as a model for other systems. When California adopted the Master Plan for Higher Education in 1960, the community colleges officially became part of the three-tier system of higher education rather than a facet of secondary education (Witt, Wattenbarger, Gollattscheck, & Suppiger, 1994). The Master Plan also spells out the mission of the California community colleges: academic and vocational instruction including preparation for transfer, remedial classes in basic skills and English as a second language, and enrichment. The commission for the Master Plan regularly reviews, reaffirms, and adds to the mission. Recent economic pressures have required a prioritization of the elements of the mission as their constituencies compete for limited resources (Knoell, 1997). Evidence suggests that some colleges informally specialize in either a transfer mission or a career-technical mission and that student characteristics and community needs motivate their specialization choice, which leads to variations among colleges (Gill & Leigh, 2009).

These differences complicate efforts to evaluate California's community colleges and point to the difficulty community colleges encounter when they try to embody the comprehensive mission outlined in the Master Plan. Observing current trends in California, the senior project director of WestEd's Innovation Studies Program recently questioned whether or not the Master Plan still works

when the political will to fully fund it has dwindled along with the innovative spirit

that animated it in the past (Burdman, 2009). Demographic shifts in the state,

including the low college-attendance rates of the growing population of Latinos,

have also changed the context in which the Master Plan was initially conceived.

Weak efforts to improve rates of college attendance in the state have had

predictably poor outcomes (Burdman, 2009).

Research on Community Colleges

Many studies of community colleges have focused on how faculty

characteristics, culture, and practices influence student learning. This is

appropriate because community colleges are known for their teaching function

rather than for the research that their faculty produce. W. Norton Grubb's (1999)

famous study of community college teaching combined extensive classroom

observations and interviews with faculty, administrators, and students to illustrate

the wide range of instructional quality that existed. The study also revealed the

gap that can exist between faculty intentions and faculty practices. Grubb and his

research associates condemned boring, disengaged instructors who claimed to

employ active learning techniques and to adapt lessons for diverse learning

styles when in reality they relied on tired lecturing and drills. In their research,

they also found innovative teachers who not only created an atmosphere for

learning but who also were part of an institutional culture that made teaching and

learning visible by regularly sharing their successes and frustrations with their

colleagues and opening their classrooms to observations by faculty and

administrators.

Earlier case studies of faculty culture developed similar themes that related faculty attitudes and experiences to implications for their performance as instructors (Deegan & Tillery, 1985; Kempner, 1990). Often these findings suggested that community college faculty were immobile, ambivalent, or stagnant and that these negative attributes undermined their best intentions as instructors. Burleigh's (1990) case studies dissertation showed, somewhat more hopefully, that colleges with strong faculty peer review of instruction created a culture in which faculty were more engaged in ensuring the quality of the faculty and the curriculum. She also observed a slight increase in the number of faculty achieving advanced degrees. Unfortunately, faculty may experience alienation from their teaching when they perceive their institution to have an instrumentalist, market-driven approach rather than an academic philosophical emphasis (Levin, 2006).

Evidence from research in higher education suggests the difficult challenges that administrators face at community colleges where the typical management strategies of relying on hierarchy, positional authority, and rational planning have proven insufficient and where approaches recognizing ambiguity will be necessary in the future (Wallin, 2010). The future is uncertain not only because economic crises have become the norm but also because colleges may experience a leadership vacuum as retirements outpace the preparation of replacements (Boggs, 2003). One study raises concerns that the sense of commitment that faculty and administrators feel toward their colleges has diminished as they begin sensing that they are not members of a community of

similar individuals who share a concern for the well-being of the institution but instead are self-interested actors among other self-interested actors putting narrow concerns ahead of the institutional mission (March & Weiner, 2003).

Without a shared sense of purpose, faculty and administrators will struggle to meet accountability requirements and will miss opportunities to improve student outcomes. For example, evidence shows that initiatives for institutional effectiveness are too complex to be successfully implemented by administrators or by faculty in isolation and that they require cooperation in order to gather and analyze data and to apply the findings (Skolits & Graybeal, 2007). Future community college administrators also need to acknowledge the importance of their role, not only in achieving managerial and political goals, but also in taking responsibility for focusing attention on instructional excellence because that is the heart of the teaching college (Grubb, 1999). Most administrators do not realize the powerful role they play in influencing the culture of instructional improvement. Evidence shows that administrators should strive to match how they frame information with their college community's preferred manner of receiving information in order to have maximum influence on organizational change (Eddy, 2010). Because of the governance structures and the student access functions of community colleges, it is especially important for the future of the colleges that faculty and administrators together find ways to bridge the divide that can keep them from working for the same goals.

Community College Libraries

Community college libraries are rarely the subject of research in Library and Information Studies or by academic librarian practitioners (Arnold, 2010; Poole, 2000). The journals dedicated to community college librarianship have poor reputations because the proportion of articles that are truly research-based is lower than in the more mainstream journals. Community college libraries are also rarely the subject of research in higher education, even in the publications dedicated to community college research. For example, *New Directions for Community Colleges* dedicated one issue to the topic of learning resource centers, which are collections of support services for students that include and are often organized around the college library, but rarely publishes any other articles about libraries at community colleges. The learning resource center concept is an example of the innovations that community college librarians have developed to meet the particular needs of their users, however community college librarians' work is often ignored in the published research.

Academic librarians respond to and anticipate what their users need, so collections, services, size, hours, and staffing will vary from institution to institution. However, the most important variable for libraries is how involved they are with the instructional program of the college (Branch & Gilchrist, 1996). Variations in instructional roles and support for instruction are the most important differences that distinguish two-year college libraries from other academic libraries. The learning resources movement that began in community colleges in the 1960s offered a new vision for integrating services in support of teaching and

learning, including media services, learning centers, instructional technology, and interactive classrooms (Carr, 2006). The importance of the learning resources movement is reflected in the 1972 Standards for Junior College Libraries, which focused on learning resources programs, including instructional support, rather than on physical elements like collections and square footage (J. Wallace, 1977).

Because community colleges are teaching institutions rather than research institutions, the work of librarians at community colleges is much more in the mainstream of faculty work than it is at universities. This creates a particularly rich ground for collaborations that emphasize librarians' contributions to student learning (Branch & Gilchrist, 1996). In contrast, at universities, where librarians often specialize as liaisons to support particular departments, library instruction is often narrowly practiced as guest lecturing about the library's materials in relation to particular assignments. Although more recently the growth in first year experience courses has provided university librarians with an additional means of influencing students' information use (Boff & Johnson, 2002), the cultural divide between university faculty and librarians remains wide. University faculty often feel a stronger identification with researchers in their discipline from around the world than they feel with faculty from other disciplines on their own campuses (Clark, 1997). In contrast, community college faculty are locally focused and are often evaluated on their service to their institutions rather than the impact of their research.

Librarians, regardless of the type of institution where they work, are also focused on their local context. This can create a more comfortable fit for

librarians at community colleges where their focus and goals are shared by a greater proportion of the other faculty (Dowell, 2006). Similarly, community colleges are de facto more equitable places for women to work because women are a larger proportion of the faculty there than they are at universities (Townsend & Twombly, 2007). Because librarianship is still considered a feminine profession and women make up the overwhelming majority of librarians, the heightened potential for equity available to women at community colleges may give librarians a better opportunity to obtain enough power in the organization to merge the library's mission with the college mission (Davis, 1995).

Community college librarians have been striving to clarify and strengthen their roles in achieving institutional instructional outcomes for generations. For example, in the 1950s and 1960s, librarians seeking to measure the value of the library and find ways to improve its effectiveness conducted research to determine the student and faculty characteristics that influenced how they used the community college library (Hostrop, 1968; Knapp, 1959; Wheeler, 1965). In another case, a team of library school professors, believing that the college library was a wasted resource with an underappreciated potential to improve instruction and develop students' critical thinking and problem solving abilities, published a syllabus intended to instruct college professors on the value of libraries in undergraduate education (Wilson, Lowell, & Reed, 1951).

Many of these efforts cite Johnson's (1939, 1948) experience at Stephens College, a private two-year school, as inspiration for realizing the role of college

librarians in instruction. Johnson was a librarian who worked closely with the college president and was appointed Dean of Instruction in 1931. With grants from the Carnegie Corporation, Johnson was able to initiate collaborations between librarians and teachers that put librarians in leadership roles, training the teachers how to guide their students' library use and to develop their students' skills (Johnson, 1939). Because of Johnson's vision, librarians began to attend faculty workshops and departmental meetings, visit classes, help plan instruction, and teach courses (Johnson, 1948). If repeated by a librarian today, Johnson's efforts to "make the library function as the center of the instructional program of the college" (Branch & Gilchrist, 1996, p. 477) would still be considered revolutionary. Despite the fact that Johnson's achievements did not lead to similar transformations throughout other two-year colleges, his legacy is evident in the ongoing efforts of community college librarians to make a sustainable, if limited, impact on instructional efforts at their colleges.

One librarian who has long advocated for librarians' instructional role in the university with a clarity of vision that rivals Johnson's is Owusu-Ansah (2001, 2007). Owusu-Ansah observed that university librarians who want to fully participate in teaching students will have to fight "an old and conventional definition of functions that was established in an era in which the librarian's role was a passive one" (2001, p. 283). While community college librarians retain some of the residue of this passivity, the relative newness of community colleges and the pragmatic adaptability that many retain has created a freer space for librarians to apply the lessons learned from research into reasons why libraries

have been underutilized. In particular, librarians' studies in the 1950s and 1960s as well as more recent ones (Baker, 1997; Feldman, 2000; Keeler, 2007) show that student library use is driven by faculty expectations and that many faculty do not expect their students to use library resources.

Recognizing the role that faculty have in encouraging students to use the library, librarians have strategized to promote their value. Community college librarians who are concerned that faculty may not believe their students are sophisticated enough to need the library's resources have actively sought opportunities to make their case for the library's relevance to remedial curricula (Houck, 1988; Roselle, 2009; Suarez, 1985). They have also worked to integrate information literacy into general education on the premise that accessing, evaluating, and using information should be part of the core of college students' education (Blandy, 1989; Gratch-Lindauer & Brown, 2004). Librarians have worked with community college faculty to assess the effectiveness of information literacy instruction (Gandhi, 2005; Moore, Brewster, Dorroh, & Moreau, 2002; Portmann & Roush, 2004; Stock, 2008) and they strive to apply excellent teaching techniques in their interactions with students (Bell & McCook, 2004; Ovadia, 2010; Patterson, 2009; Small, Zakaria, & El-Figuigui, 2004; Warren, 2006).

In California, community college librarians have had mixed success in their efforts to promote a system-wide requirement for information competency. Technological changes, in particular the increased access to the Internet on most campuses beginning in the mid-1990s, required students to develop new skills.

Faculty and administrators recognized that students would need to be able to use information technologies in order to create, not just consume, knowledge (Harris, Hannah, & Harris, 1998). Librarians started to teach many of these new skills, moving away from their typical instructional model of the past that had merely raised students' awareness of specific books and periodicals. Instead of focusing their instruction on a few examples of printed materials, the Internet inspired librarians to begin trying to teach students how to solve information problems and evaluate the explosive proliferation of information that was now available (Harris, Hannah, & Harris, 1998). Librarians called these new skills information competency and lobbied, along with other faculty and administrators, to have information competency established as a community college graduation requirement, on par with reading, writing, and math.

After years of lobbying the State Chancellor's Office of the California Community Colleges, librarians achieved a breakthrough when the Board of Governors for California Community Colleges declared information competency a system-wide priority in 1996. In 2001, following several reports looking into methods of implementation, the Curriculum Committee of the Academic Senate for the California Community Colleges (ASCCC) passed a resolution approving information competency as a graduation requirement (Brose, 2002). Because of these efforts, the State Chancellor's Office prepared a revision to Title 5 of the *California Code of Regulations* to be approved by the state board of governors (Gratch-Lindauer & Brown, 2004). Before the revision could be approved and an information competency requirement codified, however, the Department of

Finance determined that the new requirement might have a fiscal impact and blocked it by declaring that it was an unfunded mandate. Following the decision by the Department of Finance, the statewide Academic Senate passed a resolution urging individual colleges to implement their own information competency graduation requirement, and at least 20 have (Hellenius, 2006). The Academic Senate has since reaffirmed the need for information competency at the community colleges with another resolution in 2006 (ASCCC, 2006) and has completed a survey of individual colleges' information competency requirements that can serve as a model for other campuses (Davison & Grimes-Hillman, 2009).

Review of the Scholarly Literature

The following review of the research draws most from the scholarly literature in library and information science. Although the setting for this study is California community college libraries, the rest of this review draws from research about academic libraries more widely. When possible, the distinctions between librarianship at community colleges and other institutions will be highlighted, but many of librarians' experiences with faculty are shared across the spectrum of institution types. The ways in which librarians' experiences vary from institution to institution have not been sufficiently studied, and therefore little research exists that would support effective contrasting. Because librarianship at four-year institutions of all types has been studied longer and in more detail than has librarianship at community colleges, many examples of librarians' value,

professional identity, and professional relationships will come from four-year institutions.

Librarianship is an applied profession that has not effectively defined a unique theoretical knowledge base that outsiders recognize (Rossides, 1998). More recently, even the work that constitutes the librarians' professional identity has been eroded as other professions, including computer science, have made inroads on librarians' traditional jurisdiction (Abbott, 1998). One of librarianship's defining features is service, which further weakens its claim to the status of a full-profession despite the increasingly higher levels of education required of librarians and the ways librarians have linked their work to important social functions like personal empowerment (Maack, 1997) and an informed citizenry (Rossides, 1998). For these reasons, librarianship is not primarily defined by librarians (the way that doctors and lawyers have largely defined their professions internally) but instead is defined by the expectations of external stakeholders who determine what services they want and the criteria for judging the quality of those services. Because of this external influence, the value of libraries, librarians' professional identities, and their relationships with faculty and administrators are three parts of librarians' experiences that are constantly influencing one another. Librarians are not unique in finding that their "social identities are relational, contextual, *and* fundamental to the self" (Alcoff, 2006, p. 90) but, when compared with other professions, they seem to more often experience this interplay as painful.

For the purposes of this review, I investigated the value of libraries by synthesizing studies that demonstrate the impact of libraries including their services, instruction programs, and collections. Because of librarians' external focus, librarians' professional identities often blur the boundary between libraries and librarians and between stakeholders' perceptions and librarians' self-definitions. Studies on librarians' relationships to faculty, including collaborations for instruction, make up the largest proportion of this review because this represents a significant theme that is particular to librarians' professional and scholarly literature.

Differences between Librarians and Faculty

The character of relationships between faculty and librarians can vary widely, and instruction librarians "can be ignored, tolerated, looked on as support staff, resented, or considered full partners in the teaching/learning environment" (Grassian & Kaplowitz, 2005, p. 84) depending on what the librarian and the faculty member expect and what the institutional structures permit. Fragile egos and feelings of inadequacy further complicate the collaborative relationships that should be possible between faculty and librarians (Farber, 1978).

A recent sociological study detailed the cultural barriers to faculty-librarian collaboration, especially the asymmetrical disconnections created by differences in their relative positions within their organizations (Christiansen, Stombler, & Thaxton, 2004). Based on interviews with faculty and librarians, the study contrasted the culture of sharing, collaboration and cooperation that characterizes most libraries against the isolation and proprietary approach of the

rest of faculty culture. Additionally, the difference in status between the two groups (created by distinctions in titles and academic preparation) was deeply ingrained in the longstanding hierarchy that values professionals over service workers. While librarianship continues to fight to be considered a profession, many view its emphasis on service and outreach to have less prestige and to command less power than the knowledge creation at the core of professors' responsibilities (Christiansen et al., 2004; Eisenhower & Smith, 2009). By and large, librarians experience subordination to faculty and cannot achieve their goals for student learning without cooperation from faculty (Albitz, 2007). Christiansen et al. (2004) also observed the stark difference between the high numbers of articles published every year in librarians' professional literature about efforts to form new collaborations with faculty and the absence of similar articles in other disciplinary journals or the literature of instructional improvement.

Instruction librarians rarely have positions of power and must "operate through influence, consensus building, partnerships, and modeling" both inside and outside their libraries (Grassian & Kaplowitz, 2005, p. 45). Unfortunately, many librarians perceive inequity as well as a lack of trust (Isaacson, 1985) in their relationships with other faculty and feel adversarial. Librarians accept that the faculty will set the agenda and curricular requirements for librarians' instruction (Isaacson, 1985; Mirtz, 2009). That leads to frustration when instruction librarians want to advance a more critical or contextualized approach to teaching students about research and the culture of information. Librarians are most often brought into classes to introduce students to discrete skills of library

use rather than the larger issues of inquiry. In one class period, they do not have time in their interactions with students to accomplish both the professor's goal for the session and the librarian's preferred student learning outcomes (Mirtz, 2009).

This tension is rarely resolved because librarians who are not satisfied with the way that undergraduates are being introduced to research often hide their frustration from the faculty they work with. Librarians' professional literature reveals that their eagerness to convince colleagues of their value drives many to "revise their identities" to better fit themselves into the limiting instrumental goals and "motives of efficiency" that the college has for students' learning (Eisenhower & Smith, 2009, p. 316). Librarians' outsider perspective can benefit students by creating a space to critique assumptions behind scholarship, disciplinary boundaries, and academic labor (Eisenhower & Smith, 2009; Natoli, 1981). Raising these questions, however, is rarely a priority for faculty in the disciplines and if librarians dedicate themselves to critical information literacy rather than instrumental information literacy, it can lead to overt rivalry and even subversion (Isaacson, 1985). Librarians are constrained in their classroom teaching because their presence there is at the pleasure of the faculty and what they teach is most often "completely determined by the desires, fantasies, identities, opinions, and relations to power of [their] faculty counterparts" who are themselves constrained by the "disciplining forces of efficiency" (Eisenhower & Smith, 2009, p. 315-316). Librarians' dissatisfaction with this instructional environment can lead some to try to supplant faculty teaching efforts (Isaacson, 1985).

Some of the articles exhorting librarians to seek out opportunities to collaborate with faculty have specifically recognized the importance and difficulty of communicating across the inherent gap that exists between librarian and faculty cultures (Arp, Woodard, Lindstrom, & Shonrock, 2006; Hardesty, 1995; Ivey, 1994; Macaluso & Petruzzelli, 2005). More than one author has used the metaphor of war to dramatize crossing borders between the two cultures, emphasizing the importance of gaining territory for the librarians' agenda in the academy and suggesting that librarians have to show that they are the academic equals of faculty by facing challenges head-on (Chiste, Glover, & Westwood, 2000; Kempcke, 2002; Martin, 2009; Watson, 1985). The vision of information literacy's integration into the fabric of higher education's fundamental goals will require strategy and fortitude (McGuinness, 2007; Raspa & Ward, 2000). However, the themes that emerged through interviews with faculty and librarians who were involved in successful collaborations downplay direct conflict and reinforced the necessary components for developing interdependence: shared understood goals; mutual respect, tolerance and trust; competence for the task at hand; and ongoing communication (Bruffee, 1999; Ivey, 2003; Manuel, Beck, & Molloy, 2005). While the image of storming the academic citadel may rally some librarians, the relationships cultivated through collaboration and the changes brought about by the acculturation that it requires are the most commonly recommended strategies for transforming librarians' roles on college campuses.

Despite the importance of respect between collaborators, many librarians are critical and even distrustful of faculty for misunderstanding students' research experiences or assuming that developing students' information literacy is not their responsibility. An unusual study analyzing the content of librarians' information literacy instruction listserv posts in the 1990s found that the messages about faculty were overwhelmingly negative (Given & Julien, 2005). While some librarians contradicted the dominant stereotype, the study found that most posts depicted the faculty as disrespectful of librarians. Three related representations of faculty emerged: (a) they mistakenly believe students develop information literacy by osmosis; (b) they fundamentally do not comprehend what is meant by information literacy; or (c) they misunderstand what students' research experience is really like (Given & Julien, 2005).

Through surveys and interviews, librarians have gathered data that reinforces a common view that faculty value the skills and concepts that information literate students have mastered. However, these same surveys show that most faculty do not see themselves as responsible for inculcating information literacy abilities in students, hoping instead that students will develop them through unstructured trial and error or because they were taught them directly in an earlier course (Amstutz & Whitson,1997; McGuinness, 2006; Thomas,1994; Weetman, 2005). Librarians fault other faculty members for lacking any interest in information literacy at all (Albitz, 2007; Baker, 1997; Gullikson, 2006). Those faculty who do engage their students in resource-based learning for developing information literacy may still be criticized by librarians for misunderstanding

undergraduates' research processes and therefore impeding optimal learning (Laskowski, 2002; Leckie, 1996; Valentine, 2001). Often these authors stake out the students' research processes as an area of librarians' expertise (Wang, 2006), just as a composition instructor writing about the issue of undergraduate research saw composition instructors as uniquely positioned to communicate the true nature of novice research to the academy and to students (Jankiewicz, 1998). However, others insist that only professors actively involved in research can introduce students to academic disciplines and will do so in the ways they deem appropriate (Cain, 2002; Miller & Tengler, 1987).

Open, clear communication is the only antidote to the various structural obstacles and cultural stereotypes that have long isolated librarians from faculty (Budd, 2005). In order to prepare for effective discussions with college faculty, librarians should take a careful inventory of their assumptions about how undergraduate students become independent learners and how librarians express these assumptions. Although not always recognized by the rest of higher education, librarians and faculty are guided by many shared goals for student learning, including critical thinking, curiosity (Hensley, 2004), synthesis (Rosenblatt, 2010), and metacognition (Albitz, 2007; Campbell & Wesley, 2006). Librarians and other faculty at community colleges often share the common interest of providing additional support to students developing basic skills (Roselle, 2009). Negotiations can be challenging because of disjunctions among participants' assumptions, views on authority, and language use (Scales, Matthews, & Johnson, 2005). Librarians must make their goals clear so that

faculty understand how collaboration will advance their own agendas and the librarians' goals as well (Grassian & Kaplowitz, 2005).

Librarians' Collaborations with Faculty

As Owusu Ansah (2007) pointed out, collaboration is a politically expedient strategy for librarians and it has been embraced by individual practitioners as well as by librarians' professional organizations. The manager for information literacy initiatives at the California State University Chancellor's Office advised not just librarians but all participants in higher education that collaborations with faculty are powerful because of the different spheres of influence available to each group (Brasley, 2008). Whether librarians' instructional goals are small, like increasing the number of library orientations they can provide to individual classes, or large, like integrating progressive information literacy into a discipline's curriculum map, librarians can find models for success in the professional literature (Raspa & Ward, 2000). Particularly outstanding collaborations have led to: (a) a general education requirement and competency assessment for all freshmen at James Madison University (DeMarcs, Cameron, & Erwin, 2003), (b) a shared pedagogical model for teaching research at Oregon State University (McMillen & Hill, 2004), (c) integrated information literacy and assessment into graduate courses in education at California State University Northridge (Lampert, 2005), (d) cross disciplinary discussions of pedagogy at Northern Kentucky University (Campbell & Wesley 2006), and (e) a Critical Research Practice Committee that developed needs assessments leading to new instructional interventions at Binghamton

University (Mulligan, Bouman, Currie, McKitrick, & Fellows, 2008). Case studies of collaborative efforts with community college libraries are less common and tend to function on a smaller scale such as learning outcomes assessments for specific interventions (Gandhi, 2005). An important exception to this generalization is the ongoing effort by community college librarians to use curriculum development processes to institutionalize information competency at the state and local level (Arnold, 2010).

Chapter Summary

The closely related themes of value, identity, and relationships create the foundation for investigating community college instruction librarians' lived experiences. In particular, this study will explore librarians' experiences of crossing boundaries, actively contributing to student learning, and defining and communicating their professional value to students, faculty, and administrators. Although librarians' work experiences have been investigated using both qualitative and quantitative methods in past studies (Harwood, 1981; Julien & Genius, 2009; Walter, 2005; Watson-Boone, 1995), no study has focused exclusively on the librarians responsible for leading their libraries' instructional efforts nor has one been conducted specifically in the context of community colleges. That is why this study will use a modified grounded theory approach to conceptualize the current roles, status, and relationships that form the conditions of community college instruction librarians' work in California.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS

The purpose of this grounded theory study is to conceptualize how community college instruction librarians in southern California sustain effective library instruction programs. The theory will account for the core concerns in the process of sustaining library instruction.

This study will generate critical knowledge about the structural conditions of community college instruction librarians' work. Critical knowledge reveals the social constructions underlying common assumptions and practices. The revealing knowledge that comes from a study like this one can be a catalyst for professional self-reflection, greater autonomy, and responsibility for action (Bernstein, 1976). Conceptualizing the existing structural conditions of community college librarians' work is particularly important at this time, when librarians' traditional roles as wards of information are disappearing. In order to successfully navigate this transition, instruction librarians, and librarians in general, will have to take responsibility for securing resources and staking a compelling claim to their professional jurisdiction.

In the course of their work to sustain effective instruction programs, library instruction coordinators confront a "sedimentation of institutional forms" (Giddens, 1979, p. 7) that are fundamentally unresponsive to emerging issues and rapid changes in academic librarianship. Analyzing the substance of that

sediment gives librarians insight into the strategies they will need to use to influence structural changes at their colleges and in the policies that govern them. With that goal in mind, this study will explore California community college instruction librarians' perceptions of the conditions that bolster or diminish their efforts to sustain their instruction programs ten years after the Department of Finance blocked the initiative to establish information competency as a graduation requirement.

In order to explain the conditions that shape librarians' work, this study will be guided by the following research questions:

1. How do instruction librarians at California community colleges define their contribution to the instructional mission of their institutions?

2. How does librarians' teaching affect their access to resources (including space, materials, technology, and staff)?

3. How does librarians' access to teaching opportunities affect their perceptions of their professional efficacy and their reciprocity with other faculty?

4. What structural conditions inhibit or facilitate community college librarians' access to teaching and how do librarians manage these conditions?

The existing literature often emphasizes that librarianship is threatened by trends in higher education that undermine traditional definitions of authority and knowledge. Spurred on, in part, by the need to address these threats, librarians have created collaborative relationships and challenged the traditional limitations

placed on their work. Through these efforts, librarians, particularly in the context of community college instruction, have been enhancing the contributions they make to student learning despite facing obstacles. Going forward, librarians' traditional role of supporting rather than leading educational initiatives will not carry the profession into the next generation. Librarians need to define for themselves the active role that will be most effective in their particular setting. In each setting, there are circumstances that diminish agents' potential for activity and circumstances that bolster it (Fay, 1987). Community college librarians face structural conditions that create opportunities and challenges distinct from the ones faced by librarians at other types of colleges and universities. Regardless of the institution, however, librarians are well positioned to lead initiatives to meet the increasing demand from students for competence-based education and technology-rich learning environments.

This chapter will detail my reasons for selecting qualitative methodology, grounded theory design, and the population of instruction librarians at community colleges in southern California. I will then describe how I gathered and analyzed in-depth interview data as well as participant journals and library program reviews. Finally, I will describe my efforts to ensure this study's trustworthiness.

Qualitative Methodology

My assumptions about what can be known and how we can come to know it most closely align with the constructivist and critical theory research paradigms (Guba, 1990), and these paradigms guide my decision to use a qualitative methodology.

Constructivist Paradigm

The constructivist paradigm assumes that realities are experienced by individuals in social contexts (Guba, 1990). According to strict relativists in the constructivist paradigm, no reality can be studied objectively because realities "exist in people's minds" (Guba, 1990, p. 26). Although I am not a strict relativist, I began this study from the premise that the findings that emerged would develop from my interactions with participants (not as a result of any solitary discoveries) and that the quality of the findings would be judged by their value to the academic and professional communities with which I am trying to communicate (not by how they conform to an objective, decontextualized standard). From the postmodern philosophical foundations of the constructivist paradigm, I also adopted a stance similar to Lather's (1991), which treats language as "a productive, constitutive force as opposed to a transparent reflection of some reality" (p. 25). Understanding language in this way complicates the traditional assumption in qualitative research that relies on participants' responses to reveal subjective truths. Instead of this naïve attitude toward qualitative data, I selected a research design and methods that embrace the awareness that participants' responses are created through the interview process and that what it is possible to express in language is constrained by power relationships (Lather, 1991).

Critical Theory Paradigm

Acknowledging the intersection of power and language also resonates with assumptions in critical theory (Guba, 1990). The critical theory research paradigm assumes that social structures create inequalities that are unjust and

that revealing the underlying mechanisms enables agents to make emancipatory decisions (Fay, 1987). Implied in its assumption that inequalities exist and can be fought, critical theory also assumes that rational actors can agree on a better version of the social structures and accurately judge whether or not the changes that occur in social structures are bringing the social reality closer to a more equitable form (Guba, 1990). The critical theory paradigm tempers the relativism associated with the constructivist paradigm because it relies on an epistemological belief that truth claims can be judged by how well they correspond to an objective reality (Guba, 1990).

I drew heavily on the critical theory paradigm as a foundation for this inquiry because the "regularized relations of autonomy and dependence" (Giddens, 1979, p. 6) shaping librarians' work result in inequalities and contradictions that I wanted to understand better. In particular, the critical theory paradigm made me sensitive to evidence of the ways that librarians create and recreate these inequalities and contradictions through their interactions with administrators, other faculty, and each other. The social reality and power relations I studied included the complex interplay of librarians' work and self-perceptions, college practices and structures, participants' interpretations of faculty and administrator attitudes, and the varied social and cultural changes influencing higher education. Following Giddens' (1979) recommendation regarding social research, I employed a critical stance in this study to "explore the nature of the intersection between choice and constraint" (p. 56) in librarians' work.

This context of choice and constraint creates the social reality of librarians' work. Social reality is simultaneously created and experienced by agents in one oscillating process. Giddens (1979) refers to this process as the "duality of social structures" for which the structure is "both medium and outcome" of the actions of social agents (p. 5). Studies of social reality start from the premise that novel forms of interaction and organization are constantly emerging as agents react to structures as well as to other agents (Suddaby, 2006). Taken together, these features of social structures create fluidity and dynamism that should be studied using methods that emphasize process and interpretation (Suddaby, 2006).

Though the changes are not always rapid, social structures are fluid and dynamic and should be studied using methods that emphasize process and interpretation (Suddaby, 2006). In the critical theory paradigm, qualitative methodology emphasizes process and interpretation because it highlights the researcher's role in co-constructing meaning with participants and reflexively interrogating the meaning-making process throughout the study. In a qualitative study, the research encounter creates knowledge as the researcher's thoughts and the participant's thoughts come into contact during in-depth interviews and each creates new thoughts in the other's mind (Lather, 1991). It is this co-influence that Creswell (2003) referred to when he called qualitative research "emergent rather than tightly prefigured" (p. 183). Achieving this co-influence between the researcher and participants was the most important motivation behind my decision to apply a qualitative methodology in this study.

The Research Context

This qualitative approach, informed by critical theory and constructivist paradigms, is especially relevant to my goal of filling a gap in the existing research about instruction librarians' work. By relying on the voices of the participants, this study escaped some of the limitations inherent in the typical professional research that has been driven by goals of social engineering and rationalist planning (Lather, 1991). Although laudable for their dedication to applicability and practicality, the studies aimed at defining and managing librarians' work often make unexamined assumptions about the nature of that work. When these assumptions (e.g., about librarians' neutral service ethos or their roles as instruments of education) get reified they can obscure more useful observations and interpretations that may not conform to expectations. When modernist paradigms of discovery and falsification prevail, as they often do in librarianship (Budd, 2001), the examples that refute the claim may be ignored no matter how numerous they are. Based on the small number of studies and the narrow range of methods applied, I argue that community college librarians' experiences are examples of significant data that have been largely ignored. The qualitative approach breaks down the restriction on what constitutes knowledge about higher education and librarians. Community college instruction librarians' own experiences may conflict with received knowledge about librarians' work. The qualitative methodology of this study allowed me to investigate this conflict without having to try to resolve it. The study resulted in an interpretive

explanation of community college instruction librarians' work that acknowledges

contradictions and opposing arguments (Kvale, 1995).

Grounded Theory Design

The design for this study was a constructivist revision of grounded theory

based on Charmaz's (2006) model. This type of grounded theory develops

through a process of hypothetical reasoning that leads the researcher "from

studying concrete realities to rendering a conceptual understanding of them"

(Charmaz, 2003, p. 311). Researchers engaged in constructing grounded theory

make knowledge claims about how people interpret social reality (Suddaby,

2006). In this process, researchers often find support from theories that help

them to focus on the phenomena that are central to participants' experiences and

interpretations of social reality (Kelle, 1997). These phenomena form a pattern of

interaction among individual and collective actors (Mjoset, 2005). The grounded

theorist studies this pattern and its context in order to identify the factors that will

explain its relevant variations (Mjoset, 2005). The theory emerges during the

researcher's efforts to abstract participants' subjective experiences into

explanations about the patterns of causal relationships between actions and

structures (Suddaby, 2006).

The purpose and procedures of grounded theory strengthened the link

between my research goals and the paradigm and methodology of my study.

Grounded theory enabled me to draw more from my participants' explanations of

their social reality than a simple description. It guided my process of interrogating

the intersections between participants' choices and constraints (Giddens, 1979)

because it focused on the patterns of relationships between actions and structures (Suddaby, 2006). The emphasis that grounded theory design places on hypothetical reasoning elevates the concrete to the conceptual and insists on prioritizing participants' lived experiences, not received knowledge and tradition.

Researchers using grounded theory close the distance between theory and practice by building their studies on the foundation of participants' theories of action. Grounded theory treats the participants' description of the meanings, values, and purposes behind their actions as relevant, important, and insightful, which keeps the researcher responsive to the context of her study and enriches the research results. When there are differences between the researcher's theory and the practitioners' theories in action, the interpretations that emerge from a serious engagement with practice are more likely to still be relevant, applicable, and non-coercive even though practitioners may object to specific aspects of the researcher's theory (Robinson, 1993).

The constructivist paradigm in grounded theory focuses on understanding the processes central to changes that occur within social groups. In this study, this approach helped to describe the mechanisms at work in the changing roles and the relative success of community college instruction librarians. The strength of this type of grounded theory design for practice-oriented research comes from a key assumption about social reality:

People are proactive in creating their own realities. . . . Free human beings participate actively in the creation and construction of social reality [and] epistemological concern should not be focused on universal principles or

an absolutist view, as such a reality does not exist. (O'Connor, Netting, &

Thomas, 2008, p. 38)

Grounded theory achieves its explanatory power through simultaneous

data collection and analysis, open and focused coding, theoretical sampling,

memo writing, and comparative methods. The goal of constructivist grounded

theory is "perspectival knowledge based on the lived experience of the

participants" (O'Connor et al., 2008, p. 30). Constructivist studies result in

substantive theories that are relevant to the context from which they are

developed and demonstrate deep understanding of the specific social context

from which they emerge.

The constructivist revisions of grounded theory that de-emphasize formal

theorizing have been controversial, especially among researchers who adhere to

classical grounded theory design, and confusion remains as to what constitutes

good grounded theory research (O'Connor et al., 2008). In the context of this

controversy, I have selected constructivist grounded theory for my design

because the practice disciplines, like nursing and librarianship, are less

interested in formal theory than they are in "substantive semi-formal theories

closely wrapped in supporting data trails" (Kearney, 2007, p. 144). Grounded

theory that aids in deep meaning and understanding is particularly effective for

conceptualizing the practice disciplines because "the real merit of a substantive

theory lies in its ability to speak specifically for the population from which it was

derived and to apply back to them" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 267). By

investigating efficacy issues and structural conditions shaping instruction

librarians' work, I came to a contextualized emergent understanding that I then developed into a substantive theory conceptualizing community college librarians' experiences in sustaining their instruction programs.

Setting

Selecting southern California community college libraries as the setting for this study provided several benefits for theory development. The density of community colleges in this region permitted me to travel to 13 sites during the two-month period that I had available for data collection, allowing for maximum comparison. The community colleges in California represent a particularly rich setting for investigating the structural conditions that influence librarians' work because all full-time community college librarians in California have faculty status. Although the specifics of their work may vary because of differences in local faculty contracts, their status as faculty means that they are eligible for tenure and other benefits. These other benefits include serving on and leading college governance committees, which are opportunities that are not available to librarians at other types of institutions where they are considered academic staff without faculty status. Their status as faculty creates conditions for equality and reciprocity with other faculty, suggesting a fertile ground for instructional innovations as well as collaborations.

California community colleges also share a common policy history, having nearly implemented an information competency graduation requirement for all colleges in the state in 2001. The efforts behind this initiative, the structures that it created despite its disappointing outcome, and the strategies it has inspired

librarians to pursue on their own campuses create a common language of library

instruction that is shared by many community college librarians in the state.

These commonalities among the colleges as well as the researcher's familiarity

with the working conditions created a strong foundation from which to theorize

about how community college librarians are using existing structures to promote

their goals and how other structures are impeding their progress.

Another salient feature of the setting was the severe budget crisis

affecting California community colleges during this study. The pressures created

by budget cuts and the threat of further reductions highlighted the barriers that

library instruction coordinators face when they try to build their instruction

programs, endeavor to influence curriculum development and college policies,

and explore expanded roles for librarians in student learning. Reports on the

status of community colleges in 2011-2012 detailed course reductions, layoffs,

and depleted reserves (Krupnick, 2012; Megerian, 2012). The colleges suffered

$415 million in state budget cuts during that year and a drop in revenue from

property taxes and student enrollment caused the budget deficit to grow as the

year progressed (Megerian, 2012). Projections for 2012-2013 suggested that if

ballot initiatives to increase state taxes did not pass during the November 2012

elections an additional $300 million could be cut from the community colleges'

$3.7 billion budget and some colleges would need emergency loans from the

state to prevent campus closures (Krupnick, 2012). At the time of these

interviews, none of the participating colleges appeared to be on the verge of

closure. Several libraries, however, had already absorbed staff reductions and

were no longer able to stay open on weekends, two signs that budget cuts had significantly curtailed colleges' services for students.

Sample

I interviewed 16 librarians for this study. My criteria for potential participants included at least four years of full-time service at their current institution and responsibility for coordinating credit instruction, not-for-credit instruction, or both. I identified the first ten participants for this study from librarians I had encountered at meetings of local, regional, and statewide professional organizations. I identified six additional participants through snow-ball sampling, drawing on librarians' network of professional relationships in the region to help me to locate additional active library instruction coordinators.

