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# Innovation in Academic Libraries During a Time of Crisis

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DURING A TIME OF CRISIS

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Academic libraries and librarianship are experiencing a period of great change, or crisis, influenced by multiple factors including emerging technologies, declining budgets, and changing information. More than a transitory historical phase, these changes represents a fundamental transition between paradigms (Kuhn, 1962). Academic libraries and librarianship are moving from a paradigm focused on collections and books to a paradigm focused on learning. Within this context, innovations are new processes, services and products that facilitate this transition to the new paradigm.

Beyond this definitional work, the work serves as an exploration of the processes by which the members of, and groups within, academic library communities implement innovation. Relying on social movement theory, I maintain that innovation is a process of collective action. The three core elements of McAdam, McCarthy and Zald's (1996) synthesis of social movement theory (framing contests, mobilizing structures, and political opportunity structures) are applied to academic libraries and librarianship. My adaptations of these elements form the basis of The Model of Academic Library Innovation. The Model also features leadership based in complexity theory.

The findings of this exploratory research are illustrated by examples from three libraries at which I conducted interviews and observed meetings and other activities. The adaptation of McAdam, McCarthy and Zald's (1996) synthesis suggests that innovation in academic libraries requires greater attention to the processes that bridge differences between individuals and groups. Whereas social movements focus on conflict between opposing perspectives, innovation stresses the need to welcome diverse ideas and to merge or integrate them in a productive manner. The strategic repertoire for innovation includes authentic participation, facilitation, informal shared learning, and outreach and collaboration. Additionally, innovation succeeds when external circumstances conspire to assist in its advancement. Leadership for innovation requires the ability to create the circumstances whereby the members of the organization can engage new ideas.

As preliminary conclusions, I suggest that the academic library community must act on the implications of viewing innovation as a form of collection action by focusing more attention on interpersonal and intergroup dynamics. Secondly, the magnitude of an innovation varies by library and institution. What is more important is assessing whether "innovation" facilitates the transition to a new library paradigm. The contextual nature of innovation implies that innovation is not about changing people, but about enabling them to use their skills and expertise to participate in shaping innovation. This is a perspective both radically humanistic and complex. Finally, this work points to the importance of developing organizational capacity to generate and integrate cognitive diversity. This requires deliberate efforts at organizational development, holistic approaches to staff development, and continual internal and external integration.

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<div align="right">D.M.W.</div>

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CHAPTER I

CRISIS, SHIFTING PARADIGMS AND THE FUTURE


Academic libraries and librarianship are in the midst of dramatic changes reflecting a paradigm shift towards learning-centeredness. In terms of spaces, operations, and skills, the implications are profound. The processes used by academic libraries in transitioning to this new paradigm are equally significant though poorly understood. The capacity of academic libraries to assume authentic learning-centered roles requires them to undertake innovative activities through collective action with students, staff and faculty. Indeed, this capacity is integrally connected to the ability and willingness of their institutions to do the same.

In 2006, Jerry Campbell, the Dean of University Libraries at the University of Southern California, wrote that "Given the events of the past decade, academic librarians perhaps know better than anyone else that the institutions they manage—and their own roles—may face extinction over the next decade" (p. 28). Campbell refers specifically to the impact of digital technologies on the library's historic role as providers of recorded knowledge.

Another bleak assessment was uttered by Suzanne Thorin, the Dean of Libraries at Syracuse University. "Let's face it," she said at the 2009 Educause Conference, "the library, as a place, is dead…Kaput. Finito. And we need to move on to a new concept of

what the academic library is" (Bookless Libraries, Nov. 6, 2009). Thorin's observation is significant because it suggests that our fundamental ideas about the nature of the library require much more than a facelift. What is startling about these statements, and many others, is that they come from the leadership of the nation's academic libraries. These are professionals with fingers on the pulse of change in the profession and in higher education generally. I argue their words deserve careful consideration.

At the same time, the difficulties facing academic libraries should come as no surprise. The emergence and growth of the internet has been a game changer. By permitting instantaneous access to information anywhere in the world, the internet has diminished the role of libraries as the primary source of information and knowledge. Adding insult to injury, academic libraries have experienced a declining capacity to provide access to the entire universe of rapidly proliferating information, thus further eroding their ability to perform an original function. Other challenges have also confronted libraries, including declining budgets, diminishing spaces, and changing student and faculty expectations, all a microcosm of pressures experienced by higher education. In fact, academic libraries may be on the cusp of the most dramatic transformation in their long history.

At the turn of the 21$^{st}$ century, academic libraries face a complex and rapidly changing social, technological and economic environment that challenges their survival and future identity. According to Deiss and Petrowski (2009), academic libraries are affected by three drivers of change: the poor economy and its negative impact on higher education; the changing needs of students; and rapidly evolving technologies. Taken together, these drivers suggest that libraries will need to respond to this dynamic

environment by providing new services with more limited financial support than in the past. Complicating the issue even further, many of these new activities will be unfamiliar to current practitioners who possess a different type of expertise.

In a world where access to information is freely and universally available through the internet, what will libraries become? Will they lose their role as a primary source of human knowledge? Will the print collections of academic libraries continue to play a meaningful role in a world where students purchase and download books to e-readers? In a period of declining budgets, will they transform themselves in a way that provides added value to their institution?

<div align="center">Innovation as Solution</div>

Many leaders of the profession claim that innovation must play an important role in the future. James Neal, the Vice President for Information Services and University Librarian at Columbia University, states that innovation will become "the litmus test for success" (2009, p. 468). In their discussion of the library's declining role as key providers of information, Housewright and Schonfeld (2008) write that these institutions will need innovation if they hope to retain the interest of academic faculty. But what do they mean by "innovation?" Does it simply mean a new service or activity? Or is innovation related to a larger goal or direction?

Though frequently discussed in the literature of academic libraries (Clayton, 1997; Deiss, 2004; Musmann, 1982; Reynolds & Whitlatch, 1985; Rubin, Gavin, & Kamal, 2011; Willard, 1991), innovation remains an ambiguous and shallowly defined concept. Typically, innovation refers to a service, product or activity that is new to a

specific context (Clayton, 1997), a usage derived from organization studies (Aiken & Hage, 1971). This lack of precision is troubling. Rubin, Gavin and Kamal (2011) conclude that the absence of definitional specificity suggests that librarians use the term as a "makeshift remedy" in the face of social and economic change for which they lack solutions.

The ambiguous use and understanding of the term innovation is not restricted to the literature of academic libraries. The same definitional problems exist in the broader field of organizational studies. For more than twenty years, researchers in organizational studies have highlighted the fragmented nature of scholarship on innovation (Adams, Bessant, & Phelps, 2006; Crossan & Apaydin, 2010; Damanpour, 1987; Hage, 1999; Sminia, 2009; Wolfe, 1994). Findings have been inconsistent and inconclusive (Adams et al., 2006; Damanpour, 1987; Wolfe, 1994) and have provided little guidance for the development of a general theory. The lack of a reliable, grounded theory of innovation has been just as frequently mentioned (Crossan & Apaydin, 2010; Damanpour, 1987; Sminia, 2009). Crossan and Apaydin (2010) find that only one-seventh of the most highly cited papers on innovation referred to a theory.

In addition to this general ambiguity, the literature of innovation in academic libraries generally fails to address the question of purpose. After all, what is the point? Does library innovation occur only as a novelty that meets the consumer expectations of students and faculty? No, I maintain that library innovation must mean more than that in order to solve the crises facing that profession. While responsive to the changing information universe, librarians also initiate innovation consistent with their core values. Among others, these include commitments to democracy and informed citizenry;

education and lifelong learning; privacy and confidentiality; intellectual freedom; and access to information (American Library Association, 2004).

While innovation may reflect novelty as academic libraries adapt to changing circumstances, it is driven fundamentally by professional values that champion access to information and learning as a public good. It is through this dynamic interaction that innovation contributes to the larger transition in which libraries are now engaged. These values and the innovations that emerge from them may be perceived as counteracting what many view as the drift of higher education from education as a public good to education as a commodity in a neoliberal market economy (Giroux, 2010; Slaughter & Rhodes, 2004). Instead of developing an information marketplace, these values and innovations support freedom of access to information, broadly conceived.

For the purposes of this work, I use the term "innovation" to describe the complex organizational process of solving professional challenges as guided by these core values. As I describe later, innovation contributes to the transition of academic libraries from one paradigm to another. Individual innovations are the unique services, products, reorganizations and activities that represent movement towards a new paradigm. Later in this chapter, I argue that innovation in academic libraries makes sense only in relation to the sweeping changes that higher education is experiencing. By defining innovation through a prism of shifting paradigms, I attempt to offer a roadmap to the future.

But given a roadmap, will libraries respond? Concern exists among many of the profession's leaders about the capacity of academic libraries to respond innovatively to the challenges posed by the changing information landscape. As an institution lacking strong precedents for large-scale change in services, libraries do not seem well poised to

facilitate innovation. In fact, a recent risk assessment found that the conservative culture prevalent in libraries is a strong liability in their capacity to respond (Michalko, Malpas, & Arcolio, 2010).

In this book, I explore the collective organizational processes that facilitate the emergence of innovation in academic libraries. More than ever before, innovation has become an essential capacity as libraries identify, anticipate and meet the needs of students and faculty in an uncertain and rapidly evolving information environment. However, library leaders, both formal and informal, must mobilize their communities in order to respond to what I describe as a crisis. They must also accurately read the lay of the emerging information landscape and understand how to work effectively with others in an increasingly complex organizational environment.

While many of the observations provided here come from my work as a librarian and library administrator for nearly twenty years, much of this work originates in my preliminary empirical research on the processes of innovation in academic libraries. This research, conducted during the fall of 2010, involved interviews with twenty-seven librarians and staff at three institutions, observations of ten library meetings, and reading innumerable organizational documents. While each of the libraries is known for innovation, each of them represents institutions with different missions. These include a liberal arts college focused on teaching; a medium-sized public university with a teaching and research mission; and a flagship university, with a strong emphasis on research.

As a prelude to discussing processes of innovation in academic libraries, in this chapter I describe the crisis of librarianship as nuanced and complex, pointing to a shift in paradigms. In order to develop this topic, I provide a brief history of academic libraries

with some analysis of the concept of crisis, followed by a description of my own relationship to the history of learning-centered libraries. I draw from Thomas Kuhn's The *Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1970) to articulate the concept of paradigm and the processes by which paradigms change. The chapter concludes with my elaborating on the emerging library paradigm and its connection to innovation.

<div align="center">A Crisis in Academic Libraries</div>

Although academic libraries are struggling with changing circumstances, are they experiencing a crisis? And if so, what exactly does that mean? According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, crisis carries two primary meanings. On one hand, crisis is "a vitally important or decisive stage in the progress of anything; a turning-point; also, a state of affairs in which a decisive change for better or worse is imminent." For most academic library professionals, this is crisis in its most worrisome aspect, because it suggests that the world or library could take off in an unfamiliar direction. But what is important here is that crisis refers to a decisive point in an incremental process, perhaps a point of no return or a climactic point of changed direction. It also indicates that such a point may be impending or about to happen. On the other hand, crisis is often applied generally to times of difficulty or insecurity without implying a turning point or impending change. Here, crisis does not suggest specific outcomes.

A review of the literature indicates that librarians typically use the term in the latter sense, that is, as a challenging, unresolved problem; it does not specify a turning point or any expected results. This perspective is exemplified by the "serials crisis," so called because of the difficulties faced by academic libraries resulting from escalating journal prices. The problem is frequently linked to, and exacerbated by, the ongoing

erosion of library budgets. However, this crisis has existed for decades. By 1990, the issue had been around long enough that Dana Roth could write an article called "Serials Crisis Revisited." In fact, the issue can be traced back even further. Ann Okerson (1989) highlights a 1927 report from the Association of American Universities stating that "librarians are suffering" from "rapidly rising prices" (p. 1). It seems reasonable to conclude that the problems associated with the cost of periodicals are not a crisis in the specific sense of the term. There has never been a turning point; if anything, this problem represents a trend that has been sustained by its own momentum for many years.

While the serials crisis remains a challenge, the occurrence of a definitive turning point concerning this issue seems improbable. Few of the "crises" facing academic libraries have suddenly emerged and few will suddenly end. That being said, the fact that librarianship uses the term "crisis" in a general way should not lead to an underestimation of the challenges confronting the field.

The enduring nature of the serials crisis points to a complicating factor in our consideration of the concept. The serials crisis no longer focuses solely on the rising costs of journals. Within the context of electronic journals, the crisis has extended to the confusing dynamics of the changing system of scholarly communication involving copyright and open access. Decisions about eliminating subscriptions to underused and overpriced journals are now complicated by questions of access through federated tools or institutional repositories.

Crises do not occur in isolation but are generally part of multidimensional events. Theories of complex systems provide another prism for considering the imminence of dramatic change in academic libraries. As part of complex socio-economic systems,

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libraries are affected by such issues as the down economy, declining state support, new

social technologies, and declining birth rates. These dynamic factors represent a small

subset of the many structures and processes that interact with each other and with the

profession of librarianship to generate sometimes unpredictable outcomes. The

interacting relationships between variables can escalate a challenge into a major crisis.

With this in mind, crisis may more appropriately be viewed in the 21st century as

the emergence of a dramatic change brought about by the interaction of various elements

of the system. Surprisingly, this idea finds support in a secondary definition of crisis

found in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Here crisis is "…a conjunction of the planets

which determines the issue of a disease or critical point in the course of events." This

older understanding of crisis, based on a now obsolete astrological view of causation,

nonetheless invokes the idea that the interaction of various factors conspire to create

sudden change. It would be shortsighted to prophesy a potential library crisis as resulting

from a single issue. Instead, we should be looking at various trends and dynamics that

may interact to create a possible turning point. In succeeding pages, I highlight a

constellation of interacting issues and developments that have aligned in a way that

defines the emergence of a crisis in the basic paradigm of librarianship.

In discussing the crisis of academic libraries, I mean the constellation of

interconnected challenges that have thus far remained unresolved. Through their

interaction and reinforcement of each other, these challenges collectively represent an

"alignment of stars" in the sense that a turning point seems imminent. Perhaps it has

already occurred. Due to the incremental nature of change in higher education and

academic libraries, the profession has not yet become aware that the critical point in its

history has already come and gone. This unfolding crisis remains problematic because librarianship continues to try to solve its problems in a traditional manner through an obsolete paradigm. And yet, elements of the new paradigm have been visible for nearly a century. I believe that circumstances have changed with a new paradigm on the horizon.

The Changeable Nature of Academic Libraries

Despite our perception of their stability in an otherwise rapidly changing world, academic libraries in the United States have always experienced a great deal of change. In fact, their growth and development parallels that of higher education generally. During the quarter of a century prior to 1900, the American system of higher education endured a notable transformation. Enrollments increased dramatically and universities emerged with an emphasis on research. Library collections grew rapidly. In 1876, the leading research institutions averaged less than 50,000 items. At the turn of the century, this number had grown to 171,000 (Cohen 1998).

In succeeding decades, student enrollment and book collections continued to grow (South Atlantic Bulletin, 1937; Tucker 1980). By 1930, the number of bachelor's degrees issued had increased by 450 percent since 1900, totaling 122,484 (National Center for Education Statistics, 2008). In an era of active collegiate life, students were characterized as possessing an active disinterest in intellectual pursuits (Thelin, 2002; Tucker, 1980). Tucker describes the period between the World Wars as one of "drift and disappointment" (p. 13). During this period, librarians became increasingly vocal about the lack of basic skills possessed by students. We now see a concern, not only about students' ability to navigate the library, but also their ability to navigate the written word. Basic literacy became a question. In 1936, Crowley wrote:

It is common knowledge that a startling percentage of the students in most

colleges know how to read neither rapidly nor intelligently. Limited

reading ability constitutes one of the major reasons for college failures,

and many students manage to graduate despite their defective reading

skills. Obviously, if books are to be made more easily available to

students, something should also be done to teach them how to read

effectively. (p. 82)

In the years following World War II, student enrollment grew rapidly. The G.I.

Bill resulted in a tremendous growth in enrollment by veterans, and subsequently, their

children, the "boomer generation." By 1949–50, the number of bachelor's degrees

granted had grown to 432,058 (National Center for Education Statistics, 2008). At the

same time, federal research funds filled the coffers of many public and private institutions

in order to advance research (Thelen, 2004). This was a period of great growth for

libraries. The government pumped large amounts of money into libraries for the purchase

of research materials (Weiner, 2005).

With the growth of collections and the demand for access to information,

academic libraries developed consortia for the sharing of materials. The heyday for

consortia occurred in the 1960s and 1970s (Weiner, 2005). During the same period,

computerization of bibliographic information facilitated the library profession's further

capacity for the exchange of information. Development of the internet in the 1990s

profoundly affected libraries, with access to online information essentially de-centering

libraries as primary providers of the world's information. Ironically, the internet has

served a democratizing function to some degree unseating an institution created earlier for the same purpose.

In his discussion of the history of changing spaces in academic libraries, Scott Bennett (2009) identifies three sequential paradigms. Through the early 1900s, libraries were generally reader-centered, created as spaces conducive to reading. This is a design idea that originated in the monastic values of reflection and contemplation. In a world of few books, spaces were designed so that individuals could optimize this experience.

A second paradigm emerged in part due to the mass availability of print publications in the 19th and 20th centuries. Libraries became book-centered with an emphasis on maximizing shelf space for reading materials. In this era, assessments of academic libraries were frequently based on the number of books they held.

Bennett contends that college and university libraries are now confronted with a new paradigm centered on learning. Rather than viewing students and faculty as consumers of information, librarians should view them as intentional learners who seek to use library space for that purpose. Bennett maintains that embracing this new paradigm is an obligation, which

> …will best be realized when librarians cease to think of their mission as primarily one of supporting the academic work of others and instead, come to see themselves primarily as educators, accepting the very considerable challenge—amounting to a paradigm change in profession— of joining with students and faculty as collaborators in enacting the learning mission of our institutions. (pp. 194–195)

An Academic Genealogy Connected to Learning-Centered Libraries

My journey in academic libraries is part of a historical thread that owes much to my predecessors who championed the idea of learning-centered libraries. By providing a glimpse of my story, I hope to give you, my colleagues and peers, some insight into my understandings of crisis and the future of academic libraries. The process of contextualizing one's perspectives and sharing one's subjectivities and biases helps define for ourselves and others the issues that matter to us. I will provide such a context as an academic genealogy that stretches back to mentors and teachers whose ideas have influenced me.

I came to academic librarianship after earning degrees in anthropology and education, and after a two-year stint in the Peace Corps as a volunteer in Senegal, West Africa. In Senegal, I learned about the multiplicity of factors that affect learning. Conceptualizations of learning as linear processes with discrete outcomes generally missed the mark in Senegal, as it does today in the United States. Successful instructors are those who recognize that learning is a complex and iterative process requiring insights about ourselves and about those with whom we engage in learning, as well as a capacity to collaborate with students in building knowledge together.

For a period of time, I worked in high schools and junior colleges teaching courses ranging from U.S. History to Environmental Science to Technical Writing. While lacking expertise in many of these fields, I compensated by bringing to this work a passion for teaching, and (what I believe was) a fairly nuanced understanding of pedagogy and structuring courses and programs to achieve desired outcomes, a perspective broadened by my experiences in Senegal.

In some ways, I consider myself an outsider to the field of librarianship. An educator with perspectives informed by anthropology, I have been a careful observer of classroom and organization dynamics. In 1994, I accepted my first academic library position at Wayne State University in Detroit. Hired as a reference librarian with responsibilities primarily for the College of Education, I taught large numbers of library instruction sessions. I remember requests for sessions coming in so rapidly that I resorted to writing them on yellow Post-It notes and then organizing and rearranging them on my wall. To my dismay, I soon learned that despite the numbers, library instruction was not the rich experience that I had known as a classroom instructor. Now as then, most librarians lack continuous contact with classes and provide limited content in their sessions, which focus mostly on finding information in print and electronic resources. I was frustrated too by the lack of concepts and theories that could empower students.

The late Rodney Allen, a professor of social studies education at Florida State University and one of my mentors, stressed the importance of teaching concepts rather than facts. Concepts are tools that possess greater capacity to help us understand and act in the world. In the hierarchy of knowledge, data sits on the bottom. As it becomes integrated and more meaningful, data becomes information, information becomes knowledge, and knowledge becomes wisdom. Conceptual power grows as we progress through the hierarchy. Like social studies, libraries have often focused on teaching facts at the lower end of the knowledge spectrum. Depending on context, teaching that Abraham Lincoln was the 16<sup>th</sup> President of the United States is similar to teaching the name of a specific research database in the field of education; while the information is

relevant, it carries little conceptual power or contextualized meaning to connect to or affect a student's understanding of the world.

Despite arguments to the contrary, the significance of library instruction in higher education is limited. All too often, library-related instruction supports poorly articulated course and curriculum goals that lack clarity regarding the acquisition of research skills. The number of sophisticated library databases generally far exceeds the needs of undergraduate students who are required to write a general paper using a small number of sources. Efforts initiated by librarians to coordinate, reinforce, and scaffold skill development across the curriculum have been surprisingly illusive, despite the obvious value to students. This failure results as much from the inability of librarians to define a powerful instructional curriculum as it does from the challenge in colleges and universities programmatically to coordinate activities among autonomous individuals and units.

My academic library genealogy can be traced through a thread of progressive and somewhat iconoclastic library professionals espousing and practicing the view that libraries must play a central role in student learning. These include Lamar Johnson and the Stephens College experiment in the 1930s (Cowley, 1936; Johnson & Lindstrom, 1948); Louis Shore and the Library College movement spanning about thirty years of the last century (Shores, 1935; Shores, Jordan, & Harvey, 1966); and Patricia Knapp and the Monteith College experiment at Wayne State University (Knapp, 1966). In the 1990s, the concept of information literacy found traction among academic librarians and became the heir apparent to the profession's efforts to become meaningfully integrated into the curriculum of higher education.

During my early career, information literacy became the lynch pin that allowed me to explore the possibilities of powerful library-related instruction. To be information literate, said the influential *Final Report of the President's Committee on Information Literacy* (American Library Association, 1989), a person would need to be able to recognize an information need and then to possess the capacity to effectively find, evaluate and use the needed information. Patricia Senn Breivik, one of the leading spokespersons and champions of information literacy, chaired that committee. She was well aware of the connection between information literacy and those efforts preceding her.

My first academic library job occurred serendipitously at Wayne State University shortly before Patricia Senn Breivik became Dean of Libraries around 1997. Bigger than life, Patricia shook the status quo. As President of the Association of College and Research Libraries, she advocated for "every librarian a leader." A vocal spokesperson for the profession, she believed in the curricular centrality of libraries though the medium of information literacy. In those years, the concept was associated with libraries and frequently considered a "library agenda."

But information literacy itself was a successor to what is now a little-remembered history of libraries focused on student learning. I remember Patricia's presentation during her interview for the position of dean. There was a moment when she stopped and suddenly realized that Wayne State University had been home to the famous Monteith library college experiment in the 1960s. Prior to the emergence of the information literacy movement, Monteith had been the culminating exemplar of the student- and learning-centered library. These learning-centered library experiments were designed

either to collocate libraries near students and classrooms or, more specifically,

purposefully to integrate library skills into the undergraduate curriculum.

Working for Patricia, I became one of the early Coordinators of Information

Literacy. At that point, I joined the effort at a professional level, writing and speaking

about the topic and championing the necessity of librarian-faculty collaboration as a

means to integrate the library more meaningfully into the curriculum. For many years, I

served as a faculty member for ACRL's Information Literacy Institute. For the last ten

years, I have viewed the same challenges facing libraries through the lens of an

administrator.

Libraries at the center of student learning and faculty research is a

conceptualization that goes far beyond the easy paternalistic euphemism used by many

academic colleagues who describe the library as the "heart of the university." In fact, this

visionary and revolutionary thread of activity would seem to anticipate a future paradigm

in which libraries are integrated into the core teaching and learning mission of our

institutions.

<center>Paradigm Shifts</center>

Drawing from Kuhn's conceptualization of paradigm, I argue that processes of

change and innovation in academic libraries are contested in part because they reflect the

broader conflict between old and new paradigms of academic libraries and librarianship.

When Scott Bennett refers to a shift in library paradigms, he brings our attention to the

work of Thomas Kuhn, the influential philosopher of science who wrote *The Structure of*

*Scientific Revolutions*, first published in 1962. Upon the book's 50-year anniversary, John

Naughton (2012), a journalist for *The Observer*, wrote that this relatively short

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publication was "one of the most influential books of the 20<sup>th</sup> century" and "also one of the most cited academic books of all time" (para. 1).

The importance of his work lies in Kuhn's framing of scientific change as resulting from a shift in paradigms. The concept has been widely used, and leaves much room for interpretation. However, Kuhn provides definitions and reflections that permit one to apply the concept to other contexts including change in a practitioner-oriented field such as librarianship.

In a 1969 postscript to *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Kuhn writes that he uses "paradigm" in two ways. First, "it stands for the entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques, and so on shared by the members of a given community" (p. 175). In this sense, by definition "paradigm" is similar to the sociological concepts of worldview or mental models (Senge, 1990). A paradigm represents one understanding of the world, which in turn shapes human actions. The challenge of paradigms is that they are unified wholes, complex connected and congruent systems of thought, value and action that defy easy adjustment. We live our paradigms. We are our paradigms. Like fish in water, we are so immersed in them that it is often difficult to see alternative perspectives. In fact, we generally work in communities whose members share and reinforce commonly held elements of these paradigms.

Secondly, Kuhn describes paradigm as a "puzzle-solution" to a given problem that emerges from this broader mental model. In this sense, paradigms legitimize types of questions asked and the strategies for solving them. With this definition, Kuhn challenges researchers and practitioners to consider the recurrent problems of their field and to scrutinize the solutions and proposed solutions.

The concept of paradigms, as described by Kuhn, may be applied to academic librarianship. During most of the last hundred years, libraries have been based on the paradigm that they serve to acquire and provide access to a printed world of information. Over time, that conceptualization has been stretched and morphed in a thousand ways by new formats and sources of information, means of transmission, devices for the reception of information, even definitions of "information." A service-oriented profession, academic libraries have focused on providing maximum access to the world of information in order to support the work of students and faculty. In practice, this has involved building large book and serial collections. Within this paradigm, libraries have pointed to the total number of volumes held in their stacks as a point of pride, to the number of reference questions answered as an indicator of need, and to library instruction as a solution to increased access to information.

Kuhn writes paradigms are "particularly revealing of the nature of things" (p. 25).This information access paradigm answers some questions, but fails adequately to address others. Prior to the advent of the internet, scholars and researchers experienced greater limitations in their access to information. Finding and acquiring needed research was a slow and inefficient process that required intensive work in the library tracking down sources or clues to sources. Viewing materials from other institutions meant endless correspondence and travel. The holdings of libraries were not widely networked until the 1970s. This was an era in which, by necessity, academic libraries acquired those materials most needed by their students and faculty. The paradigm of information access highlighted the importance of connecting scholars and researchers with a growing world of information.

However, to some degree, a lack of consensus always exists among the members of a profession regarding the dominant paradigm. For instance, many librarians have been concerned about other questions for which the paradigm of information access has presented no clear answers. Perhaps most importantly has been the persistent problem of the library's lack of integration into teaching, learning and research. While the library has acquired materials believed to support these activities, the library plays only a limited role in teaching related to finding, evaluating, and using information in any meaningful way. The prevalent paradigm of information access simply does not address this issue.

The library paradigm of information access is now contested. In a recent guest editorial, Rick Anderson (2011), the Associate Director for Scholarly Resources & Collections at the University of Utah's Marriott Library, writes, "The academic research library, as currently configured, is designed and organized to solve a problem that its patrons no longer perceive: the problem of information scarcity" (p. 289). Here Anderson argues the current library paradigm is obsolete. In a world of increasingly ubiquitous, freely accessible information, what assumptions and values should guide the future paradigm of the academic library?

Kuhn (1969) states that a paradigm shift is precipitated by persistent anomalies in the predominant paradigm, which leads to a period of profound professional insecurity and crisis. At the same time, alternative, emergent paradigms seem to provide solutions. Within librarianship, the primary, even exclusive focus of the information access paradigm ably solves the problem of information scarcity, but fails to provide answers concerning the value of those books and materials for student learning, and knowledge construction. In this regard, Cowley's comments in 1936 regarding the inability of

students effectively to use books (or information) are equally valid at the end of the 20th century. Library professionals and their parent institutions have not adequately focused on teaching the processes of using information. While academic libraries have continued to adapt to their de-centered role in the information universe, they have not embraced a robust paradigmatic self-conceptualization that transcends information acquisition and access.

Transitions between paradigms are infused with conflicts between the dominant and ascending paradigms. During these periods of time, the rules governing normal science, or normal practice in the case of academic libraries, are loosened. The conflicts that occur are not simply about the elements of a paradigm since they are all connected. The entire paradigm is challenged during a crisis. The shift involves assumptions about the way things work, purpose and goals, and meaning. "When the transition is complete, the profession will have changed its view of the field, its methods, and its goals" (Kuhn, 1970, p. 85).

<center>Emergence of a New Library Paradigm</center>

The emergence of a new paradigm of libraries and librarianship will reflect broader shifts in higher education and society. Technology has changed, and continues to change, the nature of human experience. In 1936, Walter Benjamin wrote about the effect of reproducing art, which by being removed from its original context loses what he called its "aura." This characteristic points to the complexly interconnected, intertextual nature of life in the 21st century. During this era, humans can simultaneously monitor multiple mobile devices, communicate instantaneously throughout the world, and find information anytime anywhere.

Contested and changing, higher education interacts with, and influences, the emergence of a new library paradigm. Teaching and learning are changing as faculty become more knowledgeable about pedagogical theory and practice. Barr and Tagg (1995), for instance, refer to a paradigm shift in higher education from teaching to learning, emphasizing less the content provided by instructors and more the construction of knowledge by students. Rather than passive recipients of information, students are active participants in learning.

At the same time, economic challenges have encouraged public concerns that the money pumped into colleges and universities generates real learning that makes a difference in student lives and careers. On the other side of this argument are many within academe expressing concern about the influence of the financial bottom-line in shaping higher education. Perceiving a trend towards vocational training, they worry about the loss of an institution that enhances the ability of students to think critically as informed citizens in a democracy (Giroux, 2010; Slaughter & Rhodes, 2004).

A number of library leaders and organizations provide insights into an emerging paradigm of libraries and librarianship. They describe a shift from an emphasis on building and sustaining traditional library collections to building and sustaining processes of learning and knowledge creation. For instance, in her critique of libraries and prevalent conceptions of information literacy, Kapitzke (2003) suggests that the profession of librarianship reflects shifts in society from positivist perspectives to constructivist perspectives. This is an important, somewhat difficult point to grasp. The distinction she makes is between a world in which librarians deliver isolatable facts to patrons about a concrete reality, to a world in which knowledge is constructed through the collective

efforts of librarians, students and faculty. The chaotic, democratic information universe in which libraries exist has "has created a situation where knowledge is located not so much in text as such, but in the co-construction of situated meanings among learner, teacher, and media center specialist" (2003, pp. 47–48).

This learning-centered conceptualization of libraries and librarianship challenges librarians because it steps far beyond the current practices of librarianship to help students and faculty find information. Kapitzke maintains that in the emerging world, information work is not primarily about finding information, but rather about the process of adding interpretive value through linking and interlinking knowledge derived from a multiplicity of multimodal texts. "*Connections* rather than *collections* constitute the material and social bases of information work in schools today" (p. 53, emphasis in original), she writes. Again referring to the practice of future librarians, instead of providing just-in-time information, librarians will collaborate in creating "just-in-time relationships and connections for making meaning" (p. 48). Underlying this learning-centered conceptualization is the implication that librarians must develop skills in multiple literacies, including critical literacy, visual literacy, and information literacy.

The paradigm of learning-centered libraries and librarianship appears in other contexts as well. For instance, in their application for an Association of College and Research Libraries Excellence in Academic Libraries Award subtitled *Changing the Paradigm,* the University of Minnesota Libraries (2009) state it this way: "Libraries, traditionally focused on the *products* of scholarship, are now prompted to understand and support the *processes* of scholarship" (para. 1; emphasis in original). Rather than simply collecting books, journals and serials, libraries now facilitate the creation of knowledge

for students, citizens and scholars. At the University of Minnesota, the libraries stress engagement through greater integration into teaching, learning and research. Elsewhere, Bennett (2009) discusses the shift in libraries from collection-centered to learning-centered designs, spaces in which intentional learning takes place within communities.

These authors and institutions point to similar, critical elements of a new library paradigm focused on learning. I would, however, qualify these portrayals. The emerging paradigm of academic libraries is nuanced, complex, and multifaceted. Although emphasizing the learning of students, faculty and librarians, the specific manifestation of learning-centered libraries will vary somewhat based on the learning and research needs of each institution. At its most general, the emerging library will be a center for the facilitation of knowledge construction, an incubator, a lab outside of the classroom. Such an academic library model supports the full range of skill and knowledge development related to processes associated with co-constructing knowledge in a community of practice. In this sense, the paradigm of knowledge construction parallels similar processes in the workplace where employees share and acquire textual, practical and interpretive knowledge.

I predict the emerging library will be part of the response to public demands for accountability from higher education. It will be the added-value, the place where practicing new skills occurs, where feedback is obtained, and where knowledge related to coursework, scholarly research, and personal careers is constructed. The academic library will be the place in colleges and universities where students learn how to learn because this is a co-requisite of knowledge construction, and these processes—they are all processes—will be supported here. But how will that happen?

