LITERACIES AND THE MIDDLE SCHOOL LIBRARY MEDIA PROGRAM:

A BOURDIEUSIAN ANALYSIS

by

ELIZABETH E. G. FRIESE

(Under the Direction of Donna E. Alvermann)

ABSTRACT

This interpretive case study used ethnographic methods to develop a theoretically informed account of youth literacies in a school library media program. Data sources included 124 hours of participant observation over the course of 23 school weeks. The author conducted 32 semi-structured topical interviews with middle school students, classroom teachers, library staff, and the school principal. Artifacts and documents completed the data set. Bourdieu's concepts of field, capitals, and habitus structured the conceptual data analysis. Using these concepts in addition to codes related to literacies and identity markers revealed the barriers and affordances to youth literacy learning in one school library media program. External social fields at the national, state, and local level shaped student access and purpose for using the school library media program. Restricting economic capitals led to constriction of the library media program and lost opportunities for literacy activities. Teacher attitudes about school libraries and literacies also affected student use of the library media program. Amid these constraints, some students found ways to read, write, and engage in digital literacies due to the school library media program. Investments of economic capital and pedagogic effort are

necessary for school library media programs to fully realize their potential contributions to youth literacy learning.

INDEX WORDS: School Library Media Programs, School Library Media Center, School Library Media Specialists, Literacy, Youth Literacies, Bourdieu, Case Study, Interpretive Case Study, Middle School, Middle Grades, Habitus, Social Capital, Cultural Capital, Economic Capital, Race, Social Class, Gender, Identity Markers

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to the educators and students at Rolling Hills Middle School. The gifts of your stories, your time, your insights, and your engaged participation made this project possible. I offer special thanks to Elizabeth Bowen and the many school library media specialists who work each day to enrich young people's literacies and learning.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

At first glance, the connections between libraries and literacy seem obvious. If we take a narrow view of literacy as the act of reading alphabetic texts, then the motto of the American Library Association (ALA) stated the connection between libraries and literacy clearly: "The best reading, for the largest number, at the least cost" (2012). In recent years, conceptions of literacy evolved and expanded from the technical act of reading the printed word to encompass the numerous forms through which people communicate and derive meaning (New London Group, 1996). Scholars questioned the autonomous model of literacy associated with school learning by developing nuanced accounts of literacy as situated, social, and ideological (Street, 1984, 1995). Correspondingly, numerous literacies have been identified, theorized, and studied.

The school library media community responded to these evolving conceptions of literacy in several ways. As examples, scholars argued that digital literacies must become part of the library's mission of supporting a literate society (Berger, 2007). In the American Association of School Librarians' (AASL) *Standards for the 21st-Century Learner* (2007), eight common beliefs undergirded the standards. The first common belief is "reading is a window to the world" (AASL, 2007, n.p.). Reading, as conceptualized in this standards document, was not limited to decoding print on a page, but expanded to include digital and other modes of reading. In fact, the *Standards for the 21st-Century Learner* encouraged numerous literacies, if we accept that literacies include

reading, writing, communication, and multimodal text production. The *Standards for the 21st- Century Learner*, as a framework for contemporary school librarianship, brought multiple literacies to the forefront of school library media practice (Arnone & Reynolds, 2009).

Statement of the Problem

Although all libraries endeavor to support literacy, this study focused more narrowly on youth and the role of a school library media program in supporting youth literacies. Specifically, this study involved students in the middle grades, approximately 11 to 14 years old. Library circles refer to this age group as *youth* in library circles, whereas the literacy community often uses the term *adolescents*. Meyers, Fisher, and Marcoux (2009) noted that youth in this age range, whom they refer to as preteens or "tweens," are often overlooked in library research. However, they argue, the way tweens use libraries is distinctive and worthy of close study. In part, the research project reported here examined the way this age group used one school library media program to extend their literacies. Likewise, adolescent literacy is a persistent concern of the literacy research community, not to mention policy makers and educators. As technologies and literacies continue to evolve, theorizing and re-theorizing these literacies in light of new developments remains a necessity (Alvermann, 2008). School library media specialists, as professionals with commitments to literacy, must likewise continue to research and reconsider their role in youth literacies.

Given this longstanding emphasis on literacy in the professional commitments of school library media specialists, we might expect abundant research on youth literacy and school library media programs. And yet, as Loertscher (2009) noted, "connecting

literacy and libraries is not always as intuitive as we would like" (p. 30). A number of reasons explain this disconnect. Although excellent school library media centers provide much more than books, they struggle to shake their reputation as warehouses for objects, especially print materials (Valenza & Johnson, 2009). In recent years, many school library media programs evolved beyond this print-centered model, including other sources of information and opportunities for literacy and learning. However, those outside the library community have not widely recognized the numerous roles school library media programs might play in youth literacies.

A related barrier between literacy and libraries is the apparent division between the two research communities. Despite multiple overlapping practical concerns, the literacy research and library research fields remained largely separate, often drawing on different bodies of scholarship, theories, and methodological approaches. In many cases, library research has not taken reading and literacy scholarship into account (Wiegand, 1999). At the same time, literacy research has not often ventured into focused study of school library media programs as contexts for literacy practices of various kinds. Aside from a modest amount of research on information literacy and print reading, we know little about the ways that school library media programs support, facilitate, and limit the broad range of literacies engaged in by youth.

Background and Rationale

In spring of 2006, I finished my master's degree in instructional technology, with an emphasis in school library media. I was enthusiastic about learning and wanted to continue my education, so I began my degree in language and literacy education. Throughout my school library media degree, I came to think of school library media

programs as central to the literacy mission of schools. I often said that the school library media center was the school's largest literacy classroom. With that in mind, I was quite surprised to find school library media programs nearly absent from conversations and readings in my literacy coursework. When I brought school library media programs into conversations about literacy learning, my colleagues would often nod, sometimes with a bit of puzzlement, as if to indicate that they simply had not thought of school library media programs as part of literacy education before. In the research and theory I read in literacy journals, I conducted searches for the word "library" and found, when mentioned at all, school library media programs were often viewed as little more than a source for print reading materials. When they were included, school library media programs were often either mentioned in passing or portrayed as places of limitation (e.g., Leander, 2007; Souto-Manning, 2010). Aside from Krashen (2004), few literacy scholars emphasized the importance of school library media programs in literacy education. All of this led me to wonder, if school library media programs were so vital to the literacies of a school and its students, as I had been taught, why were so few in the literacy education research community talking or writing about them?

At the same time, as I continued to read the research and scholarship in school library media publications, it became clear that the school library media community talked about literacy a great deal, but often with a narrow definition of what literacy means. The two main categories of literacy discussed in school library media scholarship were information literacy and alphabetic reading. Only recently have school library media publications devoted pockets of discussion to visual literacy, media literacy,

critical literacy, and other points on the multiliteracies spectrum. For the most part, change was slow and these two fields remained essentially separate.

In a similarly slow parallel change, some school library media leaders emphasized the need to transform the image and function of the school library media center from a place where students get materials or learn basic research skills into a place where students use materials to think, learn, and create new knowledge. Valenza and Johnson (2009), two of the most prolific contemporary leaders in the school library media field, argued that "libraries need to change from places just to get stuff to places to make stuff, do stuff, and share stuff" (p. 30). Todd, a leading researcher on adolescents in school libraries, emphasized that the school library media center must be re-imagined as a space for knowledge creation and production (2009). Both of these pieces were driven in part by the need to depart from a focus on objects and renew conceptualizations of school library media centers in a changing information landscape. The pieces also echoed the AASL *Standards for the 21st-Century Learner* (2007), which included significant attention to creation and sharing of knowledge as part of the school library media program. In my mind, this updated vision was closely aligned with discussions in recent literacy scholarship, which emphasized students as thinkers and creators (Hagood, Alvermann, & Heron-Hruby, 2010; Lankshear & Knobel, 2006; Mills, 2010). This was a theoretical shift as well as a practical one, recognizing changes in how we think about literacies as well as how students participate in and embody literacies in their daily lives.

As I continued to read and think about school library media research, I also found few well-developed examples of studies using critical or poststructural theoretical frameworks. I discovered that this focus on the practical is far from new in librarianship

(e.g., Butler, 1933), but stands opposed to the use of theory that is expected in qualitative literacy research. As a student of philosophy, I find it helpful to use theory to think differently about social situations and contexts. I thought that using different theories to understand literacies in school library media programs might serve to inform both the library and literacy fields about both the missed opportunities and potential contributions school library media programs might make to youth literacies. In particular, I was drawn to Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), capital (Bourdieu, 2007), and habitus (Bourdieu, 2002) as, in the words of Jenkins (1992), "good to think with" (p. 115).

In his work, Bourdieu emphasized the need to understand the historical context of social research (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). With that in mind, before presenting the Bourdieusian framework for this research, a brief overview of the period at which the study took place is appropriate. I conducted this study during a difficult time for education in the United States at large and for school library media programs in particular. Examining broad statistics, the years leading up to the study appeared relatively stable for school library media centers. National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES) surveys reported relatively little change in school library media center staffing or funding between 1999 and 2008 (Holton, Bae, Baldridge, Brown, & Heffron, 2004; Goldring, 2009). In both reports, approximately 92% of public schools had school library media centers. Over this time period, the number of public school library media programs staffed by full-time certified professional personnel increased slightly, from 61% to 62%. Although the numbers in public schools remained stable, it was also notable that charter schools, a growing educational trend at the time of this study,

reported a far lower percentage of both school library media centers and certified library media center staff (Goldring, 2009). The number of remaining public school library media programs with part-time certified staff decreased several percentage points over this time span.

The study reported here was conducted in 2011. Because no broad surveys comparable to the NCES surveys had been conducted in the time since 2008, one might reasonably suppose that school library media center statistics held steady through subsequent years. However, during the late 2000s an extensive recession in the United States led to cuts in many areas of government. The cuts resulted in many local and anecdotal stories of losses in funding for school library media programs. These stories included regular accounts of staffing and service reductions shared through the school library media specialist listserv in the state where the study took place. Financial shifts changed many libraries in dramatic fashion.

At the national level, stories of funding crises in all kinds of libraries dominated library publications. The American Association of School Librarians released a "Crisis Toolkit" to assist the many school library media programs facing cuts (AASL, 2008). In a somewhat controversial move, *Knowledge Quest,* the official journal of the American Association of School Librarians, even devoted an entire issue to "The Solo Librarian" at the end of 2011 (Church & Reeve). The topic was considered timely because of the many losses of school librarians and library support staff across the United States. In the portion of the 2012 "State of America's Libraries" report devoted to school libraries, the section headings centered on the budget cuts affecting school library media programs across the country. Cases of school library media specialists serving multiple schools, or

schools going without library media specialists altogether, were not uncommon across the country.

In light of these widespread reports, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that school library media programs sustained at least some cuts in the several years prior to this study. In fact, the school library media program on which this study centered eliminated its paraprofessional position approximately ten months before data collection commenced. This change in staffing turned out to be an important aspect of the reach of this school library media program into the wider school community. In the midst of these changes, the way funding shifts affected school library media programs and youth literacy learning remained to be explored.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study was to develop a theoretically informed description of how a school library media program contributes to and detracts from youth literacies, broadly conceptualized. Through sustained study of a school library media program, this study identified the aspects of a school library media program that opened up opportunities for literacies, and the elements that disrupted those opportunities. This study also examined the social field of a school library media program and its functioning within the larger social field of a school. This intended to lead to a deeper understanding of how school library media programs might contribute to the literature on youth literacies and provide direction for developing school library media programs that increase their roles in youth literacy development. A robust understanding of school library media programs and youth literacies demonstrates the potential of school library

media centers as contexts for literacy research and presents a more nuanced view of literacies to the school library media research community.

Research Questions

In an effort to understand the many roles the school library media program might play in youth literacies, this study was guided by the following overarching question:

- What roles does the social field of a middle school library media program play in the literacies of its students?

These supporting questions also framed the study:

- How do aspects of the social field of a school library media program such as rules and available capitals shape the literacy practices in which students can participate?
- How does the school library media program position middle grades students as readers, writers, and creators? How do students respond to this positioning?
- How do identity markers such as race, class, gender, and others contribute to youth literacy practices in a middle school library media center?

To address these questions, I conducted an interpretive case study (Merriam, 1998) using ethnographic methods. This study employed a Bourdieusian framework to focus on student literacy practices related to a middle school library media program. It also examined the relationship between the larger social system of a school and the role of a school library media program in the school's broader literacy approach.

A brief comment about the term "school library media program" may be helpful. To help define "school library media program" I drew, in part, on Loertscher's (2000) conceptualization of the term, which emphasized multiple aspects of the school library

media program such as information resources, direct services, and other areas intended to enhance student learning. Previous studies focused on certain aspects of the school library media program, such as the school library media specialist, in developing ideas about school library media program influence or effectiveness. For the current study, which centered on literacies in a school library media center, I considered the school library media program holistically. Some of the major components included the school library media center staff, materials and resources, literacy initiatives, school library media policies, and formal and informal instruction. However, other, more subtle parts of the program also played important roles in the literacies that took place in this school library media center. These included available funding, resources brought from outside the school, spatial arrangements, attitudes toward the school library media program, and library scheduling, each of which can affect the literacy opportunities that a school library media program can offer. I also sought to identify important parts of the school library media program that were contextually idiosyncratic but nonetheless affected the literacies that the school library media program could support. The use of reading management programs, the condition and availability of technology, and a myriad of other subtle influences enhanced and disrupted literacies in this school library media center. Perhaps most importantly, this holistic approach to the school library media program included a substantive focus on the students and the way they viewed and co-created the school library media program.