Instrumentation

The primary mode of data generation in this study was semi-structured in-depth interviews. In-depth interviewing is a popular technique in qualitative studies because researchers see it as an effective means of achieving "both breadth of coverage across key issues, and depth of coverage within each" (Legard, Keegan, & Ward, 2003, p. 148). The interviews I conducted met the typical criteria for qualitative data collection by: (a) combining structure with flexibility, (b) encouraging interaction between the interviewer and interviewee, (c) using probes to achieve depth, (d) generating new knowledge or thoughts, (e) being captured in natural form (usually tape recorded), and (f) taking place face-to-face (Legard et al., 2003).

My specific approaches to conducting, recording, evaluating, and analyzing interviews followed from my theoretical assumptions and research questions (Roulston, 2010). Often, post-positivist or romantic theoretical assumptions (Roulston, 2010) about interview data include the belief that the participants' responses reveal truth about their internal or external reality (Wildemuth, 2009). In keeping with the constructivist paradigm, I avoided treating the participants' responses as a set of facts to be gathered from the interviewees (Charmaz, 2003) or a report of "matters outside the interview – that is, what people actually believe, observe, or do" (Roulston, 2010, p. 218). Holstein and Gubrium (2003) call the constructivist approach active interviewing and advise researchers not to artificially guard the interview from contamination but rather to embrace the ways that meaning construction is unavoidably collaborative. The professional culture that I share in common with the interviewees shaped our joint construction of meaning during the interviews (Garton & Copland, 2010). This joint construction of meaning was appropriate to this study because grounded theory does not presume the accuracy or objectivity of the stories themselves. Instead, grounded theory relies on participants' stories to suggest the social situation that they have experienced, which they communicate subjectively, and which is reimagined intersubjectively through the interview process (Suddaby, 2006).

In studies like this one, in which the researcher is an insider to the community being studied, the shared knowledge and understanding produce certain types of talk (Roulston, Baker, & Liljestrom, 2001). During the interviews I

modulated my communication to create a type of talk that stakes a claim to my

identity as a librarian as well as researcher, and the participants similarly created

their professional identity through their responses. Together we created and

recreated the professional norms that we shared in common. The interviews

were not merely professional discussions, however, because I was responsible

as the researcher for challenging the naturalness of existing social arrangements

with which the participants and I were familiar. As Lather (1991) suggested, I did

this by identifying and holding up for scrutiny the paradoxes that emerged in

participants' descriptions of structural conditions in their work. Sometimes my

probes into the descriptions of common social arrangements were jarring to the

participants because they identified me as a librarian and assumed I understood

their work the same way that they did. Sometimes I neglected to follow-up on

statements about the naturalness of existing structures because they were so

familiar to me from my own work. However, overall, by staying alert for

assumptions that should be interrogated further during the interviews, the

participants and I collaborated on identifying areas for critical reflection (Lather,

1991). In order to encourage this type of critique I used content mapping

questions to "open up the research territory and to identify the dimensions or

issues that are relevant to the participant" and I used content mining questions to

"explore the detail which lies within each dimension, to access the meaning it

holds for the interviewee, and to generate in-depth understanding from the

interviewee's point of view" (Legard et al., 2003, p. 148).

After drafting questions and probes based on my professional experience and the professional literature, I tested the instrument with librarians in spring 2011. I used their feedback to revise the instrument for clarity and to improve the content mapping questions. The instrument can be found in Appendix A. I conducted the interviews between October 25, 2011 and January 6, 2012. In keeping with the guidelines of grounded theory I began analyzing the results of individual interviews by writing reflective memos. Using the insights from these memos, I revised the interview protocol as the interviews progressed in order to better explore the topics that were developing and reduce the interference from questions that did not resonate with librarians' experiences. I gathered secondary data from participants through online prompts for written reflections. This allowed me to return to earlier participants with questions that emerged from later interviews. It had the added benefit of giving participants time to further consider the topics that came up during the interview in case that experience generated additional insights in the following days. Finally, I collected library department program reviews from the participants in order to deepen my understanding of librarians' efforts to sustain their instruction programs. I analyzed the ways that they represented their instruction programs to the administrators and faculty leaders responsible for accepting the reviews.

In order to hone my reflexivity throughout the course of the study, I kept a research journal. I used the journal for bracketing and challenging the theoretical and experiential assumptions I brought to the study to guard against them becoming blinding biases (Bringer, Johnston, & Brackenridge, 2004). I started

keeping the reflexive journal before I began gathering data and took a "writing to learn" (Luttrell, 2010, p. 11) approach to the journal and memos, recognizing that making my thinking visible would allow me to treat this content as additional data. Keeping the journal also supported me during times of feeling confused and uncertain as I grew as a researcher and learned to tolerate ambiguity in order to "climb up analytic levels" and move beyond superficial analysis (Charmaz, 2006, p. 1).

Data Collection

Devotees of classical grounded theory advocate for researchers to rely solely on field notes to record raw data because they fear that coding transcribed interviews can lock the researcher into a descriptive stance toward the data and hinder conceptualization (Holton, 2007). This approach assumes that the researcher will "grasp the most important points and eliminate clutter" and that the interviewer will "record the most telling material and record it well" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 69) with an objective transparency that I do not believe exists. Instead of relying on field notes, I made audio recordings of the full interviews and had them transcribed through the Center for Oral and Public History at California State University, Fullerton. I decided to have the interviews fully coded so that I could follow Charmaz's (2006) advice that "coding full transcriptions can bring you to a deeper level of understanding" (p. 70), and I trusted that it would give me ideas and understandings that I might otherwise miss. Because of the exploratory nature of this study, transcribing interviews also had the added benefit of

permitting me to return to the data in the future, since they may contain "the makings of several analyses" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 70).

The participants provided informed consent for the interviews. I explained that my purpose in conducting the research was to fill a gap in the field that had so far ignored community college librarians' particular experiences with instruction. The potential benefits of their participation in this research included a higher profile for the instructional work being accomplished by community college librarians. I have not identified specific librarians in my report, minimizing the risks they took as participants. Still, the community of librarians is small and some information included in my report may allow people to identify particular institutions if they are familiar with the library in question. Despite this possible concern, the librarians were willing to take moderate risks in order to contribute to the creation of new knowledge and better understanding of our profession. The interviews took place in librarians' offices or meeting rooms where the interviews were not likely to be interrupted and librarians felt comfortable disclosing potentially sensitive professional judgments about themselves and their colleagues.

Data Analysis

Grounded theory data analysis, whether constructivist or classical, includes some core techniques. Memo writing, open coding, focused coding, and axial or theoretical coding are common to every grounded theory design. Constant comparison of data, incidents, codes, and categories keep the

emerging theory grounded in the research context. Strauss and Corbin (1998) describe the interplay between data collection and theory development, stating:

> Because no researcher enters into the process with a completely blank and empty mind, interpretations are the researcher's abstractions of what is in the data. These interpretations, which take the form of concepts and relationships, are continuously validated through comparisons with incoming data. (p. 294)

This process of forming concepts and relationships and then comparing them to concepts and relationships that emerge from incoming data throughout the study is a key strength of grounded theory. It is a complicated process and putting off analyzing data until most of the data are collected can lead to flooding, or being overwhelmed by the volume of data (Charmaz, 2006). In order to minimize this, I began analysis with the first data I collected. Simultaneously collecting and analyzing data helped me "go further and deeper into the research problem as well as engage in developing categories" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 48). In this study, data analysis proceeded in three steps: open coding, focused coding, and integration. ATLAS/ti, qualitative analysis software, facilitated the process of organizing my data, codes, and memos.

Memos. Following Charmaz's (2006) advice, my approach to memo writing was spontaneous, starting with the first idea that occurred to me about my data. Writing memos provided me with a space in which to pause and analyze my ideas about the codes (Charmaz, 2006). In particular, I confronted what I knew, how I knew it, my degree of certainty, and the further lines of inquiry that

that knowledge implied (Lempert, 2007). According to Charmaz (2006), memos

may do any of the following:

- Define each code or category by its analytic properties.

- Spell out and detail processes subsumed by the codes or categories.

- Make comparisons between data and data, data and codes, codes and

  codes, codes and categories, categories and categories.

- Bring raw data into the memo.

- Provide sufficient empirical evidence to support your definitions of the

  category and analytic claims about it.

- Offer conjectures to check in the field setting(s).

- Identify gaps in the analysis.

- Interrogate a code or category by asking questions of it. (p. 82)

Early memos were not necessarily connected to one another but they

recorded my initial impressions (Lempert, 2007). My advanced memos described

how a category emerged and changed, identified my beliefs and assumptions

that supported the category, placed the topic within an argument, and made

comparisons (Charmaz, 2006). Analytical memoing generated "categories,

comparisons, questions, and avenues for further consideration which are more

abstract than the original topic" (Lempert, 2007, p. 251) and created the

necessary conditions for generating a theory.

Memo writing also supported my efforts to dig into "implicit, unstated, and

condensed meanings" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 83) that were embedded in

participants' professional discourse. My analytical memoing focused on rhetorical

uses and meanings of key terms, "comparisons of the definitions of the situation by differentially placed knowers, . . . conditions for differing interpretations" (Lempert, 2007, p. 250), trajectories of relationships, "underlying processes and assumptions about the topic in the research site" (Lempert, 2007, p. 251), and negotiations of cultural tropes. In the analytical memos, I interrogated the tension between participants' taken-for-granted beliefs, my own self-understanding as a librarian, and my responsibility for creating a context that enabled all participants (including me) to question received knowledge and professional norms (Lather, 1986). These memos recorded how my "perspectives were altered by the logic of the data" (Lather, 1986, p. 271), a necessary element for reflexivity and trustworthiness.

Challenges in memoing included the temptation to "latch on to an early descriptive pattern" or "force a too early analytical framework on the data" (Lempert, 2007, p. 249). Some researchers "discover a few interesting findings early in their data collection and then truncate their research" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 84). Diligently applying the principles of constant comparison helped me to minimize these threats and assured that all data were analyzed rather than discarded because they did not fit established themes (O'Connor et al., 2008). According to Holton (2007), a proponent of classical grounded theory, constant comparison is a complex and multistage process.

Incidents are compared to other incidents to establish the underlying uniformity and varying conditions of generated concepts and hypotheses. Then, emerging concepts are compared to more incidents to generate

new theoretical properties of the concepts and more hypotheses. The

purpose here is theoretical elaboration, saturation, and densification of

concepts. Finally, emergent concepts are compared to each other with the

purpose of establishing the best fit between potential concepts and a set

of indicators, the conceptual levels between concepts that refer to the

same set of indicators and their integration (theoretical coding) into

hypotheses to become theory. (Holton, 2007, p. 278)

In my application of constructivist grounded theory, I undertook constant

comparison between emerging concepts to, as Holton mentions, "generate new

theoretical properties of the concepts" (p. 278). However, what Holton refers to

as hypotheses are more accurately understood as conditional explanations in a

constructivist approach. Systematic comparison increased my sensitivity to the

data and kept me alert to surprises (Star, 2007), making it easier to identify

variations in the patterns of the data (Kelle, 2007), allowing me to classify the

data for grouping it into concepts (O'Connor et al., 2008), and permitting me to

interrogate my conditional explanations as the study progressed. This iterative

process of comparing data, identifying patterns, generating concepts, and testing

conditional explanations throughout the study laid the groundwork for developing

a substantive theory.

Reviewing the memos throughout the process of comparison, analysis,

and integration allowed me to shift focus, reconfigure analysis, integrate

disparate pieces of analysis, reconstitute the argument, and look for cumulative

patterns (Lempert, 2007). This process was necessary for conceptualizing the

data and moving to higher levels of abstraction in route to theory development or deeper understanding. The memoing process that made comparisons between my interpretations and the existing literature alerted me to "gaps in theorizing, as well as the ways that my data tells a different, or more nuanced, story" (Lempert, 2007, p. 254). As is common in grounded theory, I identified several possible modes of integrating the disparate analyses, and then I selected only one mode of integration to develop in the study, trusting that I can-return to the other modes of integration in a future study (Lempert, 2007). Memoing was a safe place to consider and discard various ways of integrating the analysis without having to make a significant commitment to ideas that proved to be dead ends.

As a novice researcher, I benefited from treating memo writing as "an opportunity to expand [my] writing vocabulary, habits of thought, and attentiveness to [my] senses and as a bulwark against the censorious voice of science" as well as to "develop a sense of self and experiment with seeing the world from different persons' perspectives" (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2008, p. 493). Writing memos was "the methodological link" that I used to transform data into theory and it helped me become conscious of myself as a research instrument engaged in conceptualizing, "discursively organizing" and interpreting the data rather than simply describing the social reality of the respondents (Lempert, 2007, p. 245).

Reflexive memos also helped me to develop and manage my theoretical sensitivity. While traditional grounded theory suggests that the researcher should endeavor "to free oneself from any theoretical preconception whatsoever" this

"can hardly be considered a useful methodological rule for the analysis of qualitative data" (Kelle, 2004, p. 479). Acknowledging that the researcher cannot come to her research as a blank slate, however, does not lessen the importance of treating "*all* assumptions of preexisting theories" with skepticism and scrutinizing them "in light of one's own data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 292). Memoing through this process allowed me "to question and qualify as well as to give assent to [my] received theories," assuring that the concepts had to "earn their way" into the study instead of being "blindly accepted and imposed on data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 292).

Computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). I used ATLAS/ti 6 to assist me in organizing my data for analysis. This software provided the following benefits:

- a flexible coding system into which new codes could be added at any time;

- the ability to view text retrieved in its context;

- powerful search facilities;

- and a way of keeping track of the project. (Morison & Moir, 1998)

ATLAS/ti is not a neutral tool, but rather has specific assumptions built in that can influence the analysis. I learned to manage this potential influence through self-monitoring, error recognition, and avoiding unmindful transformations of the data that could have unintended results (Gilbert, 2002). ATLAS/ti was developed for the purpose of enabling research with a grounded theory approach and the primary benefit of using ATLAS/ti is data administration

and archiving (Kelle, 1997, para. 6.3). I used ATLAS/ti to save transcripts and documents for coding, create and save my networked coding scheme, code data line-by-line and in coding families, save and code memos and my reflexive research journal, and build a preliminary theoretical model.

Using ATLAS/ti streamlined my process of identifying similarities, differences, and relations between different text passages and allowed me to establish links between codes and text segments and between one code and another (Kelle, 1997). Qualitative analysis software, like ATLAS/ti, facilitates line-by-line coding by making retrieval easier but I was mindful of the ways that using software could impede researcher reflexivity, dulling the analysis and making it programmatic rather than dynamic (Morison & Moir, 1998). Simply focusing on managing the data rather than experiencing it aesthetically and viscerally can create a coding trap that keeps the researcher too close to the raw data and prevents her from achieving abstraction and synthesis (Gilbert, 2002). I worked against this by alternating between working on the computer and working on paper, writing memos, and maintaining my focus on the research questions (Gilbert, 2002).

Coding. Coding is the primary way of moving away from raw data and beginning to see the text in terms of themes or concepts that lead to further abstractions rather than mere descriptions. Coding in grounded theory leads to two products that are necessary for constructing substantive theory: generalizable theoretical statements and contextual analyses (Charmaz, 2006). During coding I tried to understand participants' views and actions from their

perspectives and dig into the data to interpret tacit meanings (Charmaz, 2006). In general, grounded theory coding takes place in two main phases "1) an initial phase involving naming each word, line, or segment of data followed by 2) a focused selective phase that uses the most significant or frequent initial codes to sort, synthesize, integrate, and organize large amounts of data" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 46). After focused coding, I began considering emergent categories that could develop into a substantive theory.

Open coding. Open coding was the first phase of connecting codes with text passages. The purpose at this stage was to develop a close familiarity with the text (Charmaz, 2006) and fracture the data into small units of meaning to help identify patterns in the responses (Kelle, 2007, Holton, 2007). My approach to open coding included descriptive or substantive codes that served as signposts in the data, guiding my constant comparison of incidents, actions, and events. It also involved *in vivo* codes derived directly from participants' own words. Most importantly for the beginning of theory development, it included line-by-line coding. Line-by-line coding developed my sensitivity to nuances in the data as I identified participants' implicit concerns in addition to their explicit statements (Charmaz, 2006). At this stage, the codes proliferated so that I could "remain open to all possible theoretical directions" that I uncovered in my readings of the data (Charmaz, 2006, p. 46). My initial coding mined the early data for analytic ideas that I then pursued as my data collection and analysis progressed (Charmaz, 2006).

Focused coding, concepts, and integration. After breaking down the data through open coding, in the next phase of analysis I connected conceptual codes to other codes rather than directly to the text. I was able to begin this second phase after I identified concepts in my data. At this stage the codes captured patterns and themes, clustering them "under a 'title' that evokes a constellation of impressions and analyses" (Lempert, 2007, p. 253). Focused coding brought back together the data that I had fractured during the initial open coding (Charmaz, 2006).

After I identified concepts, the next step was tentative integration and analysis of the emerging category. The focused codes were the raw material for the category that emerged (Charmaz, 2006). Defining concepts and the core process was an iterative process during coding. Going back and forth between the data and emerging analysis helped me avoid premature closure as I considered how codes fit together under a concept, which of the initial codes the category subsumes, how the core process connects conceptions, the conditions under which the concept varied, the hierarchy of the category, and the implicit rules of the social interaction that I studied (Charmaz, 2006). I described the emerging concepts "elaborately in terms of their properties, dimensions, variations, or relationships" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 288). I found underlying and unstated assumptions embedded in the core process (Charmaz, 2006, p. 83). O'Connor et al., (2008) summarized this stage in the analysis:

> Once data are unitized and assigned to defined categories, additional
>
> analysis continues at the categorical level, where categories and

subcategories are added or eliminated until possible relationships between the categories begin to emerge. Data are being deconstructed into units and reconstructed into categories with greater and greater degrees of abstraction. (p. 41)

At this point, I started building my theory by considering relationships among the concepts (O'Connor et al., 2008). Moving back and forth between inductive and deductive thinking, I went through a process of theory building that required me to perform four distinct analytic steps simultaneously, "1) the hypothetical linking of concepts; 2) the verification of the hypothesis against data; 3) the continued search for the properties of the concepts and their dimensions; and 4) an exploration of the variation in expression of the phenomenon" (Morison & Moir, 1998, p. 111). Through this analysis I was able to specify possible relationships among the focused codes and the core process; the substantive theory started to emerge from these hypothesized relationships (Charmaz, 2006).

Generating theory. The purpose of this study was to develop a substantive theory to conceptualize how community college librarians increase their access to students through teaching, but as the themes emerged from the data I shifted my focus to instead generate a theory of how community college librarians are sustaining effective instruction programs ten years after a state-wide information competency graduation requirement was approved by the State Chancellor and then blocked by the Finance Office as an unfunded mandate. The leap from interpreting the data to developing a theory that would enable

participants to "re-evaluate themselves and their situations" required an empirical

stance which was "open-ended, dialogically reciprocal, grounded in human

capacity, and, yet, profoundly skeptical of appearances and 'common sense'"

(Lather, 1991, p. 65). This was a difficult balance to strike, and I found that along

with the grounded theorists cited throughout this chapter, Mintzberg's reflections

on theory development heavily influenced my dedication to building a theory

even when I briefly doubted that I could transcend a simple description of my

data. Mintzberg (2005) emphasizes the usefulness and insightfulness of theory

rather than its objectivity and verifiability.

Mintzberg (2005) also offers advice about moving from data to theory,

including outlining as an effective stage in development if the researcher can

hold beliefs flexibly enough to see gaps and constrictions but also take her

beliefs seriously enough to be guided and focused by them. He advises that the

outline can be used as one way of coding the data (Mintzberg, 2005). Keeping in

mind the need to be wary of forcing the data or closing down my analysis

prematurely, I followed this advice and it helped me to make decisions about

codes, data, and interpretations when I started to feel I was being flooded by

data. It also helped me stay alert to anomalies in my data, a source of additional

insight and creativity (Mintzberg, 2005). Mintzberg (2005) exhorts novice theory

builders to make unexpected connections and work through the fear that is built

into "the whole process by which we do and assess research" (p. 369). This, as

Mintzberg pointed out, required me to set and meet my own standard for insight

and interest which kept me moving forward during the iterative process of trying, revising, and reconceiving as I generated a substantive theory.

Validity and Trustworthiness

Validity is the claim that a study's findings closely correspond to an objective reality. In the positivist tradition, validity was assured if the researcher used reliable methods that created stable findings (Altheide & Johnson, 1994). In constructivist and critical theory research paradigms, validity is not so easily established. The constructivist paradigm values multiple realities over the illusion of one objective reality, and the critical theory paradigm values the "action and understanding" generated by the findings over abstract quality criteria (Lincoln, 1990, p. 72). This separation from the positivist tradition means that qualitative researchers have to defend the quality of their studies using criteria that go beyond simply drawing a connection between their own procedures and a set of vetted methods. Specifically, qualitative researchers have to use the data that emerges during their own study to rule out alternative explanations rather than using established sampling and statistical procedures to control for rival hypotheses (Maxwell, 2010). Qualitative researchers use terminology to highlight the difference between their values and the positivists' assumptions. Some refer to trustworthiness and authenticity rather than validity and rigor (Lincoln, 1990) and others qualify the concept of validity by adding terms like catalytic, transgressive, situated, or voluptuous (Altheide & Johnson, 1994). In this section, I will use the terms trustworthiness, validity, and authenticity because I draw from a variety of sources, but all are from constructivist or critical theory paradigms. In

postpostivist paradigms, researchers compare findings to what they observe in the world and take care to identify and rule out the ways their interpretations may be wrong (Maxwell, 2010).

Traditional grounded theory grew out of efforts by Glaser and Strauss (1967) to bring sociological research back to an empirical foundation, suggesting positivist influences on their thinking. The fundamental procedures of grounded theory (including constant comparison and theoretical sampling) are intended to foster a close relationship between findings and observable reality, and the validity of those procedures could speak for themselves. The memos, codes, and reflexive journal included in my data trail will demonstrate how appropriate my approach was for answering my research questions and how faithful I was in applying my selected research techniques (Bringer et al., 2004). In the constructivist and critical theory paradigms that I am using, however, the usefulness of my research both as a foundation for my own future studies and as a contribution to the profession hinges on its trustworthiness and authority, not simply on my use of externally validated procedures.

As the researcher in this study it was my responsibility to make the final determination of what constitutes truth—a specific, local, personal, and community-bound truth (Kvale, 1995). Even the process of "generating evidence or identifying something as evidence is itself an interpretation" (Schwandt, 2007, p. 11). The only way for readers to evaluate the evidence and conclusions of this study is by judging the authenticity. In this constructivist design, "there can be no appeal to some kind of evidence, experience, or meaning that is somehow

outside of interpretation, independent of it, or more basic than it" (Schwandt,

2007, p. 11). Understanding that knowledge is created intersubjectively,

trustworthiness comes from "how accurately the account represents participants'

realities of the social phenomena and is credible to them" (Creswell & Miller,

2000, p. 124). If the emergent theory and the concepts it integrates increase

participants' awareness of constructions and assumptions and if this new

understanding leads to action, then that will be the measure of the authority of

the study (Lincoln, 1990).

Rather than treating validation as certainty, constructivism sees it as "an

open process where to validate is to investigate" and, through investigation, to

identify new questions (Kvale, 1995, p. 22). This type of validity is an incitement

to discourse between the researcher and participants, not for the purpose of

finding support for the emerging theory, but to identify what may be wrong with it

(Lather, 1993). Validity in this sense relies upon participants' (including the

investigator's) negotiation of conflicting interpretations in order for constructivist

or critical knowledge claims to emerge (Kvale, 1995). The process of negotiating

conflicting interpretations extends to the tension between my practice orientation

and my theory building goals. The theory that I generated in the midst of this

conflict is more likely to have an impact on practice because it matches the

framework that participants share. I have also tried to ensure that the theory can

offer guidance for resolving problems by making sure it does not merely "mirror

key features of practice" that are themselves "implicated in the development and

maintenance of the problem" (Robinson, 1993, p. 19). The trustworthiness of my

findings is stronger because I am explicit about my efforts to temper my predisposition toward certain interpretations and show how the data change the *a priori* theory that I brought to the study (Lather, 1991). The authenticity of my findings is stronger because they are resonant enough with stakeholders' experiences to inspire transformation (Lather, 1991).

My study was a continuation of the professional discourse I have been engaged in for nearly ten years and is my effort to offer a plausible interpretation that achieves the status of a valid knowledge claim in my community. The trustworthiness of my study, therefore, required me to foreground my own reflexivity and describe the constructivist and critical procedures I employed to "protect [my] work from [my] own passions and limitations" (Lather, 1991, p. 69). I also argue for the face validity of my study created by "recycling description, emerging analysis, and conclusions" back through to participants and other stakeholders (Lather, 1986, p. 271). This process created a close connection between my goals for this study and the techniques I applied to crystallize my findings into "a deepened, complex, thoroughly partial understanding of the topic" (Kvale, 1995, p. 29). There are two types of validity that were especially relevant to my goals for this study. I met the standards of "communicative validity," (Kvale, 1995, p. 30) highlighting the importance of shared meaning by bringing my interpretations into dialogue with participants' views. And I pursued "pragmatic validity" by challenging myself to "unseat conventional thought" and "open new alternatives for thought and action" (Kvale, 1995, p. 35) so that respondents gained "self-determination through research participation" (Lather, 1991, p. 68).

Threats to the trustworthiness of my study included the time constraints posed by the dissertation process. A deadline like the one imposed by the dissertation conflicts with the often lengthy process of emergence, integration, and abstraction that lead to grounded theory. Despite my concerns, I found that my sensitivity to the issues facing instruction librarians provided me with a strong foundation from which to generate and to analyze data and to develop a substantive theory closely connected to their professional context.

Reflexivity and the role of the researcher. In interpretive qualitative research, the investigator is a research instrument (Lutrell, 2010). This raises concerns that researchers will conduct biased studies that are purely subjective and lack empirical content. In order for a study to be trustworthy, the researcher must explicitly address the common problems encountered in gathering qualitative data, including entrée to the research setting, self-presentation, rapport, and researcher mistakes and misconceptions (Altheide & Johnson, 1994). Writing about how the researcher attempted to solve these practical problems is a form of reflexivity that strengthens the study's quality by making "the research process and decision making visible at multiple levels: personal, methodological, theoretical, epistemological, ethical, and political" (Luttrell, 2010, p. 4). Researchers' constructs often come from their "*taken for granted* problems, categories, concepts and theories that are themselves created by systems of power, privilege, and patterns of inequality" (McDermott & Varenne, 2010, p. 179). When unexamined, researchers' preconceptions can weaken their ability to distinguish between what is actually occurring and the constructs they are

inventing because of their identification with particular social systems (Lather, 1986). When the researcher writes directly about the reasoning used to solve problems in the study and makes the effects of his or her own point of view clear, readers can then make informed decisions about the quality and trustworthiness of the data and analyses.

One challenge of this qualitative approach to the grounded theory design was balancing participants' working theories of their experiences (Garfinkel, 1967) with my responsibility to develop substantive theory that contradicted or questioned their explanations. This was an emotional experience of attachment and separation not just to move from the safety of the data to the uncertainty of abstraction (Star, 2007) but also to develop for myself a persona as a researcher that is separate from my identity as a colleague. Emotional challenges are so common during the research process that Stern (2007) advises "if the researcher fails to be emotionally involved with the data and its analysis, they may be doing it wrong" (p. 124). My emotions became involved during the interviews when respondents' experiences mirrored or challenged my own experiences of professional conflict, frustration, and insecurity, as well as my experiences with success (Chavez, 2008).

I am an insider to my research topic and my reflexivity included navigating "insider positionality, to know where the self and the other begins and ends" (Chavez, 2008, p. 490). An insider has privileged access to group knowledge that outsiders are only able to access at greater risk or cost (Merton, 1972). This means that insiders "can understand the cognitive, emotional, and/or

psychological precepts of participants as well as possess a more profound knowledge of the historical and practical happenings of the field" (Chavez, 2008, p. 481). I did not, however, take the effect of my insider status for granted because "a researcher can experience various degrees of insiderness and outsiderness given how [she or he] is socially situated to (and by) participants during the research process, which affects various stages and aspects of the study" (Chavez, 2008, p. 477). As a librarian, I was seen as a member of the participants' community and I was a member of the same "distinctive occupational subcultures that interpret reality on the basis of status and work identity" (Labaree, 2002, p. 118) even though I was meeting some of the participants for the first time when I interviewed them.

Other insider participant-researchers have noted that methodological and ethical dilemmas are hidden when the insider assumes she has achieved access that will facilitate "a measurable advantage inherent in seeing things from the inside" (Labaree, 2002, p. 99). It can blind the researcher, leading to difficulty with recognizing patterns due to familiarity with community; bias in selecting participants; community interaction styles that compromise the interview process; and responses affected by participants' perceptions, expectations, and interpretations of my identity (Chavez, 2008). One of my approaches to handle this complexity was analyzing membership categorization devices in the study. This not only made transparent the construction of knowledge and generation of data during interviews, but it also held me to account reflexively for my role in that construction (Garton & Copland, 2010). Through reflexive memoing I

analyzed my own conscious and unconscious efforts to maintain my membership

category as an instruction librarian interviewing other instruction librarians. I also

reflected on my own perceptions of where I stood in relation to the participants,

and, more significantly, what I understood about interviewees' perceptions of the

relationship I had with them (Hellawell, 2006).

As an insider, I also consciously avoided the temptation to create an

observational, descriptive record that would have missed the higher

conceptualization that is the hallmark of grounded theory. This danger was

present because "the more unproblematic—that is, routine, familiar, and

ordinary—observed events seem to you, the more problematic creating an

original conceptual analysis of them will be" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 53). Memoing

worked against this inertia because I recorded my efforts to seek out

comparisons, dissimilarities, and surprises in participants' experiences.

Communicative validity. Communicative validity (Kvale, 1995) tests the

validity of knowledge claims in dialogue. In this study the core dialogue took

place among librarians who teach. I participated in the primary dialogic

interactions with stakeholders during interviews, debriefings, and at a conference

where I presented my initial findings. Through my analysis of interview and

journal data, I also brought the participants' voices into dialogue with one

another. Secondary validating dialogues developed between my findings and the

perceptions of educators outside of librarianship. The primary and secondary

dialogues informed my theorizing in this study. Theoretical exchange with study

participants and other audiences opened my explanations to scrutiny. Taking a

reflective approached to these dialogues, I was able to achieve reciprocity with the participants and generate "collaborative theorizing," which "both advances emancipatory theory and empowers the researched" (Lather, 1986, p. 269).

During the interviews, participants expressed how much they valued the opportunity to reflect that our discussion was giving them. Some found it to be a useful break from their day-to-day worries, saying, "I'm really enjoying talking about this. I'd forgotten how much I like all this. You know, you start obsessing about the problems and lack of progress, but I think there's been a lot of progress" and "I am glad you are asking that question because it makes me think about it more because otherwise it is so easy to be part of the machine and just do it." Other participants appreciated the opportunity to think about their colleagues at other colleges and what they would like to communicate to them. One participant suggested that a similar discussion could be valuable at a professional conference, explaining, "I found our discussion really interesting and it would be interesting on a wider level as well." Another librarian said, "I'm thinking about what would I find worthwhile to share with the rest of the world? What do I have to add to the conversation and sometimes I don't have time to reflect on that." Participants also found that hearing themselves explain their positions gave them new insights. One librarian valued the experience of being interviewed because "as the interview subject it gets you to think about things that you hadn't really thought about or commit to statements about things that you hadn't really committed to." And another explained, "It's funny, I don't

verbalize these things to myself until somebody asks a question that triggers that and I think 'you know, that's something we should be doing.'"

Motivated by my goals of reciprocity and collaboration, my process of member checking did not seek a one-to-one correspondence between my knowledge claims and reality or perceptions of reality that I was studying (Cho & Trent, 2006). Instead, the member checks were recursive (occurring over time through multiple contacts) and reflexive (collaborative between the researcher and informant, reflective, and critical) (Cho & Trent, 2006). Although convergence of participants' accounts did occur in the process (Seale, 1999), the real goal of this approach was to achieve a strong form of member validation (Seale, 1999), which generated "additional questions for [me] to answer rather than confirming a particular version" (Cho & Trent, 2006, p. 324). Therefore the purpose of the member check was not to ensure that the interpretation was true but only that it was, as much as possible, grounded in the daily life of the study participants (Cho & Trent, 2006, p. 329).

Fostering reciprocal communication with study participants about my theory helped me to achieve "understandability, fit, generality, and control" and directed my focus toward "concepts [that] bridge abstraction and reality" (Kearney, 2007, p. 130). This exchange also improved how well my substantive theory explained ways that "individuals can influence processes and outcomes" (Kearney, 2007, p. 130), a central goal of grounded theory when it is based in professional practice. Participants' reactions to my preliminary concepts and explanations helped me to "generate new properties of a category or a range of

categories" because they led me to reconsider how the categories fit the participants' experiences (Charmaz, 2006, p. 111).

Pragmatic validity/Catalytic validity. Finally, the trustworthiness of this study was based on the premise that research that purports to be disinterested denies its animating values and lacks an important component for judging its trustworthiness and authenticity. Knowledge serves the purposes and "priorities of a particular intellectual-cultural-social tradition" (Greene, 1990, p. 73) whether or not that purpose is stated. I did not rest on a conception of validity as craftsmanship (Kvale, 1995) or a set of criteria that paralleled the conventional positivist paradigm (Lincoln & Guba, 1986). Instead I employed an additional layer of "inclusive discourse of validity" to maintain my focus on "what matters specific to the problem [or] research within [my] research purview" (Cho & Trent, 2006, p. 333). I judge my research design and my embodied research practice to have been a success because I generated social knowledge that was useful and resonant (Lather, 1986) for librarians striving to define their identities as teachers, strengthen their contributions to student learning, and sustain their instruction programs.

Research findings that have emancipatory applications demonstrate what has alternately been called pragmatic validity (Kvale, 1995), catalytic validity (Lather, 1986), ontological authenticity (Lincoln & Guba, 1986), and educative authenticity (Lincoln & Guba, 1986). Though not interchangeable, these various measures of the usefulness of research share some common features that have guided my approach to this study. Specifically, I chose a research process that I

expected would change the participants (including the interviewees, peers with whom I debriefed, and me). This change included uniting divided consciousness by increasing our appreciation for the complexities of our professional relationships and the structural pressures that shape and distort these relationships (Lincoln & Guba, 1986). During the interviews and member checks, I also found opportunities to educate the research participants about one another in order to enhance our understanding of "how different opinions, judgments, and actions are evoked" (Lincoln & Guba, 1986) in our various professional experiences as instruction librarians. The participants and I found that taking part in this study reoriented us "toward knowing reality in order to transform it" (Lather, 1986, p. 272) and energized us to question power relations, advocate for students, and reach our potential as emancipatory educators.

Chapter Summary

The qualitative method and constructivist grounded theory design of this study gave me the flexibility and structure necessary to investigate librarians' experiences as teachers and the structural conditions that shape their ability to contribute to student learning. The result was an explanation of the mechanisms and variations in the core process of community college instruction librarians' work. In the next chapter I will describe my findings and the conceptual categories that I generated. Following my findings, I will explain the relationships among the categories and integrate them into the substantive theory that emerged from my analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

In this chapter I will describe the findings of my study. I have organized the findings according to the research questions. Participants' responses revealed their deep commitment to their profession, their dedication to student success, and their appreciation for the opportunities to participate in the core instructional functions of their institutions. The participants also revealed their ongoing concerns about the limitations and frustrations that are inherent to their marginalized roles as educators at the periphery of academia. These core concerns have resulted in tensions that influence participants' decisions, define their goals, and guide their planning. In the final chapter I will further explore the tensions of librarians work and propose a theory integrating them into a model of organizational paradoxes and responsive strategies.

Research Question 1

The first research question was: How do instruction librarians at California community colleges define their contribution to the instructional mission of their institutions? The participants in this study expressed a strong commitment to what they consider the California community colleges' traditional ideals of access and success for students with a wide range of experiences, abilities, interests, and goals. They see a very clear connection between the capacities of independent learning and critical thinking that they want students to develop and

the overall educational mission of empowerment that drew them to teach at community colleges in the first place. They shared concerns that recent budget-driven policies defining student success more narrowly will shrink the college mission and reduce the role of community colleges as an opportunity for non-traditional students. They also recognized that the library's collections and services may not be meeting the needs of such a diverse array of educational goals and areas of study, but rather than supporting the system-wide shift toward transfer that is implied in many of the new measures of student success, they continue pursuing new avenues for reaching students in basic skills courses and in career and technical programs where the library has not typically had a large role. Many of the participants described pushing themselves to find new ways to serve these underserved areas and to envision new instructional contexts where their teaching and expertise would be meaningful to students. In this section, I will summarize participants' views on the current and future instructional mission of the community colleges and describe their efforts to support that mission and contribute to student success.

Librarians and the Changing Community College Mission

Overall, participants recognized the complexity of the community college mission in California, calling it "muddy" and contrasting it with the more defined and "discrete" goals of students entering four-year colleges and universities. Another participant noted the wide range of student needs that the college must address saying, "I think our mission is to serve basic skills needs [and] also students who are more advanced; it's sort of a real hodge podge" because of the

mixture of students who were not prepared for college and students who could have entered a four-year program directly from high school but who chose to start at the community college instead.

Defining the community college mission. Several librarians embraced the community college mission to create college students. One librarian recalled an inspirational message from a speech by the college president who said, "'When our students arrive at [our school] they are not college students yet. But they will be before they leave.'" This librarian observed the strength of the community college role in developing students' academic literacy. She explained that community colleges give students an "introduction to learning that they may not have received in the K-12 environment." She also hoped that college educators' commitment to "just trying to light that fire" in students would help students to recognize within themselves that "they have a goal that they are trying to achieve and they might realize that they actually love learning." Echoing the image of inspiring students, one librarian described her ideal vision for community colleges' role in developing students:

> I'm talking about people who are trying to go to college, maybe for the first time in generations in their family, and mostly they're people a lot of times who never even considered transferring. They just went to college because it seemed like a good thing to do and everybody told them they were supposed to. There's a lot of these students who are just set on–I don't know. Sometimes it's a matter of just filling in some gaps about what it's like to be a college student, and what's expected of them, and showing

them how they can use their critical thinking. Nobody ever asked them to do it, but if you show them that they can, then they are on fire, and they will transfer, and they will succeed.