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Centering Knowledge Construction

While the concept of paradigm shift appears removed from the practical challenges facing academic libraries, in reality, it represents a missing link in our ability to move forward in developing libraries for the next generation. Innovations, both small and large, will provide the skeletal structure on which this new paradigm of learning centered libraries will be constructed.

On a practical level, in the new paradigm, libraries and librarianship will increasingly focus, not only on the provision of information, but more importantly on the processes that permit students, faculty and librarians to learn individually and together. In many cases, these libraries will incorporate formerly dispersed campus services that support specific types of learning and knowledge construction. Some of these service units will be newly developed. These might include centers that support writing, statistical analysis, media production and language learning. Currently, I find library facilities rapidly becoming home to a number of external units; in most cases, they work semi-autonomously, though library staff frequently recognize the need for greater integration. Even though this trend is well underway on most campuses, I suspect that few are aware of its paradigmatic implications.

In addition to the co-location of support functions in academic libraries, the new paradigm will feature library professionals with continually expanding expertise in multiple literacies and technologies to support the multiplicity of processes involved in local knowledge creation. In addition to assisting students and faculty find relevant collections, they will be actively involved in a collaborative process of making connections. These will be connections between the questions that students and faculty

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ask, and sources of information and disciplinary content; related values and assumptions; logical implications; and creative, metaphoric and divergent associations. In addition to guiding students and faculty to the appropriate resources, librarians and librarians will work with the questions presented to them, participating in the research itself.

As orientation for the road ahead, I now offer a map that provides assistance in navigating the remainder of this work. In the next chapter, I present an overview of three academic libraries studied as part of this research on innovation. Here, I provide just a glimpse of these libraries and the kinds of activities suggestive of innovation. Chapter 3 presents institutional theory and social movement theory as the prisms through which I view innovation. As a prelude to later discussions, I maintain here that innovation requires collective action among the members of the extended library community.

Social movement theory becomes the core of the Model of Academic Library Innovation presented in Chapter 4. This section provides both a schematic of the model and a summary of the key components. The succeeding three chapters translate the major mechanisms of social movement theory to library innovation; highlighted here are the strategies by which individuals and groups move forward together in pursuit of innovation. Of special significance are the processes associated with aligning different perspectives of innovation; organizational justice; and informal shared learning. In Chapter 8, I explore the nature of leadership that facilitates innovation. Borrowed from complexity theory, this nuanced form of leadership stresses the importance of creating the conditions whereby others may engage an innovative process without leaders or administrators predetermining the outcome. The concept of tempered radicals is viewed

as an example of complexity leadership. Finally, Chapter 9 presents a summary of

lessons learned and recommendations for the future of library innovation.

CHAPTER II

THREE ACADEMIC LIBRARIES AND THEIR INNOVATIONS


The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview, based primarily on interviews, of three academic libraries that I visited in the fall of 2010. Those interviews represent an exploratory investigation that serves to complement my own insights from eighteen years of experience as a librarian and library administrator concerning the nature of library change and innovation. Captured in these interviews are hints and clues to processes underlying innovation which are developed, and supported with evidence, in later chapters. This chapter introduces these three libraries, the general features of their institutional context and the several innovations which will be followed throughout.

This description provides a bridge between my earlier discussion of library innovation and paradigm change, and my later depiction of library innovation as a social movement process. By the term innovation, I mean specifically those services, products and structures that represent incremental steps in the transition to a new paradigm of academic libraries and librarianship. Recognized by colleagues in other libraries as trailblazers in this transition, these three libraries illustrate elements of a shift from a profession focused on information access (e.g., book stacks and databases) to one focused on learning and knowledge construction. Topics of innovative change found in each of these libraries are explored in greater detail in subsequent chapters.

Three Institutions: Similarities and Differences

 During the fall of 2010, I conducted research documenting the processes of

innovation at three academic libraries, each representing a different institution type: a

research university, a comprehensive university, and a private college, and ranging in size

from 2,500 to 30,000. What they have in common is a recent history of tackling adaptive

challenges and finding ways to respond.  In this work, I refer to them as Flagship

University, Public State University, and Midwest Private College. The last of these

focuses primarily on teaching and learning undergraduates while the first holds deep

commitments to research. Between them, the medium sized public university emphasizes

both teaching and research. With regards to innovation, all three libraries experience

similar challenges, processes, and emerging solutions. They also exhibit interesting

characteristics associated with the emerging new paradigm, the idea of the library as

center for learning and knowledge construction. In all, I interviewed 27 administrators,

librarians and staff, observed ten meetings, and read extensive documentation. My

purpose was to better understand how those working in academic libraries perceive and

experience processes of change and innovation.

 Despite their commonalities, the particular features of innovations at the three

libraries are different. Midwest Private College Library displays a collegial, organic form

of innovation that results in part from the size of the institution and the natural integration

of library staff into the curriculum. The libraries of Public State University exemplify an

intentional library culture of innovation in which creativity and change is the language of

the organization.  Finally, Flagship University Libraries represents a large organization in

which innovation is unevenly distributed, but often extensively developed. As a major

research institution, its emphasis is on original research and less on teaching. In each of these institutions, I focus on one or two innovations. These include an information literacy program, a library culture of innovation, a university-wide open access policy and a merged student learning and library facility.

<div align="center">Midwest Private College</div>

I visited Midwest Private College in late August during the first week of classes. It was a quiet, beautiful morning on campus when I arrived. The five-story library sits in a hollow surrounded by wooded hills and a serene pool of water. With a student body of about 2500, Midwest is defined by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (2010) as a Baccalaureate institution emphasizing Arts and Science education with a number of pre-professional programs in such areas as dentistry, law and medicine. The institution places strong value on teaching, learning and close relationships between students and faculty. Ranked in the top 100 National Liberal Arts Colleges by US News and World Report (2013), Midwest Private College features an 11:1 student to faculty ratio, with 64% of its classes containing less than 20 students. Established in the mid-1800s, the college maintains a religious affiliation.

*The Library*

The library was constructed in the early 1990s, and is an attractive facility with large glass windows, wood interior, and high ceilings. A coffee shop enhances the library's desirability as a place to study and socialize. With a staff of 19, Midwest Private College Library is divided into five departments with about one-third of the staff in Reference Services; similar to other academic libraries, the members of the Reference

Services Department provide instruction, purchase materials and act as liaisons to the departments as well as staffing the reference desk. Ten of the staff are librarians.

Centrally located on campus, the library serves as a study space by many students. Both students and faculty use it as a resource for books, journals and research databases. A robust interlibrary loan program augments the book collection. In 2010, Midwest Private College borrowed nearly 5,000 books from other libraries for its students and faculty. The Library also provides research assistance at a reference desk and a strong program of library-related instruction, teaching about 250 sessions throughout the year.

The small size of the library staff yields useful synergies in terms of coordination and communication. For instance, many of the Reference Department librarians perform dual leadership roles through their work as coordinators for such library operations as the web site, reference, instruction, exhibits, and special projects. Ten of the nineteen librarians and classified staff participate on the library's management council. In terms of additional coordination on campus, the subject specialist librarians serve as members of academic divisions, and therefore have the opportunity to attend meetings of those areas.

Midwest Private College Library sustains an exceptional degree of integration into campus activities including teaching and learning. Information literacy has been formally designated as one of the six core skill sets in the General Education curriculum. As primary instructors of information literacy, the Reference Librarians carry a heavy teaching load of instructional sessions for General Education and upper level coursework.

The unique integration of the instruction program into the college's curriculum represents one of the library's strongest innovations. The impact of this innovation results in part from its collaborative origins as a campus-wide initiative.  A busy Special

Collections Department is also actively involved in teaching and learning with primary source materials. The two Special Collections librarians perform yeoman's work in managing and digitizing collections, often in partnership with other organizations.

The library's responsibilities have gradually evolved in recent years to include campus activities separate from traditional library work. These include leading the campus speaker and convocation series, managing the student research symposium, and coordinating a regular series of writers' readings. The breadth and depth of library involvement in campus activity has lessened its flexibility to undertake new projects.

On my first day at Midwest Private College, I arrived at 10 a.m. for a meeting with Carol, the library director. Talkative and friendly, she put me at ease. As we spoke, she shared her observations about the library, including its ambitious instruction program. While acknowledging its success, she depicted the instructional program as stretching library resources to a breaking point. The previous week, one of the librarians told her that for the first time in her experience, a professor with an upper-level course had requested two library sessions. Working with upper-level courses has become a priority, but in this case, the librarian was forced to decline. She simply didn't have time.

Reflecting on the mixed blessing of being needed, but unable to satisfy increasing demands, she concludes, "So, as I always say, we are drowning in our success… We built it and they came. Now what? "

*Paradigm Shifting at Midwest Private College*

The main story of Midwest Private College Library concerns the development of their information literacy program. This is of special interest because in facilitating the emergence of a new library paradigm, information literacy programs reflect a shift away

from skills training associated with finding books and articles in the library. Instead, these programs increasingly focus on the teaching and learning of interdisciplinary information skills in collaboration with students and faculty. This is a shift from teaching and orienting students to library resources, to a more profound process of building collective knowledge about the information universe (Barr & Tagg, 1995).

I do not mean to say that academic librarians previously have been uninvolved in teaching and learning. However, in the information access paradigm, librarians generally act as guest lecturers who describe research tools and technical, forgettable strategies for searching them. Librarian sessions are often loosely coordinated with class activities, and because of their library focus, generally do not address students' deeper research challenges, including fundamental difficulties with reading, writing, and critical thinking. By contrast, in the emerging paradigm, librarians and information skills are more authentically integrated in the process, and would address these other issues.

As a benchmark of activity, Midwest Private College Library participates in the General Education program by providing information literacy instruction. This is a deliberate shift away from teaching library skills to teaching and learning about information more generally. At Midwest Private College, I consider the collective decision to incorporate information literacy into the curriculum as a critical incremental step towards a new library paradigm focused on learning.

In moving towards this new paradigm at Midwest, the librarians, classroom faculty, and students work together to address challenges involving research. For instance, Colleen, the library's instruction coordinator, described working with a biology class of about eight or ten students in a coffee shop. After listening to the students talk

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about their research topics and strategies for pursuing them, she offered suggestions about different approaches and databases. It was simply a conversation, she said.

Another aspect of the new paradigm involves librarians' willingness to take risks in areas not typically associated with their areas of expertise. In this way, they exhibit a willingness to learn new skills and knowledge in order to reach out to colleagues in other disciplines. Colleen, without any conceptual background in management planning, agreed in another context to help students "figure out" how to write a management plan. In the library paradigm of learning, librarians are engaged in learning as much as students.

## Public State University

Several weeks later, I visited Public State University. Though temperatures hovered in late summer warmth, the leaves were changing and football was in the air. Public State maintains an enrollment of about 16,000 students, mostly undergraduates. Though the Carnegie Foundation (2010) classifies the University as a doctorate-granting institution with high levels of research, this focus is balanced by a strong emphasis on student and faculty learning. Public State has an enrollment profile described as "very high undergraduate," with a student to faculty ratio of 17:1. U.S. News and World Report (2013) rank the institution among the top 90 national universities. Established in the early 19th century, the University claims to be one of the oldest public institutions in the nation.

*The Libraries*

The University Libraries consist of four campus facilities: the central library and three others with a more narrow disciplinary focus. In the central library, I observed a tremendous level of student activity, which highlighted its role as a campus hub. The main floor appeared to be a playground of resources and services, all in an open space:

computers in various configurations, for standing and sitting users; an area equipped with electrical outlets to power up mobile devices; a reference desk; a circulation desk that sold and/or checked out items as diverse as flash drives, podiums and speakers; and a writing center that assisted students with all aspects of written communication.

The Libraries serve as the primary source of print and electronic research materials for the students and faculty of the University. They also contribute to the curriculum through the delivery of instructional sessions focused on library research and data management. Librarians participate in teaching an elective course on interactive media and the world of information. The Libraries provide a variety of learning spaces, including a multimedia production lab, several classrooms and a large coffee shop. Virtually, the library maintains a dynamic web page, and numerous social media sites.

The level of activity in the main library disconfirms ideas about quiet and orderly libraries. One story illustrates the incongruity between the past and the emergent world of libraries involving the new University president shortly after his arrival several years ago.

Ron, the Assistant to the Dean related to me that the president visited the library one night and seeing a great deal of activity, inquired at the Circulation Desk.

'What's going on over here tonight?'

'What do you mean', replied the Circulation Desk clerk.

'What's the special event that is generating all of this traffic in the building?'

'There is no special event,' said the clerk. 'It's like this every night'.

As I sat observing the library activity one day, the University mascot—a large feathered predator—walked, skipped and hopped across the main floor of the central library. The well-known campus fowl mimed its way across the building high-fiving

students, waving when they called its name, and tapped unsuspecting students on the shoulder. The mascot, generating support for that week's home football game had come to one of the centers of campus activity.

Public State University Libraries employs about 100 staff, including perhaps 40 librarians. At the time of my visit, Julia, the Dean, had just added two new assistant deans to the existing three. This change was part of a reorganization designed to permit the library to "move quicker." As the dean explains it, the reorganization creates greater diversity of opinion among members of the library administration, facilitates frontline decision-making, and permits the A.D.s to focus their energies on fewer operations and employees. Each A.D. oversees one of the libraries' five newly configured divisions: Technical Services and Special Collections; Access and Assessment Services; Special Libraries; Instruction and Emerging Technologies; and Research and Collection Services. As I soon discovered, this library system was no stranger to change.

Two features of Public State University Libraries emerge in all of the interviews, one of them resulting from external circumstances, the other from internal organizational culture. First, the library system and its parent institution have experienced dramatic budget reductions, and anticipate even greater cuts in the future. The Libraries have lost $1.2 million during the last few years out of a $12 million budget. This has translated into the loss of eleven filled positions and eight unfilled positions. Julia says budget cuts are the greatest challenge facing them.

The other striking characteristic of this library system is the seemingly pervasive and continuous nature of innovation. Recently, much change has been driven by budget

cuts. In discussing this connection, Julia points out that the Libraries were not alone in experiencing deep reductions, which made it a little easier for staff to accept.

"I guess when your ox is gored, you don't like it, but yours is not the only one… So … nobody really feels picked on. They might not like it, but they, you know (won't be saying) "God, there she goes again…," referring to herself.

Another facet of change and innovation in the Public State University Libraries has to do with a way of working and thinking that probably begins with the Dean. Julia says that the "status quo will never happen again because we are going to keep doing things." Her long-standing interest in technological innovation has supported a proliferation of developments. These have included, among others, flexible open source catalogs and content management systems, multimedia production labs (with 3D, HD, Blu-ray film editing capabilities), smart and sophisticated instructional spaces, a robust digitization program and savvy exploitation of social technologies. The technological skill among librarians, staff and student employees here seems quite strong.

Of these three academic libraries, Public State is the most fiscally challenged. Moving forward, juggling change and innovation while incurring regular budget reductions creates an especially complex organizational environment.  To date, the Libraries have eliminated some costly services, such as electronic reserves, poster production, and library public relations.  The dean frequently says as justification for some of these changes: "less with less." In reality, the recent reorganization is simply a point in a long and continuing process of anticipating future needs and making changes.

*Paradigm Shifting at Public State University*

The innovations at Public State University also reflect a shift towards a new learning-centered paradigm of libraries and librarianship, though different than those observed at Midwest Private College. This is a library that actively emphasizes cutting-edge tools that support learning and research. However, an inventory of specific innovations does not adequately capture the pervasive learning-centeredness of this environment. Rather, the libraries and the staff exhibit characteristics that I would describe as a culture of academic library innovation. By using the term culture, I rely on Schein (2004), who defines it as a "pattern of learned assumptions that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to the problems of survival and integration" (p. 128). Culture consists of three levels, each progressively deeper and more difficult to identify: artifacts, espoused values, and basic underlying assumptions (Schein, 1997).

In 2010, when I conducted this research, the Public State University Libraries exhibited numerous artifacts seemingly reflective of a new paradigm in which libraries and librarianship are focused on learning and knowledge construction more generally. Artifacts are the most visible level of a culture, though also the most difficult to interpret. For instance, physical artifacts include a writing center on the main floor of the library; a multimedia production lab; and a desk that circulated a wide variety of resources beyond books. Virtual artifacts include a web site that incorporates social media and multiple modes of engaging students and faculty through text, video and even languages.

 At the level of espoused values, I again find consistency among those with whom I spoke. Espoused values represent the philosophies, goals and strategies to which people

claim adherence (Schein, 1997). As Julia says, "Status quo will never happen again because we are going to keep doing things." Several staff confirmed the constancy of change in the libraries. Although not a value itself, change may be suggestive of an organizational norm or expectation. Not everyone can work in such a library. Staff told me stories about new librarians who "didn't gel with us" because their ideas about how libraries work failed to accommodate change and innovation. They generally move on.

The Dean admits that she has been fortunate in hiring people who thrive in this kind of environment. Some staff with a curiosity and passion for exploring new services and products flourish here. Rick, the Computer Information Specialist, talks wistfully about his goal of creating an open access federated search tool, saying, "It's always been that kind of shiny thing to me; it's like, it's kind of a holy grail." The Dean encourages creativity despite organizational or bureaucratic obstacles. Lena, the Head of Instruction and Applied Technology, says that Julia "promotes and allows for that, bucking the system," especially concerning projects associated with the state consortium.

Now in her position for over twenty years, the Dean has played a major role in shaping this innovative culture. The beliefs, values, and assumptions of an organization's founders, and by extension, long-serving library deans, are key influences in developing a culture (Schein, 1997). Julia came to Public State University Libraries with a strong interest in technology and innovation, which has, over time, characterized the library system. Her commitment to learning-centered innovations cannot be underestimated.

Public State University Libraries highlight several features of innovation in academic libraries. First, it points to the importance of a vision of learning-centered innovation that guides the implementation of congruent services and products over many

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years. Second, it shows that cultures of innovation do not suddenly happen, but take years to develop. At Public State University, we see a library dean with a constancy of vision who has been successful in finding and hiring can-do librarians and middle managers, many of whom also have their own ideas about how to enhance learning and knowledge construction. The library has been successful in reinforcing ideas about creativity and innovation among its staff, and aligning perspectives in service to innovation for learning.

For libraries not yet heavily affected by budget cuts, Public State University Libraries points to the importance of aligning the purpose of libraries behind a new paradigm that can better make the case that libraries matter to students and faculty. Even at this library, which had been well positioned to manage draconian financial shortfalls, the pain of change is significant. How much more challenging will it be for libraries that have clung to a traditional paradigm to respond to such budget cuts?

<div align="center">Flagship University</div>

I visited the third and largest of the academic libraries at the end of October. There was now a definite chill in the morning.  Sitting atop several hills, the diverse buildings of Flagship University reminded me of a castle from one of the Harry Potter movies. The Carnegie Foundation (2010) describes the University as a member of the elite group of doctorate-granting institutions producing very high levels of research. Flagship features a 19:1 student-to-faculty ratio, larger than those found at smaller institutions. Flagship is one of two large public research universities in the state. U.S. News and World Report ranks it as one of the top 110 national universities (2013). Established just after the Civil War, Flagship U. enrolls about 29,000 students.

*The Libraries*

All together, the University Libraries consist of twelve facilities located on and off campus, some in cities far removed from the main campus. The Libraries hold about four million books and employ approximately 200 staff members divided into 43 units. As a major research institution, Flagship University has placed great value in building its libraries and their collections of books and journals. In terms of volumes held, Flagship is one of the largest 60 libraries in the country (American Library Association, 2012). As several staff indicated, evaluating and eliminating books and journals is not an activity the Libraries actively pursue. They face significant challenges concerning the storage of rapidly growing collections.

The Flagship libraries face the same challenges highlighted in my earlier visits: the shift from print to electronic materials, a proliferation of emerging technologies, and new user behaviors. But future directions are far from clear. At Flagship, this uncomfortable ambiguity was most apparent at a meeting to discuss a new report about the future of library subject liaison roles on campus. The handful of librarians and staff attending the meeting expressed widely divergent views about future changes and processes, highlighting again the difficulties of focusing the energies of a large organization. Addressing this issue, in fact, represents an important component of innovation at Flagship University.

I met with the Dean early on the morning following my arrival in town. She was, as I had heard, an interesting, insightful administrator who focuses on communication and organizational process. During her five years as the Dean of Libraries at Flagship University, Laura has employed several labor-intensive strategies to keep the staff of this

large organization informed and engaged. On Mondays, she sends out email updates, and once a month holds all-staff meetings.

"Not all of them come (to each meeting), but at least (they have) an opportunity to have face time with me, and I just feel that it is very important because I don't get to see many of them."

When asked about her efforts to develop an organization that responds quickly to a changing environment, she talked about engaging the staff in creating a vision statement that mattered to the entire library community. A consultative, servant-leader, she "believes in participation and involving the very people who I will be dependent on to lead this university library successfully." Developing the vision statement occupied an entire semester, but the staff seemed to appreciate the effort. Facilitating the vision statement exemplified a style she believes in.

Innovations intended to enhance student and faculty learning occur in pockets throughout the Libraries, some larger than others. These range from campus book delivery systems, to new exhibition programs, to GIS (Geographic Information Systems) collaborations and digitization projects. Several of the larger, eye-catching new projects have been implemented in collaboration with campus partners. For instance, the Libraries played an important leadership role in developing the University's open access policy for scholarly communications. By enacting this policy, Flagship University has taken steps to ensure that faculty scholarship is published not only in the professional journals but also on the internet free of charge through the University's institutional repository.

*Paradigm Shifting at Flagship University*

The innovations at Flagship University also reflect aspects of an emerging library paradigm focused on learning and knowledge construction, though more diverse and multi-dimensional than those at the other libraries. Typical of a larger institution, this library system possesses the capacity to develop major innovations that smaller libraries would not attempt. These include the massive Learning Lab that incorporates a wide array of support services in one facility, in fact, a prototypical library as learning center.

I follow three major stories of learning-centered innovation at Flagship University Libraries, as well as many smaller ones. The first is the campus-wide implementation of the open-access policy. The second involves the development of the multi-purpose Learning Lab that involves the integration and merger of three separate cultures. The third story, and perhaps the most significant of all, is one that follows efforts to enhance the learning of library faculty and staff in order to facilitate broader innovation.

The creation of a campus-wide open access policy is noteworthy for its implications concerning knowledge construction. This policy endorses making all faculty publications freely available on the internet. Although seemingly connected to the traditional library paradigm of information access, it transcends that paradigm by emphasizing the free flow of information in order to facilitate knowledge construction. Far surpassing the idea of libraries and librarianship as organizing information for local use, this democratizing trend challenges a controlled scholarly communication system in which information goes to those who can pay.

Another striking innovation: the main floor of one of the large campus libraries has been redesigned as a multipurpose student-focused center for learning. A joint

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initiative between the Libraries, Student Services and Campus Technologies, the facility combines information and research assistance, diverse technologies, spaces, and tutoring opportunities. Walking in the front door, the visitor encounters a round desk staffed by three people: a librarian, a technology support specialist and a campus information assistant. The very large main floor is packed with students working singly or in groups. The ubiquitous coffee shop sits at one end, with mobile spaces and high tech equipment along one wall. The facility also provides opportunities for scheduled tutoring and study groups as well. During my visit, a small crisis had occurred: this facility, called The Learning Lab, had become popular so quickly that its wireless capacity had reached its limit and students experienced difficulty connecting their laptops to the internet.

At the same time, Flagship features an interesting focus on the learning of its librarians and staff. Perhaps characteristic of a larger library system with numerous departments and hundreds of employees, Flagship faces a daunting task in its efforts to shift and align activities towards a new paradigm of libraries and librarianship. One of the important innovations here is the process of enabling the organization to innovate. Much of this activity occurs at the level of individuals assigned to perform work that cannot easily be achieved without broader efforts of stakeholders.

Shared learning as a means of sensemaking (Weick, 1995; 2001) and collective understanding figures prominently here. This is characterized by Kate, the IT Trainer, who chairs a task force on peer review of library-related instruction, an open-ended process that creates circumstances whereby librarians and staff may observe each other teaching and then discuss it. Kate observes that building trust between individuals opens up opportunities for people to learn in the face of personal fears that they are incapable.

Innovations at Flagship University are important to other libraries because they highlight several significant features of the emerging library paradigm. First, it demonstrates the viability of libraries as spaces that bring together various campus units that support learning. Kevin the Director of Campus Information and the Learning Lab says that he hopes eventually to bring all of student services into the Lab, including student advising. This library facility concretely shows how such a merged environment would work.

Secondly, Flagship illustrates a form of innovation that emphasizes the societal role of libraries and librarianship in championing an alternative system of scholarly communication. This represents an entirely different way of thinking about the future of libraries. Rather than focusing specifically on learning and knowledge construction within the institution, this role focuses on facilitating learning and knowledge construction at the national and international level by making information free.

Finally, the emerging paradigm of learning stresses the importance of learning for all stakeholders, not just students and faculty. Librarians and staff must also become active participants. Flagship points to some of the collective challenges of constructing knowledge and aligning organizational members in a way that permits them to facilitate innovation. They must be innovators themselves if they intend to facilitate innovation.

In this chapter, I have described three academic libraries known for their innovation related to student learning. These innovations are important because they represent harbingers of the kinds of changes in services and products that can be expected of academic libraries and librarianship as they transition more fully to a new paradigm of learning and knowledge construction. In the next chapter, I begin exploring processes of

change and innovation in colleges and universities, and in particular academic libraries.  I

describe the characteristics of organizational change, and highlight reasons why it is so

difficult. This represents a prelude to a detailed investigation of processes of innovation

conceived through the lens of social movements.

CHAPTER III

ACTIVELY SHAPING ORGANIZATIONS


Innovation in academic libraries does not happen by chance. Instead, it occurs

through the collective efforts of an extended community actively to shape a product,

service or structure consistent with the emergence of learning-centered libraries and

librarianship. However, organizational change is theorized in ways that emphasize both

passive and active roles for individuals and groups. An organizational tension exists

between standing still and moving forward. The paradox is that even as conservative

tendencies sustain the status quo and preserve organizational identity, change occurs.

In this chapter, I describe two theories of change as a foundation upon which I

will build a model of innovation in academic libraries that champions the position that

librarians and their partners can actively shape the future. These are Institutional Theory

and Social Movement Theory. The former emphasizes a conservative view of change in

which organizations are described primarily as passively responding to the pressures of

their environment. In contrast, the latter theory attempts to explain the occurrence of

collective action that brings about social and political change. This theory therefore

emphasizes that individuals and groups can initiate and pursue successful change. By

describing organizational change and innovation through two theories, I add

multidimensional depth to complex processes. Both perspectives provide valid insight

into processes of change. In fact, these theories complement each other, with one pointing

to the importance of environmental influences in organizational change, while the other,

to the ability of individuals and groups to influence it. Explanations based on single

theories of change provide partial understandings. In the approach taken here, I want to

stress that groups are affected by environmental circumstances, while at the same time,

environmental circumstances affect the choices and actions of groups.

Previously, I provided an overview of three academic libraries of different type

institutions and the nature of innovation discovered at each one. What these innovations

had in common is an emphasis on learning and knowledge construction, reflecting what I

argue reflects the emergence of a new paradigm of libraries and librarianship. By

describing Institutional Theory and Social Movement Theory, this chapter provides a

transition between the general descriptions of innovation at those three libraries, and a

more detailed exploration of the processes by which those innovations occurred.

Subsequent chapters emphasize innovation as a social movement process, while also

pointing to the influence of environmental pressures.

## Institutional Theory

Institutional Theory addresses how and why an organization's structures,

including rules, norms, and routines, are influenced and determined by the social

environment (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1987; Scott, 1987; Suddaby

& Lefsrud, 2009). This body of theory suggests that significant elements of the structure

and culture of academic libraries are shaped by external factors. In general, Institutional

Theory documents a conservative tendency of organizations to mimic the behavior of

other organizations perceived to be successful. For instance, in developing plans for an information literacy program, academic libraries frequently begin by identifying best practices and benchmarking the activities of other libraries. The implication is that libraries seek solutions outside their own organizations at least as much as they do inside.

Three core concepts require clarification in order better to understand the focus of Institutional Theory. Due in part to their abstractness, the terms *organization*, *institution*, and *institutionalization* pose definitional difficulties, a problem exacerbated by meanings that vary both in academic and common usage. Most concretely, organizations are technical instruments designed to accomplish a specific task (Selznick, 1957). Fire departments, drug stores, and schools, as technical instruments, are created for a purpose.

Institutions however are more complicated; their referent is less clear. In general, institution refers to a formal or informal system of rules that provide structure for social and economic interactions (Hodgson, 2006). Examples include language, systems of currency, inheritance laws, and such organizations as colleges and universities.  In the latter case, we can say that a university is as an organization that provides advanced education. As an institution, it is a system of rules that affect interactions between students, faculty and librarians, as well as patterns of change and innovation.

Rules are an essential definitional element of institutions. Rules may be socially constructed by members of the institution, copied from others, or imposed by external agencies. At the same time, most organizations work within the parameters of rules originating in multiple institutions, some congruent, some not. For instance, an academic library is influenced by the rules and norms of such diverse institutions as its parent university or college, the American Library Association, and benchmark libraries.

A third term, institutionalization, helps explain how organizations adopt and learn new behaviors, norms and structures. To institutionalize something means that a practice or structure becomes an accepted, even rigidified, part of the organization perhaps resistant to change. Selznick famously stated that to "institutionalize is to *infuse with value* beyond the technical requirements of the task at hand" (1957, pp. 16-17). Most importantly here is the idea that institutionalized organizations are no longer focused only on their expressed technical purpose. They exist in order to continue fulfilling and sustaining existing norms and emergent meanings. To be institutionalized means that an action or behavior has become part of the organization's standard practice, though not necessarily because of its effectiveness in achieving the organization's specified goals.

Institutional Theory therefore focuses on organizational change that occurs in response to processes of institutionalization. Within this framework, organizations are described as reacting to external rules and pressures rather than acting on them. This conservative approach to change is exemplified by three characteristics relevant to higher education and academic libraries: legitimacy through conformity; loose coupling; and ambiguity of goals and processes.

*Legitimacy through Conformity*

Most organizations want to keep up with the Joneses, which they do by watching their competitors or peers and mimicking their behaviors, as Institutional Theory predicts (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). This practice highlights seeking organizational legitimacy by conforming to practices regarded as being rewarded. The concept of institutional isomorphism maintains that organizations in the same line of business, facing the same environmental pressures, tend to look like each other (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

Organizations follow established institutional norms to gain legitimacy, and legitimacy garners external support.

Organizations grow to resemble each other due to three types of isomorphic pressures: mimicry, coercion, and norms (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Mimicry is the practice of imitating other organizations perceived as being successful. Well studied in higher education (Bealing, Riordan, & Riordan, 2011; Budros, 2001; Levin, 2004; Morphew, 2002, 2009; Morphew & Huisman, 2002; Rusch & Wilbur, 2007; Youn & Price, 2009), mimicry has been used to explain the "academic drift" of community colleges towards offering four-year degrees and of "teaching" universities expanding into research institutions (Morphew & Huisman, 2002); the quest for institutional status as measured by Carnegie classifications (Rusch & Wilbur, 2007); and the increasing rigor of tenure rules (Youn & Price, 2009).

A second form of isomorphism results from coercive pressures such as governmental regulations that prescribe institutional behaviors. For instance, regulations may limit annual tuition increases in public universities, or require the teaching of specific content, or establish mechanisms for documenting and reporting graduation rates. Directly or indirectly, coercive pressures affect academic libraries.

Finally, organizations tend to look and act alike because of the normative pressures of professionalization within industries and disciplines. A field's continuity is insured through the education, training, and informal learning provided by current practitioners to the next generation. It is this professionalism that generates many of the standards guiding, and even challenging, the field. Normative pressures gradually lead

professionals to recognize and accept the responsibilities of commonly held disciplinary expectations. In time, these expectations acquire legitimacy within the profession.

Legitimacy through conformity highlights the developmental tendency of organizations to adopt common practices and structures. This occurs through external regulations; through the benchmarking of "successful" organizations; and through professional education. All three forms of isomorphism represent conservative, even reactive paths of change and innovation. In addition to exhibiting the characteristic of isomorphism, colleges, universities and academic libraries also demonstrate a high degree of independence between departments, programs, and faculty.

*Loose Coupling*

Higher education is a loosely coupled institution. By this, I mean to say that coordination and collaboration are only weakly developed. Specific events and activities are affected by, and responsive to, other events and activities while at the same time retaining their own identity (Weick, 1976/2000). Arguably, loose coupling between libraries and the departments and curricula results in wasteful purchases. Recent research on academic library collections suggests that about 40 percent of the materials purchased do not circulate (Anderson, 2011). Libraries are spending tremendous amounts of money on materials that are selected just in case someone needs them.

At the same time that libraries are loosely coupled to the primary work of faculty and students, individual courses are loosely coupled to the programs of which they are part. Loose coupling is a fundamental element of higher education as it is with bureaucratic institutions possessing poorly defined or contested core technologies (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). In the absence of clear goals,

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processes, and outcomes, these institutions rely on ceremonial rules to give the impression of efficiency.

Higher education as an institution is striking in the remarkable autonomy granted to its employees. In fact, colleges and universities lack two of the most common coupling mechanisms: a core technology that inherently requires articulation, and titular authority (Weick, 1976/2000). Unlike the automobile factory line, colleges and universities do not construct student learning in a rigorous, unwavering sequence. Nor does the authority of a dean, chair or director necessitate that specific actions occur. In the absence of such mechanisms, these organizations rely much more on informal relationships and conversations.

