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The Role of the Academic Librarian: A Comparison of Administrator and Librarian Perspectives

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A Comparison of Administrator and Librarian Perspectives

by

Christina Prucha

A Dissertation submitted to the Education Faculty of Lindenwood University

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

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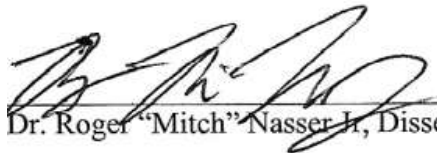
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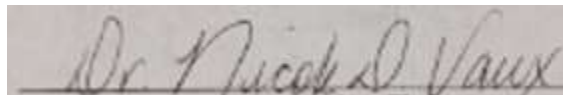
The Role of the Academic Librarian:

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at Lindenwood University by the School of Education

_____   _3-8-2021_
Dr. Roger "Mitch" Nasser Jr, Dissertation Chair   Date

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Declaration of Originality

I do hereby declare and attest to the fact that this is an original study based solely upon my own scholarly work here at Lindenwood University and that I have not submitted it for any other college or university course or degree here or elsewhere.

Full Legal Name: Christina Prucha

Signature: _Christina Prucha_____ Date: 3/12/2021

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Abstract

Abbott (1988) theorized librarians belonged to a class of professionals whose division of labor required constant negotiate with other stakeholders. Regardless of or perhaps because of constant negotiation, librarians have advocated for and documented roles as educators, faculty, and professionals from the earliest days of the profession (Sawtelle, 1878) to the present (Coker et al., 2010; Cronin, 2001; Gabbay & Shoham, 2019; Galbraith et al., 2016; Garcia & Barbour, 2018; Hicks, 2014; Hill, 1994; Zai, 2015). To a lesser extent, librarians have also documented how others view librarian roles (Christiansen et al., 2004; English, 1984), and Fleming-May and Douglass (2014) called for more research into relationships between librarians and administrators after noting the lack of research. The present study sought to fill in a gap by comparing librarian and college administrator perspectives on roles played by academic librarians on campus. Using symbolic interactionism and role theory as theoretical frameworks, results suggested the neither group agreed on one definition for what librarians do. Differences did not emerge among groups but among individuals in terms of how they believed librarian responsibilities fit instructional and faculty roles. Finally, successful negotiation of role occurred when librarians aligned themselves with powerful allies who shared similar understandings of librarian roles and advocated to create or maintain roles for librarians based on those ideals.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Librarianship represents a profession of contested roles in a constant state of negotiation (Abbott, 1988). For example, librarians have argued over faculty status for the profession since the late 19th century (Sawtelle, 1878) and have also pondered roles as educators and practitioners of the discipline of information literacy (Johnston & Webber, 2005; Walter, 2008). Research has documented librarian self-perception of roles (Galbraith et al., 2016; Hicks, 2014; McAnally, 1971), but less research has focused on administrator views of librarian roles despite the enormous influence administrators have over library operations and staff (Fleming-May & Douglass, 2014). Lack of research into administrator views on faculty status has persisted despite support for the practice from professional organizations (Association of College and Research Libraries, 2011; Joint Committee on College Library Problems, 2013) and despite the current decline in faculty status rates among librarians (Walters, 2016a). The present study sought to address the gap in literature by using symbolic interaction (SI) and role theory to compare and analyze librarian and administrator perspectives about academic librarian roles.

Chapter One establishes the importance of one's professional identity and traces the history of the development of academic librarians' roles on campus, paying particular attention to the two most controversial roles: (a) a role as faculty, and (b) a role as educators. Next, the theoretical frameworks of role theory and symbolic interactionism is discussed, followed by a brief introduction to relevant conceptual concepts. The purpose and rationale for the present study follows. Finally, the chapter concludes with research questions, limitations, and definitions.

Professional Identity and Role

Academic librarians have often disagreed over role and identity. Cronin (2001) suggested librarians provided academic mission support while Coker et al. (2010) referred to librarians as "information scholars and educators" (p. 409). Lowry (1993) recommended librarians emphasize their similarities to teaching faculty if they wished for more acceptance in academia. Hill (1994) argued librarians tried too hard to emulate faculty and should stand on their own merit. Johnston and Webber (2005) argued for the establishment of information literacy as an academic discipline, and Julien and Genius (2011) found librarians identified teaching as part of professional identity. However, Zai (2015) concluded librarians had not yet determined how teaching information literacy aligned with academic missions in colleges and universities. From understanding librarians as academic support to viewing librarians as practitioners of a defined academic field, research demonstrated librarians experienced a lack of cohesion when defining professional identity and role.

History of Academic Librarianship

In the United States, academic librarianship developed in the mid-to-late 19th century as a result of the establishment of land grant universities and the founding of the American Library Association (ALA) (Salony, 1995; Wiegand, 1989). In 1876, the year the ALA formed, only one or two academic institutions owned library collections numbering over 100,000 volumes; all other academic libraries contained under 50,000 volumes (Danton, 1937; Henry, 1911). Libraries were minimally staffed (Downs, 1968), and librarians learned their profession from other librarians or on their own (Weiner, 2005). The first library school, located at Columbia University, opened in 1887

(Wiegand, 1996), and the first graduate-level library science program did not follow until

1928, at the University of Chicago (Downs, 1968). From the founding of the ALA in

1876 (Salony, 1995), the job of librarian evolved from preserving closely held, small

collections of print materials (Danton, 1937) to adding reference librarians in the early

20th century (McAnally, 1971), becoming authorities on selecting and making relevant

materials available to faculty, students, and alumni (Wilson, 1931), and expanding the

profession's expertise into teaching others information literacy (Zai, 2015). Thus, as the

purpose of the library changed and faculty began to produce more research, librarians

adapted practices to meet user needs.

History of Faculty Status for Librarians

Librarians faced ongoing debate over personnel status since Sawtelle (1878)

wrote, "Librarianship ought not be annexed to a professorship, but be itself a

professorship" (p. 162). However, the first half of the 20th century saw little organized

effort to secure a faculty role (Downs, 1968; McAnally, 1971). The influx of students at

universities and colleges following World War II, a need for specialized research

services, noted efforts to increase the professionalization of librarianship, and support

from professional organizations, such as the ALA, the Association of College and

Research Libraries (ACRL), the American Association of University Professors (AAUP),

and the Association of American Colleges (AAC), led to increased numbers of faculty

librarians (Association of College and Research Libraries, 2011; DePew, 1983; Joint

Committee on College Library Problems, 2013; McAnally, 1971). By 1981, 79% of

academic librarians held faculty status (DePew, 1983); by 2016, the rate of faculty status

for librarians had fallen to 52% (Walters, 2016a). Granting faculty status to librarians

therefore ebbed and flowed over time, with the movement struggling to establish itself for many years, then enjoying a surge in popularity and support, and currently finding itself on the decline.

In studies examining relationships between librarians and faculty, Thompson (1993) found faculty equated librarians to "secretaries and grounds keepers" (p. 103), and Christiansen et al. (2004) discovered librarians and faculty recognized a disconnect in the relationship, but only librarians expressed concern. Julien and Pecoskie (2009) explored power dynamics in librarian-teaching faculty relationships and found librarians deferred power to teaching faculty by deeming in-class information literacy instruction a "gift" from instructors to librarians. Major (1993) indicated experienced, self-confident librarians who participated in campus governance and received mentorship felt collegiality with teaching faculty. Weng and Murray (2020) explored faculty perceptions of staff and faculty librarians and found faculty who interacted more frequently with librarians were aware of librarians' personnel status and reported close relationships.

In studies examining relationships between librarians and administrators, Munn (1968) reported administrators referred to the library as "the bottomless pit" (p. 635), requiring more money each year without defined goals or outcomes. Lynch et al. (2007) found administrators tasked librarians with providing access to scholarly resources and upholding school mission and values. English (1984) concluded administrators felt librarian duties did not resemble work performed by teaching faculty, and therefore librarians did not merit the title of faculty. Weaver-Meyers (2002) analyzed conflict between librarians and administrators over discontinuing faculty status for librarians and concluded librarians' strong service mission and faculty intervention helped librarians

retain faculty status. Exploring relationships between librarians and administrators as a political process, Fleming-May and Douglass (2014) concluded a lack of research necessitated further exploration in questions of librarian-administrator relationships. Thus, despite support from professional organizations, librarians continued to experience wide ranges of acceptance from various campus professionals.

Librarians remained divided over personnel status with Lowry (1993) ascribing low rates of faculty status among academic librarians to the young age of the discipline and to incongruencies between librarian and teaching duties, and Hill (1994) arguing librarianship was a unique discipline with specific research and professional requirements. Alternatively, Batt (1985) labeled faculty status "an unnecessary burden" (p. 115) for librarians, and Cronin (2001) compared librarians to information technology professionals, arguing faculty status detracted from librarians' customer service mission. Batt (1985), Cronin (2001), Hill (1994), and Lowry (1993) illustrated the breadth of positions related to granting faculty status to librarians in argumentative essays and opinion pieces. Galbraith et al. (2016) conducted research examining librarian perceptions about faculty status and reported (a) tenured faculty librarians valued faculty status more highly than tenure-track faculty librarians did, and (b) while librarians with staff status generally believed faculty status helped librarians, staff librarians did not feel any personal negative professional impact resulting from staff classification. Galbraith et al.'s (2016) research demonstrated lack of consensus among librarians regarding faculty status.

Librarians as Educators

Hernon (1982) placed the earliest known instance of library instruction to Harvard College in the 1820s. Salony (1995) acknowledged Harvard's early library instruction but tied the emergence of library instruction to the founding of the ALA and expanded expectations for research and outside reading. The first phase of library instruction ranged from the 19th century to the 1960s and featured "short-range, library centered, print-bound instruction" (Murdock, 1995, p. 27). As the 1970s became the 1980s and 1990s, pedagogical methods emerged and librarians shifted instructional focus to teaching research strategies. Between the mid-1990s and early 2000s, the advent of the internet, greater reliance on online sources, and a focus on standards-based learning and assessment resulted in a shift to developing students as information literate individuals through student-centered learning (Ariew, 2014).

While current research demonstrated greater comfort levels for librarians as educators with some researchers calling for the establishment of information literacy as librarians' academic discipline (Johnston & Webber, 2005), other researchers argued librarians have not yet achieved full integration as educators (Ariew, 2014; Owusu-Ansah, 2007). Ariew (2014) viewed libraries "in the midst of a paradigm shift from the past role as repositories of information to a more active role involved in teaching and learning" (p. 220). Librarians contributed to student success through collaborative efforts which integrated information literacy instruction into the curriculum and through assessment of student learning (Ariew, 2014). Owusu-Ansah (2007) felt librarians had not yet fully defined an educational role on campus because of the lack of credit-bearing information literacy classes offered at colleges and universities. Zai (2015) argued the

lack of consensus "regarding what instructional role IL [informational literacy] and academic librarians should play within colleges and universities" (pp. 19-20) contributed to librarians' inability to exclusively claim information literacy as the profession's academic discipline. Owusu-Ansah (2007) and Zai (2015) concluded by encouraging librarians to continue to expand their educational role.

Theoretical Framework

Symbolic interactionism, "a theoretical perspective that emphasizes how people interpret, act toward, and thereby give meaning to objects, events, and situations around them" (Sandstrom et al., 2014, p. 21), was developed by Blumer in 1937 (Hallett et al., 2009) and rests on three premises:

- Human beings act toward things based on the meanings that the things have for them.

- The meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows.

- The meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters (Blumer, 1969, p. 2).

Because the framework assumes humans must negotiate all meaning, the perspective also assumes each individual brings a unique perspective to the negotiation. According to symbolic interactionism, humans negotiate through perspectives, beliefs, values, and assumptions to reach shared meaning. The framework therefore has the capacity to analyze and interpret data in ways that acknowledge negotiation that occurs when multiple perspectives are present.

Symbolic Interactionism has most often been used in the study of interpersonal interaction (Hallett et al., 2009), but the perspective has long been applied to organizations as well (Abbott, 2009; Hallett et al., 2009). Organizational research traditionally focused on individuals within organizations (Hallett et al., 2009), but symbolic interactionism focuses on human interaction. From a symbolic interactionist perspective, organizations do not effect organizational change; humans create meaning and join in action to reach organizational goals (McGinty, 2014). Professional roles are not exempt from these processes; individuals negotiate the evolving meaning of professional roles through ongoing interaction (Sandstrom et al., 2014).

Role theory was often used in conjunction with symbolic interactionism, and several well-known symbolic interactionists (e.g., Ralph Turner and Everett Hughes) influenced the development of role theory (Thomas & Biddle, 1966). Roles reflect "norms, attitudes, contextual demands, negotiation, and the evolving definition of the situation as understood by the actors" (Biddle, 1986, p. 71), enabling humans to combine isolated actions into behavioral groupings that allow interactants to reasonably predict and respond appropriately to each other (Sandstrom et al., 2014; Turner, 2006). However, individuals do not always agree upon role expectations. People may distance themselves from certain expectations by using role distancing techniques (Goffman, 1961), or they may, as Stryker and Macke (1978) suggested, "announce that a given role is not really 'us' at all" (p. 75). The parties then reach the point where differing role expectations collide. In other words, the participants experience role conflict (Biddle, 1986).

Role theory and symbolic interactionism shared common histories. The work of George Herbert Mead influenced both frameworks, and both perspectives matured during the 1930s (Thomas & Biddle, 1966). Symbolic interactionists such as Everett Hughes and Ralph Turner contributed concepts to role theory (Thomas & Biddle, 1966), and other symbolic interactionist works such as Stryker and Macke's (1978) study of status inconsistency and role conflict and Burke and Stets' (2009) work on identity and social roles helped keep the two frameworks closely connected. Among library studies, Julien and Pecoskie (2009) examined librarians' teaching roles using symbolic interactionism while Julien and Genius (2011) and Zai (2015) brought in elements of role theory into studies on librarians' educational roles. From the theoretical frameworks' foundations through the present, the relationship between role theory and symbolic interactionism has remained deeply intertwined.

Conceptual Framework

The present study focused on three concepts related to symbolic interaction and role theory: role, power, and the negotiation of meaning. Role was defined as a set of behaviors, constructed from social experience, which allows interactants to reasonably predict and respond to one another's actions (Turner, 2006). Abbott (1988) theorized conflict to be inherent to defining the role of information professionals, such as librarians. Therefore, evidence of role construction and resulting conflict was sought through study design and analysis. Power was defined as "as control or influence over the actions of others to promote one's goals without their consent, against their will, or without their knowledge or understanding" (Buckley, 1967, p. 186). Julien and Pecoskie (2009) used power to explain the conflicted relationship between librarians and other professionals on

campus and raised the possibility power dynamics factored into role creation and conflict. Finally, negotiation, the compromises people make to create order, was studied due to the centrality of the concept to symbolic interactionism (Sandstrom et al., 2014) and because few researchers used the concept to explore librarians' professional relationships with others.

Purpose of Study

This study addressed a lack of administrator perspective in the literature while also allowing for a comparison of viewpoints derived from two distinct groups, library and college administrators. Specifically, views of library and college administrators regarding (a) each group's perception of the role of the academic librarian, and (b) factors contributing to those perceptions were studied. The study resulted in a comparison of the two groups' perceptions and factors that contributed to those perceptions.

The present study relied heavily on exploration of perception. Perception about the role of the librarian had long been discussed in the literature (Applegate, 1993). Professional leaders and library researchers repeatedly contended that non-librarians misperceive roles played by librarians (Coker et al., 2010; Dunn, 2013; Silva et al., 2017). Galbraith et al. (2016), noting the large body of perception-related research and strong feelings elicited by the question, suggested administrators should take librarian perspectives into account when deciding faculty status and related issues. However, researchers also noted perspectives of administrators have been largely absent from the literature and argued progress cannot be made until higher education communities better understand relationships between librarians and administrators (Fleming-May & Douglass, 2014). Therefore, in the present study, library and college administrator

perspectives were observed to create a framework for understanding roles each group created for librarians.

The results may have implications beyond determining how library and college administrators constructed professional roles for academic librarian. Tenure-track positions were declining, and use of adjunct faculty continued to increase (Kezar, 2012). Characteristics of employee status were mutable and threatened for professional groups in higher education, just as they had been for librarians (Vitullo & Spalter-Roth, 2013). Loss of tenure and other attributes of faculty status, as well as an increased reliance on adjuncts has the potential to create conflict between administrators and faculty as participants renegotiate roles. Understanding professional roles as evolving, negotiated definitions between people creates a framework for exploring relationships between administrators and other groups on campus facing role conflict caused by renegotiating roles. Comparison of administrators' expectations to any professional group's self-perceptions adds valuable insight into the groups' relationship and into areas of potential conflict.

Rationale

Theoretical inspiration for the present study emerged from a desire to study the relationship between librarians and college administrators from a communicative perspective, and symbolic interactionism and role theory provided a suitable framework. Conflict over professional division of labor, evidenced by ongoing debate over faculty status (Applegate, 1993; McAnally, 1971; Walters, 2016a) and continued discussion over instructional duties for librarians (Ariew, 2014; Salony, 1995), led Abbott (1988) to hypothesize information professionals, such as librarians constantly renegotiated

professional roles. Building on Abbott (1988), Hall (1990) encouraged librarians to

embrace symbolic interactionism to explore the profession of librarianship. Additionally,

after deconstructing the debate among librarians over faculty status, Applegate (1993)

urged librarians to diversify the theoretical lens through which questions, such as faculty

status might be examined. A desire to explore librarian roles from a communicative

perspective, the call to apply new theoretical frameworks (Applegate, 1993), a hypothesis

about the unsettled nature of librarianship (Abbott, 1988), and an argument to apply

symbolic interactionism to the profession of librarianship (Hall, 1990) provided the initial

rationale for the present study.

In the intervening years, since Applegate (1993) suggested broadening approaches

to studying aspects of librarianship as a profession and Hall (1990) argued the power of

symbolic interactionism as a tool to study librarianship, Julien and Genius (2011) and Zai

(2015) used role theory and Julien and Pecoskie (2009) employed dramaturgical and

symbolic interactionist concepts to explore the educational role of librarians. However,

the framework remained underutilized (Julien & Pecoskie, 2009) while the relationship

between librarians and college administrators also remained understudied (Fleming-May

& Douglass, 2014). The continued lack of research about librarianship from a symbolic

interactionist perspective (Julien & Pecoskie, 2009) and an identified literature gap

(Fleming-May & Douglass, 2014) provided further rationale to explore the role of

academic librarians.

Research Questions

The present study originated from the following research questions:

Research question 1. How do librarians perceive their roles in the campus community?

Research question 2. What factors contribute to librarians' assumptions about their role?

Research question 3. How do administrators perceive the roles of academic librarians in the campus community?

Research question 4. What factors contribute to administrators' perceptions about the role of the librarian?

Research question 5. How do the perceptions of librarians compare to the perceptions of administrators?

Study Limitations

Lack of librarian opinion. Invitations to participate were sent to the highest-ranking individual in the library. However, occasionally, the person who answered self-classified as a librarian and not as a library administrator. The small number of librarians provided the most unified responses and offered a unique perspective that differed from library or college administrators. The librarians' unified responses suggested library administrators may not have provided the most accurate representation of practicing librarian perspectives, but with only three librarian responses, no conclusions could be reached. Future studies should include another layer of interviews with practicing librarians to further investigate how their perspective as practitioners varies from library administrator views.

Lack of random sampling. A participation invitation was sent to randomly selected library and upper-level college administrators, but respondents chose to

participate, possibly leading to a biased audience with strong positive or negative

feelings. Future studies should consider using a purposive sample which has the ability

to generate a representation of the desired population (Fraenkel et al., 2015).

Language and Cultural Limitations. The study only examined perspectives

from librarians and college administrators at American colleges and universities, making

any generalization beyond this population impossible.

Semi-structured interview questions. The semi-structured interview questions

were very general and allowed speakers to determine the course of the conversation.

However, inclusion of more detailed questions could have explored concepts, such as

gender, race, and power dynamics. Future studies should refine the questions to probe

how such concepts influence perspective.

Definition of Terms

The following terms were used in the study.

Academic Freedom. Academic freedom was defined as the concept granting

academicians the freedom to study and publish according to their interests without the

fear of retaliation from employers ("Academic Freedom," 2015).

Academic librarian. Based on Graham (as cited in Coker et al., 2010), an

academic librarian was defined as a person working in a college or university library or

library system, possessing a master's degree in Library Science (MLS) or its equivalent,

and holding the job title of librarian. Academic librarian and librarian were used

interchangeably as other types of librarians were not included or addressed.

Bibliographic instruction. Murdock (1995) defined bibliographic instruction as

"short-range, library centered, print-bound instruction" (p. 27).

College Administrator. For the purposes of this study, a college administrator referred to a high-ranking college official who held the title of provost, president, faculty dean, or vice-president.

Faculty status. An individual with faculty status was defined as one having a designated rank of faculty and meeting any combination of the following standards. The individual must (1) hold professional responsibilities, (2) be subject to a governance system parallel to other faculty on campus, (3) be eligible for membership in the faculty senate or equivalent body and eligible to vote as any other faculty, (4) receive comparable wages and benefits to other equivalently ranked faculty, (5) be eligible for tenure, (6) be eligible for promotion in rank based on policies and requirements for other equivalently ranked faculty, (7) be eligible for sabbatical and research funds following standard campus practice, (8) be protected with the same academic freedom enjoyed by other faculty members, (9) have access to the same grievance process afforded other faculty, and (10) be governed by dismissal proceedings consistent with campus practice for faculty dismissal (Association for College and Research Libraries Standards, 2011).

Information literacy instruction. Information literacy instruction refers to "a user's ability to identify an information need, access, locate, evaluate, and cite or use that information appropriately" (Library Association, 2000).

Librarian. A librarian is a title reserved for a professionally trained person holding an MLS or its equivalent. A librarian engages in selecting, processing, and organizing information, and helps other navigate information. A librarian may specialize in certain areas such as acquisitions, cataloging, instruction, reference, digital management, serials, systems, management, etc. (Reitz, 2004). In the present study,

librarian and academic librarian were used interchangeably as only academic librarians were studied.

Negotiated order. Strauss et al. (1963) developed the idea of negotiation to explain the process individuals from different professional backgrounds used to create effective treatment plans for psychiatric patients. Strauss eventually extended the idea of negotiated order to include all aspects of social order, and the concept has become a central tenet of symbolic interactionism (Sandstrom et al., 2014).

Power. Buckley (1967) defined power "as control or influence over the actions of others to promote one's goals without their consent, against their will, or without their knowledge or understanding" (p. 186).

Role. A set of behaviors, constructed from social experience, allowing participants to reasonably predict and respond to one another's actions. A role is always related to another role (e.g., a "teacher" requires a "student") (Sandstrom et al., 2014; Turner, 2006).

Role making. Turner (2006) defined role making as the process of creating and modifying a role to highlight certain traits.

Role taking. In role taking, a person never acts alone. Acts are defined by one's relationship to and one's identification with the role being played (Turner, 2006).

Role theory. Growing out of theatrical metaphors (Biddle, 1986), role theory is based on the idea that if one knows the social context for a situation, one may reasonably predict another's behavior in that situation (Biddle, 2000).

Symbolic Interactionism. Symbolic Interactionism (SI) is a sociological perspective developed by Blumer (1969) and based on three premises:

- Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them.

- The meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows.

- These meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters. (p. 2)

Tenure. Essential to the protection of academic freedom, tenure is the assumption of professional competence and continuing employment at an institution unless certain specific criteria are met (Galbraith et al., 2016; Welch & Mozenter, 2006).