Some librarians tried to explain why community colleges increasingly have a role in student remediation. One participant identified the primary cause as changes in K-12 education that started with No Child Left Behind and what she saw as an intensified focus on testing rather than more holistic learning and critical thinking. This librarian worried that,

By the time you get to college, you should start almost taking responsibility for the learning, and I don't think many of our students are there yet. Isn't that what critical thinking is? Taking responsibility for their own learning, in a lot of ways, I hope. So that's what they need catching up on.

In this librarian's view, that was the type of learning that the community college was there to support. Since adult schools have been closed in many districts, some librarians considered community colleges to be the only option for educating adults regardless of whether or not they were seeking, or would ever develop, college-level skills. Another participant explained that the colleges have many missions:

And one of them would be getting-getting students ready for college, you know, making students college-ready. And we have a lot of students coming from high schools or coming from outside of this country that are not even up to the level of college, but they are adults and this is where they need to be. And you get what you get. So we need to work with those

students. We need to get them ready to be at college level and just that alone, even if they don't graduate from college, just being able to read and write and you know, do basic math is going to help them in their everyday life.

Participants also expressed concern about the effect of constricting opportunities for transfer to California State Universities and the University of California system. One librarian was so alarmed by the shrinking opportunities that she seemed to have given up hope, saying,

> I wish they all could finish and transfer in two years but they call community college the eight-year plan. Was it nine percent transfer? I don't know what the percentage is over all; it's not very high at all. Is it nine percent? . . . It's kind of disheartening especially since I have a four-year degree and you know and all my colleagues have masters plus. I think that's a big question: What are we preparing them for, or are we preparing them?

Despite concerns, others still referred to transfer as the primary purpose of community colleges. Librarians reported the community colleges' position as a bridge between high school and college as its central function. Rather than seeing community college as a place for lifelong exploration, one librarian explained, "I'm a big believer that if you are going to come to a community college have some goals specifically." A librarian who had been a community college student emphasized the role of the colleges in moving students on to universities, saying, "So to me a big part of the mission of community college is

you know, it's that bridge between high school and university. It's higher than a high school but it's not as big as a university."

At the time of this study, the Student Success Taskforce was in the process of setting the metrics for student success and initiating policies that would delimit the types of access students would have to classes. The state-wide taskforce, made up of college administrators as well as faculty representatives, was created by the California Community Colleges Chancellor's Office to propose recommendations that would improve student success rates as state funding for the colleges was falling (Rivera, 2012). The recommendations from the taskforce were controversial among college faculty, who believed that many of the proposed changes would result in rationing of access and would hurt struggling students (Rivera, 2012). One librarian who had completed a degree and transferred from a community college lamented that,

> One of the things I liked as a student and as an instructor is the incredible
> diversity that you see at community college. You meet everybody, you
> know, and that's one of my concerns. We're going to lose that also as we
> focus more and more on high school graduates and twenty year olds and
> that group because we're now the junior college, so the forty year olds and
> the fifty year olds are going to get displaced.

He concluded, "The tricky part with the new official mission is that it keeps getting smaller. . . . So that's why it's kind of hard for me to give you a definition, because I think the community college mission is big."

Librarians' stake in the mission. The community college ideal of open

access and something for everyone matches closely with librarians' professional

ethical standards. The interpretation of the American Library Association's

Library Bill of Rights intellectual freedom principles for academic libraries

includes two guidelines that could also describe the ideal of community colleges,

"Whenever possible, library services should be available without charge in order

to encourage inquiry" (ALA, 2000, para. 9) and

> A service philosophy should be promoted that affords equal access to
>
> information for all in the academic community with no discrimination on the
>
> basis of race, values, gender, sexual orientation, cultural or ethnic
>
> background, physical or learning disability, economic status, religious
>
> beliefs, or views. (ALA, 2000, para. 10)

Threats to the ideal of open access and a broad mission related directly to the

goals and responsibilities of librarians in this study. The ongoing budget crises

made clear that the mission and purpose of community colleges that librarians

took for granted are not guaranteed. When budgets permitted colleges to

maintain programs and services from year to year librarians recalled that they

could avoid making hard decisions about prioritizing resources. In those years,

being aligned with the broad instructional mission was enough to ensure most

libraries sufficient support for maintaining and even increasing staff and

collections. According to participants who had worked in the system for ten years

or more, library instruction programs benefited from this relative stability in

instructional budgets through the late 1990s and even through the brief recession

in the early part of the last decade and were able to add sections, acquire computers for their classrooms, and offer more supplemental instruction. Now, in contrast, as gradual disinvestment in higher education accelerates to become a "bludgeoning budget cutting blow" (Douglass 2010, p. 13), merely qualifying as instructional has not been enough to save programs when even general education sections were being cut.

Feeling the pressure, participants were critical of what they saw as the end of community colleges' commitment to lifelong learning and a curtailing of the mission. One impassioned librarian explained:

> If you are using the term community college that mission is supposed to apply to the community. What the Chancellor's Office is really saying is we're becoming a junior college and a tech college. And a remedial college, but we're not a community college. That's really what I'm seeing as the big change at the Chancellor's Office. Community is being done away with.

In his opinion, these changes would dismantle the bigger purpose the colleges have come to have over time.

> The community college is [where] you teach students; you transfer them to university; you give them what they need for a particular stage; you help them with job training. You are also there for the retiree who wants to learn how to paint. You are also there for the parent whose kids finally went off to college and they think, maybe I'd like to get that degree in

literature or something now. That's what my vision of a community college is.

Reflecting on the community colleges' support for lifelong learning, one experienced librarian explained, "I know that it's not going to stay like that because funding is going to be changing for programs at community colleges. But I liked that ideal vision that was going on."

Despite their concerns, most librarians were pragmatic. A young librarian with aspirations to become an administrator explained that "you can't mandate it, but you also can't have students taking one hundred and twenty credits and not progressing. And that's the dilemma of community colleges everywhere, and I think particularly in California, are facing." Finally, another librarian concluded her discussion of the college mission by explaining her feelings of resignation:

In the ideal, it would be great to be everything for everyone, but I know it can't stay that way. . . . Our college is very impacted. We have a lot of students who can't get in. I mean, they get admitted because we admit everybody, but they can't get classes.

Participants expected to see this significant shrinking of the community college mission continue and predicted that it would negatively affect their instructional goals.

Librarians' Instructional Contributions to the College Mission

Participants described contributing to their colleges' instructional missions with library instruction that took many forms. From credit instruction to one-shot on-demand orientations and from online learning modules to assignment

development consultations for faculty, library instruction coordinators reported on a range of instructional practices they had put into place to create a context in which their teaching will be considered an integral part of students' success. They also reflected on the distance they still had to go in order to achieve their ideal library instruction programs. The following description outlines librarians' current instructional practices, the limitations they have noted about each mode of delivery, and their strategies for improvement.

Credit instruction. Credit instruction was the most formal mode of library instruction described by study participants. After years during which community colleges were seeking growth in order to increase their funding, the recent budget cuts on many campuses have suddenly restricted the total number of units that libraries can offer and librarians have been prioritizing their courses in order to reach the most students.

If a library in this study offered more than one course, it was typical for the library curriculum to include a one-unit course as an introduction to information competency and a three-unit course that deepened and applied students' skills. Three librarians who coordinated credit instruction reported struggling to differentiate the two courses so that they served distinct purposes. Although all the participants' colleges offered at least one library course for credit, seven of the participants, two who had never taught a credit course and five who had, questioned the value of credit instruction because many students took the library's courses without preparation and because the library's on-demand orientations reached many more students. One participant explained,

"We're getting a lot of enrollment these days [in our credit courses] because there are no other courses open. This is two units that fill a gap, and the students don't have any motivation."

Most of the respondents, however, highly valued their opportunities to teach credit courses, not only because they have found that teaching credit courses raised their credibility among other professors, but also for the more important reason that they could pursue their critical thinking goals for students in the longer format. In particular, librarians described needing opportunities to provide students with practice and feedback so that they would develop their abilities to accurately evaluate research sources.

Participants were unsure about whether or not it was appropriate to offer their sections online. Seven of the librarians had taught credit courses online, but most had observed students struggling to succeed in the distance education format. Some librarians who have been teaching online had started to equate distance education with high attrition and low success rates and three had chosen to instead offer classes face-to-face when they had the option. One participant described the common problem, saying,

> The same issues that most instructors face [with low completion rates] in
>
> terms of hybrid classes or online classes, we face it even more with the
>
> added disadvantage of the fact that [students] don't take library or
>
> information competency seriously. So, there is even less of an external
>
> motivation or even internal motivation [when the course is online].

Since distance education was encouraged at most participants' colleges, only one instruction coordinator reported being blocked by the library dean, who did not "believe in online education," when she proposed offering sections of the library's courses online.

Many participants have had experience teaching a credit course as part of a course pairing or learning community. Six librarians found these collaborations to be exciting opportunities for creating deeper collaborations with individual faculty and achieving better outcomes for students. One participant described the benefits of paired courses, explaining,

> The professor was willing to meet with me regularly, and we met before the semester started. . . . I was asking her about her assignments and then we kind of tweaked them a little bit to make our classes more compatible. . . . And she thought that meeting with the librarian was so helpful for her. She was like, 'I never would have thought of that.' She was like, 'I'm going to talk to a librarian again when I plan this other class because this has been so helpful.'

Another librarian explained her approach to teaching a paired course, saying, "I would just make sure that the examples of things we were talking about were related to what they were doing in the class. So I think it worked pretty well." She added,

> We were kind of an add-on, where we tried to match it to the main courses' curriculums. . . . We were kind of the support role. I think the students felt like it was more valuable to them [than the library's course on

its own] because they were actually using it for their other class. So I think

it was a good thing.

A third participant described a very positive response to pairing courses with the library's class. She explained,

> This semester I was able to take the [library course] and attach it to a
>
> learning community. So that was really exciting. . . . I'm learning so much
>
> just working with the students. The learning community instructors meet
>
> regularly and the other instructors are like, 'Oh, I want that [library] class. I
>
> want that class.' So there is great demand to partner with me for next
>
> semester. So, next semester I'm actually partnering with two psychology
>
> classes.

Despite their benefits, paired courses demanded significant resources and librarians have had to make difficult decisions about whether or not they were the best use of their limited budgets when administrators started reducing course offerings. Four participants described other problems with paired courses, which did not work due to bureaucratic or pedagogical reasons. The technical aspects of pairing courses caused problems, for example.

> The campus didn't have the software to force students to take both
>
> classes so we had students that were not in the library class [but who
>
> were in the other class]. But the ones who were in both classes really
>
> enjoyed it. I enjoyed working with the instructor.

Some participants were particularly troubled by the lack of collaboration among the faculty in the learning communities. One explained,

One of my first learning communities was history, English and then library, which sounds like it would be perfect. But the history, basically they wanted supplemental instruction for their class as opposed to me teaching [the library course]. So, the curriculum although on paper it sounds like it should have been just a really nice seamless integration, it wasn't. It turned out to be very difficult and the history instructor didn't really get what they wanted from it and nor did the English instructor. And I think the students were just frustrated. . . . And so, the history professor had just kind of assumed that I was going to go into primary documents they needed to find. And so they'd get to my class and say, 'We've got to find primary documents. It's due tomorrow.' Covering primary documents? That's not on the syllabus.

She did not have better results when she tried pairing with other courses, either:

The next community that I had joined in on was English, humanities and library, then we had the same problem. And so I went to my department chair and I thought, 'I need to talk to you because these don't seem to be pairing very well.' And so I said, 'I will give it one more try.' And so the next learning community that [the library course] was in was [a career guidance course]—there is only so much career that you can focus on—and speech. And there is only so many speeches that the speech instructor wanted to use career as an example for. It was not a good fit.

Orientations and workshops. The bulk of the instruction that instructional librarians in the study have done was not for credit. The most

traditional librarian-led instruction sessions were often called orientations and they were offered at the request of faculty members who wanted librarians to prepare students for specific resource-based assignments. Orientations have the benefit of being related directly to course content. In an on-demand orientation model, librarians and the professors requesting instruction often discussed the students' assignments and negotiated about what would be taught and the instructional approach to be taken. One participant described her success with this approach: "I think my style was to kind of negotiate [with faculty], to try and do what I think needed to be done, as well as meet their objectives, and sometimes just say, 'Trust me, I'll get them there.'"

When this interaction has gone well, it has led to strong relationships between librarians and other faculty that has lasted years. This type of cooperation has resulted in revisions to assignments and improved instruction by librarians. For example, two librarians described working closely with professors who taught English as a Second Language to develop materials and methods for library instruction that would support those courses. Another librarian described why she particularly enjoyed working with an English professor.

> She is an amazing, amazing teacher and she is one of those people, if I'm teaching for her I know it's going to be a good session. And I know that she's open about thinking of different ways to teach the session based on her class, like the personality of her class. She thinks about, "The personality of my class is this and you need to know this if you are teaching this session."

Participants like this one who have developed effective relationships with faculty were highly satisfied and felt they were providing effective instruction.

The limitations of customization, however, have led to frustration among librarians who found they could not get enough information from the faculty requesting instruction. These librarians felt they were wasting students' time and the library's money. One participant explained a common problem, saying,

> The classroom faculty are supposed to share their assignment or their desired learning outcome—because sometimes they don't have an assignment. So it's important that we know what they want their students to get out of the session. And so, often this works really well, but sometimes they don't share the assignment or they'll say, "Oh, you know just give me the general." Well, what does that mean? Because that means something different for an English class—even within the English classes, some people have their students do a social problem and some have them work on a piece of literature. And some of them want them to put their class or their work of literature in historical context and they want primary sources. So, it's like, "General doesn't mean anything to us. Sorry, it's not specific enough." Or if we want to initiate communication with the professor just to see what they want, there is a lag time between when they get back to you. You are playing phone tag or e-mail or whatever. So getting information about what they want their students to learn doesn't happen all the time.

Another explained her frustration:

> The majority of instructors give them the [assignment] prompt the day they
> come [to the library]. Regardless, when we set up the appointment they
> say, "Oh, they'll be ready. They'll come with search terms." Rarely does
> that happen. And I've had instructors who literally drop the class off when
> they just received the assignment. And the students are saying, "What is
> affirmative action?" And they had to do a paper on a subject that they
> knew nothing about. They didn't know what the term meant. So I find that
> they are not prepared when they come for the orientations and they see it
> as a day off because, it's like, "Oh, the paper's due in a month. I'll worry
> about that later." So it's hard to keep everybody on board and some
> instructors are good about walking around and engaging but a lot of them
> just sit in the back.

In order to avoid these constraints and more effectively plan for allocating staff
time and space for instruction, some librarians have developed a series of
research workshops in place of on-demand instruction.

Workshops, which librarians scheduled without receiving specific requests
from faculty, developed on some campuses as a way to address the limitations of
orientations. One librarian who had many years of experience offering library
workshops explained the initial impetus for their development was faculty who
were unresponsive to librarians' requests for collaborations.

> Their classes had no idea, regardless of how we prepped the instructor,
> they had no idea what the assignment was. The instructor might tell us all

about the assignment and then the students would come and they didn't

have a clue. They didn't even know what it was, much less what their topic

was or what even discipline they were maneuvering in. So we weren't

really taking advantage of the teachable moment, and we concluded that

students could take workshops and get much more focused instruction on

research strategy, or online catalog, or periodical databases, or citing

sources. An hour of more in-depth instruction on any one or two or three

or four of those things than to have one [orientation] session where we

tried to cover all of those things.

Participants also recognized that standardization had a downside,

sometimes reducing the potential for interaction between librarians and other

faculty. A librarian who was responsible for initiating a workshop program for her

library explained the librarians' biggest concern:

Communication between the librarian and the teaching classroom faculty

is not going to be as frequent because the idea is that the students come

in on their own. So we don't need to communicate with those faculty

anymore, regularly. We have to figure out a way to do this about their

assignments and about what their students need.

Librarians who taught workshops rather than on-demand orientations reported

being less likely to regularly discuss the goals and content of instruction with

professors because the workshops stood alone. However, when the librarians

considered developing new workshops, they often reached out to faculty in other

disciplines to gain additional insight into what would benefit students.

Other instructional efforts. Although participants were still dedicating the overwhelming majority of their resources to their traditional modes of delivering supplemental and credit instruction, they also described some additional approaches that they hoped would deepen or expand their instruction programs. For example, the constraints and costs inherent in face-to-face orientations and workshops have inspired 14 of the participants to create instructional materials that would extend their instructional reach. These materials, including research guides, written assignments, instructional videos, and interactive tutorials, provided librarians with additional means of influencing teaching and learning without having to dedicate space or staff to in-person on-demand instruction. Most of the instructional modules that librarians created were digital, enabling them to address the needs of distance students as well as students on campus.

Online instruction has been a common way for librarians to extend their instructional reach. Some libraries in this study still did not have the staff or software that they needed in order to provide online instruction. But at colleges that had already invested in their capacity to deliver online content and to support distance education classes, the limited opportunities to expand in-person instruction were redirecting librarians' attention toward online delivery. Putting instructional materials online also supported independent learners who were able to access them when they needed them. And many colleges were expanding their course offerings online, encouraging librarians to create online materials in order to reach those students.

Although all the librarians in this study explained that they would prefer to teach students face-to-face, they recognized that they were limited in the number of students they could reach this way. Online learning modules allowed librarians to reach more students and use their instructional space and staff more effectively. One librarian stated the reasons for moving to online modules clearly.

> We've seen high increases in the numbers of those [online] tutorials being taken which is exactly what they are for, to save or, really, to free up our time. Not because we don't want the students in here or we don't want to do it. But we just find it's more effective.

Several librarians saw online modules as a supplement to face-to-face instruction, allowing librarians to teach more effectively during the limited time that they had in the classroom. One participant explained her plan, saying,

> Our goal would be—before doing an orientation—asking the instructor to have their students do [the library instruction module] as homework so that they're already immersed in it a little bit, so when they come in we can focus on their assignment, or we can focus on hands-on and developing their skills more, but to get them (all that blah, blah, blah that we do, so much talking we do) could be better achieved by them doing something interactive. I think that's in the works. At some point, I think there will be—I don't want to say a policy—but a stronger emphasis on having your students get the basics before they come in.

Two other librarians were reaching more students without needing additional instructional space by partnering with their college Writing Labs. These labs

already had systems in place for requiring students to complete computer-

assisted learning modules and the Writing Lab directors welcomed the librarians'

requests to add materials to students' instructional plans.

Putting instructional materials on the library's website meant that students

could access them whenever they needed to. This was particularly important for

students who were working full time or who faced other barriers to getting to the

library. One librarian explained the importance of online instructional materials for

these students, saying,

> They are completely displaced as far as library services go. So that's why
>
> we're really trying to focus on online offerings for training. We're trying to
>
> put together some learning modules. It's not as bad for the day students
>
> but the evening students are populations that we are trying to focus in on
>
> because we are very aware that that's a whole other group of students
>
> that we're not reaching.

As more general curriculum courses were offered online at their colleges,

librarians looked for ways to reach those students. Librarians reported that as

they developed online learning modules they targeted distance education

professors first to pilot their materials. They used this initial experience to help

them promote the modules to on-site instructors as well. The professors teaching

online often appreciated the extra support that the instruction librarians could

offer them and their students. One respondent recalled that until recent changes

in the course management system streamlined the process, she would go

directly to professors' offices to add the code to the software that would provide

students with seamless access to the library's databases and chat-reference services. This hands-on approach persuaded faculty, who otherwise were "never ever going to bring their students" to the library, to incorporate the librarians into their courses.

Another alternative mode of instruction that participants mentioned has been called embedded librarianship. Four participants described embedded librarianship as their ideal form of library instruction because this model integrated a librarian into the fabric of courses. In settings where embedded librarianship has been achieved, librarians have often been given access to students through course management systems that allow them to interact when students are engaged in resource-based learning. None of the librarians in this study, however, reported regularly achieving this level of integration. One librarian had piloted a model of embedded cooperation with course instructors and was actively gathering evidence of its success so she could approach other professors to propose similar projects. She explained,

> We have one English instructor that we worked really closely with for the
> past few years and it's been mostly course-embedded. We give
> assignments to the students. That's the exception, but we're going to
> present on that in the spring as a professional development event to
> hopefully get some others interested.

Despite its appeal, embedded librarianship has faced significant barriers including the time commitment it required from librarians and from faculty.

Since embedded librarianship was not seen as a feasible goal for participants in the foreseeable future, many of them reported trying to influence professors' teaching through professional development workshops and other means of indirectly guiding student learning. Librarians reported that during the period of this study their efforts to provide professional development have been constrained by budget cuts that hurt faculty morale and discouraged professors from dedicating extra time to improving instruction. Four participants nevertheless maintained and even expanded their efforts to extend their instructional reach by training faculty and staff about student research. And two others were planning to start new indirect instruction or "train-the-trainer" initiatives that would prepare professors and tutors to teach information competency and library research. Although they offered workshops, one-on-one consultations, and other ongoing support, seven participants expressed doubt about professors' and tutors' abilities to teach information competency at the level of librarians' standards and they preferred to keep as much control over information competency instruction as they could. The majority of participants, however, accepted the efforts of faculty and tutors who wanted to teach research skills themselves instead of asking librarians to do it, and they hoped that their professional development interventions would strengthen these educators' skills.

By collaborating with faculty, serving on committees, and teaching credit courses, participants in this study have taken advantage of the strengths of community college librarianship to develop instructional programs that support the college mission by contributing to student success. All of the librarians I

interviewed were motivated to make their work relevant to professors and students and to continue improving their effectiveness. In the following section I will review participants' reports of the constraints and concerns that complicated their efforts to contribute to the college mission.

Tensions of Trying to Contribute to the Instructional Mission

Librarians continue to struggle to be recognized as educators who contribute to the college instructional mission as key players in students' learning. Participants described barriers to achieving their goals. In particular they were concerned about the lack of faculty participation in helping to create an instructional context where librarians' teaching would be meaningful. In order to overcome these barriers, many participants had actively employed tactics like challenging the roles that their colleagues expected them to fill and motivating themselves to keep teaching with the hope that each instructional interaction would result in an opportunity to teach in a more meaningful way in the future.

Defining effective instruction. When participants defined their optimal teaching situation, they most often described developing students' abilities to critically evaluate sources and solve problems using information skills they considered to be at the heart of college success. They also described the time-intensive process of giving constructive feedback as students applied their learning to new situations. Of course, librarians recognized that this type of teaching could only happen in credit courses where librarians formed relationships with students over time. However, that was not the context in which most students were receiving instruction from librarians. Participants have

reached many more students through workshops and orientations than they could through credit instruction. Because they have had to rely on this type of instruction so heavily, librarians have developed high standards for judging its effectiveness. They described that their expectations for workshops and orientations as being interactive and hands-on, developing students' positive attitudes about the library and research, and building students' skills, not just for the class they were taking, but for overall college success and lifelong inquiry.

Although they used different styles and techniques, librarians showed that they shared a common definition of good library instruction that engaged students in the learning process. First and foremost, this has meant that librarians tried to avoid lecturing as a primary mode of instruction, and they trained other librarians to use more active approaches as well. Participants' definitions of interactivity included providing time for hands-on practice with research tools, having students create their own research process handouts during the class session, and providing opportunities for students to demonstrate to classroom partners what they had learned about the tools. One long-time community college librarian described the evolution of her approach: "In the old days I would just be a talking head, and what I've gone to is more active learning strategies. I spend maybe twenty minutes talking and forty minute hands-on." She now considered lecturing as the least effective part of the orientations she taught, and so she explained to students,

> "I'll save you ten hours if you listen to me," and they're like, "OK, just twenty minutes." So I give my twenty-minute spiel and then I have

interactive learning worksheets and by the time they walk out they should have two sources.

By incorporating activities like this, librarians were able to support students not just in finding sources but also in beginning to gather the elements they would need in order to cite them in their work. Librarians were also conscious of using students' attention effectively by focusing on only the essential concepts and not trying to "cover too much." Librarians found that by working closely with other faculty they gained experience in how to address the needs of more diverse students, including techniques for teaching English language learners and students in developmental courses.

For most community college students, the library is initially an unfamiliar place and participants in the study expected that good instruction would help students overcome their anxiety and feel more comfortable about coming back and asking for help. Because an instruction session might be the first time some students had met a college librarian, the participants felt it was the instruction librarians' duty to be seen as enthusiastic, positive, eager to help, and loving. One participant explained his strong drive to support students when he said,

> I really do I love them. That sounds like it's kind of an outrageous thing to say that you love your students, but I do. I really do love them with all their faults. They're rude and ugly and stupid sometimes but I still really do love them. I love the fact that they're going to college. They want to do something so I care about them and I know that that comes through. . . .

They can sense that you really care about them and that really helps.

Because they do come back to me.

Another librarian explained, "If a librarian in the classroom is able to give the students that feeling like, 'Oh, okay I can do this,' then they've done a good job." Participants believed that a large part of making students feel capable of successfully completing library research was teaching them how to get help when they were having trouble. All of the participants felt that library instruction increased students' ability to seek appropriate help when they needed it in the future. Three of the librarians explained that they considered students' use of reference services following an instruction session to be evidence that their orientations and workshops were successful.

Teaching orientations and workshops that would get students into the habit of returning to librarians for help was part of participants' larger goal of using library instruction to prepare students to succeed throughout college and after. Participants wanted to develop students' abilities as independent learners and they expected each orientation, workshop, or credit course to contribute to students' success, not just in the class for which the students were currently doing research, but in the rest of their courses before and after transfer as well. Independent learning and the ability to take control of an information problem came up repeatedly among participants as they described the value of good library instruction. Because they considered information competency to be a generic academic skill, participants also mentioned using library instruction to help students and faculty see the connections among their courses and the

common threads that tied seemingly disparate learning together. As one

participant explained,

> It's sometimes hard to see how [skills you learn in all your classes are]
>
> coming together. I think part of what we're doing [in library workshops] is
>
> trying to bring those threads together for them in the world of information.

Another librarian has tried to get students to see the connections between the

research skills they learned in library instruction and the tasks they were being

asked to complete in their other courses, but,

> Everything is discreet for them. They don't connect this to that. So I really
>
> try to work to tell them, connect this to this other course. See that
>
> connection. And when I bring it up it becomes obvious for them. But they
>
> hadn't thought of it until I brought it up.

A third participant described the transfer of learning as his overall instructional

goal in orientations. He explained,

> I want them to understand that what I'm teaching them isn't just for the
>
> one class that they're in there for. I have had a really hard time with
>
> getting them to understand that the skills that I teach you are going to
>
> transfer with you. And when you take a psychology class next semester,
>
> when you transfer and go to a Cal State next year it's going to be the
>
> same thing. And they really don't seem to get it; there's some kind of a
>
> disconnect.

The fact that transfer of learning has been so difficult to achieve was a

constant frustration for librarians because they believed that information

competency was a necessary component of life-long learning and decision making. One participant summarized the importance of information competency instruction for giving people control over information:

> More and more information is an uncontrolled resource. [Librarians] used to control it, and we don't anymore because it comes at [people] from everywhere. So now, more and more, the focus is on teaching them to control it themselves as information gets more and more out of control.

Challenging the library's traditional role in the college mission.

Participants described a contradiction between their goals as teachers, helping students to become independent learners, and their goals as librarians, maintaining their relevance as the gatekeepers of information. One librarian explained that she felt this was a persistent conflict within many instruction librarians, saying, "I think we all continue to struggle with how to make the libraries more user-friendly without compromising our dedication to our history. But, I mean, should we be that dedicated to our history? Society is evolving." Another librarian observed a similar progression, saying, "The shift has been more toward better guides, I think more user-friendly and maybe more self-help, too, in a way. Now with [research guides] it really is that. So maybe we're putting ourselves out of business, I don't know." For a third librarian, putting herself out of business would be the ultimate sign of success. She explained,

> I think gone are the days [when librarians could say], "Well the library's good for you. I know it's good for you." We have to change. We have to realize that's not what student learning is about. In the old days, "I'm

buying this book because it's good for you." Now I have the attitude, and this is just me speaking, of "Can I make the library so user friendly that the student can be an independent user?" They're already independent on Google. What are we doing that competes with Google and makes them independent users of databases? Can I make my web site so user friendly that it's like the Yahoo home page? I think libraries are afraid of that. I want to work myself out of a job. . . . If I can design the web site to make it user-friendly, you don't need me, then I'm happy. If you can go to my research guide without me telling you and pointing out stuff, I think that would be a sign of success for me. A lot of people don't believe in that so it's kind of a radical—I shouldn't say radical—but I think that's the trend that we need to be conscious of, if I had to push something.

For many participants, teaching students to be independent and control their own information use was far more important than any of the more traditional collection-oriented roles of the library. One librarian explained that the most vital aspect of libraries now was the librarians themselves, not the materials. She said,

It's librarians teaching information competency and our own credit of being able to evolve with the times. I think instruction is more than just added value to being a librarian. I mean, I think that really being a librarian should be about teaching other people how to be information literate. And, I think the farther away we move from that, the more dangerous our professional identity becomes. The more questionable our professionalism becomes;

the more opportunity for it to be de-professionalized. Um, and I would not

be as happy being a librarian."

Diversifying to address different elements of the mission. Participants

believed that information competency was vital for maneuvering the world of

information, not just in school but also beyond. Believing that information

competency was more than an academic skill, they worried that they were

missing opportunities to reach some students because professors did not see a

role for the library in remedial education or career and technical programs.

Exploring ways to reach these underserved areas, one participant was

developing a set of information competency instructional materials designed to

be used in vocational courses, like culinary arts and automotive technology, to

develop the information skills that those students would need when they entered

the workforce. Seeing the balance of courses at her college shift toward

remediation, another strategic librarian explained her efforts to avoid losing

relevance, saying,

> The basic skills [program] is growing. And the library is still at a college
>
> level. Basic skills is still textbook-based. So those are the outside
>
> variables that affect us. OK, so what do I do now? I've got to shift my
>
> energies to basic skills because that's where the movement is. So it's
>
> changing my approach for outreach.

The Basic Skills Initiative (BSI) was a program of grant funding and

student data collection starting in 2006 that emphasized the importance of giving

students the skills they needed in remedial courses so that they could transition

into college-level courses and succeed. Because of the initiative, many librarians had recently tried to answer the question of whether or not information competency was a basic skill and where the library fit in the needs of students who required remediation. All participants mentioned taking steps to respond to the challenges raised by the state-wide BSI in order to reach more students with information competency instruction. One librarian was preparing to develop new workshops designed specifically for students in basic skills courses who could benefit from knowing more about the library but who probably did not have research assignments that would require them to access the library's resources. She explained that she needed to address the concerns of faculty who thought, "'Well, I don't assign research papers, so my students don't need [library instruction]'" and that if she could "revamp the [instruction] program and expand it and evolve it into something that is targeted, at least partially targeted, at basic skills students, and then if we promote it that way, that could be a big breakthrough."

Librarians also developed credit curriculum aimed at students needing remediation, built collections of materials at appropriate reading levels with or without BSI grant funding, sought training from other professors about how to support English Language Learners and students with basic reading skills, and offered basic supplemental library instruction or classroom visits to raise students' awareness of the library. All of these efforts to explore connections with basic skills courses were intended to appeal to faculty who had not previously been open to collaborations with the library.

Librarians were also using online materials to offer an alternative for faculty who had not requested instruction for their students. One participant explained that she targeted a course she knew had a research component but with which the librarians had never been invited to work with before:

> We're going to try to make a pitch to say, "We'd like you to use us, we'd like to be in your classroom four times a semester. Knowing that that's not possible, we have built this great screen cast or video on distinguishing primary and secondary sources. We'll help you put it in your class. Here's a link to the History Resource Center database and we'll show you how to do that."

Another librarian saw offering research guides as a way to further expand the library's instruction program.

> [Last year] there were some evening classes and the instructor really didn't want to bring the students in for a complete visit. She wanted them to learn how to [cite their sources]. So, I created some videos for her class on how to find a journal article and how to cite it and she's assigning it to them as homework. So, we might be expanding in different ways.

She also found that offering new online instructional materials inspired a professor to help her with student learning outcomes assessments:

> I have one instructor this year who I gave those instructional videos. She has three sections. She is going to give two of them the instructional videos and she's not going to give the third one and see if there is any difference.

Finally, a third librarian reported an unexpected result of creating online information competency modules:

> Starting about two years ago, courses have been coming through the curriculum committee identifying the library tutorials as a requirement of the course. Our tutorials are very popular on this campus. Students take thousands of them per year, every year. Sociology has a course and history has a course and, I think, English also has a course where they list what the assignments are—reading assignments and writing assignments—and under 'Other' they put the library tutorials in their course outline of record.

Librarians recognized the risk of trying new approaches to instruction. One explained her reticence, saying, "You get worried about launching something if it doesn't seem like you have looked at everything that could go wrong. And, you know, making sure it is absolutely ready to go." Another admitted that despite her reservations about exploring new applications for online library instruction, "I guess you just have to jump in and find out."

Summary

Librarians have contributed to their colleges' instructional missions by their unflagging willingness to provide the instruction that professors requested, but they recognized that they have been constrained by their dependence on other faculty to give them access to instructional opportunities. They have searched for new ways to improve and expand their instruction so that it would have maximum impact on student success. They are questioning the value of traditional forms of

on-demand instruction and traditional assumptions about the library's role as a gatekeeper. In order to continue making progress toward their instructional goals, librarians motivated themselves by seeing each orientation and workshop as a chance to reach students and as a stepping stone toward teaching more frequently and more meaningfully.

Research Question 2

The second research question was: How does librarians' teaching affect their access to resources (including space, materials, technology, and staff)? Librarians' teaching requires space, staff, materials, and technology that would not be necessary in a library that did not offer instruction. Beyond re-allocating existing library budgets to these areas in order to support new and growing instructional responsibilities, librarians' teaching could draw additional resources to the library if it helped administrators and faculty leaders to see the library as a core instructional unit. This section describes participants' views on how the librarians' instructional responsibilities affect their access to resources and how the budget has affected librarians' instructional efforts.

The Influence of Instruction on Libraries' Funding

One of my assumptions at the beginning of this study was the premise that librarians must benefit in some way from their teaching or else they would not do it. When I asked participants to reflect on the resources, including staff, space, technology, and other funding, that accrued to the library because of their teaching and to consider what the library would lose if it did not have an instruction program, all of the participants could quickly name personal and

interpersonal benefits from teaching, but few observed any direct relationship between librarians' teaching and the resources available to the library. Nevertheless, a few trends did emerge that indicated some material benefits from teaching, even if they were indirect.

Resources for collections. Although no librarians claimed that teaching resulted in any additional access to funds for buying books or paying for electronic database subscriptions, some participants believed that their teaching indirectly increased the return on investment in the collection. They explained that this happened in two ways: (a) their experience working closely with students and faculty during instruction improved their ability to select the materials that would be most useful and relevant, and (b) their teaching increased students' and professors' awareness of the existing collection and strengthened their abilities to use it. One librarian tried to imagine how she would make decisions about the collection without teaching regularly and she determined:

> I wouldn't be as informed when I'm buying the collection what [the students] could actually read and what they actually need. . . . Having direct experience with students, seeing, for example—it's so efficient financially to get ebooks—and when you work with students they just don't want to use them. So direct experience while they're learning something. . . . It's invaluable.

Another librarian explained that library instruction benefits the library by encouraging more students to use its space and resources.

[Without library instruction] there'd be a lot fewer students using the library

. . . and it would be hard to justify the things that we justify spending. It

would be hard to justify a budget [for materials] if we didn't have students

using the library. It would be a withering process.

Other librarians observed a different relationship, however, explaining that a

strong collection has supported their efforts to convince faculty to participate in

the library's instruction program.

Space and technology resources for teaching. At four libraries in this

study, classrooms had recently been updated or created. Two additional

participants described waiting for the completion of renovations that would result

in new classrooms for library instruction. Only two sites were dealing with difficult

teaching spaces without the prospect of improvements in the foreseeable future.

The rest of the participants described functional teaching spaces that were

generally sufficient for their needs. In all but one case, the classroom used for

library instruction was under the control of the library and could not be scheduled

for any other classes without the librarians' approval. Even though space and

technology on community college campuses was difficult to come by, most of the

participants in this study had the advantage of reliable computer classrooms.

They did not, however, consider this a material advantage of teaching since they

did not see a relationship between the quality or volume of their instruction and

their teaching spaces.

Two exceptions, however, indicated that a relationship may exist between

librarians' teaching and their teaching spaces. First, one librarian described

updating the presentation technology in the library's classroom with revenues from the fees that students paid to print in the library. The dean approved the librarian's proposal that the funds be used for the library classroom because the librarian made the case that classrooms elsewhere on campus already had the requested technology. If the librarian had not been able to show an instructional use for the funds they would not have stayed with the library but instead would have been used in the Learning Center, suggesting that librarians' teaching could, under the right circumstances, bring additional resources to the library. Second, at the two colleges in the study that offered Library Technologist certificate programs, librarians had more than one functioning classroom. Two other colleges in this study also had more than one classroom, indicating that a Library Technologist certificate program was not the only way to secure more computers and space for instruction. However, the relationship suggested that the visibility and revenue generated by a certificate program, rather than libraries' typical curricula of a few courses that are not part of a degree or certificate, have brought some types of resources to the library. However, starting a Library Technologist certificate program was not an available option at most colleges.

Staffing resources. At colleges where prioritizing requests for new full-time faculty positions included a calculation of how many units of instruction a department offered, libraries' instruction programs were not generally large enough to carry much weight in the equation and, therefore, tended not to help librarians lobby for new positions. Nevertheless, one librarian in this study observed that the chair and dean of her department have been strategizing to

increase the sections the library offered and to get the library's supplemental instruction formalized as non-credit curriculum in part because it could bolster their future requests for new positions. Not all colleges base their hiring priorities on the number of units a department teaches, however. Participants did not report a strong relationship between increasing their teaching (whether for-credit or supplemental) and the size of the full-time faculty in their departments.