Loose coupling carries significant tradeoffs for higher education. On one hand, it represents an obstacle to collective decision-making, action, and innovation. On the other, it supports the autonomy of individuals to express their creativity in more limited areas. Creativity is exhibited and expressed by individuals or small groups of individuals. Innovation, on the other hand, requires the participation and efforts of numerous people (Adams et al., 2006; Baregheh, Rowley, & Sambrook, 2009; Damanpour, Szabat, & Evan, 1989; Hage, 1999; Woodman, Sawyer, & Griffin, 1993).

The implications of loose coupling for change and innovation are profound. While the autonomy that it provides likely supports individual creativity, it lacks the glue to easily enact collective innovation. Top-down decision-making does not work in higher education. What is required of professionals in this environment is the ability to work with others in achieving organizational goals. Innovation and change occurs through the abilities of people to work together in the deepest sense of that term. This is not simply a

matter of coordination—you do your part and I'll do mine. It requires people to listen to, and understand, each other. Ultimately we are in this together and nothing happens unless we learn to work together. In his recent work on healing the heart of democracy, Parker Palmer (2011) describes the two decision-making styles of majority rule and consensus. The former style results in winners and losers. The latter, though requiring more time, results in a process of understanding and mutual satisfaction.

While loose coupling ensures autonomy, it also limits the institution's ability to ensure adequate assessment and accountability. The decoupling of activities from outcomes protects the organization from revealing what Meyer and Rowan describe as a "public record of inefficiency and inconsistency" (1977, p. 357). These authors claim that processes of evaluation and governance are often more ceremonial than substantive. At the same time, decoupling means that the members of the organization must be committed to collegial working relationships. In the absence of collegiality, processes fail and relationships exhibit dysfunction.

Tighter coupling requires policy and authority, which would seem antithetical to the ethos of higher education. However, the choice is not simply between loose and tight coupling, as if it is either one or the other. Rather, the solution involves balancing autonomy with articulation, a process worked out through the social and political dynamics of the organization. However, not only are higher education organizations loosely coupled, but they lack clear defined goals and processes.

*Ambiguity of Goals and Processes*

Organizational life generally, is paradoxical. The tension between, and co-existence of, competing agendas, values, aspirations and goals remain problematic. Along

these lines, institutions of higher education have been described as "organized anarchies" (Cohen & March; 1986/2000) in which purpose, power and process remain ambiguous and unclear. Cohen and March (1986/2000) are not optimistic about the interest and/or willingness of higher education to lessen this uncertainty. "There are only modest signs that universities or other organized anarchies respond to a revelation of ambiguity of purpose by reducing the ambiguity. These are organizational systems without clear objectives, and the processes by which their objectives are established and legitimized are not extraordinarily sensitive to inconsistency" (1986/2000, p. 17). To exemplify the ambiguity of competing goals in higher education, one might simply ask administrators and faculty about the relative importance of core institutional activities. How should research, teaching, and service be weighted in tenure decisions? In reviewing the institutional strategic plan, which goals and sub-goals are most important? Like most things, the answer probably depends on one's seat in the stadium.

What is the source of ambiguity in organized anarchies? Cohen and March (1986/2000) identify five interconnected characteristics that hinder innovation, each related to this issue. First, in organized anarchies, information lacks salience or stickiness with the result that follow-up actions remain undefined. By stickiness, I mean ideas that are comprehensible, memorable and possessing the potential to change listener opinions or actions (Heath & Heath, 2007). This fact explains the second characteristic: high levels of inertia.  In organizations that fail to demonstrate a capacity for successful action, collective desire for implementation flags. Instead of expending time and effort on the organization, people put their energies into activities where they can make a difference.

Garbage can decision-making represents a third characteristic of organized anarchies. As the name suggests, this is process of randomly rummaging around, mixing-and- matching, and juggling readily available solutions, problems and decision processes with no apparent rationale in the hope of moving an idea or project forward. Solutions are chosen based on their current availability rather than on a well-developed logical foundation. The fourth and fifth characteristics follow naturally from the preceding three. Organizations lacking solid precedents, procedures and logical foundations for decision-making are easily overwhelmed by challenges requiring well-developed problem-solving capacities. They simply lack a basis of value or priority upon which to make decisions. Finally, organized anarchies possess a weak information base. Since information lacks stickiness and the organization is poorly positioned to make good decisions, we might assume that information is not carefully managed.

Follow-through and action in higher education does not happen because someone raises an idea. Universities are environments awash with information. Even when agreements are made and minutes of agreements are maintained, people forget, get distracted, and work on more immediately pressing issues. Lacking great salience, issues involving organizational change and innovation move forward slowly. For many, changing the context within which we work gets in the way of actually doing the work. Low salience combined with loose coupling leads to high inertia.

One of the great challenges of an organized anarchy is that the relationship between means and ends is not entirely clear. Given the autonomous nature of the work, many may question the fundamental value of the connection between means and ends. Procedures, policies and protocols are often poorly spelled out. Lacking guidelines or

criteria for decisions, solutions to problems may appear arbitrary. In garbage can decision- making, particular issues become enmeshed with other topics and the final decision perhaps having little to do with the initial issue.

Joan Giesecke (1991), the Dean of Libraries at the University of Nebraska, observes that academic libraries fit the description of an organized anarchy. Goals are problematic, organizational processes and their relationship to desired outcomes unclear, and participation inconsistent and unevenly divided. To illustrate this point, she highlights competing and ill-defined goals in many academic libraries. At a tangible level, the services and collections provided to undergraduates conflict with services and collections provided to faculty for their research. Given limited resources, how much of the library's collection budget should be allocated for the acquisition of materials used by one researcher as opposed to materials that will serve an entire undergraduate population? Of course, these conflicting goals reflect broader campus tensions between the relative importance of teaching and scholarship. To the degree that this issue remains unresolved in our institutions, libraries will not be able to easily remedy the conflict in its support for students and faculty.

To describe institutions of higher education as organized anarchies suggests a great irony. As purveyors of knowledge and information, they remain surprisingly challenged in their ability to manage their own information processes and decision-making. Lacking sticky information and effective strategies for moving initiatives forward, organized anarchies rely less on formal processes and more on the willingness and capacity of professionals to work together to solve organizational problems.

*From the Passive to the Active*

Overall, these three theoretical concepts—legitimacy through conformity, loose coupling, and the ambiguity of goals and processes--describe facets of an organizational type which struggles to implement change and innovation. Institutional Theory helps us understand the conservative and change-averse side of higher education. Theorists identify critical processes and structures that prevent rapid responses to changing circumstances and protect them from external pressures. In addition to the insights from Institutional Theory, loose coupling and organized anarchy occurring in higher education varies greatly among institutions. However, where these features exist most strongly without the mediating influence of shared governance or some form of decision-making process, change and innovation are the most problematic.

Innovation, as defined in the first chapter, has difficulty establishing a foothold in organizations where change occurs through borrowing, and where appearances matter as much or more than substance. The borrowing of practices from other institutions results in the appearance of movement or activity in a specific area. However, the use of the term "program" sometimes cloaks the insubstantiality of academic assessment programs, including those focused on information literacy, library integration, and professional development, among others. When those programs lack specific goals, activities and means for measuring success—either quantitatively or qualitatively—one might justifiably inquire about their legitimacy.

Institutional Theory has been most strongly criticized for its conception of individual actors and organizations as passive recipients of pressure or practices from other organizations (Scott, 2004; 2008). While recognizing that reality is socially

constructed, institutional theorists have given limited attention to the role of individuals as agents of change. The issue is especially important within the context of higher education where decision-making includes decentralized social and political processes. In organizations supported by weak procedures, policies and authority structures, university professionals rely on their abilities to build bridges with each other. In the next section, I explore Social Movement Theory as a more agentic perspective of change and innovation in academic libraries. As I will show, Institutional Theory and Social Movement Theory complement each other, and together provide a rich picture of organizational processes.

<div style="text-align:center">Social Movement Theory</div>

In contrast to Institutional Theory, Social Movement Theory champions the ability of groups to shape their social and political worlds through collective action. Far from presenting people as passive respondents to external rules and pressures as portrayed in Institutional Theory, Social Movement Theory presents them as actively engaged in pursuing change, frequently through conflict and protest against social injustice. With its emphasis on collective action and can-do advocacy, this theory forms the basis of the model of academic library innovation presented in the next chapter. In this section, I provide an overview of Social Movement Theory and its key features. In later chapters, I apply this concept to formal organizational contexts. Of special interest are its uses in interpreting change in higher education, which foreshadows my discussion of its usefulness in understanding the emergence of innovation in the three academic libraries under study.

At its most general, social movements are defined as "forms of collective action whose purpose, over a given (usually long) period, is to bring fundamental changes to the

political and social structures of a society" (Courpasson, 2007). However, variable definitions exist. The most frequently mentioned characteristics include:

1.  The occurrence of collective action (Balsiger, 2010; Courpasson, 2007; Della Porta, 2011; Della Porta & Diani, 2006, Snow, Soule, & Kriesi, 2004),

2.  Outside of formal institutional or organizational channels (Snow, Soule, & Kriesi, 2004)

3.  By participants who share a common identity (Della Porta & Diani, 2006),

4.  Who engage in conflict, protest, or "contentious politics" (Della Porta, 2011; Hooghe, 2010),

5.  Against clearly defined opponents (Della Porta & Diani, 2006) or authority (Snow, Soule, & Kriesi, 2004)

6.  In order to bring about a political, economic or cultural change (Balsiger, 2010; Courpasson, 2007; Hooghe, 2010)

Well known examples include the civil rights, peace and environmental movements.

At the same time, social movements are not always combative towards authority in seeking to bring about social change. Some are "primarily reflexive," seeking instead to bring about self-change (Crossley, 2011). For instance, the men's movement, which is not opposed to women, focuses instead on reinvigorating a new conceptualization of masculinity. Similarly, some movements are more about sustaining unique alternative communities, their values and practices (Crossley, 2011). Counterculture communities on the margins of many large college campuses are a good example. The diversity of perspectives and components involved in social movement theory reflects both interdisciplinarity and fragmentation.

Rather than conceiving of a single Social Movement Theory, one might more accurately conceive of social movement theories. Though most strongly associated with political and sociological perspectives, the study of social movements is not dominated by a single paradigm (Hooghe, 2010). Nevertheless, collective action has been a continuing theme. Until the 1960s, research in the area focused on extremism and violence (Balsiger, 2010), viewing social movements at best as a form of irrational collective behavior (Hooghe, 2010) and at worst as a social pathology (Della Porta, 2011). Since the civil rights movement and 1960s student activism, three primary perspectives have emerged. These are resource mobilization theory, the political opportunities perspective, and various cultural approaches to social movements.

*Resource Mobilization Theory*

The first major innovation in the field of social movement research was the introduction of resource mobilization theory (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Far from being irrational or pathological, this theory contends that social movements are strongly influenced by rational decision-making in which participants weigh costs and benefits (Hooghe, 2010). Social movements are viewed as a normal aspect of political process (Della Porta, 2011). The primary challenge, according to this perspective, is mobilizing financial and organizational resources in order to recruit and sustain participants (Balsiger, 2010). Mobilizing structures are the focus of this theory (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996).

Mobilizing structures represent the formal and informal units, networks and alliances, that connect people and through which they engage in collective action (Davis & Zald, 2005; Hargrave & Van de Ven, 2006; Hargrave, 2009; McAdam, McCarthy, &

Zald, 1996; McAdam & Scott, 2005). The idea of collective action suggests that groups of like-minded individuals build organized alliances with available political skills and resources to overcome resistance (Hargrave, 2009). In social movements, mobilizing structures may be the non-profit coalitions that emerge in response to a social issue. In many professional settings, including academic libraries, these structures may emerge through informal networking around the water cooler or the "meeting after the meeting." Generating support for or against specific initiatives may involve building alliances with influential stakeholders outside the organization as well.

*Political Opportunities Perspective*

A second important approach, based on political process theory, emphasizes the influence of political structure on the success of social movements. Political opportunity structures represent the constellation of environmental circumstances that affect perceptions of the likelihood of success or failure of the movement, innovation or organizational change (Campbell, 2005; Hargrave, 2009; Hargrave & Van de Ven, 2006; McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996; McAdam & Scott, 2005). Of special interest in this regard is the existence of access to decision-making, influential allies, conflicts among the governing elite and a reduction in political repression. Political opportunity structures consist of formal or informal developments that hearten, dishearten or otherwise guide further actions (Campbell, 2005). For instance, the agenda of a new president or provost may serve as an unexpected catalyst, a political opportunity that impacts change and innovation in library operations. Rooted in institutional theory, political opportunity structure is the most widely used social movement concept that concerns the relationship between movements and the external environment (Della Porta, 2011).

*Frames and Framing*

Finally, cultural approaches to social movements have emphasized the development of shared meanings and collective identity (Staggenborg, 2007). Not only are social movements dependent on political opportunities and structures that mobilize participants, they are also dependent on the ability of participants to generate shared understandings about the world in order to motivate collective action (Benford & Snow, 2000). This is described as framing. The concept of "frames" was originally defined by Goffman (1974) as "schemata of interpretation," referring to ways that individuals perceive, locate and interpret events in their world. Frames provide us with ways to make sense of the world and to guide our actions. The term was subsequently borrowed and applied to social movements by Snow and his colleagues (Lessor, 2008; McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996). Within the latter context, "collective action frames" serve the same interpretive function at the group level (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Framing then is the verb derived from the noun frame and represents the social process of constructing meanings around contested issues in order to gain political support (Benford & Snow, 2000; Steinberg, 1998). The public conflict between different politically-laden perspectives is called a framing contest (Benford & Snow, 2000; Vincent & Shriver, 2009). Contests highlight the conflicts of organizational life resulting from different values and mental models about the organization's future.

In universities and academic libraries, deans, directors and department chairs are frequently challenged to mediate frame disputes between various individuals and factions. Lessor (2008) describes this process of navigating and aligning frames as part of the larger task of developing shared goals and harmonizing faculty work. During my

years as an administrator, I have found that this work requires a mutually trustful relationship and the ability to value the paradoxical nature of organizational conflict: generally, there is no right and wrong, only our willingness to engage each other in moving forward together and constructing a common understanding of our world.

*Synthesis of Social Movement Approaches*

Separately, each of these models and theories provide a partial view of the emergence and development of social movements. In 1996, McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald attempted a synthesis of these three approaches. They argued that the study of social movements necessitated bringing these three theoretical threads together in order to understand social movements more comprehensively. In their model, this broader understanding comes about through the study of 1) political opportunities, 2) mobilizing structures, and 3) framing processes. This has been an influential and ambitious conceptual perspective that has been widely used to study social movements (Courpasson, 2007; Hargrave, 2009; Hargrave & Van de Ven, 2006; Hooghe, 2010; McAdam & Scott, 2005).

This synthesis, with its tripartite theoretical framework, forms the basis of the Model of Academic Library Innovation. In the next four chapters, I will apply this conceptualization of social movements to an organizational context focused on library innovation. This multidimensional model addresses several important issues related to innovation. First it addresses the complexity of social change and innovation rather than viewing it through a narrow lens of a single discipline or paradigm. Secondly, with its emphasis on collective action through multiple lenses, the model affirms that library innovation is a project of the whole and not simply one or two people. Finally, the model

provides an opportunity to examine carefully the application and fit of social movement theory to academic library innovation. As I demonstrate, the model works in many ways, but also requires adaptation to an organizational environment.

Academic libraries exist in paradox. They hold desperately and conservatively to past practices, recognizing they are rapidly becoming obsolete. At the same time, they struggle to adapt and innovate, to find their way into the future. But change as it has occurred in the past through loosely coupled operations guided by ambiguous goals will not succeed in facilitating the emergence of a new library paradigm. The library as center of student learning requires a significantly different process of innovation, one that encompasses political process as characterized by Social Movement Theory.

CHAPTER IV

THE MODEL OF ACADEMIC LIBRARY INNOVATION


This chapter serves as a roadmap. In it, I provide an exploratory conceptual and schematic model of academic library innovation. Subsequent chapters provide preliminary support concerning its capacity to explain the emergence and development of innovation within that context. The Model of Academic Library Innovation relies heavily on McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald's (1996) synthesis of social movement theory consisting of framing contests, mobilizing structures, and political opportunities. Together, these three processes provide a comprehensive approach to studying social movement process, and as I will show in subsequent chapters, they apply to academic libraries as well, though with some translation. For library innovation, the provocatively relevant aspect of social movement theory is its emphasis on the ability of groups to create social, economic and political change through collective action.

Nevertheless, while these three mechanisms contribute to social and organizational change, they may not in themselves, result in innovation. Consequently, the Model of Academic Library Innovation incorporates three other facilitating factors, two of which are dialectically related. First, innovative academic libraries possess a strong capacity to generate diverse perspectives and ideas out of which innovation

emerges. Second, they are able to integrate or merge these ideas in order to move innovations forward. The third factor is leadership.

An important issue at the center of the Model of Academic Library Innovation concerns the nature of "innovation" itself. As used here, innovation contributes to the emergence of a new paradigm of academic libraries and librarianship as exemplified by adaptive change (Heifetz, 1994, 2009). That is to say, innovation is not simply the application of existing knowledge and skills to a new problem that results in known solutions. Rather, innovation results from a process whereby the participants facing an unknown problem recognize that they must develop strategies for learning their way forward together. Although not specifically a process or mechanism in the Model of Academic Library Innovation, adaptive change is a criteria used throughout this work.

Framing the Task of Innovation

Based largely on social movement theory, the Model of Academic Library Innovation emphasizes the capacity of groups in libraries, colleges and universities to implement change and innovation through collective action. The application of this theory to organizational contexts shows that employees shape future developments through conflict and debate (framing contests), building coalitions (mobilizing structures), and by taking advantage of unique circumstances that support their cause (political opportunity structures). These three basic mechanisms of social movement theory, originally framed by McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996) form the core processes of the Model of Academic Library Innovation. Applied to academic libraries, these processes, discretely and interactively, provide insights about the emergence and development of library innovation. Although a number of researchers have applied these

social movement mechanisms to formal organizations in recent years (Austin, 1997;

Campbell, 2005; Davis, Morrill, Rao, & Soule, 2008; Davis & Thompson, 1994; Davis &

Zald, 2005; Hargrave, 2009; Hargrave & Van de Ven, 2006; McAdam & Scott, 2005;

Morrill, Zald, & Rao, 2003; Strang & Jung, 2005; Zald, 2005), this is the first effort to

apply them to innovation in academic libraries. However before describing those social

movement mechanisms, I first turn to the broader context of innovation.

Figure 1: The Model of Academic Library Innovation
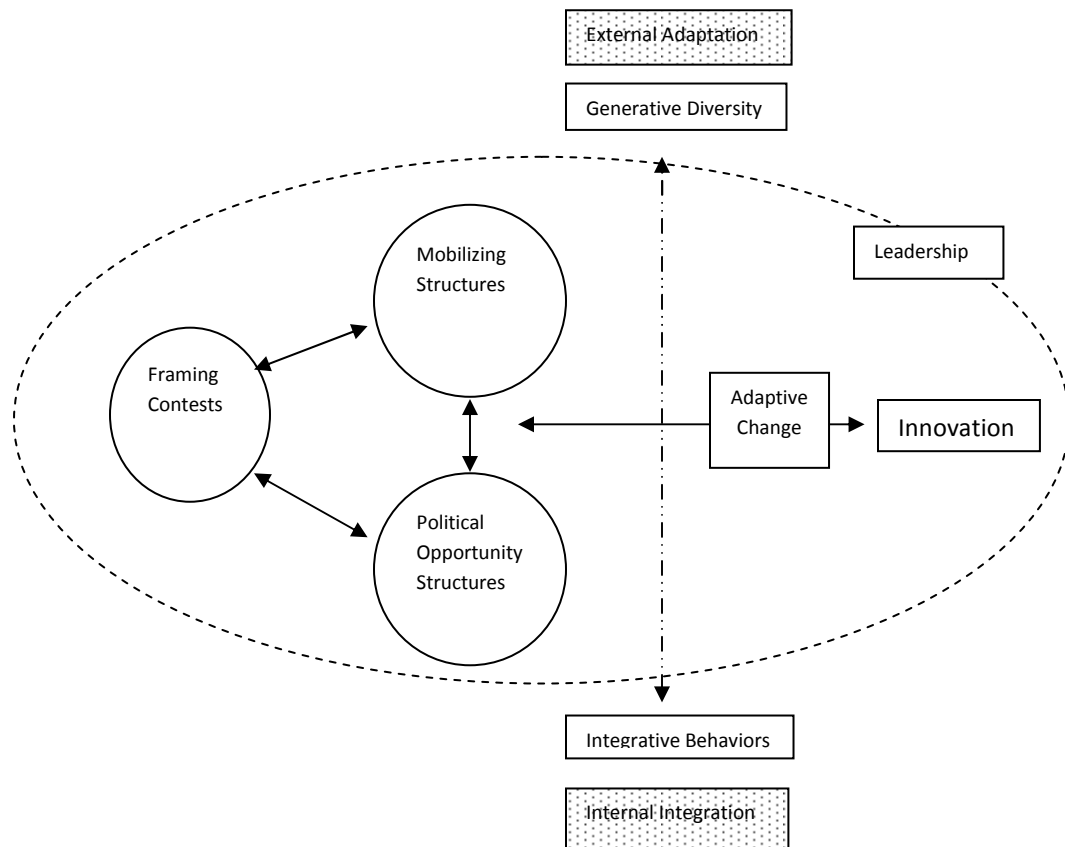
*External Adaptation and Internal Integration*

At Midwest Private College Library, I attended a beginning-of-the-year meeting of the management team that consisted of ten of the nineteen library employees. The meeting began with an opportunity for everyone to share something personal about themselves that had recently occurred. It was a moment of bonding and connection where people updated others about such issues as continuing health and financial challenges. All three libraries that I visited demonstrated practices that assisted with communication and coordination of activities. These included weekly newsletters and meetings focused on the entire library staff, or meetings among management groups, committees and task forces working on special projects. These represent part of the constellation of activities and behaviors that internally integrate an organization.

Regardless of size, all groups strive for internal integration and external adaptation (Schein, 1997). Internal adaptation refers to the processes of developing and maintaining relationships among group members that permit it to function on a daily basis. A focus on policies, procedures, internal decision-making, and communication are all elements of internal integration. External adaptation represents the means by which a system maintains its connection to the environment. The two tasks are inseparable, writes Schein. "Ultimately, all organizations are …systems in which the manner of external adaptation and the solution of internal integration are interdependent." (p. 68). This interdependence carries profound implications for prospects of innovation. In the absence of attention to ecological balance, conflicts frequently emerge along the boundaries between integration and adaption.

The appropriate balance between internal integration and external adaptation depends on the goals of the organization (Pfister, 2009). This is an important point that cannot be easily dismissed. During a period of relative environmental stability, organizations can survive with less attention focused on external adaption. However for the purposes of innovation, organizations must sustain robust strategies and methods for both internal integration and external adaptation. Unfortunately, some would-be innovators, impatient for change, are unwilling and/or unable to recognize the importance of internal integration. They fail to recognize that the organization's capacity for innovation and external adaptation is only as strong as its capacity to internally integrate change. In order to move forward with innovation, library leaders must understand the processes and norms associated with internal integration. That being said, during a time of crisis regarding the purpose and meaning of academic libraries, a renewed emphasis on external adaptation is appropriate. In the next section, I describe the historical focus of libraries on internal integration and raise questions about the problems that this presents.

*Internal Focus of Academic Libraries.* Despite their mission to satisfy the information research needs of students and faculty, academic libraries generally remain internally focused (Deiss, 2004; Kaarst-Brown, Nicholson, Von Dran, & Stanton, 2004; Lewis, 1986; Maloney, Antilman, Arlitsch, & Butler, 2010; Reynolds & Whitlach, 1985). To assess the relative balance of the library's internal and external orientation, consider a few questions. First, to what extent does the library include academic faculty and students in its meetings? As primary beneficiaries, they should have an interest and role in library decision-making. Second, do library meetings focus on procedural issues or student learning? If libraries are focused on external adaptation, these meetings carry a sense of

urgency regarding the library's contribution in this area. And finally, how deeply do the subject specialist librarians understand their liaison disciplines, the courses, and the research interests of faculty? This last question is not intended to judge or cast blame regarding the good work that dedicated librarians provide to their faculty colleagues. Rather, I want to highlight the relative internal focus of academic libraries. I contend that while libraries meet the expectations of most of their students and faculty, they generally fail to establish meaningful relationships with constituents that support the kind of external adaptation resulting in innovation and shifting paradigms.

Some library scholars have described this internal focus as a threat to the future viability of the profession (Lewis, 1986; Maloney et al., 2010; Reynolds & Whitlach, 1985). As well-established, mature organizations, libraries tend to rely on past practices and avoid developing new ones that involves change (Deiss, 2004). A provocative study of librarians identified as future leaders finds that this group is frustrated with the inflexible, inward-looking gaze of the libraries at which they work. In fact, these best and brightest new professionals indicate that they are likely to seek less restrictive employment opportunities (Maloney et al., 2010). As a problem, the internal focus dates back at least thirty years (Reynolds & Whitlach, 1985).

One of the hazards of focusing excessively on internal operations is that organizations lose sight of their original mission. For libraries, it reduces the capacity to accurately sense changing constituent needs and possibilities, and lulls them into a passive and uncritical acceptance of this state of affairs. This should be no surprise since it is one of the oldest findings of institutional theory, that organizations and their activities take on meanings and activities separate from their stated purpose and goals

(Selznick, 1957). The point I want to make is that library professionals must be vigilant in questioning whether current operations and relationships measure up to the task of creating libraries as centers for learning and knowledge construction.

In a rapidly changing future, the library will be defined by the college and university community in which it exists, and not by libraries alone. One of the critical elements of the new library paradigm will be its dramatic reorientation towards external adaptation and relationships. During this transitional period, libraries now exist in an ambiguous environment in which focusing on the external environment is more complex and subtle than it may appear. The environment to which academic libraries would adapt is simultaneously dynamic and complex.

*The Complexity of External Adaptation.* The challenges of adapting to external circumstances vary depending on the characteristics of that environment, including its stability and the rapidity of change (Pfister, 2009). In well-established, traditional contexts, organizations face moderate challenges of external adaptation. However, this is not the current situation for academic libraries. For a number of years, higher education has experienced "extraordinary changes" (Shaughnessy, 1996) and is "likely to undergo unprecedented restructuring" (Jurow, 1998). In the absence of significant reform in the next 50 years, "an avalanche of change will sweep the system away" (Barber, Donnelly & Rizvi, 2013, p. 5). With the introduction of massive online education, some authors maintain that we will witness the closing of colleges and universities, and others will undergo a dramatic reduction in size (Vardeman & Morris, 2013).

Not only are libraries poorly positioned to respond to a rapidly changing environment, but that environment is complex and difficult to interpret. In areas such as

Geographic Information Systems (GIS), understanding the needs of students and faculty is made more difficult by rapidly changing technology, user expectations, and differing skill levels. GIS involves mapping and juxtaposing geographic data against a wide variety of economic, social, biological, and demographic data. At Flagship University, I had the opportunity to speak with Roxanne, the GIS Specialist, who works with a diverse group of researchers on such projects as mapping the migration of former slaves and the changing distribution of wildlife in Costa Rica. In attempting to plan GIS workshops, Roxanne says, "That's been challenging. It's really hard to know what the training needs are on campus and how people are learning."

One difficulty is that GIS technologies are effective for solving specific problems, but often not flexible enough to be used in all contexts. Another is that users, especially students, expect GIS work to be easy like Google Earth, and it's not. Finally, the proliferation of specialized GIS work and skill on campus is difficult to track. Roxanne says that GIS work "seems to be growing. And I am not even aware of all the GIS research on campus. There are people who have so much more expertise. We… have all different levels, all different areas…"

Roxanne highlights a level of environmental complexity that is difficult to manage within the existing structures of the institution. She is unable to respond in a uniform manner to the diverse requests for assistance. Workshops fail adequately toaddress the needs of each learner. She spends much of her time working with individual learners, and learning along with them. This is a different and subversive way of working that requires flexibility, a capacity to develop new forms of relationships with students and faculty, and openness to new questions and ideas.

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Complex environments require an equal level of complexity from organizational structures and processes (Ashmos, Duchon & McDaniel, 2000). In such circumstances, individuals and libraries must exhibit the flexibility to respond to constantly changing tasks and challenges.  This also includes a willingness and ability to think with other people, and to welcome their ideas. Reflecting on this environment, Jurow writes: "It is imperative that (libraries) seek flexible structures that can accommodate complexity (and) take advantage of distinctive competencies" (1998, p. 432).  The complexity of this changing environment highlights the importance to libraries of their ability to focus on the changing needs of students and faculty. This external focus on adaptation is closely connected to the ability to welcome diverse ideas and opinions both from within the library and from without.

*Generative Diversity and Integrative Behaviors*

Mirroring the dual processes of adaptation and integration, the Model of Academic Library Innovation highlights the organizational tension between generating and welcoming new ideas on one hand and integrating them on the other. In pursuing innovation, organizations must both invite a multiplicity of potentially conflicting perspectives and sources of knowledge while also developing the capacity to integrate them (Cohen & Levinthal, 1990; Hargrave & Van de Ven, 2006; Van de Ven, Rogers, Bechara, & Sun, 2008). The model reflects this challenging social and political capacity to build bridges among diverse ideas. I characterize this as a dialectical dance between generative diversity and integrative behavior. Under the rubric of generative diversity, I place all of those activities, behaviors and structures that invite multiple perspectives and knowledge, recognizing conflict as a naturally occurring aspect of organizational life.

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Under integrative behaviors, I locate all of those organizational processes that reach out, negotiate, and overcome differences in order to move ahead together.

In the graphic of the Model of Academic Library Innovation, generative diversity and integrative behavior are positioned adjacent to external adaptation and internal integration in order to highlight the relationship between these elements. Although perhaps obvious, the dialectic of generative diversity and integrative behavior parallels the dual organizational tasks of internal integration and external adaptation. By welcoming many dissimilar perspectives through robust forms of generative diversity, academic libraries reach out to a wide range of constituents, including academic faculty and students. Arguably, such receptivity results in external adaptation. Similarly, integrative behavior and its near homonym, internal integration, both serve to incorporate the new, the changed, and the innovative, into the workings of the organization.

*Elaborating on Generative Diversity.* In the Model of Academic Library Innovation, generative diversity refers to the dissimilar and divergent perspectives that exist, and could exist, within an organization. My use of the term "generative" is intended to suggest that the heterogeneity of cognition serves the beneficial purpose of supporting innovation. The ideas that fuel innovation emerge from these dissimilar, interacting modes of thought. Related concepts are described as diverse organizing models (Van de Ven et al, 2008), diverse knowledge structures (Cohen & Levinthal, 1990), cognitive diversity (Mitchell, Nicholas & Boyle, 2009), and linguistic, social category, value and informational diversity (Lauring & Selmer, 2012).

Receptivity to cognitive diversity is linked to behaviors conducive to innovation and organizational effectiveness. These behaviors include willingness to debate ideas, to

consider more ideas in collective decision-making (Mitchell, Nicholas & Boyle, 2009), effective information processing (Hobman, Bordia & Gallois, 2003; Lauring & Selmer, 2012b), quality decisions and innovative outcomes (Hartel, 2004). It is also associated with trust (Lauring & Selmer, 2012a), and increased communication among members (Lauring & Selmer, 2012c).

However, the existence of diversity does not in itself yield benefits. It is employee perception of organizational openness to cognitive diversity that matters (Hartel, 2004; Van de Ven et al, 2007). Employees must feel that the organization values their voice, which in turn, encourages them to express their ideas. Such an organization is one that embraces the conflict that results from different ideas and perspectives (Van de Ven et al, 2007). In order to enhance receptive capacity, leaders should monitor their organization's capacity to value difference and welcome dissimilar ideas (Hartel, 2004). Employees might also be hired and evaluated based on this criterion, and provided with appropriate training and professional development.

Generative diversity includes all of those activities and organizational behaviors that welcome dissimilar voices into the conversation. These voices and ideas may be new to the library, or they may have always existed in its members who have remained silent because they perceived an unreceptive climate. The idea of generative diversity is therefore not only about identifying best practices and using data to make decisions. It is a more subtle and interpersonal process that creates a climate where all voices receive a hearing, where members of the organization are not dismissed because their views are different. And this is the challenge. Without permitting people to communicate in the various ways with which they are comfortable, organizations can have a tendency to

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bring closure to issues before they should. Organizations must be wary of groupthink, and continue to push themselves towards increasing openness.

However, in the Model of Academic Library Innovation, the capacity to generate diverse ideas does not necessarily lead to innovation. In fact, divergent perspectives alone yield nothing but a Tower of Babel. The other half of this critical dialectic involves the ability to integrate these perspectives into organizational actions. I will now discuss this integrative function.

*A Capacity to Integrate Diverse Perspectives.* The practice of encouraging and welcoming numerous cognitive perspectives can only succeed in facilitating innovation if the organization possesses the tools to integrate them. They cannot have one without the other. If the library welcomes numerous divergent perspectives but lacks the means to unify them, it will experience chaos. However, if the library lacks cognitive diversity, its members require little skill in mediating conflicts among ideas. In instances of silent acquiescence or groupthink, the library group is not challenged, at least publically, to work through differences of opinion. I suspect that the lack of skill in merging diverse perspectives explains why many organizations are unreceptive to cognitive diversity. They simply lack the tools with which to manage this proliferation of ideas.