Summary

Librarians have debated and evolved their roles since the late 19th century when academic librarians began to specialize in information access (Abbott, 1988), and when Sawtelle (1878) called for librarianship to its own "professorship" (p. 162). Librarians in the first half of the 20th century experienced change to their roles as they began to specialize in reference work (Henry, 1911) and provide access to information (Wilson, 1931), and as their educational opportunities grew to include opportunities for graduate study in the 1920s (Downs, 1968). Two roles for librarians evolved in parallel since the 19th century: Librarians as faculty and librarians as educators (McAnally, 1971; Salony, 1995). The push for a faculty role dated back to the 1870s (Sawtelle, 1878) but did not truly gain momentum in a systematic fashion until the influx of students after World War II created a greater need for research services, and professional organizations, such as the ALA proclaimed support for creating a faculty role for librarians (Association of College and Research Libraries, 2011; Joint Committee on College Library Problems, 2013;

McAnally, 1971). Educational roles had been discussed as early as 1889 (O'Connor, 2009) and focused heavily on teaching students to navigate large print collections (Ariew, 2014). Beginning in the 1960s, librarians began to expand ideas of instruction to include teaching people how to identify information needs and search for, retrieve, and evaluate information (Ariew, 2014), and by the 21st century, librarians had begun to argue for the recognition of information literacy as a discipline of librarianship (Johnston & Webber, 2005).

Research documented librarian perspectives about professional roles (Galbraith et al., 2016; Julien & Pecoskie, 2009; McAnally, 1971). According to the literature, librarians had a defined sense of professional identity stemming from job responsibilities and degree (Garcia & Barbour, 2018), the library community (Hussey & Campbell-Meier, 2016; Garcia, 2011), and personnel status (Freedman, 2014). Less research focused on the view administrators held of librarians despite the influence administrators had over daily library operations (Fleming-May & Douglass, 2014). The current study filled a gap in the literature by identifying the components of librarians' role on campus from the perspectives of college administrators and library administrators, and comparing those identified components using role theory and symbolic interactionist frameworks.

Symbolic interactionism and role theory were adopted as the theoretical frameworks because the frameworks had the ability to analyze perceived disconnect over role as a communicative event rooted in interaction. Symbolic interactionism "emphasizes how people interpret, act toward, and thereby give meaning to objects, events, and situations around them" (Sandstrom et al., 2014, p 21). Hall (1990) encouraged librarians to learn about the library profession through the application of

symbolic interactionism because (a) symbolic interactionism "finds problematic much that others have taken for granted about organizations – goals, values, rules, roles, coordination, stability, and courses of action" (p. 144), (b) the perspective was well-suited to ambiguous, evolving, and contested situations, and (c) the emphasis on qualitative methods presented an opportunity to create macro-social theories from the observance of seemingly mundane and trivial daily events. Role theory, sharing common roots and theoreticians (Thomas & Biddle, 1966), operates on the premise that human behavior is patterned and may be predicted if one knows the social context of the situation (Biddle, 2000). Although the two frameworks were not found to have been used together to analyze librarian roles, each has been employed independently to examine the library profession (Julien & Genius, 2011; Julien & Pecoskie, 2009; Zai, 2015). Concepts from each perspective informed the analysis of the present study.

Librarians held a unique position on college campuses in that they could be classified as faculty or staff (Bolin, 2008). A long-running debate emerged with some people advocating for librarians as staff whose role was to support the academic mission (Cronin, 2001), and other interested parties finding librarians self-reported as faculty who contributed through scholarly communication (Galbraith et al., 2014) or reporting librarians claimed faculty status through professional development, service, and teaching (Gillum, 2010). While results may help librarians and college administrators better understand commonalities and differences, findings may also help other contested groups on campus (e.g., adjunct instructors, clinical faculty, non-doctoral faculty, etc.) explore and understand other professional relationships on college campuses.

Chapter Two: Review of Literature

In introducing the importance of roles and shared action in society, Kent Sandstrom, Kathryn Lively, Daniel Martin, and Gary Alan Fine (2014) argued humans attempt to arrive at a consensus about the meaning of situations they engage in. Consensus allows people to interact appropriately, according to shared expectations, and to accomplish objectives. Sandstrom et al. (2014) further argued much of this happens routinely, such as sharing a common set of expectations about the rules of driving. If drivers agree on the rules of the road, and everyone adheres to those shared rules, accidents should occur less frequently. However, some situations are ambiguous and participants may not share identical definitions, resulting in questions about what roles will be undertaken and what those roles will resemble (Sandstrom et al., 2014). In ambiguous situations, the participants negotiate to reach a workable definition.

Professional lives are subject to the same scrutiny personal relationships endure. Many times, interactions progress routinely and according to shared scripts with mutually understood roles (e.g., a successful doctor's appointment, purchasing a car, ordering a meal at a fast food restaurant, or attending a class). Occasionally, situations may be more ambiguous, and participants may bring differing definitions to the interaction. Abbott (1988) suggested academic librarians presented a case in which participants often held different expectations of interactions, requiring constant renegotiation of roles. From the first known call for the professionalization of librarianship by Sawtelle in 1878 to recent work on evolving skillsets (Laybats, 2018), librarians and others have documented the roles academic librarians play in higher education settings. Yet, despite a long history of documentation, research has shown non-librarians view and value librarian roles

differently than librarians do (Christiansen et al., 2004; English, 1984; Gabbay &

Shoham, 2019; Major, 1993; Munn, 1968). Chapter two explored how librarians and

others have defined the role of the academic librarian. The chapter also provided an

overview of role theory and symbolic interactionism, the theoretical perspectives used to

explore academic librarian roles in the present study.

Professional Identity

Professions develop as "members of an occupation . . . define the conditions and

methods of their work" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 152), and a profession, with

defined conditions and methods, provides identity for members (Barbour & Lammers,

2015). Professional identity is self-descriptive and based on communally accepted

practices and ideas (Hicks, 2014). However, while professions offer defined properties

and characteristics for members to embrace, professions are not static; instead,

professions evolve as a result of interaction and negotiation (Abbott, 1988). Professional

identity sets the parameters for successful interaction in the workplace because identity

provides a script for interaction; but at the same time, following Abbott's (1988) logic,

roles and scripts are never static; the roles and theories evolve constantly as a result of

interaction and negotiation. Applying the idea that roles and scripts never remain static

to librarianship, one may assume the role of the academic librarian has evolved and

continues to evolve through interaction and negotiation.

Researchers have not extensively studied librarian professional identity and roles

(Hicks, 2014), and academic librarians appeared unable to agree on a definitive role, with

some individuals arguing librarians were "professional employees whose role is to

support, not define or negotiate, the academic mission of the university" (Cronin, 2001, p.

144) and other people arguing librarians were "information scholars and educators"

(Coker et al., 2010, p. 409). Despite the inability to collectively agree on role, research

has illuminated some of the sources for a librarian's identity. Professional

responsibilities (as opposed to clerical duties), the MLS or equivalent degree, and

membership in library oriented professional organizations defined the professional

identities of 32 academic and public librarians (Garcia & Barbour, 2018). Professional

identity for librarians has also been linked to the library community's values and

standards (Garcia, 2011). Hussey and Campbell-Meier (2016) reported library science

students developed professional identities from shared communities, and, when

applicable, from past experiences working in libraries. Personnel status and role

determined professional identities of 235 academic librarians and administrators

(Freedman, 2014). Garcia and Barbour (2018), Garcia (2011), and Hussey and

Campbell-Meier (2016) ultimately demonstrated the importance of roles and

responsibilities, personnel status, and community values and standards when constructing

professional identity.

Whereas Garcia and Barbour (2018), Garcia (2011), and Hussey and Campbell-

Meier (2016) sought to discover the source of librarians' professional identity, Hicks

(2014) attempted to define librarians' professional identity by using discourse analysis to

examine language librarians used to describe themselves in nine professional journals,

five listservs, and 16 interviews. Hicks (2014) reported five major themes defining

identity: service, change, professionalism, library-as-place, and insider/outsider. The

most commonly used terms related to service, but service did not always stand alone as a

role. For example, librarians linked changes in technology, relationships to patrons, and

professional role to service identity. Hicks (2014) also found librarians considered non-librarians to misunderstand what librarians do; study participants felt they received little recognition for expertise, and the lack of recognition created a threat to professional identity. In all, Hicks (2014) argued understanding professional identity of librarians (a) created an avenue for understanding the roles and services of librarianship and (b) could generate thought on the how services were designed, who librarians marketed to, and the messages librarians conveyed through marketing. Notably, Hicks's (2014) work demonstrated librarians developed identity, not in a vacuum, but in constant interaction with the environment and people encountered on an everyday basis.

Professionalizing the Role of Academic Librarian

The professionalization of librarianship corresponded with Dewey's founding of the ALA (Keer & Carlos, 2015; Salony, 1995) and the publication of *Public Libraries in the United States of America,* a report issued by the United States Bureau of Education in 1876 advocating the creation of "professorships of books and reading" (Bureau of Education, 1876, p. 230), populated with professionals who would teach "a method for investigating any subject in the printed records of human thought . . . it is a means of following up swiftly and thoroughly the latest researches in any direction and then pushing them forward . . . it is the science and art of reading for a purpose" (Bureau of Education, 1876, p.231). In 1878, Sawtelle argued for the professionalization of academic librarianship by noting the profession had moved beyond circulating and shelving books to requiring an expertise in recommending relevant texts to students on a wide variety of topics. At the time the Bureau of Education (1876) and Sawtelle (1878) called for the professionalization of librarianship, only one or two academic institutions

owned library collections numbering over 100,000 volumes; all other academic libraries contained under 50,000 volumes (Danton, 1937; Henry, 1911). Libraries existed in remote sections of campus, in a lone classroom, or in offices of faculty members who shared personally owned books with colleagues and students. Libraries functioned as museums, emphasizing preservation of materials over accessibility or use (Danton, 1937). Faculty members rarely held doctorates or conducted research (Downs, 1968; Henry, 1911), and students were discouraged from using the library (Danton, 1937). With little demand for materials, libraries operated with minimal staff and hours (Downs, 1968), and librarians learned the profession from other librarians or on their own (Weiner, 2005). Given the state of libraries and higher education in the latter half of the 19th century, the aspirations of the ALA, the United States Bureau of Education, and men such as Dewey and Sawtelle (1878) were remarkably forward thinking.

The professionalization of the field evolved slowly, with little meaningful progress occurring during the first half of the 20th century. In the 1870s, the decade in which the ALA was founded and Sawtelle advocated for the professionalization of academic librarianship, designated library schools did not exist, and would not exist, until Dewey introduced the first library program at Columbia University in 1887 (Keer & Carlos, 2015; Wiegand, 1996). By the early 20th century, library collections had grown (Danton, 1937), but only a couple hundred university and college librarians existed, and even fewer librarians specialized in reference work (McAnally, 1971). By the 1910s, more specialization had occurred as Henry (1911) acknowledged the role of a reference librarian as someone who "must needs possess a larger grasp of information than is expected of any professor, for this member of staff must know in general all that the

faculty knows in detail" (p. 259). Yet, despite Henry's (1911) acknowledgment of unique skills of librarians, in the early 20th century, anything done within the confines of a library was considered librarianship, and little distinction was made between librarians' clerical and professional responsibilities (McAnally, 1971). The job of the academic librarian during the first half of the 20th century was narrow and understood by all (Zai, 2015).

Writings and research from the late 1920s and early 1930s evidenced more growth in the professional role of academic librarians while also highlighting continued need for improvement. In 1928, the University of Chicago founded the first graduate studies program in library science (Downs, 1968), and while McAnally (1971) deemed early librarian work as housekeeping and marred by the inability to separate clerical duties from professional responsibilities, Wilson (1931), former president of the ALA, asserted the role of the academic librarian involved curriculum support, the development of reading interests, professional development, research support, alumni services, and support for distance students. Additionally, Works (1927) found colleges and universities had centralized the management of library resources in the first quarter of the 20th century, meaning librarians had acquired the role of information resource manager for campus communities.

Academic librarians' long journey to attaining faculty status corresponded to the slow development of a professional role for librarians. In one of the earliest known surveys of academic librarians and assistants, Henry (1911) surveyed 17 library employees and found librarians usually held the rank of professor, and the most senior assistant possibly held faculty rank as well. These findings constituted an improvement

over the earliest years of the 20th century when, among 18 major universities, no

librarian held academic rank (Downs, 1968). By 1927, in a survey of 18 institutions,

Works found the highest library administrator and most assistant/associate librarian held

faculty status. A little more than a decade later, Maloy (1939) surveyed 129 head

librarians, 70 assistant/associate librarians, and 31 department heads. She reported 76%

of head librarians, 43% of assistant/associate librarians, and 87% of department heads

held faculty status. While professional gains were piecemeal during the early 20th

century (Downs, 1968), and the findings were flawed by small, non-random samples,

each successive study revealed increases in the numbers of librarians included in faculty

ranks at institutions of higher education in the United States, and the increases in faculty

numbers may be viewed as evidence of a maturing profession taking on new roles.

The rapid growth of higher education following the Second World War forced a

conversation about the professional identity of academic librarians which resulted in a

series of reports and statements issued by professional organizations in support of

faculty status for librarians (McAnally, 1971). In 1946, the ALA officially endorsed

tenure and academic freedom for librarians (Massman, 1972). In 1959, the ACRL

released a report calling for faculty status for librarians based on the field's strides

toward professionalization, the profession's increased emphasis on instruction, and the

need to protect librarians' academic freedom. In 1971, the ACRL released the

Standards for Faculty Status for College and University Librarians, a set of 10 rights

and responsibilities designed to serve as benchmarks for faculty status (Library

Association, 1972). Most recently revised in 2011, the *ACRL Standards* remain in

effect today and state that librarians should resemble teaching faculty in terms of:

- o professional responsibilities,

- o library governance,

- o participation in college and university governance,

- o compensation levels,

- o tenure,

- o promotion,

- o leave and research funds,

- o academic freedom,

- o grievance policies,

- o and dismissal policies (Association for College and Research Libraries

  Standards, 2011).

The statement drafted by the ALA did not occur in isolation. The 1974 *Statement on Faculty Status of College and University Librarians,* drafted jointly by the ACRL, the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), and the Association of American Colleges (AAC), was a multi-organizational statement supporting faculty status for librarians (Library Association, 1974). Updated in 2013, the statement remains in effect. Both statements indicate continued organizational support for faculty status for librarians, and yet, despite clearly stated objectives and support, much debate and many iterations of status, ranging from full embracement of the ACRL's definition of faculty status to staff classification (Bolin, 2008), still exist for librarians.

In conjunction with statements such as the *Standards for Faculty Status* (Library Association, 1972) and the *Statement on Faculty Status of College and University Librarians* (Library Association, 1974), rates of faculty status for librarians increased; but

recently, a downward trend has emerged (Walters, 2016a). In 1973, 60.8% of the 245

surveyed institutions offered faculty status to their librarians (Old Dominion, cited in

Schmidt, 1978). Talbot and von der Lippe (cited in Schmidt, 1978) found that 75% of

librarians held faculty status by 1976. In 1981, 79% of librarians held faculty status

(DePew, 1983). By 1993, 20 years after the issuance of the *Statement on Faculty Status*

of College and University Librarians (Library Association, 1974), 67% of institutions

offered some form of faculty status to librarians (Lowry, 1993). By 2016, 52% of 124

surveyed librarians worked at institutions offering faculty status (Walters,

2016a). Walters (2016a) concluded no statistically significant increase or decrease in

rates of faculty status among librarians between 1980 – 2015 while also noting evidence

of "a strong curvilinear trend: an initial decline in the prevalence of faculty status, then a

long-term increase, then a recent decline" (p. 163). Thus, while changes in faculty status

since 1980 have not been statistically significant, a current downward trend seems to

exist, suggesting college administrators may be shifting views about faculty status for

librarians despite continued support for the practice from the ALA, ACRL, AAUP, and

AAC.

Debating a Faculty Role for Librarians

    The debate over faculty roles for academic librarians has long persisted in the

literature (Cronin, 2001; Galbraith et al., 2016; Hill, 1994; Sawtelle, 1878), and librarians

have spent more than half a century scrutinizing the definition of librarian roles and

whether librarians' duties equate the responsibilities of teaching faculty (Cronin, 2001;

Hill, 1994). Librarians have debated the definition of faculty status (Hosburgh, 2011,

Kingma & McCombs, 1995; Massman, 1972; Walters, 2016a), studied the various

personnel statuses applied to librarians (Bolin, 2008), raised arguments for and against

faculty status for librarians (Cronin, 2001; Hill, 1994), and explored components related

to faculty status such as tenure (Bolger & Smith, 2006), scholarship (Galbraith et al.,

2014; Gillum, 2010), and compensation (Kingma & McCombs, 1995; Meyer 1999).

Despite attention and debate, no singular answer has emerged from the literature.

Definitions of Faculty Status

Faculty status definition discussions dated to the 1960s and included a working

definition and a distinction from academic status (Massman, 1972). Madan et al. (1968)

provided the first working definition of the term "faculty status" (Massman,

1972). Madan et al.'s (1968) definition assumed full faculty status for librarians to have

been achieved when librarians experienced "complete equality with academic faculty in

regard to rank and titles, promotion criteria, tenure, sabbatical leave, rates of pay,

holidays and vacations, representation and participation in faculty government and fringe

benefits" (Madan et al., 1968, p. 382). Massman (1972) reviewed definitions of

academic and faculty status and distinguished between them. Academic status referred to

an institution's recognition of librarians as instructors and researchers. Rank and title,

compensation, sabbatical, research funding, tenure, faculty governance, committee

service, and vacation composed Massman's (1972) definition of faculty status. Madan et

al. (1968) and Massman (1972) provided the field with two valuable definitions. While

Madan et al.'s (1968) definition closely resembled language adopted in the *ACRL*

Standards for Faculty Status (Library Association, 1972), Massman's (1972) definitions

offered clarification between two closely related concepts: academic status and faculty

status.

Researchers have reported on various definitions of faculty status for librarians

and have concluded difficulty in comparing research findings because of the lack of a

standardized definition (Applegate, 1993; Walters, 2016a). Hosburgh (2011) and

Fleming-May and Douglass (2014) suggested the lack of a standard industry definition

resulted in the adoption of a patchwork of traits unique to each institution. While a lack

of standardized definition may have led to irregular application, a review of the literature

indicated a possible source for many of the definitions. Kingma and McCombs (1995)

used the *Standards for Faculty Status* (Library Association, 1972) to define faculty

status. Meyer (1999) defined faculty status as present only when librarians held the title

faculty, had tenure, and possessed most of the other prerequisites of faculty (p.

112). Hoggan (2003) used the nine conditions for faculty status originally developed by

the ACRL to define the term. Continued reference back to the *Standards for Faculty*

Status (Library Association, 1972) suggested an attempt to standardize the definition and

to provide a consistent benchmark against which institutions could measure themselves.

Arguments for and Against Faculty Status

Arguments in favor of faculty status dated to Sawtelle's (1878) remark stating,

"librarianship ought not be annexed to a professorship, but be itself a professorship" (p.

162), according to McAnally (1971). Hill (1994), echoing Sawtelle (1878), argued

librarianship to be a unique discipline with specific research and professional

requirements. Hill (1994) posited librarians did not fit a traditional model of teaching

faculty and described librarians' attempts to relate job responsibilities to concepts and

words associated with teaching faculty as disingenuous. Lowry (1993) ascribed low rates

of faculty status to the relatively young age of librarianship as a profession and to

incongruencies between librarian and teaching duties. Contrary to Hill (1994), Lowry

(1993) recommended librarians emphasize instructional duties, scholarship, and college

service to gain more acceptance as faculty. Lowry (1993) and Hill (1994) demonstrated

that even among supporters of faculty status, disagreement on how to reach the goal

remained.

Arguments in favor of faculty status have generally rested on benefits to

librarians. Bryan (2007) supported granting faculty status to librarians because of

benefits to librarians, especially in terms of academic freedom, recognition as educators,

salary, and tenure. Coker et al. (2010) concluded faculty status and tenure were essential

to librarians' ability to balance work, service, and scholarship. Gillum (2010) argued all

professions needed a body of research from which to draw knowledge. Faculty status,

Gillum (2010) posited, created a favorable environment for research and should therefore

be offered to librarians. Bernstein (2009) argued for faculty status based on librarians'

contributions to academic missions, the master's degree requirement, and academia's

expanding view of how one meets requirements of tenure. Findings therefore indicated

that faculty status enabled a research culture among librarians (Gillum, 2010), provided

support for librarians' roles as educators (Bryan, 2007), created avenues for librarians to

contribute to the academic missions of their institutions (Coker et al., 2010), and

benefited librarians as a profession (Bryan, 2007).

Experts arguing against faculty status provided equally compelling arguments.

Batt (1985) labeled faculty status "an unnecessary burden" (p. 115) for librarians because

the nine-month contracts and demands of service and scholarship required of teaching

faculty impeded librarians from performing the necessary tasks of cataloging, reference,

and collection maintenance. Meyer (1990) found librarians with faculty status to be less productive than their staff counterparts and thus argued against faculty status for librarians. Cronin (2001) argued faculty status detracted from the discipline's customer service mission. Cronin (2001) also argued librarians were more akin to information technology professionals who supported campus needs than to faculty members who taught. Buschman (2016) cautioned the library community to reevaluate its position on faculty status. Buschman (2016) further argued workloads had increased for teaching faculty, and raises were increasingly tied to merit rather than cost-of-living adjustments. As a result, teaching faculty worked more hours and faced more competition for raises. Thus, Batt (1985), Buschman (2016), and Cronin (2001) argued the option of faculty status, while superficially attractive, was possibly not as beneficial to librarians as they might have hoped it to have been.

Contrasting opinion pieces such as Hill (1994) and Cronin (2001) eluded to a profession which was divided over views on faculty status for librarians. Studies such as Galbraith et al. (2016) demonstrated the existence of divisive views. Galbraith et al. (2016) surveyed Academic Research Libraries (ARL) librarians and discovered faculty librarians viewed faculty status more positively than did non-faculty librarians. Galbraith et al. (2016) also found tenured librarians had more positive views of faculty status than did tenure-track librarians. Non-faculty librarians did not feel the lack of status impacted them personally, but they did support its existence and viewed faculty rank positively for the profession. Ultimately, Galbraith et al. (2016) concluded faculty status improved librarians' relationship with teaching faculty, but as results showed, disagreement among librarians persisted.

Hoggan (2003) and Hosburgh (2011) reviewed the literature without offering an opinion for or against faculty status. Hoggan (2003) and Hosburgh (2011) wrote reviews intended to help librarians understand the issue of faculty status and make informed career decisions. Hoggan (2003) noted faculty status had advantages and disadvantages. Rather than taking a dogmatic stance for or against faculty status, Hoggan (2003) argued that personal career desires should guide a librarian's career path. Making an educated decision required an understanding of the complexity of faculty status for librarians, as well as advantages and disadvantages of faculty status (Hoggan, 2003). Hosburgh (2011) examined various iterations of faculty status and concluded that the Association of College and Research Libraries' (2011) definition of faculty status had rarely been fully implemented in libraries. Because of various definitions of faculty status, Hosburgh (2011) recommended librarians become well-versed in their own institution's policies. Hoggan (2003) and Hosburgh (2011) took a middle road in the debate, recognizing the complexities of the issue while encouraging librarians to understand implications of the debate when making career decisions.

Categories of Faculty Status

Faculty status for librarians looked very different across the academic spectrum (Hosburgh, 2011). Bolin (2008) gathered data from 50 land grant institutions and developed a typology of four status types composed of academic librarians with

(a) professorial ranks,

(b) other ranks with tenure,

(c) other ranks without tenure,

(d) and academic or professional staff status (p. 223).