This focus on the students was somewhat of a departure from Loertscher's (2000) priorities for understanding a school library media program. In addition to a focus on the literacy practices endorsed by the school, literacy practices that students initiated were

also important to developing a broader understanding of literacies in school library media programs. Many studies have examined the rich and varied literacy practices that students participate in outside of school (e.g., Guzzetti & Gamboa, 2004; Ito et al., 2008). I did not intend to reinforce the somewhat artificial boundaries of literacies in and out of school in this study, but instead recognized that students have their own literacy practices that they participate in across different spaces. I did not predetermine what practices qualified as literacies in a school library media center and what practices did not, but rather relied on what happened in the school library media center to establish that definition. The history in school library media research of defining literacy as related to print reading or information seeking is, in my view, part of what has limited school library media centers from recognizing and achieving a more prominent role in literacy scholarship. This focus on students also served as acknowledgement of recent shifts toward viewing library programs as participatory (Lankes, Silverstein, & Nicholson, 2007), an extension of larger conversations about participatory culture (Jenkins, 2006).

The decision to be inclusive toward literacy practices may seem too broad. However, due to the complexity and specificity of school library media programs, I saw it as limiting to narrowly determine the important aspects of the program in advance. With the practices left loose, space became my starting point. This study examined the school library media program as anchored in a particular place (i.e., the school library media center), with several important extensions. These extensions included both concrete classrooms outside the school library media center proper, as well as the school library media website and other online resources or tools accessed from outside the physical school library's walls (Luke & Kapitzke, 1999). School library media materials and

instruction also extended outside of the school library media center's space. At the same time, researchers have noted the way policies and other external forces affect what happens inside the school library media center (Crispin, 2010). Although the school library media program is usually anchored from a particular space, the space did not necessarily define or limit the program. The space served as an important anchor point of departure.

Theoretical Framework

As Budd (2003) described, "within library and information work there is a fairly long-standing antipathy toward 'theory'" (p. 20). Historically, much of the research in librarianship has been based on positivist principles (Harris, 1986) and the lack of a critical perspective has been noted for some time (Wiegand, 1999). In her review of library research, Kapitzke (2006) characterized the literature as "somewhat socially disconnected, politically naïve, and theoretically impoverished" (p. 151). To remedy this, Kapitzke proposed a number of theoretical approaches that might be valuable in library research. One theorist she suggested as useful is French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu:

> Applications of his concepts of *habitus, social field, cultural capital,* and *symbolic violence* would show how libr@ries [*sic*] are products of their location in social space and the practices of those who "inhabit" them. This approach would emplace libr@ries [*sic*] within the intersections of economic and cultural formations, class, and education. (p. 160)

Taking Kapitzke's lead, this study used Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework as a productive approach for the critical study of youth, their literacies, and a middle school library media program. Literacy scholars recognized Bourdieu's theory as a generative

critical framework for studying literacies (Albright & Luke, 2008a; Carrington & Luke, 1997; Grenfell, 2009). Recent literacy research demonstrated the generativity of Bourdieu's theoretical tools (e.g., Albright & Luke, 2008b; Marsh, 2006). In contrast to the growing recognition of Bourdieu's usefulness in literacy research, his theoretical framework has rarely been used in scholarship involving school library media programs. Still, there are a few examples, such as Kapitzke's recommendation mentioned above, that suggested the potential of Bourdieusian research in libraries.

Bourdieu studied educational contexts numerous times throughout his research career (e.g., Bourdieu, 1984/1988, 1989/1996; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970/1977; Bourdieu, Passeron, & de Saint Martin, 1965/1994). In regard to libraries, Bourdieu and de Saint Martin (1965/1994) researched the activities of users in an academic library through an extensive survey on their attitudes. They also observed many patrons using the library, and used these data to develop ideas about the way this community used its academic library. However, the intent was not simply to describe the use of the library. Bourdieu and de Saint Martin also theorized the cultural underpinnings of the usage patterns and activities that different groups undertake in libraries:

> everything happens as if the absence of methodical instruction in the techniques of intellectual work facilitates the law of natural selection coming into play. Only those students who are better armed scholastically are capable of finding in themselves the resources which the institution should provide for all. (p. 125)

In Bourdieu and de Saint Martin's assessment, the academic library remained inaccessible to students from lower social classes, undermining the principles of accessibility and democratization of knowledge that libraries intend to uphold.

Budd, a library theorist (2003) proposed the application of Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic power and cultural production as effective tools for critical reflection on librarianship as a practice that "creates and maintains differences among classes of people" (p. 29). Elsewhere, Budd (2001) noted that Bourdieu's theory included key concerns of librarianship such as censorship, and encouraged further use of Bourdieu's work in library contexts.

Lincoln (2002) discussed the generative use of Bourdieu's concept of habitus as a way to understand the spaces of academic libraries and the people who inhabit them. She demonstrated the application of Bourdieu's work to enable new interpretive insights into data previously analyzed to describe library use. Engaging Bourdieu's concept of habitus allowed Lincoln to reconsider the role of the library and its services in a particular community and a changing information landscape. Lincoln maintained that such readings of data allow researchers to view, and perhaps later create, library services and environments in innovative ways.

The most fully realized example of Bourdieu's tools in the school library media center context is Dressman's (1997b) ethnographic study of three elementary school library media programs in the southwestern United States. These school library media programs served student populations that varied by social class, ethnic makeup, and other attributes. Dressman's study, using several of Bourdieu's tools in addition to the work of other theorists, demonstrated the different ways each school library media specialist socialized students in regard to reading and literacy. Dressman also examined the spaces within the school library media centers and their embedded messages about reading and the organization of knowledge. Although Dressman did not accept Bourdieu's

underlying positions uncritically, and indeed challenged some of the more deterministic aspects of Bourdieu's work based on the data he collected, his study provided an example of the productive insights that can result from engaging Bourdieu's theoretical tools to understand school library media programs and literacies in the lives of youth.

Scholarship using Bourdieu's thinking tools (e.g. Budd, 2003; Dressman, 1997b), brought to light the subtle, often taken-for-granted mechanisms in library contexts that contributed to the reproduction of social classes and structures. These studies reflected Bourdieu's own concerns about social reproduction, but also suggested possible antidotes to these reproductive tendencies. If libraries intend to support literacy for as many people as possible, as the American Library Association motto suggests, examining and critiquing potentially exclusionary mechanisms is a worthwhile endeavor.

Several of the main theoretical concepts Bourdieu developed to study social life and spaces provided the framework for this study. Field, capitals, and habitus played important roles in understanding the school library media program as a literacy space. Bourdieusian research is "inseparably empirical and theoretical" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 160) prompting Grenfell and James (1998) to refer to Bourdieu's approach as "theory as method" (p. 177). Bourdieu's intended his conceptual tools to be studied in application. In addition to a strong emphasis on practical use, Bourdieu emphasized that these concepts be used collectively: "such notions as habitus, field, and capital can be defined, but only within the theoretical system they constitute, not in isolation" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 96). These concepts informed all aspects of this research study, including design, data collection, analysis, and interpretation.

Taken together, these theoretical tools presented a multifaceted approach to the study of social space and the possibilities for literacies implicit within those spaces. The capitals available and valued for exchange are important, as are the rules that excluded or devalued such capitals. Although some have charged Bourdieu with determinism, in my reading his is not an entirely deterministic view. Instead, I focused on understanding limitations and identifying the sites of agency and literacy that youth might take up and also resist. As mentioned previously, Bourdieu's work is understood in use. As Bourdieu described, his framework is a "temporary construct which takes place for and by empirical work" that grows by "confronting new objects" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 161). The study of youth and their literacies in a school library media center presents the kinds of new objects that Bourdieu discussed.

Summary and Conclusion

School library media programs aim to be vital elements in youth literacy learning. Despite this aim, few studies focused on the role of the school library media program in literacy. This case study used ethnographic methods to understand the contributions of and limitations to a middle school library media program in the literacies of its students. The following chapters provide a thorough description of the background, process, and interpretation of the case study. In chapter two, I discuss previous research and scholarship related to this study, focusing on the strengths and limitations of this work. I also argue that a deeper understanding of school library media centers as literacy contexts can benefit both the literacy and school library media research fields. Chapter three provides a thorough account of the methodology for this study, giving special attention to the research context, theoretical background, data collection methods, and analysis

procedures. Chapter four presents the data from this case study of a middle school library media program, analyzed through a Bourdieusian framework. This analysis addressed the research questions using data, theory, and interpretation. Given these data, chapter five suggests implications for practitioners as well as researchers in the school library media and literacy fields. These implications intend to reinforce and strengthen school library media programs as worthwhile elements of youth literacy learning.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

As suggested in the previous chapter, school library media programs place literacy learning and support as a central to their mission. Despite the centrality of literacy in school library media programs, a deep understanding of the unique contributions of school library media centers to literacy learning is lacking. As I will argue in this chapter, the existing body of research involving school library media centers and literacies does not provide a detailed account of the numerous ways a school library media center might be involved in youth literacy learning. Existing research placed limits on school library media programs and failed to acknowledge the broad range of contributions these programs can make to literacy education. These studies also overlooked the barriers that prevent school library media programs from full participation in youth literacy learning. This lack of research may prevent educators and administrators from understanding, using, and supporting school library media programs as vital and multifaceted parts of youth literacy learning. The study reported in this dissertation aimed to remedy this gap with a detailed analysis of the way one school library media program contributed to student literacies. It also pinpointed barriers that prevented these contributions.

Few studies in the research literature examined school library media programs as contexts for middle grades students and their literacy practices. This is not to say that there are no studies of middle grades youth in school library media centers, or that the

roles and spaces of school library media programs are unexplored topics. However, extant studies examined each of these topics in particular ways, and each cluster of work admits to limitations, leaving a narrow understanding of the roles school library media programs in youth literacy learning. In an attempt to characterize the limitations of previous research and provide necessary historical context, I divide this selective literature review into four parts.

In the first section of this chapter, I present a general overview of the research conducted on school library media programs. Focusing on the major categories of literacies recognized in this body of research, the library media center as a literacy context, and the role of the school library media program within the larger school context, I demonstrate the way research defined and limited the contributions of school library media programs to literacy learning. The second section turns to important internal reasons for the limiting of school library media programs in literacy learning. Perennial problems such as negative perceptions of library media centers and the dispositions of school library media specialists are described with a historical perspective. Despite these limitations, literacy organizations have proven to be an ongoing source of support for school library media programs. I discuss that support, and the way literacy organizations have positioned school library media programs in literacy education, in the third section of this review. Finally, I examine the research related to identity markers in school library media centers. Identity markers such as race, class, and gender are common axes for understanding the affordances and limits on literacy opportunities within schools. Taken together, these four sections describe some of the major challenges facing school library media programs as they try to enhance youth literacy learning. The study reported

here draws on the work in these bodies of literature in significant ways, facilitating connections between the literacy and school library media communities. This study departs from these bodies of research as well.

I do not claim to provide comprehensive review of research regarding school library media programs or the literacies of middle school students. Using Maxwell's (2006) approach to literature reviews for dissertations and other research projects as a guide, I selected the studies and information included based primarily on relevance to the research project and the argument outlined above. In addition, although I read research extensively as I developed the plan for this study, I also continued to read and learn as the study progressed. As Maxwell pointed out, the literature review should not merely be a foundation for a research study. Instead, the literature review is an important part of an integrated research design. Thus, continued reading of research and other literature, as well as ongoing reflection, occurred throughout the process. As this qualitative case study progressed, new insights prompted new lines of research to read and reflect upon. Therefore, reviewing the literature was not a preliminary sequestered act, but instead informed the study all the way through the composition of this dissertation.

Before proceeding, I pause for a moment to discuss a group of studies that, aside from this brief mention, are omitted from this review. Arguably, some of the most cited pieces in school library media research are several large-scale studies conducted in an effort to correlate the presence of a robust school library media program with increased student achievement (e.g., Lance, Welborn, & Hamilton-Pennell, 1997; Small, Snyder, & Parker, 2009; Todd & Kuhlthau, 2005). A more recent strand specifically aimed to correlate the presence of a school library media specialist with positive impacts on

reading achievement on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (Lance & Hofschire, 2011, 2012). This attention to the school library media program's contribution to achievement on tests is not surprising, given the emphasis on these measures of student achievement in wider educational discourse at the time of the study. This was all the more true in light of the widespread cuts happening in education during this period. At a time of scarce funding, establishing a link between school library media programs and student achievement may benefit the health and sustenance of school library media programs. Although the motivation behind these studies may be admirable, they do not provide thorough explanations of the reasons that a school library media program may contribute to literacy learning. In addition, because these correlative studies are based on reading test scores, they only recognize a narrow sliver of the broad range of literacies encouraged in the AASL *Standards for the 21st Century Learner* (2007) and acknowledged throughout the field of literacy research. The study reported here acts as a complement to these large-scale efforts, by providing a close examination of the way a school library media program contributes to student literacy learning. Thus, although these large-scale studies are relevant to the justification for continued support for funding of school library media programs, they fall short of providing an understanding of the way school library media programs figure in to the literacies of middle school students. Instead, a number of smaller studies more directly relate to the research reported here.

Research on School Library Media Programs

School library media centers are not a common context for reported research. As Mardis (2009) stated in her manifesto on school library research in the library and information science field,

> Few opportunities to encounter school library-related research exist in the information science community. School librarianship has only two peer-reviewed journals, *School Library Media Research* and *School Libraries Worldwide*. Research articles about school libraries appear infrequently in information and library science periodicals aimed at a broader audience. (p. 1)

School library media programs are featured in research published in other fields, such as literacy research, but again, the appearances are few in number. In spite of the relatively small body of research featuring school library media programs, several groups of studies inform the research reported here. Understanding the main features of these studies bolsters the argument that school library media programs have not often been thoroughly examined as contexts for multiple literacies for middle grades youth.