The Model of Academic Library Innovation incorporates the concept of integrative behaviors (Van de Ven et al, 2008) to refer to the necessity of academic libraries, and organizations generally, to merge, unify, and integrate their cognitive diversity. Taken together, strong capacities for generative diversity and integrative behaviors permit libraries to work more readily in the domain of adaptive change and innovation; that is to say, by recognizing the inadequacy of existing knowledge and skills

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to provide solutions to major challenges, these organizations show flexibility, and a willingness to consider new ideas as part of a process of learning their way forward. The robust existence of generative diversity and integrative behaviors means that organizations are likely to consider more ideas during crises of purpose and meaning and to use this capacity to leverage change.

I now turn to the central mechanisms of the Model derived from social movement theory. The importance of these mechanisms should be assessed in terms of their ability to facilitate generative diversity and integrative behavior. Despite their association with social movements, these mechanisms do not necessarily serve innovative goals. However, within the context of academic libraries, they represent important collective action building blocks that can lead to innovation.

## Framing Contests

Debate and conflict represents one of the ways by which organizations exhibit receptiveness to diverse perspectives and ways of thinking. Openness to cognitive diversity is an antecedent to robust debate and conversation (Mitchell, Nicholas & Boyle, 2009). Framing contests in the form of public debate, conflict and discussion demonstrate an organization's capacity to share diverse ideas and perspectives. Recall that framing itself is the process of making sense, or constructing interpretations, of circumstances based on prior knowledge, experiences and values (Goffman, 1974). As members collectively participate in framing, they construct knowledge. But the process is not always easy, especially when they disagree. Framing contests occur when interpretations conflict (Benford & Snow, 2000).

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Several years ago, my library was embroiled in a controversy surrounding a proposal to merge the five reference desks. Many staff had opposed this action because it would limit opportunities to provide service to students and other users. Others contended that with declining reference statistics, the cost of five desks was no longer sustainable. This was a bitterly disputed framing contest, the outcome of which would limit the possible responses the organization could consider. Framing contests are public conflicts between divergent and dissimilar perspectives about future decisions and actions (Benford & Snow, 2000; Vincent & Shriver, 2009). These are discussions, arguments and expressions of feeling surrounding specific instances of organizational change and innovation.

At this juncture, I want to emphasize that, despite conflict, the voicing of dissimilar opinions and perspectives is an organizational strength. In order for innovation to proceed, organizational members must be able to engage in difficult conversations and continue to engage in them without bringing premature closure. Framing contests represent the ability of libraries, not only to welcome a wide variety of dissimilar ideas, but also to respectfully debate them.

## Mobilizing Structures

A second social movement mechanism, mobilizing structures, represent formal or informal units, networks, and coalitions through which members find support, direction and inspiration (Campbell, 2005; McAdam & Scott, 2005). Mobilizing structures are the venues through which participants interact and build support for innovation. The term "structures" is somewhat unfortunate and, I believe, distracts attention from the collective *actions* of individuals to shape both social movements and innovation. The emphasis on

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structure here suggests the existence or development of forums that permit certain kinds

of interactions. They may be formal or informal venues, networks of communication and

reinforcement. Within an academic library, such structures revolve around the interests of

people working in the same department or holding similar classification status. For

instance, these may be public services librarians, or tenure-track librarians or

administrators. Systems of shared governance sometime serve as a vehicle through which

various factions move forward together.

As I write this chapter, my library's faculty and I have been struggling with a

decision about our request for a tenure-track position in the coming fiscal year. We can

request as many as we want, but in all likelihood, will receive one position. The challenge

is that we have two requests. The public services librarians would like a science librarian,

while the remaining librarians, scattered among a number of departments, seem united

behind a special formats cataloguer. We have discussed this issue several times and

coalitions have formed behind each point of view. Unfortunately, the mobilizing

structures that might garner additional support seem to have reached their limits. I will

highlight next a possible resolution based on principles of fairness and the existence of

political opportunities that provide a basis for decision-making.

<div align="center">Political Opportunity Structures</div>

Political opportunity structures (Campbell, 2005) are environmental levers that

serve to catalyze decisions and actions. For the purposes of innovation, this mechanism

represents external circumstances that can either help or hinder its emergence and

development. For instance, implementation of an institutional repository may finally get

off the ground through the unexpected advocacy of a university president to highlight

research of the faculty. Not part of the process of mobilizing initial support, the president's involvement fuels the positive perception that the institutional repository can succeed. In an earlier example, the merging of reference desks finally occurred due to an unrelated event: the falling of a chunk of concrete on a staff member's desk. In itself, the incident seemed apolitical. However, it set in motion a sequence of actions that began with the relocation of the department in which the staff member worked, and continued to include movements of people, collections and reference desks across the library.

In my deliberations over the library's request for a tenure-track faculty position, I seek some form of leverage. Nothing in these two position requests is inherently stronger than the other. In an initial effort to find common ground, I proposed using other monies to hire a non-tenure-track librarian for the position not chosen. But the debate is not only about addressing workload in the area of greatest need. The issue remains entangled in the legitimacy of faculty status for librarians and the type of work most deserving of this status. I asked the library faculty to make a unified recommendation, hopeful that conversations and coalitions would work behind the scenes. In the absence of a single recommendation, I must make a decision and provide the faculty with a reasoned argument. Reason alone is not a strong political opportunity structure.

Interestingly enough, a political opportunity presents itself as a catalyst for making a decision about our top faculty request. I learn that the granting of position requests at the University level is influenced by the constancy of those requests. For instance, if a department asks for different positions each year, the perception is that it lacks clarity about its needs. With this information in hand, I will base this year's decision on the top unfilled request from last year, and communicate to the faculty that in

the coming year, the other position will be our number one request. This University-level process represents a political opportunity that facilitates current and future decision-making based on transparency and fairness of process.

Framing contests, mobilizing structures and political opportunity structures are the central features of the Model of Academic Library Innovation. These three social movement mechanisms are conceptualized as continually interacting with each other. In terms of innovation, libraries must nurture the capacity to seek out, accept, and debate diverse ideas and cognitive styles. They must also have the capacity to move these ideas forward by building coalitions and identifying points of leverage. Leadership is thus far a missing component.

<div align="center">Leadership for Innovation</div>

What remains absent from the application of social movement theory to library innovation is a conceptualization of leadership. In an environment characterized by individuals and groups collectively shaping their future, leadership is relatively unexplored by both social movement theory (Ganz, 2008; Morris & Staggenborg, 2002) and institutional theory (Bartlett & Ghosal, 1993). The latter theory views change and innovation through the prism of externally generated influence and pressure, while the former focuses on the activity of groups to generate change. Leadership is frequently missing.  In the graphic Model of Academic Library Innovation, I have encircled the three social movement mechanisms by "leadership." Formal and informal leadership permeates the organization and surrounds the innovative process. Working within the context of higher education's unique institutional characteristics, change and innovation occurs through the collective efforts of the library community. Those efforts are

facilitated, inspired, and mobilized through leadership, which may be focused on one individual, but more likely, it is distributed throughout the organization.

Academic library leaders take a more moderate approach to implementing change and innovation than would be typical of those participating in social movements. These leaders may be described as tempered radicals (Meyerson, 2004; Meyerson & Tompkins, 2007; Westerman & Huey, 2012) or grassroots leaders (Kezar, 2012; Kezar & Lester, 2009; Lester & Kezar, 2011), concepts which will be developed further in Chapter 8. Common themes include an emphasis on issue clarification; building relationships; and mobilizing action. Similar to social movements generally, organizational change and innovation in academic libraries takes a softer, incremental approach. Along these lines, Kezar (2012) calls attention to a promising strategy in higher education that she describes as convergence leadership, a gentler effort to find commonality between bottom-up and top-down leaders (Kezar, 2012). Ideally, leadership for innovation in academic libraries involves a collective process that includes librarians and administrators as well as others. Leadership in libraries remains somewhat dependent on both the nature of external pressures experienced by the organization and the ability of people to organize for action.

<center>Adaptive Solutions</center>

In the graphic of the Model of Academic Library Innovation, the line connecting these three social movement mechanisms passes through a box entitled "adaptive change." This again highlights an important caveat concerning this model. Framing contests, mobilizing structures, and political opportunity structures, singly and in combination, do not necessarily lead to innovation, characterized as contributing to the emergence and development of a new paradigm of libraries and librarianship. However,

when these mechanisms facilitate the ability of people to learn together, and to use that learning to solve previously unresolvable problems, then they do facilitate innovation. This is adaptive change.

The emerging paradigm shift represents an adaptive challenge that requires libraries to assess how they work, and more importantly, what work they perform. A major contradiction has emerged between their historic role in guiding students and faculty to information on one hand, and the growing need for broader, more holistic support of student learning and knowledge construction on the other. Libraries will not be able to address this challenge through the application of existing skills and behaviors. Nor will they be able to address this challenge through the long-standing, inherited patterns of working with students and faculty.

The outcomes sought cannot be separated from the processes of getting there. Ambitious goals require ambitious tools. On one hand, most of the daily work of academic libraries can be solved through the application of existing skills and know-how. For instance, a student comes to the Circulation Desk and says he can't find a book that is supposed to be on the library shelves. The library staff checks the library catalog to confirm the book's location and accompanies the student to the appropriate location. If indeed the book is missing, they initiate a more intensive search over a longer period of time. At the same time, the staff request the book from another library. Heifetz (1994, 2009; Heifetz & Laurie, 2001; 2003; Heifetz & Linsky, 2009) describes this as a technical response: applying strategies that tap into current problem-solving skills simply transferred to a variation of a familiar problem. Technical skills serve well in purchasing books that may be useful in a particular course; answering questions at the reference desk

about technologies; and showing students how to find information in the library's databases.

But the major challenge facing libraries today cannot be answered with this type of knowledge. As they move into an uncertain future characterized by declining budgets, increasing accountability and changing technologies, libraries will need to demonstrate their impact on student learning and faculty research. This type of challenge requires a more profound change in values, beliefs and behaviors. Heifetz describes this as adaptive work. In these situations leaders facilitate change by creating opportunities for people to experience contradictions between their actions and values for which they have no ready response. New responses must be learned.

To put a finer point on this: librarians know that student learning is the goal. At the same time, most of them recognize that raw numbers are poor proxies. The number of books that circulate from the library says little about how they contribute to learning. It is a black hole. The same can be said of the number of reference questions answered, instruction sessions offered, and hits on the web site. The number of library sessions indicates that work has been performed, but doesn't tell whether it was the work that was needed, or in fact, made a difference. Heifetz says that in these situations, organizations must learn their way forward. Moving forward in this dissertation, I will regularly highlight examples of adaptive change. This is the kind of change, resulting from the collective action of shared learning that results in innovation.

Balancing Integration and Adaptation

Coming full circle, the Model of Academic Library Innovation illustrates the need to balance the demands of internal integration and external adaptation (Schein, 1994).

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With regards to the latter function, innovating academic libraries continue to anticipate, and respond to, the changing learning needs of students and faculty. They also adopt new technologies, modes of working with the college and university community, and knowledge about the full range of information learning required in the library as center for knowledge construction. However, the rapidity and magnitude of innovation must accommodate and incorporate the views and perspectives of those whom these changes will affect the most.

The extent of innovation, or adaptation to the external environment, cannot exceed the capacity of the librarians, staff, and academic faculty to make sense of it. Innovation must therefore be a collaborative process. By saying this, I do not mean to suggest that change and innovation can only occur when everyone agrees with it, only that those who would implement it must be cognizant of the two organizational tasks of integration and adaptation and proactive in addressing both of them. The Model reflects this with a vertical line with arrows pointing in opposite directions toward external adaptation and internal integration.

The Model makes no distinction between processes that occur primarily within the library and those that involve significant external involvement. Those distinctions seem to be increasingly irrelevant as decisions and actions related to academic library innovation involve complex and unpredictable interactions with constituents and driving forces both inside and outside the library. In fact, the emerging paradigm shift in libraries, emphasizing their role as centers for student learning and knowledge construction, requires the active involvement of students, academic faculty and others.

This fact points to the growing complexity of innovation in academic libraries, which become nodes of multidimensional interaction, networks and action.

## The Complexity of Innovation

Innovation does not occur due to one factor but through the interaction of many factors, individuals, groups, processes and structures. Leaders do not cause innovation but they may facilitate it. They can shape our environment, but they are also shaped by it. Innovation results from complex interactions that are occasionally referred to as the stars coming into alignment.

Social movement and institutional theories point to the complicated nature of innovation, but they hardly touch upon its complexity. Complication and complexity are distinct. Complicated processes consist of actions and interactions of a system that, despite their number and variability, can nevertheless be analyzed and understood. In contrast, complex processes and their potential outcomes defy reductive analysis and prediction (Radford, 2008; Uhl-Bien et al, 2007). Innovation, like life, frequently exists in a realm beyond personal and organizational control. The nature of higher education, with its competing goals and ambiguous decision processes, can be complex. Librarians cannot easily predict how individual faculty will respond, privately and publically, to plans that would merge reference desks, collections and offices. Given a world that is only partly knowable and controllable, how do leaders and organizations proceed in pursuit of change and innovation? In later chapters, I will apply concepts of complexity theory to innovation and leadership within the context of academic libraries.

Through processes of innovation, libraries can move forward towards a new paradigm of librarianship. However, in order to succeed, practitioners and their larger

communities will need to accomplish two difficult tasks simultaneously.  First, they will

need to pursue the ambitious project of recreating libraries as centers of student learning

and knowledge creation where libraries are hubs in technologically facilitated networks

or centers in unbounded communities. This important task, made more difficult by its

unfamiliarity to library practitioners, highlights the inadequacy of skills to implement it.

As they learn and innovate their way forward, they must insure that their communities of

librarians, staff, faculty and students are participants and co-creators of this new library.

The two tasks of internal integration and external adaptation frame their future efforts.

They will be a community that moves forward together.

CHAPTER V

FRAMING CONTESTS AND BUILDING BRIDGES


"Wikipedia … is the product not of collectivism but of unending argumentation."

--Clay Shirky, *Here Comes Everybody: The Power of Organizing Without Organizations*


Symbolic of an era in which information is ubiquitous and increasingly free, Wikipedia provides an important insight into the nature of contemporary knowledge construction. Described as the "the free encyclopedia that anyone can edit," Wikipedia currently includes 4,226,364 pages. Its entries have been edited 610,778,867 times. Anyone with an interest in a topic can add to, delete, and edit, the work of others endlessly. Shirky (2009) accurately describes this process as "unending argumentation." Significant is that this feature of continuous discussion, debate and conflict also characterizes innovation in academic libraries. But within the context of innovation, how do librarians, staff and other stakeholders engage in contests about change, and perhaps more importantly, how do they overcome their differences?

In this chapter, I describe a form of communication that is relevant to an understanding of innovation in academic libraries. Derived from social movement theory, the concept of framing contests refers to processes of debate and conflict among the proponents of opposing frames, or viewpoints (Goffman, 1974; Benford & Snow, 2000;

Snow, Rochford Jr., Worden, & Benford; 1986). At the same time that participants engage in these contests, they strive to overcome fundamental differences with their opponents. For social movements, the goal is not only to win the battle so much as it is to build congruence between a given frame and the perspectives of potential supporters. By enhancing the appeal of their message to uncommitted and oppositional individuals and groups through frame realignment (the primary topic of this chapter) movements strive to grow this support.

By providing examples from three academic libraries, I explore the applicability of framing contests and frame realignment, highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of these concepts in depicting the role of conflict in facilitating library innovation. As will become evident, one of the most distinct differences between social movements and academic library innovation concerns the nature of participation of those who would become adherents. Support for innovation is frequently linked to the ability of leaders and innovators to recruit constituents to share in shaping the innovation. Inclusiveness in decision-making becomes an issue of organizational justice, the perception of fairness in the workplace (Fortin, 2008).

I begin by illustrating the concepts of framing and framing contests within the context of an academic library where redesigning its web site is strongly contested. This is followed by a discussion of the realignment processes used to bring about congruence between social movements with the perspectives of those who opposed it (Snow et al., 1986). Here I show that unilateral forms of communication and realignment found in many social movements are not typical of innovation in academic libraries, where mutuality and inclusivity is more the norm. This leads to an exploration of differences in

justice in social movements and innovation, highlighting again the importance of inclusivity and mutuality in the shaping of innovation.

## Changing Context

No longer an institution solely responsible for the nearly sacred task of safeguarding human knowledge, academic libraries find themselves adrift in an incomprehensibly vast and disordered information universe. While they continue providing assistance and access to the more scholarly portion of this complex environment, students and academic faculty easily turn to other sources of information to satisfy course assignments or their own research needs. With budgets declining and technologies changing, libraries face the increasingly likely prospect of reinventing themselves and demonstrating their relevance to teaching, learning and research.

In the second decade of the twenty-first century, academic libraries are transitioning to a new paradigm (Kuhn, 1970) in which they become more comprehensive centers of student learning and knowledge construction (Bennett, 2007). This shift affects a wide range of structures and activities associated with librarianship, including the nature of buildings, the work of professionals, and ultimately the entire campus. In this paradigm, libraries will become physical and virtual spaces that serve as labs outside of the classroom, providing the resources and expertise needed to facilitate learning in one location. The exact nature of these tools will vary among educational institutions depending on their unique mission. Within this context, innovation is not simply the design and implementation of a new product or service that meets or anticipates an information need. Rather, innovation in academic libraries represents a

fundamental change in the nature of library and information work, reflecting steps towards this new paradigm of librarianship.

How will libraries and their extended communities make this transition? In the short run, existing professional skills and expertise will continue to address the daily challenges associated with organizing information and guiding students and faculty to information sources. Their ability to work at this level will, for a certain amount of time, permit them to ignore the sweeping changes all around them. However, these legacy skills will not solve the larger challenges facing libraries and campuses as they move further into the era of ubiquitous information. Questioning their purpose, they will gradually and eventually recognize their lack of skill in navigating this environment, becoming strangers in a strange land. At this point, the profession and its broader community will learn to learn its way forward (Heifetz, 1994).

Social movement theory suggests that the manner by which community members discuss, debate and conflict with each other is important in making change (Benford & Snow, 2000; Snow et al., 1986). I now proceed to describe processes of conflict and debate characteristic of social movements, and then apply them to the context of innovation in academic libraries. The key concepts of framing and framing contests reflect individual and collective processes of making sense of the world. Both social movements and library innovation have in common the characteristic of constructing shared meanings out of diverse perspectives.

## Framing and Framing Contests

Within an organizational context, new ideas constantly emerge, proposals are discussed and debated, and points of view coalesce. This is the essence of framing.

Originating in Goffman's work (1974), the idea of frames refers to socially constructed

ways of interpreting the world. Within organizations, frames serve as guides for making

sense of new situations based on the previous experiences of the group. They can set the

stage for possibilities, or severely limit what may be viewed as possible. This is not to say

that organizations develop one cohesive and integrated frame. In fact, at any point in

time, the individuals and groups in organizations hold numerous constantly changing

frames (Kaplan, 2008).

Earlier management research emphasized framing as a top-down action

undertaken by administrators and managers to shape the meanings of employees.

Described as "sensegiving," this approach reflects a unilateral conception of

organizations and their politics (Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991; Snell, 2002). Managers and

administrators are presented as creating meaning for their organizations through

persuasive communication (Bartunek, Krim, Necochea, & Humphries, 1999). In contrast

to this approach, social movement theory depicts framing as a multi-dimensional political

process of debate and conflict over meanings and sensemaking (Weick, 1995) rather than

sensegiving.

Framing contests occur as members attempt to influence change and innovation

by promoting their own perspectives and interests as those most appropriate for the

organization. Kaplan (2008) highlights the dynamic and fluid nature of framing contests.

More than simply selling arguments or managing impressions, contests involve

negotiating meanings of a political and cognitive nature. Personal mental models, or

paradigms (Gamson, 1992), interact with those of others in the group as well as with

broader political circumstances in the organization.

For instance, in the Public State University Libraries, a framing contest emerged when librarians in the reference department failed to act on the dean's request to redesign the library's web site. Perhaps they were moving, but it wasn't fast enough. At some point, the dean leveraged a fortuitous circumstance and hired three technology-savvy librarians to oversee the redesign process. As they began their work, tensions ran high in the library. In particular, the reference department librarians objected to many of the proposed changes, and they had their reasons.

On the surface, the conflict seemed to revolve around different ways of understanding the needs and expectations of students and faculty. The front line staff had years of personal experience, both working with the library home page and with library patrons. They knew a great deal about the problems that other people experienced while navigating the web site. At the same time, the new web librarians possessed a toolbox of skills that allowed them to directly investigate student and faculty experiences. The latter group approached their redesign work by conducting usability studies of existing and prototype web sites with actual users of those sites. I  describe this conflict further below as well as the beginnings of its resolution.

I offer at this point that organizational conflicts frequently are not about what they seem. Throughout my career, I have seen groups divided, not by the apparent issue in front of them, but by a mutual misunderstanding of the deeper causes of conflict. In the next section, I illustrate this complexity by probing the contest over web site redesign.

<p style="text-align:center">Framing Contests are Not Just Differences of Opinion</p>

The two groups of librarians at Public State University reflected different frames, or interpretive schemas for making sense of the world based on their histories and

experiences. Proposed changes to the web site were debated based on divergent perspectives about what students and faculty want from it. But the contest was more complex than it initially seemed. And movement forward required an understanding of the deeper issues. Underlying this conflict were fundamental differences about how we know what we know, and how we make decisions.

While the crux of the conflict concerning web site redesign seemed to revolve around the needs of students and faculty, the deeper question concerned the legitimacy of strategies by which we understand the perspectives of other people. Understanding patron needs is frequently discussed in the library literature (Harbo & Hansen, 2012; Holley & Powell, 2004; Massey-Burzio, 1998; Neal, 2009; Phipps, 2001). In this case, the reference librarians "knew" what students and faculty wanted from the web site, and it wasn't what the designers proposed. Ron, one of the original designers and now assistant to the dean, observed that "there would be these pitched, day-long battles about the hypothetical patron," with reference librarians maintaining that library patrons won't understand one feature or another. He remembers one statement to the affect that "if you don't call it the library catalog, they will think its L.L. Bean." By "hypothetical" patron, Ron meant a patron that existed abstractly in the individual and collective minds of the librarians. Rather than a living and breathing person, this patron was a socially constructed idea based on shared experiences (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). This information was not so much inaccurate as it was incomplete and mediated by the perceptions of the librarians.

In contrast, the web designers approached the project by seeking direct input from students and faculty. Usability studies have been a well-established method for enhancing

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and changing library web sites during the last ten or fifteen years (Battleson, Booth & Weintrop, 2001; Cockrell & Jayne, 2002; Condit Fagan, Mandernach, Nelson, Paulo, & Saunders, 2012; Emanuel, 2011; Letnikova, 2003; Pendell & Bowman, 2012). Nevertheless, even though the usability study gathered information directly from students and faculty, it too had limitations in its ability to accurately portray their web site needs. For instance, it would have been based on a small sample of users. At the same time, and admittedly I lack knowledge of the circumstances, the redesign probably ignored local norms for decision-making. Fundamentally however, by choosing one form of sensemaking over another, the process became a zero-sum game. The eventual outcome, though successful, may not have yielded a complete picture of needs.

At a deeper level, the contest over redesigning the web site was not about patron needs at all. It was about authority and control. I suspect the librarians perceived that the approach taken by these new web designers devalued their expert knowledge, and perhaps more significantly, threatened their role as mediators of access to information. Some librarians resisted web site enhancements for this reason. Ron recalled that one of the senior librarians objected to placing Google Scholar on the library web page. "You dumbed it down," he said. "It's too easy to use."

My point is that framing contests are more complex than they might initially seem. Conflicts touch upon profound issues of authority (who makes decisions), truth (how do we know what students need), and identity (Gamson, 1992). While I am not familiar with the details of this case, I have witnessed similar controversy surrounding the redesign of web sites at other libraries. Another aspect of this framing contest concerns the sense of ownership that many people feel about the web site. Redesigning web sites is

not a casual change. For many librarians and staff, this represents an issue about which they care deeply.

The interviews in my research tentatively confirmed that framing contests form a core component of academic library innovation. Few innovations escaped some form of framing and critique. The discussion and development of innovative ideas catalyzed a diversity of opinion in the battle of meaning and meaning construction. While many of these contests occurred within a collegial environment of mutual respect, others became monstrous arguments with enduring animosity. How then, can libraries mediate and unify divergent understandings? What are the possibilities for resolving contests in ways that facilitates innovation? This is the topic of the next section.

Finding Common Ground: Frame Alignment

In the conduct of framing contests, each side attempts to make their message resonate with current and potential supporters. One tactic common in social movements involves establishing the legitimacy of the group and its members as claims-makers while simultaneously undermining the legitimacy of their opponents (Benford & Snow, 2000; Kaplan, 2008; Snow et al., 1986). Another tactic, called frame alignment, involves linking social movement activities, goals and ideologies with the interests, values and beliefs of potential supporters in order to establish congruity and complementary between them (Snow et al., 1986). Much of the following discussion focuses on frame alignment and its application to innovation in academic libraries. The goal of framing contests is to advance social movements or in our case, library innovation.

At Public State University Libraries, both tactics—seeking legitimacy and frame alignment--were present. The conflicts between members of the reference department and

the web site designers included battles of legitimacy and efforts to realign frames. Efforts to establish legitimacy emphasize data to bolster their claims, or such qualities of claims-makers as their expertise, experience or power (Benford & Snow, 2000; Kaplan, 2008). Having observed battles of legitimacy for many years, I have found that both data and expertise often lack convincing proof for opponents, perhaps in part because underlying assumptions of each side were based on different criterion of worth.

At Public State University Libraries, the data to which the public service librarians referred was based on their personal experience, which remained unconvincing to the web designers, who viewed the situation from outside. Similar to a case described by Kaplan (2008), the failure to establish legitimacy founded on data led to even more acrimonious efforts to diminish the credibility of the web designers. At Public State University, at least one of those librarians dismissed the designers and their previous experiences as inferior. "These people have no experience working in a library," he had said. When Ron responded that he had been working in libraries for five years, his antagonist had said, "oh, but one of them was a college library and in the other one you were only classified staff." Such arguments are not intended to build bridges. They reinforce the views of supporters and attempt to lure those sitting on the fence. This framing contest succeeded only in drawing a sharper line between sides.

How then are academic libraries to move forward with innovations that facilitate learning when such deep divides exist among the mental models (Argyris & Schon, 1996; Senge, 1990) of key stakeholders? Social movement theory suggests another approach. By realigning frames, movements, organizational factions, and individuals strive to create congruence between their perspectives and that of other individuals and groups in order

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to garner political leverage. Realignment is a process whereby an individual or group, recognizing its dependence on others for growth and survival, seeks a way to work with them. The concept of realignment reminds me of Gregory Bateson's definition of love, or relationship, as two systems that recognize themselves as "together constituting a larger system with some degree of conformability within itself" (1972, p. 280).  Four strategies of frame alignment have been identified: frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension, and frame transformation (Benford & Snow, 2000; Creed, Scully & Austin, 2002; Frickel, 2004; Kaplan, 2008; Snow et al., 1986). I define each of these terms and provide examples from academic libraries. The construction of meanings for these concepts within social movement contexts differs from that for innovation.

Table 1: Four Strategies of Frame Alignment

| Strategy | Description | Library Example |
|---|---|---|
| Frame Bridging | Outreach to others about a message or perspectives that is congruent with their views | Promoting an institutional repository through email, posters, and flyers |
| Frame Amplification | Clarifying and amplying the importance of a message by appeals to values and beliefs | Value of information literacy amplified by appeals to widespread concern that students lack necessary information skills, and pervasiveness of need in all areas of life |
| Frame Extension | Accommodating incidental perspectives that have great potential to expand the original message or meaning | Extending ideas about libraries by incorporating views of learning from other fields (e.g., centers of student learning extends libraries beyond role of providing access to information) |
| Frame Transformation | Fundamental change in beliefs and ideology of opponents | Probably not applicable |

*Frame Bridging*

At a most basic level, informing others about an issue or cause invites their participation. Frame bridging involves linking individuals and groups representing ideologically congruent frames (Benford & Snow, 2000; Snow et al., 1986). In their work on frame alignment, Snow and his colleagues indicate that bridging occurs through outreach and the diffusion of information through various personal and professional networks and media channels. Twenty years ago, this was exemplified by mass mailing campaigns by such groups as the National Rifle Association or Moral Majority. Today, it might be typified by email or social media solicitations. As presented in earlier works, this realignment involves unilateral communication by a group or individual about their perspective on an issue as a way to find, and mobilize, others with similar views.

As part of the process of academic library innovation, bridging occurs whenever individuals or groups promote, or advocate for, an innovation about which the receiver of the message may be unaware. Again, the point is to enlist the support of those whose views may be similar but are unaware of similar perspectives elsewhere. At Flagship University, for instance, in building the institutional repository (IR), the Libraries actively solicit faculty contributions of scholarly research. The IR represents a means by which the articles, books and presentations produced by the faculty become freely available on the Internet to everyone. The Libraries promote the IR through numerous means, including workshops, flyers, e-mailings and posters.

Admittedly, when conceived in this way, frame bridging appears commonplace, and it is. This is simply a variation on typical patterns of communication in higher education, such as the email message distributed to faculty and staff mailboxes all over

campus. The difference here is that these efforts to reach out to campus attempt to enlist support for an innovative product, service, activity or structure that leads to a new conceptualization of libraries as centers of learning and knowledge construction. It is the message that is important: a paradigm-shifting message sent with the hope of capturing the attention of like-minded individuals.

I would like to spend a little more time with frame bridging, for two reasons. First, it is probably the most common form of framing strategy (Benford & Snow, 2000). Second, I believe that in translating the idea from social movement theory, bridging within the context of library innovation is more strategic and nuanced than presented by Snow and his colleagues (1986). The process of linking, or bridging, may be more appropriately conceived as a process of mutually discovering congruence rather than a unilateral communication to which others respond.

I learned this lesson the hard way. As many of my library colleagues know, the unilateral advocacy of information literacy has not proven very successful. Classroom faculty sometimes view the term as library jargon, or less benignly, as a library-defined agenda. Discussions about the importance of information literacy have had more success when librarians talk about it in terms that matter to faculty, such as the challenges associated with research papers that students write. Librarians don't own the concept of information literacy. Success is more likely to result from approaches that recognize that local understandings are jointly constructed through collaborations between librarians, faculty and students (Carr & Rockman, 2003; Jacobson & Mackey, 2011; Raspa & Ward, 2000; Ward, 2006; Woodard, Linstrom & Shonrock, 2006).

At Midwest Private College, the integration of the library and information literacy into the curriculum resulted from several frame-bridging activities. One influential development involved the hiring of an instruction coordinator who had twenty years of experience as a salesperson in the pharmaceutical industry. She came to academia with the idea of reaching out to faculty as a form of marketing. Not content with waiting for faculty to request library-related instruction, she actively, perhaps even aggressively, pursues opportunities to provide it. Described by her director as a "force to be reckoned with," she is persuasive and enthusiastic in her advocacy of information literacy. She has been an effective spokesperson to faculty about the gaps in the ability of students to conduct information research in the library.

The librarians also had been involved with the reform of General Education. As a result of their advocacy and collaboration with the academic faculty, information literacy became one of the foundational skill sets of the revised General Education curriculum. Subject librarians at Midwest Private College have an enviable level of integration in discussions at the divisional and campus levels. The revision of General Education process had begun with small groups called "think forces" which investigated various areas of educational reform. The librarians had proposed, and constituted, a think force on information literacy. A subsequent report from the group received a hearing from the broader college community, which accepted information literacy as one of the core competencies. The bridge framing at Midwest Private College consisted of both a strong advocacy role on the part of the library staff and a meeting of minds between the librarians and academic faculty regarding the importance of information research. The linking of congruent issues of concern between the college's librarians and teaching

faculty resulted from a capacity to be proactively engaged with each other in a way that took advantage of collaborative opportunities.

For the purposes of innovation in academic libraries, frame bridging must be viewed not only as a recruitment of supporters through unilateral communications. Rather, it must be understood as a multilateral process of mutual discovery. As libraries shift to a new paradigm, librarians will share in its construction by linking their perspectives and frames with those of the faculty and staff and students. Librarians may value information literacy, institutional repositories or high tech web sites, but they are only valuable to the degree that they address institutional needs and aspirations. Frame bridging in library innovation must be a collaborative process of discovery.

Bridging involves connecting congruent, organizationally disconnected frameworks. By sharing information about innovative library developments, librarians can find campus colleagues with similar interests and pursuits. I now turn to another form of frame realignment that focuses on generating sharper awareness about held values and beliefs in order to generate support.

*Frame Amplification*

While listeners may value public radio and its programmatic offerings, many fail to provide financial support. Annual funding drives appeal to this disconnect by highlighting the benefits that listeners receive. Fund drives represent a strategy by which public radio amplifies their message. By clarifying or reinvigorating their frame, public radio creates greater resonance among various individuals and groups (Benford & Snow, 2000; Snow et al., 1986). Frame amplification sharpens the movement message to potential supporters by appealing to important values and beliefs, or by applying such

rhetorical devices as metaphor (Cornelissen, Hold & Zundel, 2011). Amplification serves to make an issue more immediate, personal and urgent. For instance, the sustainable development movement (Kates, Parris, & Leiserowitz, 2008) is fueled by widespread belief in the immanent threats posed by population growth, global conflict, social and economic inequity, and environmental degradation. By stressing values and beliefs that matter to many people in evocative ways, social movements are able to catalyze support.