Limited only to land grant institutions, Bolin (2008) found 80% of schools classified their

librarians as faculty. Bolin (2008) recognized land grant institutions offered faculty

status to librarians more consistently than other institutions did and recommended

expanding research to include other types of academic libraries to study how the typology

changed due to a more diverse population. Of 235 academic librarians surveyed in New

England, Freedman (2014) found 17 (9%) held only faculty status, 47 (24%) held faculty

status with tenure, 22 (11%) held tenure without faculty status, 107 (55%) held

professional status, and three librarians (2%) held dual status, a category unique to New

England. Freedman's (2014) results indicated support for Bolin's (2008) suggestion

indicating a different population could affect the categories that emerged from the data.

Additionally, some types of schools were more likely than others to grant faculty

status. Lowry (1993) found major research institutions with large staffs were less likely

to grant faculty status to librarians. Bolger and Smith (2006) correlated faculty status and

professional rights and responsibilities with institutional quality and found top ranked

schools (as determined by *U. S. News & World* Report) were less likely to bestow faculty

status on librarians than lower tiered schools. Thus, not only did schools vary greatly in

their applications of the components of faculty status (Bolin, 2008; Freedman, 2014),

some types of schools were more likely than others to offer the status to librarians

(Bolger & Smith, 2006; Lowry, 1993).

Tenure

Tenure has remained a fundamental component of the ACRL's definition of

faculty status since the proposal's ratification by the ALA in 1971 (Lee, 2008). Of 374

tenure-granting institutions surveyed by Mitchell and Reichel (1999), 74% were public

institutions, indicating public institutions were more likely to grant tenure than other

institutions. Despite longstanding endorsement by the ACRL and the ALA,

administrators, faculty, and non-academics have contested the bestowment of faculty

status upon academic librarians (Coker et al., 2010), and even librarians did not agree on

the value of faculty status to the library profession (Silva et al., 2017). Among librarians

with more than six-years of experience, tenured librarians viewed tenure more positively

than did non-tenured librarians. Of those with less than six years of experience, non-

tenure track librarians were more likely than those on tenure-track to believe tenure had a

positive effect on patron experience. The researchers concluded librarians became more

positively biased in their views of tenure as they grew in experience (Silva et al., 2017).

The loss of faculty status and tenure has been widely documented in the literature

and news (Dunn, 2013; Welch & Mozenter, 2006). Dunn (2013) reported on the growing

number of institutions opting to eliminate faculty and tenure status for librarians.

Weaver-Meyers (2002) investigated the loss and reinstatement of faculty status among

librarians at the University of Oklahoma (OU) in the early 1990s. Librarians regained

faculty status with the help of faculty senate. Weaver-Meyers (2002) used OU's case to

illustrate the conflict caused by an ambiguous identity, the need for librarians to develop

a strong and publicly recognized professional identity, and the necessity of support from

strong campus communities to maintain a faculty identity. Using cases from the OU,

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, and the University of North Carolina

at Charlotte, Welch and Mozenter (2006) argued faculty status and tenure greatly

enhanced librarians' full integration into university governance. The literature on faculty

status and tenure provided a cautionary tale to librarians about the dangers of an

ambiguous state and the need to create alliances with other powerful groups on campus to maintain faculty status.

Scholarship

The relationship between tenure and scholarship has received much attention in the literature (Batt, 1985; Gillum, 2010; Kennedy & Brancolini, 2018). Proponents against faculty status for librarians have used the demands of scholarship and the ability of scholarship to take librarians' attention away from other duties as reasons to discontinue the practice (Batt, 1985; Cronin, 2001). Other researchers have claimed that without faculty status, librarians had less incentive to publish, therefore leaving the profession with less research on which to base practice (Gillum, 2010). Gillum (2010) proposed that faculty status, defined as having the same "privileges of rank, promotion, tenure, compensation, leaves, and research funds as other faculty" (p. 321), could lead to increased levels of quality scholarly production. Kennedy and Brancolini (2018) reported faculty status and the influence of teaching faculty resulted in academic librarians producing much of the research in library journals. Galbraith et al. (2014) examined the personnel status of 1,806 authors publishing in 23 high impact library journals between 2007 and 2009 and found 27% were tenure track faculty members and 19% were Library and Information Science (LIS) professors, accounting for 48% of authorship. A chi-square test revealed a statistically significant difference between tenure track faculty members and LIS professors and all others in the study, indicating a relationship between tenure and publishing. Evidence therefore existed suggesting publication requirements of tenure review (Galbraith et al., 2014) and the influence of faculty (Kennedy & Brancolini, 2018) incentivized publication among librarians.

Research on librarian scholarship also explored librarians' production of scholarly communication. Walters (2016b) found a relationship between strength of faculty subculture, strength of librarian subculture, and librarians' scholarship. When librarians worked at schools with strong research expectations and relatively few librarians, the librarians adopted the faculty's subculture and produced more scholarly work. Strong engagement with research as consumers and producers characterized librarians at 91 ARL institutions (Sugimoto et al., 2014). Best and Kniep (2010) found librarians at ARL institutions published more frequently than librarians at non-ARL institutions. Wirth et al. (2010) found no differences in discovery, integration, application, or teaching when comparing librarian-produced research and research produced in other disciplines. Berg et al. (2013) found a statistically significant difference between administrators' ideas regarding the amount of time librarians should allot to scholarly research and librarians' actual contributions. Berg et al. (2013) also found library administrators felt research requirements were too low while librarians thought requirements were too high. Thus, while research has suggested strong engagement and quality work from librarians (Best & Kniep, 2010; Wirth et al., 2010), other research has indicated that environment may play a role and that administrators may view librarians' efforts differently and more harshly than librarians do (Berg et al., 2013).

Research capabilities of MLS graduates received attention in recent years in the literature. A 2% increase in article publication in library journals between 1998 and 2002 led Best and Kniep (2010) to conclude library school programs had improved research methodology coursework in library science programs. Finlay et al. (2013) noted an increase in librarian-authored articles in library journals between 1997 and 2001, but then

found a decline of 10% from 2002-2006. Luo (2011) indicated 39% of library school

programs did not require a research methods class as a requirement for an MLS degree in

2010. Wyss (2010) surveyed 187 faculty members at the 57 ALA accredited library

school programs and found faculty members believed students to be well-prepared to

provide professional services but not to conduct research. The research has therefore

suggested MLS students may not be academically prepared to conduct research.

Librarians have reported differing levels of comfort with research. Luo (2011)

studied attitudes of academic librarians towards the research process and found many

librarians felt neither confident in nor enthusiastic about conducting studies. Mayer and

Terrill (2005) reported MLS graduates did not feel library science coursework provided

adequate preparation for research, and librarians who understood the research process

were statistically more likely to conduct research (Kennedy & Brancolini, 2012; Kennedy

& Brancolini 2018). The attitudes of librarians mirrored that of the research about their

academic preparation and the perceptions of their instructors. Without training, librarians

were no more comfortable conducting research than either instructors or library science

coursework suggested.

Compensation

Research on compensation revealed a myriad of findings, from Meyer (1999) stating,

"tenure for librarians seems to be have implemented, in part, because it leverages the

salaries of librarians upward" (p. 118), to Lee's (2008) conclusion that tenure was not

correlated with higher or lower starting wages for academic librarians. A review of

salaries among academic librarians in Arkansas, revealed tenured librarians earned 40%

more than non-tenured librarians, supporting the claim faculty status benefited librarians

financially (Vix & Buckman, 2011). Meyer (1999) reported that faculty librarians made

6% more than non-faculty librarians. Meyer (1990) found average librarian salaries to be

higher at tenure-track universities with publication requirements. However, these same

institutions posted lower overall research productivity, leading to the conclusion that

higher librarian research activity led to lower overall institutional productivity. Kingma

and McCombs (1995) analyzed the opportunity costs (that which is sacrificed in order to

achieve a goal) of faculty status for librarians. Those costs included time spent in

research and monetary expenses such as sabbatical and temporary staff. Kingma and

McCombs (1995) urged librarians to consider how well faculty status fit professional

needs and advocated for exploration of other models of classification. Researchers did

not universally agree that faculty status resulted in equitable pay or in institutional

benefits in the reviewed studies, and a more detailed, comprehensive review of the

relationship between faculty status and compensation may be required before more

definitive claims can be made.

Academic Librarians' Role as Educator

While librarians' personnel status has received considerable attention in the

literature, the profession has also experienced a growing trend in research on the role

librarians play as educators (Hicks, 2014). Salony (1995) linked the establishment of

library instruction in the United States to the founding of the ALA in 1876 and the rise of

land grant institutions. By 1876, research, reading lists, and independent study had

joined textbooks and lectures in the classroom, leading to a greater need for library use

instruction (Salony, 1995), and between 1876 and 1910, 20 universities offered credit-

bearing library skill courses (Roberts & Blandy, 1989). In the 1920s, library instruction

programs grew in response to two situations: (a) the emergence of practical and technical programs on college campuses (Tucker, 1980) and (b) a population of students lacking necessary library skills (McMillan, 1925). Following World War II, the GI Bill created an influx of students and overwhelmed library instruction courses, causing programs to flounder (Hardesty, cited in Salony, 1995). The 1960s and 1970s produced a renewed interest in library instruction, focused less on navigating print collections and more on "curriculum-centric information literacy instruction" (Ariew, 2014, p. 211). Teaching roles for librarians continued to expand into the 1980s (Rader, 1986), but, by 1987, credit-bearing library instruction courses had declined (Mensching, 1989), and computer-assisted instruction, focusing on the use of technology in libraries, had started to increase (Bevilacqua, 1993).

Technology, online databases, and the internet changed library instruction again in the late 1980s and 1990s (Salony, 1995). Terminology about library instruction shifted from bibliographic instruction, "short-range, library centered, print-bound instruction" (Murdock, 1995, p. 27) to information literacy "a user's ability to identify an information need, access, locate, evaluate, and cite or use that information appropriately" (Library Association, 2000). From the mid-1990s and into the 21st century, instruction became more student-centered and relied on assessment and standards against which skills could be measured (Ariew, 2014). Technology and the conceptual shift from bibliographic instruction to information literacy led Stoffle and Williams (1995) to redefine the library as a place staffed by educators who promote and engage in high-quality, student-centered instruction with a goal of producing informationally literate graduates.

By the 21st century, librarians had become more comfortable as educators and had begun to argue for information literacy as an academic discipline (Johnston & Webber, 2005) practiced by a group of professionals possessing unique skills (Grafstein, 2002). O'Conner (2009) argued information literacy expertise placed librarians outside the physical walls of the library, thereby creating an academic specialization to teach, which moved the profession beyond identifying, managing, and making resources available to others. Likewise, Cox and Corrall (2013) asserted librarians' forays into interdisciplinary ventures such as first-year experience classes had made library instruction a specialization and central to all library work. Cox and Corrall (2013), Grafstein (2002), Johnston and Webber (2005), and O'Conner (2009) shared a view of a profession strongly identifying as experts in a specific discipline, possessing pedagogical skills, and whose specialization in librarianship had clearly expanded beyond the traditional skillset for librarians.

Julien and Pecoskie (2009), Julien and Genius (2011), Owusu-Ansah (2007), and Zai (2015) called librarians' comfort as educators into question while still acknowledging instruction as a role for librarians. Julien and Pecoskie (2009) found librarians played an educative role but ceded power to teaching faculty when working together. Julien and Genius (2011) found librarians strongly identified as educators but faced external challenges (technology, administration, and unreceptive students) and internal challenges (insufficient training) when called upon to instruct. Owusu-Ansah (2007) urged librarians to expand educational roles and cement a position in the educational mission of their school by defining "the foundations of their instructional practice within the historical developments of their profession and the academy" (p.426). Similarly, Zai

(2015) explored librarians as educators whose discipline was information literacy and found no "consensus regarding what instructional role IL [information literacy] and academic librarians should play within colleges and universities" (pp. 19-20). Echoing Owusu-Ansah (2007), Zai (2015) maintained librarians' failure to expand and cement an educational role resulted from librarians' lack of perseverance. Critiques offered by researchers such as Julien and Pecoskie (2009), Julien and Genius (2011), Owusu-Ansah (2007), and Zai (2015) did not reject the notion of librarians in teaching roles. Instead, Julien and Pecoskie (2009), Julien and Genius (2011), Owusu-Ansah (2007), and Zai (2015) raised the possibility librarians had not yet fully developed as instructional peers to other teachers.

Administrative Views of Librarians

English (1984), Freedman (2014), and Lynch et al. (2007) examined administrators' opinions on faculty status for librarians. Results from English (1984) indicated administrators believed a librarian's work to be dissimilar enough from that of teaching faculty to not warrant the status of faculty. Library administrators in New England indicated a neutral or negative opinion of faculty status and tenure while librarians felt both were extremely or very important (Freedman, 2014). Lynch et al. (2007) examined the attitudes of provosts and presidents towards the university library and found administrators valued the metaphor of "the library as the heart of the university" (p. 213) and assigned libraries the mission of supporting scholarly needs. Furthermore, Lynch et al. (2007) found that librarians' status as faculty, the focus on information literacy education, and the inclusion of the chief librarian among the ranks of administrators contributed to relating libraries to academic missions.

Faculty Views of Librarians

Librarians appeared to have mixed feelings about their interactions with instructors (Julie & Pecoskie, 2009; Major, 1993). Major (1993) reported experienced librarians perceived positive faculty/librarian relations, with the two groups holding many common values and a strong sense of collegiality. Julien and Pecoskie (2009) found female librarians in male dominated higher education perceived themselves in a subservient role to teaching faculty due to "the gendered nature of librarianship and of academe, by traditional campus hierarchies that privilege research over teaching roles, and by traditional campus roles that separate scholars from service providers (e.g., librarians)" (p.152). Julien and Pecoskie (2009) also discovered a correlation between gender and collegiality, with male librarians expressing more feelings of collegiality towards teaching faculty than female librarians did. While Major (1993) emphasized the impact of self-confidence and commonalities on creating positive relationships between librarians and teaching faculty, Julien and Pecoskie (2009) suggested gender and inherent power structures may have explained the differences between female and male responses.

Christiansen et al. (2004), McAnally (1971), and Thompson (1993) examined faculty views of librarians. McAnally (1971) argued perceptions of a female profession, dominated by clerical tasks, had long hindered faculty acceptance of librarians as colleagues. Thompson (1993) suggested faculty members viewed librarians as "secretaries and ground keepers, as their errand boys and girls, not as their colleagues" (p. 103). Christiansen et al. (2004) found librarians and faculty members recognized an existing disconnect in their relationship, but only librarians considered the disconnect to be a problem. Christiansen et al. (2004) suggested the power imbalance between

librarians and faculty as well as differences in job functions may have explained the

findings. Common themes such as gender and power emerged as explanations for the

disconnect between librarians and teach faculty (Christiansen et al., 2004; McAnally,

1971; Thompson, 1993).

Theoretical Framework

A theoretical framework encompasses the ideas and beliefs one holds about a

question (Maxwell, 2013) and helps the researcher approach the question under study in a

structured manner (Fraenkel et al., 2015). A theoretical statement informs the problem

statement, literature review, methodology, and analysis and provides vision and structure

for the project (Grant & Osanloo, 2014). Role theory from a symbolic interactionist

perspective guided the research questions, research methodology, relevant concepts, data

analysis, and discussion in the present study. Role theory and symbolic interactionism

offered the ability to explore and explain how professional roles are constructed through

interaction. The following sections presented an overview of symbolic interactionism

and role theory, starting with a definition and history of symbolic interactionism,

followed by the history of role theory, and concluding with role theory's natural

relationship to symbolic interactionism.

Symbolic interactionism. Symbolic interactionism is "a theoretical perspective

that emphasizes how people interpret, act toward, and thereby give meaning to objects,

events, and situations around them" (Sandstrom et al., 2014, p. 21). Herbert Blumer, a

sociologist at the University of Chicago, developed symbolic interactionism in 1937

(Hallett et al., 2009). Blumer had been both a student and colleague of the prominent

philosopher and sociologist, George Herbert Mead, during the 1920s and 1930s at the

University of Chicago. Mead's work was grounded in pragmatism, a theoretical perspective emphasizing the role of experience in the creation of meaning for objects, events, concepts, and propositions (Sandstrom et al., 2014). He ultimately strived to develop a comprehensive theory of thought and behavior that could be applied in the social sciences (Morris, 1962). As a pragmatist, Mead sought to discredit the rationalist view of truth and reality as predetermined and absolute facts waiting to be discovered by scientists. Instead, Mead viewed truth and reality as dynamic and evolving forces which were constantly in flux due to one's experiences (Sandstrom et al., 2014).

Mead conceived of five concepts that became central to his understanding of society and critical to Blumer's development of symbolic interactionism: (a) the self, (b) the act, (c) social interaction, (d) objects, and (e) joint action (Blumer, 1966). Mead viewed the self as a process and "an object to himself" (Blumer, 1966, p. 535). By this, Mead meant humans interact with themselves through self-perception and internal communication. People identify a goal and behave according to their interpretations of the actions of others. Action is therefore actively constructed by the actor. Interaction may be non-symbolic, in which case, humans respond directly to another's action without thought, or it may be symbolic, in which case, humans rely on their interpretation of the actions or comments of another with an end goal of persuading the other to act accordingly, a process Mead referred to as "definition" (Blumer, 1966, p. 537). An object is anything to which meaning is given by the parties involved. By engaging in the process of self, act, social interaction, and object creation, the participants create a joint action, an action that they have created together based on their interpretations of the other's actions and their ability to persuade the other to act as they desire (Blumer, 1966).

Blumer took Mead's concepts and further refined them into what he called symbolic interactionism (Sandstrom et al., 2014), which rested on three premises:

- Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them.

- The meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows.

- These meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters. (Blumer, 1969, p. 2)

Blumer's (1969) three premises provide researchers with a theoretical view emphasizing the role interaction plays in the creation of meaning. This theoretical view informed and guided the methodology and analysis used in the present study.

Historically, research in symbolic interactionism has been connected to the study of interpersonal interaction; however, a minor branch of symbolic interactionism has concerned itself with organizational studies, and more specifically with roles people play within organizations (Hallett et al., 2009). Abbott (2009) posited symbolic interactionists had always written about organizations, but they wrote of them as processes and not as entities. In doing so, symbolic interactionists have not been recognized as heavy contributors to organizational studies. Contrary to the predominant view of symbolic interactionism and organizational studies, Hallett et al. (2009) argued Blumer understood humans were central to any organization. Humans, not organizations, used meaning creation and joint action to reach organizational goals. Therefore, symbolic interactionists' interest in work, work roles, and interaction constituted the real

contributions practitioners of symbolic interaction have made to organizational studies (McGinty, 2014).

Research of roles, work roles, and interaction in societal organizations dates back to the early 20th century (Shaffir & Pawluch, 2003). Shaffir and Pawluch (2003) traced the origins of interactionist research to a 1923 study by Nels Anderson on the homeless. While Anderson's 1923 study (as cited in Shaffir & Pawluch, 2003) may have been the earliest recorded interactionist study, Everett Hughes, of the University of Chicago, had the most lasting effect on the field (Hallett et al., 2009; Shaffir & Pawluch, 2003). Hughes was noted for his work on the evolution of occupations into professions and for his study of race relations in the workplace (Hallett et al., 2009). Through careful observation and analysis, Hughes offered progressive insights on civil rights issues in the workplace (Hughes, 1971). He defined work through a symbolic interactionist lens and described it as "systems of interactions, as the setting of the role, drama of work, in which people of various occupational and lay capacities, involved in differing complexes of *lebenschancen*, interact in sets of relationships that are social and technical" (Hughes, as cited in Hallett et al., 2009, p. 498). Hughes believed generalized concepts could be derived from in-depth study of a single occupation and he heavily influenced subsequent generations of researchers' work including Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss 's (1967) seminal work on grounded theory and Andrew Abbott's (1988) study of professions (Hallett et al. 2009).

Other symbolic interactionists have also contributed to the understanding of work roles and professions. Becker et al. (1995) explored the relationships of college undergraduates with faculty and administrators. Strauss et al. (1963) developed the

concept of negotiated order in a hospital setting. Abbott (1988) produced a detailed

exploration of the world of professions, exploring subjects such as professional work,

power, and the social environment of professional development. Bucher (1988) (as cited

in Shaffir & Pawluch, 2003) developed a framework for understanding the development

of professions, from conception, through metamorphoses, and sometimes to death.

Abbott (1988), Becker et al. (1995), and Strauss et al. (1963) shared at least two

characteristics; each regarded profession through individuals' interactions with others and

each relied on qualitative research design.

    Role theory. Role theory assumes a "tendency for human behaviors to form

characteristic patterns that may be predicted if one knows the social context in which

those behaviors appear" (Biddle, 2000, p. 2415). The theory, which cannot be ascribed to

a single discipline or philosophy (Yodanis, 2003), grew out of theatrical metaphors,

substituting patterned interactions, expected behaviors, and assumed identities for the

performances, scripts, and roles of a play (Biddle, 1986). Early influences on role theory

included Durkheim's work on the division of labor, Dewey's research into habit and

behavior, Piaget's study of rule compliance, and Merton's work on role structure and

processes (Biddle, 2000; Thomas & Biddle, 1966). Coming from the fields of social

philosophy, anthropology, psychology, and sociology respectively, Durkheim, Dewey,

Piaget, and Merton were considered the precursors to role theory (Thomas & Biddle,

1966). By the 1930s, role theory had established itself as a self-standing theoretical

perspective (Thomas & Biddle, 1966) concerned with explaining human behavior based

on roles people play (Hinden, 2011), and despite the influence of differing perspectives,

concepts such as expected behaviors, roles, and scripts became universally agreed upon

(Biddle, 1986). With firmly established concepts, following World War II, Thomas and Biddle (1966) reported a significant increase in the number of studies referring to role in the titles, and by the 1980s, Biddle (1986) reported at least 10% of all titles in sociological journals referred to role. Current theoretical thought has focused on reconciling opposing views of role as either created and modified through interaction or imposed societally with the goal of conformity, and the theory remains critical to management theory (Fellows & Kahn, 2013).

In all, five perspectives influenced role theory (Biddle, 1986). The thoughts of George Herbert Mead on the self, interaction, and the maintenance of order in constantly evolving organizations (Thomas & Biddle, 1966) provided the social philosophical perspective (Biddle, 2000) of symbolic interactionist role theory (Biddle, 1986). Jacob Moreno's work on role (Thomas & Biddle, 1966) approached role theory from the psychological perspective (Biddle, 2000) of cognitive role theory (Biddle, 1986), and Ralph Linton's distinction between status and role (Thomas & Biddle, 1966) brought in anthropological influences (Biddle, 2000) through functional and structural interpretations of role (Biddle, 1986). Robert Kahn's work in organizational theory in the 1950s added an additional perspective (Biddle, 1986).

Symbolic interactionism and role theory. The histories of role theory and symbolic interactionism are intricately entwined. Both schools of thought emerged during the 1930s, and the work of symbolic interactionists has been interwoven with role theorists from the beginning, starting with Mead's influence over both perspectives (Hallett et al., 2009; Thomas & Biddle, 1966), and continuing with Everett Hughes's work on organizations during the 1940s and 1950s and Ralph Turner's insight into roles

(Thomas & Biddle, 1966). Role theory, from a symbolic interactionist perspective, emphasizes the "roles of individual actors, the evolution of roles through social interaction, and various cognitive concepts through which social actors understand and interpret their own and others' conduct" (Biddle, 1986, p. 71). Because of symbolic interactionism and role theory's emphasis on evolving roles and interaction, symbolic interactionist role theorists have contributed significantly to understanding the influence of role on relationships (Biddle, 1986).