School Library Media Programs, Literacies, and Middle Grades Youth

Given the longstanding connection between literacy and libraries, we might expect a reasonable amount of research involving literacy, school library media programs, and middle grades youth. In looking across the studies involving these attributes, the majority of literacy research in school library media programs addressed two primary types of literacy: information literacy and print reading. These two categories represent a small portion of the literacies acknowledged in literacy research. This is key limitation placed on school library media research at present.

In research examining information literacy, some studies centered on particular formats of information and the seeking strategies students use with them, reinforcing the importance of different forms of objectified cultural capital in library learning. For example, Branch (2001) researched a group of students as they used CD-ROM

encyclopedias. Analyzing qualitative data such as interviews and observations, Branch found that students did not have well developed information searching strategies when using these particular resources. Other studies focused on specific types of projects and their relation to student learning. Chu, Chow, Tse, and Kuhlthau (2008) researched students and their knowledge cultivation in inquiry-based learning projects. Harris (2002), using naturalistic data, focused on the use of online primary sources in a history unit. All of these studies suggested implications for the ways school librarians approach their instructional role regarding information literacy in official school learning.

In addition to these studies of more formalized pedagogical activities, recent research in school library media centers involving this age group also described features of intrinsic motivation for information seeking and research. Acknowledging that motivation plays a role in successful completion of research tasks, Arnone, Reynolds, and Marshall (2009) used several quantitative surveys to identify school library-related factors contributing to intrinsic motivation in research. Taking a qualitative approach to a similar topic, Crow (2009) conducted interviews and drawing activities with her participants to understand the role that relationships play in intrinsic motivation for seeking information. The study of relationships brings to mind Bourdieu's social capital, and its importance in library contexts. Although using resources and seeking information, parts of information literacy, are important to school library media programs and youth, the overwhelming focus on information seeking left important aspects of information literacy aside.

A second major category of school library research involving middle grades youth and literacies included studies of reading preferences and practices. The

methodological approaches for these studies varied, but the intent was often the same. Results were intended to inform collection development practices for both school and public libraries. As examples, Boltz (2007) studied the reading preferences of middle school students through interviews and free writing. Shelley-Robinson (2001) conducted a quantitative analysis with Jamaican 6th-grade students, and Howard and Jin (2007) studied teen reading preferences in Nova Scotia through a mail survey. Hughes-Hassell and Rodge (2007) surveyed middle school students about reading preferences using a combination of multiple choice and open-ended questions. Additional reading preference studies from literacy research (e.g., Edmunds & Bauserman, 2006; Ivey & Broaddus, 2001; Worthy, 1996; Worthy, Moorman, and Turner, 1999), acknowledged the importance of school library media centers as sources for reading materials. All of these studies sought to identify reading preferences of middle grades students and either asked questions about or offered implications for school library media programs.

This limiting binary of reading and information literacy extended to other examples of school library media research. One recent study (Small, Shanahan, & Stasak, 2010) involved ethnographic research approaches to school library media programs at two sites designated as "exemplary." This study was mainly concerned with questions of student achievement and motivation, but one telling element of the analysis bears mention here. One of the main categories the researchers studied was called "Learning and Motivation to learn" (Small, Shanahan, & Stasak, 2010, "Learning and Motivation," para. 1). Although the researchers started with this broad category, which emphasized school library media programs and their role in learning, through the process of analysis, the researchers broke this larger category down into two smaller ones:

"reading skills development/motivation" and "research and IL [information literacy] skills development/motivation" ("Learning and Motivation," para. 2). Some might argue that these analytic categories provided empirical support for the idea that reading and information literacy were the primary, perhaps exclusive, forms of literacy in these school library media centers. However, upon closer examination, the data included in the research report described a broad range of activities involving reading, writing, research, composition, and information evaluation of numerous kinds of texts. The two large categories could have been further broken down or labeled differently to acknowledge the wide range of literacy practices taking place in school library media centers. Instead, the broad, familiar headings of reading and information literacy were applied, which, I would argue, shortchanged some of the insights that could be gained. Limiting literacies in school library media centers to these two categories presented a far less nuanced picture of literacies than the data suggested.

Although there have been discussions of media literacy, visual literacy, and other literacies in school library media publications, they, too, are often subsumed under the two large categories of information literacy and provision of print reading materials. This stands in contrast with the commitments to broader notions of literacies put forth by school library professional organizations. In a related point, leading school library media researcher Todd (2009) suggested that studies of youth in school library media centers need to evolve into examinations of what the youth are doing with the information they find and evaluate. "Information use" is one way to frame this, but I argue that a conceptualization of youth creation as literacies offers different productive insights that can inform both the literacy and school library media communities. As literacy research

broadens to include more complex and varied literacy practices, research in school library media programs and research must take these advancing conceptions of literacy into account. Research conceptualizing school library media centers as spaces for meaningful youth literacy development may contribute to evolving the notion of the school library media center into more than a place to get books and facts.

There are several other limitations to this group of studies involving school library media centers, literacies, and middle grades youth. First, these studies often focus narrowly on school-assigned tasks, computer use, or engagement with reading materials, leaving out the other functions that libraries might play in the literate lives of youth. In addition to coming to school library media centers for information, school libraries may provide space for social interaction or self-directed creation. School library media centers may also function as unofficial after school programs, or perhaps serve other literacy-related purposes that researchers overlooked thus far.

After this brief examination of the different kinds of research involving literacies, school library media programs, and middle grades youth, it is clear that there are opportunities for study connecting and fleshing out these concerns. For school library media programs, which take up the mantle of literacy as fundamental to their mission, studies of youth engaging in literacies in school library media centers can suggest ways to develop the opportunities for literacies school library media programs provide. Likewise, literacy researchers may benefit from a new understanding of the services and values that qualify school library media centers as rich spaces for youth literacies.

The Role of the School Library Media Program Within a School

I have argued that studies involving school library media programs and middle grades youth have shortchanged the numerous roles in literacy learning that a library media program might play. How might researchers expand this narrow view of school library media programs in literacy education? Studying library programs through a lens including broader notions of literacies is one way. However, the school library media program is not an independent entity. To understand school libraries and literacies, the functions of the school library media program within the larger school community must also be an object of study. This is important because the structures of schools often affect what a school library media program can do. Highlighting the relationship between the school library media program and the larger school community also follows from one of the tenets in Bourdieu's process of analyzing a field: "one must analyze the position of the field vis-à-vis the field of power" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 104).

Presently, studies of the school library media program within the school are sparse in number. As Alexandersson and Limberg (2003) pointed out, "few studies focus on the interaction between…the cultural context of school libraries and schools where the learning takes place" (p. 18). Examining the role of the school library media program in the overall school literacy approach is even more rare.

That being said, previous research identified several key influences on the school library media program's general role in a school. A number of researchers emphasized the role of the principal in shaping what the school library media program can accomplish. With few exceptions (e.g., Shannon, 2009), these studies often suggested that many building principals have limited understandings of what school library media

specialists do (Hartzell, 2002a; O'Neal, 2004). This may stem from the professional preparation of principals. As Hartzell (2002b) noted,

> When administrative preparation programs do address library programs, they focus on potential problems rather than on potential benefits. Most often, libraries surface only in school law class discussions of copyright or censorship—leaving administrative students with the impression that school libraries are legal time bombs—instead of with the impression that the library and librarian can make significant contributions to their success. (p. 2)

Whether principals have limited or broad ideas of what a school library media program contributes, the principal's power to shape the school library media program's influence makes this an important consideration in understanding how school library media programs work. The principal's views of the school library media program as a part of the overall literacy mission of the school were important to the study reported here.

School culture, a typical concern in ethnographic research (Rossman & Rallis, 2003) in education, is another influence highlighted in recent studies of school library media programs. In her institutional ethnography of a middle school library media center, Crispin (2010) found that a number of forces shaped activities and access in a school library media center. Researchers rarely acknowledged these forces in the school library media literature, focusing instead on a more isolated view of the school library media program. Through her ethnography, Crispin noted that rules and schedules, often structured in the guise of student safety, impeded access to the school library media center and collaboration among faculty. Little unmediated student access to the school library media center occurred during and after the school day. Although Crispin's study

informed readers about the role of the school library media program in the school, it did not focus on literacy specifically. However, the restrictions on access to the school library media center she pointed out would undoubtedly affect the opportunities for literacy engagement for students. Thus, understanding school culture and how it positions a school library media program can aid in understanding the program's contribution to literacy learning as well as limitations on those contributions.

In another study examining school culture and its influence on school library media programs, Howard (2010) collected data from four award-winning school library media programs to understand the relations between school culture and an exemplary school library media program. Importantly, she noted that "context is a key dimension in school library activities" ("Introduction," para. 3). The "context" that Howard referred to encompassed many larger influences in the culture of the school. In her cross-case analysis of data collected at the four sites, Howard identified three themes as important to school library media program success: "a collaborative culture, the leadership style of the principal, and high expectations for the staff and students" ("Findings," para. 2). Although Howard's study provided helpful criteria for working toward a successful library program, the study reported here differs in several regards. The designation of "exemplary program" at the schools involved in the study did not necessarily emphasize literacy or the role the school library media program played in literacies of the students. Also, data were collected from each of the four sites for less than a week per site. Finally, students were not a primary source of data. Despite the attention to culture, external identifications of success and relatively brief periods of data collection did not

provide the nuance needed to understand the culture of a school and how it expands or limits the roles the school library media program can play in youth literacies.

The School Library as a Literacy Space

Much of the chapter thus far focused on the limitations of literacy research in school library media programs. A third category of research on school library media centers suggests opportunities for examining the school library media center as a space for learning and literacies. These studies involve examinations of the school library media space itself. There are a number of dimensions in the space of a school library media center that contribute to the way students learn (Doll, 1992). Both observations and interviews can inform our understanding of the affordances and limitations of a particular library design and how it suits a learning community. The following examples demonstrate the way studies of school library media center can provide insights into the opportunities for literacies.

In a project focused primarily on print reading materials, Reutzel and Gali (1998) studied elementary students in school library media centers as they selected books for their personal reading. The use of a literature-based reading program made attention to book selection from the school library media center important. Reutzel and Gali found that the geography of the school library and materials locations played important roles in the books students selected for their reading.

At times, these studies suggest internal aspects of school library media centers that limit opportunities for literacy learning. Working from a sociocultural perspective, Limberg and Alexandersson (2003) used observations, student interviews, and questionnaires to understand the way students in seven schools used and viewed the

school library as a learning space. Their findings indicated that the discursive practices around school library media centers and spatial arrangements within the school libraries "have significant effects on what can reasonably go on there" (Limberg & Alexandersson, p. 14). Although some students saw the school library media center as a place for leisure and refuge, most often the students viewed the school library media center as a warehouse for books and facts. In a separate study, Alexandersson and Limberg (2003) conducted observations of fifth-grade students as they engaged research and composed research reports in the school library media center. Although the school library media center might be seen as a place of freedom, Alexandersson and Limberg concluded students "have a set notion on how one should work in the library" (p. 27) derived from external influences. Similar to Bourdieu and de Saint Martin's (1965/1994) findings from their study of an academic library, this acquired set of dispositions toward library work might be attributed to Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Insights from studies such as Limberg and Alexandersson's encouraged attention to the way the school library media program was positioned within the school and how that positioning shaped the activities that took place there.

Despite potential internal barriers, research still suggests the potential for the study of youth literacies in school library media programs, especially if researchers leave aside common categories and expectations. In a departure from pedagogical concerns, Shenton (2008) studied student use of school library media center computers in their leisure time. Using mixed methods, Shenton found that although students more often used computers for personal reasons than academic ones, there was a significant amount of computer use related to school assignments. Personal reasons for using the computer

included e-mailing, playing games, and reading about topics of individual interest. Shenton also noted that at times students sat in front of computers but did not use them, instead taking the space and unstructured time as an opportunity for social interaction. Shenton did not conceptualize the activities youth engaged in as literacy practices, although the descriptions of activities indicated that numerous literacy practices took place. Shenton's study suggested the potential insights that can be gained from studying youth in school library media center spaces without focusing exclusively on the ways youth approach official school tasks.

In a less favorable portrait of the school library media center as a space for literacies, Leander (2007) took a critical perspective on the school library media center and the limitations to literacies imposed there, even when digital tools and connectivity were ubiquitous. In a study that complicated easy equations between availability of literacy-enabling objects and increased literacy opportunities, Leander examined the way space, both physical and virtual, was produced in the school library media center. In a particularly biting critique of school library media centers as limiters of digital literacies, Leander took on the fairly common school library media specialist practice of creating online pathfinders (Hemming, 2005), or lists of pre-selected websites for research tasks created to facilitate access to quality online information. Leander referred to this "piece of the web that was prepared and authorized for student engagement" (p. 42) as a "type of web *kindergarten*" (p. 42, emphasis in original), indicating the low-level digital literacy authorized by the school library media specialist in a project with ninth grade students. Leander's study also included details of the way these limitations were subverted at times

by the students, providing an interesting, if brief, account of the literacies in the school library media center as a space.

As Leander's (2007) study showed, virtual extensions are an important consideration in school library media programs. Brown (2007) studied students in a high school library media center, focusing primarily on their use of computers and technology. Like Leander, Brown found that there were significant limitations placed on student access to numerous sites. Gaming, social networking, and other literacy practices that students desired were blocked, with the endorsement of the school library media center staff. Part of understanding the role of school library media spaces in the literacies of youth involved making the limitations placed on literacies visible.

In a comparative study of two secondary school library media centers, Shilling and Cousins (1990) examined more informal and student-directed uses for the space. They focused on the ways students used obstacles and features of the school library media center space to engage in their own desired activities. The school library media staff endorsed some of these activities such as quiet reading and studying. Other activities, such as playing cards and socializing, were frowned upon. This study provides interesting insights into the way the school library media center space is negotiated among certain students and staff, and their values, power, and attitudes. The formal and informal rules of the social field of this school library media center, as well as the physical arrangement of the space, shaped what happened there.