Similarly, amplification can enhance support for innovation in academic libraries. By bringing attention to the core values of librarianship (American Library Association, 2004) and related beliefs about them, professionals mobilize collective action in certain areas. This, in part, accounts for the level of enthusiasm among academic librarians concerning information literacy, which some have termed zealotry (Hunt & Birks, 2004). "Education and Lifelong Learning" is one of eleven core values identified by the American Library Association that appeals to this group. The importance of integrating information literacy into the curriculum has been further amplified by emphasizing the deficiency of existing student skills (Educational Testing Service, 2006); the threat of "information overload" (Aspen Institute, 1999; Bawden & Robinson, 2008), and the pervasive need of information skills in all areas of life (Obama, 2009; Quinn, 2012).

In my research, I found amplification used repeatedly to justify the need for library change and innovation, based primarily on values, beliefs and metaphors. The appeal to service is a constant reminder in library settings, and is perhaps that profession's most important value. For instance, amplification of this value helped resolve the framing contest at Public State University concerning the redesign of the library web site. Building on the collective sense of service on both sides of the issue, the

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web designers astutely provided opportunities for the reference librarians to experience student and faculty perceptions of the current and prospective redesigns by engaging the librarians as administrators of the usability tests. By participating in such an immediate way, the designers' message about the needs of patrons was understood in a more personal way. They were able more easily to align their commitment to service with new understandings of student and faculty needs. Ron related: "One of (the librarians) said that 'the students really didn't respond they way I thought they would.' This was eye-opening. "Some of the people with whom we had the most contentious relationships talked about how well the process worked."

Finally, frames can be made more salient, and amplified, by using metaphors that permit others to picture it in a different way (Cornelissen, Holt, & Zundel, 2011). At Flagship University, the Libraries spent an entire semester working on a vision statement. It was important to Lana, the dean, that the faculty and staff felt involved in the process and knew that their participation mattered. In describing it to me, she used an interesting metaphor to highlight a continual process of assessment and innovation. The vision statement "is not the shore," she said. "This is something that we will continue to look at (and) assess so that we can adjust and be more focused on, (and) be more user centered instead of just service centered." This seemed to me an important point. Continual responsiveness to changing student and faculty needs requires librarians and their extended community to retain flexibility. They must not become attached to specific activities, products and services, because all of it may change in the near future.

Amplification calls to mind the values that are important and calls supporters to action. As I encountered it, this process of frame realignment targeted an internal

audience of librarians and staff for whom the amplification of existing values and beliefs would be understood. The next process strives to extend the meaning of libraries by incorporating non-traditional library functions.

*Frame Extension*

I argue that frame extension is the most important of the realignment processes for academic library innovation. As presented in social movement theory, this is the process whereby a group accommodates perspectives and interests incidental to its primary framework though important to a group of potential supporters (Snow et al., 1986). For instance, Olesen (2006) writes that the Mexican Zapatista uprising in the 1990s was initially an armed rebellion of indigenous peasants demanding a variety of political concessions ranging from land to democracy. However, the Zapatista leaders, realizing the limitations of a framework based on violence, extended their frame to include diversity, dialogue, dignity and flexibility. As a movement process, extension can be a challenging and contested strategy (Benford & Snow, 2000; Snow et al., 1986). By incorporating, and permitting a voice, to ideas peripheral to the core frame, movements risk compromising their message and causing conflicts among the leaders.

In transferring the concept of frame extension to academic library innovation, recall that innovation, as I've defined it, refers to practices, services, products and structures that reflect emergence of a profession and facility centered on learning and knowledge construction. Since this conceptualization of the library demands interdisciplinary expertise, other campus constituents must play an important role in its development. Frame extension within the context of library innovation means that the traditional frame, or paradigm, of librarianship is extended by ideas from other groups

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about learning and knowledge construction. Libraries have pursued frame extension for the same reason as the Zapatistas. Members of the profession have realized that our historic work to provide structure and access to information has become less meaningful to our constituents. Frame extension can broaden that support.

As part of the process of library innovation, frame extension is most obvious in the efforts of libraries to build patronage by incorporating non-library activities and functions into their facilities and operations. Though incidental to the traditional paradigm, the incorporation of coffee bars into libraries has become almost commonplace, and this, in a facility where food and drink were formerly prohibited. In my own research, provocative examples of frame extension in connection with the emerging interdisciplinary, learning-centered library are abundantly evident. At Public State University, for instance a Writing Center has been integrated into the main library, located directly behind the reference desk in an area of highly valued real estate. At Flagship University, a large merged facility called the Learning Lab has so thoroughly incorporated non-library elements that it may be a library in name only. A joint venture between the Libraries, Institutional Technologies, and Student Affairs, the Lab features a main desk staffed by a librarian, a technology support person, and staff member from Campus Information.

The occurrence of collocated operations at these institutions, and others, suggests a trend influenced perhaps by external pressures. Institutional theory suggests that academic libraries are mimicking the behaviors of others perceived as being successful. Social movement theory, through the mechanism of framing contests (and frame

extension), suggests that the recruits and supporters of the innovations are building a shared understanding of their innovations.

But even as libraries extend their frames to garner greater support, they face the same challenges experienced by social movements (Benford & Snow, 2000; Snow, et al., 1986). The attempt to incorporate the views and voices of other groups into traditional library work creates tensions both within the library and between the library and the groups whose activities become part of the library. Simply collocating diverse learning functions in a library doesn't mean that the work is complete. Again, the concept of alignment as depicted by frame extension fails to capture the more challenging nuances of implementing innovation in academic libraries. In both of the libraries described above, they were successful in bringing together operations that had historically and structurally been separated. What remains unresolved in both cases is the process of integrating people and operations into a single cohesive organizational unit. I think it is important to explore the strategies of these libraries in merging such separate operations.

*Further Dimensions of Frame Extension.* Ideally, frame extension involves the integration of new operations, activities and values into the original frame. But this was a challenge at both institutions. In the case of Public State University, the Library extended its frame in order to accommodate the Writing Center at least physically. However, boundaries, both intentional and unintentional, have been clearly established. The two departments may be collocated, but they remain operationally separate and unintegrated. For instance, as part of the orientation of students working for the Writing Center, Lena, the Head of Instruction and Applied Technology, and another librarian, make a "gruff" presentation that marks out their respective territories. "You are part of our home," Lena

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tells them. "You are not to help (students) with research. We won't help them with writing. But we can work together."

The separation of operations creates incongruities and a general lack of coordination. The Writing Center staff lack knowledge about such logistics as how to get a light bulb changed. "They do, at times, forget that they are part of us. And we forget that they are part of us too… Like when we set the hours, we never talk with them, and I find that very odd..." In summary, she observes "we don't communicate as much as we should." The nature of frame extension has not resulted in a realignment of the dominant library frame or paradigm. Instead, frame extension has meant little more than acknowledgement of the importance of the Writing Center.

In contrast, creation of the Learning Lab at Flagship University has attempted to align the frames among people from three different university departments. There has been an intentional effort here to create one unified culture. This might be considered a form of multilateral frame extension. Rather than simply extending a library frame to incorporate the views and practices of other units, this situation seems to involve mutual accommodation on the parts of all three units, providing such diverse services as reference and technology assistance, counseling, tutoring, food and coffee, and campus information. Kevin, the Director of the Lab, said that there was much wariness from librarians and student services staff about this facility. "It was hard to get both sides talking the same language, on the same page, but it is really exciting to see some of the …successes that we can claim." Facilitating conversations between groups has been critical. After a year of meetings, both sides were able to express their concerns. Placing himself in the position of a library staff member, Kevin says: "this feels like a general

student gathering spot. I still want this to be a viable, if not, traditional library." The library staff describe their discomfort about losing books, and they are definitely not "cool" with the idea of replacing them with some student affairs department. From the other side, Student Affairs staff worry about their accessibility to students seeking counseling and tutoring. In addition, they say "I am not used to having to be sensitive to the needs of a researching student, or a studying student…"

Working in this environment requires tolerance for difference. Even such seemingly simple decisions about wearing nametags become problematic because of differences in the units from which the staff originate. Kevin asks his staff to think of the Learning Lab as a salad bowl rather than a melting pot. "It's almost the only way it is going to work… And so we are really asking people to step out of their comfort zone, and it's not very fair, unless you consider the extreme benefit of that kind of collaboration…" The process of unifying these different cultures has led to an emphasis on toleration for difference, and the importance of personal flexibility. Again, frame extension is an incomplete process here just as it is at Public State University, and I wonder if it is realistic to expect a unified culture. This may presage developments in academic libraries and their broader communities as we shift paradigms.

Frame extension within the context of academic library innovation highlights the complex organizational dynamics that play out in the negotiation and construction of shared meaning among diverse people and groups. This contrasts with the perspective from social movement theory that presents frame extension—and actually, all of the realignment processes—as being controlled by the dominant group and its frame. Extension in library innovation points to the importance of nurturing the ability and

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capacity of the organization to welcome diverse perspectives. The message here seems to be that innovation requires flexibility and openness to possibilities even though they may create some discomfort and anxiety.

*Frame Transformation*

Finally, social movement theorists describe a fourth type of frame alignment described as transformation (Benford & Snow, 2000; Snow et al., 1986). This is a process of fundamental change in the ideology of a non-believer or social movement opponent (Oliver & Johnston, 2005). This alignment process is not well studied (Benford & Snow, 2000), and I saw no evidence of such transformation as part of academic library innovation. Again, this alignment process seems problematic for innovation, and perhaps represents the most extreme example of unilateral approaches to change. Within the context of library innovation, it seems naïve to assume that other people will change, and presumptuous to believe in the truth of our ideas. For innovation, and our collective construction of it, transformation would be a more gradual process of shifting paradigms resulting from our gradual process of learning our way forward together. I will now turn to a final discussion about the practical implications of framing theory for academic library innovation. In this section, I want to explore what the perspective of framing has to tell us about implementing innovation in academic libraries.

The Mutuality of Frame Alignment

The dialogical (Bohm, 1996) and constructivist nature of frame realignment is central to library innovation. Innovation is a process that requires an ability to welcome diverse perspectives and mental models, while also possessing the ability to unify or merge those perspectives (Van de Ven et al, 2008). This is a process that requires people

to build knowledge and innovate together. The focus in the literature of librarianship

insufficiently addresses the need for positive dialogue and collaboration as part of the

innovative process (Raspa & Ward, 2000). This is also a gap in the literature of framing

contests. Pellow writes: "to my knowledge, there are no studies that consider the

possibility that movements would engage in framing *with*—rather than against—

opponents" (1999, p. 662).  However, he provides evidence for collaborative framing

among opposing groups in environmental decision-making. Similarly, the application of

framing to library innovation requires recognition of the multidimensional and

multilateral process of collaboration.

Building innovation together is especially significant within the context of

creating libraries as centers for learning and knowledge construction. This process

requires knowledge and expertise far beyond the walls of academic libraries. As a result,

librarians must learn to work with students and faculty from other disciplines in creating

such a library, and in building a new discipline. They must learn their way forward

together (Heifetz, 1994). In interdisciplinary environments of change and innovation,

translating frames seems to be an important competency (Frickel, 2004). If librarians are

to pursue innovation, they must be able to communicate effectively with their campus

colleagues and with their library colleagues. This form of communication involves

translating narrow, disciplinary jargon into terms that resonate with others. This is frame

translation. For instance, the ability to translate the concept of information literacy into a

framework of research skills that matter in the disciplines is essential for its continual

growth and development.

To create an innovative program of information literacy means collaborating with disciplinary colleagues in developing a more comprehensive understanding of necessary information skills in the various fields. I contend that the limited success of information literacy programs to date results from their library-centric nature in focusing on finding information and evaluating sources of information. It doesn't matter if those skills are scaffolded, or reinforced, across the curriculum. These skills are a small part of the information skills that students need, and to date, lack the resonance that a more robust understanding of information literacy requires.

I conclude this section by highlighting one of the limitations of viewing innovation in academic libraries through the prism of framing contests. As noted, social movement theory has approached framing contests as if issues are defined in a unilateral, top-down manner. For academic library innovation, framing must be a multilateral process of making sense of circumstances and moving forward in a collaborative way. It is this collaborative, participatory aspect that distinguishes innovation from social movement contests. In fact, the lack of opportunity to contribute to innovation becomes an organizational justice issue within academic libraries, which is the topic of the final section of this chapter. Exclusion from the process of making meaning about library innovation itself becomes a framing contest.

<p align="center">Framing and Organizational Justice</p>

Framing contests frequently revolve around justice issues, which are considered driving forces behind most social movements (Gamson, 1992). Social justice is defined as the process of "advancing inherent human rights of equity, equality, and fairness in social, economic, educational, and personal dimensions" (Goldfarb & Grinberg, 2002, p.

162). Prominent among them are civil rights, gay rights, poverty, healthcare and child welfare to name but a few. An essential task of social movements is to develop an "injustice frame" that identifies a situation viewed as unjust (Gamson, 1992; Pellow, 1999). Surprisingly, justice plays an important role in academic library innovation, though not as a way to advance the rights of patrons. Instead, based on my research, justice issues here revolve around the inclusiveness of stakeholder participation.

Within the context of academic library innovation, organizational justice figures prominently. This concept refers to perceptions of fairness in the workplace (Byrne & Cropanzano, 2001; Fortin, 2008). In interviews, librarians and staff frequently talked positively about local innovations, but sometimes more cautiously about the organizational processes that brought them about. Framing contests frequently focused on the processes of moving innovative projects forward rather than their content. Injustice frames emphasized the lack of inclusive process. Injustice represents a ubiquitous undercurrent of innovation and change in academic libraries (Budd, 2003; Doherty, 2005/2006; Radford, 2003; Srinivasan, 2006; Yoder, 2003). In situations of organizational change, librarians and staff may believe they have a right not only to be informed, but also a right to participate in the decision-making that impacts them. Some "victims" in library innovation are those who desire a role in the process but were denied.

Despite the best of intentions, leaders are greatly challenged in large organizations to insure that everyone is appropriately involved. For instance, when Flagship University Libraries acquired a new "discovery tool" --intended to search multiple databases at one time-- some staff didn't feel that they had been consulted or involved in the decision. One librarian indicated that greater inclusiveness would yield improved morale and

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organizational effectiveness. With reference to choosing the discovery tool, he applauded the work of the task force that led the effort. However, the process failed to include many stakeholders. "In this organization, the discovery element has a strong interest to many people." Even though the end result will be really great, the important question is: "How did we get there? We got there basically with a process where there was no other involvement. A group of five or six people, and bless their heart, they worked hard and I respect what they did…It's not quibbling with their hard work." He pointed out that staff had been invited to a single presentation and that had been insufficient.

This librarian highlights two points deserving further discussion. Many staff with an interest in the project felt disenfranchised because they had been offered only limited opportunity to weigh in with their opinions and critiques. As an administrator in an academic library, I can attest to the continual challenge of ensuring that those with an investment in a new initiative have the necessary opportunities for participation. The challenge of ensuring appropriate participation is a moving target that depends on the issue, its direct and indirect interactions with various individuals and groups, the clarity of decision-making processes and even the mood of the library. Facing such situations on a regular basis, I have heard not a few administrators bemoan faculty and staff expectations that they contribute to every decision, no matter how small or large. In fact, given the ambiguous nature of goals and decision-making in libraries and higher education generally, this challenge is tremendously complex, and requires a nuanced understanding of organizational dynamics.

Despite this librarian's dissonant experience regarding the lack of participation in choosing the Library's discovery tool, he takes what I would call the higher ground.

Recognizing that everyone is doing the best they can in the given circumstances, he is not angry with any of the individuals. Rather, his frustration lies with an inefficient organizational process that ultimately demoralizes staff.

Organizational justice figures prominently in regards to the prospects of organizational change and innovation in academic libraries. The perception by librarians and staff that they are not properly included in decision-making should be a concern to all administrators and leaders. Abraham Lincoln summed it up best in his second debate with Stephen Douglas: "With public sentiment, nothing can fail; without it, nothing can succeed" (Bryan, 1906/2003). Implementation of innovation without public sentiment becomes increasingly difficult.

Projects cannot easily be separated from appropriate participation. Excellent ideas developed without meaningful opportunities for staff contribution frequently fail either in substance or appearance. A continual pattern of excluding librarians and staff on the part of administrators erodes trust and may eventually cause progress on any new projects to come to a standstill. The nature of framing contests and their eventual outcomes has a great deal to do with the trust that exists between the opposing sides.

The challenge of injustice presented here concerns the willingness and capacity to give voice to all those who feel an investment in the issue at hand. This is an issue of identity as much as anything else. Identity combined with the perception of personal injustice is a strong combination that drives organizations, both towards and away from meaningful innovations (Gamson, 1992). It is not possible to engage everyone in every decision. And yet, trust and a willingness to give others the benefit of the doubt goes a

long way. The question perhaps is not whether everyone has a say, but whether the strength of personal and professional relationships can sustain differences.

Innovation in academic libraries results from the ability to generate ideas, to build on them, and frame arguments that garner additional support. The perspective presented here is that the organizational injustice of excluding various voices in discussions about innovation reflects on the relative capacity of the organization to encourage diverse, conflicting ideas. While such parameters permit libraries and institutions to simplify organizational process, they also reduce the possibility of capturing the richness of different views. In an environment characterized by complexity, the organization must be designed with equal complexity (Van de Ven, 1986).

## Discussion

Up to this point, I have applied the social movement concept of frame alignment to academic library innovation, highlighting both its direct application and its necessary modifications. Perhaps most importantly, both social movements and frame alignment provide valuable new ways of viewing innovation in academic libraries. By conceiving of library innovation through the lens of social movements, we recognize it as resulting from collective action. Additionally, frame alignment points somewhat indirectly at the processes of merging and unifying the diversity of opinion that emerges through framing contests.

Framing contests within the context of library innovation are more than simply a battle between rigid and unchanging perspectives resulting in a winner and a loser. As seems obvious, at least in the context of innovation (perhaps less so with social movements), frames are collaborative social constructions. Properly understood, I argue

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that framing contests and frame realignment is nothing less than the collective process of learning the way forward as described by Heifetz (1994). As a community, librarians wander into territories previously unexplored, and discuss and debate change and innovation. On a personal level, it requires humility in the face of complexity, recognizing that no one person has the answers. The constant working of frames through contests and realignments is the source of innovation.

In terms of interactions, framing contests and realignment are two sides of the same coin, the one generating and refining ideas, and the other one, finding ways to bring together, unify, and merge these diverse ideas in order to move forward together. Together, these two opposite processes, representing the divergence and convergence of collective work, place challenging demands on our organizations. Librarians must simultaneously facilitate an environment receptive to ideas, while possessing the ability to integrate them in a way that engenders justice.

Three points deserve attention regarding framing contests. First, they point to the emergence of ideas that become honed through comparison and debate with other ideas. Framing contests stress the importance of clarifying issues and directions. In the absence of contests over ideas about possible innovation, librarians are placed in the position of passive recipients and changeless organizations. I've recently been working through an ambiguous situation regarding library space planning. Our spaces have changed and evolved organically over the years to meet short-term needs without a broad and strategic perspective. Many spaces have poorly defined purposes. Some spaces have been abandoned. Library faculty and staff have recommended that we hire a consultant to help with this process. But what exactly do we want a consultant to help us with? What do we

mean by "space planning?" In response to this uncertain circumstance, I've facilitated conversations using a simplified logic model to help us define more precisely our space problems, the desired outcomes, indicators of success, and the activities that will help us achieve them. The conversations allowed different ideas to emerge, and not all in agreement. It was a facilitated framing exercise. However it occurs, framing helps us to clarify what we are talking about. If we are not clear about where we are going, we will certainly get there!

Secondly, framing contests and frame realignments, as they pertain to academic library innovation, must be understood more broadly than presented in traditional social movement theory. While framing contests clarifies meanings, these contests must be viewed more comprehensively as part of the social construction of innovation. Framing and realignment within the context of library innovation cannot be top-down, managerial or unilateral. It must be a more active reaching out to appropriate stakeholders, collective action and knowledge construction revolving around the innovation. This is the key modification that takes place in transposing realignment from the context of social movements to library innovation. The message here is that librarians and others working in this environment must be aware of pushes and pulls of ideas, and the importance of sensitivity to the participation of stakeholders.

Third, the occurrence and manifestation of framing contests says something about the quality of collective interactions, and the ability to continue talking, debating and conflicting, despite differences. Conflict is a necessary part of innovation and organizational life, but it need not separate people or create bitterness. Participants can disagree but remain committed to each other and to their collective enterprise. All of this

highlights the importance of community. Conflict is not necessarily negative unless it occurs in a context of distrust. By centering the issue of conflict, librarians and library leaders are encouraged to reflect on the nature of debate in their organizations. Organizations lacking ideas and debates about innovation should be concerned about the lack of trust, engagement, and a willingness to share. Librarians and staff may feel that their contributions do not matter, that their ideas will be dismissed, and that as individuals they will be disrespected. During a period of change and innovation, the community must ensure an environment of trust and safety. Otherwise, members lack a flexibility to move forward.

All of this highlights again the importance of encouraging cognitive diversity and an organizational ability to welcome it as part of a broader process of negotiating and constructing meanings together. Only in this way can librarians and their communities weave and wander into the future together in quest of innovation. It is the process of learning their way forward.

In the following chapter, I take up the subject of mobilizing action on innovation based on the second of three social movement components. There, I will explore more deeply the issues of participation, shared learning, and outreach. These mobilizing mechanisms build naturally on the processes of frame alignment described in this chapter. In contrast to frame alignment, the application of mobilizing mechanisms to library innovation provides insights into the types of interactions that facilitate the ability to collectively learn the way towards innovation.

CHAPTER VI

MOBILIZING STRUCTURES AND INNOVATION


"I would like to see anyone, prophet, king or God, convince a thousand cats to do the

same thing at the same time." --Neil Gaiman, *The Sandman* #18


Librarians and library leaders may sympathize with Gaiman's statement about the

seeming impossibility of coordinating and mobilizing potential supporters of innovative

projects. And yet, academic libraries and their broader communities can and do organize

themselves in order to advance innovation. In this chapter, I apply the concept of

mobilizing structures, derived from social movement theory (McAdam, McCarthy &

Zald, 1996) as a way to think about generating support for innovation in academic

libraries.  As with social movements, library innovation requires a capacity to engage

interested, and potentially interested, members of the community. In this chapter, I begin

by defining mobilizing structures and proceed to explain and illustrate their manifestation

in academic libraries pursuing innovative projects. Prominent among the features of

mobilizing structures in academic library innovation is the attention to interpersonal and

intra-organizational relationships. This discussion focuses on four relational strategies

that mobilize support for innovation. In addition, I suggest that the importance of these

strategies results not only from their focus on the interpersonal aspects of innovation but also in their ability to provide opportunities for organizational learning.

<div align="center">Mobilizing Structures in Academic Libraries</div>

In the realm of social movements, mobilizing structures refer to mechanisms that facilitate the ability of individuals to organize and pursue collective action. These structures are the primary means through which the members of an organization recruit new members, advocate for their cause and leverage action (Campbell, 2005; Hargrave, 2009; Hargrave & Van de Ven, 2006; Strang & Jung, 2005). Mobilizing structures is a term that describes both the social structures and strategies used to generate support (Garrett, 2006; McCarthy, 1996). Mobilizing structures include formal and informal groups, ranging from church organizations to professional organizations to networks of family and friends. Social movements also implement a variety of strategies to engage in collective action, such as protests, petitions, and the physical occupation of a public space. Innovation in academic libraries involves a variety of social structures and strategies as well. However, before proceeding further, I refer back to my definition of academic library innovation.

By innovation, I mean the collective process of developing and implementing ideas and practices that reflect the emergence of a new paradigm of librarianship and academic libraries. In this new paradigm, libraries will be defined less by their book stacks and more by their ability to support the wide-ranging needs of student learning and faculty research. More expansively, this library will transcend the current emphasis on finding and accessing information on shelves and in databases. It will literally focus on the full-range of skills required to learn and build knowledge, requiring ongoing learning

within an academic library that is prepared to meet new challenges. In this paradigm, librarians will be co-teachers and learners of information skills. The process of building the new library will occur over time through various mobilizing structures, some of them primarily existing in the library, many others as campus initiatives.

In academic libraries, mobilizing structures run the gamut from informal networks to formal structures. They include casual self-forming groups sharing information on a topic of interest, committees formed to address specific issues, and campus-wide governance systems. As an organization, much of the formal problem solving occurs in committees, task forces, and working groups created to address specific issues. However, a great amount of discussing, sharing and learning occurs in an informal or semi-formal context. I highlight a variety of structures in later examples, bringing attention again to their relational characteristics.

Admittedly, because of their frequently semi-formal or formal location within the academic library and its institution, these mobilizing structures lack the activist appearance of social movements. But like them, those associated with library innovation focus on mobilizing support through structures and strategies. Where they succeed, the outcome does not result from unilateral protests against injustice or oppression. It is not top-down decision-making, nor bottom up opposition. These structures succeed because there is a rapprochement between different perspectives. Individuals and groups with conflicting frames of reference and mental models possess the skills and willingness to listen to each other in the absence of full knowledge and to learn their way forward together. Within the context of an academic library, these networks and coalitions range

in size and formality. In ideal circumstances, the whole library and campus community, bound together by strong values and unified goals, works to achieve an innovation.

## Characteristics that Enable Innovation

Despite the variety of structures and strategies that mobilize support for library innovation, they nevertheless possess some common characteristics, prominent among them collegial relations and mutual respect. Carol, the library director at Midwest Private College describes her nineteen-member staff as a "strong team" and provides some detail about local decision-making. The management team meets weekly, she says, and makes "decisions in a very collegial way…And (though) not true consensus, (we) discuss, discuss, and kind of come to the same viewpoint." It helps that the members of the group "genuinely like each other" and share a commitment to their work. Carol gives her staff a great deal of freedom and attempts to maintain a flat organizational structure. She views the achievements of the library as a team effort, not individual initiatives: "We are doing this (innovation) as a team." At the time of my visit, the library was struggling with workload challenges resulting from their successful instruction program, as well as their acceptance of various non-library campus responsibilities, such as oversight of college speaker series, and student research symposia. As two other librarians observed, decisions and planning about the future would occur during those weekly meetings.

Meanings are a routine part of organizational life, but unless we are sensitized to the idea of mobilizing structures, we may not recognize them among our routines. Mobilizing structures appear both in traditional and unsuspected forms, though the important point is that these structures serve to facilitate innovation. In the brief summary above, Carol refers to three recognizable structures: the library as a whole (meaning the

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staff), the administrative structure of the library, and the management team, which consists of about ten members. Each of these structures facilitates interaction and action on the part of the library staff.

All structures in organizations do not necessarily qualify as mobilizing structures. However, by understanding the processes associated with these structures, one begins to grasp their mobilizing implications. For instance, the regularity of weekly meetings establish expectations about how and when issues receive a hearing, while also insuring a level of shared knowledge about current happenings. The flat organizational structure in combination with apparent staff cohesiveness, suggests Carol's intention of limiting differences in power and equality. An important role of mobilizing structures depicted here is the quality of participation and receptiveness to the ideas presented by team members. By describing decision-making as a process of ongoing discussions, she reflects the willingness of the group to continue engaging with each other despite differences that could result in unbridgeable divides in some libraries.

In academic libraries, mobilizing structures come in many forms. Fundamentally however, they must function to leverage opinion and action on change and innovation. In theory, mobilizing structures may be formally established, though that does not necessarily mean that they possess widespread support. Committees and working groups exist as part of the political ecosystem and their members cannot afford to assume a mandate simply because the dean has created and charged them with pursuing innovation. As a mobilizing structure, the group must continue to assess and recruit community support, advocate its position, and move forward.

Mobilizing structures may be formally created in libraries and their institutions that may, depending on the political context, facilitate the emergence of innovation. For instance, committees or task forces may be charged with leading specific initiatives that yield major innovations. New positions may be created that become catalysts for mobilizing action. The structural relationship between libraries and academic departments may also function as mobilizing structures. When librarians serving as liaisons to academic departments are included in those faculty meetings, librarians have the opportunity to participate, and more importantly, to collaborate in developing rich and meaningful innovations in teaching, learning and research.

Strategic Repertoire for Innovation in Academic Libraries

Mobilizing structures in academic libraries cannot be separated from their associated processes. How do these structures work to mobilize support and action for an innovation? In social movement theory, the "tactical repertoire" represents the constellation of strategies that activists use within specific contexts (Ennis, 1987; Garrett, 2006; Taylor & Van Dyke, 2004). Supporters are likely to organize around familiar structures and strategies (Garrett, 2006). However, related to innovation in academic libraries, I have chosen to use the term "strategic repertoire" rather than "tactical repertoire" in order to emphasize that these strategies are intended not only to facilitate daily operations but also to enable innovation. I have identified a strategic repertoire consisting of four components: 1) authentic participation; 2) skilled facilitation; 3) informal shared learning; and 4) active outreach and collaboration.

The first strategy focuses on *authentic participation*. In order to recruit new members to the cause, they must be given a voice and a chance to shape the future of the

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innovation (Adams et al, 2006; Cressey, Totterdill, & Exton, 2013; Luquire, 1983; Marshak & Grant, 2008). The second strategy concerns the use of *skilled facilitation* to aid with group process (Friedlander, 1980; Kirk & Broussine, 2000; Long, 1992). In my experience, libraries and organizations generally take for granted the sophistication of skills required to assist groups, especially those in conflict, to move forward. Hiring or developing in-house skills in group dynamics and facilitation represents an important, though frequently undervalued mobilizing structure.

Third, *informal shared learning* experiences permit group members to learn their way forward together. Shared learning contributes to the ability to construct community meaning and knowledge about innovation (Brown & Duguid, 1991; Kunda, 2006; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, McDermott, & Snyder, 2002). Finally, library innovation includes *active outreach and collaboration* with a broader constituency. The creation of the future library depends on this capacity to listen, understand, and work with faculty, staff, and students throughout the institutional community (Adebonojo, Campbell, & Ellis, 2009; Anthony, 2010; Raspa & Ward, 2000; Strothmann & Antell, 2010).

Although requiring more research, I also hypothesize that these four elements of strategic repertoire, and the relationships underlying them, represent visible manifestations of organizational learning in academic libraries. Numerous factors have been identified that facilitate the ability of organizations to learn including openness and transparency, participative decision-making, transformative leadership and a "learning orientation" (Bapuji & Crossan, 2004). However, organizational learning in higher education (Kezar, 2005) and academic libraries has not been well studied. The four elements of mobilizing repertoire identified here could fill a gap in the research by

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pointing to actual processes, or prerequisites, of learning in academic libraries leading towards innovation. That is to say, these elements contribute to the kind of adaptive learning described by Heifetz and his colleagues (1994; 2009) in which librarians take risks in learning together how to solve problems for which they lack answers.

All four strategies of this mobilizing repertoire are based in the capacity of people to engage each other in constructive conversation and activity. It does not revolve around such visible social movement activities as protests and letter-writing campaigns in order to garner support. Rather this repertoire focuses on interpersonal behaviors requiring awareness and sensitivity to the nuances of co-worker needs and organizational norms. I suggest that innovation is directly related to the ability to reach out to co-workers and colleagues with patience and a willingness to go beyond the call of duty. Much of the remaining text of this chapter concerns explications of these four mobilizing structure strategies.

<div align="center">Authentic Participation</div>

As an administrator and librarian for many years, I have witnessed and been responsible for numerous efforts to provide opportunities for authentic participation. Administrators have often shrugged their shoulders and bemoaned the fact that "communication is always a problem." At the same time, I would maintain that this challenge results from limited understanding of the deeper issues implied by librarians and staff seeking enhanced participation. In my experience, the tools used to facilitate participation often remain poorly managed, one-shot forums, unilateral communications or presentations that fail to adequately address a much more fundamental issue.

Opportunities for employee participation in decision-making and implementation have long been shown to positively affect innovation and organizational change (Adams et al, 2006; Luquire, 1983; Marshak & Grant, 2008). Along these lines, innovative initiatives benefit from strong internal communication and employee perception of safety in sharing and participating (Adams et al, 2006). The ability to engage in conversation and dialogue has also been identified as facilitating organizational change (Cressey, Tottendill, & Exton, 2013; Marshak & Grant, 2008). Within the library literature, earlier research affirmed the connection between participative decision-making and innovation (Luquire, 1983; Reynolds & Whitlatch, 1985).

The repertoire of library innovation, similar to social movements, requires strategies that engage potential supporters to advance an initiative. It consists of strategies that actively invite, welcome and respond to people who possess an intrinsic interest in the project. Fundamental to the bridging of gaps among divergent ideas and mental models internally and externally is the ability and willingness to engage constituents in meaningful interaction and relationship revolving around the innovation. In addition to feeling invited and engaged, they must see that their contributions matter.

I use the term "authentic" to suggest that innovation, and the processes associated with it, are perceived as significant by the participants. Related to questions of organizational diversity and justice, authentic participation in academic library innovation suggests that people feel they are treated fairly and equitably, and that their roles and contributions are valued. Such a definition of participation places a burden on the organization and community to welcome diverse perspectives and ideas, and to take the time to collectively reflect and integrate them. The perception of meaningfulness by

participants is important. Lacking confidence that their contributions are valued and integrated into the process, constituents will hold onto their original mental models, the innovation will remain contested and its success, challenged.