   Symbolic interactionism, role theory, and library-related studies. Abbott (1988) used symbolic interactionism to investigate interprofessional conflict between academic librarians and other academic professionals, demonstrating "the information professions are, *by definition*, involved in continuously negotiated and contested professional divisions of labor" (p. 223). Unlike public librarians of the mid-19th century who assumed both the role of access provider and content gatekeeper, academic librarians specialized in access, a specialization resulting from interprofessional conflict between academic librarians and other professionals on campus. Academic professionals at universities and colleges relied on libraries as places of information retrieval, thereby rejecting the notion of librarian as gate-keeper. The rejection of a gate-keeper role conflicted with public librarians' traditional roles as both access providers and gate-keepers, and academic librarians responded by specializing in access to information. The interprofessional competition between academic librarians and other academic professionals in universities and colleges had deeper implications for librarians in general as the conflict helped move the entire profession away from a gate-keeping role and towards a stronger role in accessing information (Abbott, 1988).

Abbott (1988) theorized interprofessional conflict to be at the heart of the faculty status debate. He argued the debate highlighted the conflicting roles of access provider and gatekeeper and asked the central question of whether librarians were service providers who specialized in promoting access to resources or information specialists who studied and taught others how to effectively, efficiently, and successfully access information. Abbot (1988) concluded the conflict between access and gatekeeper had ramifications for the profession as a whole and symbolized a larger pattern in librarianship. Librarians and library users engaged in a constant negotiation over what constituted information, thus leading Abbott (1988) to assert librarians and all information professionals constantly negotiate status and roles with people who interact with them.

Hall (1990) proposed symbolic interactionism could help librarians explore the conditions under which the profession operated through emphasis on qualitative methods and a focus on meaning creation and maintenance. Much of life, Hall (1990) argued, consists of a joint action between individuals, a period in time when everyone holds a similar definition of a situation and interactions progress flawlessly based on those shared expectation. At other times, definitions differ and require the parties to work toward a shared definition. Hall (1990) believed librarians and library users defined librarianship differently and therefore constantly worked toward a shared definition, noting library literature defined the librarian's role as helping to retrieve information while the public took a much broader view. For library users, the library represented a place to relax, do homework, socialize, or find free babysitting. Hall (1990) questioned if the two views

were congruent and suggested qualitative methodology within the symbolic interactionist approach could lend insight into a possible definitional mismatch.

Whereas Abbott (1988) and Hall (1990) were theoretical in nature and did not involve empirical study, Julien and Pecoskie (2009), Julien and Genius (2011), and Zai (2015) used symbolic interactionist and role theory concepts in research. Julien and Pecoskie (2009) used symbolic interactionism and Goffman's (1967) concept of gift giving to analyze professional experiences of librarians, discovering a power imbalance between librarians and faculty counterparts that seemed particularly strong when the librarians were female and the faculty members were male. Julien and Genius (2011) looked at librarians' experiences as teachers using role theory and found (a) librarians regarded the role of instructor to be critical to professional identity and (b) librarians with formal pedagogical training were more likely to feel prepared to teach and expected to teach when accepting librarian positions. Zai (2015) applied role theory to librarians' professional identity as instructors and found while librarians had broadened professional identity to include the role of instructor, the profession had not yet determined the exact meaning of that role. Julien and Pecoskie (2009), Julien and Genius (2011), and Zai (2015) provided evidence that symbolic interactionism and role theory could be reasonably applied to studying librarianship as a profession.

Conceptual Framework

As opposed to the theoretical framework which helps the researcher structure the study, the conceptual framework "explains either graphically or in narrative form, the main things to be studied – the key factors, concepts, or variables, and the presumed relationships among them" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 18). Symbolic interactionism

and role theory have many associated concepts (Biddle, 1986; Sandstrom et al., 2014), but not all symbolic interactionist and role theory concepts were relevant to the present study. Three concepts, role, power, and the negotiation of order possessed significant relevance to the present study.

   Role. Role has been explored within role theory from a variety of perspectives, including symbolic interactionism (Biddle, 1986). Thomas and Biddle (1966) offered multiple definitions of role, each corresponding to a distinct perspective. Role, in a definition consistent with symbolic interactionism, was defined as "a set of standards, descriptions, norms, or concepts held (by anyone) for the behaviors of a person or a position" (Thomas & Biddle, 1966, pp. 11-12). Ralph Turner was a symbolic interactionist whose work on role significantly impacted role theory and symbolic interactionism (Biddle, 2000; Dolch, 2003; Sandstrom et al., 2014; Turner, 2006). In Turner's understanding of role, one's behavior in a situation is constructed from socially learned expectations. As such, roles provide normative restraints to one's behavior (Dolch, 2003; Sandstrom et al., 2014; Turner, 2006). Roles enable humans to combine isolated actions into behavioral groupings (Turner, 2006), and groupings allow interactants to reasonably predict and respond appropriately to each other's actions (Sandstrom et al., 2014). Roles are always constructed in relationship to other roles (i.e. parent and child, teacher and student, doctor and patient), and roles are neither prescribed nor static (Dolch 2003; Turner, 2006). Finally, one constantly assesses the other's role and makes changes to one's own role based on the assessments (Turner, 2006). Roles, therefore, are an interactive, negotiated experience.

Roles often help interactions progress smoothly and serve to help humans coordinate actions to reach agreement on the meaning of a situation (Sandstrom et al., 2014). Invested parties hold similar expectations, and the shared expectations translate into agreed upon social acts. Occasionally, the process becomes disrupted when the situation is ambiguous. Ambiguity results directly from the inability of the participants to define necessary roles for the situation. Roles, therefore, while allowing humans to reasonably predict and respond to behaviors, are also constantly evolving processes, constructed from interactions, goals, and needs of participants without automatically ensuring successful interaction (Dolch, 2003; Sandstrom et al., 2014; Turner, 2006).

In cases of ambiguity, people engage in role-making – improvising one's behavior to fit another person's expectations while also remaining true to one's needs and goals (Sandstrom et al., 2014). In role-making, roles act as guidelines which direct an individual's actions. Role-making also requires one to be cognizant of one's "own role performance in the making so that it can be adjusted to suit personal goals, the demands of the situation, and the expectations of others" (Hewitt, as cited in Sandstrom et al., 2014, p. 169). To fit one's behavior to that of another's expectations requires one to role-take, defined as having the ability to see oneself from the perspective of another in order to produce a shared action (Sandstrom et al., 2014). Role-taking is shaped by three factors: (a) the depth of one's social experiences, (b) the conventionality of the situation and needed roles, and (c) the degree of familiarity with the other person (Sandstrom et al., 2014, p. 169). Role-taking and role-making are interconnected. As one attempts to highlight aspects of a role, one invokes and modifies the role, a process which "is not

only role-taking but *role-making*" (Turner, 2006, p. 86). Role-taking is therefore at the

heart of the interactive process (Turner, 2006).

  While often agreed upon and predictable, roles are not absolute, which can lead to

ambiguity and conflict (Sandstrom et al., 2014; Turner, 2006). Downing (2009) used

Social Identity Theory (SIT) to examine librarians' perceptions about their role on

campus, determining race, gender, and age influenced librarians' views on role.

Applegate (1993) identified role as one of the most common themes in the fight for

faculty status and categorized three ways in which role had been studied: comparisons of

(a) defined roles, (b) perceived roles, and (c) actual roles. Welch and Mozenter (2006)

demonstrated the power of solidarity with an analysis of the University of Oklahoma

librarians' quest to regain faculty status through faculty senate support. Finally, Abbott

(1988) theorized interprofessional conflict and competition to be inherent in defining the

role of information professionals such as academic librarians. The lack of defined role,

according to Abbott (1988), Downing (2009), and Welch and Mozenter (2006), created

situations in which role had to be negotiated.

  Role has been tied to perception in many of the reviewed studies and in the

popular literature as well (Christiansen et al., 2004; Coker et al., 2010; Dunn, 2013,

English, 1984, Freedman, 2014). Stephen J. Bell, then ACRL president, noted librarians

viewed themselves "as being closely connected to the educational mission, yet librarians

are often perceived as academic-support personnel" (Dunn, 2013, para. 7). Christiansen

et al. (2004), looking at librarian/faculty relations from a sociological perspective, found

faculty did not understand the duties or role of the librarian and viewed the role of

librarian as one of organization and access to information as opposed to educator. Coker

et al. (2010) began with the heading" What are academic librarians and what do they

do?" (p. 406) and concluded misperception about the role of librarians had resulted in a

decrease of tenure-track positions for librarians. Freedman (2014) argued that neither

faculty, administrators, nor librarians maintained a well-defined or consistent

understanding of the role of the librarian. English (1984) concluded administrators

perceived no value in awarding faculty status to librarians because of a perceived

disconnect between duties of faculty and librarians. Over a span of 30 years, role and

perception occurred regularly in the research on faculty status for librarians revealing a

disconnect between librarians and outsiders which resulted in less support for faculty

appointments (Christiansen et al., 2004; Coker et al., 2010; English, 1984; Freedman,

2014).

Power. Historically, symbolic interactionists have not overtly examined the role

of power in relationships (Sandstrom et al., 2014), although recent work has argued for

an implicit awareness of power throughout the history of the perspective (Athens, 2009;

Dennis & Martin, 2005; Musolf, 1992). Hall (1972) noted a lack of discussion about

power in the works of early interactionists. Ruiz-Junco (2016) shared Hall's (1972) view

and concluded the perspective lacked a centrally accepted definition of power. Athens

(2009) refuted Hall's (1972) claim and provided evidence of early exploration of power

by interactionists by analyzing writings of Herbert Blumer and concluding Blumer had

addressed power in his studies without fully theorizing the concept within the symbolic

interactionist framework. Musolf (1992) also claimed power to be a theme of

interactionist studies, stating "power is embedded in the social structure of race, sex,

occupations, and everyday interaction and communication" (p. 172). Dennis and Martin

(2005) posited power had long been studied, albeit in ways consistent with symbolic interactionism, rather than with mainstream sociological approaches. Although attempts have been made to demonstrate symbolic interactionists understood and acknowledged the role power plays defining situations, early interactionists did not explicitly study the concept (Athens, 2009; Dennis & Martin, 2005; Hall, 1972; Sandstrom et al., 2014).

Definitions of power exist among symbolic interactionists although lack of a singular definition has posed generalizability issues (Ruiz-Junco, 2016). Buckley (1967) offered a distinction between the concepts of power and authority, defining power "as control or influence over the actions of others to promote one's goals without their consent, against their will, or without their knowledge or understanding" (p. 186) and authority as "the direction or control over the behavior of others for the promotion of collective goals, based on some ascertainable form of their knowledgeable consent" (p. 186). Hall (1972) showed people too often equated compliance and a lack of dissent with authority when power was at work, supporting Buckley's (1967) distinction between power and authority. Sandstrom et al. (2014) distinguished between power and dominance, defining power as the ability to make people, act, feel, and think in accordance with one's goals through cooperation or coercion regardless of the affected person's desires and dominance as the ability to reward, punish, and overcome resistance using available resources (pp. 180-181).

Library literature suggested a relationship between power and the ambiguous and conflicted relationship between librarians and others (Fleming-May & Douglass, 2014; Julien & Pecoskie, 2009; Munn, 1968). Munn (1968) argued the library and library staff operated at the whim of college administrators. Fleming-May & Douglass (2014) noted

upper-level administrators exercised significant control over the working conditions of

librarians due to the hierarchical organizational structure of most colleges and

universities. Julien and Pecoskie (2009) discovered librarians ceded power to faculty on

questions of instruction and that female librarians were more likely to engage in this

behavior with male instructors than were male librarians. Thus, evidence from library

literature suggested power possibly contributed to the ambiguity and conflict presented

by the problem of faculty status.

  The negotiation of order. The negotiation of order refers to the idea that social

order is a product of negotiation (Sandstrom et al., 2014). Negotiation has been broadly

defined "as bargaining, compromising, brokering, mediating, or collusion" (Maines,

1977, p. 243).   Social order is achieved when people negotiate conflicts and competing

interests. Strauss et al. (1963) developed the idea of negotiation to explain how

individuals from different professional backgrounds within a hospital setting created

effective treatment plans for psychiatric patients. Strauss eventually extended the idea of

negotiated order to include all aspects of social order, resulting in negotiation being

named central concept of symbolic interactionism (Sandstrom et al., 2014).

  As parties negotiate meaning and encounter disagreement, Sandstrom et al. (2014)

noted:

> We proceed in one of the following ways: We let the disagreement pass and try to
>
> go on, we end the interaction, we accept the definition of others, or we try to
>
> impose our own definitions. If the situation is important, we often negotiate a
>
> compromise among competing definitions of the situation. This compromise, or

'working consensus' allows us to continue interacting with others despite some

disagreements about what exactly is going on. (p. 165)

Situations from the reviewed library literature appeared to support Sandstrom et al.'s

(2014) assertion. Christiansen et al. (2004) suggested faculty and librarians recognized a

relational disconnect with faculty allowing the disagreement to pass and librarians

seeking to impose a preferred definition. Welch and Mozenter (2006) reported on

strategies employed at three universities to resolve disagreements over faculty status and

tenure for librarians, thereby highlighting the intersection of power and negotiation.

Weaver-Meyers (2002) analyzed the loss and regaining of faculty status of librarians at

the University of Oklahoma and revealed a situation in which librarians felt the

importance of the situation and employed strategies to negotiate a preferred definition of

professional status. Abbott (1988) claimed librarians worked in a disputed profession

and constantly renegotiated role definitions. Sandstrom et al. (2014) detailed the

different paths individuals may choose when faced with definitional conflicts. Results

from reviewed library-related studies demonstrated the existence of conflict and the

negotiations resulting from the conflict (Christiansen et al., 2004; Weaver-Meyers, 2002;

Welch & Mozenter, 2006).

Summary

Scripts and roles often help facilitate humans' interactions throughout the day, but

occasionally, ambiguous situations arise and allow for multiple interpretations of scripts

and roles, or parties develop different definitions for the same situation (Sandstrom et al.,

2014). When definitions and expectations differ, participants must negotiate to reach

shared meaning, accept one version of the definition, or end the interaction (Sandstrom et

al., 2014). Abbott (1988) theorized the relationship between academic librarians and their campus colleagues exemplified a professional relationship rife with conflicting expectations and constant negotiation of roles. A review of library literature suggested a long history of support for Abbott's (1988) claim of constant role negotiation from early calls for professionalization (Sawtelle, 1878) to extensive documentation of the ways in which librarians and outsiders view librarianship (Christiansen et al., 2004; English, 1984; McAnally, 1971; Munn, 1968).

Professions provide a source of identity for individuals (Barbour & Lammers, 2015). Professional identities emerge from commonly accepted practices and ideas of a group (Hicks, 2014), and the identities never remain static; they constantly evolve through negotiations resulting from interactions (Abbott, 1988). Librarians developed professional identity from a variety of sources including:

- professional responsibilities, degree, and memberships in professional organizations (Garcia & Barbour, 2018);
- the library community's values and standards (Garcia, 2011);
- past experiences (Hussey & Campbell-Meier, 2016); and
- personnel status and role (Freedman, 2014).

Hicks (2014) differed from other researchers and defined the professional identity of librarians according to how librarians viewed themselves, finding librarians defined themselves by specific provided services, professionalism, insider status, through changes encountered by the profession, and through the library's physical and virtual space.

While librarianship is understood as a professional occupation (Abbott, 1988; Hall, 1990), the profession's history only extends to the 1870s with the founding of the ALA (Keer & Carlos, 2015; Salony, 1995) and the Bureau of Education's (1876) call for the creation of a library profession. Academic librarianship grew out of public librarianship, but whereas public librarians served as both access providers and gatekeepers to information, academic librarians specialized in the role of access provider (Abbott, 1988). In the early part of the 20th century, librarians became the managers of information resources on campus (Works, 1927). Collections grew (Danton, 1937), cataloging standards emerged (Abbott, 1988), and the role of the librarian as resource manager and access provider became established and understood by all (Zai, 2015).

In response to the profession's efforts to professionalize and in acknowledgment of the instructional role played by librarians (Association of College and Research Libraries, 1959), the ALA, ACRL, AAUP, and the ACC released statements supporting faculty status for academic librarians (Library Association, 1974), and after the release of both statements, rates of faculty status increased (DePew, 1983; Schmidt, 1978). Currently, awarding faculty status to librarians is experiencing a downward trend. In 1981, 79% of academic librarians played a faculty role (DePew, 1983) while in 2016, Walters (2016a) found only 52% of academic librarians identified as faculty. The downward trend suggests college administrators may no longer agree as strongly as they once did with placing librarians in faculty roles.

Librarians did not universally believe themselves to play faculty roles on campus with some librarians strongly advocating for the role (Bryan, 2007; Gillum, 2010; Hill, 1994; Lowry, 1993) and other librarians vehemently opposing faculty status (Batt, 1985;

Buschman, 2016; Cronin, 2001). Part of the issue may lie in the lack of a universal

definition for faculty status (Applegate, 1993; Walters, 2016a) and the many iterations of

faculty status (Bolin, 2008). Contentious questions about faculty status include (a)

benefits and problems associated with tenure (Bolger & Smith, 2006; Coker et al., 2010;

Lowry, 1993), (b) scholarly communication requirements (Batt, 1985; Cronin, 2001;

Galbraith et al., 2014; Gillum, 2010), (c) and salary equity (Lee, 2008; Meyer, 1999).

The profession has regularly documented the debate over faculty status beginning with

Sawtelle (1878) and continuing to present discussions of tenure (Silva et al., 2017) and

professional status typologies (Bolin, 2008; Freedman, 2014) without reaching a

consensus.

While faculty roles for librarians have received considerable attention in the

literature, librarians have also begun to explore educational roles (Hicks, 2014).

Librarians have long been recognized as instructors (Cox & Corrall, 2013), and

increased participation in instruction influenced the Association of College and Research

Libraries' (1959) decision to recommend faculty status for librarians. Julien and Genius

(2011) found librarians strongly identified as educators but faced external challenges

(technology, administrators, and students) and internal challenges (insufficient training).

O'Conner (2009) argued librarians had moved beyond the physical walls of the library

and created a new discipline, information literacy, which opened the role of educator to

them. Others such as Owusu-Ansah (2007) and Zai (2015) presented a more modest

view of librarians' as educators by arguing librarians needed to cement their position in

the educational mission of the school by grounding instruction within the theories and

historical practices of the profession. Thus, while librarians have long been considered

educators (Cox & Corrall, 2013), the group continues to face opposition (Cronin, 2001),

lack sufficient training as educators (Julien & Genius, 2011), and have possibly not

completely aligned the position with the instructional mission of their institution

(Owusu-Ansah, 2007; Zai, 2015).

Non-librarians often viewed the library profession as dissimilar from teaching

faculty (Christiansen et al., 2004; English, 1984; Julien & Pecoskie, 2009; McAnally,

1971). An early study from English (1984) indicated college administrators believed

librarians' work to be dissimilar enough from teaching faculty to not warrant the status of

faculty. McAnally (1971) complained of the library profession's inability to distinguish

between clerical and professional tasks and argued the lack of distinction lowered

librarians' esteem in the eyes of faculty. Julien and Pecoskie (2009) explored inequalities

with faculty through a feminist lens, finding male librarians reported less friction with

faculty, almost all of whom were also male, than did female librarians. Christiansen et al.

(2004) found that faculty and librarians understood the existing divide over role

interpretation, but only librarians regarded the disconnect as a problem.

Disconnects and misperceptions between librarians and others offered

opportunities to learn and resolve issues (Berg et al., 2013; Fleming-May & Douglass,

2014). Berg et al. (2013) proposed "disconnections should not necessarily be seen as an

unwinnable "us against them" scenario; instead theses disconnections are opportunities to

explore differences about academic librarians' research into new terrain" (p. 570).

Fleming-May and Douglass (2014) concluded that while upper-level administrators

controlled many aspects of daily life in the library, not much research had been

conducted to explore the relationship between librarians and those who supervised the

direction of their facilities. Berg et al. (2013) and Fleming-May and Douglass (2014) demonstrated how disconnects revealed the complexities of issues and presented opportunities to renegotiate roles.

Role theory from a symbolic interactionist perspective provided the framework to address roles librarians play on campus because the perspectives allow for the exploration of how people interact to construct roles (Biddle, 2000; Blumer, 1969), because Abbott (1988) argued librarians belong to a profession that must constantly renegotiate role, and because Hall (1990) challenged librarians to use symbolic interactionism to better understand librarianship as a profession. Symbolic interactionism is "a theoretical perspective that emphasizes how people interpret, act toward, and thereby give meaning to objects, events, and situations around them" (Sandstrom et al., 2014, p. 21). Role theory assumes a "tendency for human behaviors to form characteristic patterns that may be predicted if one knows the social context in which those behaviors appear" (Biddle, 2000, p. 2415). Role theory from a symbolic interactionist perspective emphasizes the "roles of individual actors, the evolution of roles through social interaction, and the various cognitive concepts through which social actors understand and interpret their own and others' conduct" (Biddle, 1986, p. 71). People use roles and scripts every day to enable successful communication, but in some cases, the characteristic patterns are not always agreed upon by the parties involved, and the participants need to renegotiate the meaning of the role.

Abbott (1988) and Hall (1990) identified a gap in the literature by identifying symbolic interactionism as a viable theoretical perspective for studying librarianship as a profession, and Julien and Genius (2011), Julien and Pecoskie (2009), and Zai (2015)

responded by exploring librarian teaching roles using symbolic interactionist and role

theory concepts. Julien and Pecoskie (2009) used symbolic interactionism to describe

librarians' experiences within campus organizational structures and found gender-based

power imbalances. Julien and Genius (2011) studied instructional roles of librarians

through the lens of role theory to find a third of librarians expect teaching to be among

job duties. Zai (2015) employed role theory to argue librarians had yet to fully develop

the profession's teaching role on campus. Julien and Genius (2011), Julien and Pecoskie

(2009), and Zai (2015) demonstrated support for Abbott's (1988) assertion about the

shifting roles of librarians and showed librarianship could be effectively studied from role

theory and symbolic interactionism.

Based on the literature review, three concepts emerged: role, power, and

negotiation. Roles emerge from socially learned expectations, provide constraints for

one's behavior (Dolch, 2003; Sandstrom et al., 2014), and are constantly in flux (Turner,

2006). Julien and Genius (2011) and Zai (2015) used the concept of role when

examining the instructional duties of librarians. Hallett et al. (2009) argued people in

work environments negotiate roles through interactions. Buckley (1967) defined power

as the ability to control the actions of others without their consent or knowledge.

Fleming-May and Douglass (2014), Julien and Pecoskie (2009), and Munn (1968)

reported power influenced roles permitted to librarians. Strauss et al. (1963) argued

people negotiated to construct social order and termed the phrase "negotiation of order."

Sandstrom et al. (2014) explained the process of negotiation as a series of choices; in a

situation where two parties do not share expectations, one person chooses to accept the

other's expectations, neither party agrees to accept alternate expectations and the

interaction ends, or the parties negotiate a compromise and allow interaction to continue despite differences. The review of literature found no studies examining the process or effect of negotiation on librarian/administrator relationships, but Fleming-May and Douglass (2014) suggested the necessity to more deeply study relationships between librarians and college administrators due to the control administrators hold over daily library operations.

The literature revealed a long debate on the role librarians play on campuses, demonstrating the issue remains valid and viable for study (Cronin, 2001, Hicks, 2014; Hill, 1994; Julien & Pecoskie, 2009; McAnally 1971). Additionally, Applegate (1993) established a need for more empirical research on the roles of librarians. Two noted symbolic interactionists, Andrew Abbott and Peter Hall identified a need to study the library profession from a symbolic interactionist approach. Abbott (1988) proposed the contentious nature of their profession resulted in a constant renegotiation of roles, and Hall (1990) proposed librarians could benefit from studying librarianship through the lens of symbolic interactionism and qualitative methodology. Finally, despite encouragement from theoreticians, symbolic interactionism remains an underused framework for exploring the profession of librarianship (Julien & Pecoskie, 2009). The call for new theoretical perspectives (Applegate, 1993), the identification of symbolic interactionism as a viable framework (Hall, 1990), and the assertion placing librarians in a contested profession requiring constant renegotiation of roles (Abbott, 1988) led to the purpose for conducting the present study.