Dressman (1997a) studied the approaches to literacy in three elementary school library media centers, identifying several distinct and ideologically laden approaches to literacy in the school library media programs including resistance, congruence, and

liminality. During his study, he took the spatial features of the school library media centers into account, including the organization of the books and the signage. Although Dressman's study focused on younger students, concepts he used have been adapted to research involving older students as well. In her examination of a secondary school library, Boyce (2006) applied the concept of multiliteracies and Dressman's concept of liminality to suggest new spatial configurations of school library media centers that encourage more literacies to take place in the school library media center space. As a group, these studies suggested the potential of studying the school library media center as a space for literacy learning. Attention to the space itself can inform school library media center design and practice. However, the limited number of studies in this category and their varying contexts rendered broad conclusions difficult to draw.

The School Library Media Program as Literacy Limiter

I have argued that research on school library media programs in literacy learning exhibits a number of limitations. Perhaps the most difficult aspects of research on school library media centers and literacy are the inert or negative images of school library media programs woven into some literacy research studies. At times, in literacy research the media center is mentioned as simply somewhere to go to get materials that are then put to use as parts of literacy practices that take place outside the school library media center context. This grab-and-go role of the school library media center may not even merit a mention in some studies. These depictions reinforce the idea of the school library media center as a materials warehouse, not a literacy context unto itself.

An alternative representation of the school library media program in literacy research is akin to Leander's (2007) study, mentioned previously, which described the

school library media center as a place of limitations and overreaching rules. These representations of school library media programs as places of constraint constitute another limitation on school library media programs in the literacy literature. A recent study by Souto-Manning (2010) illustrated this approach. In Souto-Manning's critical inquiry into the role of the Accelerated Reader program in a school, the "media specialist (read: librarian)" (p. 108) played a restrictive, even slightly sinister role in enforcing the rules of the school's Accelerated Reader reading program. Souto-Manning's article depicted the school library media specialist as someone who lectured students about inappropriate book choices and disallowed reading selections that were past students' calculated reading level. The study also implicated the media specialist as responsible for the racial imbalance in the school library collection. Souto-Manning described the school as "less than 15% White" (p. 109). She went on to say that "because of the media specialist's purchasing priorities [based around Accelerated Reader titles] the majority of students could not find books in this library in which they saw themselves" (p. 109). Souto-Manning presented this media specialist as resistant to change and wedded to labeling books and limiting students, practices clearly opposed to the principles of intellectual freedom and the right to read endorsed by professional organizations for librarians (American Library Association, 2008). In the end, Souto-Manning, who wrote this article from a teacher-research perspective, checked out books from the media center herself and placed them in her classroom library to circumvent the narrow rules on reading that the media specialist imposed.

It may seem puzzling to spend time examining such a negative example of a school library media specialist in the literacy research literature. Unfortunately, negative images

such as this one, or the image of library media program as a "silent partner" in literacy, seem to be the more common depictions of the school library media program in the literacy research literature. There are few rich descriptions of school library media programs as contributors to literacies in the literacy research field. The research project reported here attempts to redress this omission.

School Library Media Programs: Perennial Concerns

In their research, Souto-Manning (2010) and Leander (2007) presented difficult representations of school library media programs. An easy response to this might be to see these researchers as outsiders with limited understandings of school library media programs. However, people outside of the school library media field are not solely responsible for the difficult stereotypes holding school library media programs back as they strive to contribute to literacy learning and research. School library media specialists perpetuate these static stereotypes as well.

Negative images of school library media programs are not new, as a look through history demonstrates. Although a detailed history of school library media programs in the United States is beyond the scope of this brief literature review, a few historical points do bear mention. One aim in this study was to more fully understand the roles of the school library media program in the literacy lives of students and the literacy mission of a school. These quandaries about roles and professional identities have existed for decades. In 1970, Gambee looked back at the first national standards for school libraries, published in 1920. These early standards, written for high schools, advocated for the availability of a wide range of multimedia materials (including Victrola records and lantern slides) through school library media programs. More importantly, even as early

as 1920, school library standards emphasized the role of the librarian as a teacher with enthusiasm and the power to inspire. Gambee (1970) lamented that these early standards had not been heeded in the fifty years since their writing. Instead, Gambee argued that school librarians continued to adhere to the book as a defining element for the profession. He wondered "how school librarians lost the way; why was the siren call of the book so overpowering?" (p. 485). In this quote, Gambee pointed out a key tension between the provision of books and the other roles and resources available through school library media programs. Gambee placed the blame for book-centric dispositions on members of the school library profession. He considered the overemphasis on books a missed opportunity for keeping school libraries relevant.

More than twenty-five years after Gambee's indictment of the school library media profession, Stripling (1996) took a more optimistic view when she wrote about the way school library media programs evolved from a focus on collections and programs to a focus on learning. She argued that "school libraries should be centers of learning and not information" (p. 649). She wrote about the key role that school library media specialists play in knowledge construction, inquiry, and learning. Instead of a focus on books, Stripling centered the library media program on learning. Even though Stripling asserted these ideas in 1996, the tensions around the identity and role of the school library media program continued.

The media specialist in Souto-Manning's (2010) study pointed again to this perennial problem of the role and image of the school library media specialist. These tensions around school library media specialists and roles contributed to a recent line of research concerned with school librarian dispositions. Because part of the Bourdieusian

framework for this study drew attention to the dispositions of the members of the school community, I include a brief review of this research here. It is also important to include this research because, as the study reported here will suggest, the traditional role of the school library media specialist may be one of the contributing factors to the limitations in school library media research that are central to the argument of this literature review.

Dispositions recently came to the fore in research involving school library media specialists. This is, in part, due to the emphasis on dispositions in the recently released *Standards for the 21st Century Learner* (2007). Although this standards document focused on cultivating dispositions of young learners, the standards also brought associated attention to the dispositions of school librarians. Of course, like many other issues, although the word "dispositions" was new, the concern over school library media specialists' attributes was not. (For further examples, see Shannon's (2002) review of the literature regarding the competencies of school library media specialists).

The mention of dispositions in the new standards brought anxiety to some circles in school librarianship. As Bush and Jones (2010) noted, these new standards "introduced expectations not evident in past standards and led to questions stemming from the fear of noneffective practice, obsolescence, and job loss" ("Introduction," para. 3). Following in the line of Gambee (1970) and Stripling (1996), the standards seemed to reopen the perennial tensions around the role of the school library media specialist. Critiques of the dispositions of school library media specialists came from both within and outside of the profession. During this time of crisis in school librarianship, when news of cutbacks and job eliminations abounded (e.g., Blankinship, 2010; Harvey, 2011; McEvoy, 2011), popular articles in school library publications sometimes ascribed the

profession's problems to school librarians who embodied what were seen as dated notions of shushing book managers (e.g., Valenza & Johnson, 2009). However, other educators acknowledged the stereotypical dispositions ascribed to school library media specialists as well. For example, a 1992 piece by Barron and Bergen in *The Phi Delta Kappan* discussed recently released school library standards and how they restructured the school library media program. Under a section entitled "Challenges," the authors cited "image" as the first challenge to creating a library media program that fully implemented the new standards. They wrote:

> One of the barriers that must be overcome by school library media specialists and the communities they serve is the traditional negative stereotype of the librarian. That this stereotype still flourishes comes as little surprise if we consider that the use and evaluation of school library media programs are not often covered in required courses for preservice teachers. (p. 524)

Other studies also touch on the stereotypic dispositions of the school library media specialist. In her discourse analysis of a school library media specialist collaborating with teachers, Kimmel (2011) noted that although

> the image a of [sic] librarian with glasses and a bun demanding quiet is almost a laughable stereotype, it is one of the meanings widely available to us along with the children's librarian asking listeners to 'just hush' while she reads aloud. ("The 'shhhh' librarian reading stories," para. 2)

Although Kimmel had not witnessed any of these stereotypical behaviors from the school library media specialist she studied, the teachers Kimmel spoke with drew on this dominant model of certain school library media specialist dispositions in their discussions

of her. The study reported in this dissertation unexpectedly addressed these stereotypic ideas as well.

Even dispositional researchers themselves seem to acknowledge this stubborn stereotypic image of the school library media specialist. In their reflection on a dispositional study, Bush and Jones (2011) lamented, "we have all met school librarians who do not appreciate the teacher role of the school librarian but rather feel more comfortable with the librarian managing the collection and the facility. To some extent perhaps we are our own worst enemy as we try to move forward and stay relevant" (p. 15).

In order to redress these persistent stereotypes, researchers sought to outline more forward-looking dispositions for today's school library media specialists. In Bush and Jones's Delphi study (2010), leaders in school librarianship identified a range of key professional dispositions for school librarians. Teaching, collaborating, leading, and lifelong learning were among the most often mentioned dispositions by leaders. Relevant to this study, literacy/reading came in near the bottom of the list of dispositions. However, the research report included several comments expressing amazement at literacy's low placement, as well as a respondent who stated that literacy/reading "isn't even a role, let alone a disposition" (Bush & Jones, 2010, Table 2).

The potential uses of the dispositions identified was not clear, although Bush and Jones (2010) suggested that they could be developed into assessments and used as part of admission into school library media education programs. In her review of the literature around competencies, Shannon (2002) mentioned similar applications relevant to library media education. Certainly, we know that certain dispositions lead librarians of all kinds

to the profession, and the desire to help "children to learn to love books as much as they do" (Jones, 2010, p. 179) seems to be a part of school librarianship's draw. This study provides a different view on professional dispositions in school library media practice through Bourdieu's concept of habitus. In this study, the rules of the field of a school library media center are structured, in part, by these dispositions. These dispositions, in turn, present a long-standing limitation to school library media programs in research, practice, and public perception. These perceptions may contribute to the staffing losses that placed severe limitations on the school library media program in this study.

School Library Media Programs and Literacy Organizations

Although I have represented the school library media and literacy fields as somewhat separate, this is not to say that the two fields have ignored one another. In spite of my argument that both school library and literacy research presented a limited view of school library media programs and their contributions to literacy, professional literacy organizations seem to support school libraries as important literacy institutions. As presented at the outset of this chapter, school library media specialists have long seen literacy as part of their mission and standards. Conversely, two of the pre-eminent literacy organizations in the United States have also spoken out on behalf of school libraries in notable ways. As scholars have noted in historical reviews (Alvermann, 2010; Latrobe, 1998), the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) has long supported school library media centers as a vital part of youth literacy learning. As Alvermann phrased it, "NCTE's support of libraries in the early years pretty much ensured that the responsibility for the advancement of reading, at least at the secondary

level, would not rest solely with English teachers" (p. 59). This support has endured to recent years.

At the time of this writing, the NCTE listed two position statements emphasizing the importance of school library media programs in student learning on its organizational website (http://www.ncte.org/positions). In the "Resolution on Improving Library Support in the Schools" (1987), the NCTE supported the American Library Association in "urging legislators and school officials to provide funding for credentialed librarians in every elementary and secondary school" ("Resolution," para. 1). This resolution is of interest because it supports the school library media specialist as the critical element in the school library program. The mention of materials access is included only in the background information, not in the resolution itself. The NCTE extended this resolution in 2005. In the "Resolution on Supporting School and Community Libraries" (2005), the NCTE focused on the importance of the school librarian's role in information literacy and student achievement. Again, the NCTE supported the presence of a credentialed school library media specialist in every school as well as other values such as increased funding for materials and professional development. Finally, school library media programs appear in the NCTE's practitioner-focused literature. A recent example, widely circulated in school library media specialist circles, was a President's Commentary (Siu-Runyan, 2011) that defended school library media programs as critical elements in student reading, digital access, and offsetting the imbalance of access to books in high poverty areas. Unlike many of the limitations placed on school library media programs in research and practice, these documents appear to present a view of school libraries as multifaceted contributors to student literacy learning.

Another leading literacy organization, the International Reading Association (IRA) also highlighted the school library in an association position statement. In "Providing Books and Other Print Materials for Classroom and School Libraries" (2000), the IRA endorsed school library media programs mainly because of the physical and nonprint reading resources they provided. The document made little mention of the role of the school library media specialist aside from her ability, much like the classroom teacher, to connect books with students. No apparent update to this position statement was available on the IRA website. However, school library media specialists are mentioned several times in the IRA's joint position statement with the National Middle School Association, entitled "Supporting Young Adolescents' Literacy Learning" (2002). In this document, school library media specialists were mentioned as partners in instruction as well as school professionals who can improve access to resources for all students. This position statement included a more nuanced view of the contributions school library media programs might make to literacy learning. Although these organizations defended and supported the school library media center's importance in literacy, these documents still do not represent the full range of participation that a school library media program can offer in youth literacy learning.

Identity Markers in School Library Media Research

Much of this literature review revolved around the argument that research involving school library media centers has been limited in its description of the roles a school library program might play in youth literacy learning. Although many of the barriers described are externally imposed, that there are other possible barriers internal to a school library media program that can impact student literacy participation as well.

Souto-Manning's (2010) exploration of the role of Accelerated Reader presented one such internally imposed barrier that affected the roles a school library media program played in literacy learning. The tensions surrounding the dispositions of school library media specialists constitute another barrier. A further potential barrier to literacy learning common in studies of classrooms and curricula is the role of different identity markers. Certainly, Souto-Manning's mention of the complexities of Accelerated Reader, racially imbalanced collections, and the possibilities of literacy raise the importance of understanding the way school libraries include and exclude young people based on different characteristics.

The study reported here focused in part on identity markers and the way they interfaced with one particular school library media program. Such research is relatively uncommon, although one recent strand of library scholarship focused on "cultural competence" and the need to develop this ability to understand and work with diverse groups of people (Hill & Kumasi, 2011; Overall, 2009). These recent articles highlight approaches for library media specialists that are relatively broad, including a wide spectrum of diversities. For the present study, I focused primarily on race, class, and gender at the outset of data collection, with other identity markers playing a role as the study progressed. Here, I briefly describe previous research on these identity markers in libraries.