*Criterion of Authentic Participation*

Authentic participation can occur through formal and informal social structures in academic libraries and their parent institutions. What they all include is the ability to 1) invite, 2) engage and 3) respond to participant contributions. At Flagship University, for instance, Laura, the new dean, tapped into the common interests of the library community to create an energetic vision statement. For an entire semester, she appealed to "the values that we embrace as a profession and as an organization" in mapping out the future with 200 employees. A series of drafts were presented for feedback through various venues, crafted with input from faculty and staff "to the point where everybody felt they could own it as theirs." Commenting on the positive remarks she received, she said: "I think it was the process that was important, and that is pretty much how we operate here, it is not an autocratic leadership style where decisions are made and just fed down the pike."

In developing this vision statement, Laura focused on innovation as contributing to the emergence of libraries as centers for student learning. Through it, she sought to emphasize the library as user-centered rather than service-centered. That is to say, she conceived the library as shifting from conducting familiar reference, instruction and collection development activities to the possibility of meeting whatever needs students and faculty may require of the library.

Returning to the three-fold criterion (i.e., inviting, engaging, responding) of authentic participation, the entire organization was repeatedly invited to participate in shaping the vision statement. Additionally, they were engaged to the point that they no longer felt the need to discuss it further. These invitations occurred through library-wide meetings, smaller group meetings, and through email feedback. Finally, the completed vision statement represented a response to the many contributions of library staff. Given the number of people involved in this process, we cannot adequately assess the degree of personal ownership. I point this out in order to acknowledge the inherent limitations of this criterion.

Authentic participation is in the eye of the beholder. As such, formal and informal library leaders must be empathetic, attuned to the subtleties of organizational dynamics in their communities. In the above example, Laura understood that an extended conversation on values and visions permitted a large number of people to reflect and process information in a way that made sense to each one. Such lengthy processes facilitate collective sensemaking (Weick, 1976; 1995; 2001), allowing members to shape meaning together through complex interactions that orient the group towards common understandings. When engagement in innovation fails, leaders should not cast blame, but instead question how they have failed to position the project for authentic participation.

*Demonstrating that Participation Matters*

Participants of library innovation, in whatever capacity, want to believe that their contributions make a difference. At times, committees with grand charges make recommendations that are ignored. Sometimes projects seem more for the sake of appearance than substance (Mintzberg & McHugh, 1985). In response to librarians and

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staff who perceive invitations to participate as disingenuous, leaders must show differently. Constituent engagement is affected by their perception of the manner by which feedback has previously been received. Bridging differences in ideas and perspectives among librarians, staff and administrators requires a responsiveness that shows consideration to all of the ideas that are offered. If constituents perceive that their input is not appropriately acknowledged or valued, innovations may be challenged and staff may take an oppositional stance. This is the third criteria of authentic participation.

As I have previously described, one of the most contentious changes in academic libraries involves the process of revising library web pages. This observation, which I have repeatedly witnessed over the years, was borne out in a number of interviews. Librarians and disciplinary faculty frequently hold deep interests in maintaining the current design and navigation of the web site, and express strong opinions about changing them. Redesigning the web site could represent paradigmatic change if it promises to provide access to resources beyond articles and books. Change and innovation of this important electronic portal to libraries must be approached with keen awareness of constituent investment in the current site, and with strong skills to facilitate the process.

By acting on feedback, library leaders and practitioners demonstrate that participation does matter. At Flagship University, Simon, the Web Services Manager, described a process of redesigning the web site that included open staff meetings in which library staff members gave feedback. "I think there is big value in letting people speak in a public forum. For us, we were able to make incremental changes (between) meetings. And that gave us some kind of credibility with the staff that we were in fact listening and doing something if not doing everything that everybody wanted."

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Establishing a record of following through on participant feedback lays a foundation for trust in future undertakings. This process points to the importance of appreciating the differences that we all bring to the table, and also the importance of extending that understanding of others.

*Deepening Engagement with Others*

Less concrete, though no less compelling, librarians facilitate change and innovation by reaching out and better understanding the dissonant views of their colleagues. In many cases, the challenge is not primarily about the proposed innovation; it is about the different ways that people make sense of the world (Weick, 1976; 1995; 2001). With a greater diversity of perspectives, the organization and its members must attend more carefully to each other; this too reflects the criterion of authentic participation to invite, engage and respond. Allison, for instance, champions this perspective. Working as the electronic resources librarian with responsibilities for serials acquisitions at Flagship, she observed that the biggest communication breakdown occurs in the failure to understand the information needs of other people. "That's just so library-obvious, you know, it's so LIS (Library and Information Science) theory…"

What she means is that the library science theory and practice of conducting a reference interview with library patrons can be used in understanding the information needs of our own colleagues. She applies these skills to an example in her own work. As a serials librarian, she is responsible in part for ensuring that journals arrive on a regular schedule, and if they don't, then asking the vendor to send another. This process is called "claiming." After conducting extensive research on this practice, she came to the conclusion that claiming should be discontinued altogether because the costs outweighed

the benefits. However, implementing a new policy with associated procedures required the agreement and general approval of her colleagues. Again, at issue is a shift in paradigm. No longer are decisions made based on comprehensive accounting of receipts. Rather, in order to use employee time most effectively for the greater benefit of learning and knowledge construction, the libraries make strategic decisions based on costs and benefits.

Innovations that matter take time. They take patience and persistence. People with investments in issues require opportunities to discuss and understand. "So I just kept presenting that data to the people who were involved. … There were so many groups to talk to, perspectives to consider, data to gather (and) showing it to people in a way that they could make sense of it." Some see the world in a "big picture way," she said, but others need numbers. Aware of these differences ahead of time, Allison was prepared. "You really have to get at what people need to see in this problem and be able to present that. (While) I am not necessarily great with numbers, I figured out who was, and who could help me. One of the staff that worked for me just took those numbers and put them in a chart…" In the end, her attention to different ways of thinking resulted in success. In fact, she had been so well prepared that there were few questions.

Related to innovation, I highlight several features of this narrative. First, Allison gathered data, conducted research and anticipated questions that others might pose. She realized that other people would approach her proposal from different perspectives. Secondly, she attempted to understand what those perspectives would be. And third, she sought assistance from people who could help elucidate answers for those perspectives.

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Allison's experience highlights the need to step beyond the taken-for-granted ways of working with each other, and to recognize that innovation requires us to deepen our understanding of each other.  This attention to the needs of colleagues facilitates organizational learning.  However, mutual understanding requires trust (Churchman & Schainblatti, 1965), and the willingness of one person to be vulnerable to another (Buber, 1958, Palmer, 1993). Most importantly, it points to the importance of people within academic libraries who possess the ability to recognize differences in the ways we construct the world and to actively work to bridge them. In the absence of such cognitive "boundary-spanners" as Allison, potential innovations may be stillborn by our collective inability to step beyond our own silos and frames of reference.

In summary, innovation requires more than the semblance of participation. Passive membership on library or campus committees and non-dialogic presentations about organizational directions fails to meet the requirements of innovation. Participation must be perceived as meaningful to both internal and external constituents if it is to play a role in the process of innovation in academic libraries. Authentic participation challenges leaders and organizations to address human needs for purposeful involvement. When librarians and staff find a voice in organizational conversation about innovation, their contributions, though adding increasingly diverse perspective, proves meaningful to them and beneficial to the library. The phrase "find a voice" suggests mutuality between the organization and individual; the library reaches out to staff in order for staff to reach back through engaged contributions in innovation. Another tactical strategy that steps beyond superficial understandings is facilitation. Facilitation represents more systemic process that ensures voices are heard and contributions appreciated.

Facilitation

Mobilizing structures also function through the effective use of skilled facilitators who guide groups and organizations through complicated conversations and decision-making processes. Facilitation is one of four primary strategies of the strategic repertoire of innovative libraries. In my experience, innovations often fail due to a lack of thoughtful planning and basic knowledge of group process. Related to authentic participation, facilitation is used by groups to permit constituents to engage with relevant information in a novel way leading to action (Friedlander, 1980; Long, 1992). In my own work as an administrator, I attempt to structure conversations and group activities in a way that will yield positive outcomes. It is worth adding that these are not predetermined outcomes, but collaboratively constructed outcomes (Kirk & Broussine, 2000).

Facilitation can make a significant difference in navigating such contentious issues as the redesign of library web sites. Facilitation frequently occurs through the application of strategic exercises. For instance, many of us will be familiar with processes involved in strategic planning, including establishing a mission; scanning the environment; conducting a SWOT analysis; and building the plan based on the previous steps. However, in pursuing innovation, library practitioners and leaders must carefully plan processes that engage important constituents. During my interviews, I learned of several creative approaches that deepened the experiential involvement of faculty and staff.

Ten years ago, the process of redesigning the library web site at Public State University had been extremely contentious. In order to mediate some of the difficulties, the team charged with implementing the project invited the strongest critics to evaluate

data from the usability tests. This strategy, eye opening for many, garnered support that allowed the project to move forward. Along similar lines, an activity at Flagship University permitted library staff to experience web site changes in the shoes of students and academic faculty. Simon, the Web Services Manager said that he has, at times, created personas of different types of library users. These would be one-page summaries about each persona's background, needs, and frustrations. In turn, the personas were given to small working group that were asked to prioritize their requirements of the web site. This was a technique that helped to eliminate personal biases in the evaluation process, and again served as an organizational learning opportunity. Simon said that the process worked really well with some people, not so well with others. Nevertheless, the exercise produced excellent information for the core design team and helped them to understand library users more deeply than the typical usability study.

Consultants can play an important role in facilitating change and innovation, or at least confirming local interpretations of challenges. In my interview with Carol, the library director at Midwest Private College, she expressed concern about the lack of time available to her staff as the result of increased responsibilities, especially library-related instruction. She expresses concern about the lack of opportunity for learning. The librarians are so busy that they have little time to reflect and practice with new skills or technologies, much less to develop innovative ideas. "They have such a workload that it's pretty tough to have any time to develop something new." She brought in a consultant to look at the situation, and at one point, he told her "Your information literacy program— its unsustainable—that's what should be worrying you." This assessment provided outside confirmation of what the staff had been experiencing.

Finally, the importance of skilled facilitation in library innovation would seem to represent a strong argument for the creation of positions and departments focused on organizational development. Stephens and Russell (2004), making a similar claim, highlight the congruence between organizational development and the needs of libraries during this changeable time. The paradigm shift now occurring will not result from traditional committee work, but from planned strategies to help academic libraries and their broader communities move forward. One important strategy in organizational development involves creating opportunities for shared learning.

## Informal Shared Learning

Processes of shared learning represent the third component in the tactical repertoire of innovating academic libraries. Implemented by both formal and informal groups, shared learning mobilizes collective action through common experiences and socially constructed understandings. Through this process, a library's internal and external constituents enable innovation through the common learning and adaptation of new skills related to the innovation, while also engaging in a process of creating self and organization.

Collective learning in organizations has been described and prescribed in the management literature for many years. With publication of Peter Senge's *The Fifth Discipline* in 1990, the concept of the learning organization achieved widespread popularity. According to Senge, the learning organization is "where people continually expand their capacity to create the results they truly desire, where new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspiration is set free, and where people are continually learning how to learn together" (p. 3). While his definition represents an

idealistic view, it nevertheless affirms the centrality of an organizational reality in which learning is socially constructed by its' members.

The relationship between organizational learning and innovation is well established (Bapuji & Crossan, 2004; Fowler, 1998). An organizational commitment to learning is considered a prerequisite for continuous improvement (Garvin, 1993) and innovation (Bapuju & Crossan, 2004). In academic libraries, learning serves to "prime" the organization for innovation by empowering employees (Fowler, 1998). Some researchers have even suggested that the learning organization is another name for an innovative organization (Hage, 1999).

*Structures for Learning in Libraries*

In terms of mobilizing support for organizational learning, academic libraries rely on both formal training and informal learning. In some cases, libraries provide formally organized training programs focused on such topics as specific technologies, cataloguing practices, or staff supervision. In other cases, learning consists of informal or semi-formal groups composed of librarians and staff with an interest in some topic. At Flagship University, a group of librarians organized around a common desire to learn about constructivist design in library instruction sessions. The point, according to Kate, the Libraries' IT Trainer, was to facilitate the ability of library staff to move away from lecture-based instruction in order to let students learn by problem-solving real issues.

Kate reports that the effort has shown results. "Just recently we had a couple of librarians who do a lot of library instruction talk about how they used (constructivist design) in their classrooms… And people were excited about the possibilities…" She observed that the situation is similar to the processes by which people learn new

technologies. "You have to get some adopters to try it and to explain how it worked in their classrooms. Then other people can see that it's possible for them to do it in their own." Through these presentations, the library staff explores, discusses and constructs knowledge together that leads to individual adaptations.

In my research, I found little evidence of formal programs of collective learning intended to facilitate innovation. Sharing of information and semi-formal learning was far more common. Similar to my own learning experiences in academic libraries, the learning of my interviewees focused primarily on traditional professional development activities, including attendance at conferences and workshops. Some of them also talked about in-house presentations on topics such as diversity, web site redesign, cataloguing, and teaching techniques. While many of these presentations seemed basically informational, others included discussions and active learning components. Frequently, these learning opportunities lacked an immediate application and occurred outside of the context of coordinated organizational innovation and change.

*Libraries and Organizational Learning*

Strong interest in organizational learning within the context of academic libraries has existed for a number years. In their work at the University of Nebraska, Giesecke and McNeil (1999, 2004) attempted to establish core learning organization competencies for employees. Their later work (2004) provides a summary of their efforts, focusing on the development and delivery of a learning curriculum. This curriculum included programs on personal growth and self mastery. Still uncertain however is whether these programs resulted in enhanced innovation reflecting emergence of a new library paradigm.

The most promising work on academic libraries as learning organizations are those that describe the robust innovative examples at the University of Maryland (Baughman, 2003; Baughman & Hubbard, 2001; Baughman & Kaske, 2002; Baughman, Love, Lowry & Saponaro, n.d; Lowry, 2005) and the University of Arizona (Diaz & Pintozzi, 1999; Lakos & Phipps, 2004; Phipps, 2004). Under the guidance of their library deans, these two institutions have undertaken comprehensive efforts to create team-based organizations that simultaneously focus on clarity of actions and measuring outcomes. Both institutions have relied heavily on Senge's writings in which change is characterized as systems-focused and paradigmatic.

A review of examples of learning libraries permits the identification of the characteristics that distinguish them from more traditional organizations. These include an emphasis on team-based decision-making, systematic strategic planning, a learning curriculum based on the competencies necessary for working in a learning organization, pervasive assessment activities, and commitment to the idea of the learning organization. Frequent outcomes of this process include the eventual restructuring of operations. More commonly however, organizational learning occurs, not through formal programs, but through informal, interpersonal processes.

*Informal Learning in Library Innovation*

As a mobilizing structure, shared learning experiences are a collection of processes that attempt to build coherence and shared understanding across multiple individuals and groups. Within the three libraries that I studied, prominent characteristics of shared learning and innovation included intentionality, informality, open-endedness, and trust. What is most notable about learning in this context is its fundamental reliance

on the positive relationships between members of the library community. In describing her approach to innovation, Kate says she is "always looking for what's new that we can incorporate into our instruction and research, and encouraging others to do that." But most importantly, she encourages her friends and colleagues to "get over" their fear of technology. For her, this is the challenge of innovation.

"It's not so much that people don't want to learn something new," she explains. "They are afraid that they won't be able to learn it." One of her jobs is supporting others by demonstrating that they can learn a new technology, and that it will be relevant to teaching and research. Kate says that anxiety about technology is widespread and not limited to library staff. She has observed this in her previous work as well. However, what's different in the Flagship University Libraries is that trust between people facilitates learning. "There's a lot of good trust and good relationships out there between people who are scared and the ones who are not." Those who are afraid are willing to ask for help from someone else who is more familiar with it.

The open-endedness of shared learning in academic libraries might strike outside observers as a curious phenomenon. Typical of many professional development activities in higher education, learning in libraries lacks a curriculum, outcomes, or measures of assessment. It is rarely programmatic in scope or mandated. Instead, learning relies on the choices of individuals to learn the skills they need to perform their job or to contribute to innovative projects. It is also highly dependent on their willingness to reach out to each other. In the absence of a close articulation between learning needs and programmatic offerings, the burden of responsibility falls on members to construct an acceptable social reality that meets their needs and a common language for expressing innovative ideas. As

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such, people spend more time working together, solving problems on an interpersonal level rather than relying on organizational policies and procedures. Organizational learning, like that described here, cannot easily be separated from the social context in which it occurs (Geppert, 2003). Newcomers gradually master new technologies or teaching strategies through their engagement in communities of practitioners (Lave & Wenger, 1991). This is a process of learning-in-working (Brown & Duguid, 1991).

In summary, shared learning in academic libraries is distinguished by intentionality, informality, open-endedness, and trusting relationships. The ability of academic libraries to learn and innovate is heavily dependent on the positive relationships between people, their willingness to share with each other and to mutually support each other's learning. A similar willingness to extend themselves to members of the institutional community is the final mobilizing strategy.

<center>Outreach and Collaboration</center>

Within the changeable context of academic libraries, mobilizing structures not only must engage and support members in their efforts to generate innovations on behalf of their constituents. They must also position librarians, staff and administrators to reach out and collaborate with the campus community. The importance of this issue reflects a conceptual thread throughout this book: academic libraries are only as effective as the strength of their relationships to faculty and students through active involvement and integration in the institution's teaching, learning and research activities. Libraries do not belong to librarians. They represent community resources that succeed and innovate to the degree that mutuality exists between the library and its constituents. As such,

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mechanisms are required that facilitate robust interactions between the library and the broader academic community.

Successful collaboration consists of three elements: 1) shared goals; 2) a structure or plan that permits the achievement of goals; and 3) mutual benefits (Cook, 2000). Implied by these characteristics is a capacity to enter into a relationship with other people and departments in order to generate goals and processes that provide value to all partners. In his discussion of technological innovation and collaboration between business firms, Van de Ven (2005) affirms the importance of political savvy, which he describes as the "ability to recognize the interests of key actors and enroll them to one's viewpoint" (p. 371). Thus, collaboration requires a combination of skills in communication, insight into others' interests, and planning.

Numerous examples highlight the role of academic libraries in campus innovations (Dewey, 2004). For instance, my research demonstrated that library outreach and collaboration played a fundamental role in the development of important innovations. Among others, these included implementation of a university-wide open access policy; information literacy instruction across the General Education curriculum; a campus-wide digitization program; coordinated exhibits in a new library gallery space; and the teaching of data management. In the literature, I find bioinformatics collaborations described at several institutions, resulting in such outcomes as grant proposals, workshops and student clubs (Lyon, Tennant, Messner, & Osterbur, 2006). Elsewhere, librarians have taken a lead in projects for minority students (Love, 2009), off-campus students completing theses (Green & Browser, 2002), and environmental studies (Kobzina, 2010).

By viewing outreach and collaboration as a basic mobilizing structure for innovation, we might reasonably wonder how libraries may be positioned to engage the campus in developing and implementing new initiatives. Many strategies are employed. Libraries frequently have a seat at the table on campus committees, especially where librarians are classified as faculty. In other circumstances, individual librarians and staff participate in campus learning communities that explore and advance local knowledge on specific topics such as scholarly communication, global education, and enhancing learning in the first-year experience. A library too may dedicate a position in order to facilitate progress on an important campus initiative. In my library, we have created a position responsible for teaching and facilitating the use and manipulation of data.

Practitioners and leaders should be aware that currently the mobilizing structures to facilitate library outreach and collaboration may be emerging but underdeveloped. As libraries transition to a new paradigm, outreach and collaboration will not be niceties but necessities. Librarians must take the initiative in developing relationships and campus structures that support the emergence of academic libraries as centers for student learning and knowledge construction. They cannot afford to passively wait for invitations that may not come. I offer the following example of librarians taking the lead in creating mobilizing structures that enhance collaborative innovation.

*The Emergence of Data Literacy*

The development of a campus data literacy initiative highlights library outreach and collaboration. Simply stated, data literacy involves the ability to manage and manipulate data, for instance through statistical analysis.  An emerging field in the library profession, data librarianship extends the concept of information literacy by taking as its

purview a broader range of information skills than merely finding articles in library databases. The development of data librarianship at Public State University began with Arne, the Head of Research and Collection Services, who had an interest in social science data sets. His efforts began by integrating demographic and political data into library sessions using home-grown software that permitted students to run queries of simple cross-tabulations, frequencies and descriptive statistics.

Soon, a mobilizing structure began to emerge. After developing his ideas further, Arne wrote a white paper that was forwarded first to the Associate Dean, then to the Dean and finally to the University President. Interested in the project, the President provided funds to support a position that would manage an Electronic Data Center. At that point, "our biggest focus was data literacy, statistical literacy, quantitative literacy, and trying to get it in the classroom," said Arne. He found success in his work with a number of social science faculty, and this number increased with the awarding of an internal grant that provided financial incentives to faculty to participate.

The project received an additional boost from the Provost, a political scientist with a passion for incorporating critical thinking skills into the curriculum, "what students need in order to be citizens and in the workforce," related Arne. "They need to know how to write about numbers, think about numbers…Data's at the core of at lot of public discourse." The Provost pulled together a group of faculty interested in data and proposed creating a Quantitative Literacy Center. Although not initially funded, the project spun off into a campus learning group focused on quantitative data, and "it still has legs," says Arne. Last year, the group created a three-day workshop for faculty. Within the context of this discussion, Arne played a major role in creating the mobilizing

structure of the learning group that permit the library to fully participate in the development of quantitative literacy on campus, an issue that represents a focus in the new library paradigm.

Collaboration does not occur at random. Nor does innovation occur by chance. Instead, the partnerships and relationships through which innovation emerges are intentionally created and nurtured. As Van de Ven (2005) writes, innovation networks are "collective achievements involving numerous actors…who pursue their different partisan interests and roles in constructing the infrastructure…These people are not just impartial role actors playing out their scripts as detached outside observers. Instead, they are active participants…" (p. 369).

In summary, outreach and collaboration represents a mobilizing structure through which libraries and their campus partners combine resources and services in new and novel ways in order to meet the changing social and academic needs of students and faculty. These various processes require the ability of both individuals and libraries to step out of their organizational boxes in order to reach out to potential collaborators. Outreach is a mode of operation related to my earlier discussion about library innovation requiring an externally focused culture. The importance of outreach and collaboration for innovation implies that libraries cultivate staff who are able to explore innovative partnerships with individuals, committees and departments.

This suggests that libraries and librarians become multifaceted boundary spanners between the library and academic departments, campus technology, and student affairs. Implied here is the need for an intentional expansion of librarian expertise into new interdisciplinary areas. Again, this category points to the significance, if not urgency, of

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academic libraries to become more deeply integrated into student learning and faculty

research. As an organization, libraries must purposefully develop themselves into

externally focused cultures. The library and its leaders must position librarians to reach

out and collaborate.

Returning to my earlier hypothesis, I suggest that the strategic repertoire of

mobilizing structures in academic libraries represents more than an attention to the

relational aspects of organizational life. Instead, this ability to reach out to colleagues and

campus stakeholders represents nothing less than a component of organizational learning

in academic libraries. This repertoire highlights the importance of interpersonal

relationship in library innovation. As Margaret Wheatley aptly wrote: "There are no

recipes or formulae, no checklists or advice that describe 'reality.' There is only what we

create through our engagement with others and with events (1992, p. 7).

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES FOR INNOVATION


"Innovation opportunities do not come with the tempest but with the rustling of the

breeze." --Peter Drucker


The opportunities for innovation is not a two by four that smacks you upside the

head. It is neither obvious nor necessarily singular. As Drucker says, they present

themselves like the rustling of the breeze, subtle and nuanced, and easily missed. At

times, external circumstances supporting innovation are multiple and reinforce each

other. Seeking innovation, academic librarians need to develop a capacity for recognizing

opportunities when they occur. This chapter is intended to nurture the ability of librarians

and leaders to see them.

In order to perceive opportunities for library innovation when they occur, library

professionals must first be clear about the meaning of innovation. Newness alone does

not make an innovation. In the absence of a guiding principal, new library services,

resources or activities may not qualify for this distinction. Innovation becomes

meaningful when it reflects broader purposes and directions. As a result, the ability to see

opportunities for innovation depends on the ability to articulate and shape the future of

academic libraries and librarianship, both generally and specifically. In addition, it requires librarians to assess the congruence of possible new developments with that future.

Academic libraries are experiencing a period of great change characterized by connected and interacting events and developments. I argue that the changes now being witnessed in technology, student behaviors, and ready access to information reflect a fundamental shift in paradigms (Kuhn, 1970). Libraries and librarianship are transitioning from a paradigm focused on book collections to one focused on student learning and knowledge construction. In the future, small and large innovations will be assessed in terms of their ability to support an ongoing transition.

What is a library conceived as a center for student learning and knowledge construction? As review, this will be a facility that provides a wide range of services, technologies, and expertise required by students and faculty to perform such tasks as finding, evaluating, organizing, synthesizing, and manipulating information in order to produce papers, presentations, web sites and more. The future library will be a purposefully developed learning lab outside of the classroom or office (Bennett, 2009). While continuing to provide access and assistance in finding information, librarians will work across disciplinary boundaries in a way that blends academic content with processes of working with information. Embedded librarians, who inhabit academic departments and classes, will be commonplace (Kesselman & Watstein, 2009; Kvenild & Calkins, 2011). Libraries and librarianship will be thoroughly integrated into the curriculum. Building such a comprehensive innovative library requires significant participation from the campus community.

I compare the emergence of this new paradigm of librarianship through incremental steps of innovation to processes associated with social movements. This is not to suggest that the occurrence of individual or collective innovations in academic libraries and librarianship are social movements in the popular sense of the term, only that they resemble social movements in the way that they clarify issues and mobilize supporters in pursuit of collective action. Fundamental to social movement theory is the idea that people can shape their worlds rather than passively accepting what is given them. This is an appealing notion for librarians who recognize that they must either actively work to build the future library or have it created for them.

Nevertheless, the emergence of innovation is not entirely in our control. External circumstances can either facilitate or hinder the likelihood that an innovation will succeed. In social movement theory, these are described as political opportunity structures. This chapter focuses on those environmental factors, highlighting especially the openness of governance and decision-making processes to innovative ideas and projects. Within the context of academic libraries, this becomes an issue of organizational justice; to what degree do employees have a voice in innovation (Brown & Cregan, 2008; Michie, Oughton, & Bennion, 2002)? In addition, this chapter points to other types of external, and often unpredictable circumstances that affect the advance of innovation, such as the physical deterioration of an academic library. I begin the chapter with a definition and explanation of political opportunity structure as presented in social movement theory. This is followed by a translation of the concept to innovation in academic libraries, illustrated by examples from my research and experience. The chapter

concludes with a discussion about recognizing political opportunity structures that can advance innovation in academic libraries.

## Defining Political Opportunity Structures

In social movement theory, political opportunity structures are generally understood to comprise the external factors that enhance or inhibit mobilization and collective action (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996; McCarthy, 1996; Meyer & Minkoff, 2004). The term comes from Eisinger's 1973 book investigating the variable success of protest movements in different cities (Meyer & Staggenborg, 1996). A frequently cited definition with somewhat more specificity is one provided by Campbell, who writes that political opportunity structures are the "set of formal and informal political conditions that encourage, discourage, channel, and otherwise affect movement activity" (2005, p. 44).

Despite this working definition, social movement scholars have wielded the concept in widely different manners to explain an array of environmental influences. At one end of the spectrum are those who apply the concept more narrowly along political lines to refer to opportunities for access to governance and decision-making processes (Campbell, 2005; McCarthy, 1996). Along these lines, McAdam (1996) synthesizes research to identify four common dimensions of political opportunity. Accordingly, social movements have a better chance of success if the governmental structures are open to participation; the movement has allies among the governing elite; political alliances among the elite are unstable; and the state is unable or unwilling to repress dissent (McAdam, 1996; Tarrow, 1994). The existence of these features, described as a "conducive opportunity structure" leads to public perceptions that challenges to

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"dominant actors" by social movements are more likely to succeed (Spicer & Bohm, 2007).

Perhaps I should offer a word of clarification about why unstable political alliances favor social movements. I believe we can find the answer in the willingness of political leaders and groups to consider ideas that would provide themselves with increased leverage and opportunity. During periods of relative stability, they may feel less pressure to support dissenting perspectives. Therefore, at one end of the spectrum, political opportunity structure is viewed narrowly through a political lens.

Broader Applications of Political Opportunity Structures

At the other end of the spectrum are those who use political opportunity structure to refer to any external circumstance that facilitates or hinders social movement activity, including cultural and material elements (Hooghe, 2005), or such changes in "environmental opportunity structures" as affluence, lifestyle, consumer demand and technologies (Swaminathan & Wade, 2000). For instance, one study analyzes the growth of ethnic organizations in Belgium as an opportunity structure to build political influence (Hooghe, 2005). Another cites such changes in the environment as technological innovation, the internet and government policy as opportunities that facilitate creation of new organizational structures (Swaminathan & Wade, 2000). From this perspective, political opportunity structures represent any external circumstances that provide leverage for the movement.

From a research perspective, this proliferation of meanings associated with political opportunity structures makes it difficult to operationalize (Hooghe, 2005; McCarthy, 1996; Meyer & Minkoff, 2004). It is difficult to identify and measure the

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affect of these structures when they are defined so differently. To complicate the

situation, political opportunity structure is frequently used interchangeably with political

opportunities and even opportunities (Koopman, 1999). In some circumstances, the

concept refers to any and all external influence on social movement activity. Gamson and

Meyer write that it is "used to explain so much (that) it may ultimately explain nothing at

all" (1996, p. 275).

For librarians and library practitioners, the conflict over operational definitions

carries much less significance than it does for researchers. As an explanation, I point to

the respective viewpoints of these two groups. Researchers exist outside the organizations

and political opportunity structures they attempt to understand. Their efforts to carefully

define variables that affect the success of social movements represent a vehicle for

achieving predictability. In contrast, library leaders work from within, focusing more on

the immediate context and dynamics that may advance an innovation.  The value of

predictable variables during a critical decision-making moment in an environment of

shifting perspectives and alliances is limited. The librarian and leader must be able to

read the leaves quickly and respond in an organizationally appropriate way.

<center>Applications to Academic Library Innovation</center>

Both conceptualizations of political opportunity structure are relevant to

discussions of innovation in academic libraries, and provide complementary insights.

Above all else, they both focus on the affect of exogenous events on innovation. The

more narrow, political view encourages inquiries into the effectiveness of current

governance and decision-making systems to accommodate voices of innovation

throughout the organization. Do the structures and leaders of the library and institution

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authentically provide opportunities for other perspectives, or do they simply support the status quo?

From this perspective, important differences exist between the application of political opportunity structures in social movements and academic library innovation. For social movements, the formal government and the elite who hold positions in that government play an important role. Political opportunity structures are depicted in terms of the relative receptivity of those organizations and people to public expressions of dissent through protest and demonstration. The external circumstances affecting the likelihood of social movement success are the characteristics of this governance structure. For instance, the gun control movement found significant political leverage from the support of President Obama and Congressional leaders in the aftermath of the Newtown, Connecticut school shootings in December 2012.

In library innovation, the relationship between governance, decision-making and innovation is more subtle and nuanced. The structures of library and institutional governance are not so clearly external to potential academic library innovators. In theory, they are part of the decision-making system that creates political opportunities. They are insiders in a way that social movement participants are not. At Flagship University, the efforts to establish an open access policy were initially led by the Provost, who used his position to encourage its adoption.

How then are political opportunities created for library innovation? If in fact, innovation begins as a grassroots process, then it involves influencing those in positions of authority. If it begins at administrative levels, it involves influencing front-line librarians and staff to support the project. However, as I have described previously,

library innovation succeeds best when this divide is diminished. Robust library innovation is an inclusive process requiring the participation of many people throughout campus who possess interest and expertise to contribute.

In viewing political opportunity structures in terms of providing access to systems of governance and decision-making, I see compelling similarities with social movements. Recall the four characteristics of political opportunity structures that facilitate social movement success: 1) a governance system open to participation; 2) the existence of allies among the elite; 3) unstable political alliances; and 4) limited repression of dissent (McAdam, 1996). These find parallels in library innovation, as illustrated below.

Conducive Opportunity Structures for Library Innovation

One of the most remarkable innovations in my research involved the implementation of an open access policy at Flagship University. The practice of providing unrestricted access to scholarship on the internet, described as open access, has grown in popularity during the last twenty years. At Flagship University, development of an institutional policy was vast in scope and ambitious in purpose. I present this story as illustrative of political opportunity structures that permit successful library innovation.

The local open access initiative goes back ten years to a former Provost concerned with spiraling journal prices, recounts Laura, the current Dean of Libraries. Her predecessor "used to darken his door asking for more money…and (the Provost) being an economist said…this can't continue. This is a bottomless pit." With journal prices growing rapidly, the current system of scholarly communications becomes unsustainable. The problem is that the research conducted by university employees—the faculty—is published in journals that the university can no longer afford. As Laura says, we are

giving away the research. The investment universities make in faculty research is taken by vendors to become a commercial commodity rather than an intellectual commodity.

Development of the open access policy at Flagship University resulted from a remarkable confluence of factors. It began with the Provost. After taking a sabbatical to study the open access issue more deeply, he returned to campus and created an institutional repository; this is a virtual location for faculty scholarship, including articles, books, theses, and presentations. The repository had opened in 2005, but the Provost left the following year; Laura was his last hire. For a period of time, support for the open access movement seemed to decline. Then in 2008, Harvard approved a policy through which faculty granted the university rights to distribute their scholarship for any non-commercial purpose. This was a major event that flew in the face of a system of scholarly publication in which publishers owned most of the publication rights.