Chapter Three: Research Method and Design

Role theory and symbolic interactionism fit a desire to explore librarian/ administrator relationships from a communicative perspective, worked well together, and in the case of symbolic interactionism, were suggested as useful theoretical frameworks for studying librarianship (Hall, 1990). Librarians had already engaged in a long conversation about personnel status (McAnally, 1971; Sawtelle, 1878) by the time (a) Abbott (1988) theorized information professionals such as librarians constantly negotiated role with others due to role conflict, (b) Hall (1990) encouraged librarians to harness the power of symbolic interactionism and qualitative methodology to examine the profession, and (c) Applegate (1993) deconstructed the faculty status debate and suggested librarians reframe the debate using new theoretical perspectives. Garcia's (2011) work on librarians and professional identity, the use of role theory to explain the educational role of librarians (Julien & Genius, 2011; Zai, 2015), and the use of dramaturgical and symbolic interactionist concepts to explain the role librarians play as instructors (Julien & Pecoskie, 2009) evidenced a widening embracement of new theoretical explanations, some of which touched on symbolic interactionist and role theory themes. Despite studies by Julien and Genius (2011), Julien and Pecoskie (2009) and Zai (2015), symbolic interactionism remained under-utilized as a theoretical perspective for examining librarian roles (Julien & Pecoskie, 2009). Thus, with an identified literature gap, a theoretical argument supporting the use of qualitative methods to study librarians as a profession, the identified under-utilization of the symbolic interactionism to examine the roles of librarians, and the long and intertwined history of

role theory and symbolic interactionism, the research questions, design, and analysis

emerged as the foundation for the present study.

Research Design

Qualitative research explores relationships and situations from the perspective of

the study's participants, as opposed to quantitative research, which often explores

questions of cause and effect (Fraenkel et al., 2015). Qualitative and quantitative

methods have different strengths and weaknesses, making some questions better suited to

a certain approach (Maxwell, 2013). Often forming the basis for larger quantitative

studies, good candidates for qualitative research include studies examining experiences or

under-explored topics (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Additionally, qualitative design

produces studies that are more intimate, due to the methodology's reliance on smaller

sample sizes, interviews, and observations (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Symbolic

interactionist studies looking at roles and professions commonly use qualitative

methodology, because of the design's propensity to expose underlying processes that

create and maintain the meanings people attribute to roles (Hall, 1990). While librarians

debated the role of librarians on campus for well over a century, researchers have not

heavily studied the perspectives of administrators, nor have researchers made

comparisons between librarian and administrator perspectives. Therefore, qualitative

research methodology, having the ability to explore under-studied areas and to

accommodate the level of description and detail needed to capture feelings and

perspectives, provided the strongest research design for the present research questions.

Viewing interaction as the circular process of interpretation and definition, and

assuming meanings were never predetermined, Blumer (1956) questioned the ability of a

variable to capture process, writing, "What quality is one to assign to it [the variable],

what property or set of properties" (Blumer, 1956, p. 687)? Blumer (1969) recommended

no prescribed set of techniques for collecting data in studies grounded in symbolic

interactionism, although he suggested "direct observation, interviewing of people,

listening to their conversations, securing life-history accounts, using letters and diaries,

consulting public records, arranging for group discussions, and making counts of items if

this seems worthwhile" (p. 41) to comprehend the situation under study. Understanding

humans act on the meanings created for events, and that those meanings are based on

interpersonal interaction, Blumer (1969) also understood the relationship between the

meanings people created and the worlds they inhabited. "No theorizing, however

ingenious, and no observance of scientific protocol, however meticulous, are substitutes

for developing a familiarity with what is actually going on in the sphere of life under

study" (Blumer, 1969, p. 39). Therefore, to understand the meanings people attribute to

any situation, Blumer (1969) argued one must closely study the world they inhabit.

Blumer championed field research, but Everett Hughes laid its foundation

(Chapoulie, 1996). Blumer and Hughes studied together at the University of Chicago and

were part of the second generation of sociologists at the school, bridging "The Chicago

School" generation of sociology at the University of Chicago and the later generation of

sociologists known as symbolic interactionists (Chapoulie, 1996). Blumer remained at

the University of Chicago as an instructor and helped recruit Hughes as a teacher in 1938.

Hughes quickly turned his Introduction to Sociology course into an Introduction to

Fieldwork (Chapoulie, 1996) and trained a generation of fieldworkers who would go on

to legitimatize ethnography as an accepted form of scientific inquiry (Hallett et al., 2009).

Hughes trained Anselm Strauss who partnered with Columbia University graduate

Barney Glaser to create grounded theory in 1967 (Hallett et al., 2009).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) married the University of Chicago's rigorous fieldwork

approach grounded in pragmatism with the exactitudes of Columbia University's

quantitative, positivistic approach (Charmaz, 2014). Prior to Glaser and Strauss (1967),

qualitative fieldwork lacked explicit theory and was considered descriptive and unable to

generate theory. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (Glaser & Strauss, 1967)

revolutionized and legitimatized qualitative research, providing "systematic, yet flexible

guidelines for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories from the data

themselves" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 1). The approach reflected the backgrounds of Glaser

and Strauss, with Glaser rooting grounded theory in empiricism and rigorous codification

consistent with quantitative methodology, and Strauss providing a symbolic

interactionist's understanding of meaning creation as a social, interactive, dynamic,

subjective process with joint action as the central tenet. Ultimately, Glaser and Strauss

(1967) built on earlier less-explicit teachings of prior qualitative researchers and created a

rigorous methodology of systematic strategies capable of generating theory (Charmaz,

2014).

Grounded theory is an inductive research method in which the researcher

simultaneously collects and analyzes data (Fraenkel et al., 2015) to "uncover the beliefs

and meanings that underlie action" (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 11). When applying

grounded theory, the researcher approaches the problem with a question but without

preconceived concepts. After developing a question, the researcher decides upon

appropriate data collection methods. Interviews and observation are the most commonly

employed data collection methods in grounded theory studies, but almost anything

written may be used (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Once data collection has begun, the

researcher commences analysis by reading transcripts or watching videos with the sole

purpose of developing an understanding of the participants and their feelings. In the

earliest stages of analysis, researchers use microanalysis, a very detailed line-by-line

reading of transcripts meant to explore all possible interpretations. This early stage is

often descriptive in nature, filled with questions, and basic concept generation. In later

stages, general analysis complements microanalysis by better developing concepts and

relationships between concepts (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Data and analysis inform each

other as the researcher constructs tentative categories that evolve over the course of data

collection to form a theory which explains the data (Sandstrom et al., 2014). The goal of

grounded theory is theory development, and the analytic strategies used in microanalysis

and general analysis help one move from discrete pieces of data to generalized theory

(Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

Coding represents an essential part of grounded theory, but it is distinct from

analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). When coding, a researcher assigns concepts to data.

Concepts help reduce the amount of data a researcher must work with by combining

similar instances under a common heading. The concepts developed during this process

may be basic descriptions or higher-level categories representing a theme under which

the basic concepts fall, a process known as conceptual ordering (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

Corbin and Strauss (2015) explained the distinction between basic description and

conceptual ordering using an example of a bird, plane, and kite as basic concepts and

grouping them under the category of flight. As basic concepts, birds, planes, and kites

have properties that define and differentiate them from each other. During the process of conceptual ordering, birds, planes, and kites are assigned the concept of flight because of share similar properties and dimensions. The thought process behind developing and naming concepts constitutes analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

Coding and analysis help one move from descriptive categories to conceptually ordered categories and finally to theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). When describing, one uses language to paint a picture of people, places, events, or things. One does not explain why those people, places, events, or things exist or how they operate. To do so would be beyond the scope of description. However, description is a prerequisite to conceptual ordering and theorizing (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). One typically begins coding with descriptive elements. As one collects and analyzes more data, the codes change. Some codes disappear, new codes appear, and some codes morph into other codes. Soon categories begin to emerge from the codes. Conceptual ordering occurs when data are organized into "discrete categories (and sometimes ranges) according to their properties and dimensions" (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 61). Descriptive elements provide the supporting details of each category. Theory generation takes conceptual ordering one step further and creates systematically developed and inter-related categories to explain something about a phenomenon. From the largely unwritten procedures of founding social interactionists to the most recent iterations of the methodology, grounded theory's goal has always been to understand and explain larger phenomena through the detailed, systematic study of a specific situation.

Research Questions

Research question 1. How do librarians perceive their roles in the campus community?

Research question 2. What factors contribute to librarians' assumptions about their role?

Research question 3. How do administrators perceive the roles of academic librarians in the campus community?

Research question 4. What factors contribute to administrators' perceptions about the role of the librarian?

Research question 5. How do the perceptions of librarians compare to the perceptions of administrators?

Instrumentation

In the present study, two widely used data collection methods in grounded theory were used: (a) an open-ended online survey and (b) semi-structured interviews composed of a voluntary subset of survey respondents. No existing instruments addressed the questions or groups under study. Therefore, an original survey instrument was created and piloted for reliability and validity. Consisting of an informed consent page (see Appendix A) and 14 questions (see Appendix B), the online survey was administered to college administrators, library administrators, and librarians to allow for comparisons of responses. Participants in the semi-structured interviews answered a set of 13 open-ended questions, although the order of questions varied based on the responses of the individual (see Appendix C).

Following the advice of Maxwell (2013), survey questions were not "a mechanical version of the research questions" (p. 101). Rather, question construction encouraged participants to share personal experiences. The first question addressed informed consent, and only consenting individuals progressed to the questions. All other people advanced to the exit screen. Questions 2 through 5 requested brief demographic information including title and self-categorization as a librarian, library administrator, college administrator, or another categorization. As this study focused on librarian and administrator perceptions, anyone who responded "other" advanced to the end of the survey. All other individuals continued to the next question. Responses from librarians and chief librarians who answered questions 6, 8, and 10 corresponded to the first research question. Answers from college administrators who answered questions 6, 8, and 10 corresponded to research question 3. Responses provided by librarians and library administrators to questions 7, 9, and 11 provided insight into research question 2, while college administrators answering the same questions provided insight into the fourth research question.

The semi-structured interviews were also composed of original questions which were previously piloted. Interview questions were designed to probe more deeply into answers provided in the open-ended survey. As with the survey questions, the proposed semi-structured interview questions were not a regurgitation of the research questions but instead encouraged authentic responses that deepened and expanded the information collected through the initial online survey. The questions were divided into two sections. Section A (questions 1-8) focused on Research Questions 1 and 3. Section B (questions

1-5), designed to answer Questions 2 and 4, inquired about personal experiences of participants to prompt discussion about how personal experiences had informed opinions.

Participants

Chief librarians and college administrators from two- and four-year nonprofit colleges and universities in the United States which had reported data to the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) for the 2014-2015 school year formed the population to which participants belonged. Federal law requires all institutions of higher education receiving federal student financial aid to contribute information yearly to this federal database ("About IPEDS," n.d.). Therefore, the large number of schools represented in IPEDS presented a geographically, racially, and socio-economically diverse population from which to draw. The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) (2018) reported 4,627 two-year and four-year colleges and universities in the United States during the 2014-2015 school year. After eliminating schools that did not fit the desired criteria, 3,457 institutions remained and were entered into an Excel spreadsheet. Two hundred numbers ranging from 1 through 3,457 were drawn by a random number generator and matched to the line number on the pool spreadsheet. The randomly picked schools became the 200 institutions recruited for the present study.

Invitations to participate in an open-ended short answer survey were sent to 200 college presidents (or their equivalent), 200 senior leadership college administrators, such as vice presidents of academic affairs (or the equivalent), and 200 chief librarians (the highest-ranking library employee) at public and private, two-year and four-year, nonprofit institutions in the United States (Appendix D). Ninety-eight individuals responded to the questionnaire, although only 54 completed the survey. Twenty-one

(39%) self-identified as a college/university administrator; 30 (56%) self-identified as a library administrator; three (5%) self-identified as a librarian. Respondents included presidents, chancellors, vice-presidents, provosts and deans of faculty, executive directors, university librarians, library directors, library deans, and librarians without administrative duties. No other identifying information was collected.

Twelve of the 98 short answer respondents (12%) agreed to participate in a longer semi-structured phone interview. Respondents included seven males and five females. Eleven worked at four-year institutions and one worked at a community college. The group represented nine private institutions and three public institutions. Eleven of the schools classified their librarians as faculty, while one classified them as staff. One respondent held the title of president; two held the title of vice president of academic affairs; the other nine occupied the highest office in the library and held either the title of director or dean.

Data Collection

Data collection occurred in two phases. In phase one, 600 college and university employees (200 college presidents, 200 high-level college administrators, and 200 library administrators from 200 American colleges and universities) received invitations to participate in a 14-question short answer questionnaire administrated via an online survey instrument (see appendices A and D). The survey remained open for three weeks and took less than 15 minutes to complete. One of the survey questions asked respondents if they would be willing to participate in a longer semi-structured phone interview. Individuals who agreed to further interviewing became the foundation for phase two of data collection.

Phase two of data collection involved contacting participants who agreed to further interviews, setting up phone interviews, and conducting interviews through an online audio-conferencing service, which recorded the conversations. Two calls involved false starts due to bad connections, which were ended and restarted. The false starts did not impact the study's outcomes in any known way. Notes were also taken during the interview and added to the collected data. Interviews consisted of 13 open-ended, probing questions, and each interview took approximately one hour to complete. The first eight questions concentrated on (a) the respondent's view of faculty status in general and their view of the library's role on campus, (b) which other groups, if any, librarians resembled on campus, (c) how, if at all, librarians resembled teaching faculty, (d) the advantages and disadvantages of faculty status to librarians, and (e) the advantages of faculty status for librarians to institutions. The last five questions concentrated on (a) the personnel status of librarians at the respondent's campus, (b) perceived satisfaction with the personnel status of librarians on campus, and (c) perceived satisfaction with the roles librarians played on campus. After completion, interviews were submitted for transcription to an online transcription service.

Data Analysis

Corbin and Strauss (2015) recommended researchers simultaneously collect and analyze data. In the present study, the transcripts were reviewed a total of five times. Transcript reading began soon after the completion of the first interview's written transcript. Guided by the research questions, emphasis was placed on finding examples of how individuals viewed the role of academic librarians and underlying reasons for

perceptions. With each additional questionnaire and interview, the concepts were

refined.

Eleven concepts emerged from the initial reading and were subsequently grouped

under four broad themes: professionalism (research expertise, instructional expertise, and

resource expertise), engagement (community, outreach, and partnerships), support

(librarians as academic program support, access providers, and facility, personnel, and

collection managers), and personnel status (faculty versus staff status). The

questionnaires and interviews were then reread four more times. The first read was

focused on finding comments associated with expertise; the second read was

concentrated on concepts associated with outreach; the third read focused on ideas related

to support; and the fourth reading explored concepts associated with the category of

personnel status. Each reading provided an opportunity to reanalyze the comments and to

reassign them to different concepts as understanding of the categories and answers

evolved. Each read also provided an opportunity to add personal commentary and

reflections to selected texts. The impressions served to help recall ideas and associations

realized during analysis. Over multiple readings, the interviewees' stories revealed

underlying assumptions and beliefs that formed the basis for theoretical discussion.

Conclusion

Hall (1990), building on the long history between symbolic interactionism and

qualitative design (Blumer, 1969; Chapoulie, 1996), encouraged librarians to analyze the

library profession from a symbolic interactionist perspective, arguing qualitative

methodology, as employed by symbolic interactionists, permitted librarians to expose

meaningful patterns hidden in everyday experiences. Specifically, grounded theory, as

described in Corbin and Strauss (2015), was chosen due to the approach's ability to move elements from a description of a unique situation to a broader theoretical explanation that could be applied to other situations. Six hundred invitations to participate in an online survey were sent to individuals (200 presidents and chancellors, 200 high-level college administrators responsible for library oversight, and 200 library administrators and librarians) from 200 public and private colleges and universities in the United States. Fifty-four respondents completed the online survey, and 12 individuals agreed to an in-depth, one-hour conversation to more deeply discuss personal views. All conversations were recorded and transcribed. Per Corbin and Strauss (2015), analysis began with the arrival of the first responses, and themes emerged and evolved over the course of the initial reading and four subsequent readings. The themes were merged into four conceptual categories: professionalism, engagement, support, and personnel status, and the categories formed the basis for the theoretical discussion.

Chapter Four: Analysis

Introduction

Chapter Four reviews findings that emerged from the analysis of questionnaires and interview transcripts collected over the course of the study. Four broad categories emerged from the analysis: (a) professionalism, (b) engagement, (c) support, and (d) personnel status. Each category reflected responses from college administrators, library administrators, and librarians. Often, comments were similar, indicating groups shared many common perceptions about librarians' roles on campus. However, within those categories, each group often chose to emphasize different components, suggesting that each group understood the role of the librarian slightly differently. Additionally, no group arrived at an agreed upon definition of what librarians do, and views were not correlated to profession; individuals within each group disagreed over librarians' roles as educators and faculty members, thereby lending support to Abbot's (1988) contention that librarians belonged to a field where roles were under constant negotiation.

Research Question 1: How do Librarians Perceive their Roles in the Campus Community?

Theme 1: Professionalism. On the questionnaire, eight of the 30 responding library administrators (27%) referred to librarians as experts. Findings from in-depth oral interviews further corroborated evidence gathered from questionnaires with 50% of the 10 library administrator interviewees mentioning expertise as a predominant role for campus librarians on campus. Library administrators divided expertise into three areas: resource expertise, research expertise, and instructional expertise. Research expertise applied to a continuum of services and abilities ranging from the work librarians do for

others to personal research. Of the eight library administrators mentioning an expert role

in the online survey, six (75%) specifically called attention to research expertise, and six

of the seven (86%) in-depth library administrator comments related to expertise also

referred to librarians as research experts. Typical responses included, "You're supposed

to have a certain level of expertise to help students and faculty with research" and "Well,

no one else is doing research [in] this profession. How's it going to get better if no one

ever does research in it?" Three library administrators called specific attention to expert

support librarians provided for "research through collections, archives, online resources,

and personal expertise," and by being a "subject area expert assigned to schools and

colleges." The comments demonstrated library administrators viewed librarians as

experts in the field of research support and as professionals with a dedicated discipline.

In addition to research and resource expertise, library administrators and

librarians expressed the concept of professionalism by referencing the educational role of

librarians. From the group of 30 library administrators responding to the questionnaire,

13 (43%) referred to teaching when asked what librarians do, and in deeper conversations

with interviewees, six of nine (67%) mentioned instructional expertise. Three librarians

without administrative duties responded to the questionnaire and were unique among the

groups of participants because 100% (3/3) listed teaching as a primary function of

academic librarians. The unified comments of the librarians raised the possibility that

librarians identified as educators even more strongly than the library administrators

believed. However, zero librarians without administrative duties participated in the semi-

structured interviews, leaving reasons for differences between librarians and library

administrators unexplored.

Comments of library administrators and librarians defined librarians as teachers, expanded librarians' reach beyond library walls, and assumed nontraditional applications of teaching as valid expressions of expertise. Librarians were considered educators regardless of format or length of instruction. Librarians engaging in many one-time instructional sessions with many classes throughout a semester were considered as skilled and valued as librarians who taught multiple sessions to fewer classes, and these librarians were no less valued than embedded librarians who followed and engaged with online classes throughout the semester or when compared to reference librarians who worked one-on-one with individuals through research consultations. Additionally, respondents explained librarians taught in more traditional settings as well. One library administrator described participation in first-year experience classes as well as three-hour credit courses devoted solely to information literacy skills. Results from the current study demonstrated library administrators employing a high tolerance for many forms of teaching considered librarians as instructors, and librarians strongly self-identified as educators.

Theme 2: Engagement. Library administrators saw librarians as engaged with campus and wider communities through campus outreach efforts, partnerships, and local community outreach. On the questionnaire, eight of 30 administrators (27%) commented on the role librarians play in outreach efforts on campus and with the greater community. Outreach involved using physical space in the library. For example, every Friday, one library director devoted library space to faculty research presentations. The respondents wrote of performing outreach to at-risk groups by creating safe spaces where students could work and explore without judgment. Library administrators regarded librarians as

partners on campus with 23% of respondents (7 out of 30) commenting on personally

witnessed partnerships. Library administrators described:

- event planning and promotion,

- outreach to connect "faculty and students with library resources and services,"

- faculty partnerships to create more robust library collections,

- participation on student learning outcome (SLO) review committee,

- programmatic collection reviews to ensure strong academic program support, and

- sponsorship of student and faculty research forums.

Library administrators did not limit librarian outreach to the campus community.

Another avenue of engagement specifically highlighted the work academic librarians did

in and for the wider community. One respondent remarked, "Really, I think everyone

who walks through our doors, whether it's at my campus or your campus, they're just

people asking for help." Another respondent expressed the same idea, noting, "neighbors

will come all the time to read foreign magazines, to read foreign newspapers that we get.

Some of them we subscribe to because it brings them in and they rely upon us for a good

purpose." Library administrators clearly communicated the view of librarians as campus

and community partners with examples of outreach and partnership portraying librarians

as outward facing members of a community.

Theme 3: Support. Library administrators aligned librarians with a support role,

classifying support roles as access or management activities. Of the 30 library

administrators responding to the questionnaire, 14 (47%) called attention to providing

access to resources and nine (30%) referred to management of resources. Librarians

answered slightly differently. Of the three librarians who responded, zero (0%) discussed access, while two (67%) mentioned management of resources.

Access assumed three meanings for library administrators: access to physical and electronic resources, access to physical and virtual spaces conducive to research and studying, and showcasing faculty research. Phrases about access to physical and electronic resources included "provide access" or "provide content." Access to physical space included the comment, "they provide a safe space for students to ask questions and learn information," implying librarians provided nonjudgmental spaces where people were free to explore ideas. Another respondent linked physical space to appropriate study space, writing, librarians "provide an appropriate physical space for students and faculty to do their work." A different participant added virtual environments to the notion of appropriate study space, commenting, librarians "provide physical and virtual environments that facilitate research, study, and student development." Access intersected with partnerships in a comment about the role librarians play in making faculty research accessible to the campus community through exhibitions and lectures. The comments demonstrated library administrators saw access as an important but nuanced responsibility for librarians.

Librarians and library administrators understood the librarians' role to be managers of resources too, exhibiting a shared vocabulary referring to the management of information resources for faculty and students. Respondents used terms such as "build collections" and "maintain collections." One respondent expanded to note librarians performed the tasks of "book selection, ordering, keeping stats on everything . . . college archives, periodicals . . . [and] collection development to meet certification criteria for

various college programs." Because librarians and library administrators recognized and commented on resource management using shared language, the role represented one of the strongest areas of agreement between librarians and library administrators.

Theme 4: Personnel status. The ACRL, AAC, and AAUP supported faculty status for librarians since issuing a joint statement on the matter in 1974 (Library Association, 1974). Because of publicly stated professional support (Library Association, 1974) and debate about personnel status (Cronin, 2001; Hill, 1994), the eighth question on the online survey asked respondents if they supported faculty status for librarians. Of 30 library administrators, 18 (60%) supported faculty status for librarians, four (13%) opposed it, and eight (27%) held no opinion or were not sure. The three librarians responding to the survey unanimously supported faculty status. Additionally, three (33%) of the nine library administrators who consented to in-depth interviews volunteered support for faculty status for librarians.