Examining race in a library context is not entirely new. For example, the subject headings associated with traditional classification systems such as Library of Congress have been critiqued from a racial perspective for their outdated terminology and biased organizational schemes (Berman, 2000; Bethel, 1994; Delgado & Stefancic, 1995).

When race has been addressed in the school library media literature, racial aspects of the literature collection received the most thorough treatment. In a footnote to her review of race in library and information science, Pawley (2006) suggested that perhaps "the major…area in which librarians have confronted racism is in depictions of racial minorities in children's books" (p. 152). In school library media practitioner journals, much of the work relating to race consists of articles filled with helpful, albeit usually general, bits of advice about developing a more "multicultural" library program (e.g., Agosto, 2007; Hinton-Johnson & Dickinson, 2005). These articles often combine race with other dimensions of diversity under the term multicultural to discuss adaptations of collections, policies, and services to meet the needs of changing populations.

Although the present study took into account data beyond the physical collection, it is important to mention that school library media collections are deeply ideological (Dressman, 1997a). This may be especially true for older collections such as the one in the library media center examined in this study. Given the values and perspectives that collections reflect and omit, one troubling aspect of collections is their persistence. As Lempke (1999) stated, even though the number of books featuring racially diverse characters has grown, many libraries are still filled with "collections, lovingly gathered for the past fifty years, that feature white [sic] children" (p. 147). We are still working to understand the ways race is implicated in school library media services.

One of the key benefits to the presence of a school library media program is to help mediate the effects of poverty. The primary reason for this benefit is the belief that school library media programs provide essential resources to all members of the school community. First and foremost, school library media centers are a key point of access to

literature for students (Allington & McGill-Franzen, 2008; Edmunds & Bauserman, 2006; Ivey & Broaddus, 2001; Krashen, 2004; McQuillan & Au, 2001; Worthy, 1996; Worthy, Moorman, & Turner, 1999). Access to reading materials is an important part of literacy learning. Krashen (2004) has championed the importance of school library media programs as a key part of educational equity, especially regarding literacy. However, the simple presence of a school library media center is not enough. Researchers also investigated finer points of the school library program to understand the way inequalities persist in spite the common presence of a school library media program (Duke, 2000; Neuman & Celano, 2001; Pribesh, Gavigan, & Dickinson, 2011). These researchers suggested that the presence of a school library media program does not mean equal opportunities. Indeed, schools with higher poverty tended to have less quality access to library services. In another approach demonstrating the way social class can interface with school media programs, Dressman (1997c) theorized the way literacies were defined and embodied in school library media centers serving students in different social classes. The present study provided another small-scale examination of social class in a school library media center.

In her historical study entitled *Apostles of Culture*, Garrison (2003) chronicled the development of public libraries in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Throughout this period, public library work extended into school libraries, carrying gendered assumptions and underpinnings along with it (Dressman, 1997b). Some have argued that the ideal of leisure reading, especially fiction, rendered libraries feminized environments (Garrison).

The notion that school reading and the library are feminine pursuits is not an unfamiliar one today. Indeed, similar ideas are represented in recent scholarship and

practitioner volumes. The idea that boys aren't reading even appeared in a 2011 article in the New York Times (Lipsyte). In a more scholarly vein, Smith and Wilhelm (2002) argued that literacies in school don't appeal to the interests of certain males. Tatum (2009) presented research on connecting with the specific literacy interests of boys. Still, the lore of the literature is that boys are not reading enough. Fisher and Frey (2012) suggested, in their study of young male readers between middle and high school, that despite the apparent stubbornness of boys' lagging reading achievement, reading choice was a critical part of motivating boys to read. Although not mentioned in the article as a part of possible solutions, the importance of choice would seem to invite the participation of school library media programs in motivating all readers and connecting them with worthwhile texts. With the flexibility of a budget and some practical knowledge, school library media specialists are in a position to encourage students of both genders to optimize their learning through many different literacies (Farmer, 2005). However, research on school library media specialists addressing this particular aspect of diversity is scarce.

My focus on race, social class, and gender here is not meant to imply that these are the only aspects of diversity that are relevant to school library media programs. Researchers have addressed disabilities (Perrault, 2011) and other identity markers in libraries, and many library conferences regularly highlight different diversities in their programming. This study addressed some of these identity markers as well as some of the challenges of studying them in a school library media center. In order for school library media programs to be fully recognized as contexts for studying youth literacies, additional research addressing the roles of identity markers must occur.

Summary and Conclusion

As I have argued, the school library media and literacy fields share many common and complementary goals. Professional commitments of the school library media community to literacy and the literacy community to school library media programs make these connections clear. Despite these apparent connections, current research in both school library media and the literacy fields acknowledge a much narrower range of literacies than these professional commitments espouse. Instead of the broad range of literacies currently studied in literacy research, school library media programs are often limited to provision of print reading materials and information literacy, leaving aside many roles that a school library media program might play in literacy learning. In addition, limitations based on historically developed dispositions and perceptions of school library media programs may prevent school library media programs from achieving their roles in youth literacies. Developing detailed research on identity markers in literacies in the school library media program may lead to a better understanding of literacy limiters internal to school library media programs.

Thus, the professional commitments made by these two fields have not been fully investigated through research. These professional commitments can be translated into practical connections, in part, through research such as the study reported here. This research project aims to describe the literacy roles of a school library media program through concepts familiar in literacy research. Using concepts developed in the literacy community to study a school library media program adds to the knowledge base that school library media programs need to build to fulfill their stated goal of supporting a

broad range of youth literacies. It also helps to clarify the roles that school library media programs might play in literacy learning, providing new opportunities for study and conversation between the literacy and school library media fields.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

I open this chapter with information about Rolling Hills Middle School (all names of places and people are pseudonyms), the school setting for this case study. First, I provide general information about the community Rolling Hills Middle School served and the process of selecting this school for the study. Then, I explain key points of Bourdieu's social theory, which contributed to all phases of this study. This chapter continues with a detailed description and explanation of each data collection method for this ethnographic case study, including participant observation, collecting documents and artifacts, and interviewing. I also include details about the data sources used to develop this account of a middle school library media program. Finally, I review the data analysis process, resulting in a thorough account of the research methodology for this study.

Rolling Hills Middle School

I conducted this case study at Rolling Hills Middle School, a school serving 6th through 8th grades, located in the southeastern United States. According to the National Center for Educational Statistics (http://nces.ed.gov/) in 2008-2009, Rolling Hills Middle School was located in a rural district. However, this one-word label does not provide a nuanced portrait of the demographic textures of the area. The drive between my home and Rolling Hills Middle School lasted about 45 minutes. Examining the surroundings during my many trips back and forth provided fodder for reflection. In the miles immediately surrounding the school, I observed clusters of poverty as well as apparent

affluence. Pockets of large single-family homes and subdivisions were scattered throughout the district, mixed with mobile home communities and older homes on multi-acre tracts of land. I drove by farming homesteads with livestock as well as the occasional swim-and-tennis subdivision. Despite the assumptions I could have made when I saw such subdivisions with larger homes and other amenities, I quickly observed that even these might mask financial difficulties. At least one home of the five I could see in a subdivision of larger homes bordering the school was clearly empty. What appeared to be foreclosure notices were posted in the windows, visible from the main road.

The County and School System

Rolling Hills Middle School is part of a county school system. With that in mind, I provide a brief overview of the county's population and history. This county was formed in the late eighteenth century from land previously held by Creek and Cherokee Native American Tribes. The first White settlers were veterans of the Revolutionary War. Throughout its history, much of the county's development was driven by railroad routes that crisscrossed the county and commerce in goods such as cotton. Currently, the county encompasses roughly 350 square miles of land. Within this county, there are five towns with historic districts on the National Register of Historic Places. The county has a long history of poultry production. More recently, a number of distribution warehouses for larger businesses added to the commercial landscape.

The 2010 United States Census reported demographic information for the county as follows: 83.8% - White persons not of Hispanic origin; 6.8% - Black; .2% - American Indian and Alaska Native; 1.7% - Asian; 6.2% - Hispanic or Latino origin; 1.8% - two or

more races. Of the county's occupied housing units, in 2010 77% were owner occupied, while 23% were renter occupied. Despite its rural status, close proximity to a major interstate highway made for quick access to numerous well-developed suburbs of a large city. Likely due to in part to this location, the county experienced substantial growth in recent years, with the population from 2000 to 2009 increasing 52.9%. In 2010, the unemployment rate in this county was 10.5%, but declined somewhat toward the end of the year based on the relocation of distribution-based businesses to the area. In 2009, median household income equaled $50,591.

According to the state's Department of Education, in 2009-2010 the county school system served just over 7,100 students. Two smaller, independent city-based public school districts also educated the youth in this county, serving a combined total of about 4,000 students. Approximately 1,600 students enrolled in middle schools in the county school system in 2009-2010. With over 800 students at Rolling Hills, it was the largest of the three middle schools in the county system by a sizable margin. As a whole, the county school system did not make Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) in 2011. As an individual school, Rolling Hills Middle did meet AYP standards in all categories except for the pass rate for the math section of the state standardized tests for students with disabilities.

There were relatively few immediate educational options in this county. According to local websites and the Chamber of Commerce, there are two extremely small private schools in the county. However, because there are a number of private school options in surrounding counties, it is likely that some local parents take students across county lines to attend these schools. I was unable to find a reliable source for the

precise number of students who commute to private schools. Homeschooling is also a current trend in this state, but again, I was not able to locate any exact figures for the number of homeschooled students in this county.

Because this case study focused on a school library and the role of the library in student literacies, the availability of public library facilities is worthy of brief mention. There are several small public libraries located throughout the county. The public libraries operated as part of a larger regional library system serving three counties. Several of the students I interviewed mentioned that they used these public libraries throughout the year. Comments and details on the role of these public libraries in student literacies are included in later chapters.

The Demographics of Rolling Hills Middle School

According to the state Department of Education website and official enrollments for AYP purposes, in 2010 just over 850 students attended Rolling Hills Middle School. Three schools for younger students fed into Rolling Hills Middle: two elementary schools and an intermediate school. At Rolling Hills, 10.2% of the student population identified as Hispanic, 3.8% Asian/Pacific Islander, 3.2% Black, 79.7% White, and 2.7% as multiracial. The proportion of Hispanic students increased somewhat in recent years. 15.3% of the population was classified as students with disabilities, and 46.8% were considered economically disadvantaged in this Title I school. This economically disadvantaged level represented a notable increase from the 33.1% reported in 2008. 2.4% of students at Rolling Hills Middle School were English Language Learners, a percentage that held relatively steady over the previous several years. 20.4% qualified

for gifted education in 2009-2010, a number that was growing according to a gifted teacher I interviewed.

Rolling Hills Middle School experienced a number of leadership changes in recent years. At least eight different principals led the school over the previous fifteen years. The research literature in school library media suggests that the school principal exercises substantial influence over the roles and effectiveness of the school library media program in a school (Church, 2010; Hartzell, 2002a; Henri, Hay, & Oberg, 2002; Shannon, 2009). I include comments from an interview with the current principal in subsequent chapters. However, given the numerous changes in recent years, it is reasonable to conclude that decisions made by previous leadership also shaped the role of the school library media program at Rolling Hills Middle School.

Site Selection

I developed three criteria for selecting the library media program for this study: the full-time presence of a certified school library media specialist, high levels of media center use, and relatively low barriers to site accessibility. I hoped these criteria would allow for the efficient selection of a vibrant library media program. First, the presence of a school library media specialist is key to the establishment and functioning of a school library media program. Certified school library media specialists, based on their professional education and status, presumably have knowledge about literacy, learning, and program development. Thus, to provide a more nuanced account of a school library media program and its roles in youth literacy learning required the presence of a certified school library media specialist. Second, I assumed that high levels of activity in the library media center would likely increase opportunities to see a wide variety of literacy

practices and roles for the media program. Finally, low barriers of accessibility to the researcher allowed for efficiency throughout the research process.

These relatively mundane criteria for selection may seem puzzling. However, research studies of school library media programs (e.g., Small, Shanahan, & Stasak, 2009; Todd, Gordon, & Lu, 2011) often focused on exemplary situations. As noted previously, at the time of the study, the situation contemporary school library media programs faced was often characterized as a crisis. Thus, the desire to show glowing examples of school library media programs is not surprising. However, there are many school library media programs across the United States that may not receive accolades, but show through their day-to-day work why school library media programs are a vital part of literacy learning for youth. This study purposely focused on a library program that was highly utilized but not necessarily identified as exemplary by externally imposed standards. The fact that the Rolling Hills library media program endured a recent staffing loss was also of interest, as it could provide a potential contrast to the prevalent instances of exemplary programs.

I am a certified school library media specialist. Due to my library education and library community participation, I am networked into local and national groups of library media specialists. Using these networks and the first two criteria, I identified and considered possible sites for the study. The final criterion, accessibility, dictated the ultimate decision to conduct the study at Rolling Hills Middle School. Although there were a number of active, vibrant media programs that presented worthwhile candidates for study, many school districts enforced prohibitive timelines for researcher access.

Rolling Hills Middle School, by contrast, had a relatively simple process for gaining administrative approval.

I met with the school library media specialist at Rolling Hills, Elizabeth Bowen, one morning on a teacher workday early in 2011. I scheduled this meeting to speak with her informally about the study and ascertain her interest in hosting me as a researcher. Elizabeth immediately welcomed me and expressed interest in participating. She seemed curious about what she could learn about her program through her participation. Over the course of the study, Elizabeth acted as my ally in gaining institutional permission, identifying data sources such as documents and times to schedule participant observation visits, and finding interview participants. Elizabeth's cooperation facilitated my work throughout the process.