Open access represents a paradigmatic shift for libraries and academic publishing. In this emerging paradigm, academic libraries no longer simply purchase books and journals from commercial publishers. Rather, in the alternative model, libraries become "publishers" themselves and champions of the right of citizens to access research for which they have paid.

Laura continues. "We felt that if Harvard could do it, we could do it as well." Institutional theory would highlight this as an example of mimetic behavior. Laura gives credit to the librarians for advancing the initiative at Flagship University. "Once Harvard's faculty approved the open access policy, we decided this needs to be a faculty issue and we need to step back." That is to say, following Harvard's example, the open access policy did not move forward as a unilateral administrative action. Subsequently,

the proposed policy was taken up by the faculty senate, which included "some strong advocates…and library friends." It didn't hurt that a librarian then chaired the senate.

The senate created a committee, which included two librarians, to develop an open access policy. Implementation of the policy, later approved by the Provost, was assigned to the Dean of Libraries. Though unfunded, the project was sustained by the Dean and the University Libraries who hired staff to fulfill their open access policy responsibilities. Currently, the Libraries not only staff the institutional repository, but provide any and all assistance that faculty might need in posting their scholarship, including negotiating with journal publishers.

Returning to the idea of "conducive" political opportunity structures, this example highlights what goes right with library-related innovation. Here are examples of the characteristics that facilitate progress. First, the governance system exhibited openness to participation through the faculty senate. This served as a forum for shared governance, whereby the titular leaders of the institution joined with the faculty in a process of collective decision-making. This is not to say that the process was uninfluenced by special interests, only that the system provided opportunities for participation. Secondly, the initiative found allies among the elite, or those with influence in the shared governance system. Influential participants included the Provost, the library deans, numerous librarians and members of the faculty senate.

Two other characteristics of conducive structures remain somewhat more difficult to assess in this situation. Lacking information about the nature of political alliances in the faculty senate, I am not in a position to discuss those dynamics. What I do know however is that the mobilization of support for the open access policy was able to

overcome any alliance that might have opposed this change. Finally, the system, at least superficially, did not repress dissent.

In general, the four characteristics of political opportunity structures that facilitate social movements apply equally well to innovation in academic libraries. The difference again seems to concern the relative structural location of the movement or innovation in relation to decision-makers. As outsiders, social movement supporters seek a voice inside the governing body. In contrast, library innovators are already part of that decision-making process, at least in theory. In reality, possessing a voice in library innovation is a more subtle process than that presented in social movement theory. As I have previously described, librarians, staff and other constituents may nominally participate in discussions, but in actuality, feel they lack a meaningful voice.

<center>Political Structures and Participatory Outcomes</center>

Do library employees have meaningful opportunities to participate in innovation, or is it mostly symbolic? Are political structures in library innovation open to authentic engagement of librarians, staff, and others? At the most fundamental level, employee participation requires that libraries establish effective communication channels. Library staff must be informed in order to participate. Communication is a challenge in academic libraries due to their size, the number of staff divided by class, units and departments, and simultaneous projects and activities about which some, but not all, staff will care about.

"We try to communicate often," said Laura, "(but) as in most large organizations communication is a perennial issue.  Some people need to know everything yesterday and others are quite patient and can wait until the official announcements are made." To accommodate these different needs, she errs on the side of providing too much

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information. For instance, in addition to monthly meetings, she has implemented an informal, bi-weekly email column for the staff.

But communication does not necessarily respond to the need for employees to participate. Frequently, communication problems point to issues of participation. Technically, communication refers to the flow of information. However, within the context of innovation, a literal interpretation is probably too simplistic. References to communication problems may mean that staff feels excluded from a participative process perceived as their right. Recall the librarian who bemoaned the process of choosing a "discovery tool" at Flagship University, saying that a number of people would have had a strong interest in participating. While recognizing that the end result would be really cool, he asks, "but how did we get there?" From his perspective, a small group of four or five made the decision with limited input from others. He did not object to the outcome, but to the process, which he believed lacked inclusiveness. This lack of access to decision-making, however limited the innovation, highlights the same inhibiting political opportunity structure that characterizes some social movements.

Communication problems seem to coalesce around innovative projects, perhaps because they represent changes that may impact the work of staff not included in the decision-making process. This explains why informational justice figures prominently in the development and implementation of library innovation. Informational justice refers to "the amount and quality of information provided concerning procedures and outcomes" (Fortin, 2008), especially when projects go badly (Cropanzano, Bowen, & Gilliland, 2007). The question for library innovation becomes: how to insure that those who seek a voice in decision-making are included?

Political Structures and Sensemaking

For the purposes of library innovation, political opportunity structures must be held to a high standard that addresses the nuanced needs of constituent participation. Library and institutional leaders need to be aware that despite the appearance of participative opportunity structures, they may not adequately facilitate the contributions of important constituents. As noted above, key constituents may be excluded. Alternatively, a poor turn out of participants in critical task forces may result from the perception that personal contributions make little difference anyway. For instance, some might say that in the past, library administration did not follow through on recommendations of similar committees, so why make the extra effort?

Recall that political opportunity structures are those external factors that encourage or discourage the realization of a movement or innovation. For library innovation, leaders must be constantly vigilant about the barriers to participation in decision-making and governance that may exist in their organizations. The issue is not simply about participation but about deeper issues of identity and sensemaking (Weick, 1995). In order to appreciate what is required of political opportunity structures within the context of library innovation, I will explore this issue.

Conflict in higher education is sometimes summed up by the adage that "academic debates are so vicious simply because there is so little at stake." However after excavating below the surface of authentic participation, I contend that conflicts can be vicious for exactly the opposite reason: from the perspective of participants, everything is at stake. Sensemaking theory provides guidance in this exploration of meaning.

Through sensemaking, people interact and create shared understanding and meaning from their diverse experiences and backgrounds. In Weick's (1995) conceptualization, organizational sensemaking is as an ongoing social process involving construction of both self-identity and organizational identity. The continual process of building the self directly impacts behaviors in the workplace. At the same time, feelings of confidence in participation and contributions in the workplace impact the sense of self-worth. The organization and the selves which inhabit it are constantly under development. A similar perspective on organizational change, and by extension, innovation, is described by Thomas, Sargent, & Hardy (2011). Referring to other research, they depict change as a 'multi-authored' process in which participants co-construct shared meanings.

Everything is at stake. In terms of meaningful participation and inclusion, the seriousness with which librarians and staff contest their exclusion from participation in innovative projects suggests that they are not merely feeling slighted. Instead, they are contesting their exclusion from organizational sensemaking, and consequently, the construction of both personal and organizational identity. My research pointed readily to interviewee engagement in discussing matters of the utmost importance concerning the library and their activities. Weick writes that "sensemaking is focused on those actions around which the strongest commitments form" (2001, p. 26). To be excluded from activities about which librarians and staff are deeply committed denies them a voice, and an identity they are unwilling to accept.

Finally, participation in sensemaking brings into focus questions of staff resistance to innovation and change. Previous research has pointed to the resistance of

library staff as an obstacle to innovation. However, the idea of resistance seems obsolete within the context of socially constructed organizations and innovations (Thomas et al., 2011). Rather than viewing resistance as an obstacle, it should be viewed as an opportunity to incorporate other voices. In sum, meaningful participation and inclusion responds to the human need to contribute to the identity of their organization, of related innovations, and perhaps most importantly to the self.

Library innovation is integrally connected to sensemaking, as well as to both personal and organizational identity creation. From this perspective, political opportunity structures that encourage innovation will need to accommodate these needs. Innovation is not simply a rational, linear and analytic process involving a few technical experts who can implement it. Innovation that matters as part of a paradigm shift in librarianship is a process involving the entire organization. The greater the effects on individuals and groups, the greater will be their need to participate, sharing not only their skills as problem solvers, but also their concerns, anxieties and even fears. If anything, library and institutional leaders must astutely assess the implications of specific innovations on the organization and not to underestimate the potential interest in participation.

Broader Perspectives on Political Opportunity Structures

In addition to the more narrow perspective, political opportunity structures may be conceived more broadly as involving any external factors that hinders or facilitates progress of a social movement or innovation. The broader view of political opportunity structures provokes us to consider more deeply the relationship between various external developments, besides explicitly political developments, and library innovation. In this case, we advance innovation by recognizing the possibilities inherent in emerging

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environmental circumstances. For instance, what innovative role might the library play in the institution's new commitment to civic engagement, sustainability, or more wishfully, information process across the curriculum?

Perhaps the most common political opportunity concerning library innovation is the simple occurrence or discovery of an event, activity or project congruent with the idea of the library as a center of student learning and knowledge construction, to which the library can link itself. Recognizing that the practice of librarianship, when deeply linked to the curriculum, supports student learning in a more powerful way, librarians may seek congruent opportunities to connect to the academic departments. This was the opportunity that appeared at Private Midwest College with the integration of information literacy into their General Education program.

In my experience and research, more general political opportunity structures fall into several baskets. *Game changers*, for instance, represent significant factors beyond the scope of immediate debates that have the potential and leverage to determine future directions and outcomes. In my own library, the merging of reference desks resulted not from the weight of support for and against that proposal, but from an event with no immediate connection to the debate. A piece of concrete falling on the desk of an employee on a water-damaged floor initiated a series of actions related to health and safety that eventually included the merging of those desks. In that situation, the falling concrete represented a catalyst for action.

Other major factors include the hiring of high-level university and library administrators who can shape priorities, or the hiring of a group of staff with new skill-sets can sets. At Public State University, the simultaneous hiring of three technology-

savvy librarians in the 1990s provided a level of expertise that for years established the Libraries as campus technology leaders (or renegades, depending on the perspective). Money also serves as a game changer. Along these lines, the new writing center on the main floor of the library at Public State University resulted from a sizable grant that was too good to turn down.

I describe another political opportunity structure as the *aligning of stars*. When the stars align, the key determinant is not simply one factor, but a series of factors that conspire to yield innovation. The integration of information literacy into the curriculum at Midwest Private College coincided with both the process of redesigning the General Education program and the hiring of librarians who could speak to the importance of information literacy. In this chapter, I describe the complex confluence that resulted in creation of a University open access policy.

As Laura concluded, "we had the stars aligned, you know, the perfect storm coming together." Although she points to serendipitous circumstances, she describes creation of the open access policy as resulting from the complex interconnectedness of multiple events and developments (Burnes, 2005; Cutright, 1996; Stacey, 1996; 2001; Wheatley, 1990). Consider a few of these features: librarians and library supporters scattered across the landscape in key positions; a precedent for librarians playing active leadership roles on campus; Harvard University's approval of their open access policy; and the Provost's initial research on the current system of scholarly communication.

The aligning of stars, a concept with similarities to complexity theory, emphasizes the non-linear and often unpredictable nature of interactions within a system (Antonacopoulou & Chiva, 2007; Olson, 2006; Richardson, 2008; Uhl-Bien et al., 2007).

I believe this is a common phenomenon. It points to the congruence of multiple

developments that provide leverage and support for an innovation.

## Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described the application of political opportunity structures

to the context of library innovation. I have highlighted two approaches to the concept,

one focusing more narrowly on the specific political context, and the other more broadly

on any external developments that affect the likelihood of success of an innovation. The

narrow perspective emphasizes the idea of access to, and participation in, decision-

making regarding innovations in the library. I contend that the key difference in

application between social movements and innovation is the relative location of those

seeking to participate. Social movement participants exist outside of the governing body;

innovators work within it, and at least nominally, as participants in decision-making.

The governance and decision-making system to which innovators seek access is

not so external as the one to which movement participants seek access. But the decision-

making process may not be as transparent or as enabling as is needed. I argue that the

innovative process in academic libraries requires attention to the more human aspects of

participation, recognizing that it is closely linked to sensemaking and identity. We must

sustain a more nuanced perspective of political opportunity structures in relation to

innovation.

Finally, the broader perspective of political opportunity structures stresses the

importance of external events and developments that can affect processes of innovation.

Library and institutional leaders must be vigilant in watching for these opportunities in

order to facilitate their projects. As I've suggested, many innovations result from the

complex interactions of multiple influences. While they may not be predictable, we can observe and anticipate actions based on alternative scenarios.

In the next chapter, I focus on leadership of library innovation. In many ways, this chapter will pull together many threads of my discussion so far. For instance, I will describe the type of leadership appropriate for library innovation. Having repeatedly pointed to differences between social movements and innovation, I will now highlight leadership styles that emphasize greater interpersonal awareness and collaboration within an incremental process. Leadership is no less important for library innovation than it is for social movements. But it is significantly different.

CHAPTER VIII

LEADERSHIP FOR LIBRARY INNOVATION

To this point, leadership has been generally absent from my discussion of innovation in academic libraries. I have taken pains to describe innovation as a process of collective action involving complex interactions among diverse participants. The power of this conceptualization, borrowed from social movement theory, is that it stresses the ability of individuals and groups to shape their libraries and innovations. This portrayal explains how the members of a library community engage in discussion and debate, how they recruit and mobilize supporters, and how they leverage external circumstances.

However, a gap exists between our understanding of collective action and the leadership that facilitates it. Leadership generally is poorly defined (Rost, 1991), inadequately conceptualized in social movements (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004) and narrowly focused in higher education (Kezar, Carducci, & Contreras-McGavin, 2006). On one hand, movement scholars tend to downplay the motivations and behaviors of individual leaders in an overemphasis on collective action, as if individual behaviors lack significance. On the other hand, higher education researchers have targeted presidents, provosts and deans at the expense of more informal, bottom-up leaders.

I maintain that leadership for innovation in academic libraries can best be understood through the prism of complexity theory, which highlights the highly

interactive, often uncontrollable processes of a system (Cutright, 1996; Richardson, 2008; Stacey, 2001; Wheatley, 1992). Within the context of complexity, leaders facilitate interactions rather than dictate results. Leaders do not micromanage or control discussions, debates and actions. Rather, they create the conditions that enable emergence of an unspecified innovative outcome (Lichenstein, Uhl-Bien, Marion, Seers, Orton, & Schreiber, 2006; Marion & Uhl-Bien 2001; Uhl-Bien, 2007). As a result, meaningful innovation in academic libraries is not primarily the result of top-down decision-making. It is a deeply collaborative process in which leaders facilitate the possibilities of libraries as centers of student learning and knowledge construction. They do not prescribe or mandate the outcomes; they simply create context through which librarians, staff, faculty and students construct those outcomes.

Depicted in this dynamic manner, leadership is a complex rather than complicated process (Radford, 2008; Uhl-Bien et al., 2007). That is to say, its outcomes are not necessarily predictable and controllable. This is leadership that recognizes the multidimensional, dynamically and paradoxically interactive nature of organizational life. In contrast, complicated systems consist of many parts, but their interactions are predictable and outcomes ultimately knowable. For instance, an automobile engine represents a complicated system designed to operate in a specific manner. If it were complex and unpredictable, the engine would not be useful.

In this chapter, I describe a conception of leadership that shares this foundational idea that change and innovation results from creating conditions for collective interaction and action without specifying what develops. As I argue, popularized leadership styles such as transactional and transformational leadership do not measure up to the task of

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innovation. Rather, librarians and library leaders must look at different models that highlight the subtle and complex ways that formal and informal leaders bring about innovation. My research and experience affirms the importance of a leadership style described as "tempered radicalism" (Meyerson & Scully, 1995; Meyerson, 2004). Examples from my experience and research provide illustrations. While tempered radicalism is typically depicted as a bottom-up leadership style, it can be applied to those in formal leadership positions as well. As an administrator, I am keenly aware of the ambivalence experienced by members of this group regarding the tension between innovating and humanizing.

In order to lay a foundation for the subsequent discussion, I first explore several definitions and models of leadership in relation to the needs of innovation in academic libraries. While seemingly appropriate for the task of leadership in an environment of shared governance, several of these models overtly or covertly reflect top-down decision-making and actions. Even models of distributed leadership fail to deliver on their espoused goal of collective participation. These contradictions will be highlighted in the next section as a prelude to developing models more appropriate for library innovation.

## What is Leadership?

Generally, leadership refers to a relationship between leaders and followers in pursuit of common goals. For instance, in one organizational behavior textbook from the late 1990s, we read that: "leaders engage with followers in seeking to achieve not only the goals of the leader but also significant goals of the followers" (Owens, 1998, pp. 203-204). This interesting definition seems to point to a congruence of purpose between leaders and followers. At the same time, it points to a subtle inequity in the way we often

think about leadership. There is a distinction made here between accomplishing all of the leader's goals but not all of the followers' goals. It raises an important question: to what degree does the "leader" set direction and goals, and to what degree do "followers" play a role?

Attuned to such subtleties of meaning, Kouzes and Posner take a different approach. They avoid making a clear separation between the goals of leaders and followers. Leadership, they say is "the art of mobilizing others to want to struggle for shared aspirations" (1995, p. 30). Here we see an emphasis on mutuality; organizational members inspire each other to pursue goals or directions meaningful to the group. Leadership is now more clearly defined in relational terms (Wheatley, 1992). Kouzes and Posner's use of the term "art" is also significant, as it suggests that leadership does not consist of mastering cookie cutter recipes provided in the popular management literature. Rather, it is based on a self-reflective craft attentive to relationship and organizational dynamics.

In environments characterized by complexity, leadership may be described as an "enabling art" (Karp & Tveteraas Helgo, 2009). Recognizing the unpredictable nature of collective interactions and actions, leaders may be advised to create circumstances that facilitate innovation rather than trying to control the outcomes (Marion & Uhl-Bien, 2001). Instead of presenting a clearly defined plan for the practice of embedded librarianship to library staff, a director might create a working group of key stakeholders to investigate the needs, benefits and possibilities. By viewing leadership as a "complex dynamic through which adaptive outcomes emerge" (Uhl-Bien, 2007, p. 314), we step back from assumptions about rational planning, linearity and predetermined outcomes.

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Leadership becomes a process of attunement to organizational process rather than to directive outcomes.

As a collective process, library innovation requires an environment that welcomes the participation of those who have an interest. As a consequence, leaders should enable conditions that can yield productive outcomes. The examples of leadership presented later in this chapter all represent some form of enabling behavior.  In the following section, I describe several popular leadership models, highlighting their insufficient ability to create conditions that facilitate participation and innovation.

<center>The Failure of Traditional Leadership</center>

Traditional notions of leadership that focus on centralization, hierarchy, control and independence are poorly designed to meet the needs of a complex environment (Kezar, Carducci, & Contreras-McGavin, 2006). And yet, much of the leadership literature remains implicitly focused on top-down decision-making and control strategies (Plowman, Solansky, Beck, Baker, Kulkarni, & Travis, 2007). In relation to the complex interactivity associated with academic library innovation, these models fail to adequately engage the library community in meaningful and rich processes of discussion, debate and action.

The problems with top-down leadership strategies are numerous (Kezar, 2012). Most obviously, employees may feel little ownership for organizational goals and directions, and may only half-heartedly pursue them. In addition, such strategies create a dependence on leaders for guiding ideas. Finally, these strategies prevent the organization from building cognitive complexity, which is the collective ability to perceive issues from multiple diverse perspectives (Lester & Kezar, 2012). Within the context of library

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innovation, such limitations can be catastrophic since this means that patterns of sharing and collaboration are not well-developed.

Even models that espouse widespread participation may lack this enabling capacity. For instance, despite its popularity, transformational leadership may be interpreted, by administrators and employees, as a managerial strategy designed to inspire staff to achieve organizational goals. Work is accomplished through a people-oriented leader who exhibits charisma, optimism, and energy (Burns, 1978; Stone, Russell, & Patterson, 2003). However, these qualities do not necessarily invite participation leading to innovation. Rather, they disguise a top-down model of leadership that fails to fully appreciate the collective process of innovation (Harrison, 2011).

Distributed leadership too obscures the shared interests of organizational members (Kezar, 2012). Intended to bring together top-down and bottom-up leadership, this widely used model, similar to transformational leadership, approaches change from the perspective of those in formal leadership positions. Kezar maintains that those who employ distributed leadership wrongly assume that finding a convergence of interests is an apolitical act. In fact, she says, it sustains traditional power relations.

Critical perspectives provide some insight into subtle methods of normative control and manipulation, and what is required for employees to become engaged, full participants in organizational life (Fenwick, 2003; Salaman, 2001). The challenge is that leaders may understand on a rational level the meaning of inequity and the importance of integrity in relations with employees, but what they may not adequately appreciate is the deep subjective experiences of those who have been marginalized, and to take actions based on that understanding. With regards to library innovation, leaders must cultivate a

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style that permits librarians, staff, faculty and students to bring their best ideas and whole selves to this enterprise.

Nevertheless, since the 1970s and 1980s, the trend has been to replace explicitly command-and-control leadership styles by those reflecting greater power sharing and collaboration, which some view as a social movement (Kezar, Carducci, & Contreras-McGavin, 2006), even given the possibility of subtle and not-so-subtle forms of coercion. In general, leadership practice and research continues to seek strategies whereby top-down and bottom-up leadership work together. Admittedly, leadership is more complex than the dichotomy between top-down and bottom-up. Leadership occurs throughout the organization (Spillane, 2009). As Kezar, Carducci, and Contreras-McGavin (2006) point out, interdependence among stakeholders is the foundational theme of the current leadership revolution.

Even well intended top-down leadership models do not easily measure up to the challenges of collective decision-making and action required of academic library innovation. These strategies frequently give priority to administrative control as opposed to member participation, and at the cost of rich and creative interaction. In the next section, I turn to another style of leadership with promise for advancing library innovation. Primarily associated with bottom-up strategies, tempered radicalism seems to create conditions that enable productive outcomes.

<div align="center">The Opportunity of Tempered Radicalism</div>

Leadership occurs throughout our libraries, colleges and universities. However, grassroots and bottom-up faculty leadership is little understood, since most of the research on academe has focused on titular leaders (Kezar, Carducci, & Contreras-

McGavin, 2006; Kezar, Gallant, & Lester, 2011; Kezar & Lester, 2009). In this section, I will explore a constellation of related leadership strategies that have in common that they are not driven by top-down, positional authority. Based largely in social movement theory, these mutually referential strategies challenge the status quo, typically in moderate, incremental ways. Those who engage in these activities are called grassroots leaders, tempered radicals and institutional intermediaries. For this discussion, it is important to recognize that these leaders achieve what complexity theory suggests is required in dynamic, interactive circumstances: they create "the conditions that enable productive, but largely unspecified future states" (Marion & Uhl-Bien, 2001, p. 391). This will be a theme in my library examples.

I offer several definitions and distinctions among these terms. In general, I use "tempered radicals" to refer to this group of related concepts. Tempered radicals are members of an organization who attempt to change and transform it from within. Committed to its basic work, they are equally committed to issues, communities and ideologies at odds with the organization (Kezar, 2012; Meyerson, 2004; Meyerson & Scully, 1995; Meyerson & Tompkins, 2007). As a subset of this group, "grassroots leaders" approach change as a bottom-up process (Ehrich & English, 2012; Kezar, 2012; Kezar, Gallant, & Lester, 2011).

With regards to organizational change and innovation, the position of tempered radicals inside the organization carries special significance. Strategies for bringing about change differ when the activists work inside rather than outside the organization (Kezar, 2012). Their strategies are "tempered" by a desire to keep their jobs. We have seen this distinction before in the application of social movement ideas to organizational change.

Protests, demonstrations, and occupations mobilize external support for an issue, but may do little to overcome differences with the organization itself. Such efforts are intended to exacerbate tension between "us" and "them." In contrast to divisiveness, effective strategies inside the organization are those that reflect an awareness of norms concerning discussion, debate and action. Tempered radicals are careful, not only for reasons of job security, but because change from within is a collective process involving community participation.

Tempered radicals work patiently and incrementally. They recognize that sudden and dramatic efforts to affect change do not accommodate the needs of one's colleagues to process information and participate. That strategy imposes change rather than invites possibilities. Somewhat idealistically, these careful tacticians are sometimes described as "quiet leaders" who view their organization holistically, choosing to act judiciously, without drawing attention to themselves and without casualties (Badaracco, 2003). By taking time to understand the flow of events, they weigh actions and pursue those that make the greatest difference. I suspect the reality is more complex. Tempered radicals are passionate and conflicted about their commitments. They may be careful, but nevertheless provocative, questioning assumptions and boundaries in order to achieve small wins (Meyerson, 2004).

What specific strategies do tempered radicals use? Meyerson (2004) identifies two. First, they exhibit a strategy described as "disruptive self-expression." In one form, it occurs as oblique advocacy. Without directly challenging institutional values, directions or norms, tempered radicals express their views quietly through dress, office décor, language and small actions that challenge taken for granted ways of working. For

instance, this is the librarian whose office is decorated with images, quotes and statistics related to environmental sustainability and who actively models an environmentally conscious lifestyle. As a topic, sustainability may not come up in conversations, but in her office, it hovers as an unspoken theme.

In another form of disruptive self-expression, tempered radicals behave authentically, communicating transparently and fully their beliefs, feelings and identities. Meyerson and Scully (1995) describe the female surgeon who changed her work environment by rejecting the authoritarian model that had become accepted as normal by her surgical team. Instead, she began treating other members of her group with respect and compassion, modeling a different way of working. Such authenticity encourages others and disrupts patterns of now dysfunctional collective behavior that fails to serve the greater good of the organization.

A second leadership strategy used by tempered radicals is to seek small wins. For years, public academic libraries in Illinois had discarded books that had been withdrawn from their collections. This was the result of a legislative statute that hindered libraries from pursuing more profitable and philanthropic alternatives. After observing this unnecessary disposal of books over a period of several years, I brought the issue to a local state representative, and together we rewrote the statute. This was a small win on the road to better stewardship of state resources.

In translating tempered radicalism to higher education, Kezar, Gallant and Lester (2011) identify a number of grassroots strategies used by faculty members to advance institutional change. These include: 1) organizing lecture series or formal professional development opportunities; 2) using courses as forums to raise consciousness about

important issues; 3) mentoring students; 4) hiring faculty with activist orientations; 5) obtaining external financial resources to encourage campus initiatives; 6) leveraging data to tell a story; 6) participating in existing campus networks; and 7) building external partnerships (Kezar, Gallant, & Lester, 2011). These all represent forms of disruptive self-expression or the means of seeking small wins.

In the next section, I provide examples from academic libraries illustrating how tempered radicalism manifests itself within the context of innovation. What becomes most intriguing is that tempered radical librarians facilitate processes of innovation by creating conditions that enable others to fully share in its construction. They do not pre-determine the outcomes, but create opportunities for engagement in processes that lead to unpredictable innovations.

<div align="center">Library Innovation and Disruptive Self-Expression</div>

Tempered radicals experience ambivalence about conflicting commitments to the organization on one hand and to personal beliefs, values and communities on the other. Like the surgeon mentioned above, some of the innovative librarians I met exhibited what Meyerson and Scully (1995) describe as disruptive self-expression. In the face of dissonant experience, they strive to balance and blend competing demands in ways that permit them to contribute to organizational objectives while remaining true to themselves. At Flagship University, Terry is an innovator who challenges taken-for-granted ways of working. Employed as the Undergraduate Instructor and Outreach Librarian, she does not simply respond to questions of a library-related nature, accepting the institutional boundaries she is given. Like the surgeon, she approaches students holistically and humanely, helping them with whatever challenge they are facing. This is

a form of servant leadership, focused on the needs of others, regardless of their nature (Greenleaf, 1991)

Within the context of library innovation, Terry works in a tempered way to lead her library towards a broader conceptualization of the library. Pushing boundaries in a careful, though pointed manner, she practices a form of librarianship that focuses on student learning, broadly understood. Libraries are not only for finding information; they are for helping students with a full range of needs that underlie the learning process, including emotional support for learning, advice about professional etiquette, and even informal counseling about issues of student life.

Terry cultivates an out-of-the box persona that exudes the message "welcome, come talk to me!" Meeting students outside of the library, she communicates openly about being a lesbian. She tells me a story about speaking to a class on the topic of sexuality and identity formation in which she highlight the influence of 1980s music on her life. The story ends humorously. She tells the students: "you can go and tell (your parents) that this music made the librarian gay..." She can get away with saying some crazy things, she says, and it makes her more approachable. This level of personal authenticity, while perhaps somewhat risky, also models interpersonal honesty and a willingness to reach out to people despite obstacles that the institution puts before them.

In championing more holistic efforts to reach out to students, Terry has been vocal in her dislike of library reference desks. She "fights tooth and nail" not to sit behind the desk and prefers sitting with students in a less formal setting where she can engage them more fully about wide-ranging academic issues. Terry is not alone in this view. Bennett (2009) argues that desks represent physical and symbolic barriers between

librarians and students and are poor mechanisms for facilitating collaboration. Nevertheless, Terry's attitude about the desk puts her at odds with other librarians who staff the desk. On the positive side, through this disruptive self-expression, she models new ways of working with students. On the negative side, she risks alienating some of her colleagues. It becomes clear that leading change through disruptive self-expression is a balancing act. Her actions create opportunities for reflection and organizational learning, as she and her colleagues are forced to consider alternative meanings (Heifetz, 1994; Heifetz, Grashow, & Linsky, 2009)

I think it worthwhile to provide an example of the alternative information service that Terry provides because it seems to point to a new paradigm of librarianship. Terry describes to me a recent experience. "I had a student in the other day, terrified to go and find books, just terrified." She says to the student: "So come on, I'll show you how to read call numbers." They go into the book stacks together and sit on the floor talking about the student's research. Terry shows her how to use indexes and bibliographies in the back of the books. "We are just having this great conversation," and then the student left with a pile of books. Terry says she always follows up by email with students "to see how they're doing, tell me what's going on, or what they might need." While this type of activity is labor-intensive, it is the kind of work that truly supports learning.

Outreach, as practiced by Terry, is a constant process of making connections and building on those relationships to help students. She visits residence halls, and sets up in the Student Union. As she says: "I will buy students coffee and you know, three minutes might be about their project and the rest might be stress related to their project." She also

answers questions through Facebook. Outreach, both in person and through social media, provides a forum for Terry to express a much-appreciated authenticity.

<p style="text-align:center">Small Wins and Innovation</p>

The shift of librarianship towards a paradigm focused on student learning and knowledge construction will not happen at all at once. It will arrive slowly through a series of innovations. As a form of collective action, library innovation takes time. Stakeholders must debate and discuss the innovation, mobilize support and leverage possible opportunities. Tempered radicals know that change and innovation is an incremental process based on small wins (Kezar, 2012; Meyerson, 2004; Meyerson & Scully, 1995). Within the context of academic library innovation, small wins are the rule rather than the exception. Those who would undertake major innovations without an appreciation for the collective nature of this process risk more than simply the failure of the project.

Librarians at all three institutions described small wins. By using this approach, librarians are able to break down large challenges into smaller projects that permit gradual progress (Meyerson & Scully, 1995). We can evaluate small wins in terms of their capacity to contribute incrementally to the shift in paradigms. As such, they do not rely so much on the application of existing knowledge and skills to solve new problems, but on the shared learning of stakeholders (Heifetz, 1994; Heifetz, Grashow, & Linsky, 2009).

Among others, grassroots librarian efforts included the growth at Midwest Private College of the library instruction program, as well as the formal incorporation of that library's Special Collections into student research. This initiative occurred incrementally,

though perhaps beginning with the hiring of an assertive library instruction coordinator. Upon arrival, she began reaching out to academic faculty on campus, talking with them about the importance of enhancing students' ability to navigate a rapidly changing information universe. Some of her library colleagues adopted this enthusiasm, and before long, they were actively working with the faculty to systematically scaffold the teaching of information literacy into the curriculum. Librarians and faculty learned together how to collaborate on new content for existing courses. Importantly, the librarians leveraged their campus networks and involvement with the curriculum to achieve these small wins. This differs from many libraries that provide individual library sessions upon request, without broader considerations of teaching these skills across the curriculum.

The small technology-recycling project at Public State University is an another example of a small win. Initiated by library staff member, the project highlights the academic tempered radical who brings personal passions into the workplace in order to do some good. As an innovation, the technology-recycling project adds to our understanding of possible future library services, while at the same time, representing an opportunity to educate others about the importance of sustainability. By recycling old technology, we conserve natural resources and prevent dispersion of toxins and carcinogens that that technology contains (Sawyer, 2010; Yan, Xue, & Xu, 2013).

The project began with Mitch, the manager of the Multimedia Production Lab, who applied for and obtained a recycling grant from the county. This involves setting up special boxes in the library where the campus community can bring their old floppies, computers, hard drives, cameras, recorders, etc. When a box is full, Mitch tapes it up and sends it to a company with whom he has a contract. For the $500 grant, he was able to

recycle 789 pounds of material. "I think about the days where you'd get the AOL CDs in the mail and how many hundreds of those you would get. So now, you know how to offer a non-traditional library service, and one that requires relatively minimal investment. I mean money's money these days, but it's not much to try to initiate something like this."

The project affirms the faculty strategy of using external funding to leverage institutional change (Kezar, Gallant, & Lester, 2011). Receipt of the grant, in combination with the project's success, led the dean to allocate additional funds to purchase another 10 recycling boxes. This is an organizational variation of Newton's First Law of Motion: an object in motion stays in motion. As a library initiative, technology recycling makes a great deal of sense, since the library is a central and familiar location on many campuses.

The small wins strategy also appreciates the capacity of librarians to create change and innovation in those areas with which they have the greatest control and independence. It is worth noting that the time and labor involved in large-scale change that works through the formal organization and numerous informal discussions, represents a disincentive to faculty. Grassroots leaders do not work through committees, consult with administration, or collaborate on change. They prefer to work off the radar (Lester & Kezar, 2012).