Faculty status as a resource. Although participants did not notice a consistent relationship between the growth of their instruction programs and the number of full-time professors they had in the library, when I asked them to consider the extreme hypothetical situation of having no instruction program at all, six librarians predicted that not teaching could threaten the practice of giving tenure and faculty status to librarians. Speculating on the material loss to libraries if librarians were not eligible for tenured faculty status at California community colleges was beyond the scope of this study, but many participants treated it as a given that being faculty and having tenure was a benefit not only to the individual but to the library as well. Faculty status permitted librarians the same access to decision-makers and the governance process that all other faculty had. Without these benefits, participants expected that, over time, it would diminish the library. Imagining the library as merely a repository for books rather than an instructional setting, one librarian explained,

> I think that might change the perception of the administrators about how you staff that. You certainly wouldn't need a tenured faculty member if you were going to buy things. You could get a needs assessment and

outsource the collection development. It would feel less participatory—a

place that you go to get something and then leave.

Another librarian speculated on similar results by stating:

We wouldn't really be an academic department and that would have all

these other repercussions, like faculty status, probably. We probably

wouldn't have faculty status. We'd be so far removed from decisions that

are going on on campus and [the] Academic Senate. We wouldn't be a

part of that anymore.

In fact, several years earlier, before this library had developed curricula for credit

courses, librarians were not attending Academic Senate meetings. By not

participating in their Academic Senate, the college librarians were isolated from

the shared governance process. When the librarians realized that they were

missing information about college-wide decisions, they recognized that they were

at a disadvantage. They made a strategic decision to develop credit courses,

secured a place on the Academic Senate, and created a department chair

position in order to get better access to the college's channels of communication.

Budgets in the library. Rather than being a source of additional

resources, librarians' teaching has been threatened by the same budget cuts that

are affecting everyone else at the California community colleges. Librarians who

have worked at community colleges in southern California for at least five years

could recall a time before budget concerns led to the current "contracting mode,"

which is characterized by reductions in staff, services, and course sections. One

participant described his experience when he first entered the profession fewer

than ten years ago and "there wasn't a question of growing your [library instruction] program being a problem. At that time we just wanted to grow, make it bigger, everything was growing and that's kind of changed since then." Since then his library has cut back on the number of sections of their credit course because they have not had the funds for adjunct faculty to teach them. Two other librarians remembered further back when new positions were being created in libraries because "the money was better at the end of the nineties when there was money dripping out of every faucet in California before things started going south" and, although the budget situation was not perfect, "we could do most of what we wanted to do" in terms of staffing the library's instruction program and creating learning spaces. These librarians have observed the economic cycle during expansions and contractions, but one experienced librarian worried that this downturn "seems to be going on longer than other cycles." Even the participants with a long institutional memory expressed anxiety about the long-term effects of the current reductions.

After enduring several consecutive years of cuts, many librarians described a growing sense of helplessness as their standard of service was compromised and the resources they needed for new initiatives seemed out of reach. Several participants described feeling like they were being asked to "do more with less" when the aspirations they have had for their instruction programs confronted budget priorities. One librarian who has pushed herself to stay engaged and forward-thinking despite her frustrations explained:

Librarians are so altruistic. It often seems like we're the ones who have always been doing more with less and willing to do so. We haven't given up. I have these goals, and I'd like to get them one way or the other. . . . It's kind of daunting to think about doing it without funding.

Another librarian described proposing new initiatives to his dean who supported any plan that did not require money, but when the librarians needed new funding, then the response was "'that's probably not going to happen. Go back and do a little more with something less.'" For example, the librarian explained that they had sought to create another classroom but there were no funds for computers or for the reconstruction. He understood that the decision about the classroom was not up to his dean, because "the deans can do only what they can do. But if the vice-president and the president and the board in particular aren't going to sign off on it, what do you do?"

Finding her library short-staffed, another librarian did blame the dean "because nobody's making a case for us to get new faculty or new staff down at the [circulation] desk or technicians to work in our lab or, frankly, security personnel to manage the building." Feeling she could not count on the library's dean to advocate for the library, she was cut off from the decision-makers higher up the line. Another participant also shared the experience of feeling ignored or cut off from the administrators responsible for budget decisions. Although frustrated because "the only way the administration knows that we're doing a good job [in the library] is if I do a grant thing" this librarian reasoned strategically that the "$2000 for the grant is probably nothing to [the vice-president of

instruction] but it brings up the visibility once you start bidding for project money. That's the only way I get the visibility" so she regularly devised outreach and training programs that would merit grant funding and raise the profile of the librarians' teaching.

Materials budgets. When describing the ways that the library has supported the college instructional mission, participants made it clear that they believed that a strong collection, both in print and electronically, was the foundation of making the library useful, valued, and credible. The current budget crisis has highlighted the vulnerability of materials budgets and the effects of cutbacks, but the participants' widely varying budgets reveal a long-running disparity among colleges that has persisted into this unprecedented downturn. At the high end of the scale, one librarian explained that, "many years ago the board approved a two hundred thousand dollar book budget for the library." She recognized that maintaining this budget in the current climate was noteworthy "but I don't ask why we still have that budget" and the only encroachment on that budget has come from librarians themselves when they decided this year to use part of it to replace the categorical funding that had previously covered part of the cost of their electronic databases. Having this large book budget has allowed the library to "have great collections in all areas" and earned the library a commendation in a recent accreditation report for having a collection that supported all of the college's programs, including career and technical areas. Another librarian explained that her college has maintained a steady budget of $52,000 for the library's print materials for the past 25 years and the only

fluctuation in their budget has come from additional unpredictable funds from the California Lottery.

Other librarians have had to fight to maintain some part of their materials budgets. Knowing that her library's collection and access to databases were important to faculty across campus, one librarian went directly to faculty at their department meetings to explain the depth of proposed cuts and seek support. Some faculty who heard from the librarian went so far as to "write a petition and send it to the president" to explain the importance of the library's materials budgets for their own instructional areas. Three other librarians have pursued grants, including from the Basic Skills Initiative, to build their collections. At one college the large grant the library received to update its collection led to long-term reductions in its materials budget when the college permanently cut the library's funding from $30,000 in the 1990s to $7,000 in 2011. A recent analysis of the library's print collection showed that because of the college's decision to cut funding, 59% of the books were at least 20-years-old. Cutting budgets when grants became available was part of a larger pattern at the college. When categorical funds evaporated, the library was not able to secure the minimum funding it needed from the college for its databases until the Accrediting Commission made a recommendation to the college to "do a better job helping the library support instruction."

Credit instruction budget reductions. Most participants described facing the same cuts or limitations on course sections that have taken place throughout the state and across all disciplines. One participant explained that,

"With all of the section cuts that have been going on throughout the state and in our district, we are down to one section [of a one-unit course] in the first eight weeks and then one section in the second eight weeks." Other participants have faced similar reductions that required difficult decisions. One explained, "The number of units we can offer sometimes is impacted by the budget . . . we were told to decrease class offerings" and, "We'd either have to teach one three-unit and one one-unit or four one-units and we choose to do the four one-units [to reach more students]. We cannot influence the decision-makers to give us a three-unit class just because we know it's going to fill." These reductions have been constraining library instruction coordinators' plans for improving their programs. As another librarian explained,

> They are trying to cut enrollment, so if I were writing a new course now and wanted to teach an additional course, the administration would be saying, "We can't really afford that." But if I said, "Well, I'll replace this course with this one so it has zero effect on student growth," then they would probably say, "Okay, fine."

That strategy was precisely how another librarian has successfully introduced a new course despite overall reductions, "because we are not offering [the usual three-unit course in their curriculum], we can offer three sections of this [new] one-unit course."

A few libraries have been turning to unusual methods to maintain their course offerings while others were counting on exceptions because their requests for additional units were so modest. One library in this study was

offering a library course to a group of city employees as part of contract

education. Because the full cost of contract courses is paid by the agency or by

the students, many colleges have embraced it because it is self-supporting. The

appeal for librarians has been that they can offer one or more additional sections

beyond what has been allotted to them by the college. However, it was not clear

if teaching contract courses could bring librarians the same benefits of credibility

and engagement in the curriculum that they reported getting when they taught

regular credit courses. Another librarian explained that her dean had seen the

need to continue growing the library's credit instruction program even during the

downturn. This librarian felt well supported by the dean when the dean decided to

"bump us up a unit even though, technically, the divisions were supposed to pull

back a little." Because of the dean's support, the library offered one additional

one-unit course that semester and while this had a small impact on the college, it

had a large impact on the size of the library's credit program and the morale of

the librarians during the budget crisis. A third participant described trying to get

this same type of support from the vice-president for academic affairs for a few

extra units added to the library's credit instruction offerings this year.

Adjunct and overload budgets. Reductions in budgets for staff have

created especially difficult challenges for library instruction coordinators. When

describing the barriers to reaching their goals for student learning, lacking

sufficient staff to plan and offer supplemental and credit instruction and to provide

reference assistance topped 11 participants' lists. Hours of operation at one

campus have been cut and the library has been closed completely on Saturdays

because the college has cut the library's "overload budget even to keep the library open additional hours." One librarian, who was suffering from burnout following a year of providing the majority of the on-demand orientations and teaching several sections of the credit course every semester, said, "If we had more adjuncts that [sic] could teach, that would really help" him to grow both the credit and supplemental instruction programs since he would not have to take on all of the extra work himself. Unfortunately, the small budget for part-time librarians meant that they could only be hired to work when the full-time librarians were not there, and they, therefore, could not be used to expand his instruction program. Another librarian explained that she no longer had access to funding to bring the part-time librarians together once a year for training. Because of recent cuts at her library, the instruction program had been suspended during the summer since no full-time or part-time librarians will be hired to teach then. Two other librarians described budget cuts that reduced the length of time that librarians could spend with a class during an orientation.

At another library, having part-time librarians staff the reference desk during weekdays had traditionally provided the small staff of full-time librarians with time to dedicate to their other responsibilities. In the case of the instruction coordinator at this library, over the past several years her responsibilities had included developing a new assessment plan for the library's orientations, developing courses and services, working one-on-one with other faculty to improve their research assignments, leading the efforts to integrate information competency into the general education requirements, and teaching. Now that the

library no longer had part-time librarians to staff the reference desk, this coordinator was constrained in their abilities to fulfill her other responsibilities because she was working fifteen hours a week at the reference desk (up from four hours a week before the cutbacks) and she "can't get out as much on committees" or "do as much outreach."

Librarians resorted to rearranging their own schedules or donating their time in order to minimize the effect the staff cuts would have on services and instruction for students. At the library described above where budget cuts have increased the number of hours that full-time librarians have to dedicate to staffing the reference desk, the librarian explained that she now fulfilled her instruction coordinator responsibilities by extending her working hours into the evenings and weekends. She found this was the only way to get blocks of time to dedicate to "zoning in and focusing" on planning for bigger instruction projects in the future. One librarian described this resourcefulness as a strength of her library, saying, "I suppose we've been sort of lucky about money even though we've lost a lot of budget. . . . We've been able to work around it. . . . We have Saturday hours only because we can shift other people around so it's not like we've ever had to ask for money for staffing or anything." But this technique of spreading the staff as thinly as possible has meant that while "money doesn't seem to be a problem because we're all interested in creative, lower, and free cost solutions," the barrier to achieving their goals was "literally just time" as they distributed fewer staff hours across growing responsibilities. This also meant that fewer librarians were in the library to help students at any given time, increasing the pressure

created by a sharp increase in the number of students using the library and seeking reference assistance.

In order to keep offering credit courses after their "hours were slashed," they had lost their part-time librarians, and the department "could no longer offer overload to teach," librarians at another college started teaching courses "above and beyond [their] standard load" without receiving compensation for the additional work. Librarians at another college have benefited over the years from having the option of working during the winter intersession, and they used this period of reduced administrative, instructional, and other responsibilities to make systematic revisions to their instruction programs that made them a model in the region. This year, in order to reduce staffing costs, the instruction coordinators for the supplemental and credit programs have not been eligible to work during the intersession because they did not have seniority in their department. The librarian explained,

> We donate our time. And I end up doing that because that's what I need to do. And I like my job—I really love my job—but it requires concentrated focus and effort and when you are dealing with the day–to–day, and teaching classes and students, and you're trying to update your curriculum as you're going, and things change. . . . I think it makes the more global decisions, the more visionary things, they have to take a back-burner for now. So I feel like I am not accomplishing as much as I'd like.

Factors Influencing the Link between Teaching and Resources

Rather than describing straight-forward relationships between budgets, resources, and librarians' teaching, participants revealed other considerations that complicated how they conceive of their access to funding. Feeling like they were kept on the margins of their colleges' decision-making bodies, participants hoped that their instruction would make them visible enough on campus to give them a voice during periods of change and uncertainty. They also considered their libraries' deans to be important, but sometimes unreliable, representatives for the librarians at critical times. Participants responded to the tension of feeling like they were being isolated from their colleges' decision-making arena by holding their goals lightly, recognizing that they would sometimes find that the progress they had made in their programs or in the college curriculum would be reversed due to budget cuts or the end of grant funding. They tried to view the effects of their efforts holistically, accepting that disappointments were part of the process of building relationships, attempting new initiatives, and striving for meaningful goals.

Dividing scarce resources. Participants often found that librarians made compromises within the library to manage their multiple priorities. Of particular concern to this study were instances when the costs of maintaining the library's basic internal functions depleted the resources available for library instruction coordinators to maintain their influence outside the library. One librarian lamented,

> We were getting fifty-thousand dollars for adjuncts and that got taken
>
> away, so now I'm on the desk fourteen hours, fifteen hours, and it really
>
> takes a lot of time being up there in a way. I can't get out as much on
>
> committees. I can't do as much outreach. I would like to spend more time
>
> learning more tech goals and I don't have the time. So yeah, that is
>
> probably the big thing. I mean I like reference but not fifteen hours; it's
>
> kind of too much.

The time she has spent keeping the reference desk staffed depleted the

resources she could devote to teaching and she explained,

> I have so much time on the reference desk that by the time I get off I've
>
> got three or four hours of my time and then what? Sometimes at night I'm
>
> on the computer or on the weekends I'm still doing work because I need
>
> blocks. I don't do well with three hours here and there. I get stuff done but
>
> I'm better just zoning in and focusing, and the reference desk, even
>
> though it's important, it doesn't give me that time to plan big projects.

Another librarian with experience spending many of her hours at the reference

desk in order to keep it staffed explained the dilemma for instruction

coordinators, saying,

> It's hard, especially as an instruction librarian. I think they have the hardest
>
> job, honestly, because there's just so much. We should probably have
>
> two. Especially for the instruction librarian, I think fifteen hours is a lot
>
> because you're trying to do curriculum, you have to manage the credit
>
> course instruction, you're coordinating the workshops, you're doing

instruction. Really, that person's supposed to sort of lead and share and train the rest of the librarians on best practices and things, and there's hardly any time for that. So it is tough. I think some [librarians with other specializations] have an easier time getting some work done at the Reference Desk.

These participants' concerns illustrate the larger dilemma, which is that librarians do not believe that their libraries will continue to be vital centers of learning with the resources they need to support students if they do not get their colleagues' attention. Budget cuts that draw librarians back into the library and away from their outreach efforts can maintain services in the short-term, but may have long-term consequences if the library's stakeholders stop thinking of the library as a dynamic resource worth supporting.

Librarians' visibility and budgets. Although they could not identify specific examples of resources that were gained or lost because of librarians' teaching, some participants nevertheless speculated that teaching benefited the library because it was the one type of work that administrators and professors really understood. Other work done by librarians, like cataloging and collection development were less transparent and, according to two participants, therefore harder for some administrators to support. Although teaching was a duty that was generally taken for granted at community colleges and therefore not given special attention or additional resources, for participants in this study, it was their claim to normalcy. One librarian explained that by being the only faculty in a

division dominated by instructional computing and academic technology, the

librarians' teaching secured their support from the dean:

> [If librarians did not teach] he wouldn't as easily understand what we do.
>
> He would just see us as strictly support. And I think that's always one of
>
> the first things to go if you have to chop anything. I really think [that
>
> without teaching] our importance would be diminished in terms of financial
>
> resources.

Another participant hoped that the library's instruction program had given

it enough visibility on campus, even among new administrators, that the rumored

college reorganization would not reverse gains made over the past 15 years. She

explained that "if the library had a lower profile" the reorganization could hurt the

library, but "I think we have some strong arguments for maintaining our separate

and librarian-guided organization" despite "rumors that we were going to go

under [Instructional Technology] or that we should be merged with Student

Services." In particular, she hoped that "the fact that we have a strong instruction

program [including a Library Technologist certificate program] and we have a lot

of data and testimonials from faculty and from students" would give them enough

standing within the college to be able to influence decisions about their place in

the organization.

One librarian used the college grant application process to raise

administrators' awareness of the library's instruction because she felt it was the

only way to show administrators the library's value. In contrast, a library

instruction coordinator who was actively leading the student learning outcomes

assessment efforts at her college and was frequently in contact with college administrators believed they "are aware that we are teaching but I don't feel like this particular aspect or goal of the library helps us to get more funding or any more support than any other role of the library."

Library leadership and deans. Library deans or directors do not often come from the ranks of librarians. Not having experience with libraries can be seen as a weakness when leaders seem not to understand the issues particular to libraries, including staffing requirements, concerns about uses of space, and the customer service elements of libraries. When deans or managers did not have library experience, one librarian has found that it makes things in the library "difficult" because "libraries run very differently than an academic department." Another librarian has attributed her dean's hands-off style to the dean's lack of familiarity with libraries and says, "she doesn't really understand a lot of the angst" that librarians feel under pressure to generate new teaching opportunities. For this librarian, having a disinterested dean has meant that she can "hide" in her office and do "nothing but sit in [her] rocking chair" if she chooses to. This same librarian blamed her dean for cutting the adjunct budget for reference and instruction, leaving full-time librarians to fill those hours and not realizing the toll that would take on other library initiatives.

The deans who were well regarded by librarians demonstrated that they valued the library. The deans who librarians described as most hands-on, who identified new projects and created collaborations across divisions, tended to have been librarians before becoming deans. For example, one dean, now

retired, who had come from the librarian ranks, often took the lead on projects like creating a new online instructional tutorial and starting a Research Across the Curriculum committee. On another campus, the dean instituted a policy requiring all librarians to teach orientations because she had previously been the instruction coordinator for the library.

Although most library deans do not have experience as librarians, many are nevertheless skilled advocates for the library, especially if they work to educate themselves about the library by attending department meetings. One librarian described a particularly effective dean this way, "we have total faith in her representing our wishes in another setting. . . . She always tries to get to yes, comes to our meetings, and tells us exactly what's going on in the administration." This librarian realized how fortunate her library was when she attended a meeting with librarians from other colleges and heard complaints about a dean who "would never come to a library department meeting" except to make her report and then "almost moon walks out." Other participants described deans who would "fight battles" for the library to secure resources and deans who contravened college directives to cut sections in order to make sure that the library's credit program would continue to grow. And even when cuts come despite a dean's advocacy, librarians remember the support they have received. When Saturday hours were cut at one campus, the library's non-librarian dean was the person who understood the nature of libraries well enough to make the case to the college leadership that libraries may be most used on the days when classes are not in session because students are more likely to have time to

benefit from a place to study and access resources. This example of a dean fighting for the library's funding illustrates the importance of librarians and administrators working together to secure the necessary resources to sustain services that help students.

Summary

Because librarians' teaching does not offer the library a clear path to securing additional resources, participants described having to make difficult calculations about which services to support and which to reduce during budget crises. By holding their goals lightly and recognizing that short-term set-backs and compromises are part of the process of advancing their long-term instructional goals, participants demonstrated the ability to work through disappointments and to keep moving forward. Although their teaching probably will not gain them access to any additional resources, participants can continue working towards creating an environment where their teaching will have a meaningful effect on student success.

Research Question 3

The third research question was: How does librarians' access to teaching opportunities affect their perceptions of their professional efficacy and their reciprocity with other faculty? Participants explained that they enjoyed being community college librarians because of the relationships they have with their faculty colleagues and with students. They reported that working closely with dedicated professors was a highlight of their jobs. Participants who had meaningful collaborations with professors from other divisions reported that their

instruction was effective. Finding professors who wanted to collaborate, however,

proved challenging for many librarians. Negative experiences with faculty who

requested instruction or with faculty who would not request instruction left

librarians feeling that they would not be able to create a context within which their

teaching would be meaningful. In this section I will describe how participants

viewed their work at community colleges, how they perceived themselves as

educators, and how they explained their efforts to evaluate the effectiveness of

their instruction. Their evaluation efforts have been complicated by the nature of

their traditional methods of supplemental instruction. Some librarians felt

pressure to use their assessment results to justify the library to administrators

and to faculty leaders who may be critical of the library's contributions to their

colleges' core goals.

Environmental Influences on Librarian/Professor Reciprocity

Participants in this study were aware of the differences between their work

at community colleges and the experiences of librarians in other settings. Some

have worked in other places, including libraries in the University of California

(UC) and California State University (CSU) systems, public libraries, and high

schools, while others were familiar with the working conditions of librarians they

had met through professional organizations like the Southern California

Instruction Librarians, a professional interest group affiliated with the state

chapter of the Association of College & Research Libraries. When participants

compared working at a community college with working at other types of libraries,

nearly all of them enthusiastically emphasized the benefits of the community

college for librarians. One participant recalled working at a Cal State library where her CSU colleagues told her that "the system to work for in California is the community colleges; it's the best system" and although she had "never even thought of working in community college" she eventually found her way into a position at an urban campus and found she enjoyed it "the most of any" of her jobs. She especially has appreciated that "there's so much teaching no matter what position you have. . . . You're still doing just as much reference work and you're still teaching classes . . . no matter what your other hat is. So it's a really nice combination."

The focus on teaching and student success at community colleges has made it more natural for librarians to approach faculty without fear to offer suggestions for improving their research assignments. A librarian who had worked at a UC library before becoming the instruction coordinator at a large community college, called the community college a "different academic world" for instruction librarians. She recalled that before she learned the culture of the community college she had "felt like some sort of aggressor" when she wanted to talk to faculty about their assignments because "people [at the UC] reacted badly if you questioned their assignment." It was only when she adapted to the community college culture of student support and instructional improvement that she realized that "talking to somebody about their teaching doesn't have to be confrontational or aggressive" which made it "easier to talk to people in a constructive way about their assignments." A librarian at an isolated community college has noted that the college's focus on "meeting the needs of students,

especially basic skills students" means that professors can understand the importance of the library's "role in students' success [by] providing bridge services for academic success, not just [being] the steward of materials."

Study participants emphasized how meaningful it has been to be a part of students' success. One librarian described how much more she has enjoyed working with community college students than with students at universities because university students "felt like they knew what they were doing, whereas students [at the community college] needed your help." A librarian at a large suburban community college similarly has found that students at her college "are able to open up to you and they seem to need and want support from librarians" more than the students she worked with in her previous job at a UC library. This has made the work rewarding and has given this librarian opportunities to pursue her goals for students' learning more often than she could at the UC. She also has found that professors she now works with at her college do not assume that their students already know how to do research and so they teach it directly rather than expecting students to learn through trial and error. This has meant that when the librarian visits with classes to provide one-shot orientations to the library, she has been pleasantly surprised to find instructors who "jump up and say, 'Remember, we talked about this last week? You read it in chapter 3?'" She stated, "that's never happened before" at the large research universities where she previously worked. She felt that she has accomplished more and developed trust more easily with students because "this is not the first time they've heard" what she tells them about library research.

A librarian who was a high school teacher and then worked at a university library said that she knew community colleges were where she was "supposed to be" once she finished her Masters in Library and Information Science because "the focus is really on teaching." Because of her colleagues' commitment to teaching, she has found a great deal of satisfaction at the large suburban community college where she now works. Compared with her experience at the university library, she has been "just blown away by how committed [the professors] are to their teaching, a lot of them are really into it." As an instruction librarian who now has opportunities to team-teach with faculty, which was not an option at the university, she has felt "really lucky to work here."

Librarians also described the advantages they can derive from their status as faculty members. Another librarian who had worked at a University of California library before joining a busy urban community college campus said that at the UC library her colleagues in the library "were in fear of faculty because faculty had such a powerful position." In contrast, at the community college she has found that because of their faculty status, librarians were "equals" and "partners" with other faculty, making the job "fun." An experienced librarian who had worked at a university for just one year before spending the rest of her career at a community college found that having faculty status was a "better deal" than being academic staff because it makes "a big difference" to have the opportunity to earn colleagues' respect by being faculty members who teach.

Some study participants pointed out that the same things that make community colleges a good fit for instruction librarians could make them

uncomfortable for librarians with other specializations. The instruction coordinator

at an isolated community college listed responsibilities like outreach efforts,

classroom interactions, and developing relationships with people around campus

as jobs "you need to be prepared to do" as a college librarian, but he

acknowledged that these were things that some librarians would resist or find

"very difficult" because they do not "fit their idea of what a librarian is." Another

librarian at that same college explained that librarians at California community

colleges should see themselves as educators "because if you're faculty, you're

an educator" and if a librarian instead sees herself or himself as "service

personnel," denying the additional responsibility of being an educator, then "why

are you faculty?" All of the job descriptions for librarians at his college include at

least a minimum of instructional responsibilities at the reference desk to ensure

that all library faculty have regular, direct, and meaningful interaction with

students. An experienced librarian at a small suburban campus also voiced this

view that as community college faculty, librarians' "primary objective is

instruction" and that if librarians joined the profession because they were "drawn

to [a specialization where] your main objective relates to materials as opposed to

student learning" then they should not work at community colleges. She

explained that "everybody [the college library hires] should be very instructionally

oriented" because, otherwise, "Why do you think we get paid what we're paid?"

Other participants viewed librarians' work more holistically, considering all

specializations to be contributing to the instructional value of the library, but,

overall, the consensus was that instructional responsibilities have been the vital

component of librarians' claims to faculty status and full participation on their campuses.

Librarians' Teaching Identities

Participants agreed that their effectiveness as teachers was important to their overall sense of professional efficacy. One participant succinctly expressed the intensifying instructional mandate for contemporary academic librarians:

> Maybe fifty years ago our primary job was to bring all this information and control it and make sure it was properly managed and organized. More and more it's about teaching students how to take control on their own. And you can't manage and organize the information because it's just exploding all around you.

However, because not all librarians taught, instruction librarians could not necessarily depend on their professional identities as librarians to also mean that they would have strong teaching identities when they entered the classroom. Instead, they had to actively cultivate a hybrid identity that bridged the distinctions that have traditionally existed between librarianship and teaching. In addition to the complications created by their hybrid roles, most librarians have had to rely on other professors to invite them into their classrooms. This unusual instructional context has led some participants to develop negative feelings about their teaching identities. Other participants recalled growing into their teaching identities through practice and effort. Most instruction coordinators expressed a deep investment in their teaching identities.

Two participants expressed feeling overwhelmed by the circumstances in which they were teaching, resulting in ambivalence about themselves as teachers. An instruction coordinator near retirement explained,

I know that we should be providing active learning experiences for students. I know I personally should be providing that. . . . I struggle with it. I just struggle with that. None of these tools are intuitive to me. We have [student response] clickers. I've yet to use them. They scare me. We have these LibGuides [e.g., software for research guides]. We're still trying to figure out what we're doing. . . . I have yet to create a LibGuide. I have issues with LibGuides."

A new librarian explained why she has felt ineffective when she encountered a student at the reference desk who had attended one of her instruction sessions, "I say, 'You came to a workshop, right? Do you remember what we went over?' And they'll be like, 'No.' But of course if they haven't had a chance to practice it, who can expect them to remember it?" She also described her approach to instruction as "survival mode" and reported feeling ineffective in the face of challenging circumstances like the following:

The problem is so many [students] come when it's not at a point of need. They are not open to you teaching a lot of very specific details. . . . A lot of students express surprise that those sources are there—like the data bases. They are like, 'Oh, I wish I had known that. I finished my project a month ago.'. . . But I think they lack the skills to use them effectively and then they end up going to a major search engine anyway."

Other participants described feeling torn between their own deep commitment to teaching and the lack of regard that they felt administrators and other faculty had for their efforts. As one librarian with significant experience teaching both in the library and in another discipline explained:

> If teaching, being an instruction librarian is a huge part of my identity—at work, anyway, maybe not the rest of my life. And at the same time, it doesn't seem to be appreciated and it doesn't seem to be doing that much. Then you have an identity crisis right? I do. It's depressing.

Another librarian who frequently taught library credit courses and library workshops echoed this sentiment, saying, "It's a struggle to always feel like you have to validate everything that you do because people don't understand," and she added,

> Being a professor of a discipline is in and of itself recognition enough. But, it's not the same for librarianship. So, you're a librarian. Oh, you happen to also teach information competency. Does it confer as much status [as teaching in other disciplines]? I don't think it does. And, maybe that is the kind of change that is going to come after our time, I don't know.

Looking back on a long career of teaching in the library, another participant voiced similar resignation, saying,

> I don't think we're considered teachers. I think we're still support; we're still a support service. In other words we're not asked to be chair of the curriculum committee or we're not asked to head up student learning coordinator. The chairs and coordinators tend to be always instructional.

Despite an abiding commitment to offering excellent instruction, this librarian

ultimately felt discouraged and burnt out because of the persistent

marginalization. She believed:

It takes a lot of creativity [to teach] and you have to be very proactive or

you're boring. How are you going to market yourself? You can't always be

offering the same routine every time. You lose the kids; you lose the

interest of the teacher. So I think instruction is the hardest [type of work].

Would I rather be a cataloger or just be a database person? Yeah. I could

spend time just critiquing, evaluating databases. I would have fun myself.

Facing challenges inherent in being an instruction librarian, several

participants described their process of developing themselves as teachers. One

participant explained how important it was to her to become a good teacher

because:

I think the case with any community college faculty is we're not hired for

our teaching ability. Sort of, but we're hired because we have a master's in

a discipline area. And really, really, really, I think, more than anything, all

faculty need to be really good instructors. For myself, I knew that I wasn't.

I mean, it came over time, but when I was in [a previous job], I did very

little teaching. I did a lot of collaboration and integrated assignments, but I

did a lot more teaching at [subsequent jobs]. And I'm very comfortable. I

really enjoy it. But it didn't come that easily. It wasn't natural at first, but I

think probably going to the Immersion Program [was] the first time I [was

trained to teach]. I really would hope that anybody who was even thinking

of being a faculty librarian would take teaching very seriously. I took courses and practiced. Teaching a one-credit course on-ground helped a little bit, but that was more lab-based. Teaching the three-credit online course that I developed was tough because I really didn't feel strongly about my skills. I mean, I certainly know my subject area, but it took some time to develop.

Another librarian described a similar trajectory:

I feel like I have a lot more training as a librarian than I do as a teacher. I don't have a teaching credential or a master's in education or anything. So, I feel like I am more of a librarian than a teacher. However I feel like as a librarian at [this college], our main focus is teaching, one-on-one and the instruction sessions and you know, I do teach the credit classes. So I feel kind of like the teacher/librarian thing [describes me]. But maybe it's librarian/teacher or librarian/instructor because I think I definitely approach [teaching] from the librarian point of view. Uh, but I try to learn more about teaching techniques, philosophy of education, and all those kinds of things. Like we had this writing across the curriculum program, I went through that. We have little like, over the years we've had workshops—like there is a whole thing about, 'How do we help our ESL students? And what are their characteristics?' Or, you know, just different techniques and things, so I try to do that kind of thing, too, just to improve my skills in that area. But I would say mostly [I identify as a] librarian, but teaching is a big component of that.

When training students to become library technicians, she acknowledges that they might share her initial reluctance to teach,

> I tell my students—In the class that I'm teaching because they have to do
>
> a presentation—I tell them, 'If you would have told me [when I was
>
> becoming a librarian] that I would be standing up in front of a classroom all
>
> the time talking to people, I would have told you you were crazy.' And I try
>
> to use myself as an example, that the more you do it the better it gets and
>
> the more comfortable you feel doing it. I mean, I still get nervous before I
>
> have to do certain classes or whatever. So I think [teaching] keeps you on
>
> your toes.

A third librarian has not struggled with the presentational aspects of teaching, but rather with the psychological and emotional aspects. She described recent developments in her capacity to handle the inherent disappointment associated with teaching in the library:

> How do you get up in the morning if you don't believe that what you are
>
> doing hopefully has some impact? And, you do see that. You know, you
>
> just don't see it in terms of the major trend. . . . So, I focus more on what I
>
> can do on the individual student level, especially after this [professional
>
> development] because I was experiencing some burnout. And, after this
>
> [professional development] I really kind of feel revitalized.

Regarding her ongoing development as a teacher, she added,

> For a while I was like questioning that, you know, because I was feeling
>
> like I wasn't finding my ground of being a teacher and a librarian. I knew

that I really identified with being a teacher, but I was also kind of vulnerable. I felt vulnerable. Now, I don't feel vulnerable. And I think it is a personal development thing. I don't think that it's related to just being an instruction librarian. I think it's just a personal thing, for myself, um, that after years of teaching, I feel like I am coming into my own. You know, having a couple of semesters of dealing with students who are rough or disciplinary issues and stuff like that. So, I feel like I am tougher and I have a stronger identity in terms of what my role is or a better idea of what my role is. Before I was focused more on content, and I think now I am more focused on learning. So, in that sense I think I am more of a teacher than librarian.

For other librarians, teaching seemed to come naturally. The ease with which most of the respondents integrated their teacher and librarian identities suggests that librarians have embraced a broad definition of teaching, including not just interactions in the classroom but also at the reference desk, and even off campus. One librarian described how far her sense of responsibility as an educator reached,

> [The librarians] believe that if we can get them in the classroom in the culinary program maybe they'll think about taking other classes, maybe they'll get their AA, or just feel better about their own learning, or be a better chef, be a more informed chef, be a better citizen, be a more informed voter, so we actually really believe in our mission of making people self-reliant and that there's great value in understanding how to

find information and use information and make sense of it. We believe we do instruction all the time—in casual conversations with someone on the bridge or the students in town. This is a small town so if you go out to a meal you're likely to run into one of your students and we sort of see that as instruction as well. And we definitely see the reference desk as instruction. We have student-learning outcomes for the reference desk exchanges and we see all of it as potential instruction and count it. It's hard to convince our colleagues of that. But we have [students] try to reflect on their own learning and ask them more questions even as they're serving us our tacos. Having students really reflect on their own learning we think will help them be lifelong learners and so we look for every opportunity to do it.

Another librarian described experimenting with a new technique in her classroom in order to increase student engagement. She summed up a common sentiment about the pleasures of teaching, which were shared by other participants who have strong teaching identities.

[The new technique] worked really good [sic]. I was surprised because I never did it before, but I walked out feeling energized because they got it and I knew they got it. They were happy to be putzing around and cracking jokes and having a good time. So that kind of stuff energizes me. I'd rather be in the library orientation than on the reference desk.

Another participant explained the value she has found in teaching.

> I sought out instruction internships because I actually thought that was
> where I was going to find jobs. And, it turned out that I actually liked it. I
> mean, I'd taught before, but I thought I was going to be a public services
> librarian, your more traditional reference librarian. But, I found more joy in
> teaching. I found that I was a better librarian having taught. So, I get a lot
> out of it, personally. And, my identity I think is very much invested in that. I
> think that [at this college] teaching really informs how we approach
> librarianship.

A final librarian summed up the prevailing attitude among participants when
asked about their hybrid identities as librarians and teachers, stating that, while
other faculty may not realize the extent of librarians' teaching,

> I think it is a mistake to say there is a dichotomy. I'm a librarian and I view
> that as an educator. I view academic librarianship as being an educator,
> so I'm not an educator in the library or librarian who is an educator. I'm a
> librarian. And that means I'm an educator. . . . I view everything I do as
> educational. So the label of librarian to me isn't inherently non-
> educational. So therefore I don't feel like I've got to say I'm this and that.

Even among librarians with strong teaching identities, however, there is
still an awareness that they are not able to be fully autonomous if they want to
make a meaningful contribution to students' learning. In order to effectively reach
students and ensure that their instruction will be relevant, librarians not only have

to negotiate with professors while planning instruction but they have to rely on faculty participation when they are evaluating its effectiveness as well.

The Role of Faculty in Evaluating Library Instruction

Responding to the widespread accountability movement, librarians in this study felt pressure to assess student-learning outcomes. Unfortunately, the ways in which librarians provided instruction and services made their effects hard to assess in isolation. Students were demonstrating their abilities to apply what they learned in library orientations or at the reference desk by completing projects that librarians never saw. Despite these limitations, 13 of the participants described ongoing efforts to assess library instruction and services.

Most librarians have found the results of their assessments either reassuring or useful for making improvements to their instruction, but three others felt that the demand for assessment was diverting time and resources away from growing and improving the library's instruction program. One participant described the wide range of data being generated during face-to-face and online instruction and then explained that none of the data had been analyzed because the librarians did not have the time. Even librarians who acknowledged the value of outcomes assessments sometimes expressed skepticism that their most important goals for student learning, including critical thinking and habits of mind, could be accurately measured in the context of one-shot or reference instruction. These interactions with students were brief and the extent of their effects was not observable until students applied the skills to complete an assignment or solve a problem.

Although librarians recognized that it was not sufficient to isolate the

evaluation of their instruction from the courses where students were using their

information competency skills, full-scale assessments of the effect of library

instruction have been rare. One participant who has been focused on

assessment for the past several years summed up the complicated problem of

evaluating library instruction. At the heart of the complication was the need to rely

on other faculty for any authentic assessments of student learning and the

librarian explained, "We're going to try and build in this communication with

faculty—loop and loop and loop—and hopefully it's not something that we did ten

years ago and then [we remember], 'Oh yeah, we should pick that up again.'"

The librarian explained that the challenges of developing an assessment process

were unavoidable because the one-shot library orientation sessions varied

according to the instructor's request and the librarian's style and, therefore, could

not be effectively evaluated using a standardized method for the whole

instruction program. This instructional variability and responsiveness to faculty

required that professors be involved in the evaluation of library instruction.

In addition to increasing communication with faculty, some librarians have

considered evaluating the effectiveness of their course-related instruction by

collecting student papers from faculty and doing their own evaluation of their

citations. One librarian was able to organize this type of assessment with the two

classes in which she was embedded, but not on a larger scale. Three other

librarians explained that they saw a value of this type of intensive assessment

project but have not yet implemented one because they lacked the time to take it on.