Elizabeth and I knew one another casually before the study began, which may have made trust and cooperation happen more readily. We graduated together from the same school library media certification program several years before. We were friendly with one another throughout our coursework, but we did not collaborate on any group projects. Even though we only had loose connections with one another, we were clearly exposed to many of the same ideas, principles, and professional values. During our degree, I knew Elizabeth was teaching in a middle school, and became the library media specialist in the school before we graduated. I remembered seeing her name as a presenter in local children's literature conference programs in the years since we graduated. From these clues and our initial conversation, I knew Elizabeth was an active professional facilitating a busy library media program. This made the program at Rolling Hills Middle School a compelling setting for the study.

During our initial meeting, Elizabeth told me that she had been facilitating the library media program without the support of a media clerk since the beginning of the 2010-2011 school year. Media clerks across the entire school district were laid off at that time. This meant, in addition to her work as a teacher, collaborator, and program developer, Elizabeth was also responsible for managing and circulating the collection with minimal help from others. Despite relatively strong support for school library media programs in this state, the loss of staffing at Rolling Hills Middle was not unusual in this time of economic strain. I immediately sensed her frustration with the lack of paraprofessional support and felt a desire to learn more about this situation as a school library media researcher. At the same time, I also felt moved as an educator and library media specialist to step in and help to the degree that Elizabeth found acceptable. She responded to the idea that I could be of help with enthusiasm, which positioned me as a participant observer in the Rolling Hills Middle School library media center when data collection commenced in March of 2011.

Bourdieu's Social Theory

Before detailing the specifics of data collection, I will outline the theory of Pierre Bourdieu, which guided the design and execution of data collection for this case study. Adopting the premise of using Bourdieu's "theory as method" (Grenfell and James, 1998, p.177), I first explore the main Bourdieusian concepts of field, forms and states of capital, habitus, and practice. These concepts played a role in all phases of this study from design to implementation and analysis. Although I present Bourdieu's concepts sequentially for ease of organization, to isolate them is artificial and risks reducing the generative possibilities they present as a set. To mitigate this concern, after each concept is

explained I relate it to the Bourdieusian concepts already introduced, in an attempt to fully present this generative approach to studying youth, their literacies, and school library media programs.

Field

Bourdieusian fields are social spaces structured by certain rules and logics (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). These rules may be explicit or implicit. In school library media centers, there are often explicit rules about computer use, circulation, and standards of expected behavior. School library media programs often have other rules in place that limit and validate certain kinds of activities that take place within the school library media center context. Administrative rules might include selection policies, scheduling procedures, and internet filtering mechanisms. In addition to these explicit rules, hidden or unwritten rules also structure the social space of a field such as a school library media center. Examples of these less obvious rules are the spatial arrangements of the school library media center and the implicit traditions that structure the way youth move and position themselves while in the school library media center.

Social fields can vary in size, from a large field such as education to more localized fields such as an individual school, classroom, or school library media center. In Bourdieu's conceptualization, social fields are primarily relational (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In order for a field to be considered as such there must be struggle for legitimacy. The struggle takes place regularly as people enter and leave fields, rules are maintained or subverted, and agency plays out. The struggle in any social field developed over time and is embedded in history, often almost invisibly. Learning about and understanding this history is part of understanding a social field. An example of this

in a school library media context might be the attitudes of the school library media specialist toward youth and the way those attitudes shape school library media center use, as well as the way youth may subvert the rules imposed on them. Fields have a historical context and loose continuity. The small spaces between the structures and rules present possibilities for freedom and agency (Bourdieu & Wacquant).

Capitals

Capitals, in the Bourdieusian sense, refer broadly to different kinds of resources, both material and intangible. Bourdieu described three forms of capital: social capital, cultural capital and its three related states, and economic capital (Bourdieu, 2007). Remembering the importance of using Bourdieu's concepts in concert, one critical point to note throughout these discussions is the fundamental relation between capitals and the social fields in which they can be used or exchanged. In Bourdieu's words, "a capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 101).

Social capital. Social capital refers to social connections upon which one can draw to increase one's own personal capital resources. Social capital develops through associations with others and represents "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu, 2007, p. 88). In a school library media center context, social capital might be gained through an ongoing trusting relationship with a school library media specialist. Youth can also develop or benefit from social capital through their associations and interactions with each other in the school library media center. As Meyers, Fisher, and Marcoux (2009) found, middle

grades students often look to each other when seeking information. Thus, they are often inclined to seek and depend on social capital in learning. However, even this brief example makes it easy to see how the rules of a certain social field can affect the way social capital is exchanged or managed. If social interaction is limited or disrupted in the social field of a school library media center, there may be little opportunity to build or draw on social capital there.

Computers are a key part of the school library media center experience for many students. Availability of social networking sites, online resources, and mobile technologies may facilitate the way social capital is exchanged and accumulated by youth. Although social capital is a term often included in discussions of connective technologies (e.g., Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007; Huysman & Wulf, 2004), Bourdieu's emphasis on social capital's durable character, as well as the role of social capital in his larger collection of theoretical tools, added complexity and nuance to examinations of social connections and their affordances. Simply because youth can access others more easily does not necessarily mean that their own meaningful capital is automatically amplified. Bourdieu's theory of social capital also considered the reliability and durability of connections as well as the actual capital that is shared and its exchange value in a given social field. In another example, internet filtering or rules limits on cell phone use might be interruptive to the social capital students could develop and draw upon were they given the opportunity. Keeping in mind that literacy practices are often social (Barton & Hamilton, 1998), the rules of a social field might encourage or disrupt the social capital and related literacy practices that can be taken up in school library media centers.

Cultural capital. Cultural capital is perhaps the most obviously relevant capital to the study of school library media programs. In fact, Bourdieu once referred to cultural capital more broadly as "*informational capital* to give the notion its full generality" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119, emphasis in original). As one essential function of libraries is the provision of information, studying Bourdieu's cultural capital in the school library media setting seems particularly appropriate.

Bourdieu originally conceived of cultural capital as a "theoretical hypothesis which made it possible to explain the unequal scholastic achievement of children originating from the different social classes by relating academic success…to the distributions of cultural capital between the classes and class fractions" (Bourdieu, 2007, p. 84). Cultural capital has since taken on much broader meanings, sometimes far from Bourdieu's critical intention (Lareau & Weininger, 2003). A fine-grained exploration of cultural capital is necessary to understanding Bourdieu's theoretical project.

Bourdieu described three different states of cultural capital. The first state of cultural capital is objectified cultural capital, which refers to cultural objects such as "pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc." (Bourdieu, 2007, p. 84). Libraries are often curators and providers of these objects, making them available to stakeholders at little cost. Many literacy practices also involve access to these objects. The second state is institutional cultural capital, which refers to earned academic degrees or other endorsements conferred by external institutions. These degrees often serve to indicate certain levels of institutionally-sanctioned literacy achievement. The final state of cultural capital is embodied cultural capital, which refers to the actual knowledge a

person has and is able to use. The accumulation of embodied cultural capital requires an investment of time in and by the individual.

These states of cultural capital interrelate in a number of ways. For example, embodied (personal knowledge) and institutional (externally imposed qualifications) cultural capitals are, in many cases, accumulated at least in part through involvement with objectified cultural capital (books and computers). However, the relations between the states of cultural capital are not exact. Exposure to valuable forms of objectified cultural capital does not necessarily equal accumulation of embodied cultural capital. Also, although institutional cultural capital, such as a high school diploma, is presumed to ensure embodied cultural capital of a certain type and degree, this is not always the case (Bourdieu, 2007). Thus, these three states of cultural capital are to some degree interdependent, although not in any logical way. The literacies they facilitate are related but inexact as well.

Economic capital. Economic capital is the third major form of capital, and is "immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights" (Bourdieu, 2007, p. 84). I include it last because Bourdieu described economic capital as the most basic type of capital, to which all other types can ultimately be converted or reduced. Thinking about cultural capital as described above, it is relatively simple to see how cultural objects such as books and computers as well as institutional degrees can be tied to economic capital. Social capital is likely more powerful and convertible when it is backed with some kind of economic capital. Some examples of cultural and social capital are more remote from economic capital than

others, and social and cultural capitals have different properties than economic capital, but the fundamental connection remains.

I have outlined Bourdieu's concepts of field and the various types of capital. To provide a fuller understanding, I will now illustrate how these two concepts are related. In order to do this, I address an example of a Bourdieusian study that makes the connection clear. Pasco (2003) conducted a critical ethnography of two "at-risk" youth, using Bourdieu's forms of capital as an analytic for her research. Like Meyers, Fisher, and Marcoux's (2009) insights into the information seeking strategies of middle grades students, Pasco found that her participants were likely to seek the assistance of their peers when they were in need of information. This was perhaps even more striking in Pasco's study due to the fact that her participants struggled to negotiate the basic necessities of life and depended on each other in a number of ways. Thus, the social connections Pasco's participants possessed, or their social capital, were instrumental to their survival.

At first glance, social capital might be seen as universally good. One could argue that social capital always multiplies resources. However, in Pasco's (2003) interpretation, she believed that her participants' inclination toward seeking friends for information actually served to narrow the capitals they could access. This was the case because the peers they sought out did not have the capitals (such as embodied knowledge) valued in school or other social settings. Even though the connections were there, the character of the cultural capital they shared did not have an ameliorative effect in particular social fields such as school. This example demonstrated the Bourdieusian principle that capital only has exchange value if the capital is powerful within the rules and relations of a specific social field.

It is also important to remember that Pasco's (2003) participants did have cultural capital, even though a social field such as a school did not recognize their capital as valuable. Even the participants themselves did not see what Pasco termed her participants' "street" knowledge or capital (p. 130) as valuable. The participants spoke at length about the way the knowledge they had was not valued in school, and expressed their feelings of exclusion from the school community. It is not difficult to imagine how these capital valuations affected the literacies the participants were able to develop in school. Their low levels of economic capital, combined with ineffective social and cultural capital, likely disrupted opportunities for literacy engagement.

As Dressman (1997a) suggested, there is room for students to resist or repurpose capitals apart from the rules, implicit and explicit, presented to them in the social fields of a school library media program. Internet filters can be circumvented. Materials and spaces can be used for purposes apart from which they were officially intended. Sites of agency and choice, although they may be limited, are present. One goal of a Bourdieusian study may be to recognize and open these sites of agency further.

Habitus

Habitus, Bourdieu's attempt to mediate the apparent break between the objective and the subjective, may be the most difficult of Bourdieu's concepts to grasp. In his attempts to understand social fields and actors, Bourdieu posited the habitus as "an open system of dispositions" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 133) that can contribute to explanations for human action. The process of developing habitus begins at birth and continues throughout one's life, expressing itself as one's "embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history" (Bourdieu, 1980/1990, p. 56).

Many have charged Bourdieu and his theoretical framework with determinism, and habitus is often at the core of such critiques. However, Bourdieu did not intend habitus to be deterministic. It is true that, when a person is in a social field of which she is the product, habitus meets field like "a fish in water" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 127), and actions come more instinctively. In some cases, action may appear almost predictable or predetermined. Bourdieu's theory allows that habitus develops in such a way as to adjust to fields that are familiar and produce action accordingly (Bourdieu, 1980/1990). However, as Bourdieu argued, "it [habitus] is durable but not eternal!" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 133). Habitus is constantly developing. It is acquired, not natural. The dispositions of habitus, "being a product of history, that is of social experiences and education…may be *changed by history,* that is by new experiences, education or training" (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 29, emphasis in original). Through encounters with different social fields, formal and informal learning, the strategies for action that habitus generates can adjust. Turning once again to school library media programs and youth, we can imagine that young people, through their history in the social fields of libraries, develop unconscious practical strategies for action in libraries. These strategies may serve to limit what is possible for youth in school library media centers, and perhaps whether or not youth choose to frequent libraries voluntarily at all.

Practice

Practice, the final of Bourdieu's main concepts to be explored in this study, ties capital, field and habitus together. Bourdieu (1979/1984) even formed this relation into a quasi-mathematical equation: "[(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice" (p. 101). Practice represents the everyday actions rooted in "practical sense" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992,

p. 120) that people undertake in social fields. Practice takes place in space and time, and is non-reflective (Bourdieu, 1980/1990). Looking at the equation Bourdieu developed, it is clear that the habitus and capital of a given individual are key elements in practical action. However, the social field where the action takes place is also important. Even though Bourdieu expressed practice as an equation, this is only meant to show the relations between the constructs. Practice is not a logical result of a certain habitus, endowed with capitals, entering a social field. In fact, one of Bourdieu's key points was that practice cannot be reduced to logical cause and effect relations. There are many variables within each element of this mathematical expression. This equation, while illustrative, makes everyday action seem far less messy than Bourdieu would suggest. In fact, one challenge for educational research, where we often examine practices, may be to re-theorize everyday action using Bourdieu's tools in order to understand differently why people may do what they do. For libraries in particular, examining these facets of action can provide insight into the failings and affordances of particular school library media programs as they endeavor to support the literacies of youth.

Case Study Design

This research project employed an interpretive case study design using ethnographic methods (Merriam, 1998). Case study seemed an appropriate choice given the research questions and the desire to "gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and meaning for those involved" (Merriam, 1998, p. 19). Case studies emphasize attention to context and detail to develop deeper understandings of complex systems. Merriam stated that case study design is chosen "precisely because researchers are interested in insight, discovery, and interpretation" (Merriam, 1998, p. 28-29). The

study's purpose of developing insights and understandings into the way a school library media program can affect youth literacies made case study an appropriate design. It is considered an interpretive case study because of the heavy reliance on Bourdieu's theoretical framework in the structure and analysis of the study (Merriam, 1998).