Commenting library administrators reported faculty status gave librarians "a seat at a table," particularly in curriculum and programmatic discussions, and faculty status made librarians more engaged players on campus. Interviewees summarized the need for a faculty role as "making sure they're at the table when you're looking at budget, whether you're looking at new programs, cutting programs, whatever, you need to be at the table" and by stating:

> So, I feel like faculty status really makes you a more engaged partner within the institution . . . I feel like the more engagement you have, the better your institution is. When you have someone that's like, "I don't care what happens at the school," I don't feel like that's a good place to be.

The library administrators who viewed librarians in a faculty role supported the MLS as the terminal degree for librarians, viewed scholarship and teaching requirements flexibly, saw differences in scholarship requirements across disciplines, and touted different requirements as strengthening each discipline. Library administrators who viewed librarians as faculty members also substituted job performance for teaching responsibilities, arguing librarians sufficiently fulfilled the role of faculty by adhering to scholarship requirements, through publication or professional service, by performing adequate campus service, and by turning in strong job performances in substitution of teaching requirements.

Not all library administrators felt librarians filled the role of faculty. One interviewee previously worked for an institution that did not offer faculty status, yet still expected librarians to present, host exhibitions, and lecture. The respondent viewed librarians as fulfilling the role of faculty but wondered if the classification was always necessary. In the participant's words, "Yes, I want faculty librarians. I really do. But I want them in the places where it makes the most sense." Another interviewee worried taking on the role of faculty made librarians focus too heavily on scholarship and service to the detriment of other responsibilities. Finally, another disputed the idea that librarians were faculty, stating that the work put into the terminal degree for librarians, the MLS or its equivalent, did not equate the work done by someone holding a doctorate. The individual also argued that the amount and quality of scholarship produced by faculty librarians did not meet the same standards required for other faculty members, that very few librarians fulfilled the teaching requirements demanded of teaching faculty, and that committee service and sabbaticals took much needed librarians away from their primary

responsibilities. The opinions offered by individuals who questioned faculty status for

librarians echoed arguments presented by those opposing faculty status in the literature

review (Cronin, 2001) in terms of scholarship quality and primary job responsibilities.

The present study's findings on whether and how librarians fit the role of faculty elicited

a broad range of opinions among librarians and library administrators, supported existing

research findings, and demonstrated how the topic continues to divide the profession.

Research Question 2: What Factors Contribute to Librarians' Assumptions about

Their Role?

Longer, more in-depth answers from semi-structured interviews provided results

for the second research question. Written questionnaire responses garnered short

statements such as "years of experience." Oral, follow-up conversations allowed for

more exploration of comments as interviewees shared stories and examples. The findings

of this section were therefore more example-driven than number-driven and they relied

on the gathered connections and established patterns exposed when collecting and

analyzing stories.

Theme 1: Professionalism. According to interviewees, librarians provided a

unique service and perspective on a college campus. One respondent referred to

librarians' unique specialization in generalization. The respondent explained teaching

faculty were subject experts and could talk at length and in-depth on a specialty.

Librarians, on the other hand, curated collections and provided reference help across

multiple disciplines, recalling Henry's (1911) reflections that a reference librarian "must

needs possess a larger grasp of information than is expected of any professor, for this

member of staff must know in general all that the faculty knows in detail" (p.259), while

also updating Henry's (1911) thoughts to illustrate librarians must be able to navigate complex subject-related questions requiring specialization across several disciplines. The connection between Henry (1911) and the interviewee's explanation suggested librarians' expertise in generalization was foundational to professional identity, deeply rooted in history, and under constant adaptation as the profession has evolved.

Library administrators also described librarians as interdisciplinary, adding insight into the benefits of a generalist specialization. One respondent reflected on librarians' ability to switch seamlessly between disciplines throughout the day, while noting librarians were able to see connections between disciplines that were invisible to teaching faculty who enjoyed a strict and narrow subject knowledge. A generalist and interdisciplinary perspective made librarians ideal information literacy instructors and research support for students, in the mind of the respondent, because, like librarians, students often moved between disciplines. Sharing an interdisciplinary perspective, the respondent felt librarians understood students differently than teaching faculty did and could create different relationships resulting a thriving environment for research and resource expertise.

Library administrators usually supported the view of librarians as educators and expanded the role of educator beyond the classroom. One interviewee stated,

> Our biggest role is teaching students information literacy skills, which can take all kinds of, I guess, venues or whatever. So, you might be teaching in a class; you might be helping a student with a reference question; you might be helping some students with a group project; any of those, I count as teaching.

Another participant quipped, "Yeah. So, we're all teaching, even outside, even without having a classroom." A third interviewee represented a narrower view of teaching, arguing while librarians may teach, they do not generally produce credit hours, and while a librarian's role may occasionally resemble that of teaching faculty, very few librarians exclusively teach. The range of comments indicated library administrators felt librarians remained divided over any role as educators, a result which supported the findings of Owusu-Ansah (2007) and Zai (2015) who reported librarians had yet to define an educational role. Results also suggested a possible relationship between acceptance of an educational role and an expansive view of classrooms and instructional modes.

Theme 2: Engagement. In-depth interviews offered a window into librarian outreach. Librarians and teaching faculty as partners ran deeply throughout the interviews with library administrators. One interviewee talked about education as an "enterprise" and an "endeavor" requiring team participation. Library administrators saw librarians as part of an academic team, and made comments, such as, "we're partners, teaching faculty and library faculty, in this endeavor" to describe the importance of partnering from a librarian perspective. Librarians partnered with faculty and staff, provided space for research forums for faculty and students, collaborated on collection development projects, library instruction, SLOs, and program reviews. Community partnerships included summer programs for local school districts and subscriptions maintained to support local community needs. Library administrators revealed librarians were team players, wanting to fulfill school missions and larger community needs.

Theme 3: Support. Responses from in-depth interviews and on the questionnaire furnished insight into why library administrators and librarians felt a strong connection to

a support role. Library administrators viewed support as a primary function of librarians, whether support came through resources, research help, instruction, or physical space. Library administrators suggested the intersectionality of support with other roles, commenting:

>I think the role on campus is to support the curriculum with timely and relevant access to resources that support the campus community, especially students. The resources would be, of course, physical items, like books. As importantly, especially on my campus which is really a commuter campus, access to digital resources: eBooks, audio books that are available through a library website. Also offering services that are relevant, like instruction services to faculty and their students, an engaged liaison program, things of that sort.

Comments, such as "[in] my opinion, the role of the library is to provide information support for students, faculty, and staff, and this involves information literacy and materials in whatever form" and librarians "provide support for instruction and research through collections, archives, online resources, and personal expertise" poised librarians as providers of support through collection and instructional expertise and outreach efforts. Support was the most developed concept among librarians and library administrators and intersected all other categories and concepts.

Theme 4: Personnel status. Two concepts emerged as important to library administrators' views of librarians as faculty: (a) a perceived value for designating librarians as faculty and (b) how well librarians fit one's definition of teaching faculty. Respondents favoring a faculty view of librarians spoke of flexible promotion and tenure requirements fitting the needs of each discipline rather than a rigid set of expectations

applied to all disciplines. One interviewee explained, "So, we follow a basic template, but then each department can develop its own guidelines . . . we actually rewrote our guidelines to better reflect things we are doing here in the library." Individuals spoke about service performed by librarians, commenting, "Well, they [librarians] are anxious to participate in all of the activities across campus" and "All of us participate, I think, this academic year, on at least one faculty senate committee. Some of us are on two." Library administrators spoke of librarian service on some, but not all, committees, remarking, "and I think that's OK. I certainly wouldn't want to be making decisions about someone's tenure." Likewise, views on instruction reflected flexible definitions, acknowledging various methods and environments in which librarians teach information literacy. A willingness to deviate from traditional definitions of service, scholarship, and instruction characterized the opinions of library administrators favoring faculty status for librarians.

Library administrators who placed librarians in a faculty role saw benefits for librarians, libraries, and institutions. Interviewees saw opportunities to employ better qualified librarians and felt the library was stronger and more supportive of academic programs because librarians served on committees and had a voice in curriculum matters. According to respondents, faculty status permitted librarians to interact with faculty and cultivate relationships leading to information literacy instruction opportunities and partnerships promoting research and other campus engagements. One library administrator summarized the benefits, noting, "I feel like if we weren't privy to those conversations, there's a lot of things we wouldn't know that were going on that affect

how we do things." Supporting a faculty role for librarians therefore benefited not only librarians, but libraries and institutions as well.

Library administrators opposed to faculty status felt librarians did not rise to the level of teaching faculty. Librarians did not grade papers, engaged in instruction that could not be observed or judged in an equivalent way to full-time faculty teaching, and did not produce credit hours. Interviewees promoting a professional staff perspective viewed librarians as professionals with a unique purpose and set of strengths and maintained faculty status detracted from librarians' primary purpose, academic program support. Faculty status, one interviewee suggested, distracted librarians from "making our role better and making it more instrumental in a way that might cause faculty and administration to take more notice." Fitting librarians to a faculty ideal weakened the role of librarian for library administrators preferring professional staff personnel status for librarians.

Research Question 3: How do Administrators Perceive the Roles of Academic Librarians in the Campus Community?

Theme 1: Professionalism. College administrators who responded to the survey and participated in in-depth interviews acknowledged the concepts of research expertise, resource curation, and instruction when describing expertise offered by librarians while placing different amounts of emphasis on each concept when compared to library administrators. On the questionnaire, two out of 21 college administrators (10%) noted the librarians' role as research experts as compared to six of eight (75%) library administrators. College administrators commented on the role librarians played in assisting faculty with research and on librarians' production of scholarly communication.

Two college administrators valued expertise librarians brought to resource curation, stating librarians participated in the "obvious piece of maintaining, curating, and renewing the collection" and librarians "develop[ed] resources to enhance access to information." Expressions of expertise were evident in the responses, indicating awareness of this role. While comments about expertise were less prevalent among college administrators, when presidents and other high-ranking officials made remarks, the respondents used similar terminology to expressions used by librarians, using terms such as "collection maintenance" and "developing resources." indicating a shared understanding of job responsibilities.

College administrators often classified librarians as educators. On the questionnaire, 12 of the 21 college administrators (57%) included educator as one of the roles held by librarians. Three of the 12 college administrators who participated in the oral interviews mentioned educator as a librarian role, and while comments focused on words such as "information literacy," and "instructing" or "teaching," one college administrator linked librarians to the words, "education" and "educational enterprise," explaining,

> I think colleges and universities are all about education. The faculty conduct the education role. So, all things being equal, you really want to be a faculty member. It's like baseball. It takes a lot of people to staff a team, but the people who count most to the fans are the players on the field, and the librarians are players on the field . . . It testifies to the centrality of the library, to the educational enterprise. It testifies to the teaching role of librarians in what is an educational enterprise.

College administrators demonstrated an understanding of educational contributions made by librarians by attributing the study and teaching of information literacy to librarians and by introducing librarians as part of a team engaged in educating students.

In addition to placing librarians in an educational enterprise, one respondent expanded the concept of instruction beyond discrete courses meeting regularly over a period of time in a defined space, explaining:

> Librarians have a significant teaching role that is carried out in a different way from teaching faculty. So, teaching faculty deliver their teaching primarily through discrete courses. Library faculty deliver their teaching by developing online-based webinars, by consulting with faculty on the development of collections, by helping faculty use collections in courses, by appearing as instructors within courses to help students learn how they can use materials in the library to do the work in courses, and by providing special services for online students who can engage these services remotely, and then, of course, by consulting with students on a one-by-one basis as the students go to the library. These are all teaching functions, but they're delivered, I would say in 100 different ways.

The commentator built on the idea of educators as a team of individuals contributing to students' educational experiences by placing librarians within a realm of people who work with course instructors to engage students in learning. The response also demonstrated a willingness to break down classroom walls and to acknowledge other situations where experts lead students through learning experiences.

Theme 2: Engagement. Two of 21 college administrators (10%) commented on community outreach, suggesting outside engagement was seen as a less central role for librarians. Respondents mentioning outreach emphasized partnerships, teamwork, and an expansive view of classroom and instruction. One college administrator discussed partnerships between librarians and faculty, describing librarians collaborating with faculty on library instruction and collection development in online and in-person environments, co-mingling classroom and library as space, and resulting in an environment beneficial to on-campus and online students. A different college administrator mentioned librarians' role in the larger community and emphasized a strong community commitment to outreach by all college employees. Of the 21 college administrators to respond to the questionnaire and the three who agreed to deeper interviews, two comments represented the only acknowledgement of outreach efforts made by librarians, making outreach the least likely theme to be commented upon by college administrators.

Theme 3: Support. Of the 21 college administrators responding to the questionnaire, 12 (57%) mentioned a support role for librarians and further denoted support as either management or access. Ten (48%) college administrators designated management as a librarian role and used the term to refer to either collection management or building management. Three college administrators supplied similar definitions of necessary management skills. One person described a librarian's role as the ability to "identify, collect, and organize resources." A second college administrator said librarians "identify, collect, organize, and distribute materials." A third respondent referred to a librarian's job as "maintaining, curating, and renewing the collection." Management also

referred to managing buildings and people as respondents indicated librarians "manage[d] both a facility and provide[d] resources," offered "efficient management and direction of the library, including budget, supervision, and direction of library staff," and were "caretakers of facilities that house these resources – physical and virtual spaces." The number of administrators noting management and the similarities in terminology suggested college administrators shared expectations about librarians as managers of resources and space.

Theme 4: Personnel status. Of the 20 college administrators who responded to the question about faculty status, 10 (50%) thought librarians should have faculty status, seven (35%) opposed faculty status, and three (15%) had no opinion or were not sure. Representing college administrators favoring faculty status, one respondent stated, "They're treated as colleagues because the librarians themselves are formidable as scholars and intellectuals and as really cordial and highly engaged community servants." Administrators in favor of faculty status perceived community benefits when librarians were faculty. One individual commented on the benefits of faculty status, arguing,

> That [faculty status] helps librarians to be more successful, and we need our librarians to be successful. The role they do is critical to our students' success. I suppose you could make the argument that the more they are brought into the fold, the more successful they can be in doing their jobs.

Bestowing the role of faculty on librarians was seen as beneficial to not only the librarian, but also the larger campus community, including the students.

College administrators also recognized problems inherent to faculty librarianship. One interviewee spoke about the difficulties involved with creating a fair promotion and

tenure system for librarians by noting "that kind of speaks to making sure you have fair

and equitable processes across the institution that are applied to everyone, regardless of

who they are. When I say fair and equitable, that can be very hard to do." Another

college administrator described the situation by stating "they have parallel

responsibilities, but they're not the same. They have a parallel set of ranks that are

similar, but they are not the same." A third college administrator described the

challenges of tenure, noting "it's more challenging, I think, for some librarians because

people don't understand the dimensions of the job as well . . . it's more than just shelving

books." Comments demonstrated respect for librarian responsibilities while also

expressing concern for ascribing the same rank and tenure opportunities to groups with

non-comparable duties.

Research Question 4: What Factors Contribute to Administrators' Perceptions

about the Role of the Librarian?

Theme 1: Professionalism. College administrators answering the questionnaire

and contributing to in-depth interviews had deep ties to libraries. One college president

had worked in a library early in his career. Other college administrators directly

supervised library operations and interacted frequently with librarians. Experiences with

libraries and librarians were cited as primary factors contributing to views, but in-depth

interviews revealed how administrators experienced professionalism in librarians. One

college administrator summed up the unique and interdisciplinary space occupied by

librarians, commenting:

> If you were to talk to a faculty member and said, "what are you teaching," the
>
> faculty member would say, "I'm teaching these three courses right now." A

> librarian would have to give you a more expansive answer describing the many
>
> ways in which the library engages with people, and it wouldn't be three courses.
>
> It would be 15 different ways, right now, that day or that week.

Other administrators referred to the interdisciplinary nature of librarianship as "centrality," noting the dependence all academic programs felt for the expertise librarians provided in identifying and locating relevant resources. In this sense, college administrators drew on entrenched definitions of librarianship and made the interdisciplinary nature of librarians' work a central expertise, particularly when curating collections and supporting research needs.

Participating college administrators had three things in common when describing professionalism in librarians: (a) A deep love for the library and staff; (b) ideas of librarianship rooted in the profession's origins; and (c) expansive views of teaching and learning. On the questionnaire and the interviews, participants identified information literacy as the subject taught by librarians and accepted a range of environments in which teaching and learning occurred. Responding to the questionnaire, two respondents referred to librarians as teachers of information literacy, but deeper conversations with interviewees expanded the notion of teaching information literacy beyond the classroom to include online teaching, collection development, teaching faculty to use collections, guest teaching, and one-on-one reference interviews. The findings suggested college administrators understood the expertise of librarians and attributed the expertise to librarians' ability to cross disciplines and teach information literacy in a multitude of environments.

Theme 2: Engagement. A lack of comments about engagement suggested college administrators may not have strongly associated outreach with librarian responsibilities. Of the two respondents mentioning engagement, one worked in a community college and saw reaching out to the entire community as central to the school's mission and an important aspect of every employee's role. A second college administrator viewed the library as central to the entire campus and vital to partnerships and campus outreach. Librarians, in the administrator's view, radiated from the library like rays of sunshine, reaching into physical and online classes through instruction and resources. While the first respondent took a universal position on outreach for all employees, and the second interviewee attributed the centrality of librarians to the formation of partnerships and outreach, both respondents shared the idea that librarians acted outside library walls which afforded librarians more opportunities to engage with others. The contrast between library and college administrators over outreach was striking and suggested college administrators saw librarians in support and instructional roles before placing them in engagement roles on campus or in local communities.

Theme 3: Support. Support roles for librarians were identified by 57% of college administrators, and language used by college administrators to describe support roles demonstrated a shared understanding of librarians' responsibilities in terms of support. The 21 college administrators used the verbs "to manage," "to maintain," or "to oversee" eight times in questionnaire responses, describing how librarians managed facilities, daily library operations, and resources, and how librarians managed, maintained, and performed collection oversight duties. Individuals used the word "support" five times. Six respondents (29%) used the verb "assist," and "meet the needs"

and "help" were each counted once. Two respondents (10%) described access as a support role by referring to librarians' responsibility to make resources accessible. The strong emphasis on words associated with support suggested college administrators saw librarians as managers of information, space, facilities, and people.

Theme 4: Personnel status. Administrators who supported faculty status saw a strong return on investment (i.e. greater campus engagement and student success) when librarians filled a faculty role, but supporting a faculty role also meant administrators had to take a liberal view on the definitions of teaching, learning, and classroom and preferred to judge an individual's job performance against discipline standards rather than against a rigid set of expectations applied uniformly to all. Respondents preferring librarians in a staff role highlighted different attributes including a commitment to academic program support and job responsibilities that did not uniquely focus on credit hour production, discrete courses, and scholarly communication, and interviewees preferring staff roles for librarians took less expansive views on teaching and learning. Results suggested people who took an expansive view of teaching, learning, and performance reviews may also have been more comfortable placing librarians in faculty roles while people preferring more traditional definitions saw librarians as staff.

Research Question 5: How do the Perceptions of Librarians Compare to the Perceptions of Administrators?

Theme 1: Professionalism. Library and college administrators held similar beliefs about the professional role of librarians but emphasized aspects of the role differently. Library administrators were more likely than college administrators to highlight research expertise (75% versus 10%), but when mentioned, individuals shared

terminology (e.g., resource development and curation) and examples (e.g., librarians'
responsibility to provide research help to faculty and students and librarians as producers
of scholarly communication). Library administrators, librarians, and college
administrators valued librarians as educators. Forty-three percent of 30 library
administrators listed instruction as a role for librarians on the questionnaire; the three
librarians responding to the survey voiced unanimous support for librarians as instructors;
and 57% of 21 college administrators answering the survey placed librarians in the role of
educator. Library and college administrators viewing librarians as educators held liberal
views on where librarian work occurs, how classroom space is defined, and how teaching
and learning occur, and respondents demonstrated more expansive definitions of teaching
by eliminating classroom walls with examples of webinars and research help and
promoting nontraditional teaching methods by accepting course formats ranging from
traditional credit-bearing classes to one-hour guest lecturer sessions.

 Theme 2: Engagement. Engagement referred to partnerships and campus and
community outreach performed by librarians. Library administrators were more likely
than college administrators to discuss how librarians engaged outside groups (27% vs.
10%), and library administrators provided diverse examples of partnerships and outreach
efforts. Examples included event planning and promotion, research presentation forums,
and librarian-faculty partnerships to review collections and student learning outcomes
(SLOs). Two college administrators added to descriptions of partnerships and outreach
efforts and emphasized librarian-faculty partnerships to build strong collections and a
commitment to building strong local community ties, but largely, ideas about librarian
engagement were driven by the examples collected from library administrators,

suggesting library administrators, in particular, explicitly considered engagement as a role for librarians.

  Theme 3: Support. Fifty-seven percent of college administrators reported a support role for librarians compared to 47% of library administrators, meaning college administrators placed librarians in a support role slightly more often than did library administrators or librarians, although each group, college administrators, library administrators, and librarians agreed librarians held a support role. As with professional roles, library and college administrators emphasized different aspects of support. From the library perspective provided by library administrators and librarians, support was defined by shared terms such as "collection building" and "collection maintenance" and interacted with all other themes. Librarians supported student learning by offering instructional expertise in the study of information literacy or research expertise during reference interviews, and librarians supported academic programs through resource management. College administrators associated support with management of resources, facilities management, and human resource management. Library administrators never mentioned human resource management but did recognize librarians managed physical and electronic spaces and resources, suggesting library and college administrators viewed the term "management" slightly differently because of their experiences and expectations. Therefore, library and college administrators agreed on a support role for librarians but differed on how to characterize support.

  Theme 4: Personnel status. Library administrators were somewhat more supportive of a faculty role than were college administrators with 60% of library administrators supporting faculty status compared to 50% of college administrators.

Based on questionnaire responses and in-depth interview conversations, library and college administrators who supported faculty status felt librarians, libraries, and institutions benefited when librarians were faculty. One college administrator also described benefits to students when librarians were faculty. Library and college administrators preferring staff roles for librarians expressed more traditional views of classrooms, learning, teaching, promotion and tenure requirements, and job requirements for teaching faculty and librarians. A library administrator worried dedication to scholarship and committee work detracted from other daily librarian duties, and a college administrator described librarian duties as parallel but not identical to teaching responsibilities, creating difficulties for equitable performance evaluations. Divisions over personnel status did not correspond to one group, but instead resulted from personal definitions of what it meant to be teaching faculty and whether librarians could fulfill teaching roles or offered other valuable skills that suffered in a faculty environment.

Only three librarians submitted questionnaire responses, and zero participated in semi-structured interviews, resulting in reporting few findings attributed to librarians as a group. However, librarians twice responded unanimously on the questionnaire by classifying librarians as educators and faculty. The librarians' unanimity raised the possibility practicing librarians saw librarians' roles differently than library or college administrators. Results suggested librarians might identify more strongly as instructors and faculty than as academic support systems, resource managers, or outreach specialists, but because of the small sample size, more research is required before any generalization can be made.

Conclusion

Results suggested library and college administrators named four roles for librarians: (a) professionalism, (b) engagement, (c) support, and (d) personnel status, but the roles were expressed differently by each group and sometimes depended more on individuals' definitions of teaching, learning, classrooms, and performance evaluations than on the group to which a respondent belonged. Library administrators described librarians as professionals who supported academic programs and student needs through research, resource, and instructional expertise. Seventy-five percent (6/8) of library administrators referring to librarians as experts also specified librarians possessed research expertise as compared to 10% (2/21) college administrators and zero librarians. College administrators were slightly more likely to refer to librarians as educators (57% versus 43% respectively, but librarians unanimously supported librarians in the role. Library administrators were more likely than librarians or campus administrators to highlight librarians' engagement roles through librarian-faculty partnerships and campus and community outreach efforts. College administrators discussed librarians as human resource managers in addition to facilities and resource managers, whereas library administrators did not mention a human resource role and chose to eliminate physical barriers and focus on librarians' management of virtual and physical library space and resources. Librarians, the smallest group to respond to the questionnaire, unanimously viewed themselves as educators and faculty and focused less heavily on support or engagement roles than either library or college administrators.