To this point, I have provided examples of the two strategies used by tempered radicals to create change: disruptive self-expression and small wins (Meyerson & Scully, 1995). In the next section, I describe a quality of tempered radicals not clearly delineated by other authors. While Meyerson and Scully emphasize the importance of self-expression as a means of modeling new behaviors, I believe that this portrayal fails to

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appropriately value the community-building strategies (Block, 2008) used by tempered radicals to implement innovation.

## In-reach and Innovation

As a leadership strategy, disruptive self-expression represents a means by which tempered radicals model new ways of living and working. The driving force behind such self-expression is the personal need to resolve the ambivalence they feel between conflicting commitments to the organization and to their personal beliefs, values, and communities (Meyerson & Scully, 1995). Terry, for instance, exemplified this strategy by responding to student needs in a holistic manner. She recognized that learning is a multifaceted enterprise that cannot be meaningfully facilitated by an institutional process divided into departments. She modeled an assertive form of outreach to students.

Other tempered radicals focus more intentionally on the internal processes of the organization. In contrast to Terry's modeling of outreach, I describe this strategy as in-reach. Within the context of innovation, grassroots library leaders, attuned to interpersonal and intra-organizational dynamics, actively work to bridge gaps of understanding. These contemplative leaders realize that innovation, as a collective activity, requires greater attention to communication and community building. Similar to the holistic view of university students, in-reach reflects a parallel belief in the complex multi-dimensionality of our colleagues. Despite our common work in academic libraries, we cannot assume that we speak and understand problems and solutions in the same way. The inability of formal and informal leaders to step back from their assumptions in order to appreciate how other people conceptualize organizational process can be a fatal flaw.

At Flagship University, two library staff embodied for me the strategy of in-reach as a component of innovation. In both cases, they demonstrated a way of working that enhances the library's capacity to innovate. These are internal bridge builders between people and ideas. They might also be described as meta-innovators: those whose innovation involves developing processes of innovation. In general, tempered radicals who pursue these strategies exhibit empathy and an unusual ability to read organizational dynamics. I offer here a few insights from my discussion with them.

The process of in-reach requires patience and a capacity to appreciate the questions posed by others. Our library colleagues are not simply nay-sayers, according to Kate, the Information Technology Trainer.  They are not raising questions because they reject change. They have a different way of processing information. Although we may become frustrated with what seems obstructionist questioning, she says: "I think we are learning that we have to listen to those people and take seriously what their questions are...Other people are going to have those questions (too)." Along similar lines, Allison, an electronic resources librarian who heads up serials ordering, reflected on her experience of working through a change in the way the University Libraries tracked and managed journals that never arrived. "You really have to get at what people need to see in this problem and be able to present that."

These in-reach leaders raise organizational awareness about gaps in communication and mutual understanding. They are the advocates, challenging assumptions about taken-for-granted ways of thinking and working. Capacity would be enhanced by "figuring out what someone's information need is," says Kate. "That seems to be the biggest place where communication breaks down. And that's just so library-

obvious, you know it's so LIS (i.e., Library and Information Science) theory," referring to the need for librarians to practice the skills they use to answer reference questions at the desk in their communications with each other.

Informally organized brown bags and learning communities organized by grassroots leaders (Kezar, Gallant, & Lester, 2011) are a form of in-reach supporting library innovation. For instance, Kate is passionate about the application of constructivist design to library-related instruction, essentially getting away from lecture-based sessions in order to let students experiment and explore more actively on their own and in collaboration with others. She has organized opportunities for librarians to talk about their experiences. "There are at least three librarians who are (using constructivist design) and they presented it at a meeting last week. There was a lot of interest." She describes her work here in a way that I believe epitomizes the strategy of in-reach. "I think that I sowed a seed in people..." Indeed, in-reach is a strategy of reaching out to others and letting them find ways to reach back.

In terms of advancing change and innovation, great benefits result from reaching out to colleagues with patience and understanding. Those same questioners mentioned above often become the greatest users and advocates of a new technology or practice, says Kate. A reinforcing cycle then permits the entire organization to move forward. "If you provide that emotional support, it builds a relationship of trust, which is beneficial for you too. The next time you come up with a new idea or want them to try something, they are more willing to listen to you and try it and support you if you've supported them in the past and you've understood where they are coming from." This is how small wins

become victories. In terms of disruptive self-expression, in-reach is a strategy that allows librarians to combine their commitment to the organization with a commitment to people.

## Convergence Leadership

Since library innovation is conceived as collective action, formal and informal leaders must work together. Innovation is not unilaterally a top-down or bottom-up phenomenon. It takes an entire extended academic community to recreate the library as a center of student learning and knowledge construction. However, little research has been conducted on convergence leadership, which Kezar defines as the "joining and/or combining of top-down efforts led by those in positions of authority and bottom-up efforts led by those without positions of authority" (2012, p. 728). She contends elsewhere (2007) that this form of collaborative leadership is a fairly rare occurrence.

Be that as it may, Kezar (2012) provides grassroots leaders with strategies for pursuing convergence with administrative leaders. Not surprisingly, many of these approaches revolve around either reading organizational dynamics or communicating in ways that make sense to those in positions of authority. For instance, faculty leaders need to be aware of opportunities as they emerge. Timing is everything. They also should strive to sensitize administrators to important issues through such means as white papers and presentations. Over all, these strategies amount to intentional efforts to reach out and reach in to engage positional leaders, opening emergent possibilities for collaboration.

But how do those with formal positions of authority contribute to convergence leadership? How can we escape the subtle traps of distributed leadership in which change and innovation continues to be driven by top-down leaders? I believe the answer lies before us and has been discussed within a different context. Tempered radicals do not

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exist only at the grassroots level. Faculty and staff have not cornered the market in this area. Many administrators experience the same divided commitments between their organization and their personal beliefs, values and communities. They too are tempered, and their actions studied. Tempered administrators must be careful in a way different than that of tempered faculty. They both seek subtle ways to advocate alternative organizational strategies. One of them is working in a way careful not to offend formal authority, while the other working carefully not to alienate other library constituents. This recalls Heifetz' (1994) distinction between formal and informal authority. Informal leaders have more flexibility to address an issue because they lack the baggage of administrative responsibilities and rules. On the other hand, formal leaders can use their position to focus collective attention on alternative ways of thinking and acting.

We can easily transpose Meyerson and Scully's (1995) two tempered radical strategies to the work of some top-down leaders in academic libraries. In my own discussion with academic library innovators, I found expressions of authenticity and disruptive self-expression in comments made by deans. This was similar to the grassroots librarians and staff who extended themselves to their colleagues, prioritizing human needs over those of the bureaucracy. These tempered radicals recognize that the real work of our organizations occurs through people and not through hierarchical structures. Several library administrators offered the same perspective. For instance, in describing the development of a vision statement, the Dean of Libraries at Flagship University made a point of telling me "it was the process that was important. And that is pretty much how we operate here. It is not an autocratic leadership style where decisions are made and just fed down the pike." There may be a value among tempered administrators about striving

for the greater good and building the library community that separates them from other more structurally bound administrators.

Convergence leadership is a requirement of library innovation, which seems to occur through the efforts of bottom-up and top-down leadership to reach out and to sustain trust in each other. Again at Flagship University, a grassroots initiative to create a gallery space in the main library received enthusiastic support from the dean. Sasha, the Digital Imaging Librarian, who also chaired the Library Exhibits Committee, related the story to me. "I went to the dean as chair of this group and said, we are very interested in this. We think there is a lot we can do. It should be a collaborative effort, a campus collaboration … She (the dean) basically said, "Go do it! Here's $15,000 to create the gallery and get started."

As an innovation, I think it worthwhile to describe the integrated nature of this project. Sasha explains that the gallery exhibits often follow the lead of the University Art Museum. "If they are having a big exhibit on environmental change, we will take that as our topic too. (We will then) go out to see what campus faculty members are publishing in that area from different departments." Subsequently, those faculty members are invited to contribute their scholarship, as well as related student projects and biographical information for the exhibit. Finally, subject specialist librarians provide a selection of materials from the relevant collections with a write-up about the University Libraries' holdings in that area. The dean opens the exhibit with a wine and cheese reception that draws numerous campus constituents including the Friends of the Library.

What worked here is that Sasha and her committee had come up with a fairly detailed plan that supported integrating the library into campus activities in a deeply

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collaborative manner. It was an excellent example of an innovation that contributed to the development of academic libraries as centers of learning and knowledge construction generally. The interconnectedness of this project is intriguing as a model for library collaborations as it reflects the merging and harmonization of multiple campus interests at the same time. Both bottom-up and top-down leadership recognized the collective benefits of the project. As a form of convergence leadership, the exhibit demonstrates the importance of bottom-up and top-down leaders listening to each other and finding common goals towards which they both can work. Sasha concludes that the gallery project was a nice win-win.

We return to where we began this chapter, with the recognition that organizations are often unpredictable and uncontrollable. Leadership for innovation is the complex process of creating circumstances that enable individuals and groups to collectively shape productive outcomes (Marion & Uhl-Bien, 2001). Throughout this chapter, I have described formal and informal leaders who do just that. They do not prescribe or dictate, but instead create opportunities for other members of the library to engage with new ideas in ways most comfortable for them. This is the case in those examples where tempered radical library staff model alternative, humane ways of working with students or where they reach "in" to their colleagues in order to enhance communication and understanding. This is not required and no demands are attached to these activities. Overall however, such leadership behaviors yields an environment in which people are able to share and express themselves, and an environment in which diverse ideas emerge more readily in pursuit of innovation.

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CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

"And what all the myths have to deal with is transformations of consciousness of one

kind or another. You have been thinking one way, you now have to think a different

way." --Joseph Campbell

In this last chapter, I reflect on the future of academic libraries, observing that the

emerging paradigm of student-centered libraries and librarianship will result, not from

independent efforts, but from the efforts of the entire academic community. Their

capacity to assume more authentically student-centered roles is integrally linked to the

ability and willingness of their institutions, and higher education generally, to do the

same. This is followed by a discussion of five lessons learned about academic library

innovation. I conclude with five recommendations based on the findings and insights

gleaned from this project.

Reflections on a Journey

In mythology and dreams, we find ourselves undertaking a journey in quest of

answers to problems perplexing to us and to our village. On this journey, we face

obstacles, find unexpected assistance from enchanted creatures, and ultimately find the

answers we seek (Campbell, 1968). We return with a different way of thinking.

I end this project with a chapter in which I reflect on a journey that, while not enduring as long as the one experienced by Homer's Ulysses, has lasted three long years. I return to my village, and to my profession, with some answers to the questions with which I began: how does innovation occur in academic libraries? In the end, I have been changed by the investigation. Not only has this project reinforced for me the collective nature of library innovation, but it has also highlighted the depth and nuance of this process. We are one community when it comes to innovation and its development.

I approached this dissertation with great expectations. Personally, it has not simply been an intellectual exercise without application. It was undertaken with the explicit purpose of making a difference in the ways academic libraries and their institutions facilitate innovation leading to a more deeply integrated and rich information environment for students and faculty. It was intended to find solutions to challenges I face on a daily basis. While I have returned from this journey wiser and more knowledgeable, I recognize the difficulty of the solutions offered. They do not provide the magic bullet that many of my colleagues would prefer, but instead provide a map of the territory and a guide to our further journeys together.

During the last few years, this project has not existed in isolation. Rather, it has been one of three all-consuming, mutually interpenetrating aspects. Most directly, the dissertation has involved writing and rewriting with frequent detours and mysterious road signs. Indeed, this has been a long strange trip. During the same period, I began as an associate dean and ended as interim dean in a library environment experiencing significant change. These two major facets of my life have been actively informed by continual reflections on the three libraries at which I conducted my research. It is my

hope that this dissertation points to the humanity of our common enterprise in libraries, and the necessity of helping each other along the way. Perhaps one of the most important lessons learned is that innovations are ultimately no more successful than the processes used to get there.

<div align="center">The Future of Academic Libraries</div>

Despite their high rankings on the nostalgia scale, academic libraries as quiet spaces for the study of obscure research has been in decline for years. Libraries are now frequently filled with students who have adapted these facilities for other purposes. Quiet study has been pushed to the corners of these facilities, which are more frequently used to practice presentations, to socialize with friends, and to study in large groups, all at the same time. These are noisy spaces. In the midst of a paradigm shift (Kuhn, 1970), we who work in academic libraries and librarianship cannot yet see the full character of this emergent profession, though its outlines are becoming clearer (Anderson, 2011; Bennett, 2009; Kaptizke, 2003; University of Minnesota Libraries, 2009).

Changes in the profession abound. As I write this chapter, Indiana University is in the process of merging its top-ten ranked School of Library and Information Science into the School of Informatics and Computing; in its new home, library science will now exist as a department (Indiana University, 2013). This is significant on two counts. First, this consolidation points to the idea, at Indiana University and elsewhere, that the future of libraries is closely aligned with specialized technology and data manipulation. Second, it suggests diminished importance of the traditional conception of librarianship as professional preparation is also reconfigured.

The traditional functions of libraries will not disappear. Rather, over time, many of those functions will occupy a smaller part of their overall activity. Providing access to print book collections will decline. Library-related instruction that focuses on showing students how to use library databases may disappear altogether, replaced by online tutorials that can provide students with the orientation required. The future paradigm of academic libraries will include legacy activities but will transcend them in a new paradigm of student learning and knowledge construction (Wilber, 1996). For instance, we will see libraries provide more active learning opportunities through their Special Collections and primary source materials that become integrated into the curriculum. We will see libraries take a central role in teaching students about various information processes.

The transition to a new paradigm of libraries and librarianship parallels the same one faced by higher education generally: moving from a focus on teaching to a focus on learning (Barr & Tagg, 1995). Rather than an emphasis on course content delivered by an instructor, the new paradigm stresses student learning, and active processes to ensure that it occurs. In the same way, academic libraries are distancing themselves from roles as content providers to one of learning facilitators. This explains the appearance of writing labs and multimedia production centers in libraries; these are active centers of learning (Bennett, 2009). This also explains why library instruction is shifting from basic database orientation to the teaching and learning of data management and visualization, among others.

At bottom, a key driver of change and innovation will be financial, a coercive pressure to which academic libraries will respond (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). They

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will increasingly need to demonstrate that they affect student learning. Otherwise, they risk losing support from their institutions in an overall tightening economy. The existing library paradigm focused on collections remains hindered in its ability to do so. After all, the number of books checked out is a poor proxy of learning, though it was a good measure of use in the old paradigm. In my experience, libraries are not deeply integrated into the curriculum in a way that shows how they benefit students in a measurable way.

However, the question of whether libraries affect student learning reflects a larger challenge for higher education. The issue of libraries cannot be solved outside of a broader commitment to student learning on the part of our institutions. For libraries to play a deeper role in student learning, this means that the way teaching and learning occurs must change. This is not solely an issue for libraries. It is a question concerning the future viability of higher education. The needed change will come from social movements within the academy focused on reforming the processes of education.

Given that libraries survive with any semblance of their current appearance, two innovative developments are likely to occur. As my research has shown, libraries will continue down the path of co-locating essential student and faculty support functions. Depending on the institution and its priorities, these functions will focus on some combination of student support and faculty support.

Additionally, and more adaptively, the profession of librarianship will hopefully take co-ownership for teaching varied information skills in the curriculum (Kapitzke, 2003). As noted above, many information processes have not been fully incorporated into our institutional curricula. These include information literacies focused on such topics as health, finance, civic engagement, and philosophical information literacy (ways of

knowing information). Technological expertise will also proliferate, enabling libraries to participate in the teaching of personal information management; data analysis; data visualization; media production; and geographic information systems, to name a few. Other areas of possible growth for library and information professionals include critical thinking about primary source materials; group process; and self-knowledge. Again, the exact nature of the important information roles played by librarians will vary depending on institutional priorities and directions.

Moving forward, innovation will be the means by which libraries and librarianship transition to the new paradigm of learning and knowledge construction. If current efforts are an indicator of widespread activity in the future, successful innovation will include some common characteristics. Overall, innovation will be a more deliberate collective process focused on incremental change while simultaneously addressing the deep human needs for participation.

## Lessons Learned

This research highlights a number of significant issues concerning academic libraries, librarianship and the processes of innovation. As a field transitioning to a new paradigm, librarianship is experiencing a particularly difficult period in its history (Bookless Libraries, Nov. 6, 2009; Campbell, 2006). Change is problematic in part because librarians work under the assumptions and practices of earlier paradigms. Paralleling the more general higher education environment, academic libraries support the autonomy of individual librarians, the separation of departments, and the loose coupling of its varied activities (Weick, 1976).

One overriding conclusion is that innovation is a team effort. The implications of this should provide impetus for libraries and their communities to think and work differently in the future. Projects that matter involve the assent and participation of many people. Individuals make a difference in their areas of immediate activity, but innovation ultimately requires changes in the ways that people and library organizations work.

*Innovation is Collective Action*

As viewed through social movement theory, library innovation is a process of collective action (Hargrave & Van de Ven, 2006; Van de Ven, 2005). It is not generated by the individual genius. Numerous individuals and groups participate in negotiating common understandings and practices regarding the innovation and its implementation. The significance of collective action in library innovation should encourage us to reflect on the possible incongruity between the autonomy of individual librarians and departments and the need of the library to respond to a changing context in a more coordinated fashion.

Individuals are central to the innovation process as facilitators who create the circumstances by which others engage and learn together how to move forward (Heifetz, 1994; Heifetz et al., 2009; Kezar et al., 2006; Kezar et al., 2011; Marion & Uhl-Bien, 2001). Innovation occurs through a meeting of top-down and bottom-up dynamic organizational processes. When innovation is imposed, it frequently fails because the majority of people who need to implement it have not been part of the conversation. This is not to say that individuals cannot initiate and lead innovative efforts. Rather, I suggest that the process of initiating and leading innovation involves subtlety and a capacity to

recognize strategies that permit others to engage with in a personally and collaboratively meaningful way.

*The Size of Innovation Does Not Matter*

Big innovation is a myth. The majority of innovations represent incremental steps on the road to a new paradigm of libraries and librarianship (Kuhn, 1970). What we conceive as big innovation results from a long period of smaller events. The corollary of this statement is that major innovations do not occur suddenly or through top-down decision-making in most academic libraries. This perspective is inherently disrespectful of the library constituents who have a stake in its future.

When innovation is viewed as a form of collective action, one more easily recognizes the reasons for a longer process. From this perspective, the success of innovation depends on the ability to debate and discuss, mobilize support and understanding, and ultimately to act together. This takes time. As a result, most innovation in academic libraries is an incremental process aligned to a new paradigm that requires participants to figure out adaptations, engineering them as they go. One of the largest innovations I discovered, the open access policy at Flagship University, took over ten years to fully develop and implement, and even now, remains fluid and changeable. Where innovation occurs in other circumstances, we see organizational instability and staff turnover. Change and innovation that fails to accommodate the needs of those most affected by it will either be unsuccessful or poorly supported.

Though innovation frequently occurs in an incremental fashion in academic libraries, I do not mean to suggest that it grows organically or without direction. Kuhn (1970) states that changes in paradigms take time. Emerging paradigms can orient the

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activities and directions of libraries, and formal and informal leaders can create

conditions whereby collective interaction leads to collective action. The success of the

emerging paradigm results from its ability to solve problems that the existing paradigm

has not.

*Innovation is Not about Changing People*

Regardless of the visions, wishes and cutting edge knowledge of any particular

person, changes and innovations in the library result first and foremost from the

collective interactions of library personnel. A library is composed of its members,

nothing more and nothing less. Every library is different in the character of its

innovations because of the unique personalities and capacities of the individuals who

work there. Every member of the community brings their personal sets of knowledge and

expertise to work. Libraries are fortunate to retain librarians and staff dedicated to

helping students and faculty. This is a common characteristic of most academic libraries:

the people who work in these organizations are typically service-oriented by profession

and personality (Allen & Allen, 1992; Schroer, 2003).

Administrators and librarians occasionally may express frustration with the

inability of other members of the community to see the possibilities as they do. People all

work in different areas with variable perspectives on strategic priorities. However,

librarians and leaders first must be grateful for the people they have as colleagues.

Moving forward, libraries can seek to create conditions that engage their communities in

explorations of ideas, but they cannot force anyone to embrace them. The bottom line is

that libraries and librarians work with what they are given, and must not attempt to create

others in their own image. In terms of personnel, opinion and knowledge, libraries have what they have; this is not going to change.

*Innovation is Radically Humanistic*

Innovation does not result from the linear application of existing problem-solving skills (Ashmos et al., 2000; Styhre, 2002). At the same time, library deans and directors do not predetermine the end result of a successful innovative process. Instead, innovation occurs through radically humanistic strategies and attitudes about working with people to achieve common goals (Brown & Cregan, 2008; Buber, 1958; Palmer, 1993; 1998; 2011). This is its subversive aspect. Successful innovation requires stakeholders to transcend organizational structures and hierarchies designed to control and limit creative collective activity in order to perform the profoundly human task of generating something new (Doan & Kennedy, 2009; Woodman et al., 1993). Innovation follows a thread of informal, subversive activity that defies formal organizational structure. Over and over, innovation results from individuals and groups willing to step beyond the norms and institutional boundaries in order to create something meaningful.

For the purposes of facilitating innovation, the existence of this fundamental characteristic should encourage librarians and leaders to take an equally radical view of their working relationships in the library and on campus (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985; Block, 2008; Wheatley & Frieze, 2011). They must cultivate the human connections in libraries in order that librarians and staff will openly share and take risks with each other. The human element of the workplace must be something that receives focused attention. They must not accept the view of one library dean who once

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told me that communication is always a problem and can't do much about it. This perspective highlights the distance that must still be travelled to address this issue.

*Complexity Requires Us to Work Differently*

Complexity allows us to acknowledge the messiness and unpredictability of organizational life, and to act differently because of it. In a complex world, we know that the path from Point A to Point B is circuitous, winding through the countryside of unanticipated obstacles. A complex world is not made of things, but of interactions (Plowman et al., 2007; Radford, 2008; Uhl-Bien et al., 2007; Wheatley, 1992). Innovation results from the interactions of many library constituents. The outcomes are unpredictable and uncontrollable. Facilitators of innovation create the conditions for interactions through which productive, unpredictable outcomes may occur (Lichtentein et al., 2006; Marion & Uhl-Bien, 2001; Uhl-Bien et al., 2007). One might wonder what exactly this means. How is this different from the process of creating a team of people to develop a solution to a problem?

The latter, however, would be a more traditional, more linear organizational response. From a complexity perspective, the question is not primarily about putting together the appropriate team of experts and interested parties. Instead, the issue is one of shifting perspectives, obtaining a broader view of the process, what Heifetz (1994) calls "getting on the balcony." Creating conditions for productive interactions is the process of setting the stage, not writing the script, through the exercise of formal or informal authority (Heifetz et al., 2009). Committees or working groups may be part of the institutional means of accomplishing the task, but they do not establish a baseline of common understanding about the project. Creating conditions takes a longer view of the

situation, and includes offering opportunities to engage the issue through various forms of shared learning.

If complexity leadership focuses on creating conditions for others to engage and develop an innovation, what does this say about the ultimate decision-making responsibility of deans and directors? If leaders simply create conditions for innovation, how and where are decisions made? In fact, the idea of "ultimate decision-making" must be reframed and renegotiated. When administrators make a decision about an issue that remains contested and controversial, one might question the circumstances. First, have the leaders adequately created the conditions for the organization to talk through the issue together. Secondly, have the appropriate circumstances yet emerged whereby a decision can be made. Forced decisions are like forced shots in basketball. The chances of success are far less. If the decision can wait, and if the members have patience to wait for the appropriate mobilizing opportunity or political opportunity structure, a decision will be made. Of course, there are times requiring immediate decisions. In these cases, the administrator must be as transparent as possible and communicate to others the parameters within which they are working. Complexity requires us to step away from linearity and hierarchical approaches to change.

The larger question of library innovation concerns the type of world we want to create and live in. This work points not only to a new paradigm of libraries, but to a new way of being and working. An academic library where innovation occurs is a special kind of organization. Here, we find individual and shared learning; community and continual outreach between people; a flexibility to engage diverse perspectives; the capacity to merge and unify this diversity into meaningful innovations; and leadership that brings

together top-down and bottom-up constituents. In the next section, I provide practical, though ambitious recommendations for academic libraries in their efforts to implement innovation.

## Recommendations

Academic libraries face significant challenges as they transition to a new paradigm explicitly focused on student learning and knowledge construction (Anderson, 2011; Bennett, 2009; Kaptizke, 2003; University of Minnesota Libraries, 2009). Many issues complicate this process, not the least of which is a general lack of professional knowledge about how innovation occurs. In this work, I have highlighted characteristics of innovation in academic libraries, emphasizing above all else, its deeply participative and collective nature. Some readers will undoubtedly consider these qualities too intangible and squishy to implement. And there is some truth in this view if the reader seeks a recipe for innovation. Those who seek solutions that can be easily implemented within libraries and institutions will be disappointed.

Indeed, the challenge of library innovation is not primarily about innovation at all. The goal of these efforts is not to develop innovations through existing organizational structures and processes. Instead, librarians and their extended communities must strive to build innovative libraries that support the characteristics necessary for innovation to occur. In essence, our goal is not to implement specific practices, but to incrementally recreate the library itself. Specific innovations exist as short-term projects for our libraries, but they are not the endpoint. In fact, in the absence of strong collective processes of innovation, individual "innovations" may have little affect on students and faculty.

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How then can we develop libraries where innovation thrives? Faced with challenges for which an organization lacks knowledge and expertise, Heifetz (1994; Heifetz et al., 2009) indicates that the members must learn their way forward. The kind of behavior described here cannot be an occasional occurrence. Instead, the innovative library must incorporate this kind of learning into the fabric of its operations. The issue then is not learning to solve a specific new challenge, but to *learn how to learn* to solve new challenges. Individuals and academic libraries must develop meta-learning competencies in order to reflect on organizational processes (Bateson, 1972; Cross & Quinn, 2009; Pillay, Hackney, & Braganza, 2012; Witt, 1997).

*Organizational Development is Not Optional*

Intentional, systematic organizational development is no longer optional. (Bokeno, 2008; Marshak & Grant, 2008). Within the context of rapid change in the world of academic libraries, organizational development means more than enhancing the effectiveness and efficiency of operations. It means facilitating the ability of the library to learn how to learn its way forward (Allen & Moran, 2003; Lowry, 2005; Phipps, 2004; Russell, Ames-Oliver, & Fund, 2003). As such, the development of innovative libraries must focus on building the organization's capacity in areas of communication and mutual outreach, meta-learning, and problem solving.  Within the context of organizational development I divide these critical organizational development tasks into two categories:

- Augmenting the ability of the library community to incorporate more voices and viewpoints into discussions and debates (Hartel, 2004; Hobman et al., 2003; Mitchell et al., 2009; Van de Ven et al. 2008)

- Enhancing the capacity of the community to integrate and merge diverse perspectives (Van de Ven et al., 2008)

*Generating Greater Cognitive Diversity.* In order to welcome diverse viewpoints into community conversations, I offer several initiatives. First, the library should assess the climate of the organization through such instruments as the Association of Research Libraries' ClimateQual (2013). This instrument provides valuable information about the perceptions of librarians and staff concerning what works well and what doesn't. ClimateQual also looks at organizational justice, identifying groups that may not feel they have voice. One caveat is worth noting. Administering ClimateQual to library faculty and staff in itself does not yield benefits. Like so many survey instruments and organizational development tools, the benefits come from collectively discussing the results and taking steps to make improvements.

The library should also consider establishing a diversity committee that facilitates discussions and programming on broad issues of differences between people. Diversity in all of its forms becomes an increasingly important issue both inside and outside the library (Alexander, 2013; Andrade & Rivera, 2011; Mestre, 2010; 2011; Switzer, 2009; Welburn, 2010). This strategy permits employees to reflect on and become more aware of diversity and difference in the library and on campus. Opportunities for shared learning create the conditions whereby the library community can engage with cognitive diversity in ways that make sense to them. Collective awareness then may lead to actions that enhance the overall climate for diverse perspectives.

Additionally, any discussion about library futures should include students, faculty and other campus constituents. Incorporating those stakeholders into library discussions

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and meetings breaks down the arbitrary separation between librarians and staff, and the chief beneficiaries of their work. Librarians cannot unilaterally make effective decisions about the future of information services without talking to these constituents. Rather than initially determining why external constituents should not be part of library meetings, begin with assumption that they should be.

*Integrating Diverse Perspectives.* The other side of the coin involves unifying the diverse perspectives, opinions and ideas that emerge from a library organization that has developed a greater receptivity to all voices. I suspect that in the past, voices have been limited in part because of the inadequate capacity of libraries to manage competing, sometimes contentious perspectives. We cannot take for granted the natural abilities of people to know how to negotiate conflicts and differences within their groups. Libraries must be more intentional about integrating behaviors in order to facilitate robust innovations (Song, Dyer, & Thieme, 2006; Webb, 1995).

Most of these recommendations involve some form of shared learning (Brown & Duguid, 1991; Lave & Wenger, 1991). Building the integrative capacity of libraries is no different. As part of a strong and articulated professional development program, academic libraries should build the collective tool kit of strategies for working with, and negotiating, differences. Shared learning topics might include conducting meetings, facilitating discussions, group dynamics, and decision-making. I believe library communities would also benefit from a better understanding of innovation as a form of collective action.

During this period of dramatic change, academic libraries would be well advised to hire organizational development professionals, not as consultants, but as permanent

staff. These staff members can help create the conditions for organizational learning, and

perhaps more importantly, work both in meetings and behind the scenes to assist

librarians and staff in understanding complex facets of organizational process. I can

imagine an O.D. professional attending meetings and raising questions that provoke the

group to reflect on and reconsider its intentions. In the past, I considered this position as

desirable. I now consider it necessary.

*Linking Holistic Staff Development to Library Futures*

Libraries are built upon the expertise and knowledge of their staff. In a changing

environment, libraries must actively facilitate the acquisition of new and emerging skills

by librarians and staff. This recommendation overlaps significantly with organizational

development, the purpose of which is to enhance the library in its operations and

community. The difference is that professional and staff development focuses on

individuals. The two go hand in hand: enhancing individual competencies should enhance

the organization. In theory, identifying learning needs would be based on a process of

needs assessment (Chen, 2005; Frechtling, 2007;Huba & Freed, 2000; Light, Singer, &

Willett, 1990). The outcome of the assessment in turn becomes the topic of collective

conversations about organizational goals, priorities and processes. Previously, I

conducted a learning needs assessment for my library using a logic model (Frechtling,

2007) that generated recommendations for such a plan. For this initiative, I had gathered

information from documents and focus groups in the library, but could have easily

expanded the investigation to other constituents.

Within the context of library innovation and the associated need to enhance

community life, professional development should also focus on the holistic growth of

employees. For instance, libraries create opportunities for librarians and staff to understand themselves and others more deeply through such tools as the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator. However, the administration of such instruments must include strategies for deepening understanding through ongoing application. In the absence of continued use of a tool, it becomes a shallow one-off, easily forgotten learning experience. At the same time, employees should not feel compelled in any way to participate unwillingly in such personal development offerings.

Building community is an essential element of library innovation. Hiring and nurturing people who value this aspect of community life cannot be underestimated (Block, 2009; Palmer, 1993, 1998, 2011). Several of the tempered radicals I interviewed commented on the need to care for, and reach out, to each other. They mentioned building trust, and support networks. Increasingly, key people in libraries will be intermediaries between various people and departments, and translators between different domains of knowledge (Sturm, 2010; Weedman, 1992; Weerts & Sandmann, 2010). Libraries must embrace their employees more holistically in order that they, in turn, bring their whole selves to work. Within the context of innovation as collective action, it is clear that wherever they go as a library community, they go there together.

*Seek Internal and External Opportunities for Library Integration*

The future of academic libraries is integrally linked to their ability to participate meaningfully in the curriculum and to measurably affect student learning (Harris, 2013; Mounce, 2010; Pritchard, 2010; Travis, 2008). To the degree that academic librarians are aware of, and involved in, the teaching of information processes and content directly related to student learning and faculty research, they remain relevant. Library leaders and

practitioners must be alert to mobilizing structures and political opportunities that permit

integration into the primary mission of their institutions. Even more, they must

assertively advocate for integrative structures and functions. These may include joint

appointments, coordinated speaker series, embedded librarians, and interdepartmental

agreements about working relationships. Increasingly, we will see librarians co-teaching

high-level information skills within the curriculum.

The new paradigm of librarianship, focused explicitly on student learning and

knowledge construction, will manifest itself in the co-location of libraries with other

primary mission support services. The process of building bridges between people and

departments on campus will be critical. Tempered radicals and institutional

intermediaries within the library will play important roles in creating meaningful

disciplinary and departmental collaborations that link libraries explicitly to teaching and

learning.

Conclusion

By viewing innovation in academic libraries as collective action, library leaders

and practitioners can fully appreciate the requirements placed upon them. They are not

waiting for a brilliant inventor or visionary to lead them to the promised land of library

innovation. Rather, they are the community that will build the future library at theirr

respective institutions. They can facilitate the process by implementing these

recommendations.

Ultimately, these recommendations lead to a robust ecology of library innovation.

In this era of unpredictable, dynamic change, academic libraries must develop a

flexibility that permits them to shift priorities and directions. The investment of academic

libraries in traditional services and activities at the expense of future possibilities means

that they lack flexibility, which Bateson defines as the "uncommitted potentiality for

change" (1972, p. 497).  These recommendations create flexibility by lessening the

commitment to current practices. Constituent flexibility results from new learning,

opportunities for participation and acceptance, and the newfound experiences of owning

the changes occurring in their libraries.

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