Within the genre of case studies, there is wide variability in form, structure, and data sources. Although case studies can utilize qualitative data, quantitative data, or a mix of empirical approaches, this case study uses qualitative ethnographic data to address the research questions. Ethnographic methods are a relatively unusual approach for studying school library media centers. As Dressman noted, "despite their ubiquity within school settings, school libraries have received very little attention from ethnographers of education" (Dressman, 1997a, p. 270). Although qualitative approaches have become more prevalent in school library media research (Wirkus, 2005), reports of research often addressed very narrow pedagogical purposes. Sustained examinations using ethnographic methods remain the exception rather than the rule. Taking this approach to investigate literacies in a school library media center is even more rare.

Data Collection Procedures

This case study used several data collection methods to address the research questions and develop an account of literacies in a middle school library media center (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). These data collection methods were used in an ethnographic manner, due to the nature of the research questions and the underlying goal of deep understanding. Given the close alignment between theory and method in Bourdieu's work, the methods described here will be related to the Bourdieusian concepts outlined above. Bourdieusian investigations such as the one described here require substantial

fieldwork, involvement with participants, and ongoing analysis. Developing an understanding of habitus, field, and embodied capitals requires cycles of data collection, analysis, and interpretation. The three main data collection methods this study employed were participant observation, artifact collection, and interviews. I provide a description of each of these in the following sections.

Participant Observation. Field notes from participant observation visits to Rolling Hills Middle School comprised a significant portion of the data collected for this study. To provide a thorough account of the participation observation process, I divide this section into four parts. Dyson and Genishi (2005) encourage researchers to attend to the workings of space and time as initial approaches to "casing the joint" (p. 19), or beginning to grasp a particular case study context. For this reason, I started conceptualizing time and space early in my fieldwork and also mirror those priorities in this report. First, I chronicle the decisions I made about timing of observation visits. Second, as a part of being reflexive about my role in this study, I examine the way I situated myself in the space of the school library media center and other spaces I visited through the research process. Third, I describe the composition of initial field notes during data collection in detail. Finally, I comment on the different kinds of in-process writing I undertook as a routine part of expanding and reflecting upon the process of participant observation.

Time. I began visiting Rolling Hills Middle School as a participant observer at the end of March 2011. I completed these participant observation visits in early November 2011. I was able to collect data over portions of two school years and during a short summer camp in which the school library media program played a role. Other than

this camp, I did not visit the school over the summer break, which lasted from the first week of June to the first week of August. The school library media program was closed during these months. This resulted in observation notes from 50 site visits over 23 school weeks including the summer camp (see Appendix A for participant observation log). With a few exceptions, I spent time in the research setting two or three days per week when school was in session. Most of the visits lasted between two and four hours, although the scheduling of certain critical events dictated longer visits at times. Shorter visits also occurred, especially toward the end of the 23-week span when I was more focused on addressing gaps in the data set and conducting interviews.

I planned the timing of my observation visits on a week-by-week basis. Early in data collection, the school library media specialist shared the library media program's online calendar with me. The calendar is available openly on the Internet. Teachers signed up for lessons either through this online calendar or by using a paper calendar available in the library media center. I consulted the online and paper calendars often as I planned the timing of my observation visits. At the beginning of fieldwork, I often focused on scheduling visits when the online calendar was filled with classes. It took me several weeks to realize that my assumption that scheduled activities would most fully represent the literacy practices facilitated by this library media program was at best limited, but more likely, false. After reflecting on this imbalance, I scheduled visits to coincide both with apparently busy times as well as during the apparently empty spaces on the library media center calendar.

I also used the online calendar to prompt conversations with the library media specialist about planned activities. For example, Elizabeth often included short notes on

the calendar along with the teacher and class name to remind her of the lesson she was teaching to a particular class. In other cases, she would include lists of items to accomplish, such as a list of things to do for her media crew. Thus, the calendar served as an advanced organizer as well as a jotting space for items to teach and accomplish as Elizabeth thought of them. As I reviewed the online calendar, I engaged Elizabeth in conversation about these notes to learn about her objectives for a specific block of time in the library media center. These informal conversations became a way to hear about the activities that were important to Elizabeth as a library media specialist, as well as a way to open discussions about some of her priorities and concerns about her work.

In thinking about Bourdieusian concepts outlined above, the calendars provided structures and rules around the time in the social field of the school library media center. For example, only one whole class could be scheduled in the school library media center at a time. Given the complexities of demands on teacher time, the multiple overlapping schedules throughout the school, and the ability to view and use the calendar through any Internet connection, it is impossible to say how many teachers tried to schedule visits but could or did not due to occupied spaces on the calendar. I observed several occasions when teachers had clearly scheduled visits at two-week intervals far in advance but then would not come to the school library media center at the time they scheduled. Thus, scheduling practices provided order but may also have prevented students and classes from working in the field of the school library media center at times. Given that clerical help was also irregular, if Elizabeth was scheduled to teach a class, she often could not answer questions or circulate materials for unscheduled visitors. Therefore, it is open to

question whether or not individual or small groups of students refrained from coming to the library media center when classes were scheduled.

As I continued to plan my visit schedule, I sought to observe as many different activities as possible. This included visits at different times of day, visits on different days of the week, and visits to see different groups of students. After the initial period of learning about the schedule and trying to plan to see busy and empty times on the calendar, it seemed relatively easy to plan with an eye toward seeing many different groups and uses of the school library media program. I did periodic reviews of my visit log to ensure I was observing different aspects of the program. However, as the weeks of observations went on, I realized that there were several groups underrepresented in the data. For example, I noticed fewer eighth grade classes and students in my observation notes. As I continued to plan visits, I addressed these underrepresented groups to the extent that I could. Although balance and variety acted as guiding principles for scheduling visits, there were still elements of the program I did not see. There were also groups of students who rarely used the library media program, if at all. In the case of the eighth grade students, I found that fewer of these classes scheduled time to come to the school library media center. To learn more about this, I included questions directed at these patterns in interviews. I will discuss possible reasons for these absences in subsequent chapters.

In planning my visits, there were also several occasions when Elizabeth specifically asked that I be present to act as a small group facilitator or responsible adult. These included, most notably, several instances when I worked with a small group during the monthly media club meeting. I was happy and eager to be present to help whenever

possible. These visits also provided opportunities for me to interact with students in a different capacity.

In my original study design, I included plans to observe the school library media program before and after school. Once in the research setting, I learned that there were few, if any, activities that happened before or after school hours in the Rolling Hills Middle School library media center. Thus, all observations occurred during regular school hours, with the exception of one language arts faculty professional development group meeting that took place after school. The work of this faculty group functioned as an ongoing influence in shaping the library media specialist's development of her program, so attending this meeting was another way to learn about the role of the library media program in the literacy education priorities at Rolling Hills Middle School.

Space. Space also played an interesting role in data collection. One way to begin to examine social space is through mapping. Bourdieu himself used spatial mapping to present observations in a way that made patterns visible (Bourdieu, 1972/1977). Through observations in the early stages of fieldwork, I developed a map of the space in the school library media center. Creating maps can play a role in engaging with the physical aspects of the social field in a research study (Dyson & Genishi, 2005). In this case, it also encouraged attention to the types and arrangements of objectified cultural capital within the library media center. Mapping enabled me to get a sense of the way space was used in regard to literacies (Sheehy & Leander, 2004; Heath & Street, 2008). The map also paved the way to the shorthand I developed for field notes, describing the way students moved between the tables, furniture, and shelving in the school library space. As Dyson

and Genishi (2005) noted, “It is through such arrangements and movements that spaces become places for teachers’ and children’s school lives” (p. 23).

In addition to mapping, I also attended to my own positioning within the school library media space. My role as a participant observer shaped the way I situated myself as a researcher in the library media center. Most notably, I spent a substantial amount of time behind the circulation desk, because one of the participant roles I fulfilled was circulating materials for students and the occasional teacher. I assumed this role willingly, and it provided unique affordances for my work. First, working behind the circulation desk enabled me to clearly see the kinds of materials, or objectified cultural capitals, students selected for their reading. Second, the circulation desk provided a clear view of the vast majority of the library media center. With the exception of the media production studio, which was used for the daily school morning news program, all of the areas where students read, browsed, congregated, and learned were in direct view of the circulation desk. (It may be of interest to note that this ability to see all areas from the circulation desk is a common design feature in school libraries, as it allows adults to maintain surveillance of students. Thus, the design set the stage for the imposition of certain rules in the social field of this library media center). Second, working behind the circulation desk allowed me to somewhat inconspicuously observe and take notes on student computer use. This library media center offered four computer terminals for student use, all of which were located within fifteen feet of the circulation desk. The area behind the circulation desk offered the only spot where computer use could be easily viewed. I briefly note here that I did not interfere or intervene with student computer use unless a student asked me a question directly. I hoped to observe the ways resources

were used by students with minimal interference. However, even though I tried to be unobtrusive, it is still likely that many students shaped their actions due to my presence and proximity. This is especially important to note in light of Bourdieu's view that fields are relational in nature as well as sites of struggle.

There is little question that occupying the area behind the circulation desk also positioned me as an adult with knowledge and some semblance of authority within the social field of this school library media center. At the beginning of the second school year, I received a more permanent nametag, which seemed to add to my status with students. Although I did not exercise any authority with students unless the school library media specialist told me to be in charge of an activity, it is naïve to think that an adult with a nametag behind the circulation desk did not project some sort of power. Certainly, it shaped the relations within the social field of this school library media center. At times this positioning behind the circulation desk opened conversations with students about their reading, their information or resource needs, or their thoughts about the library media program. The latter category of conversations, when students volunteered their insights into the school library media program, seemed more likely to happen with students I had previously interviewed or students who asked me directly who I was and what I was doing there.

For the number of affordances that positioning behind the circulation desk gave me as a researcher, there were also associated limitations. I learned these most directly by moving elsewhere in the social field of this library media center. On the occasions when I sat in other places, I often overheard different kinds of conversations than I was privy to behind the circulation desk. For example, when I sat at the tables in the central

part of the library media center, I heard exchanges between students as they milled about between the bookshelves. When whole classes visited the school library media center, it was also common for Elizabeth to perch in the very back of the library media center as students looked for books after she completed teaching her lesson. Although I could see Elizabeth talk to many students about their reading and book choices from the position behind the circulation desk, this placed me all the way across the library media center space from her. When I moved closer to Elizabeth's common after-teaching spot, it meant that I could eavesdrop on some of the conversations she had with students and teachers. Although the limitations to working behind the circulation desk were frustrating at times, I knew that if I had not been doing that work, Elizabeth would have most likely been standing in my spot behind the circulation desk, checking out books for students while trying to answer other questions and help them the best way she could.

Throughout my time at Rolling Hills Middle School, I did observe some teachers checking out books to students, but as I will discuss in later chapters, most of the teachers expressed feelings of discomfort or confusion with the clerical aspects of school library media work. They were nearly always happy for me to take over. By taking care of circulation duties, I enabled Elizabeth to do her own work of facilitating student reading selections. At the same time, spending so much time behind the circulation desk certainly shaped the activities I observed and the corresponding data I generated from participant observation. Certain angles in this social field were not recorded.

Although I regularly tried to spend time observing from different places in the field, this was difficult to do until a significant change occurred. Near the end of my fieldwork as a participant observer, the media clerk was rehired. Due to this change, I

was immediately displaced from behind the circulation desk. For the remainder of the study, I observed activities from tables in the reference area as well as other tables scattered throughout the library media center. These locations provided different perspectives on the social field, while also limiting places that students could choose to sit at times. For example, given that the reference area was somewhat set apart from the rest of the library media center, it was a space where unique activities happened. Although I happily moved when teachers asked for the tables, often groups just chose to sit in another area, which in turn affected the relations in the rest of the space.

There were also instances when I accompanied the library media specialist to meetings or other activities outside the library media center. These were important because although the library media center space acted as an anchor context for the school library media program, there were also important functions that the library media program serves that were facilitated by going to other places including other classrooms and the gymnasium. In one case, I also attended a county level media specialist meeting, which was held at another facility in the county. These other areas did play a role in shaping the school library media program, so observing in them helped me understand the way activities in different social spaces shape the rules and relations within the school library media center proper.

Composing field notes. As stated previously, I engaged in participant observation on 50 different site visits to Rolling Hills Middle School. These visits amounted to 134 hours of observation field notes. I decided to use pen and paper to compose my initial field notes. Although I tried to be inconspicuous in my notetaking, the process of

composing notes rather obviously set me apart on many occasions (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995).

Despite periods of time when very little happened in the library media center, often much more happened than I could record. Fulfilling my other roles of circulating materials and answering questions also made capturing activities in field notes a challenge at times. During less busy times I carefully examined the library media center space looking for nuances and changes in the environment. I also used that time to reread, think about, and add detail to my observations, write reflective notes, check the online calendar, and chat with the library media specialist. The overly busy times occurred far more frequently than the quiet times. I quickly developed a personal shorthand in order to provide as much detail as possible in my initial "jottings" (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). Aside from both common and temporary abbreviations to track people and objects, I used this shorthand to indicate specific genders, races, and other identity markers for individual students, because identity markers were a focus of one of my research questions. After the early mapping of the library media center space, I also developed shorthand for specific places in the library media center, such as individual shelves, sections, and particular computers.

Given the somewhat informal "drop-in" nature of much of the learning and activity in the school library media center, I often felt as if I was observing a number of different classrooms at once. Students, often one or two at a time, entered the library media center space with any number of separate goals to work toward and rules to abide by. With multiple, changeable, and at times conflicting clusters of activity happening in the social field of this school library media center, writing from right to left and top to

bottom in a notebook often became cumbersome and confusing, with long arrows clumsily connecting the activities of single students across several notebook pages. To keep the activities of individual students collected when several of them were working independently in the space, I started making columns on some notebook pages, with a column devoted to each student. This approach also captured some of the overlapping time elements as well, although more often this was extremely difficult to do.