Title did not define viewpoint. Library and college administrators shared terminology and ideologies defining teaching, learning, classrooms, and performance

evaluations. While library administrators were more likely to provide personally witnessed scenes of librarian-faculty partnerships, the one college administrator to share a partnership example provided a similar story to ones offered by library administrators. College administrators shared terminology to describe collection building and maintenance suggesting a shared understanding of librarians' resource expertise. Library and college administrators holding more expansive views of performance evaluation were more likely to place librarians in a faculty role and to find comparisons between librarians' and teaching faculty's work even when a one-to-one comparison was not possible. Views on librarians' roles as educators and faculty were influenced by encompassing definitions of instruction, service, and scholarship; those who assumed a broad definition tended toward an acceptance of librarians as both educators and faculty while those who assumed a narrow definition tended to emphasize other qualities librarians bring to their profession. Comments reflected deeply held beliefs based on experiences, philosophies, and historical views extending to the earliest days of librarianship as a profession.

Chapter Five: Discussion

Librarians claimed librarians and outsiders held different views of librarians'
work, leading to changes in personnel status, the loss of tenure, and feelings of
devaluation for librarians in higher education settings (Coker et al., 2010; Dunn, 2013).
Former ACRL president, Steven J. Bell discussed the phenomenon, explaining, "We see
ourselves as being closely connected to educational mission, yet librarians are often
perceived as academic-support personnel" (as cited in Dunn, 2013, para. 7). Librarians'
claims, exemplified by Bell's comment, supported Abbott's (1988) theory stating,
"information professions are, *by definition*, involved in continuously negotiated and
contested divisions of labor" (Abbott, 1988, p. 223). The present study attempted to
investigate claims of misunderstanding by studying how two groups, library
administrators and college administrators, perceived librarian work through a symbolic
interactionist lens of role construction, power, and negotiation.

Findings from the present study supported Abbott's (1988) assertions of constant
negotiation and contested divisions of labor. Neither library nor college administrators
were unified in definitions of teaching, learning, classrooms, or performance evaluation,
and neither group constructed a unified vision of a role for librarians, suggesting
misperceptions were not an insider/outsider phenomenon but instead grew out of deeply
held beliefs, experiences, and expectations that were independent from profession.
Furthermore, respondents did use similar terminology and stories within and across
groups, indicating an existence of shared definitions and expectations that was
independent from profession. Only librarians unanimously constructed educational and
faculty roles for the profession, but with only three responses, the findings were not

generalizable. As Abbott (1988) theorized, librarianship was found to be a constantly

evolving and contested profession, but librarians may have been misguided in claiming

outsiders misunderstood librarians' work; instead, different beliefs, values, and

expectations, independent of one's profession, appeared to be in a constant state of

negotiation, and who currently has the upper hand may be determined by a construct

rarely overtly observed in the present study: power.

Research Question 1. **How do Librarians Perceive Their Roles in the Campus**

Community?

The question, "how do librarians perceive their roles in the campus community"

relied on an investigation of the concept of "role," and while library administrators

attached roles to librarians falling under four broad categories (professionalism,

engagement, support, and personnel status), ultimately, the group did not agree upon a

singular understanding of librarian roles. Instead, two distinct and competing definitions

emerged regarding feelings towards librarians as educators and faculty. One extreme

found library administrators who felt librarians held teaching and faculty roles, while the

other extreme was populated by library administrators who believed librarians might

engage in some teaching and faculty activities, but professional responsibilities lay

elsewhere and imposing teaching and faculty roles on librarians took away from other

important support roles.

Thirteen (43%) library administrators reported teaching as a librarian-related

activity, but the group did not agree teaching made librarians into educators. One end of

the spectrum revealed individuals who believed librarians played a teaching role, as

evidenced by a library administrator who reported,

> Our biggest role is teaching students information literacy skills, which can take all
>
> kinds of, I guess, venues, or whatever. So, you might be teaching in a class, you
>
> might be helping a student with a reference question, you might be helping some
>
> students with a group project, any of those I count as teaching.

The other end of the spectrum reflected feelings of one library administrator who stated:

> I would say they [librarians] don't [resemble instructors] because they're not
>
> teaching the full load, and teaching a one-shot class on information literacy for
>
> English or for history . . . is basically, and I use the term in italics, *the same kind*
>
> *of material which is very different teaching organic chemistry* . . . as a faculty
>
> might do on a 12-hour course load.

Library administrators who did not accept an educational role for librarians felt most

teaching librarians carried library responsibilities in addition to teaching, and the

additional responsibilities precluded librarians from being considered teaching faculty.

Differences over whether a librarian's role including teaching therefore occurred even

though both extremes recognized librarians taught.

A similar dichotomy existed in views about personnel classification. Eighteen

library administrators (60%) supported faculty status for librarians, four (13%) opposed

naming librarians as faculty, and eight (27%) had no opinion. Some library

administrators saw few differences between teaching faculty and librarians, commenting:

> I feel like we're similar. We're teaching students too, often in much smaller
>
> windows, so we have a whole course to teach how you do research. We're
>
> required to do scholarship, so same as faculty in regular disciplines. And then we
>
> have to do university services, so we serve on committees on campus. And then,

also, they like to see us be active in our professional associations, so same as

other faculty.

Library administrators valuing librarian faculty roles perceived benefits for librarians and

institutions. Librarians, from this perspective, benefited personally through service on

committees and invitations to network with administrators and trustees to which staff do

not have access. Faculty status put librarians "at the table" and provided an opportunity

to

just be part of those conversations and to know what's going on, on campus.

Otherwise, I feel like if we weren't privy to those conversations, there's lots of

things we would know that were going on that affect how we do things.

Library administrators supporting faculty status saw librarians as equal to other teaching

faculty in work, scholarship, and services, and this group of individuals viewed librarian

faculty status as beneficial to librarians and institutions.

Other library administrators fell at the other end of the spectrum and concluded

librarians and faculty members were not the same "although, on occasion, we do some

those things that faculty do." Library administrators who believed librarians benefited

from other personnel statuses felt librarians did not fulfill faculty roles arguing, "It

creates confusion and forces us to attempt to do things that are really outside the scope of

why we were hired in the first place." The MLIS as terminal degree, quality of

scholarship, lack of credit-producing instruction, and tendency of faculty duties to

interfere with and supersede librarian duties detracted from librarians' true roles. From

the perspective of library administrators who supported non-faculty personnel statuses,

librarians would enhance self-value by creating a system that showcased librarian

responsibilities rather than "taking the square peg of librarianship and put[ting] it in the round hole of teaching faculty." The group of individuals falling on the non-faculty side of the argument truly believed in the value librarians brought to campus while not seeing any added benefit when librarians took on faculty roles.

Research question 2. What Factors Contribute to Librarians' Assumptions about Their Role?

Factors contributing to how library administrators portrayed librarians' assumptions about their role depended on how participants defined work performed by librarians. Whether librarian roles could intersect with teaching or faculty roles depended on how expansively or narrowly library administrators defined librarian, teaching, and faculty responsibilities. When teaching encompassed a broad range of situations, as described by the library administrator who reported "you might be teaching in a class, you might be helping a student with a reference question," librarians were given an instructional role. When teaching roles were restricted to individuals in well-established and recognized disciplines like chemistry who carried 12-hour course loads, librarians were not allowed an instructional role.

Whether librarians fit faculty roles also created division among library administrators. Supporters of faculty status held expansive views on how librarian roles intersected with faculty roles. Individuals believing librarians fulfilled faculty obligations made comments such as "we're required to do scholarship, so same as faculty in regular disciplines. And then we have to do university service, so we serve on committees on campus" and when speaking of tenure, remarked, "we [all departments on campus] follow a basic template, but then each department can develop its own

guidelines." Individuals who thought other personnel statuses were more beneficial to librarians relied on more traditional definitions of faculty roles and built faculty roles that were narrowly tied to doctoral degrees, rigid scholarship expectations, and credit-producing courses. Librarians, required to only hold a master's degree, were not seen as equal to most other faculty members who held doctoral degrees, and librarian-generated research was viewed as subpar to other academics' work. Finally, librarians, unlike traditional teaching faculty, did not usually teach credit-bearing classes and therefore did not fit a faculty role. When narrow definitions of librarian, teaching, and faculty roles were applied, librarian responsibilities sometimes resembled faculty duties, but librarian roles remained outside teaching and faculty roles.

Research question 3. How do Administrators Perceive the Roles of Academic Librarians in the Campus Community?

Studying the concept of "role" helped answer the question "how do administrators perceive the roles of academic librarians in the campus community?". Responses given by college administrators fell under the broad categories of professionalism, engagement, support, and personnel status, but when analyzed, responses indicated college administrators did not construe a uniformly accepted definition of what librarians do. While 57% of 21 college administrators viewed librarians as teachers, feelings on how well librarians fit teaching roles varied. One side of the spectrum was represented by a college administrator who stated:

> I think librarians have a significant teaching role that is carried out differently
> from teaching faculty. So, teaching faculty deliver their teaching primarily
> through discrete courses. Library faculty deliver their teaching by developing

online-based webinars, by consulting with faculty on the development of

collections, by helping faculty use collections in courses, by appearing as

instructors within courses to help students learn how they can use materials in the

library to do the work in courses, and by providing special services for online

students who can engage these services remotely, and then, of course by

consulting with students on a one-by-one basis as the students go to the library.

These are all teaching functions, but they're delivered, 1 would say in 100

different ways.

Other college administrators acknowledged teaching as an activity engaged in by

librarians while also differentiating the teaching from teaching done by faculty members

by recognizing, "they [librarians] are teaching students and they are providing

instruction, but it's not the formalized credit instruction." College administrators who did

not supply a teaching role for librarians focused instead on support librarians provided to

academic programs, thereby creating a strong support role for the profession that allowed

for teaching as a support activity.

Fifty-seven percent of 21 college administrators placed librarians in broadly

defined support roles. Support roles included providing "instruction on information

literacy as needed" and assisting faculty and student researchers. Support also meant

management of collections, human resources, and buildings. One college administrator

summed up management responsibilities for librarians as "librarians manage both a

facility (a library) and provide resources, support, guidance, and professional

development on the accessing, evaluating, and citing informational resources in support

of the academic program of the college or university." Another respondent summarized

librarians' management duties as responsibility for "the efficient management and direction of the library, including operations, budget, supervision, and direction of library staff, compliance with federal, state, and institutional requirements, and the effective coordination of services with the rest of the college community." The respondent then added librarians "provide instruction in information literacy, as needed." Through support roles, college administrators allowed librarians to engage in teaching, to partner with other departments, and provide expertise without placing them in faculty or teaching roles.

Of 20 college administrators, 50% considered librarians to hold faculty roles, while 35% preferred other personnel statuses, and 15% held no opinion. One participant summarized views on librarians as faculty by stating, "they're [librarians] treated as colleagues because the librarians themselves are formidable as scholars and intellectuals and as really cordial and highly engaged community servants." Librarians and faculty were not always seen as identical, but the two groups were viewed as parallel. College administrators adhering to a parallel structure recognized the master's degree held by librarians and considered the terminal degree for librarians to be parallel to other faculty members who were expected to hold a terminal degree, even if the terminal degree for other faculty members was the doctoral degree. However, other respondents recognized issues pertaining to faculty librarianship. Because workloads for teaching faculty and librarians often looked very different, some college administrators found it difficult to evaluate librarians as faculty. One college administrator summarized the problem by asking:

how do we calculate a librarian's workload…if we're putting librarians in with

faculty and then using the processes for evaluating faculty? Will that work for a

librarian whose workload is going to look and feel kind of different because it's

going to be less based around credit instruction and more based around hours in

the day?

College administrators presented conflicting definitions of librarians as faculty members

that ran on a continuum from administrators who fully viewed librarians' work as faculty

work to others who faced difficulty evaluating librarian work using traditional faculty

expectations.

Research question 4. What Factors Contribute to Administrators' Perceptions About the Role of the Librarian?

How college administrators arrived at definitions for librarians as teachers and

faculty depended on how expansively teaching and evaluation were defined. College

administrators who broke down classroom and library walls allowed teaching and

learning to occur outside the classroom and included librarians as educators. Expansive

definitions of teaching accompanied breaking down library and classroom walls.

Teaching was no longer defined as occurring in discrete courses with a syllabus, graded

assignments, and exams. Teaching could, as one respondent noted be "delivered, I would

say, in 100 different ways". Once classroom and library walls fell and definitions of

teaching were expanded, librarians could assume teaching roles.

Other college administrators viewed teaching done by librarians as a support role.

Placing librarians in support roles allowed college administrators the ability to assign

teaching responsibilities to librarians without extending a teaching role. Support, when

defined in terms of research support or instruction, relied on expectations about librarians as experts in information literacy, reference help, or subject matter. Teaching occurred as a result of librarians' expertise but was also tied to activities viewed as uniquely librarian functions falling outside the duties of teaching faculty. Classifying librarians' teaching as support for academic programs then allowed administrators to retain rigid divisions of labor between library and faculty workloads while still allowing librarians the responsibility of teaching.

College administrators presented a range of views on faculty roles for librarians based on how well librarians were seen as fulfilling faculty obligations. When librarian responsibilities were perceived as parallel to teaching responsibilities, librarians could hold faculty roles. When research was evaluated against departmental criteria rather than against one standard applied to all disciplines, as described by an administrator who acknowledged "typically, they [librarians] are writing articles occasionally, but the research expectation is much more modest," librarians could hold faculty roles. College administrators holding more rigid and traditional views of librarianship and teaching faculty had more difficulty extending faculty roles to librarians because of a desire to fairly and equitably evaluate everyone using the same criteria. Evaluating a group whose responsibilities reflected administrative duties calculated on an hourly basis rather than faculty responsibilities viewed in terms of credit hours made it difficult to place librarians in a faculty role.

Research question 5. How do the Perceptions of Librarians Compare to the Perceptions of Administrators?

The fifth research question allowed for a comparison of library and college administrator perspectives about roles played by librarians on academic campuses. Comparing views held by library and college administrators revealed two distinct but competing definitions of librarians in instructional and faculty roles. The comparison also revealed how individuals negotiated the definition of librarians' work and the results of successful and unsuccessful negotiations. Finally, the analysis revealed the subtle but powerful influence power had on accepted definitions. In the end, profession did not dictate how one viewed librarian roles. Competing definitions of how librarians' responsibilities related to instructional and faculty roles created a disputed division of labor. Arriving at a mutually acceptable definition required participants to have started from or negotiated to an agreed upon meaning, and achieving acceptance of one's desired definition required alignment with powerful advocates who could sway opinion to a desired outcome.

Roles.

Under best circumstances, roles help interaction flow smoothly because participants play agreed roles and follow anticipated scripts, but conflict often ensues when roles and scripts become ambiguous (Sandstrom et al., 2014). Results from the present study indicated respondents supplied roles for librarians including educator, support personnel, faculty, research expert, manager, and information literacy expert, but as predicted by Abbott (1988), the stated roles for librarians conflicted within and between the groups because of competing values and expectations for the profession. Occasionally, one group promoted an idea more than the other groups, such as library administrators who supplied the majority of information about how librarians engaged

with campus and local communities or college administrators who noted human resource management as role for librarians, but no group, not even librarians who unanimously viewed librarians as educators and faculty, agreed on a single description of librarian roles. Instead, analysis showed respondents constructed roles for librarians based on scripts developed from expectations, experiences, and philosophies on the division of labor.

Respondents evidenced how roles and scripts interacted to inform opinions about roles librarians should or could occupy. One set of participants relied on traditional scripts to guide educational roles filled by librarians and teaching faculty, requiring the person in the role of instructor to conduct a credit-bearing class, meet at predetermined times over a delineated period of time, grade assignments, and regularly prepare lesson plans. One interviewee summarized a traditional script for educators, maintaining:

> I know very few instructional librarians who have a 12-hour load – and they have
> some responsibilities, but they also have library responsibilities in addition to that.
> . . . We [librarians] do not resemble faculty because we do not grade papers, we
> do not teach regular classes, we do not prepare lesson plans, we do not regularly
> create syllabi . . . we do not create credit hour production. So, we're not the same,
> although, on occasion we do those things that faculty do.

Individuals operating from traditional scripts placed librarians in classrooms but reserved the role of instructor for individuals following a specific set of actions librarians did not usually exclusively engage in.

Another respondent created a teaching role for librarians by operating from a different set of expectations about teaching, learning, and the classroom. Librarians

could hold a teaching role because instruction was not limited to credit-bearing courses,

meeting at predetermined times for a delineated time, and teaching duties were not

limited to syllabus production and grading assignments. One interviewee explained:

> Teaching faculty deliver their teaching primarily through discrete courses. Library
>
> faculty deliver their teaching by developing online-based webinars, by consulting
>
> with faculty on the development of collections, by helping faculty use collections
>
> in courses, by appearing as instructors within courses to help students learn how
>
> they can use materials in the library to do the work in course, and by providing
>
> special services for online students who can engage these services remotely, and
>
> then of course, by consulting with students on a one-by-one basis as the students
>
> go to the library. These are all teaching functions, but they're delivered, I would
>
> say in 100 different ways.

The interviewee turned traditional librarian duties such as collection development and

reference help into teaching responsibilities falling to librarians, thereby rewriting the

script for teaching to allow teaching faculty to be educators through the delivery of

discrete course material while librarians relied on collection development, guest

lecturing, and reference services to fill the same role.

Librarians' ability to fill a faculty role presented similar ambiguity for some

library and college administrators. Interviewees holding narrower definitions and scripts

for teaching faculty did not feel librarians fit the role of faculty because librarians had

additional library responsibilities beyond instruction. When placed in a faculty role,

librarians still retained non-instructional librarian duties while also fulfilling faculty

responsibilities of scholarly production and service, leading to the inability to adequately

perform all duties. The MLS or equivalent, librarians' terminal degree, presented another obstacle, as the doctoral degree was seen as the terminal degree for most teaching faculty. Less stringent degree requirements left librarians ill-prepared to conduct research meeting standards imposed by other disciplines. Differences in job responsibilities and scholarship requirements made it difficult for some respondents to apply the same standards of evaluation to librarians as were applied to teaching faculty, and librarians therefore neither acted the perceived faculty part nor fit the perceived faculty role.

As further evidence librarians' division of labor remained contested, some respondents created different faculty definitions and scripts allowing for the inclusion of librarians. Interviewees expanded the definition of faculty to include multiple scripts. Librarians maintained faculty roles through different but parallel storylines. One interviewee summarized this viewpoint, remarking:

> They [librarians] do have teaching responsibilities in the sense that they are working with faculty in course design and in services to courses. Some librarians at different points in time are actually teaching courses. And the research librarians are engaged in professional organizations as participants and leaders. Typically, they are writing articles occasionally, but the research expectation is more modest. They [are] actually quite active, I would say, in faculty committees – more active, in my observation than they would need to be for professional advancement. So, they have parallel responsibilities, but they're not the same.

A wider interpretation of how one expressed a faculty role and flexible expectations allowed for the inclusion of librarians.

Scripts, designed from experiences, expectations, and assumptions, shaped roles people created for librarians and teaching faculty, particularly instructional and faculty roles. Respondents largely agreed on responsibilities, with both groups citing professional, engagement, support, and personnel roles for librarians and one group emphasizing certain responsibilities more than the other group (i.e. library administrators' support for outreach efforts or college administrators' expressed recognition of librarians' human resource management responsibilities). At heart, the question became whether librarian duties fell under instructional and faculty roles. Conflict ensued when participants explained how librarians did or did not embody an instructional or faculty role. Approaching the question from a more rigid and traditional viewpoint, librarian duties resided outside the script followed by teaching faculty, while viewed more flexibly, the same duties were acceptable within the framework of instructional and faculty roles. The examples therefore supported the existence of contested division of labor predicted by Abbott (1988).

Negotiation.

People arrive at and maintain social order through negotiation (Strauss et al., 1963), and conflict creates an impetus to negotiate order because when faced with conflict, people have may choose to refuse to negotiate, thereby ending the interaction, accept the other person's definition, impose a definition, or compromise with the other party to find a mutually acceptable, albeit imperfect definition (Sandstrom et al., 2014). Participants documented instances negotiation in examples provided during interviews, and three interviewees stood out with examples of a mutually agreed upon definition of

librarian roles and a conflicted definition leading to a different kind of negotiated

existence.

The first example involved two participants serving at the same institution as

library director and vice president of academic affairs (VPAA) and provided an example

of a mutually negotiated role. Each individual was independently interviewed and

neither person indicated an awareness of the other person's participation, yet comments

and stories demonstrated shared commonalities and mutual understanding.   When asked

to describe the library, the VPAA described campus librarians, painting a portrait of the

library as a place that "radiates outward, warms the campus, not unlike the sun, because

the librarians are actively engaged in going out to different courses [and] working with

different faculty." The library director used other terminology, stating:

> I think that we have the potential to be . . . leaders in interdisciplinary approaches.
>
> . . . I think that librarians live almost between disciplines. So, we see where
>
> disciplines cross . . . and I think of students as novice researchers, and they are
>
> moving from one discipline to the next very quickly.

Superficially, the two statements did not appear similar, but they shared mutual themes.

Both focused on librarians interacting with others; both assumed librarians moved

between disciplines; and neither confined librarians to the physical space of the library.

Although the conversations appeared different, the two subjects had used mutually agreed

upon themes to independently construct examples.

One of the strongest pieces of evidence demonstrating negotiation involved a

statement made by the VPAA indicating awareness and acceptance of positions

advocated by the library director. Discussing faculty responsibilities, the VPAA

commented, "Librarians as a general matter, especially the library director, would say,

'We want to have a role in how the campus is governed and we want to serve with

teaching faculty on these committees' and acknowledged he 'was responsive to her [the

library director's] petitions to enhance the status of faculty, the library faculty, and to

support the work of librarians.'" The VPAA demonstrated one approach to successful

negotiation. Through interaction, the two individuals reached a mutually agreed upon

position for librarians. The example provided a window into process of negotiation: The

library director presented petitions to enhance the work and status of librarians, and the

VPAA, either already in agreement with or persuaded by the arguments, accepted the

position, and the outcome was "an AAUP-style system" with a teaching faculty track and

a parallel library faculty track.

The second example exposed a different situation, approach, and resolution. The

dean perceived librarians as different but equally important to faculty, explaining,

"faculty may well be the noun, but the libraries are the verb . . . we're partners, teaching

faculty and library faculty." Acknowledging a lack of popularity with his stated position,

the dean also commented:

> I know I don't hold the popular view, but I really don't think we fulfill the role [of
>
> faculty], and I don't think its advantageous to us. I think it creates confusion and
>
> forces us to try to attempt to do things that are really outside the scope of why we
>
> were hired in the first place . . . we do have faculty status here, and I have done all
>
> that I can to argue it's not a good idea and even proposed ways in which we could
>
> address that problem . . . but it did not get traction with my faculty for one, and it

didn't get traction with the administration for another . . . I'm retiring at the end of

the year so I won't be the problem anymore.

The example illustrates another approach to creating negotiated order. Much like the

library director in the previous example, the dean petitioned to change librarians' status

away from faculty, a move that was not supported by faculty or administrators. The

dean's choices were to accept librarians as faculty, attempt a compromise, or refuse

negotiation, and ultimately, the interviewee accepted the status quo until deciding to

retire and quit negotiation.

The two examples contrasted a successful and unsuccessful attempt to negotiate

order. The first example documented successful interaction in which individuals

accepted a shared meaning for a situation and successfully changed the system to match

expectations. The example demonstrated successful conflict resolution by arriving at an

agreed upon definition of the situation. The second example, on the other hand,

represented an unsuccessful attempt to negotiate order. As with the first example, a

petition for change was introduced, but unlike the first example, the petitioner's

definition was not accepted, no compromise occurred to alter the existing definition, the

status quo remained, and ultimately the dean retired without successfully imposing his

definition of events.