In the absence of sustained participation from faculty, library instruction coordinators have developed internal assessments and satisfaction surveys for evaluating their instruction. Trying to work around the limitations inherent in on-demand one-shot instruction, half of the participants have resorted to giving students brief quizzes at the beginning and end of library sessions. The premise has been that the pre-test would measure students' lack of awareness about the concepts of library research and that the post-test would measure students' learning when they accurately answered questions they had previously gotten wrong. The pre- and post-test method of evaluation may satisfy the assessment requirements for accreditation, but it has not satisfied these librarians' desire to know what students were learning during their instruction. Five of the librarians who used them found that the time they dedicated to the pre- and post-tests robbed them of precious instructional time. Some also found that the assessments bothered students, either making them anxious at the beginning of the session or seeming to be a waste of their time at the end. And perhaps the most important limitation of pre- and post-tests was that librarians found that the questions that were easiest to ask and evaluate were not the ones that told them the most about students' learning, leaving them with instruments that did not measure what the librarians wanted to measure.

Seeking a more meaningful measurement of students' learning, five other librarians have used a performance assessment by asking students to complete

a written exercise during the session. Because performance assessments are more complicated to evaluate when librarians are looking for evidence of student learning and nuances in their levels of proficiency, only one librarian reported systematically using the results of the assessments to inform her program planning. When she noticed that English language learners in her workshops were more likely than other students to submit incomplete exercise sheets despite appearing to be actively engaged during the session, she began weighing possible modifications to the workshop program in order to better serve students whose college skills are still in the early phases of development. Three other librarians have chosen not to dedicate time to evaluating the results of students' in-class exercises after their orientations, using them only as informal formative assessments to guide their instruction during class.

Perhaps because the options for assessing student learning during one-shot orientations have not satisfied librarians' goals for evaluating their instruction, two librarians have also considered surveying faculty about their students' performance following library instruction. The purpose of these surveys has been to gather indirect assessment of the impact of library instruction by asking faculty whether and how the sessions affected their students' performance on later assignments. Five other librarians have wanted to use faculty surveys to gather professors' impressions of library instruction and information competency more generally and have planned to survey all faculty, not just the ones already requesting instruction from librarians. At one library where relations with the faculty had been strained by years of poor management,

librarians surveyed faculty to find out why they were advising their students to use the local university library rather than the one at the college. When faculty responses revealed their dissatisfaction with the college library's collection, the librarians were able to acquire new materials in weak areas and convince reticent faculty to accept their offers of library instruction so that students would know how to access the new resources. Most librarians' surveys of faculty have not been so focused, but instead have sought input from faculty for self-study purposes. One librarian also identified the promotional aspect of surveying faculty, pointing out that if professors felt that librarians applied the input they provided on the surveys to make responsive changes in the library's instruction program then faculty might feel they had a bigger stake in the process and want to participate more.

Unfortunately, the participants who have sought support from their institutional researchers to help them design evaluations have often discovered that the staff are dedicated to other projects, like studies of student persistence, that are closer to the core concerns of college accreditation. A few participants, however, have begun successful collaborations with institutional researchers. Specifically, they have been trying to assess the outcomes of their instruction in terms of student success and persistence since these were the meaningful indicators of librarians' contributions to learning. One librarian was already working with institutional researchers at his college to compare the course outcomes of students who attended one-shot orientations with similar students who did not. Another librarian has developed a plan for measuring the impact of

the library's tutorials and credit courses on students' overall success. A third librarian with a clear plan for gathering and analyzing data on the impact of the library's instruction on students' research and their course grade has been delayed because the research office is too busy with other priorities to provide support for the library's assessment at this time.

Despite the barriers to meaningful assessment, librarians wanted to measure the effect of their instruction because they saw benefits from the conversations that their assessments could initiate with faculty and administrators. One participant recalled the library's evaluation as the only commendation in her college's latest accreditation report. The participant explained that the library got positive attention during the accreditation visit because of its well-developed assessment process. Another participant took a leadership role on her college's assessment committee and she has used the library's assessment process, including sending surveys to professors, as a way to raise faculty awareness of information competency. In her role on the assessment committee, she has also made a presentation to the district Board of Trustees during which she used examples from the library's assessment projects to illustrate best practices. Although they require time and resources, participants reported that large-scale assessment projects have appeal because they show faculty and administrators how librarians' instruction has benefited students beyond giving them a few discreet skills to use in the library.

In the absence of direct assessments, many librarians have developed methods for inferring professors' evaluations of their instruction. When librarians'

own assessments had limited value, and they could not survey faculty as frequently as they wanted to, librarians still sought feedback about the effectiveness of their teaching. Participants reported several ways that professors' attitudes and approaches revealed how they viewed the library's instruction program. For example, because librarians equated their value with their expertise, when professors showed extra commitment to getting the most out of their work with the library, then librarians took this as a sign that faculty evaluated their instruction positively. Librarians inferred that faculty valued their expertise and saw them as effective instructors when faculty actively engaged with them to plan orientation sessions and prepare their students, when they made full use of librarians' abilities in the classroom, and when they stayed involved during the orientations.

Librarians did not feel they could teach effectively if they could not make the session relevant to students, so they considered it a sign of respect when professors took the time to explain their goals for the session and negotiate with librarians about specific content or modes of instruction. Five of the librarians described the time-consuming process of getting faculty to provide their assignments and syllabi when submitting instruction requests so that the librarians would know how to tailor their instruction to students' needs. When faculty did not give librarians details about students' research assignments or when they brought students for orientations without first explaining the assignment to their students and preparing them for the session, librarians felt

that they were "flying by the seat of their pants" and that they could not be as effective as they wanted to be.

Librarians assumed that faculty who believed library instruction could have meaningful effects on student learning would work with them to make the session as useful to their students as they could. When faculty indicated that they did not have goals or expectations for the session, then librarians inferred a lack of regard for their work and assumed that these professors were seeking library instruction because they did not want to learn how to teach their students about the library or because they saw it as a day when they did not have to plan a lesson. In order to have more influence over how students were prepared before coming for a research orientation, two librarians have been considering a policy recommending that faculty have their students complete online research tutorials that librarians have created in advance of the orientation.

During the orientation, librarians inferred that professors valued their expertise if they welcomed the librarians to teach academic skills and concepts that transcended strict library-related tasks. They also saw it as a sign that their expertise was valued when professors engaged in the session by adding context or applications for what the librarian was teaching. Five librarians described developing their knowledge of typical college writing assignments and common conventions of academic discourse so that they could put the research process into a context for their students. Because this knowledge crossed from strictly library-focused instruction into general academic skills and student success, librarians appreciated faculty who invited them to suggest these connections to

students. When faculty had narrower expectations for librarians' instruction, discouraging the librarian from helping students to interpret the assignment and asking librarians to strictly focus on research tools rather than processes, librarians felt that faculty did not see their value as instructors. When professors participated during orientations, librarians felt they were taking the session seriously and contributing to its effectiveness. However, when faculty did not attend the orientation, when they graded papers during the session, or when they took a hands-off attitude when students' need assistance with in-class exercises, librarians felt that faculty did not see their instruction as effective or worth their time.

Additional Factors Influencing Faculty/Librarian Interactions

Having to rely on other faculty for teaching opportunities left librarians' vulnerable to indirect effects of shrinking budgets and made some participants feel that they were not seen as legitimate instructional units on their campuses.

Indirect effects of college budget cuts. Although the full meaning for libraries was not yet clear, many instruction librarians in this study had recently started to observe a change in the number and type of instruction sessions that faculty requested. Half of all participants reported steady numbers of instruction sessions over the past several years, but others observed a decline. Those experiencing a decline have tried to explain it in several ways. One explanation was that cuts to sections at many colleges had resulted in fewer faculty, fewer students, and, therefore, fewer orientations. As a result of these section cuts, some colleges were simultaneously increasing the size of their classes, which led

to additional challenges for librarians. Libraries' classrooms were often small and librarians found that they could not accommodate larger classes without adding new spaces, so these larger classes got turned away.

Besides cutting sections and increasing class sizes, colleges also have looked to alternative modes of delivery and compressed schedules to contain costs, which indirectly reduced demand for library instruction. Many colleges have tried to reduce costs by increasing the proportion of courses being offered online over the past few years even though the real cost savings of online education are not certain (Koenig, 2011). At the sites in this study, when the decision to offer online classes was made to reduce costs, libraries tended not to have the software or staff they needed in order to effectively provide instruction in this new format, and they lost the access they previously had to those students. One librarian in that situation lamented losing the relationships she had built with faculty, saying, "They used to come in to have five classes in the library, now they're online, so now I've lost those five classes." The librarian at a college that had recently transitioned to a compressed calendar (moving from an 18-week semester to a 16-week semester) saw a decline in requests for library instruction because faculty suddenly had fewer meetings with their students, which they did not feel compensated for by the minutes added to each meeting. Feeling like they no longer had enough time to cover their usual content, some faculty became protective of their time with students and were no longer disposed to give over a class session to the librarians.

During the period of this study, librarians' efforts to provide professional development have been thwarted by budget cuts that hurt morale and discouraged faculty from dedicating extra time to improving instruction. One librarian explained,

> I think there is a mood across campus that is just people don't have as much time for staff development. They're less willing to serve on committees; they're less willing to go to programs. It's a real morale problem, what's happening in this state, to the community college system. It's a huge problem.

Another librarian described her experience trying to provide support for professors to become more skilled at teaching information competency in their courses:

> We created a professional development series for helping underprepared students do research. So we offered four sessions and then we started it opening day. The turnout's been really low. The highest attendance we had was six people. With the lowest, we had one. And then the people that come generally are coming to get flex credit. They don't care what you teach.

A third librarian explained why she has not recently published or made a professional presentation about her work. She said,

> I'm trying to think of what I think is worth sharing and what people are going to be interested in coming to because the flex day presentation that [the librarians offered last semester] was about designing effective

research assignments, which I thought was a really good one. And the theme of the conference was 'Partnering Across Campus.' . . . But only two people came to that presentation. So I need to think of something that is going to draw them in. I'm just kind of stumped because I thought their topic was really good and really helpful. . . . Maybe they just don't see the value of working with a librarian or they don't want to give research assignments. You know, I've heard certain departments are not doing a lot of research assignments because they don't want to deal with plagiarism. I don't know. It's kind of surprising.

Another librarian also wondered why she was not seeing more faculty at her professional development workshops. She stated:

We have these workshops in summer, which was an abbreviated summer session, we had thirty faculty members come to these workshops. It was like six workshops, or something like that. We decided to do it again in the fall when everybody was back. And nobody came. I don't know. For a variety of reasons, I think, people are kind of overwhelmed. Morale is probably at a fairly low point. And, as one of my colleagues said, we can probably get a lot more people to come in the spring when their flex deadline is breathing down their necks.

When these participants were not able to get faculty to participate in training that was designed to improve professors' abilities to develop their students' information competency, the librarians felt frustrated because they were not able to have influence or to apply their expertise. These librarians explained

that they would continue their efforts, but they worried that they were not going to

be able to improve the context within which they were teaching and that their

instructional interventions would continue to have limited effects on student

learning because they would not be reinforced by professors in their own

classrooms.

Justifying the library's instructional role. Faced with their limited

influence and sometimes sensing that their instructional efforts were considered

trivial, librarians described feeling pressure to stay vigilant about external threats

to the library. This drove them to spend their time weighing political concerns,

representing the library on various college committees, and strategizing ways to

justify the library to administrators and faculty leaders. For example, one

participant described a common problem of not having enough librarians to

effectively represent the library on all relevant committees. At his college, this

under-representation was a persistent threat to the library. He explained that

despite the fact that the library served the whole college and was directly and

indirectly affected by many decisions being made at all levels, the library's small

faculty limited their reach:

> You can't be part of every conversation. Whereas something like the
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> English department, with all the full-time faculty that they have, can be part
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> of every committee on campus, and they could report back, and they can
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> talk about it, and be angry about it, or be active toward whatever they
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> want. We just don't have the resources to do that, unfortunately, so we get
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> bypassed with a lot of things and it's unfortunate. I think the library is the

biggest technology user on campus and the fact that we don't have somebody on the distance education committee means that they pass all kinds of crap through that is not at all helpful to the library, and we just can't do much about it. We don't have the time to be on there to advocate for the library.

Another library instruction coordinator described the pressure she felt to represent the library to the rest of the college, a pressure that other participants also described. When she was assigned to develop the assessment process for her library, she challenged herself to evaluate every area of the library in terms of its contribution to student learning:

I want the campus to realize that we are instruction, and that's a political move on my part. So I've made all my SLOs all instructional and I have not submitted a satisfaction survey. I felt that once they did a satisfaction survey I would be labeled a service. So I was really conscious of trying to do that. Again it sends a hidden message that we're still aligning with instruction.

As the library instruction coordinator, she felt it was her responsibility to protect the status of the library as an instructional unit, to keep it "under instruction" rather than risk being reorganized into student services or instructional technology. Other participants also expressed their interest in remaining or becoming a department within instructional services, feeling that that designation legitimized their teaching.

The librarian using student learning outcomes as evidence that the library was an instructional unit also revealed a larger concern, shared by other participants, that the library was fundamentally misunderstood and that librarians' teaching was one way to combat the threat that came with being marginal to the college's core instructional mission. She explained:

> I think the fact that we [teach] kind of keeps our numbers up and our visibility. If not, we are just a warehouse of books. So are we an instructional and service unit? Or are we just a warehouse of books? So what is the library? Do they want to get rid of us and turn us into a classroom? Probably, I don't know. . . . I mean if I was a business person, I wouldn't have librarians; I would have library assistants just from a money standpoint. And then move the faculty positions into the classrooms. . . . You have to stay abreast of stuff like that. I think 25 percent of our job is staying political, whether it's committees or . . . and not every librarian likes committees. I don't like committees.

The weight of protecting the library was a burden for instruction librarians who found that their instructional goals were often constrained by the residual traditional functions of the library and by the codes that governed it.

Summary

Librarians in this study revealed that they were troubled by their colleagues' lack of awareness about their teaching. This caused some participants to feel isolated from the core instructional functions of their colleges. Other participants saw their colleagues' lack of awareness as an opportunity to

challenge the limited roles that librarians have been assigned within the academy and to gain influence by surprising colleagues with their teaching expertise and dedication to student success. These librarians also welcomed opportunities to try, fail, and try again both in their own instructional efforts and in their collaborations with other faculty. Finally, librarians who described developing positive instructional relationships with professors in other divisions found that by defining their goals broadly, instead of becoming attached to one particular approach, they could sustain and deepen their partnerships over time. In this way they gained the trust of the professors with whom they were collaborating and they were able to keep pursuing new instructional opportunities.

Research Question 4

The final research question was: What structural conditions inhibit or facilitate community college librarians' access to teaching and how do librarians manage these conditions? Librarians in this study recognized barriers and supports to their instructional goals at multiple levels of their work. Many of these were the informal organizational norms described in the previous section that defined insiders and outsiders and set expectations for interactions among faculty. This section will focus on the structural barriers and supports, including both internal and external policies, procedures, and regulations, which inhibited or facilitated participants' instruction programs. Organizational structures may constrain individuals' actions, but they do not determine them (Crozier & Friedberg, 1980). All members within an organization are free to try to influence the rules of that organization by challenging them or by following them (Crozier &

Friedberg, 1980). The participants in this study described the approaches they have taken to the rules in order to overcome structural barriers and use available supports.

Structuring Library Instruction Coordinators' Duties

All the participants in this study were responsible for coordinating instruction in their libraries and the models for this responsibility varied from campus to campus. Assigning this responsibility to a particular librarian was a structural support for the libraries' instruction programs that prevented the problems inherent in allowing instruction to be handled in an ad hoc fashion by multiple librarians each receiving instruction requests from individual instructors without any organizing principle. At most of the participating colleges, the library's credit and non-credit instruction programs were coordinated by one person who was responsible for scheduling the orientations faculty requested, training new instruction librarians, promoting library instruction services throughout campus, keeping techniques and materials up to date, identifying new opportunities for instruction, developing learning objects, advising faculty on developing library-related assignments, teaching orientations and workshops, developing and revising credit curriculum, and assessing student learning in credit and non-credit instruction. Four of the campuses in this study have split these responsibilities between a non-credit instruction coordinator and a for-credit instruction coordinator.

At three campuses with both positions, librarians made the decision to create the second instruction position dedicated to coordinating credit instruction

when it appeared in the late 1990s that the State Chancellor's Office was going to initiate a system-wide graduation requirement in information competency. Although this requirement never went into effect, some libraries have retained both positions. In contrast, one participating library that had split the responsibilities between two positions has since restructured, returning to a model of one librarian coordinating the entire instruction program. At some libraries, the responsibility for credit instruction is assumed to fall to the department chair. Overall, six participants were responsible for both credit and supplemental instruction, six participants were responsible for only supplemental instruction, and four participants were responsible for only credit instruction.

The librarians in this study described the benefit of being library instruction coordinators in a system that dedicated resources and attention to student learning and recognized that students needed additional support in areas like information competency. One participant reported having frustrated colleagues at CSU libraries who found that they could not get traction in the curriculum for information competency. She explained that at the community college, instruction librarians "have that ability to really reach out to our student population because they may not be as information savvy [as students at universities and] because we are more focused on teaching at the community college." In her experience, that has meant that instruction librarians "get more of that opportunity here to coordinate" with other faculty. An experienced librarian shared a similar view that the instructional focus of the community college makes it a fertile opportunity for instruction librarians to "reach out to students" and "try to create a different way

of approaching library instruction, to get away from that boring, 'Click here, click there,'" that can constrain university instruction librarians who may have less direct experience with students' learning. Another librarian noted this difference immediately when she started working at a community college for the first time.

> What I liked most was just that there was so much support for the students, both formally and informally. The instructors were really cheerleaders for the students. They were so committed. I was used to research faculty, who kind of were there but not there. You were kind of secondary to their research, and that kind of thing. It was amazing.

Librarians with past experience at public libraries contrasted the service-minded approach that public librarians took to reference against the instructional focus at community colleges, and preferred the instructional focus. One librarian explained that at public libraries the goal was "to give people what they need whereas [the community college librarian's] real focus is to teach people how to find what they need" for themselves. One librarian's experience at a busy public library taught him that "you answered the question and you got rid of them because you had a line of people" and "you don't have time to teach anybody anything," but at the community college where he now works, they "take the time to not just answer the question but to teach them how to do what they need to do so that the next time they may not need to ask us."

All of the participants in the study mentioned how necessary it was for library instruction coordinators to participate on college committees and the benefits of being faculty who could not just attend but could influence and lead

governance committees. Participants valued the opportunity to serve on committees beyond their libraries because they worried that they were marginalized by being isolated from college decision-makers. Serving on committees was a way for librarians to fight the isolating effect of the library. Participants explained that librarians could leverage faculty interests if they knew about them, so they used their interactions outside of the library to build their knowledge of faculty agendas, curricular initiatives, and new sources of funding. This made it possible for them to position themselves closer to the center of college concerns and benefit from windows of opportunity. An instruction coordinator at an isolated community college noted that librarians' faculty status gave them access to college committees where they were "politely embedding [them]selves in decision making processes" and thereby showing themselves to be full participants in the faculty community.

Participants also described benefitting from their participation in events and meetings that equalized their status with other faculty. Although some participants reported that faculty leadership positions were not available to librarians, others described filling roles as executive members of the Academic Senate and as chairpersons of their colleges' curriculum and assessment committees. By accepting leadership positions, librarians were able to learn the rules that govern their colleges and influence policies, especially in the areas of information competency assessment and curriculum development. Those who have applied what they learned about bureaucratic structures and procedures to their own instruction programs, library instruction coordinators reported being

able to identify new allies, pursue additional sources of funding, and communicate their achievements to administrators. Librarians have also built strong relationships with professors by participating in intensive instructional improvement seminars with them. In these venues, librarians found that they could demonstrate their professionalism, their commitment to students, and their ability to contribute to college goals.

The Constraining Structures of the Traditional Library

Libraries were not initially developed as educational organizations in the traditional sense of directly instructing students in classrooms. The policies and procedures necessary to sustain instruction developed more recently and have not always fit well with the existing organizational structures within libraries or the policies that regulate libraries. This misalignment has caused some barriers to participants' instruction programs. Participants recognized that teaching did not fit seamlessly into librarians' work. After reflecting during our interview on her own teaching and the role of teaching within the profession generally, one librarian concluded,

It would be pretty comfortable for me as a librarian to just do the other stuff. We've greatly expanded our workload by becoming instructors. It's made the job harder and more challenging. We could have been lazy about it as a profession. I guess I'm questioning our need, or our greed, for access to students. I'm not sure what's motivating it, except for improving student learning. I don't think it's born of just trying—well,

maybe to some extent—just trying to make ourselves essential. I don't

know.

In fact, teaching has been more than an expanded workload for librarians;

sometimes it has come into conflict with what was best for the library. For

example, at several libraries, in order to keep the reference desk staffed with

reduced budgets, full time librarians worked more hours there. This short-term

staffing crisis forced instruction librarians to make long-term sacrifices as they cut

back on their teaching and outreach, potentially neglecting relationships and

missing windows of opportunity that they would otherwise have been able to

leverage to grow their instruction programs. The fixed costs and responsibilities

of running the library made instruction librarians feel burdened not only by the

work they had to do inside the library to keep it going but also by the onus of

defending the library against possible threats from administrators who might not

value it.

The barrier of instructional capacity. According to participants, one of

the initial reasons for inviting classes to visit the library for instruction was to

increase the library's capacity to reach students and support their research

without having to work with each student individually at the reference desk. The

old-style library tours that participants described introduced students to the

physical layout of the library and gave them a sense of how to conduct research.

In the past 15 years, research tools and presentation technologies have evolved

in ways that allowed library instruction to grow rapidly and move away from the

traditional tour format. As one participant explained,

It would have been very difficult to have a library instruction class come in where you were demonstrating the [print] periodical index. "Okay, we're all going to go upstairs and find that magazine." It just didn't lend itself to that type of training. As our tools have evolved so has our instruction and our ability to train larger groups of students simultaneously.

Although more efficient than reference service, classroom instruction has still been a high-cost method of supporting students' learning. The burden of teaching has strained both librarians and library budgets. One participant explained, "We've greatly expanded our workload by becoming instructors. It's made the job harder and more challenging." Successful instruction has required significant dedication of resources including librarians' time. Another participant described her experience in trying to build interest in library instruction among faculty when she started working in her current position and then realizing "that we didn't have the staff or the resources to follow up on all these things I was promising."

Participants' have responded in various ways to the barriers and supports they have encountered, resulting in library instruction programs that vary widely in their modes of instruction, the number of students reached, and their access to instructional technology. The library instruction coordinators' varied approaches to barriers and constraints have caused some coordinators to pursue new avenues of instruction while others have committed the library to established methods of delivery. Coordinators who dedicated all available resources to intensifying traditional on-demand instruction reported that they were responding

to faculty preferences and offering relevant, course-related instruction. Coordinators who instead sought out new alliances or redirected resources toward diversifying the library's modes of instruction reported that these approaches achieved librarians' instructional goals by (a) offering differentiated instruction designed to appeal to underserved instructional areas, (b) taking control of their instructional decisions and teaching in the ways that they considered most effective, and (c) dedicating their limited resources to the instruction they believed would have the biggest effect. Both approaches, the traditional and the more experimental, exposed librarians to limitations. Intensifying on-demand instruction strained the library's staffing and space capacities without reaching all of the students who the librarians hoped to teach. Experimenting with other modes of instruction also demanded resources and did not always have the expected results.

Several study participants described having made the decision to limit the growth of their instruction programs in recent years. A librarian with a small staff explained,

> I really don't have any resistance at my college to growing the [instruction] program. Everybody's all for it, but I'm kind of not for it myself anymore because you can't grow the program just on my back. There's no talk of hiring another instruction librarian or adding to our adjuncts.

Another instruction coordinator recognized that important segments of the student population were not being reached, but concluded that "it would be nice if we could get more [faculty requests] but I'm almost afraid. I don't want to over

burden the librarians" by scheduling additional instruction sessions. So she continued to reach out to faculty only through "email blasts," even though she observed that these were not generating responses from faculty in any of the disciplines that she had identified as being underserved.

A particularly overwhelmed instruction coordinator who was invested in keeping the instruction program from growing any further described worrying that her newly-hired colleague would succeed at generating interest in library instruction among faculty who did not usually request orientations. She explained that "the problem is that the other [orientations] that I would want [this librarian] to do, in some way she's not able to do because she's brought in more business." Because the assumption within the profession has been that growth was good and librarians needed to promote instruction in order to reach more students, this librarian described feeling "guilty" for "being so passive" about developing new instructional opportunities for the library. Another coordinator was unapologetic for making a similar calculation to devote "our effort to the people that we are reaching right now" rather than cultivating new opportunities.

An instruction coordinator at a large campus explained, "right now the stance of the department is that we are not ready to grow" because their staff of librarians was "pretty small compared to the number of students that we have to serve. Plus balancing instruction with everything else that we have to do is really challenging." So the librarian decided not to do "a lot of outreach and drum up a lot of business that we're just going to turn away" because "we could promote more but we probably couldn't handle" an increase in instruction requests.

Instead, the librarians at her college were beginning to pursue a different mode of instruction, replacing the current program of on-demand orientations with a set of drop-in research workshops offered at fixed times.

The combined strain on librarians and library budgets as modern library instruction became a mainstay of librarians' work with students resulted in some librarians feeling pressure to find new ways to increase capacity and make their instruction progressively more useful. Others found that while they did have the space and staff to accommodate more instruction sessions, they questioned whether they should intensify those efforts or should, instead, revise their approaches so that they were achieving more significant outcomes. One participant who shared the latter view remarked, "Do I think that by doubling our library instruction sessions that's going to make a difference? Not really." Librarians wanted to discover an approach to instruction that would make a difference, so they explored modes of instruction that allowed them to both expand their capacity and to appeal to different instructional areas.

Procedures for assigning instructional duties. Responsibilities for teaching varied from library to library, sometimes based on policy and sometimes based merely on past practice. One factor influencing divisions of teaching responsibilities has been that not all community college librarians wanted to teach or saw it as part of their job descriptions. One participant recalled a colorful analogy made by a resistant librarian who said, "if librarianship is like having a baby, then instruction is like changing the dirty diapers." Instruction coordinators faced with librarian colleagues who do not want to teach have taken a variety of

approaches to this common problem. Sometimes libraries worked around

librarians who did not want to teach. In these cases, participants described their

philosophy as pragmatic, saying that they would rather find other resources to

provide instruction rather than forcing librarians to teach when they are

uncomfortable in the classroom or unwilling to improve. One instruction

coordinator, who described her well-defined vision for the quality of library

instruction, entered a library culture in which most of the full-time librarians had

not taught regularly for years. She explained, "Not every single librarian who

works here is able to get up and teach in the style that I would like to see. And for

those few who can't, they don't teach and so, as the person who coordinates

instruction, I can make that [decision]." Another coordinator explained,

> I've had complaints from faculty about one or two librarians over the years,
>
> and you know um, it's hard to talk about that sometimes but you have to
>
> be able to . . . and I've talked to them about it but to tell you the truth,
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> sometimes I just don't schedule that person to do orientations.

When full-time librarians are not expected to teach, some libraries rely

heavily on adjunct librarians to do the work. One librarian described the value of

part-time faculty who like to teach and are enthusiastic, saying, "if we didn't have

good adjuncts we would be sunk." A librarian described the situation at her large

college where librarians are split over whether or not teaching should be a

shared responsibility among all of the full-time librarians or should be a

specialization of a select group. Some of the pressure to resolve this issue has

been eased by grant funding that is temporarily supporting part-time assistance.

The instruction coordinator explained, "It's very helpful to have the adjuncts teaching, and they are very enthusiastic about sharing ideas, so it's been really cool."

At other libraries, tight budgets or past practice have prevented instruction coordinators from hiring adjunct faculty to teach and the coordinators have taken it upon themselves to do most of the teaching. One coordinator taught five sections of the library's one-unit credit course in a single semester because demand was high, and the library's dean would not agree to hire adjuncts to teach any credit courses for the library. Another coordinator taught 100 orientations in a semester because the other librarians at her library did not choose to teach at all but decided, by consensus, to offer a large volume of sessions. These are extreme examples within this study, and it is more common to find coordinators make comments like, "I end up teaching a lot of [the orientations] just because I do the schedule and it's easier just to do it than it is to give it to someone else sometimes. I don't get any complaints then." Or, as another librarian stated:

> The librarians who are either acquisitions, cataloger, the serials librarian are happy to let me do all of the orientations [and] because I do the majority of them, I haven't run into too much conflict with the other librarians on what I'm doing in the classroom.

Other library instruction coordinators recognize librarians' limitations as instructors but still put them in the classroom for the practical reason of needing the staff or for the philosophical reason of believing that librarians should teach

and that practice will lead to improvement. At one particularly close-knit and supportive library, the librarian described the value she and her colleagues placed on developing the cataloging librarian's teaching abilities,

> We have gradually given her classes. She's not as comfortable teaching but she's learning, and she just this year has taken on one of the online library classes. So she has not yet come up with changes—she pretty much does whatever the previous person has done—but it's nice to have a different voice and pace and . . . I anticipate in the second semester she's going to have those positive constructive changes on that, too.

Coordinators often have found themselves in a delicate situation, observing that some librarians may not be employing up-to-date teaching approaches but not having any official authority to impose standards. In at least one library, the variation among librarians has been explained away as "academic freedom, so we don't tell or impose any particular style on a teaching librarian." The coordinator has hoped that librarians who were willing to learn new techniques would notice the innovations she has implemented and pursue them on their own. The coordinator observed that this variation has caused "conflict when the faculty member who has been to my orientations and then goes to an orientation given by a different librarian wanted the type of orientation that I've given."

Credit instruction has presented its own set of challenges because it has not always been treated as part of full-time librarians' basic responsibilities. Some credit teaching was done as part of librarians' load while in other cases it

was offered as overload, meaning that librarians got paid for the hours in addition to their normal contract and had to handle the class away from work. In either case, teaching a credit class did not fit seamlessly into librarians' other duties, and librarians who taught credit courses have found it to be a significant burden whether they were carving out time from their daily responsibilities or they were teaching during what would otherwise have been time away from work. Two of the instruction coordinators explained that they had never taught a credit course, although their libraries offered at least one each semester, because they found the time commitment to be unmanageable.

At libraries where most or all of the librarians were expected to teach orientations, two models for scheduling library instruction prevailed. On most campuses, instruction coordinators were responsible for assigning teaching duties to available librarians, and the coordinators have considered librarians' strengths and past experiences with specific faculty when they were scheduling them. On two campuses, professors' requests for instruction were automatically assigned to any librarian who happened to be scheduled at the reference desk during the time of the orientation. This approach was less common because it caused interruptions in service at the reference desk but it had the benefit of retaining clear distinctions between librarians' instructional obligations (i.e., reference and teaching) and librarians' specializations in areas like systems, cataloging, or acquisitions. One coordinator explained, "People feel strongly that if I'm doing my fifteen hours [of reference and instruction] I don't want to do something over." At the same time, the coordinator explained that these

librarians would be "very concerned about accounting for the [reference and instruction] hours if we don't have regular instruction" and so they have organized both responsibilities under the umbrella of reference hours even though it negatively impacts reference service.

Some participants reported that they have considered standardizing library instruction as a way to minimize the variations among librarians by providing them with a philosophy for approaching instruction and with specific lessons and techniques. One participant summarized the problem, saying,

It's very hard to change people. And the thing is, as faculty, we can't demand. So when we evaluate the associate librarians, we always make strong suggestions that they should be doing more hands-on and incorporating [the computers], that kind of thing. If it turns up in your review, you should take it pretty seriously.

Other library instruction coordinators have developed an approach to teaching on-demand orientations that they provided to other librarians as guidance. For example, one participant described the system she has set up to encourage instruction librarians to share the materials they created for their orientations. Another has placed a small collection of books with teaching tips and suggested lessons at the reference desk for librarians to use when they are planning their instruction. Other participants favored developing a series of workshops rather than tailoring on-demand orientations to specific classes. The standardization that was possible in workshops minimized the time spent by each librarian preparing for instruction. In addition to reducing their preparation time, having a

workshop program in place also has assisted adjunct librarians, who might teach at more than one library, by clearly communicating the style and expectations of the instruction coordinator.

Overall, participants believed that teaching was a fundamental responsibility for all academic librarians, but they recognized that internal structures within their libraries were creating barriers to their instructional goals by allowing traditional divisions of labor to marginalize librarians' instructional roles within the libraries themselves. They persevere, however, because they consider teaching to be the most important part of an academic librarian's job.

External Policies that Constrain Librarians' Instructional Goals

Unfortunately for the participants who shared the view that teaching was the most important job for librarians, they have had to confront more than just conflicts with professional traditions. The codes, regulations, and rules that govern college functions have often created barriers to formalizing, and thereby strengthening, librarians' roles as teachers. Participants recognized the negative effects that regulations like the "50% Law" (which required that 50 percent of the district budget be spent on instruction and did not include librarians' or counselors' salaries as instructional expenses unless they were teaching credit courses) have had on their ability to achieve adequate staffing. As participants got more involved in the curriculum development process, they also realized that policies governing credit, non-credit, and supervised tutoring effectively left out support for librarians as well. For example, librarians who offered a series of stand-alone workshops had mixed and, overall, discouraging results when they

sought to formalize that instruction through the non-credit curriculum approval process. Because librarians' instructional work in the workshop classroom and at the reference desk did not fall into categories of instruction defined in the Education Code and, therefore, did not generate revenue for the colleges, several participants found that element of their work was effectively invisible to administrators and faculty leaders. In fact, because it was not recognized in the California Education Code, librarians' teaching was often a cost rather than a benefit to the library. One participant explained,

> The instruction program doesn't give us any more money. It actually takes away from us in a way because when we teach credit courses as part of our load, it comes out of our budget, and we have to hire someone to work the Reference Desk, to fill in, because we're being pulled off reference. So we lose. But we're willing to do that because we think it's that important.

Structural barriers to curricular integration. Librarians have been searching for ways to create a context of policies within which students' learning will be strengthened, and librarians' teaching will be meaningful and effective because information competency has been infused into the curriculum. Participants who have engaged in the process of influencing college policies described feeling conflicted, simultaneously hopeful and skeptical, about their colleges' capacities to successfully integrate information competency into courses throughout the disciplines. They acknowledged that curricular integration was a pedagogically and pragmatically sound approach to teaching a generic academic skill like information competency. However, they observed faculty

undermining information competency goals through inaction, apathy, or misunderstanding. One participant's concerns represented the general uneasiness that librarians expressed about integrating information competency into the curriculum. At her college, information competency has been a core general education outcome and she explained,

> Not everybody on campus understands it. They think they understand it, and there hasn't been a mechanism to enforce the core competencies for obvious reasons [of academic freedom]. But we kind of use that as our mandate for our outreach, for our liaison work, for trying to get people to understand that this is important because the college thinks it's important. Not just because it's obvious that students need these skills, and they are not getting it as comprehensively as they should be.

Despite its recognition as a core general education outcome, information competency was still not widely understood on her campus. Her observations echoed the experiences of many other participants when she explained,

> It always feels like you are going against the wave, or it's an uphill battle because you are always trying to sell what you are doing. You know the value of being able to write well, being able to have computational skills, but it's harder for [professors] to understand how information competency is an essential critical goal. Thinking, analytical reasoning, you know, all of that. It's hard for people to understand that because you still get people who think that Googling is just perfectly fine. Obviously we are not reaching people.

Librarians who wanted to advance their own version of information competency without relying on other faculty could offer credit courses. However, they faced obstacles to curriculum development, including articulation requirements and state-level review of stand-alone courses, as well as practical limitations, like students' lack of interest in a course that did not fulfill any specific graduation or transfer requirements. This left participants in a bind since it suggested that there was no ideal solution to the challenge of developing students' information competency. The following section will summarize participants' explanations of past efforts to integrate information competency into graduation requirements throughout the community college system and will then describe participants' efforts to integrate information competency into the curriculum at their own colleges.

The information competency graduation requirement. When the Chancellor's Office considered and eventually adopted an information competency graduation requirement for community colleges, librarians took early steps to create the structures that would allow them to support this new mandate. These measures included creating or revising job descriptions to reflect the increased importance of credit instruction and developing new curriculum to fit local college models for meeting the requirement. Many models were proposed but only a few were implemented. The models that were implemented by the colleges in this study were (a) an information competency component embedded into English courses with or without librarians' participation and (b) an infused model in which the curriculum committee was responsible for approving courses

across the disciplines that fulfilled the information competency requirement that the college defined. Other possible models that participants mentioned but which were not implemented at their colleges included a credit course run by the library that all students were required to take in order to graduate, a mandatory freshman experience course that included library-based instruction, an information competency component taught by librarians and offered as a co-requisite with an English course, an exit-exam to assess students' information competency, and an online tutorial created by librarians that students could complete on their own or as part of a course in a different discipline.

The models that the colleges in this study implemented in response to the proposed system-wide information competency graduation requirement severely constrained librarians' participation. None of the colleges in this study chose an information competency model that put librarians at the forefront of implementation or gave them a central role in providing the instruction that would fulfill the requirement. Instead, the selected models were chosen because they required the least change. These models most often consisted of adapting courses that already existed in the curriculum to meet the proposed requirement.

Librarians' approaches since the blocked requirement. Despite the many ways that colleges minimized the financial impact, effectively making the requirement budget-neutral, the Finance Office blocked the unfunded information competency mandate in 2001. At that point, colleges that had not already developed their new requirement paused to consider whether and how information competency should be incorporated into the curriculum. Librarians

have had varied levels of success in trying to influence their colleges to embrace information competency requirements. Although nine participants in this study said that an information competency requirement led by librarians would benefit students and the library, they did not believe it would ever happen at the system level or at their own campuses. One librarian pointed out that requiring all students to take a course taught by a librarian could require a faculty large enough to rival the largest departments on campus. Another barrier librarians encountered was a common concern among faculty and administrators that students already had too many requirements and that more should not be added.

When colleges adopted information competency as a core competency or general education learning outcome, the impact was sometimes diluted by including computer literacy as an aspect of information competency. Because the discreet skills required to use computers were less complicated to teach and assess than the broad, diffuse concepts and habits of mind associated with information competency, participants were concerned that equating computer literacy with information competency would result in the former being emphasized in place of the latter. This apparent lack of faculty commitment to the core principles of information competency made librarians concerned about how it would be defined and assessed when it became professors' responsibility to teach it in their own courses. A passionate but frustrated librarian explained that librarians "have been the gatekeepers [of information competency] and that's been our banner but I think it's time that we educate the faculty." Unfortunately, she added, "they see [information competency] more as computer literacy."

Librarians have found some promising avenues for promoting information competency through faculty development programs. Because integrating information literacy into existing courses did not add units to students' requirements or require hiring or reassigning faculty, it has been the most popular model. It has been challenging, however, to get faculty to take on the task of strengthening the information competency components of their courses, so professional development was sometimes provided by the colleges. The goal of these efforts was usually to raise professors' awareness of the facets of information competency and to offer techniques they could use to improve their existing resource-based assignments and to create new ones. One librarian was involved in a grant-funded project to develop a credit course for faculty on teaching information competency. Another described faculty learning groups on her campus that focused on how to teach information competency in various disciplines. One librarian chaired a college committee on student research skills, which hosted colloquia for faculty to discuss the challenges of teaching information competency and offered support for faculty who were trying to innovate. More typically, librarians offered brief workshops on information competency as part of a larger program of faculty development on campus.

Participants explained that faculty buy-in would be necessary because the model of infusing information competency into existing courses made professors responsible for their students' learning outcomes. Librarians have been working to leverage the student learning outcomes assessment mandate so that it would support their goals of developing and documenting students' information

competency. The accountability movement, and especially the student learning outcome requirements for community colleges' accreditation, grew quickly in the years after the Finance Office blocked the information competency graduation requirement. Half of the participants used the student learning outcomes initiatives on their campuses to promote information competency and some have found ways to institutionalize a commitment to information competency by getting it included in core competencies and in general education learning outcomes. The effect of this approach to information competency infusion and assessment have not been determined because most colleges in this study have not yet assessed general education or institutional student learning outcomes in a systematic way.

Librarians hoped that they would play a part in teaching and assessing students' information competency when their colleges decided on a process. One librarian explained the potential role for librarians once the process got started,

> Courses that have [Information Literacy and Technology] as an SLO are
>
> going to have to assess that in some way. . . . They might want to involve
>
> [the librarians] on how can they assess that. Or they might want to use
>
> their interaction with the library as a way to assess that.

At a college where information competency was already included in the student learning outcomes on the course outline of record for English composition, the librarian explained that many, but by no means all, of the English professor brought their students to the library in order to help them achieve that learning outcome. One librarian described plans to use the assessment project on her

campus to gain insight into the areas where information competency was being taught so that the librarians could target their marketing and outreach to those faculty.

State-level policy barriers. In the aftermath of the blocked information competency graduation requirement, participants have pursued a wide variety of options for creating a context in which their teaching will be valued and will have lasting effects on student learning. However, they have continued to encounter barriers to these efforts as state-level policies have changed, reducing their options for formalizing and funding their instruction. The most relevant state-level policy changes for libraries in the past few years have been restrictions on non-credit courses and zero-unit labs, limitations on creating new stand-alone courses, and reductions in categorical grants like the Basic Skills Initiative and the Partnership for Excellence. All of these changes in policy have created additional barriers for library instruction coordinators.

Barriers to non-credit apportionment. Drawing upon the model of "supervised tutoring and learning assistance," recognized in the Education Code as a form of non-credit instruction, some librarians and deans have sought to have their libraries' programs designated as non-credit instruction in order to generate a small amount of revenue through apportionment (California Community College Chancellor's Office, 2006a). In 2006, SB 361 obligated the state to pay more to colleges for running non-credit courses in specified subjects, but in exchange for the enhanced funding, the definition of non-credit instruction narrowed, excluding library instruction, among many other areas (California

Community College Chancellor's Office, 2006b). Since 2006, funding for non-credit instruction has been continuously threatened as the Chancellor's Office has sought additional means of reducing apportionment. Despite these drawbacks, some libraries have succeeded in collecting a small revenue from apportionment for their instruction programs based on the criteria for supervised tutoring and learning assistance that are defined in Title 5 §58168-58172.

Participants familiar with this regulation explained that the appeal of non-credit apportionment for library instruction was not so much revenue as formalization and recognition. At one library where the instruction program was offered as non-credit, the librarian explained, "We do get a certain amount of attendance [revenue] for workshops, fractionally." Because supplemental instruction was not eligible for enhanced funding, the librarian explained that the apportionment that came from library instruction was, "a very low percentage of FTES [Full Time Equivalent Students funding] for the hours that [students] spend engaged in instruction with an instructor [and] I don't know that anybody in the administration on campus really cares." Librarians who wanted to formalize their instruction programs through non-credit curriculum approval but who had not yet started the process were running into problems. As one librarian heard from her dean:

> The rumor is that they don't want to approve any non-credit courses that are not vocational [and] that [the non-credit] program gets its funding taken away first usually on campus, so she said, 'Be careful about that.' We're still investigating it. We're not actually sure if we're going to go

through [the non-credit program] because we don't know what that could

mean to us if they got their cut-their funding cut.

Another librarian discovered when she started to investigate incorporating her

library instruction and student learning assessment into an existing non-credit

course at her campus that:

Unfortunately, I guess it's been somewhat abused by some of the faculty

here. So we're not getting the money. There is no funding so we're

actually not getting the apportionment. So we're trying to review if that's

going to continue on before deciding whether or not to formalize our

instruction by linking it to the non-credit curriculum.

Looking back at the model of linking zero-unit labs with credit courses that

was discontinued by the Chancellor's Office before 2009, a third librarian,

searching for ways to engage students more formally in the supplemental

instruction offered by the library, believed there were still options for achieving

this goal. However, he explained that it would likely have to be a .5-unit lab that

students would then have to pay to take. This was not an attractive option at a

time when administrators have been trying to reduce students' unit loads and the

cost per unit was expected to increase.

Barriers to stand-alone course approval. At colleges without Library

Technology certificate programs, library courses "stand alone" because they

have not been part of a Chancellor's Office approved program of study. Because

library courses have tended to stand alone, some librarians reported being

concerned about the impending expiration of a provision that deleted the

requirement in the Education Code (section 70902) that stand-alone courses must be approved by the Board of Governors (BOG) (Lara, 2011). Requiring stand-alone courses to be approved by the BOG (instead of the local governing boards where new courses in existing programs were approved) suggested to these librarians that stand-alone courses might be blocked or stalled when budget concerns motivate the BOG to control apportionment by limiting course offerings.

One librarian seeking to create a new course decided to incorporate it into her library's Library Tech program in order to ease the process. Despite the fact that she designed the course for all students, not just the ones pursuing their Library Tech certificates, the librarian believed it eased the approval process to list is as an elective for the Library Tech program. Another librarian considered creating a new three-unit course to strengthen his library's instruction program but, believing that the suspension of the requirement to get all stand-alone courses approved by the BOG had already expired, he decided that the obstacles to creating the course were too great and he did not follow through with the idea.

State grants as short-term supports. Several libraries in this study had recently suffered the loss of categorical grant funding for staff and materials. The end of the Telecommunication and Technology Infrastructure Program (TTIP), designed to promote community college libraries' adoption of electronic resources and video networking beginning in the late 1990s (Williams, 2000), affected every library, although some suffered more than others. One college

was left with no budget for the electronic databases that students and faculty relied on. This same college suffered a similar crisis when the college reduced the budget for print materials after the library received a large grant specifically designated for updating their collection. Other librarians described regrouping following the end of their Partnership for Excellence, Title 5, and Basic Skills Initiative grants which they had used to hire additional staff in order to enhance their instruction programs.

Summary

Organizational structures create constraints for librarians who are trying to develop and sustain effective library instruction programs. Some constraints, including librarians' job descriptions, developments in instructional technology, and initiatives for institutional student learning outcomes assessment have provided librarians with opportunities to expand their instructional reach and contribute to an educational setting where their expertise is valued. Other constraints, including existing organizational structures within libraries, staffing and space limitations for instruction, and state-level policies have inhibited participants' options for pursuing their instructional goals by making it more difficult for them to offer high-quality service and formalize their instruction. Within these constraints, participants described their tactics of identifying potential allies among administrators and faculty as an antidote to the uncertainty created by rapidly changing policies and misaligned structures. The process of seeking allies has enabled the librarians in this study to clarify their own goals and focus on their underlying motivations in order to identify potential partners who are

working towards similar outcomes. Participants also described learning more about the rules that constrain them in order to begin working to change them. They found opportunities to learn and influence the rules of their organizations by participating in college governance, a right they have because of their faculty status where the structures of their colleges are defined, tested, and re-inscribed.

Review of Major Findings

Librarians in this study agreed that they have still not gained the visibility and power they need to achieve their instructional goals, including developing reflective, independent learners who are aware of their informational needs and know how to find relevant information and evaluate it. Information competency initiatives have resulted in gains for some librarians, but most participants felt that they were still not considered full participants in the instructional missions of their colleges. Although most professors, administrators, and accreditation agencies agree that information competency is a desirable and expected outcome of general education, librarians in this study observed that they still encountered significant barriers to their teaching even though they believed they could make important contributions to student learning.

The findings I described in this chapter created the foundation for developing a grounded theory of librarians' motivations for teaching and their strategies for sustaining effective instruction programs. The major findings were that community college library instruction coordinators strive to offer relevant instruction that contributes to student success and that their instructional work occurs within a context of formal and informal rules that create tensions that

constrain their efforts. These formal and informal rules include the policies that define how instruction is funded, and the norms that define how librarians are expected to teach. The results indicated that, although most participants considered teaching to be their primary responsibility and interest, their duties and identities were still often split between the library and instruction. Instruction librarians' hybrid roles create tensions when the opposing forces of their work come into conflict and the librarians have to make decisions to devote limited resources to one role or to the other. These tensions fall into four categories: achieving effective classroom instruction, integrating information competency into the curriculum, managing the constraints on library instruction, and pursuing programmatic improvements. The tensions, or core concerns, that emerged from librarians' descriptions of their work constitute the foundation for the grounded theory that was developed.

Grounded theory development requires theoretical integration of the core categories as a key step in the abductive progression from initial codes to final abstractions (Birks & Mills, 2011). Figures F1, F2, and F3 in Appendix F display the refinement of substantive codes into categories and theoretical codes over the course of the analytic process. Guided by both Glaser's (2005) and Charmaz's (2006) advice regarding theoretical sensitivity, I derived the final theoretical codes from sociological theories of organizations that fit with the emergent themes of defining tensions, dealing with tensions, and the continuum of power within which community college librarians work. *Paradox* is an abstract code based on the work of Smith and Lewis (2011) who consider paradoxes to

be opportunities for "dynamic equilibrium" in organizations. *Play/Not Play* is based on the grounded definition of serious play developed by Beech et al., (2004) in their action research study of actors' responses to organizational paradoxes. And the code *Arena of Confrontation* is based on a term used by Crozier and Friedberg (1980) in their theoretical elaboration of strategic analysis as "a sociology of organized action" and organizations as games (p. 54).

Through this process of integration, I have developed a theory that explains library instruction coordinators' methods of sustaining effective library instruction programs in southern California's community colleges. This theory accounts for variations in librarians' approaches to the problem of sustaining library instruction and it explains that, among community college librarians, teaching is both a strategy for and a result of their efforts to take part in the core functions (or arenas of confrontation) at their colleges. I will present the components of the theory in the following chapter.

Librarians face challenges to their efforts at four distinct but interrelated levels of interaction: the classroom, the instruction program, the curriculum, and the profession. In dealing with these challenges, librarians described some common tactics: gaining allies, embracing iteration, holding goals lightly, challenging their assigned roles, learning and influencing the rules, and staying motivated by the prospect of getting to teach more meaningfully. I will further explore the tensions that characterize these levels of interaction and the tactics that librarians use to maneuver them in the following chapter. They emerge as themes in the final analysis that explain the tensions that library instruction

coordinators experience at work, the paradoxes underlying the tensions of their work, and the value of a play-framework as a positive approach to organizational paradoxes.

Chapter Summary

The findings of this study suggest that academic librarians are in an unusual position in the academy because they recognize that they must influence policies and form alliances with colleagues in order to create a context in which their teaching will be meaningful. They understand that because information competency is a complex set of skills, students require repeated practice and direct guidance to build their capabilities and to apply what they have learned when they encounter unfamiliar problems. This means that information competency cannot be taught once and forgotten, instead it must be a shared goal of many professors who, together, provide enough opportunities for students so that information competency becomes a habit of mind that students employ whenever they are presented with a new task that requires them to locate information, evaluate it, and use it. Librarians cannot achieve this learning outcome for students in isolation, but the participants in this study expressed concern that they might not be included in the efforts on their campuses and that students' learning will suffer as a result. Librarians, therefore, are trying to create the formal policies and procedures as well as the informal relationships and expectations that will make their expertise useful and their teaching meaningful to achieving significant student learning in information competency.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study is the first to explain the ways that community college library instruction coordinators have approached the persistent tensions created by the complexity of their hybrid roles as librarians and teachers. The conclusions I will report in this chapter about the nature of library instruction coordinators' work are based on the analysis of the major findings described in Chapter Four and the theory that I developed to explain how library instruction coordinators in southern California community colleges sustain effective library instruction. The critical theory and constructivist paradigms that guided my study made me sensitive to the structural conditions within educational organizations that have caused library instruction coordinators to feel alienated from their work. This study revealed that despite their alienation, many participants still found effective ways to leverage their knowledge, drive, and expertise in order to achieve their instructional goals. I have proposed a theory to explain the relationships between the challenges that library instruction coordinators face and the strategies they have developed to deal with them. The analysis and theory address the structural conditions that shape community college instruction librarians' efforts to become full participants in the instructional missions of their organizations and the subjective experiences that influence their strategies for managing these conditions.

The critical theory and constructivist paradigms of inquiry at the foundation of this study helped to illuminate the social processes in which library instruction coordinators are taking part. The critical theory paradigm highlights the role of power and inequality in the experiences of social actors—in this case, library instruction coordinators in southern California community colleges. Because critical theory considers relationships of power to have common forms and effects across different contexts, this paradigm helps to connect these librarians' experiences of marginalization to the experiences of other marginalized groups. Understanding the common effects of power also guides the reader to see how librarians' actions, logic, and assumptions are likely to be constrained if they feel they are outsiders without much power or influence at their colleges. Critical theory, therefore, helps to explain why some librarians may choose to isolate themselves from centers of power in order to avoid conflict while other librarians seek out roles that will bring them into conflict with power, and the likely outcomes of these divergent approaches.

This deterministic approach to analyzing power is tempered by the constructivist paradigm of this study, which recognizes that people experience reality as a social construction and that there is no experience of reality that is not mediated by social understandings (Lincoln, 1990). This implies that reality is experienced through interactions with other people's subjectivities. The librarians who were the subjects of this study expressed their social understanding of their positions, interactions, goals, and frustrations that included: their own interpretations, the effects of their interpretations, and their knowledge of others'

interpretations. By acknowledging the contingent and constructed nature of the participants' explanations and my summary and interpretation of their explanations, the reader can more effectively consider the potential interplay between librarians' perceptions, their descriptions, and their actions within their organizations. Further, the reader can weigh the influence that these librarians' perceptions, descriptions, and actions may have on their organizations through the duality of social structures that are both experienced and created by social actors (Giddens, 1979).

Starting from the constructivist premise that actors' perceptions shape and are shaped by their experiences and the critical theory premise that actors will respond to the constraints of inequality in some predictable ways, I was sensitive to the following themes that emerged from the study participants' descriptions of their work: (a) tensions commonly experienced by library instruction coordinators, (b) paradoxes that underlie those characteristic tensions, and (c) the role of play in library instruction coordinators' positive approaches to paradox. In the following sections, I will elaborate these themes and integrate them into a final theory of library instruction coordinators' play-like approaches to organizational paradoxes.

Theme 1: Tensions of Library Instruction Coordinators' Work

The core concerns that librarians described in this study are manifestations of an underlying tension: their incommensurable roles as both teachers and librarians. This hybrid role does not naturally fit into existing structures of higher education, which means that library instruction coordinators'

work is regularly in conflict with policies and norms that have traditionally

promoted professors' autonomy. Instead of being autonomous educators,

responsible primarily for their own students and only occasionally engaged in

administrative functions of curriculum or program development, library instruction

coordinators find that they cannot achieve their instructional goals by teaching in

isolation and leaving the administrative tasks to others. On the contrary,

participants in this study described feeling responsible for creating a new context

of policies and norms—in the classroom, in the college, and in the professional

culture—where their instruction would no longer be marginal and trivial but

would, instead, become effective and would be relevant to student success.

Library instruction coordinators' efforts to create a new context can range from

large-scale efforts to get information competency recognized as a general

education learning outcome throughout higher education to small-scale

interactions with individual faculty to encourage them to reinforce information

competency learning outcomes in their own classrooms. The tensions that study

participants described in the classroom, program, curriculum, and professional

paradigms of their work all stem from the responsibility that library instruction

coordinators have for influencing decisions and actors outside of the library,

beyond their zones of authority.

Summary Review of the Literature

The literature reviewed in previous chapters suggests there are tensions

that library instruction coordinators commonly experience in the course of their

work. These tensions can limit what librarians are able to accomplish and can

damage librarians' sense of their professional efficacy. For example, studies

suggest that professors outside the library misunderstand undergraduates'

research processes and therefore impede optimal learning (Laskowski, 2002;

Leckie, 1996; Valentine, 2001). Librarians' studies of professors' knowledge and

attitudes have shown that most faculty do not feel responsible for inculcating

information literacy abilities in students, hoping instead that students will develop

them through unstructured trial and error or because they were taught them

directly in an earlier course (Amstutz & Whitson, 1997; McGuinness, 2006;

Thomas, 1994; Weetman, 2005). These studies suggest that librarians should be

considered the authorities on teaching and assessing students' information

competency (Wang, 2006), but dissenting voices insist that only professors

actively involved in research can introduce students to academic disciplines

(Cain, 2002; Miller & Tengler, 1987). This is a challenging context within which to

pursue instructional goals that require collaboration.

Library instruction coordinators' self-expectations that they should be able

to influence policies and norms beyond their control have created tensions at

multiple levels of their work. A review of the literature suggests that the levels of

interaction where librarians are experiencing tensions are epistemological,

professional, curricular, programmatic, and classroom-based. For example, the

epistemological tension has been created by postmodern criticisms of authority

that resulted in trained experts no longer having a central role in asserting

privileged ways of knowing (Kelly, Luke, & Green, 2008). Another example is the

professional tension that results from librarians' efforts to teach information

literacy, which has become one of the important ways that academic librarians can demonstrate their value to their institutions at a critical moment when librarians' traditional work of controlling and distributing information has changed and become less time consuming and ostensibly less necessary (O'Connor, 2009; O'Dell, 2009; Pedersen, 2006).

The challenge of ensuring that college students will learn information literacy has resulted in librarians experiencing tensions at the curricular level between their goals and their colleges' priorities. Evidence of this tension in the literature suggests that the reliance on collaboration and librarians' expectations for the results of integrating information competency into the curriculum may need to be re-evaluated in light of concerns that they will not have the desired results but will, instead, meet resistance and lead to dead-ends (Owusu-Ansah, 2007). For example, studies of students' library use have shown that their actions and attitudes are driven by faculty expectations, which leaves librarians without much influence if faculty do not expect their students to use library resources at all (Baker, 1997; Feldman, 2000; Keeler, 2007). By and large, librarians experience subordination to faculty and cannot achieve their goals for student learning without cooperation from faculty (Albitz, 2007).

Instruction librarians experience tensions in their program development efforts as they actively work to create and revise library instruction that will remain relevant despite cultural and technological changes. Librarians recognize that they must develop library instruction programs that incorporate many modes of delivery so that professors will see how collaborating with librarians can fit with

their own instructional goals and approaches (Grassian & Kaplowitz, 2005). For

example, community college librarians have effectively sought opportunities to

show that the library is relevant to the remedial curriculum (Houck, 1988; Roselle,

2009; Suarez, 1985) and that their programs are guided by the goals for student

learning that they share with their faculty colleagues beyond the library, including

critical thinking, curiosity (Hensley, 2004), synthesis (Rosenblatt, 2010), and

metacognitive awareness (Albitz, 2007; Campbell & Wesley, 2006).

    The literature reveals troubling tensions between librarians' traditional

service roles and the emerging demands created by their roles in the classroom

(Thacker, 2012). Some commentators have even criticized the premise that

librarians should consider teaching to be one of their appropriate roles (Gorman,

1991). Traditionally, instruction librarians "operate through influence, consensus

building, partnerships, and modeling" both inside and outside their libraries

because they do not have positional authority (Grassian & Kaplowitz, 2005, p.

45). Librarians accept that they teach within an educational context that is

created by the faculty who set the agenda and the curricular requirements for

librarians' instruction (Isaacson, 1985; Mirtz, 2009). Librarians are constrained in

their classroom teaching because their presence there is at the pleasure of the

faculty and what they teach is most often "completely determined by the desires,

fantasies, identities, opinions, and relations to power of our faculty counterparts"

who are themselves constrained by the "disciplining forces of efficiency"

(Eisenhower & Smith, 2009, p. 315-316). Librarians experience this as a tension

between their roles as librarians and their roles as teachers and it can lead to

dissatisfaction with their instructional environment (Isaacson, 1985).

Synthesis of Additional Literature

The important contribution of additional literature to the elaboration of

these tensions was the concept of "levels of interaction" developed in the

organizational literature (Andriopoulos & Lewis, 2009; Folke, Hahn, Olsson, &

Norberg, 2005; Gibson & Birkinshaw, 2004; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Smith

and Lewis (2011) explained that organizational tensions can "cascade across

levels" affecting the work of managers, middle managers, and employees or, as

is the case in this study, affecting the work of an individual at multiple levels of

interaction as her efforts intersect with higher or lower levels of a bureaucracy (p.

384). The concept of levels that librarians must maneuver in their work is present

in the professional literature as well. The *Standards for Proficiencies for*

Instruction Librarians and Coordinators (ACRL, 2008), for example, is a set of

professional guidelines that refers briefly to "all levels of the academic

organization" where library instruction coordinators "must operate effectively . . .

to implement broad-reaching, curriculum-integrated information literacy

programs" (p. 2). However, it does not define the levels or organize the

proficiencies according to the level where they are demonstrated by librarians.

Implications of Tensions for Library Instruction Coordinators

Library instruction coordinators at community colleges in California face

tensions in their work that create paradoxes between two ways of pursuing

success. The findings of this study described four of these tensions: (a) achieving

effective classroom instruction, (b) integrating information competency into the curriculum, (c) managing the constraints on instruction that the library creates, and (d) pursuing programmatic improvements. Participants in this study also acknowledged that their work with students and professors has been shaped by the changes in popular perceptions of what constitutes knowledge and how it is created. Participants explained that these changes, largely attributed to the influence of the Internet as an information source, shape their approaches to teaching and outreach. Their experiences were also reflected in the professional literature reviewed for this study. Because the changes in beliefs about knowledge have created a broadly cultural tension within which librarians, as well as other educators and information professionals, now have to maneuver, I have added it to the model of the tensions of librarians' work.

The model I developed explains the tensions that exist at five levels of instruction librarians' work. Each level is distinguished by its own paradigm or "basic set of beliefs that guide action" at that level (Guba, 1990). The paradigms are nested, from the cultural level, where librarians sense a shift in the basic definition of knowledge, to the classroom level, where librarians grapple with their own teaching roles. The nested tensions influence one another. This relationship is represented in Figure 1.

Implications of expert knowledge versus networked knowledge: The epistemological paradigm. In this model the epistemological paradigm within which community college librarians are doing their work and making their decisions is characterized by a tension between two conflicting assumptions
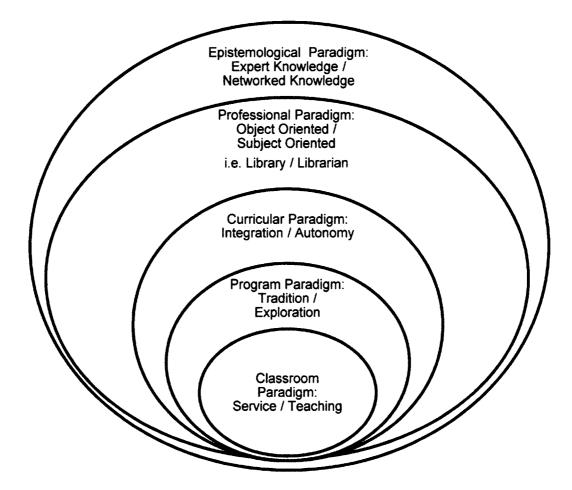
Figure 1. The nested tensions of community college library instruction coordinators' work.

about knowledge. One assumption is that experts are the best source of

knowledge because they are dedicated to their specialization and they have

developed esoteric knowledge that is not normally accessible to others outside of

that specialization. It assumes that knowledge is scarce and that most people will

receive knowledge rather than creating it. The other, more recently accepted

assumption about knowledge is that it is created through networks of people

contributing whatever they know to a process of accumulating knowledge that

does not require any participation by recognized experts. This type of knowledge

instead relies on the synergizing and purifying effects of collaboration to achieve

better results than can be developed and communicated through the isolated work of individual experts (Wagner & Back, 2008). This is a popularizing of knowledge that reduces the cache of expertise and of the academy as the primary site of experts (Meszaros, 2010; Sukovic, Litting, & England, 2011). Although the nature of expertise and the standards for evaluating knowledge have always been contested (Walton, 1997), the recent upsurge in crowd-sourcing (e.g., Wikipedia and Yelp) has presented a vivid challenge to expertise, capturing popular attention and inviting criticism of the forms of discourse and communication that insulated experts in the past.

Working within the tension between expert and networked knowledge, educators are searching for ways to make the case for expertise to students who embrace the potential of the crowd to create comparable knowledge (Meszaros, 2010). Initiatives supporting open education (e.g., at Stanford and MIT) suggest that some educators are responding to the tension by inviting the crowd into the formerly closed space of higher education classrooms. Community college librarians influence and are influenced by the epistemological tension because they shape and respond to students' preferences for information. In response to a culture where individuals expect even mass communication to invite their participation and feedback, librarians have started to consider incorporating folksonomies and patron driven materials selection into the formerly closed system of their catalogs (Nesta & Mi, 2011). In the classroom, librarians use Wikipedia and Google as the models of knowledge creation and retrieval against

which they can define journals and databases for students who have only experienced networked knowledge (Luo, 2010).

Implications of library versus librarian: The professional paradigm. Nested within the context of this conflict over what is considered knowledge, librarians are experiencing professional tensions. The tension for community college library instruction coordinators in the professional paradigm is between the library as the primary gateway to recorded knowledge and librarians as actors with expertise and goals that contribute to the process of creating new knowledge. Briefly described by O'Connor (2009) using Abbott's theory of professions, this tension can be defined as a paradox between the traditional object orientation of libraries, focused on materials and buildings, and the fight for a subject orientation, focused on concepts and roles of librarians that do not rely on specific spaces or materials. O'Connor (2009) noted that the transition from object-oriented profession to subject-oriented profession can be considered an elevation of status and that it does not happen without conflict with other adjacent professions that have already staked a claim to the contested subject-oriented territory. She believes it is unlikely that librarianship will successfully make this transition. Although they do not directly comment on O'Connor's analysis, other librarians appear to disagree, defining a "new librarianship" (Lankes, 2011) and a "great age of librarians" (Plutchak, 2012). Whether they believe that librarians will successfully maneuver this paradox at the level of their profession or not, these commentators agree that librarians cannot rely on libraries to justify their

professional value in the current information ecosystem, which has been reshaped by the Internet over the past 30 years.

Implications of integration versus autonomy: The curricular paradigm. When they weigh decisions about how to pursue curricular changes, community college instruction coordinators are making calculations about how to position their work within their colleges, within the state-wide system of community colleges, and within the inter-segmental system of higher education. Overall their goal is to influence the development and approval of curricula that will build students' information competency, but in pursuing that goal they encounter a tension between emphasizing their expertise in information competency or emphasizing that information competency is a responsibility shared by faculty across the disciplines. They can pursue curricular changes that would put them in charge of teaching information competency and evaluating related student learning outcomes or they can support curriculum that diffuses the responsibility for teaching and assessing information competency among all academic faculty. This tension between librarians' control of information competency and the integration of information competency into general education or other courses can create uncertainty for librarians who are not sure how much they risk by either sharing responsibility for information competency or trying to establish their autonomy as experts in that area.

Implications of tradition versus exploration: The program development paradigm. Whether librarians influence changes in the curriculum or merely respond to them, the library instruction coordinators in this study were

sensitive to the tension between retaining their programs' traditional forms or levels of instruction and exploring new approaches to instruction that would be significantly different from past forms. The degree of difference is important as librarians face this tension, because the staffing, space, evaluation, outreach, and skills that have supported their traditional approaches to instruction may work against the types of instruction that they would want to pursue in the future. Some community college instruction librarians want to create new on-line tutorials or embedded relationships with research-intensive courses but feel locked into structures designed for one-shot on-demand library orientations. Other librarians prefer their traditional modes of instruction but find that external forces have diminished demand for what they are used to providing. Or, the librarians have been so committed to one approach that they have reached their capacity, cannot offer any additional instruction in that mode, and do not have the surplus resources that it would require to develop new scalable modes of instruction on-line.

Implications of service versus teaching: The classroom paradigm.
The core level of library instruction coordinators' work is located in the classroom, where librarians make direct connections with students and faculty. Librarians' beliefs about their classrooms influence and are influenced by the tensions at every other level of their work, but the primary tension they experience in the classroom is between teaching and service. While defining this tension, I will use the term *instruction* to identify the embodied work that the librarian does in the classroom and will use the terms *teaching* and *service* to distinguish two different

intentions that they might bring to their instruction. Teaching requires that the librarian pursue her own goals for student learning during instruction. Teaching information competency also suggests transcending discrete assignment tasks and connecting the content of instruction to skills and habits of mind that students will apply beyond the current class. This means that librarians are applying all of their expertise as educators to make critical decisions about what students need and the best methods for instilling these attributes whether they have one hour or 16 weeks to do it. A service orientation in instruction implies external motivation for librarians' choices in the classroom. When librarians have a service orientation they are focused on interpreting and satisfying another faculty member's goals for student learning because they consider that the best way to be relevant to students who are also trying to interpret and satisfy their professors' goals.

Librarians in this study explained that teaching was of primary importance to their sense of professional efficacy as librarians. This sense of efficacy was also strengthened if the librarians felt like they had reciprocal relationships of respect with faculty, but teaching did not necessarily bring the respect that librarians sought. Half of respondents felt that other professors did not respect their teaching. Some of these respondents believed that credit instruction, rather than their traditional orientations or workshops, could bring them more credibility with other faculty. Librarians also considered committee work to be a way to gain credibility and reciprocity with other faculty. Librarians saw other faculty as their primary stakeholders, and they wanted to satisfy faculty expectations. In order to

achieve this, librarians have tried to determine what faculty expectations were by negotiating with professors about instruction and by working with them on committees. In some cases, librarians over-emphasized the importance of discovering and meeting faculty expectations. In fact, librarians' experiences working with faculty suggest that these expectations may be more responsive to librarians' actions than the librarians themselves realize, and simply responding to the faculty's expectations reduces the librarians' abilities to influence them.

Summary of implications for practice. The tensions of library instruction coordinators' work vary depending on the paradigm, or level of interaction, within which they are working. Although the specific demands vary, the tensions in each paradigm are all related to the ways that these librarians are pushing beyond their traditional zones of influence in order to shape the educational context of policies and norms within which they are teaching.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are for future research, for the work of library instruction coordinators, and for college administrators and faculty leaders. They suggest applications for my conclusion that library instruction coordinators are responsible for creating a context of policies and norms within which their teaching will be effective and meaningful.

Recommendations for future study. In order to further develop, refine, and differentiate the model of nested organizational tensions that I have proposed in this study, researchers can study librarians in community colleges and other educational organizations. Investigating the experiences of other

educators who share librarians' marginal status but who have different specializations and distinct relationships with faculty could also challenge and strengthen this model. At this stage in developing the model, exploratory qualitative methods will offer the most insight. After further clarification of this model of organizational tensions, additional quantitative approaches could extend its reach and generalizability. For example, surveys could test whether or not the nested tensions that I identified in my theory are core concerns for library instruction coordinators more generally.

Recommendations for library instruction coordinators. Library instruction coordinators will benefit from recognizing that the way they experience the complex challenges of their teaching is an interaction between their own perceptions and the micro-level and macro-level forces that constitute their work environments. As librarians become more aware, they can learn to improve their positive and negative perceptual habits, which will help them to correctly analyze the opportunities and the constraints that they encounter in their efforts to influence the context in which they are teaching. They should also identify the paradigm in which they are focusing their efforts because their techniques for improving the context of their work may need to change according to the level at which they are encountering inhibiting and facilitating forces.

For example, micro-level forces that inhibit librarians' instructional work include their colleagues' limited time for or interest in working closely with librarians to develop students' information competency. Micro-level forces that facilitate librarians' instructional work are alliances with faculty for the purpose of

developing students' information competency, general faculty good will toward librarians, and opportunities for individual librarians to challenge their assigned roles and extend their influence. These micro-level inhibiting and facilitating forces can influence library instruction coordinators' achievements in the classroom, program development, and curricular paradigms.

The inhibiting macro-level forces are the policies regarding what counts as instructional expenses, what counts as credit or non-credit instruction, and how information competency learning outcomes are enforced. The macro-level forces that facilitate library instruction coordinators' work are accreditation standards that include information competency as an expected outcome of community college education, a system-wide mission that has emphasized transfer readiness, and faculty status that is functionally equivalent to all other college professors' status. These macro-level inhibiting and facilitating forces can influence library instruction coordinators' success in the program development, curricular, and professional paradigms.

Recommendations for Community College Administrators and Faculty Leaders. The participants in this study revealed their commitment to the instructional mission and their interest in participating more actively in college governance. Administrators and faculty leaders should consider how the librarians' current efforts and potential contributions could be incorporated into college initiatives. If administrators and faculty leaders want to gain the trust of librarians in order to involve them in their larger goals, librarians' ongoing concerns about being invisible and marginalized mean that college leaders can

best achieve this by appealing to librarians' sense of belonging and their desire to be of value to the core instructional values of the college.

Recognizing that library instruction coordinators face complex challenges as they try to create an educational context in which the costs of their instruction will translate into benefits for student learning, college administrators or faculty leaders who are providing funds or other resources to the library specifically in order to support their instruction programs should make sure that librarians understand the expectations and recognition that are implied in this support for librarians' instruction. With a clearer understanding of the relationship between their budgets and the college's expectations for the library, librarians can make informed decisions about the costs and benefits of offering specific forms of library instruction, making it easier for them to manage the tension between tradition and exploration in the program development paradigm. Librarians should also communicate more with administrators and faculty about the ways they are using the library's budget for instruction, the outputs and outcomes of that instruction, and how it would benefit the college if the library's instruction program were to receive more funding, additional staff, new space, or upgraded technology.

Summary

Library instruction coordinators' work is regularly in conflict with policies and norms that traditionally promoted professors' autonomy, creating competing demands at all levels of their work. The tensions of library instruction coordinators' work all stem from the responsibility that these librarians have for

influencing decisions and actors outside of the library, beyond their zones of authority. Library instruction coordinators find that they cannot achieve their instructional goals by teaching in isolation and leaving the administrative tasks to others. When this complex set of responsibilities creates tensions between two competing demands that both have merit, library instruction coordinators are faced with paradoxes that they cannot resolve by simply choosing one alternative or one paradigm and ignoring the others.

Theme 2: Analyzing the Underlying Paradoxes of Library Instruction Coordinators' Work

To be effective in their hybrid roles as librarians and teachers, library instruction coordinators have to influence the work of their colleagues outside the library. They can do this directly by building relationships or indirectly by participating in policy development. In either case, the library instruction coordinators must decide what outcomes to pursue. At each level of library instruction coordinators' work, from the classroom paradigm to the professional paradigm, they face a pair of choices. In the classroom, the choice is between teaching and service. In their program development, the choice is between exploiting traditional modes of instruction and exploring new ones. At the curricular level, their choice is between seeking autonomy for library instructors and pursuing integration of information competency instruction into the curriculum. At the professional level, the choice is between maintaining the library and freeing the librarians to work differently. And at the epistemological level, the choice is between preserving traditional norms of expertise and

authority, and embracing newer norms of crowd-sourcing and networked knowledge.

In all the levels, the two alternatives each offer benefits that, when analyzed separately, could lead to achieving library instruction coordinators' goals for influencing the context in which they are teaching. Analyzed together, however, it becomes clear that the alternatives cannot both be pursued simultaneously because they create competing demands. Because the alternatives at each level are interrelated, they form paradoxes that make the tensions of librarians' work persist over time, preventing them from ever being finally resolved (Smith & Lewis, 2011). Studies of paradoxical cognition in organizations (Luscher & Lewis, 2008) suggest that recognizing these tensions as paradoxes allows library instruction coordinators to stop spending energy trying to defend against change. When library instruction coordinators avoid falling into energy-depleting negative reactions to the challenging paradoxes they face, they can start analyzing the underlying forces that cause the paradoxes to persist. Analyzing the underlying forces of these paradoxes will help library instruction coordinators to see that the tensions they experience at each level of their work have common roots. Although this does not mean that the tensions can be resolved with a single over-arching solution that would make librarians' teaching relevant and effective once and for all, it does mean that a consistent set of approaches based on analysis of the underlying paradox can be effective in situations that might otherwise seem unrelated.

Summary Review of the Literature

The literature reviewed in previous chapters suggests that organizational paradoxes underlie the tensions of library instruction coordinators' work. Most of the professional literature has focused on the surface manifestations of these underlying paradoxes, including unsuccessful collaborations with faculty (Albitz, 2007), disappointing reversals of the advancements made toward system-wide adoption of an information competency requirement (Hellenius, 2006), and frustrating examples of the organizational inertia that impedes colleges' progress toward evaluating institutional learning outcomes in information competency (Keeler, 2007). Although these tensions occur at different levels of interaction, a few studies reveal the root causes that they share in common. For example, the difference in social standing between librarians and their faculty colleagues has been deeply ingrained in the longstanding hierarchy that values academic professionals over service workers (Christiansen et al., 2004). Despite their faculty status at community colleges, librarians experience subordination to other faculty and cannot achieve their goals for student learning without cooperation from professors (Albitz, 2007). This difficult situation creates the organizational context that maintains library instruction coordinators marginal status and undermines their instructional efforts.