Power.

Respondents did not explicitly speak about the influence of power on roles played

by librarians; nonetheless, power was woven throughout narratives about faculty status.

A respondent described librarians' desire to be faculty in terms of power, saying, "I think

librarians are eager to play faculty by having the power granted to them to bookend

faculty assemblies, and to be put on committees, and to do work like that." The message implied a faculty role gave librarians more power and status and represented the most direct acknowledgement of how and why power was desired and used.

Respondents also described the power of faculty status as a "a seat at the table." An interviewee described the power enjoyed by having a seat at the table as creating "an equal playing field," and one library director, having worked in institutions with and without faculty status for librarians, elaborated upon the power of a level playing field, saying:

> At my previous institution, I did not have faculty status…and I found it was much harder to get my foot in the door, in terms of getting into conversations with the faculty. They never invited me to department meetings. They would never even have thought to do that . . . It was easy to forget the library, because we weren't at the table. So, coming here . . . the status was already there. Library faculty were already on some committees, and going to school meetings, and it's never been questioned in terms of why we're there. . . . So, I think it's advantageous in terms of building relationships.

Finally, a library dean explained why librarians needed the power to engage with faculty on a level playing field, commenting, "I feel like if we weren't privy to those conversations, there's a lot of things we wouldn't know that were going on that affect how we do things." Leveling the playing field and opening doors represented what the power of faculty status did for librarians, and relationship building and informed decision making represented how librarians used the power of faculty status to move agendas forward and perform effectively.

Power, or ability to be on the side with power, determined librarians' fates as faculty. Respondents shared three stories about efforts to change librarians' personnel status and demonstrated how power was used to effect change or retain the status quo. One participant described how Faculty Senate wielded power to prevent a university administrator from stripping librarians of a faculty role:

> The acting VP for academic affairs at the time, proposed that the campus remove faculty status from librarians. [He] didn't think it was helpful, wasn't interested in seeing librarians do any sort of scholarship. And [he] pushed that for a bit, but it really kind of hit a buzzsaw when it got to the Faculty Senate . . . The chair of the Faculty Senate went to the . . . VP and said, "if you push this and it goes . . . you push this hard enough and you're not going to have a position here much longer because the faculty are going to be so incensed that you're trying to diminish faculty status on campus for anyone. So, he backed off.

In a second example, librarians, faculty, and university administrators had worked together to create a mutually agreed upon faculty role for librarians, framing work performed by librarians as parallel to teaching faculty's responsibilities by defining librarian-related duties such as collection development and reference help as an instructional role. The college administrator relaying the story, reported, "We, with the support of both faculty and trustees, adopted an AAUP-style system, and in the process of doing that, added librarians to the faculty." Librarians became faculty because of support from groups with power and because the groups compromised and found a mutually acceptable definition of how librarians filled a faculty role.

In the third example, a library administrator unsuccessfully tried to persuade librarians and university administrators to take away faculty status from librarians by arguing the unique merits of librarian work and the difficulties of balancing librarian responsibilities with additional faculty responsibilities. The library administrator had argued "it's not a good idea and even proposed ways in which we could address that problem…but it did not get traction with my faculty for one, and it didn't get traction with administration for another." Without support from power sources (i.e. university administrators, trustees, and faculty), the individual was unable to effect the desired change, and librarians remained faculty members.

While rarely explicitly noted by participants, power contributed significantly to negotiation and role determination as respondents embedded the concept subtly throughout stories and examples. The expression of power, in terms of use and effect, was witnessed in stories describing benefits of faculty status to librarians and in librarians' attempts to gain or maintain a faculty role. Whoever held the power determined accepted role expectations for librarians and set the stage for negotiations. When supported by powerful entities such as administration, a faculty senate, and university board members, librarians gained and maintained faculty status, pushed agendas, and more effectively performed duties. Not being aligned with power decreased negotiating power and increased the likelihood of being forced to either accept other perspectives or leave the conversation. Power was far from absent in the narratives delivered by participants. Power determined the version of roles that were adopted and directed the negotiations responsible for determining roles.

Grounded Theory Explanation

Results indicated neither library nor college administrators held a single definition of librarian roles on campus. Instead, individuals were connected by beliefs and expectations that transcended professional boundaries. Holding expansive and inclusive definitions of librarian, teaching, and faculty roles allowed library and college administrators to include instructional and faculty roles for librarians. Individuals coming from more traditional, rigid, and narrow definitions of librarian, teaching, and faculty roles faced more difficulty in assigning librarians to teaching or faculty roles. People holding more traditional opinions valued librarians' work but saw it as support for academic programs and felt teaching and faculty responsibilities detracted from the work librarians excelled at and were hired to do. The two competing definitions created a disputed division of labor for librarians and required librarians and administrators to negotiate an accepted definition of what roles librarians played. The process went smoothly when all sides agreed or when one side could be persuaded to accept a different definition, but this did not always happen, and in those cases, division remained, but parties worked within the accepted definition until someone gave up and left the conversation. The influence of power over the negotiating process was subtle but strong. Aligning oneself with powerful advocates created a mechanism for achieving acceptance of a desired definition. As librarians and administrators negotiated librarian roles, understanding and using power dynamics led to desired outcomes.

Limitations

Several limitations were identified in the present study. Questionnaire invitations were sent to library and college administrators, but several practicing librarians filled out

the survey instead of the chief librarian. Falling within the definition of people whose

opinion was sought, librarian responses remained and offered an interesting glimpse into

how librarians differed from library administrators in perceptions about librarian roles.

With only three librarian questionnaire respondents and zero librarian interviewees, the

responses were permitted to remain and identified as not generalizable due to the small

sample size.

Sample selection presented a second limitation. Invitations to participate in the

questionnaire and interviews were sent out to individuals from 200 randomly selected

schools built from a list of institutions responding to the IPEDS survey. While the

schools were randomly selected and represented a mixture of two- and four-year public

and private institutions in the United States, individuals were free to respond or to

decline, leaving open the possibility that people with strong opinions in either direction

were over-represented in the sample. In an attempt to mitigate the influence of strong

opinions in one direction, care was taken to ensure all sides were represented in results by

using findings from previous studies as a baseline exposing the spectrum of opinions held

by individuals.

Finally, the study was limited in generalizability by geography and the number of

participants. Only individuals from English-speaking, American two- and four-year

public and private institutions were invited to participate, bounding any conclusions to

this geographical location and institution-types. The overall small sample size of 54

questionnaire respondents and 12 open-ended question interviewees also limited

generalizability. The limitations were acknowledged and cautions about generalizability

were noted. Additionally, Corbin and Strauss (2015) indicated grounded theory, as a

qualitative design method, could be exploratory in nature and serve as a mechanism to design future quantitative studies that are more generalizable in nature. With little study available on administrator opinions of librarian roles, the present study was exploratory and meant to illuminate topics for future study.

Implications

Results demonstrated library college administrators assigned similar responsibilities to librarians, although one group occasionally emphasized a role more than the other group. Views on librarian roles were not tied to professional occupation as library administrators' perspectives varied as widely as college administrators' perspectives. Instead, two distinct definitions, based on how well individuals thought librarians filled teaching and faculty roles, emerged, and whether one's preferred definition of what a librarian does was accepted and implemented required the individual to be aligned with like-minded groups with the power to implement or maintain the preferred definition. Librarians should therefore consider reframing the question of identity politically. When facing role change, librarians should consider exploring how their activities fit the roles they want to inhabit and find like-minded individuals in positions of power to advocate on their behalf. Understanding the political landscape and allies could prove beneficial to successfully negotiating a desired social order.

Implications go beyond the librarians and administrators. Other professional groups on campus may benefit from using qualitative methodology for self-exploration. For example, colleges and universities have grown increasingly reliant on adjunct instructors who are paid differently than full-time instructors, do not enjoy the same benefits, and whose services are not guaranteed beyond current employment (Kezar,

2012). Exploring how adjunct responsibilities replace work done by full-time faculty members without the benefits and protections of faculty status and the perspectives that lead to the practice's adoption could become increasingly important in terms of wages and expectations as colleges and universities rely more heavily on adjunct professionals. As with librarians, adjuncts could benefit from framing the discussion politically, identifying powerful advocates who will fight for the desired narrative, and using that relationship to alter existing role definitions.

If power is embedded in social structure as Musolf (1992) asserted, any professional group experiencing role conflict could test the influence of power on negotiating social order. Embedded in society, power may not be overtly observable and may benefit from methodologies followed by symbolic interactionists who found rich description of social order in mundane situations like the co-management of hospital patients by professionals in different fields (Hall, 1990; Strauss et al., 1963). The methodology could be applied to identify different role constructions, discern who holds power in decision-making, how power is used to make decisions, and how best to align one's group with powerful allies to realize the adoption of a desired definition of role.

Recommendations

Research in the area of librarian roles would benefit from case studies where emphasis is placed on gathering as much information as possible about one subject in order to generalize to others (Fraenkel et al., 2015). Librarians have documented opinions regarding their professional role (Cronin, 2001; Hill, 1994), but more information is needed to understand how parties manage negotiations and facilitate relationships. Documenting and analyzing role change as negotiation occurred between

librarians, administrators, and third parties such as faculty senates would provide rich

detail illuminating thoughts and actions on all sides. Case studies contrasting institutions

with and without positive role relationships would provide insight into how and why a

mutually agreed upon definition developed in one situation but not in another.

Examining relationships between library administrators and immediate supervisors would

shed light on how the two groups work to define roles for librarians. Finally, longer

conversations with university administrators and faculty are needed to complement the

abundance of research librarians have generated about their own wide array of opinions

on role.

   Other future research should investigate librarian/library administrator

relationships. Library administrators represented librarian views in the present study.

However, a few librarians responded to the survey, and because the survey only

eliminated those without a background in higher education administration or academic

libraries, non-administrative librarian responses were included. Librarian responses did

not always echo library administrator perceptions. Future research might assess how well

library administrators represent views of non-administrative librarians.

   The current study also touched on how use of similar vocabulary might signify

shared values. Further exploration is needed to better determine how people use

language to build definitions of a profession's role and to either identify with or separate

themselves from others. With an ability to expose values and attitudes through the study

of written communication (Fraenkel et al., 2015), content analysis, applied to interview

transcripts, could help identify concepts that unite or divide individuals and could build

more nuanced descriptions of the various ways people define librarian roles.

Finally, qualitative analysis was used because a review of literature suggested views of administrators towards librarians had not been deeply studied previously. Qualitative design is often chosen in exploratory study to ascertain the viability of a topic for further exploration and to prepare for larger, quantitative studies (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). By asking participants to rank responsibilities attributed to librarians and teaching faculty, future research could use quantitative design to determine the value library and college administrators place on each concept to verify findings of the current study.

Conclusion.

The role of the academic librarian has been well-documented, beginning with a call for professionalization (Sawtelle, 1878), and broadening as librarians have documented roles (Wilson, 1931), examined professional identity (Garcia & Barbour, 2018; Hicks, 2014; Hussey & Campbell-Meier, 2016), argued over personnel status (Batt, 1985; Coker et al., 2010; Cronin, 2001; Hill, 1994), and debated instructional roles (Johnston & Webber, 2005; Zai, 2015). To a lesser extent, librarians have also examined the way faculty perceive librarian roles (Julien & Pecoskie, 2009; Major, 1993), but researchers have only rarely studied the views administrators hold regarding librarian roles (English, 1984). Finally, Fleming-May and Douglass (2014) called attention to the lack of study surrounding relationships between librarians and administrators and recommended more research.

The present study filled a gap in the literature by comparing library and college administrator views about the role played by academic librarians on campus. A comparison of views was deemed interesting because Abbott (1988) had posited librarians belonged to a class of professionals whose division of labor was, by definition,

contested. Thus, the decision to examine conflicting views on role was established.

Library and college administrator perceptions regarding librarian roles were analyzed

through the lens of symbolic interactionism and role theory, under-utilized perspectives

in the study of librarianship (Julien & Pecoskie, 2009). Acknowledging under-utilization,

Hall (1990) had argued symbolic interactionism was well-suited to study the library

profession urged librarians to adopt the framework for self-study because of the

perspective's ability to reveal insight from observation of mundane daily events.

Symbolic interactionism rests on the premise that humans act on meanings creates

out of interactions with others (Blumer, 1969). Role theory assumes people operate on

patterned behaviors when social context is known (Biddle, 2000) and postulates humans

make and take on roles resulting from personal expectations and needs, as well as

interpretations of how others perceive them (Turner, 2006). Often, interactions proceed

smoothly and routinely as all parties share the same definitions regarding the process of

events (Sandstrom et al., 2014). Occasionally, situations are ambiguous and participants

must engage in negotiation in order to reach shared understanding of the situation. With

an argument positing role conflict for the library profession (Abbott, 1988), the

availability of an under-utilized but well-suited theoretical framework (Hall, 1990; Julien

& Pecoskie, 2009), and a call to explore the relationship between librarians and

administrators more deeply (Fleming-May & Douglass, 2014), the decision to compare

library and college administrators' definitions of librarian roles through the lens of

symbolic interactionism and role theory was made.

The study was conducted using grounded theory, a qualitative methodology in

which the researcher collects and analyzes results at the same time (Corbin & Strauss,

2015). Small sample sizes are common, and common investigative tools include

observation, open-ended surveys, and interviews. Often, one employs this methodology

when a subject has been under-studied, and the results are often used to later explore

questions using quantitative methodologies (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). In grounded

theory, the researcher looks for similarities and patterns in the data and constructs themes

that represent overarching concepts. The themes generate theory, and the theory, though

based on small samples, can be used to generalize explanations beyond the small group

used in the study (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

      An open-ended online survey and longer in-depth semi-structured interviews

served as instruments to collect data. Six hundred invitations to complete an open-ended

survey were sent to 200 college presidents or chancellors, 200 college administrators who

directly supervised librarians, and 200 college library administrators and librarians

working directly in libraries with other librarians. Ninety-eight individuals initiated the

survey, and 54 individuals completed it. The group of 54 individuals was comprised of

21 high-level college administrators, 30 library administrators, and three librarians.

Twelve individuals agreed to longer interviews and included nine library administrators

and three high-level college administrators. Data from the survey was collected through

an online survey tool, and semi-structured interviews were conducted and recorded using

an online conferencing service. Recordings were transcribed by a professional

transcription agency.

      Data was collected and analyzed simultaneously. Survey responses and interview

transcripts were read a total of five times. The first time, patterns and commonly

expressed ideas were identified and coded. Seventeen common concepts were found and

combined under four over-arching themes: professionalism, engagement, support, and personnel status. Results and theoretical discussion were generated from the themes and concepts.

Library and college administrators expressed similar concepts but emphasized them differently. Library administrators created a role for librarians that relied on information literacy, research, and resource expertise, and they highlighted work librarians did to create partnerships and engage campus and local community members. The group expressed disagreement over placing librarians in instructional roles with some library administrators possessing an expansive definition of instruction ranging from traditional credit-bearing classroom instruction to one-on-one research appointments and other library administrators opting for more traditional views that confined instruction to activities that occur in credit-bearing classes. Finally, library administrators expressed disagreement over librarians' role as faculty with 60% of respondents believing librarians filled a faculty role and 40% sensing librarians belonged in a staff role. Librarians were united in opinions of librarians as educators and faculty, a view that placed the group at odds with library administrators, their supervisors. Unfortunately, with a sample size of three, no generalizations could be made from the findings. College administrators saw librarians in a support role, particularly highlighting librarians' management responsibilities, and like library administrators, college administrators expressed various opinions on preferred personnel status for librarians and instructional roles, indicating disagreement extended to both groups and could not be tied to one set of individuals.

Qualitative design, approached with a question in mind but with as few preconceived expectations as possible, is about journey (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Concepts are not predefined and no expectations are made about outcomes (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). The present study began by asking how librarians and college administrators viewed librarian roles and arrived at conclusions about roles played by librarians. The findings suggested library and college administrators named similar responsibilities for librarians with each group occasionally emphasizing a particular quality more than the other group did. In the end, neither group produced a unified definition of librarian roles. Instead, a picture of two distinct definitions emerged characterizing how librarian activities did and did not fit instructional and faculty roles, and division was not related to one's professional group. Rather, as individuals, participants illustrated two ways people took the same responsibilities, applied them differently to roles, and defined two entirely different realities for the same profession. Whose definition was accepted was determined by negotiations, and negotiations were influenced by who held power and which groups were aligned with sources of power because librarian roles were not defined in a vacuum; they arose from experiences and beliefs, experiences and negotiations, and an alignment with powerful advocates who share similar sentiments.

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Appendix A

LINDENWOOD

Survey Research Consent Form

The Role of the Academic Librarian: A Comparison of Administrator and

Librarian Perspectives

You are asked to participate in a survey being conducted by Christina Prucha under the guidance of Dr. Roger "Mitch" Nasser at Lindenwood University. We are doing this study to compare how college and university administrators and librarians perceive the role of librarians and their personnel status both in general and on their particular campus. It will take about 15 minutes to complete this survey. An executive summary of this study will be made available to anyone requesting it.

Answering this survey is voluntary. We will be asking about 600 other people to answer these questions.

At the end of the survey you will be asked if you are interested in participating in an additional interview by phone. We will delve deeper into the responses you provided in the survey to better understand your perceptions about librarians, their role on campus, and their personnel status.

What are the risks of this study?

We do not anticipate any risks related to your participation other than those encountered in daily life. You do not need to answer any questions that make you uncomfortable or you can stop taking the survey at any time.

We are collecting data that could identify you, such as name, email address, and phone number. Every effort will be made to keep your information secure and confidential. Only members of the research team will be able to see your data. We do not intend to include any information that could identify you in any publication or presentation.

Will anyone know my identity?

We will do everything we can to protect your privacy. We do not intend to include information that could identify you in any publication or presentation. Any information we collect will be stored by the researcher in a secure location. The only people who will

be able to see your data are: members of the research team, qualified staff of Lindenwood University, representatives of state or federal agencies.

What are the benefits of this study?

You will receive no direct benefits for completing this survey. We hope what we learn may benefit other people in the future.

If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this research or concerns about the study, or if you feel under any pressure to enroll or to continue to participate in this study, you may contact the Lindenwood University Institutional Review Board Director, Michael Leary, at (636) 949-4730 or mleary@lindenwood.edu. You can contact the researcher, Christina Prucha directly at 520-897-5245 or cp384@lindenwood.edu You may also contact Dr. Roger "Mitch" Nasser directly at 636-949-4570 or rnasser@lindenwood.edu.

By clicking the link below, I confirm that I have read this form and decided that I will participate in the project described above. I understand the purpose of the study, what I will be required to do, and the risks involved. I understand that I can discontinue participation at any time by closing the survey browser. My consent also indicates that I am at least 18 years of age.

You can withdraw from this study at any time by simply closing the browser window. Please feel free to print a copy of this consent form.

Appendix B

Faculty Status for Librarians Short Answer Questionnaire

Please answer the following questions about the role of academic librarians on campus and their personnel status. There is no limit on the length of your response.

1. What is the role of an academic librarian on a college or university campus? In other

   words, what do librarians do?

2. What beliefs, experiences, expectations, etc. led you to characterize the role of librarians

   in this way?

3. Should academic librarians hold faculty status?

   a. Yes

   b. No

   c. Not sure / No opinion

4. Please explain why you feel this way about faculty status for librarians.

5. In your opinion, do librarians and administrators share the same definition of what

   librarians do?

   a. Yes

   b. No

6. What beliefs, expectations, experiences, etc. have led you to reach this conclusion?

7. What is your job title?

8. How do you classify yourself?

   a. College/University Administrator (skip logic to #12)

   b. Library Administrator (skip logic to #12)

   c. Librarian (skip logic to #10)

   d. Other (skip logic to end of survey)

9. If you replied "librarian," how do you classify your personnel status?

    a.   Tenured/Tenure-Track Faculty (skip logic to #12)

    b.   Faculty without Tenure (skip logic to #12)

    c.   Staff (skip logic to #12)

    d.   Other (skip logic to #11)

10. If you classified yourself "other," please describe your status.

11. Would you like to receive an executive summary of this project?

    a.   Yes

    b.   No (skip logic to #14)

12. If you answered yes, please provide your name and email address.

13. Would you be willing to participate in a follow-up phone interview to provide additional

    information related to these questions?

    a.   Yes

    b.   No (skip logic to thank you)

14. Please provide your name, email address, and phone number.

Thank you page: Thank you for participating in this survey. If you requested a copy of the executive summary, it will be sent to you via email once the study has been completed. If you agreed to participate in a follow-up phone interview, you will be contacted with the next few weeks to schedule the interview.

End of survey page: Thank you for participating in this survey.

Appendix C

Semi-structured Interview Questions

Thank you for agreeing to join me for a more detailed phone interview. The following interview consists of eight questions with a few sub-questions. The interview will take 30-60 minutes and will be audio recorded.

A. **The first set of questions are designed to elicit your general opinions about academic libraries, librarians, the role they play, and the advantages and disadvantages of awarding faculty status to librarians.**

1. What is the role of the *library* on campus?

2. Why do you view the library's role in this way?

3. Do librarians play a similar role to any other groups on campus?

    a. If you responded yes to question #2, what groups do they resemble?

    b. What characteristics do the groups share?

4. In what ways, if any, do the job requirements of librarians resemble those of teaching faculty?

5. How is faculty status for academic librarians advantageous to librarians?

6. How is faculty status for academic librarians unfavorable to librarians?

7. How is faculty status for academic librarians advantageous to institutions?

8. How is faculty status for academic librarians unfavorable to institutions?

B. **The following questions refer to circumstances on your present campus. Please provide as much information as you wish for each question.**

1. Do librarians at your school have faculty status?

    a. If you answered yes to #1, please define what it means for librarians to have faculty status.

2. In your opinion, are librarians at your school satisfied with their current personnel classification?

3. What has led you to reach this conclusion?

4. In your opinion, are librarians at your school satisfied with the role they play on campus?

5. What has led you to reach this conclusion?

Thank you for taking the time to sit for this interview. Before we end, is there anything else you would like to add on the subject of librarians, their role, and their personnel status that we have not already covered?

Appendix D

Email Invitation to Participants

Dear [insert name],

You are invited to participate in a short answer questionnaire exploring administrator and librarian perspectives regarding the role and personnel status of librarians in higher education institutions. The survey should take under 15 minutes to complete and is being conducted in fulfillment of the requirements for a Doctorate in Education with Emphasis in Higher Education Administration at Lindenwood University. All responses will remain anonymous and will be housed on a password protected device. The first page of this survey will ask for your informed consent and will provide contact information if you have questions or concerns. The last question on the survey will ask if you are willing to participate in a follow-up interview. No identifying information collected from this question will be used in the results. A copy of the executive summary will be made available to anyone requesting it.

A link to the survey appears below. The survey will remain open for three weeks and will close **[insert date and time].** Thank you for participating in this survey.

Vitae

Christina Prucha

Christina Prucha began her career in librarianship after graduating from the University of Arizona in Tucson, AZ with her MLS in 2005. She has served in libraries in a variety of roles including Archivist at the American Choral Directors Association in Oklahoma City, OK from 2006-2010, Archivist and Cataloger at Logan University in St. Louis, MO from 2011-2015, and Director of Library Services at State Technical College of Missouri in Linn, MO from 2015-2019. She is currently the Head of Collection Services at the University of Portland in Portland, OR. She believes in actively giving back to her profession and has served as the President of the St. Louis Regional Library Network (2013-2014), President of the Missouri Library Association (2015), and a member of the MOBIUS Board of Directors (2019).