Synthesis of Additional Literature

Although the professional literature reviewed in this study makes it clear that librarians recognize the obstacles to their teaching, the theme of paradox gained precision and depth from additional research in studies of organizations

and management. In particular, paradox theory and the generic paradoxical tensions that arise in all organizations clarified the relationship between library instruction coordinators and their colleges. Additionally, I identified some paradoxes that have emerged in library and information science more generally.

Paradox theory. Paradox theory is a frame that can be applied to "make sense of apparent contradiction" (Smith & Berg, 1987, p. 45). By recognizing that the interrelatedness of elements in tension causes them to persist over time, the paradox theory helps to define the nature of tensions in librarians' work. The elements of the tension imply one another: "the idea of x is grounded in the notion of y, and vice versa," (Smith & Berg, 1987, p. 14) causing the interrelatedness that prevents paradoxes from being unraveled and solved. Unlike dilemmas or dialectics, paradoxes cannot be resolved by choosing one option over the other or creating a synthesis that integrates the two options (Smith & Lewis, 2011). This means that librarians cannot successfully address the tensions in their classrooms, their programs, their colleges, or their profession by rationally selecting one option over the other because the options do not have separate advantages and disadvantages but instead are closely connected. And it means that they cannot resolve the contradictions between these tensions by integrating the two options into one approach because synthesis favors the similarities between the two options and loses the benefit that comes from valuing their differences (Smith & Lewis, 2011). In librarians' work this could mean overstating the similarities between short-term service

goals and long-term instructional goals, with the result that the librarian actively

pursues one instead of the other without realizing it.

Generic organizational paradoxes. Generic paradoxes are common in

otherwise dissimilar organizations. They occur in a variety of settings because

they are created by underlying issues inherent to the act of organizing that

connect the polar elements of tensions at their roots (Smith & Berg, 1987).

Luscher and Lewis (2008) identified three generic paradoxes that span from the

micro-level to the macro-level: paradoxes of performing in which standards for

individual success are contradictory, paradoxes of belonging in which conflicts

arise between the purpose of the group and the cohesion of the group, and

paradoxes of organizing in which the constraints of old organizational objectives

confront the constraints of new organizational objectives. The learning paradox,

defined by Lewis (2000), is created by tensions in the "nature and pace of

engaging new ideas" as the past is either built upon or destroyed to create the

future (Smith & Lewis, 2011, p. 383).

Contradictions also emerge when these paradoxes interact, creating three

generic tensions that are relevant to this study: (a) the tension "between the need

to change and the desire to retain a developed sense of self and purpose" (i.e.,

Learning and Belonging), (b) the tension "between building capabilities for the

future while ensuring success in the present" (i.e., Learning and Performing), and

(c) the tension "when identification and goals clash" (i.e., Belonging and

Performing) (Smith & Lewis, 2011, p. 384). These compound paradoxes reveal

the complexity of organizations and the challenge of making decisions when

learning never ends, individuals' identities within the organization are always being re-negotiated, and standards for performance are undefined. In this matrix of tensions, leaders and managers can benefit from understanding the concept of paradox not just as a label for the challenges of their work but as a lens through which to analyze problems, identify the underlying issues, and challenge their initial reactions (Luscher & Lewis, 2008). When organizational psychologists trained managers in paradoxical cognition, the managers began to relax their expectations about finding logical solutions to messy problems and instead began to "seek a link between the contradictory elements" that would help them to understand the underlying issues and correctly diagnose the tension (Luscher & Lewis, 2008, p. 229). By more accurately understanding the inseparability of conflicting alternatives, managers felt less paralyzed by the paradox and were more willing to attempt new approaches, communicate in new ways, and define their own standards for success (Luscher & Lewis, 2008).

Paradoxes in library and information science. Although not common in the LIS literature, the concept of paradox has been applied to the analysis of some persistent professional challenges facing information professionals. Shachaf (2009) found that Wikipedia's Reference Desk service, provided by amateurs, may rival the accuracy, completeness, and verifiability of traditional and online reference assistance, provided by librarians. In order to explain this finding, Shachaf (2009) suggested that the "paradox of expertise," in which experts lose sight of what they know and their judgment is distorted by their

experience, may be undermining librarians' ability to communicate their knowledge to non-experts.

Sakalaki and Kazi (2009) studied university students' assumptions about the differences between the economics of information products and material products. They found that students highly valued the knowledge that it takes to create or invent new information but simultaneously undervalued the product of this activity (Sakalaki & Kazi, 2009). The researchers called this a "paradox of undervaluing information and overvaluing information producers" (Sakalaki & Kazi, 2009, p. 153).

Studying serendipity in information seeking, McBirnie (2008) found that a tension persists between librarians' goals of control and of order in information access, and users' experiences of discovery and of chaos during their searches. She recommends that information literacy educators pursue the "paradox of control in serendipity" by developing students' skills for recognizing serendipity and achieving a level of control over it (McBirnie, 2008, p. 612).

As a final example of paradoxes in LIS, Cloonan (2007) described the persistent tension between permanence and destruction in cultural preservation efforts. She explored the contradiction between the process of discovering or unearthing (and thereby beginning the destruction of) artifacts and the drive to rescue these artifacts from oblivion and to save them permanently to permit their study. This tension also creates conflict between the preservationist's desire to involve people in the preservation of their own cultural artifacts, and her desire to preserve only what is most important in order to allot scarce resources (Cloonan,

2007). Cloonan (2007) recognized this tension as a paradox of preservation that did not have a universal solution but would, instead, be defined and re-defined in situ as practices evolved.

Implications of Analyzing Tensions with a Paradox Lens

Organizational research suggests the value of analyzing paradoxes as a step toward effectively managing competing demands (Luscher & Lewis, 2008). This analysis has implications for practice if librarians can begin to understand that paradoxes are persistent contradictions that they will have to continue to contend with over time.

Implications for practice: Paradoxes as persistent contradictions.

The participants in this study and the researchers and practitioners publishing in the professional literature have described the tensions that library instruction coordinators face when they try to create a context within which they will be able to provide effective instruction. However, it has been common in librarians' explanations and in the studies about their experiences to assume that proper planning and correct actions will allow the tension to be resolved. This places unnecessary pressure on practitioners who may not initially understand why their own efforts for collaboration, policy development, and instructional improvement have been unsuccessful.

In each of the paradigms of library instruction coordinators' work that are explained with the nested model, tensions are, in fact, paradoxes that will need to be managed over the long-term rather than resolved through short-term contingency planning. For example, the tension between valuing expertise and

valuing networked knowledge will not be resolved because the two aspects form a paradox of interrelated elements that contradict each other but that will nevertheless persist over time despite their conflict. In the professional paradigm, the paradox exists in the tension between the library and librarians because the library has long defined librarians, providing them with a place as well as a reason to work. However, according to theories of professional jurisdiction and observable changes in the nature of libraries, it may now be time for librarians to explore roles apart from libraries (Lankes, 2011). Judging by participants' responses, the tension between these two aspects of the professional paradigm creates a paradox because they can neither choose only to dedicate themselves to maintaining libraries nor to fully untethering themselves from them. Pursuing either aspect of the tension alone would lead to too great a loss. Therefore, librarians must find a way to keep the paradox open and benefit from the tension.

The tensions in the other paradigms similarly create paradoxes. In the curricular paradigm, integrating information competency into the curriculum seems to promise that more students will be reached and that information competency will be taught in the context of disciplines so it will have greater relevance for students. Integration, however, may also result in inconsistent standards if professors, lacking training or interest in teaching information competency, neglect it in their classes. On the other hand, autonomy for librarians' information competency instruction has the benefit of recognizing their expertise about students' research, acknowledging that they are not merely skilled but also fully dedicated to students' information competency and that they

will not treat it as merely a by-product of academic courses. Autonomy, however, may limit the impact of information competency instruction by reducing the number of students reached or by giving students or faculty the false impression that information competency is separate from the research being done in the context of other courses. This tension troubles librarians because it suggests risks and high stakes. It also feels to some librarians as if the tension will be foreclosed by external forces as rules about curriculum change. In addition, the success of librarians' plans for curriculum depends upon significant buy-in from faculty leaders and administrators regardless of whether they are pursuing short-term or long-term goals.

The program paradigm is complicated by the tension of choosing between committing a library's instruction program to currently successful approaches or, instead, exploring potentially disruptive avenues that could lead to future success. This is a paradox because it cannot be successfully managed by choosing one over the other or by insisting that success in one aspect is actually going to lead to success in the other. Librarians' limited resources mean that they are always only engaged in retaining their traditional modes of instruction or exploring something new, however librarians can move back and forth between these two aspects of the tension over time. Environmental forces as well as librarians' professional beliefs about effective instruction will continue to shape library instruction programs.

In the classroom paradigm, librarians face a paradox of learning and belonging. Because information competency is a form of generic academic

literacy rather than an autonomous discipline, the tension between teaching and service cannot be resolved by choosing one instead of the other. The decisions that library instruction coordinators make in this paradigm will have implications for their identities as well as their roles. Librarians who rely too heavily on the teaching orientation may find that professors or students do not necessarily see the relevance of their content, while librarians who rely too heavily on a service orientation may undermine themselves, stagnating because they are supporting rather than challenging short-sighted goals for students' learning. Both elements of this tension will persist because they are rooted in the social reality of academic librarianship, a profession which does not fit easily into the structures of educational organizations and which is sensitive to the technological and cultural changes that are intensified by the current information ecosystem. Library instruction coordinators who can challenge the roles that their profession has assigned to them, as well as the roles that their organizations expect them to fill, have the best chance of using the paradox between service and teaching as a dynamic force for self-empowerment.

Implications for practice: Structuration and paradoxes. Contradictions are inherent in groups, and the actors within groups are actively involved in the duality of the social structure of the group (Giddens, 1979), with their actions being shaped by the group and shaping the group in one oscillating system. The common contradictions that people experience and create in groups include "dependence and counterdependence, inclusion and isolation, observation and involvement, and creation and destruction" (Smith & Berg, 1987, p. 209). These

contradictions are paradoxes because they are interrelated by being rooted in the ways that groups are created and recreated through participants' actions. Because they are interrelated, they cause each other's existence and cannot exist without their opposite.

This dependence means that the contradictions will persist over time and that actors within groups cannot simply choose one option rather than the other as they move forward. Theories of groups suggest that efforts to block or undo these common, uncomfortable paradoxes can lead to group paralysis and pathology, which Smith and Berg (1987) call stuckness. In the above examples of the five tensions of librarians' work, stuckness could result if a librarian were inflexible about the forms of knowledge that she or he would recognize or held too firmly to the traditional roles of the library. A librarian could also become stuck if she or he were too anxious about the long-term consequences of actions at the curricular or program levels or chose to overemphasize either their service role or their teaching role, denying the other. Participants who reported feeling successful and hopeful in any of the levels of their work demonstrated their ability to accept, and even embrace, the aspects of the contradiction at that level. Accepting contradictions within groups can permit the individual to participate despite feeling ambivalent (Smith & Berg, 1987).

The willingness to participate despite ambivalence is vital because actors' participation in the natural structuration, responding to and creating the social reality of the group, is as much a result of how they conceive of reality as it is a result of any external, ostensible reality (Searle, 1995; Smith & Berg, 1987).

Being willing to act despite uncertainty and discomfort permits an actor to continue actively contributing to the social structuration rather than isolating herself from the group and losing the opportunity to influence change. This is important for librarians who can sometimes feel discouraged from participating in college governance or instructional initiatives because of the isolation of their marginal status and the challenges created by their hybrid roles. However, when librarians do choose to take part in the college-wide context of committees and projects, they contribute to the social structuration in ways that benefit the college as well as the librarians.

Implications for practice: Environmental forces and organizational paradoxes. According to Smith and Lewis (2011), key environmental forces make paradoxes more acute. These forces are diffuse power (i.e., plurality), conflicting short- and long-term goals (i.e., change), and resource limitations (i.e., temporal, financial, or personnel scarcity). These forces heighten people's propensity to view decisions as either/or when their defensiveness causes them to lose sight of the interrelatedness of the elements that are in tension with one another. Community college library instruction coordinators are perpetually responding to the pressures of plurality, change, and scarcity.

Plurality. Diffuse power is a defining feature of academic organizations. Cohen and March (1974) developed the garbage can model of organizations in which problems and solutions are decoupled and rationality is not a driving force in decision-making during their analysis of college presidencies. Only later did Cohen and March apply it to commercial organizations to define potential

dysfunctions. Community college librarians in this study work in organizations where power is diffuse and competing agendas often gather momentum and achieve buy-in through processes unimpeded by guiding principles or organizational goals. Inconsistent processes of decision-making at these colleges inspire actors to pursue their own ends because they cannot identify reliable means of aligning their personal goals with institutional goals since organizational decisions even at the highest levels of administration may or may not have any clear relationship with the institution's mission and purpose.

Librarians in this study recognize the muddled college mission, the gap between resources and planning, and the conflicts inherent in shared governance as signs of plurality and, in response, they tend not to rely on official managers or procedures for decision-making. Instead, they looked for windows of opportunity to advance their agendas because their access to funding did not seem to be related to satisfying any particular manager or contributing to any stable institutional interest. This heightens the tensions between the paradoxical elements at each level of their work because there is no recognized stakeholder whose preferences should guide librarians to prefer one aspect of the paradox over the other. This is part of the mechanism through which a paradox persists through time: the environment does not suggest which option is to be preferred.

Change. Librarians are familiar with conflict between short-term and long-term goals because the nature of their work is closely tied to technologies that evolve and disappear rapidly. Although librarians' motivation for processing materials or instructing students on research skills may be rather consistent over

time, the technologies that they and their patrons use have strong influences on the way that librarians pursue their goals. Instruction librarians not only have more modes available for teaching because of technologies within and beyond the classroom, but librarians also have different learning goals for students as students' research assumptions, preferences, and skills have been changed by exposure to information technologies. Librarians recognize that their current instructional approaches, no matter how successful given the present context, will result in failures of relevance and accuracy in the long-term if librarians do not correctly anticipate how their students, faculty, collections, spaces, and access technologies will be different in the future. Because they are aware of the potential for failure if they do not respond correctly to the differences between their short-term and long-term goals, librarians are sensitive to the pull between the conflicting elements of their work. They realize that the decisions that seem like solutions in the short-term will certainly need to be revisited and may create unforeseen barriers in the long-term as circumstances continue to change. During the past 100 years, librarians have seen short-term benefits turn into long-term frustrations (e.g., CD-rom databases) with a regularity that other academics may not have experienced.

Scarcity. Although the cyclical nature of the California state budget, alternating between progressively shorter periods of surplus and longer periods of deficits, has sometimes created an environment where community college librarians have been able to expand their services, hire more faculty, and get funds to support new initiatives, most library instruction coordinators have always

had to prioritize their services because they only had enough resources to achieve a partial set of their goals. Whether limited by instructional space, staffing levels, caps on the units they could offer, or the indirect effects of cuts to face-to-face sections in other departments, library instruction coordinators in this study were familiar with having to make decisions between competing interests because they did not have enough resources to do everything that they want to do. Often the compromises they made have required them to favor one aspect of a tension in their work over the other tension.

Unfortunately, some librarians did not believe that they had the resources needed in order to keep a paradox open, whether at the level of the classroom, the instruction program, or the curriculum, and they foreclosed the paradox in the name of dedicating their limited resources where they thought they would have the most success. This approach can cause difficulties in the long-term because paradoxes persist even when one aspect is consistently ignored, and the interrelatedness of the aspects of the paradox means that librarians are losing the potential benefits from the options that they ignore. Other librarians in this study accepted that scarcity required them to focus their efforts, but they also embraced the necessity to return to their past decisions as circumstances changed, recognizing that the compromises they made in the past may not be efficient in the future.

Summary of implications for practice. Librarians' descriptions of their work revealed paradoxes that can facilitate or inhibit their instructional efforts. Library instruction coordinators should become familiar with these paradoxes,

which include (a) the tension between teaching and service, (b) the tension between tradition and exploration, (c) the tension between autonomy and integration, and (d) the tension between the library and the librarians. At the root of these persistent tensions are the organizational paradoxes of performing, belonging, organizing, and learning. These tensions are exacerbated by librarians' sense that they do not answer to any specific center of power; they do not know how their future success will be defined or by whom; and they do not have enough resources to do everything that they want to do.

Recommendations

The following recommendations for library instruction coordinators and for LIS educators explain applications for the conclusion that using a paradox lens to analyze messy, contradictory, and competing demands will facilitate flexibility, responsiveness, and effectiveness.

Recommendations for Library Instruction coordinators. The tensions that library instruction coordinators face are, in fact, organizational paradoxes, which means that traditional contingency planning and end-driven rationality will not be effective methods for sustaining relevant library instruction programs. Instead, paradoxical cognition recognizes the valuable potential of paradoxes as well as the environmental forces that are most likely to make paradoxes more difficult to manage. Library instruction coordinators with this awareness should be able to more accurately define problems and weigh options for influencing the context within which they are teaching.

Librarians should consider analyzing their responses to the paradoxes that are typical at each level of their work. This type of analysis can make it easier for them to reflect on their past frustrations in a way that could reveal future alternatives. Studies of paradoxical cognition suggest that using the concept of paradox as a lens for analyzing seemingly absurd or impossible "messes" (Luscher & Lewis, 2008, p. 228) can increase managers' abilities to perceive new approaches or solutions that do not rely on untangling the paradox in order for them to pursue one alternative or the other. Instead, they can incorporate both alternatives in meaningful ways. This strategy can support librarians who want to play within paradoxes, avoid burnout, and stay engaged in their work.

Recommendations for LIS educators. All academic librarians work in bureaucratic educational organizations. The organizational theories that are relevant in these institutions, including the garbage can model of decision making, are not often taught to future librarians during their courses in management and the history of libraries. This oversight can leave new librarians unprepared to analyze and influence their organizations, requiring them to spend years learning what will seem like quirks of their institutions. If, instead, LIS educators prepared students with more accurate knowledge of the forms of organizational paradox and dysfunction that they were most likely to encounter, new librarians would be able to participate in college-wide programs and governance more quickly. This could lead to meaningful outcomes from new librarians' efforts to influence the policies and norms of their institutions.

Summary

To be effective in their hybrid roles as librarians and teachers, library instruction coordinators have to influence the work of their colleagues outside the library, and they must decide what outcomes to pursue. Analyzing the underlying forces of these paradoxes will help library instruction coordinators to see that the tensions they experience at each level of their work have common roots. Because the alternatives at each level are interrelated, they form paradoxes that make the tensions of librarians' work persist over time, preventing them from ever being finally resolved (Smith & Lewis, 2011). Studies of paradoxical cognition in organizations (Luscher & Lewis, 2008) suggest that recognizing these tensions as paradoxes could allow library instruction coordinators to stop spending energy trying to defend against change. Instead, they could develop a consistent set of approaches based on analysis of the underlying paradox that will be effective in situations that might otherwise seem unrelated. The final theme of play as a positive approach to paradox suggests that some cognitive and behavioral techniques will be more effective than others as library instruction coordinators seek to work within paradoxes without becoming discouraged, burnt out, or irrelevant.

Theme 3: Play as a Positive Approach to Paradox

The paradoxes that persist in library instruction coordinators' work are exacerbated by the environmental forces that are common in community colleges: competing organizational and individual agendas that are not focused by a shared definition of the mission, conflict between short-term goals and long-

term success, and insufficient resources to address emerging demands and maintain traditional services without any power to increase revenue. In this environment, library instruction coordinators who approach the competing demands of their work from a play-framework will be more likely to feel effective and continue advancing their goals. The play-framework is both a way for library instruction coordinators to analyze a paradox and a way to interact with other actors within the nested paradigms of their work. In this study, I found that the cognitive aspects of library instruction coordinators' play include embracing iteration and not expecting perfection; holding goals lightly so that multiple outcomes could lead to success; and recognizing that organizational rules are produced, reproduced, and changed through participants' actions. The behavioral aspects of library instruction coordinators' play include challenging the roles that librarians have been assigned within their organizations, building alliances that will clarify shared goals and provide a definition of success, and participating in the arena of conflict where library instruction coordinators can learn to exploit and to influence the rules of their organizations. Approaching paradoxes from this play-framework minimizes the negative effects of competing agendas, of disruptive change, and of scarce resources by refocusing library instruction coordinators' efforts and redefining success within each paradigm of their work.

Summary Review of the Literature

The literature reviewed in earlier chapters suggests that librarians recognize that they must enter the arena of confrontation if they are going to

influence the context in which they are teaching, indicating that the play-framework has a role in library instruction coordinators' work. For example, studies have analyzed the arena of confrontation, looking for evidence of opportunities for collaborations between librarians and faculty (Brasley, 2008). Community colleges, in particular, appear to offer librarians more access to the sites where policies are set and resources are allocated, as well as more chances to teach, which strengthens their equality with other faculty (Davis, 1995; Dowell, 2006; Townsend & Twombly, 2007). Other studies and commentaries have emphasized that the arena of confrontation is a place where librarians should be competing for resources. For example, even the articles that propose collaboration as the ultimate goal of librarians' relationships with faculty have recognized the frustrating difficulty of communicating across the inherent gap that exists between librarian and faculty cultures (Arp, Woodard, Lindstrom, & Shonrock, 2006; Christiansen et al., 2004; Hardesty, 1995; Ivey, 1994; Macaluso & Petruzzelli, 2005). Some have used the metaphor of war to emphasize the importance of gaining territory for the librarians' instructional agendas and the battles that can ensue (Chiste, Glover, & Westwood, 2000; Kempcke, 2002; Martin, 2009; Watson, 1985). This level of conflict suggests that librarians may need to challenge their assigned roles if they are going to advance their goals for student learning (Eisenhower & Smith, 2009).

Synthesis of Additional Literature

Play has been defined in various disciplines in many ways. The following section will synthesize the relevant literature on play and put it in the context of cognitive and behavioral approaches for dealing with organizational paradoxes.

Cognitive and Behavioral Approaches to Paradoxes. According to Smith and Lewis (2011), working with paradoxes rather than against them is a recent recommendation that counters much of the received knowledge of organizational and management theory. Smith and Lewis (2011) reviewed traditional approaches that encouraged actors to study the contexts in which they were making decisions in order to rationally select the best course of action when confronted with competing demands. Although these approaches have the advantage of reasonableness and rationality, research and theory suggest that they often fail because they do not accommodate the complexity of organizations that are shaped by internal, external, and unpredictable forces (Crozier & Friedberg, 1980; Luscher & Lewis, 2008; Smith & Lewis, 2011). Rationality presumes more accurate knowledge of current and future circumstances, as well as current and future preferences than is available to decision-makers (March, 1978). The incomplete knowledge that actors actually have means that emphasizing rationality may not lead to better decisions but instead results in stuckness, defensiveness, or distraction (Smith & Berg, 1987). Others have used the term rationality but do not refer to rational objectives (Crozier & Friedberg, 1980). Instead, they refer to the actors' rational responses in organizations to the

behavior of other actors and "to the game which is established between them" (Crozier & Friedberg, 1980, p. 25).

Keeping a paradox open in order to preserve space for ambivalence, ambiguity, emotions, and movement requires an approach that refocuses the energy that actors commonly spend trying to unravel and to isolate the interrelated poles of tensions. Actors seek relief from the discomfort of conflict and contradiction, but their efforts to settle on one element of a paradox versus another is destined to fail as the tension persists and the ignored element returns in the long-run. When managers and leaders follow their instinct to approach tensions as either/or decisions, it also reveals the limitation of a scarcity orientation that is common in organizations (Smith & Lewis, 2011).

The scarcity orientation suggests that when difficult decisions have to be made, the most important question is how to divide the finite resources among the competing interests (Peach & Duggar, 2006). In the context of paradox, the scarcity orientation leads actors to rationalize their efforts to favor one pole of the contradiction over the other because they assume that there are not enough resources to successfully pursue both. Actors with abundance orientations, on the other hand, assume that resources are adequate to support more complex approaches to a paradox so that neither pole of the contradiction must be ignored in the long-term (Smith & Lewis, 2011). Although librarians' budget concerns and their drive to satisfy patrons' demands make them unlikely to ever feel they have a surplus of resources, whether the resources are related to time, space, personnel, or materials, many librarians in this study demonstrated an

abundance orientation, referring to their abilities to "do more with less." This

capacity, shared by many librarians, facilitates their creative problem-solving and

minimizes their reliance on either/or approaches that limit opportunities.

Play as an Approach to Paradoxes. At the heart of keeping paradoxes

open is a decision to cultivate acceptance rather than defensiveness when

circumstances are uncomfortable and there is no clear solution. The strategies

that make up an acceptance approach suggest a source of empowerment and

they align with existing recommendations to use a play-framework (both in the

way one thinks and the way one behaves) to work within a paradox without trying

to resolve it like a dilemma or a dialectic (Beech, Burns, Caesecker, MacIntosh,

& MacLean, 2004; Smith & Lewis, 2011). Participants in my study described

taking steps to teach themselves about the underlying processes of the social

system in which they were working. This process of learning rules and exploring

the relationships among causal agents has been defined in the social welfare

literature as a facet of psychological empowerment (Zimmerman, 1995). This

definition identifies three facets of the process of developing psychological

empowerment. The first facet is called *intrapersonal* and involves developing the

individual's belief that she can gain the power to control her environment. The

second facet is called *interactional* and it describes the process that librarians in

this study are going through, educating themselves about the sociopolitical

context and the causal agents that shape their current circumstances for the

purpose of increasing their personal power (Zimmerman, 1995). The third facet is

called *behavioral,* and it requires taking steps to access the sites of power and influence decision-making.

In this study, librarians most often described engaging in the interactional facet of psychological empowerment because they have focused on the process of teaching themselves about the rules (both spoken and unspoken) that shape their environments and constrain what they are able to accomplish. The way that librarians explained their persistent efforts to understand these rules suggests a similarity with game play because their expressions were marked by strong feelings of belonging and competition/collaboration that created intrinsic motivation, considered a basic component of play (Glynn & Webster, 1992). This semantic connection guided further conceptualization of librarians' empowerment as play when I recognized that many of their efforts to sustain their libraries' instruction programs were driving them to seek access to what Crozier and Friedberg (1980) called the arenas of confrontation within their colleges. Playing in this context is the primary way of developing self-efficacy within an organization, and I sought further elaborations of the actions and attitudes that have been used to define play in the literature.

Philosophical (Gadamer, 1988; Spariosu, 1989) and anthropological (Huizinga, 1955, Turner, 1969) studies of adult play have focused on its characteristics without clearing up the confusions or ambiguities inherent in the "diverse happenings" that are considered to be play (Sutton-Smith, 1997, p. 3). In the context of organizational and management studies, which are most relevant to my study, serious play has most often been studied as a strategy that leaders

can use to unleash or control the creativity of their employees by manufacturing a short-term relaxation of workplace norms (Costea, Crump, & Holm, 2007). This type of serious play does not reveal much about how professionals can and do approach their own goals using a play-framework. Two examples from the literature, however, have offered some insights into what may constitute play for autonomous professionals who are directing their own work at the same time that they are responding to their environments (Beech et al., 2004; Sukovic, Litting, & England, 2011). Together, these studies of play in practice propose the following defining characteristics of play.

Play embraces emotion. By approaching some professional conflicts as play, actors can express emotions that are normally considered negative and therefore downplayed. When these emotions are accepted by the actors, they can then be used intentionally to guide decisions rather than influencing decisions covertly or even unconsciously. Play, therefore, is not solely the result of end-driven rationality but is also consciously open to the influence of desire and emotion, leading to actions with longer-lasting effects because there is less unacknowledged feeling left to undermine decisions once they have been made (Beech et al., 2004).

Play challenges normal boundaries of behavior. In addition to acknowledging emotion, play creates a context within which it becomes more acceptable to act in unexpected ways. By exhibiting behaviors that their colleagues do not usually associate with them, players can explore new

connections with allies or bring up issues for discussion that were not previously sites of play (Beech et al., 2004).

Play recognizes the duality of social structures. As an example of the duality of structure, the players in a game simultaneously follow and create rules. Changing rules can "create unstable conditions from which new adaptive forms of connection" can emerge for players to exploit (Beech et al., 2004, p. 1316). Play implies a social context even when the player is solitary since only social constructs can give meaning to rules when the player is alone (Sukovic, Litting, & England, 2011, p. 73). One motivation for actively participating in play is the opportunity to shape the rules, but this also requires that the players consent to be constrained by the rules.

Play pursues ambiguities. Players engage with multiple meanings or realities during play. In the particular case of playing within organizational paradoxes, Beech et al., (2004) found that "multiple meanings can be revealed as unexpected connections and disconnections between divergent but co-present versions of the organization," which become apparent as the players observe others' assumptions, frameworks, and expectations during their participation in the game (p. 1316). Continuing to play allows players to discover additional layers of ambiguities that they can use to more clearly evaluate the paradoxes that they are trying to manage and to understand the underlying issues of their organizational roles.

Implications of Approaching Paradoxes with a Play-Framework

Although many of the participants in this study considered academic librarians to be educators, the role of instruction librarians is nevertheless bifurcated. When librarians teach, it highlights the differences between professors' identities and librarians' identities, rather than minimizing them. Acting as if there is no role-conflict when librarians teach creates stuckness and loses the dynamic potential energy created by tension. Instead of denying the competing demands that create a paradox at the heart of their hybrid identity, instruction librarians who recognize the conflict are better prepared to benefit from the nested set of tensions that define their work at all levels. This allows them to pursue optimal performance in the short-term that will ensure their long-term success—Smith and Lewis' definition of "sustainability" (2011, p. 382). Library instruction coordinators are striving for optimal performance in the instructional, programmatic, curricular, and professional levels of their work, hoping that the advances they make in the short-term will create the circumstances necessary for their continued success and influence in the future.

The implications of the play-framework help to explain why librarians are motivated to teach. At the various levels of interaction, from the classroom paradigm to the professional paradigm, librarians in this study use play to benefit from the tensions of their work. Few participants play at every level, suggesting that differences among the paradigms or within the ways that a single paradigm is experienced may influence librarians' use of play as an approach to paradox. However, the potential for play at each of the levels indicates that the play-

framework is a responsive set of strategies that can be applied to paradigms that vary in scale and structure. Following a review of examples of participants' play in each paradigm, I will define the grounded concept of play in librarians' work.

Implications for practice: Play in the classroom paradigm. For many professors, even in the current climate of accountability, the classroom is the domain where they set the rules according to their own standards. For most librarians, however, the majority of the instruction that they do is in the service of another professor's goals. Librarians reported spending time and energy seeking input from faculty about what they wanted their students to get from the instruction they requested. They defined success by how well they met the expectations of the faculty member who requested the orientation. Despite having meaningful insight into how students approach research, the limitations of common research assignments, and the best ways to prepare students for independent inquiry, librarians recognize professors' authority in their own courses and over their own students. Librarians who play in this paradigm are preserving a space for movement and for accepting their own ambivalence in the face of paradox. Based on participants' responses, this is the paradigm of librarians' work where they are most likely to apply a play-framework.

One participant compared the drudgery of other responsibilities, including assessment, program review, excessive hours at the reference desk, and committee work as distractions from her one real interest: teaching library orientations. Teaching is her opportunity to "do something never done before," and the challenge of being creative and of communicating her goals to students

and to faculty motivates her to dedicate time to planning and improving her lessons. She had worked closely with faculty allies to help her hone her skills so that she could effectively teach English language learners about libraries and research. She did not mind teaching orientations for classes without a research component, a pet peeve reported by many librarians, because she used that time with students as a chance to engage them in topics that interested her, including the history of unusual libraries (e.g., a mobile library on the back of a camel). Applying a play-framework to the paradox between service and teaching has enabled her to fully engage herself in work over which she ostensibly has little control and which could otherwise be alienating and draining.

Another participant rejected the arbitrary barriers that may seem to exist between librarians and students, sometimes going so far as to show up at the beginning of a class unannounced to briefly follow up with students after she has given a typical on-demand orientation. By following through on her interest in students' learning without always treating professors as gatekeepers, this librarian played with the ambiguity of her role as an outsider-instructor. Her instructional goals are to prepare students to successfully complete their professors' assignments and to see the library as a helpful place, but her commitment to these goals propelled her beyond her role as a guest lecturer and into a relationship with students that makes her a partner with faculty. Most of the participants expressed a deep commitment to teaching and a desire for success even if they did not play at this level.

Implications for practice: Play in the program paradigm. Library

instruction coordinators are responsible for planning, implementing, and

evaluating their libraries' instruction programs. The nature of these programs

varies widely, from a small number of undifferentiated orientations in the library to

an intensive and diverse complex of onsite, online, credit, and non-credit

interventions. Although the cultures of the campus and the library influence the

mode and quantity of instruction that a library offers, an instruction program is

ultimately the responsibility of the coordinator. Librarians in this paradigm often

use play as a way of setting challenges for themselves that will advance their

goals for the instruction program. Coordinating an instruction program can be

disheartening for study participants who feel that no stakeholders on campus

care about their efforts to offer more instruction or to develop new modes of

instruction. Participants in this study were sensitive to the tension between

exploring new opportunities for instruction and intensifying their efforts in their

established modes. With small staffs and limited space, most participants

reported that they could not maintain their current levels of traditional instruction

and explore new ones at the same time, creating a tension that the participants

approached in different ways.

One participant who played in this paradigm set several challenges for

herself, including offering more paired credit courses that link a library class with

a section in another discipline. She also developed alliances with faculty to pilot

an embedded-librarian model of instruction in which she is integrated into the

course at multiple points to support students' research. As part of her classroom

responsibility, she also assigns and evaluates students' work. These explorations require much more labor and commitment than the traditional system of on-demand, one-hour orientations around which the library has built its instruction program. They also challenge the established relationship between librarians and other instructors because they emphasize the depth of commitment that librarians can make to student learning when they are partners with faculty rather than serve as guest speakers. By setting new standards of success for the library's instruction program, this coordinator has slowly changed the focus from breadth to depth, spending fewer resources on brief interactions with a high volume of students and shifting resources to more intensive encounters with fewer students. Her willingness to risk established achievements for potential improvement had been facilitated by budget-driven section cuts that reduced the number of courses requesting one-shot instruction, freeing up the library's resources. This environmental force, however, was not the driver behind the library's programmatic development, and other librarians facing similar drops in demand for their traditional instruction have not necessarily used it as a time for exploration.

Another participant has dedicated her efforts to increasing demand for the library's traditional one-shot orientations at the same time that she is targeting under-served divisions, encouraging faculty to consider incorporating the library into their courses for the first time. She recognized that the library's limited space and staff cannot accommodate many more requests for traditional instruction. She also understood that traditional forms of library instruction have not been

appealing to faculty in the under-served areas such as culinary arts, automotive technology, and phlebotomy. Nevertheless, she has committed herself to a definition of information competency that challenged professors' widely held belief that information competency is only relevant for students who are on track to transfer to a four-year college or university. Her commitment motivated her to explore new approaches to information competency instruction. Her current strategy is to create an information competency workbook (in print or online) based on the premise of what she calls *The Information Literate Professional*, tying information competency skills and habits to the types of work that students in the career/technical programs are preparing themselves to do. Her first attempt, *The Information Literate Chef*, is still in progress and she is working on it without any expectation of its specific success, since faculty may not respond to her idea. Regardless of the direct result of her current project, however, this librarian sees it as part of her broader goal to confront and, hopefully, change the assumptions that create a boundary between the library and non-transfer programs (whether career/technical, English as a second language, or basic skills).

The bulk of librarians' instruction programs exists outside of the credit curriculum model, requiring library instruction coordinators to find faculty allies who see the value in partnering with librarians. Librarians who do not play in this paradigm report feeling overwhelmed, burnt-out, and uninterested in developing any new relationships with faculty. Some of the librarians who had dedicated their resources to one-shot instruction, found that once they had reached their

capacity in terms of the library's staff or space, they could not teach any additional students in the prevailing mode of one-shot instruction to which they had dedicated their resources. Others experienced a decline in demand for their instruction and, rather than viewing it as an opportunity to play with new modes of instruction, they saw it as a sign that faculty do not care about information competency.

These librarians who see the tension between tradition and exploration in their instruction programs as a dilemma to be solved reported feeling paralyzed at the prospect of giving up the ground they had gained through years of encouraging faculty demand for one-shot instruction. They also reported feeling too busy or too discouraged to think about any innovation whether it was for the purposes of further increasing capacity or improving the quality of instruction. For these librarians, the social reality that defines librarians' instruction as a reaction to faculty demands rather than as a tool for shaping faculty expectations gave them a clear mandate to keep offering more one-shot instruction programs so as not to unsettle the librarians who teach in the program or to challenge the assumptions of professors who request instruction. Without a play-framework in this paradigm, librarians do not have a clear definition of success or a way to set challenges for themselves. They rely on the inputs of instruction requests and the outputs of instruction sessions as their metric for judging their value, and they feel stuck.

Implications for practice: Play in the curriculum paradigm. Promoting a place for information competency in the college curriculum poses a particularly

challenging paradox for library instruction coordinators for a few reasons,

including: (a) the curriculum development and approval process is largely outside

librarians' influence; (b) changes to the curriculum take time in the planning,

implementation, and assessment phases; and (c) curriculum creates the context

through which library instruction programs become relevant to students and

faculty; meaning that (d) librarians' efforts in this paradigm require a significant

investment of time without guaranteed results, which could lead to big rewards,

but could also risk long-lasting negative unintended consequences. Librarians

who actively pursue goals in this paradigm are playing. Participants in this study

who do not approach this paradigm with a play-framework did not engage in it at

all because the barriers to participation are so high.

One participant who seemed to be using a play-framework is teaching

herself about the policies and procedures of the general education curriculum

approval process because she has discovered an unnecessary barrier to

students' progress toward transfer. At her college the information competency

requirement can either be fulfilled by successfully completing a library course or

by completing a research component of the freshman English course. Students

who enter the college having completed their freshman English requirement

elsewhere, and students who passed freshman English but did not pass the

research component can only complete the information competency requirement

by taking the library course. This created a bottleneck since there were not

enough sections of the library's course available to meet demand. In order to

solve this problem, the librarian initiated the process of identifying other research-

intensive courses that could be proposed as alternative methods of fulfilling the information competency requirement. Her efforts constitute play between autonomy and integration in multiple ways. Although information competency is not "owned" by librarians at her college (or at most colleges) she was testing the boundaries of her role as library instruction coordinator by taking a leading role in re-organizing the information competency requirement. She risked the library's current autonomy as one of a limited number of providers controlling information competency instruction but stands to gain new power as the gatekeeper of the process of proposing new courses to fulfill the requirement. The potential for conflict with the English department had not entered into her calculations at the time of this study, but it is reasonable to assume that her efforts to expand the definition of information competency courses might meet resistance from that department since it has maintained a monopoly on the requirement until now. At the same time, her outreach to the faculty responsible for the courses she is proposing to label as information competency may lead to new alliances since most professors will perceive as a benefit being included on the list of courses that fulfill the requirement. This could allow the librarian to counter the possible negative effects of alienating some English professors by the positive effects of extending her influence and achieving her ultimate goal of creating an educational context in which students will develop information competency.

Two other participants have taken a more hands-on approach to the curriculum paradox, deeply involving themselves in the learning outcomes assessment initiatives on their campuses in order to influence curriculum through

accountability measures. Information competency is considered an institutional learning outcome at many colleges. Procedures for assessing institutional outcomes have typically started from the premise that students are learning and demonstrating their mastery of the institutional outcomes in their courses. This means that faculty have been encouraged to state explicitly in course outlines and syllabi how the institutional outcomes are integrated into their courses. Both of the librarians in this example work on campuses without an information competency graduation requirement, and their libraries' courses are not included in the core local general education patterns. This means that the librarians do not have the option of full autonomy for the information competency curriculum and instead they have to actively influence decisions about how information competency will be integrated throughout the curriculum. This is a common curricular model that constrains librarians' instructional opportunities as well as their power to control how information competency is taught and how the standards are set for students' achievement of the related skills and habits.

Recognizing that in their roles as library instruction coordinators, they lacked authority to influence curricular integration, and they lacked autonomy to teach information competency on their own, these librarians dedicated themselves to entering the curriculum process on its own terms. One achieved a leadership role on the institutional learning outcomes assessment committee and has set an agenda that includes assessing information competency and using those results to recommend changes to curriculum, student support, or faculty development. The other found herself blocked from this same type of leadership

role because of her outsider status as a librarian, but she nevertheless remained an active member of the curriculum and assessment committees, influencing the definition of information competency for course development and providing rubrics for assessment.

At the time of this study, the outcomes of these librarians' efforts remained unclear. The librarian leading her college's assessment initiative was just beginning the norming sessions for faculty who will use the information competency rubric to assess their students' learning. Unfortunately, the librarian who served on curriculum and assessment committees reported seeing signs that the policies for integrating information competency into courses were not being uniformly interpreted, leading to inconsistencies and weakening the requirements. Both librarians' strategies hinge on their hope that holding faculty accountable for their students' information competency outcomes will highlight the value of librarians' expertise. If this generates interdependence between professors and librarians it could create a context that will benefit their libraries' instruction programs.

Some librarians have made gains in the curriculum arena in the past 15 years by securing a local general education requirement in information competency. This has been considered a major achievement for librarians on those campuses. Librarians at colleges without information competency graduation requirements have more recently used initiatives for institutional student learning outcomes assessment to bring information competency to professors' attention. In the long run, core competency assessment, rather than a

local information competency graduation requirement, may be the only reliable means of ensuring that students will develop information competency skills since AB 1440 has ended the local degree option. It is not yet clear whether and how the process of defining and assessing institutional student learning outcomes will change now that colleges do not have their own local philosophies of general education. For now the colleges retain their control over their learning outcomes and librarians (as well as other faculty) can find evidence in the community college accreditation standards, the graduation proficiencies defined by transfer institutions, the American Association of Colleges & Universities definitions of educational outcomes, and the Lumina Foundation's Degree Qualifications Profiles to support their case for information competency as an institutional learning outcome.

Taking a traditional rational approach instead of applying a play-framework in this paradox is paralyzing because when librarians weigh the potential outcomes and focus on the uncertainty they most often decide to simply wait for other faculty to make decisions to which they can respond. The librarians who play in this paradigm are familiar with failures and dead ends and the play-framework gives them flexibility so that they do not become too attached to a single outcome. Instead, they participate in the curriculum process to keep the paradox between integration and autonomy as open as possible since both alternatives represent significant promise as well as risks for librarians' instructional goals.

Implications for practice: Play in the Professional Paradigm.

Librarians in this study demonstrated their awareness of larger professional

challenges, beyond their particular campuses, when they commented on what

they see as the future of libraries. Some acknowledge a tension between their

view of the library as a means to an end—encouraging inquiry and supporting

insight—and an end in itself—requiring librarians' vigilance against threats to its

prominence and its funding. When the object of librarians' work is maintaining the

library, then initiatives that reduce students' dependence on the library appear to

detract from librarians' core objective. However, librarians have expertise that

transcends the library, making them qualified educators who can support

independent learning and investigation when people are using any type of

information from any source. The subject of librarians' work is the many ways

that information is created and used. This means that their value does not have

to remain closely tied to traditional libraries and to the complex methods that

were designed to make information easily and widely accessible.

Librarians working from a play-framework in this paradigm described

feeling drawn toward a future where students would not require libraries or

librarians in order to pursue their research. Motivated by the tension between the

object (i.e., library) and subject (i.e., inquiry) of their work, these librarians were

willing to play with the ambiguity of the term "library." They joked that perhaps

they were putting themselves "out of business" when they challenged themselves

to further reduce barriers to information by streamlining policies, simplifying tools,

and creating accessible instructional materials that students could identify

immediately at their point of need. One participant wondered if her goal to make the college library so user friendly that most students would not need assistance meant that she was turning her back on libraries' traditional values of classification, order, and hierarchy. However, despite sensing that she might be a traitor to libraries, she believed she was pursuing the higher ideals of librarianship: patron self-efficacy, unimpeded access, and, above all, contribution to learning. Another librarian who played in this paradigm treated the library space as a site of multiple forms of inquiry by balancing, and sometimes admittedly failing to balance, quiet individual pursuits on one hand, and group meetings, performances, or art-making on the other hand. She challenged herself in her role as a facilitator of inquiry, not just a protector of the library.

Librarians who recognized but did not choose to play in the paradox between preserving the library and transcending the library typically characterized the library was either a shelter or a burden. One participant had been invited by an academic department chair to regularly visit the student lounge and offer students research support untethered from the library. This librarian did not consider the time she would spend in the student lounge a good use of resources because she did not think that students would see any value in talking to a librarian if they had not already decided to use the library. For other librarians, the time and other resources that they dedicated to the library to cover the reference desk or to manage collections seemed to them to be fixed and unresponsive to the emergence of other roles that they would have preferred to pursue outside of the library either as instructors or as leaders in the governance

process. They did not perceive a way to resolve this tension in favor of their preferred duties and instead limited their ambitions in these areas in order to reduce the conflict between their goals and the needs of the library.

Implications for practice: The grounded definition of librarians' play. For librarians, play is a framework involving (a) specific strategies for pursuing broad professional goals within organizational paradoxes and (b) the habit of mind that facilitates this approach to paradoxes. Grounded in librarians' descriptions of their successes and goals, the following is the first attempt to define the facets of librarians' professional play. It describes the approaches to paradox that are common among empowered librarians. Although it overlaps with some of the existing definitions of serious play, it emphasizes the distinct characteristics of play that are particularly relevant to community college library instruction coordinators. In particular, community college library instruction coordinators face additional obstacles to play because they are marginal insiders. Their position means that they must actively seek entry to the arenas of organizational confrontation and conflict (Crozier & Friedberg, 1980) because their traditional roles keep them outside of the game. Librarians can apply a play-framework to the process of accessing the arena of confrontation just as they can apply the framework to guide their strategies once they join the game, but the purpose of their efforts to gain access are always the same: to create an educational context that will sustain their libraries' instruction in a form that contributes to student learning.

Play is intentional action for a purpose, but the librarian who plays defines her goals flexibly and holds them lightly. This differs from end-driven rational action that succeeds or fails based solely on achieving a predefined outcome that the actor has selected as the best after weighing alternatives. Rigidly rational approaches can lead to stuckness when actors incorrectly believe that they can eliminate negative consequences by simply choosing one element of a contradiction in their work over the other. In contrast, play accepts paradox. Accepting paradox allows for the following strengths, which librarians' play has in common with the definitions offered by Beech et al., (2004) and Sukovic, Litting, and England (2011):

- Play works in spite of the unclear or changing standards of success that are common in organizations where power is diffuse. Play remains possible even when librarians do not know precisely which goal they should be working toward or which stakeholder they should be trying to persuade because it "has intrinsic motivational rewards of its own" and does not have to be "for some other end" (Carr, 2003, p. 199). This keeps librarians engaged in their work even during times of uncertainty.

- Play embraces iteration, which is a process of trying and judging alternative approaches on the assumption that short-term failures are necessary components of long-term success.

- Play is effective if it makes further play possible, and it cannot be judged accurately by external standards or by whether or not the

player achieved her short-term goal. In the long-term, all solutions will prove to be inadequate because the paradox will persist. Gadamer (1988) referred to this as the "to-and-fro movement" of play, "which is not tied to any goal which would bring it to an end" (p. 93). According to Gadamer's (1988) phenomenological description of the essential properties of play, playing "renews itself in constant repetition," (p. 93) because the subject of play is not the person who plays but the play itself. If a librarian enters into play in one or more of the levels of her work, then play will carry that librarian in its own momentum, not forward to a specific goal or end, but to-and-fro in a form of perpetual motion. This motion, and its protection against stagnation, is the benefit that library instruction coordinators get from play. Because a paradox means that no solution is ever permanent, it frees actors applying a play framework to work within less-than-ideal circumstances without assuming that these circumstances are deterministic.

Play exploits the duality of social reality as a source of dynamism. Social reality is the meaning that actors make about their environment and is the foundation of structures and systems that actors create in order to shape their environment (Searle, 1995). Faculty status is an example of social reality that shapes librarians' experiences through the formal and informal rules of the organization that have been developed by actors over time. Neither the ostensible nor the constructed reality can stand alone (Searle, 1995), creating a paradox that animates play, allowing librarians to benefit from socially

constructed and, therefore, ambiguous definitions (e.g., of leadership, of mission,

of hierarchy, of personal interests, and so on) that the group assumes it shares in

common. Play implies the following social relationships:

- Play follows rules and players can create new rules for their own

  benefit but the rules are constrained by existing relationships and

  expectations. Crozier and Friedberg (1980) described the nature of

  rules as constraints and opportunities "obliging each participant,

  provided he wishes to continue to play and to insure that his

  involvement 'pay,' or, at least, not 'cost' him too dearly, to take account

  of the requirements and rules prevailing in the games" (p. 57).

  Librarians experience this rule-bound aspect of play on a micro-level

  when they negotiate with a professor about a request for an orientation

  and on a macro-level when they lead an institutional initiative for

  assessing student learning that will satisfy accreditation requirements.

- Play clarifies what to look for in allies and why to keep them.

- Play expands librarians' roles beyond the traditional norms of service,

  confronting and challenging their colleagues' assumptions about their

  limitations. Crozier and Friedberg (1980) consider this "ability to depart

  from the expectations and norms associated with one's 'role'" to be a

  source of power, "'opening' the possibility of bargaining" and "enlarging

  their margin of liberty" (p. 49). This theory also explains librarians'

  negative experiences (including burn-out and frustration) when they do

  not play with the meaning of their role and they are limited to the

"clearly inferior position for an actor who, when perfectly predictable, has nothing left to bargain with" (Crozier & Friedberg, 1980, p. 49).

- Play requires a minimum of structural equality that gives librarians access to the theater of confrontation. In the case of library instruction coordinators, that minimum structural equality is their status as tenured faculty. Although Crozier and Friedberg (1980) asserted that "to say that the players play games in no way implies that there is any initial equality whatsoever among them," (p. 57) librarians do not work in a system of interdependence like the ones that exist in the manufacturing and diplomacy fields from which Crozier and Friedberg draw their examples. Instead, librarians can become isolated from the core functions of their organizations if they do not actively pursue a more central role and they could, therefore, be barred from the theater of confrontation if they were not considered to have a legitimate claim to participating in it.

People who play at one level may not play at another because play is a strategy, not a personality trait. Even librarians who accurately analyze paradoxes at multiple levels of their work do not uniformly approach paradoxes from a play-framework. When librarians do not play within a paradox they often express frustration and burnout caused by tensions like feeling under-appreciated, marginalized, and powerless. Librarians who do not apply a play-framework to a paradox seem not to recognize it as an option, expressing that they are responding to the paradoxes of their work in ways that are determined

by their circumstances. Figure 2 illustrates the decision-points at which it becomes possible for librarians to enter or avoid the organizational game in order to influence the context in which they are teaching and create circumstances in which their instruction can be most effective. This model also illustrates the iterative nature of the process that library instruction coordinators go through at any level of their work when they identify problems, analyze their contexts, and begin to act.

Librarians are aware of the complexity of their work environments. For some participants this gives them a strong sense of their own capacity to influence their colleges, benefit students, and promote the ideals of higher education because they recognize that the organization is in a constant state of creation and destruction, reacting to individual actors' decisions with no single leader or vision channeling the energies of these individuals. With a play-framework, librarians can exploit this uncertainty to benefit student learning and their libraries' instruction programs. For other participants, recognizing the complexity of their work environments has been paralyzing or frustrating. These librarians have not applied a play-framework in the paradigms where they feel most challenged. Instead, they rely on the comfort of established procedures and the insulating effect of the library to help them minimize the uncertainty that accompanies the complexity.

Recommendations

The following recommendations for future study and for library instruction coordinators' and LIS educators' practice explain the applications of the

conclusion that a play-framework offers a positive cognitive and behavioral

approach to the paradoxes underlying library instruction coordinators' work.

Recommendations for future study. Studies of organizations as

systems of games, like the ones by Crozier (1985) and Crozier and Friedberg

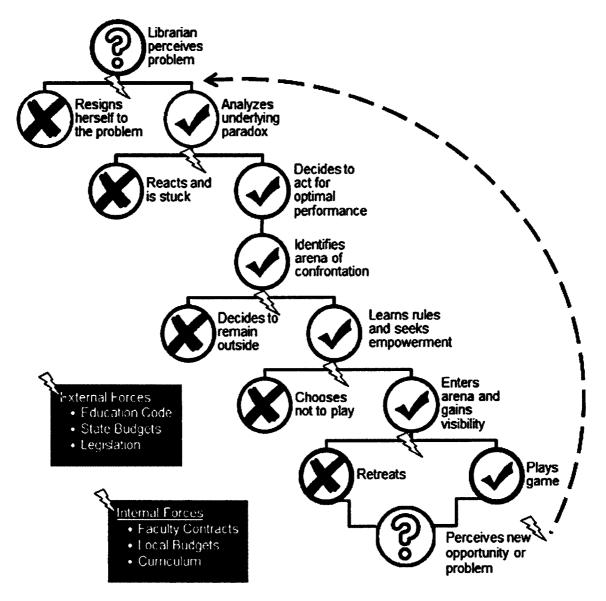(1980), suggest topics for future studies. Guided by their work, some of the

Figure 2: The cycle of entering the arena of conflict to sustain effective library instruction.

research questions that arise from the findings of this study include: What are the

habitual behaviors of library instruction coordinators that reveal the type of

games in which they are engaged? What are the tactics of librarians' play? Do the tactics of librarians' play vary by the paradigm in which they are playing or are they, instead, differentiating their tactics based on their individual capacities or the capacities of their organizations?

This study demonstrated that despite their apparent dependence on other professors to provide them with teaching opportunities, library instruction coordinators at community colleges are actually autonomous. The diffuse power, or plurality, that characterizes organizations in higher education leaves faculty, including community college librarians, fundamentally free to define their own standards for their success. Considering that the experiences of professors outside of the mainstream disciplines of higher education may experience this autonomy differently, researchers studying organizations in higher education should undertake further studies of how faculty are motivated, in order to test their existing hypotheses beyond the experiences of the mainstream discipline faculty in universities (see Zey-Ferrell & Ervin, 1985). The findings of this study suggest that library instruction coordinators may be motivated to meet their self-expectations and achieve a congruency between their actions and their intentions based on different combinations of internal and external models of behavior. This merits further study in order to investigate meaningful variations in the autonomy and self-expectations of faculty in different disciplines, which could also help to identify and reduce barriers to cross-departmental collaborations for student success.

Studies of organizations in higher education could benefit from further

pursuing the conclusion that paradoxes and play occur at micro and macro levels

as educators interact with their own identities, with one another, and with the

constraining organizational forms that they experience and create. This study

suggests that organized anarchies, like colleges and universities (Cohen, March,

& Olsen, 1972), which do not conform to other assumptions of organizational

rationality, can be better understood by investigating the types of games that the

actors play and the paradoxes that define educators' work in higher education, a

suggestion made by Crozier and Friedberg (1980). They also point out that play

may be a personal attribute, an organizational attribute, or, most likely, a

combination of both. Determining the origins of play was beyond the scope of this

study, but an investigation of variations among librarians could begin to suggest

why some play in certain paradigms but not in others. One tool to continue this

inquiry may be the "Adult Playfulness Scale" (Glynn & Webster, 1992), which

may help to determine if individual differences in playfulness contribute to

variance in the elements of play or in the sites of play that librarians mention

when they describe their work as instruction coordinators.

Recommendations for library instruction coordinators. By

understanding their work to be occurring at multiple levels of the organization,

library instruction coordinators can gain clearer insight into where they have

demonstrated strengths (of being able to play in the paradox) and weaknesses

(of trying to foreclose or deny the paradox). With a new awareness of where they

have successfully or unsuccessfully met the challenges of their work, librarians

can actively revise their strategies in the future. They can also more accurately assess the causes and results of their successful efforts in order to apply what they have learned and increase the likelihood that they will achieve successful outcomes when they face new challenges. When analyzing their past approaches, librarians should consider some of the following behaviors and cognitive techniques as areas for improvement.

Building alliances. In order to fulfill their stake in the college mission, librarians must look for faculty allies on campus who share their goals for student learning. Librarians know what they're trying to teach and why, but the diffusion of power at their colleges means that it is not clear whether or how their teaching supports any other stakeholders' goals or meets agreed upon definitions of successful performance. By forming alliances, librarians can work with other faculty to identify goals and to develop standards of achievement that will guide their decisions.

Seeing abundance. Librarians should cultivate an abundance mentality regarding their resources for instruction. They could do this as some of the participants in this study have done, by raising their own awareness of the strengths of their staffs, facilities, or budgets and by acting on the belief that they have the capacity to achieve their core goals with their current resources. As part of this process, they could analyze the fit between their instructional goals and where they are dedicating their resources. If they find a mismatch between goals and allocations, they can begin shifting resources to instructional interventions that better serve their goals. They should also question their own assumptions

about the type of instructional interventions that are ideal, what is feasible, and what faculty will accept. When library instruction programs are stagnating either because they have reached capacity or because faculty demand has dropped, library instruction coordinators are responsible for finding new models that will increase the library's instructional reach. If they apply a play-framework to the programmatic paradox, they can resume growing their instruction programs either by transcending the physical limitations of traditional orientations or by appealing to new audiences of faculty who have not previously chosen to participate in library instruction.

Entering the arena. Librarians already recognize the value of their work on committees because of the ways that it brings them into contact with other faculty and strengthens their relationships with professors in other divisions. Librarians should also consider committees to be the arena of confrontation on their campuses, and they should enter them prepared to learn the rules and play the game so that their participation "pays" (Crozier & Friedberg, 1980, p. 57). They can also approach their instructional interactions with individual faculty or with academic departments with a similar framework of play. In both arenas, using a play approach will reveal opportunities for librarians to use organizational paradoxes to their advantage by exploiting ambiguity and by accepting that solutions are temporary and rules are provisional.

Recommendations for community college administrators and faculty leaders. Library instruction coordinators realize that the limited material benefits that come to the library because of their teaching are now threatened because

the current budget crisis has required cuts in core instructional areas and departments on the margins, such as libraries, are even further down the priority list. In these difficult times, even if librarians' ongoing efforts to finally be recognized as an instructional department were successful, they would not be enough to either protect the library's funding or qualify them for additional resources. Nevertheless, librarians continue to teach, always trying to achieve more or better instruction, because they do not consider material resources to be a motivation for their teaching. They emphasize, instead, the immaterial resources of influence, belonging, effectiveness, and satisfaction that they attribute directly to their instructional roles. College administrators and faculty leaders can benefit from leveraging librarians' enthusiasm and their drive to be relevant. Including librarians in institutional initiatives will often be perceived as a validation of their roles as teachers and colleagues, and may engender their lasting commitment.

Recommendations for LIS educators. Using the findings and conclusions of this study, LIS educators can improve their preparation of librarians to become managers and educators. For example, LIS professors often provide future librarians with training in management. By teaching theories of organizational paradoxes and suggesting game play as a strategy for participating in the organizational arenas of confrontation, LIS educators will better-prepare future academic librarians to be successful in the settings where they are most likely to work. LIS educators preparing academic librarians should teach them that their instruction programs may be seen as a cost to their libraries

and that library instruction coordinators should be prepared to evaluate the costs and benefits of their programs not only for audiences outside the library, but for internal decision-making as well.

LIS educators could also improve the ways that they prepare library school students to become educators. A review of the professional literature reveals concerns among librarians, library managers, and LIS educators that graduate programs may not prepare students well enough for the realities of teaching (Hall, 2012; Ishimura & Bartlett, 2009; Medaille, 2011; Sproles, Johnson, & Farison, 2008; Westbrock & Fabian, 2010). Ensuring that new academic librarians will have basic instructional skills is necessary, but, as this study suggests, just being able to teach a class will not be enough to sustain effective library instruction programs if librarians merely react to their colleagues' expectations. Along with preparing new librarians to be able to plan and to deliver instruction, LIS educators should also develop their students' awareness of the power of challenging the roles that librarians are assigned by their organizations. By developing librarians who will question their typical roles as service workers in support of others' goals, the profession will further evolve its own standards for performance, and librarians will be able to decide when to offer uncritical support and when to influence or challenge the goals of their libraries' stakeholders.

Summary

Approaching paradoxes from a play-framework minimizes the negative effects of competing agendas, disruptive change, and scarce resources by refocusing library instruction coordinators' efforts and redefining success within

each paradigm of their work. Playing means entering the theater of confrontation, which requires empowering oneself by learning the rules and understanding the other players. The play-framework is both a way for library instruction coordinators to analyze a paradox and a way to interact with other actors within the nested paradigms of their work. The cognitive aspects of library instruction coordinators' play include: embracing iteration and not expecting perfection; holding goals lightly so that multiple outcomes could lead to success; and recognizing that organizational rules are produced, reproduced, and changed through participants' actions. The behavioral aspects of library instruction coordinators' play include challenging the roles that librarians have been assigned within their organizations, building alliances that will clarify shared goals and provide a definition of success, and participating in the arena of conflict where library instruction coordinators can learn to exploit and to influence the rules of their organizations. Play is a positive approach to the difficult challenges that library instruction coordinators face when they work to improve the context within which they are teaching.

Conclusion: A Grounded Theory of Paradoxes and the Potential for Play in Library Instruction Coordinators' Work

Library instruction coordinators have a hybrid role as teachers and librarians and they are responsible for creating the organizational contexts within which their instructional efforts will be meaningful. Their work is complicated by the persistent paradoxes that characterize each level of their interaction within and beyond their organizations. Because these paradoxes cannot be resolved,

library instruction coordinators cannot sustain their libraries' instruction programs through an either/or process of deciding between competing demands. Instead, library instruction coordinators who are interested in sustaining their library instruction programs will use their roles in the organizational games of their colleges to approach the underlying paradoxes of their work from a play-framework. This framework for analysis and action gives library instruction coordinators who are trying to influence the context of their teaching the advantage of flexibility by keeping the paradox open and allowing them to move between alternative approaches as circumstances continue to change over time.

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APPENDIX A

RESEARCH STUDY PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Informed Consent Form

You are invited to participate in a research study of the experiences of community college librarians who are responsible for their libraries' instruction programs in southern California. This research is being conducted to fulfill the dissertation requirement for a doctorate in Educational Leadership at California State University, Fullerton.

Research

For this research, I am asking you to agree to participate in an interview to be conducted at the location of your choice. In addition to the interview, I will also collect demographic data from you on a written survey and will invite you to volunteer to keep a participant journal following the interview. During the interview, I will ask you to talk about your experiences developing your library's instructional program. The interview will be tape-recorded, and you will have the opportunity to review the transcripts of your recordings to make corrections. After I have completed interviews with all participants, I will contact a subsample with whom I will share the emerging theory and ask those participants to respond to my interpretation.

Risks

The interviews are designed to minimize any emotional or psychological discomfort to you. However, discussing your experiences might cause you unpleasant feelings. If at any time you feel uncomfortable or overwhelmed, you are encouraged to request a break or to terminate the interview. Likewise, if I observe that the interview appears to trouble you, I will suggest that we pause or terminate the session. I will also encourage you not to answer any questions that make you feel uncomfortable.

Although I will take measures outlined below to preserve your confidentiality as far as is legally possible, you should be aware that details you share about your program or your setting could allow readers to identify you or your institution.

Benefits

The benefits of participating in this study are that you will have an opportunity to contribute your experience and understanding of what it is like to develop a community college library's instruction program. In reflecting on and sharing your

experiences, you will be contributing to the awareness of complexities of coordinating library-based instruction so that future library instruction programs can be developed to be of maximum benefit to students. You will help to inform librarians and administrators who must plan resources and support for library instruction programs in the future.

Confidentiality

I will make every effort to ensure that the information you share with me will remain confidential. This means that I will store your name and contact information in a locked cabinet separately from your journal entries (if any) and the results of your interview and survey. I will also destroy the record of your name and contact information as soon as the study is complete. A system of codes will allow me to associate all of the data I gather from you (in particular, your interview, journal, and survey responses) and the coding key will be stored separately from the data in a locked cabinet in my home. The coding key will also be destroyed when the study is complete.

My dissertation committee will have access to your interview, journal, and survey data, but your name, the name of your institution, and the names of any colleagues you may mention will not be used in my dissertation. I will make every effort to delete or abridge any identifying information in order to protect your identity before I share your interview, journal, and survey responses with my committee.

I will archive the interview transcript, journal, and survey that I collect from you indefinitely in order to permit further analysis. It is possible, although I do not have any current plans, that I may share the archived anonymised transcript, journal, and survey with other researchers during this time. Because audio recordings cannot be effectively anonymised, I will not share them with other researchers and I will destroy these files within 5 years of the completion of the study.

Confidentiality will be provided to the extent allowed by law. By signing this form, you acknowledge that you understand there are two exceptions to the promise of confidentiality. If information is revealed that concerns homicide, suicide, or child abuse or neglect, I am required by law to report this information to the proper authorities. In addition, if any information in this study is subject to a court order or lawful subpoena, the University might not be able to avoid compliance with the order or subpoena.

Special Considerations

Please know that your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You may, at any time, decline to answer any question without having to qualify your reasons for doing so. You may, at any time, request a break, terminate the session, or remove yourself from this study, without any penalty or loss of benefit, and without having to qualify your reasons for doing so. You may withdraw from this investigation with full confidence that any information you have shared will not be included in the study. You will be given a copy of your interview transcripts for your records. If you decide to remain in this study, you will also receive a copy of the research results.

Whom to Contact

If you have any questions about this study, please call me, Dr. Ding-Jo Currie, my dissertation chair at CSU Fullerton. Also, if you have concerns or complaints about how you were treated during the study, please call Heidi Hodges, Regulatory Compliance Coordinator or write to the office at California State University, Fullerton, Institutional Review Board, Office of Grants & Contracts, P.O. Box 6850, Fullerton, CA 92834-6850.

If you agree to these statements and conditions and you agree to participate in this study, please sign below.

I have read and understand the foregoing description of this research project. I have asked for and received satisfactory explanation of any language that I did not fully understand. I agree to participate in this study, and understand that I may withdraw my consent at any time. I grant the use of my interview for this dissertation and any publications or presentations that are based on this research. I have received a copy of this consent form.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Name: _____

Address: _____

Phone: _____ Email: _____

___ I give my consent to be audiotaped.

___ I do not give my consent to be audiotaped.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX B

ORIGINAL INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

- Tell me about the structure of your library's instruction program.
  - o Who were the **driving decision makers** behind the current structure of the program?
  - o **How were decisions made** to structure the program in this way?
  - o How close is your program to **your ideal** right now?
- Tell me about what it's been like to grow your library's instruction program.
  - o How have **people responded to changes** you made in order to grow the program?
  - o What has been your **most successful approach**?
  - o How would you <u>**describe your contribution to the instructional mission** of the college?</u>
  - o Do you have as much **access to students** as you need in order to **achieve your instructional goals**?
  - o If I were to **overhear a conversation** on campus about the library's instructional program, **who would be talking about it** and what do you think they'd be **saying**?
  - o What's keeping your library's instruction program from **getting to the next level**?
- How would the library be different if it did not have an instruction program?
  - o Would it change the **resources** available to the library?
  - o Would it affect the **relationships** that exist between the library and college stakeholders?
- How important is teaching in your work as a librarian?
  - o What's the appropriate **role for librarians in student learning**?
  - o Does teaching affect **your perception of yourself** as a librarian? If so, how?
  - o Has the **relative importance of teaching changed** since you first became a community college librarian?

- o How do **other people on your campus respond** to librarians' teaching?

- Tell me about relationships you've formed that have helped you to achieve your goals for the library's instruction program?

  - o Were there **additional** important relationships **[inside, outside] the library**?

  - o Are there other people or groups on campus that do **work that complements or overlaps with librarians' instruction**? For example, instructors teaching research skills. What do you think about this overlap and **how does it factor into your planning decisions**?

- When you're making plans to improve your instruction program, do rules and policies more often seem to get in your way or help you make progress?

  - o Could you share some **examples** of rules or policies you have encountered that got in your way? Helped you to push forward?

  - o Are the rules and policies at your college **rigid** or do you find that you can often identify **ways around** restrictions?

  - o Do you see **other groups** on campus who seem to **respond differently** to similar rules? What do you think **explains** the difference?

  - o What [policy, regulation, or procedure] most **constrains the growth** of your instruction program? **What have you tried to do** about this?

  - o Is there a particular [policy, regulation, or procedure] that has been the most important to **facilitating the growth** of your program?

- What is your next goal for the instruction program?

APPENDIX C

REVISED INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

- Tell me about the structure of your library's instruction program.
  - How have the **structures differed** among the institutions where you have worked?
  - Who were the **driving decision makers** behind the current structure of the program?
  - Can you tell me about a time when **your plans and goals for the program conflicted** with what another stakeholder wanted? How was it resolved? (When do you **say no**?)
    - Can you think of **another example** of your goals conflicting where it turned out **differently**?
  - What **parts** of your instruction program are the **result of planning**? What parts have seemed to **evolve on their own**?
  - How close is the program to **your ideal** right now?
  - What makes a **good library instruction coordinator**?
  - Do you have a theory to **explain why faculty who don't use the library** aren't using it?
  - How do you define the community college **mission**?
    - How **relevant** is the library's instruction program to the college missions?
- Tell me about your experience growing instruction programs at different colleges.
  - How have **people responded to changes** you made in order to grow the program? Who have your changes **affected**?
  - What has been your **most successful approach**? Did the **same approach** work at **different colleges**?
  - What are the **rules and policies** that you've used to your **advantage**?

- o What are the student learning goals that drive you? What are the **most important things you want students to learn**?
    - **Who else shares** these goals for students on your campus? Did you find this was the **same at other colleges**?
    - Do you have as much **access to students** as you need in order to **achieve your instructional goals**?
    - Have you found that some **modes of delivery are better than others** for achieving your instructional goals?
- o If I were to **overhear a conversation** on campus about the library's instructional program, **who would be talking about it** and what do you think they'd be **saying**?
- o What's keeping your library's instruction program from **getting to the next level**?
    - What are some of the rules and policies that get in your way?
        - What have you tried to do about them?
        - Do other groups on campus seem constrained by these same rules?
- How would the library be different if it did not have an instruction program?
    - o Would it change the **resources** available to the library?
    - o Would it affect the **relationships** that exist between the library and college stakeholders?
    - o Would it have been different at other colleges where you worked?
- How important is teaching in your work as a librarian?
    - o What's the appropriate **role for librarians in student learning**?
    - o Does teaching affect **your perception of yourself** as a librarian? If so, how?
    - o Has the **relative importance of teaching changed** since you first became a community college librarian?
    - o How do **other people on your campus respond** to librarians' teaching?

- Tell me about relationships you've formed that have helped you to achieve your goals for the library's instruction program?
  - Were there **additional** important relationships **[inside, outside] the library**?
  - How have your experiences with **administrators** differed from college to college?
  - What do you see as your **role in further developing** the instruction program while you're **the chair of the department**?
  - You mentioned that there are/are not other areas on campus that share your learning goals for students. Are there other people or groups on campus that do **work that complements or overlaps with librarians' instruction**? For example, instructors teaching research skills. What do you think about this overlap and **how does it factor into your planning decisions**?
- What is your next goal for the instruction program?

APPENDIX D

DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY INSTRUMENT

1. Highest degree earned (circle one):
    MLIS/MLS   Ed.D. Ph.D. Other
         Specialization of this degree:

2. Other Master's Degree(s):   Yes   No
         Specialization(s):

3. Age (circle one):   20-30   31-40   41-50

                          51-60   61-70   over 70

4. Sex:

5. Years as a full time librarian:

6. Years at your current institution:

7. Where else have you worked as a librarian?
    ☐ Academic library/libraries:_____

         _____

         _____

    ☐ Public library/libraries:_____
    ☐ Special library/libraries:_____

8. How many full time librarians work at your college?

9. How many full time librarians have teaching responsibilities at your college?

10. Approximately how many orientation and/or workshop sessions does your library provide in a semester?

11. Approximately how many instruction sessions do you personally teach a semester?

12. What credit courses does your library offer? (Do not include courses that are intended for Library Tech students.)

13. In what other ways (besides orientations, workshops, and credit courses) does your library provide instruction?

14. Does your college have an information competency requirement?

15. If yes, what is the structure (circle one)?
    Distributed across the curriculum
    A small number of specific courses
    Other (please describe)

16. Where is your library located on campus?

17. What college committees do you serve on?

18. Did you make any professional presentations to groups on your campus in the past 12 months?

    The past 24 months?

19. What professional organizations are you active in?

20. Did you make any presentations to professional organizations in the past 12 months?

    The past 24 months?

21. Did you publish any professional articles in the past 12 months?

    The past 24 months?

APPENDIX E

PARTICIPANT JOURNAL SURVEY INSTRUMENT

Participant Journal 1 (#)

Thank you for agreeing to deepen your participation in my study by responding to some additional questions in writing.

This is the first prompt. You can reply using this form or you can email your response to me directly at aprcunningham@gmail.com if you would prefer.

I will send you one new journal prompt each week for a total of 3 journal prompts.

You can choose to respond to as many or as few of the prompts as you wish.

Not responding to a prompt will not automatically remove you from this part of the study, so if you would like to stop receiving prompts at any time, please contact me.

If you have any questions, if you need additional information, or if you have any concerns, please feel free to contact me via email or by phone.

At what point in the interview did you feel particularly engaged in what was going on?

At what point in the interview did you feel particularly distant from what was going on?

What surprised you the most during or following the interview?

Participant Journal 2 (#)

Thank you for your continued participation in this phase of my study.

Please remember that you do not have to respond to all the prompts in order to take part in the participant journal. So whether or not you completed the first prompt, please take some time to consider the following questions.

What questions would you ask library instruction coordinators about their work if you had the chance to interview them? What are you most curious to know about their experiences?

Participant Journal 3 (#)

I've learned a great deal from the interviews I've conducted so far and from the responses I've received to these written questions. Thank you.

Now I'm curious about the policies and procedures that instruction librarians have to navigate in order to achieve their instructional goals.

I hope that the following questions will give you a chance to recall how you have learned to maneuver the complex system in which you teach.

Examples of goals that may have brought you into contact with college procedures include: curriculum development, paired courses, student learning outcomes assessment, hiring requests, programming in the library, capital requests, grants, and collaborations that required resources. It's okay if the initiative you pursued did not turn out the way you hoped. I'm most interested in the process you went through.

Thank you for your participation!

Please tell me about a project, goal, initiative, or inkling related to your instruction program that you could only pursue by learning more about procedures at your campus. What was the idea you were pursuing and what procedure did you have to learn?

How did you learn about the procedure/policy that you had to maneuver in pursuit of your goal? Who helped you to learn about it? What prior experiences did you have that helped you to learn it?

What were the outcomes of your efforts to learn and then follow this procedure?

Is there anything else you would like to add about your experience pursuing this goal or following the procedure?

APPENDIX F

FIGURES

Initial Codes	Level One Categories	Level Two Categories	Theoretical Codes
Prioritizing resources Initiating/ending projects Assessment Problem Curricular Integration Giving/getting feedback Holding faculty accountable	Persistent problems	Defining Tensions --Teaching/Service --Tradition/Exploration --Integration/Autonomy --Library/Librarian	Paradox
Librarian identity Creating Relevance Limitations of credit instruction Limitations of integrating IC Limitations of traditional instruction Teacher identity Teacher/librarian Teaching more than library skills	Support v. Instruction		
"Putting ourselves out of business" Library as space Protecting the library "Square peg"	Library as burden		

Figure F1. Progression to theoretical code "Paradox"

Initial Codes	Level One Categories	Level Two Categories	Theoretical Codes
Building faculty trust for librarians Building relationships Individual v system Shared territory Sharing values Burnout "Survival mode" "That's fine" Giving Faculty what they want Dissatisfied Faculty Frustration with faculty Limiting ambition Relying on other faculty Developing teachers Getting Ready Extending instructional reach Goals for learning Increasing capacity Working together	Forming alliances Reacting Laying the Foundation	Dealing with tensions	Play/Not Play

Figure F2. Progression to theoretical code "Play"

Initial Codes	Level One Categories	Level Two Categories	Theoretical Codes
Showing commitment	Being there	Continuum of power	Arena of Confrontation
Negotiating with faculty			
Improving assignments			
Championing IL			
Librarians in college leadership			
Windows of opportunity			
Understanding real teaching			
Credit instruction is credibility	Influence of college culture		
Learning bureaucracy			
CC is Better for Instruction Librarians			
Being "under instruction"			
Dean as advocate			
Using college initiatives to advance the library			

Figure F3. Progression to theoretical code "Arena of Confrontation"