In capturing field notes, my observations most often centered on the ways students used the library media center and its resources (print, digital, and otherwise), focusing on recording student literacy practices and their context. I composed general descriptions of the literacy practices that occurred in the research environments, noticing the kinds of reading, writing, speaking, viewing, and text creation that took place, as well as how those activities occurred. To offer a few brief examples, I noted when students chose books (objectified cultural capital) and the rules through which those books were chosen when they were evident (rules of the field). I recorded instances of students creating paragraphs or documents (writing), as well as the purposes and decision-making behind those artifacts (rules of the field and struggles). When students wrote book reviews (writing), I also described the way those reviews were structured and shared. The mere noting of a literacy activity was not sufficient. Whenever possible, I devoted attention to the context in order to provide insight into the way that activity came about. In a number of instances, this also led to additional conversations with the media specialist about the design of activities or lessons.

I also sought to identify the different explicit and implicit rules in the school library media center that affected youth literacy participation. The attempt to understand

explicit and implicit rules of the library media program included noting rules and procedures given to students by different adults, as well as the rules students imposed upon each other. I followed up on these observations by occasionally conducting informal discussions with students about their activities. These data laid the groundwork for identifying and understanding the rules at work in this social field.

Of course, based on testing, research projects, and other factors, the literacies facilitated by the school library media program changed throughout the course of the study. This is one reason why extended observation was important to capture a broader range of the ways the school library media program played roles in student literacy learning. As the study continued, I observed and noted these changes in the literacies in the school library media center, which enabled me to better understand the roles of the program in the overall literacy approach of the school.

It is important to note that I did not exclude literacy practices from my notes because they were unauthorized or not directed by school personnel. I looked both for practices that were allowed and valued, as well as those that students engaged in without approval or even as resistance. Remembering that Bourdieusian social fields are sites of struggle, it was important to attend to possible instances of conflict. Thus, participant observation detailed the ways rules were enforced, the capitals that were selected and valorized by the different people involved, and the unsanctioned practices that took place.

Field note management and in-process writing. Systematic methods for keeping field notes organized and thorough were important throughout the process of participant observation (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). After each session of participant observation, I logged the observation with the date and time. Expansion of field notes took place as

soon as possible after each period of observation (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). At times this expansion occurred within a day or two of the observation visit. At most, field notes were expanded at the end of each calendar week of observation. In these expansions, which were typed, I focused on adding as much detail as possible to the activities and vignettes I captured in my field notes. I transferred the shorthand into richer accounts.

Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995) described types of "in-process analytic writing" (p. 100) that can be valuable assets to the process of collecting data as a participant observer. Two of these, asides and commentaries, played important roles in field note processing for this project. Asides are "brief, reflective bits of analytic writing that succinctly clarify, explain, interpret, or raise questions about some specific happening or process described in a fieldnote" (p. 101). I included these brief asides, which ranged from a few words to several sentences in length, in brackets or parentheses within my expanded field notes. These asides reflected my own personal impressions and reactions to observations, as well as very early connections to Bourdieu's concepts.

After expanding and reviewing each week of field notes, I composed what Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995) termed "in-process memos" (p. 103). The in-process memos were intended, in part, to keep my work focused on relating data collection to research questions. This ongoing attempt to tether data collection to my research questions was not always successful, and at times I questioned the research questions themselves in light of my observations.

The in-process memos acted as more extensive reflections on the ongoing process of research. In these memos, I also took note of my developing ideas about literacy

practices, emerging patterns, and connections to Bourdieu's framework. I focused on the kinds of cultural capital the students interacted with and brought, the social capital they were allowed to use and build, and the rules and logics that affected those capitals. Time restrictions, teacher-imposed restrictions, and facility with the computers were of interest, as well as how computer use extended or limited capital, and correspondingly, digital literacies. These memos served as an ongoing form of preliminary analysis, as well as a method for periodic reflection and forward movement. The memos also served as a foundation for developing specific interview questions that I used to probe specific aspects of the school library media program and how it interfaced with different aspects of literacy. In-process memos functioned as a thinking space for me to consider what I was learning in the field and what my observations might mean. The memos also became a space where I regularly reflected on my role as a researcher, my reservations and frustrations about my observations, as well as new questions that arose.

Unlike Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw's (1995) recommendations, I did not separate my own emotional reactions and concerns into a different kind of in-process writing (which they term a "commentary") (p. 102). Instead, it made sense for me to include both my personal ideas and my analytic insights in one weekly piece of in-process writing. As my emotions played a role in the data I collected, I felt it was disingenuous to treat them as separate or isolated.

Documents and artifacts. Documents and artifacts comprised the second major category of data in this study. As Prior (2003) stated, "determining how documents are consumed and used in organized settings – that is, how they function – should form an important part of any social scientific research project" (p. 26). With this in mind, I

collected documents with an eye toward their production, consumption, and situated use. Documents such as policies for circulation, school library media center access, reading lists, and schedules suggested ways that the school library media program limited or facilitated access to capitals and opportunities for literacies. The ways documents were enacted (Prior) also provided insights into understanding the field of the school library media center.

Several major categories of documents played roles in developing understandings of the Rolling Hills Middle School library media program. I could have organized these documents many different ways. For the purposes of this research report, I organized them primarily based on author and purpose. First, I collected documents that established the official rules, vision, and roles of the library media center. These included the student handbook, the faculty handbook, and official policies of the library media center such as the selection policy. School system personnel authored and authorized these documents as formal guidelines for the school library media program.

The second category contained informal documents created by the library media specialist to facilitate her daily work through the library media program. These included lesson handouts, the Rolling Hills Middle School media center website, the online calendar used to schedule class visits, bookmarks the school library media specialist created, commercial scripts for the morning news, bulletin boards, young adult reading permission cards, and more. The third category of documents encompassed documents created by students. Most often, students composed these either as part of the formal lessons the school library media specialist taught in the library media center, or as a result of events and contests sponsored by the library media program. I could not keep original

copies of many of these documents, especially the student created artifacts. When it was not possible to collect physical documents, I photographed them. I dated all of the physical documents I collected. Digital photographs were automatically dated as part of digital photography software.

In addition, I also photographed many aspects of the environment of the library media center as it evolved throughout the study. Bourdieu used photographs to understand the way environments played a role in shaping activities (Wacquant, 2004). With this in mind, I wanted a thorough record of images of the library environment for close consideration. I used these photographs to analyze the school library media center space for messages about literacies and other underlying rules of the field. In addition, I also took dozens of photographs capturing different times and activities in the media center. I took these images to support the field notes I collected, in case I needed further prompting for memories and details as I continued through the analysis process. Of course, selecting what to photograph is a form of early analysis in itself, and although I also tried to be conscious of what I was not photographing in addition to what I did photograph, I am certain there are many worthwhile occurrences that escaped my lens.

During the design of the study, I planned to invite participants to create their own accounts of their school library media center and the roles the school library media program played in their lives. I envisioned these accounts as choice-driven projects, created as composed narratives, videos, comics, or other media artifacts. Unfortunately, due to the constraints of time and curriculum, this additional form of data was impossible to create and collect. However, I did include questions about these topics in the numerous student interviews I conducted. I hope that those comments captured some of

the ideas students had about the roles and importance of school library media programs, although they did not accomplish my original goal of decentering data collection and providing additional points of view in the data set.

Interviews. Interviews comprised the third major category of data in this case study. I conducted semi-structured topical interviews with thirty participants. In topical interviews, the topic is clearly visible at the beginning of the discussion, and the interviewer plays an active role in keeping the conversation close to the topic (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). These interviews, conducted with a variety of students, educators, and administrators, centered on the participants' definitions of literacy, their literacy practices, and their ideas about the roles of the school library media program in the formal and informal literacies of youth (see Appendix B for interview guides). The interviews added context and confidence to emerging understandings of observations and patterns in the data generated in participant observation visits.

I originally planned to conduct a limited number of interviews in order to enrich the data set. My experiences throughout the research process dictated changes to this plan. In the first months of fieldwork, before the summer break, it was somewhat difficult to obtain interviews. Although I sent out numerous requests to students and teachers, very few people responded. I conducted four interviews with students and two classroom teacher interviews prior to the end of the first school year. I also interviewed the library media specialist for the first time immediately after one of the days she taught summer camp in early June. These numbers left me with fewer interviews than I felt necessary to have confidence in my ability to draw many larger insights from them.

With this in mind, when school resumed in August, I decided to pursue interviews in larger numbers. Due to my previously low level of response, I assumed that spreading a wide net would ensure success in locating enough participants to interview. Unexpectedly, I had a much better response rate at the beginning of the second school year. There may be a number of reasons for this, such as the fall being a more conducive time of year for teachers to schedule these activities. I also noticed that, as I spent more time in the research setting, people became increasingly aware of my work and comfortable with my presence. I suspected that this may have played a role in people's decision to participate. Regardless of the reason, the number of interviewees quickly ballooned, requiring an amendment to my original IRB to accommodate interest. Because each interview provided new insights into the roles of the library media program in youth literacies, I was happy to conduct interviews with willing participants.

Toward the end of my participant observation visits, ongoing conversations with my major professor also prompted another important decision. Until the last weeks of data collection, I had only interviewed teachers within the language arts content area. I first decided to focus on this group since the library media specialist centered her program heavily on partnering with language arts teachers. The vast majority of whole class visits to the library media center occurred during language arts classes. However, upon reflection, my major professor and I agreed that interviewing teachers from different content areas was an important priority, which in turn necessitated an increase in the number of teacher interviews.

In the following section, I briefly describe each of the different kinds of interviews I conducted. I classified the interviews into five categories, based on the role

of the interviewee within the school context. I categorized them this way because the different roles of interviewees dictated the general character of questions asked. All of the interviews were topical in nature, with the topic of study clearly visible and central from the outset of the conversation. Interviews were also semi-structured, meaning I began each conversation with a general interview guide designed for that category of interview, but I also developed additional lines of questioning and conversation based on ideas the interviewees shared as we talked.

Student interviews. I interviewed 20 students for this study. I conducted 17 of the student interviews individually. Three additional students arrived to be interviewed at the same time and elected to be interviewed as a group. Although the time for this small group interview overlapped, most of the answers were given individually, in sequence. Little conversation occurred among the three students, so it still functioned more similarly to individual interviews than a focus group. In the 20 interviews, I interviewed students from all three grade levels. Many of the students came from "general education" level language arts classes, as well as a number of students who qualified for gifted services. One student was classified as a special needs student, but I was also told by the library media specialist that he was being considered for gifted testing around the time of our interview.

To select potential student participants for this study, I consulted several sources. First, I developed a list of students who interested me through my participant observation visits. Many of these students were avid school library media center users, but others were remarkable for a variety of reasons, such as the interesting books they selected or the distinctive ways they used the school library media center space. Second, I consulted

the library media specialist to get her input on possible participants. I felt it was important to try to include students that the school library media specialist identified as exemplary users of the programs and services she provided. She developed a list of students for me to approach, including several from the list of students with the highest levels of circulation. She also suggested students who participated in different aspects of the media program such as the media club and the reading bowl team.

Classroom teachers provided the third source of ideas for potential student participants. As I developed relationships with teachers throughout the study, I asked them to suggest students they thought might be interested in participating. When I asked teachers to suggest students to approach, I specifically requested that they include both students who liked and students who did not like the school library media program for any reason. In my original study design, I planned interviews with students who were not avid or enthusiastic users of the school library media center. Although I knew that unenthusiastic school library media center users were important to include in the data, I did not anticipate the difficulty of locating these students. My connection with teachers proved to be the most effective method for locating students who were dissatisfied with the library media center. Unfortunately, all of these dissatisfied students came from one language arts class, which obviously represents a narrow segment of the school population. With this in mind, despite my efforts and a larger number of interviewees than planned, I am sure many views and students remained unrepresented.

After identifying 41 students as potential participants, I sent parental consent forms home with them. I interviewed the twenty students who returned the signed consent forms and then provided their own assent to be interviewed as well. (Two

additional students provided parental consent but scheduling the interviews was not possible.) Most of the student interviews were quite brief, to avoid detracting from instructional time. Student interviews lasted between seven and fifteen minutes with several notable exceptions. Two avid student users of the library media program provided lengthier individual interviews extending to 18 and 27 minutes in length. The collective interview with the cluster of three students lasted nearly thirty minutes.

I opened the student interviews by asking each student what came to mind when they heard "school library media center." From there, I asked them about their experiences in library media centers and public libraries, both recent and past. I asked these historical questions to try to get a sense of students' habitus-related dispositions toward libraries. I also asked about reading habits, preferences, and sources for reading material. These questions connected to general literacy practices as well as the objectified cultural capital that played an important part in analysis. At times, answers to these questions also provided insights into the kinds of social capital students possessed, such as the ability to depend on family members to bring them to the public library in the summer months. Insights into economic capital also came up through these questions, as many students discussed their ability to go to bookstores and buy books, or download books on various technological reading devices.

In an effort to prompt memories and conversation, I mentioned specific aspects of the school library media program and inquired about their participation. These included participation in reading incentive programs, the media crew, and so on. Finally, I invited students to imagine different ways that their library media program might be improved for the future. I hoped that this question would help me understand the ways school

library media programs might better meet the literacy and capital needs of middle school students.

Classroom teacher interviews. For this study, I interviewed nine classroom teachers. Four of these participants taught language arts. These four language arts teachers included educators working with all three grades, gifted education, and a Title I teacher who worked specifically with students who had not done well on the state standardized reading test. I also interviewed two social studies teachers, two science teachers, and one mathematics teacher. I identified potential classroom teacher participants through a combination of my own observations, searching the school website, and soliciting library media specialist suggestions. I contacted thirteen teachers and ten responded. Nine of these teachers followed through and scheduled times to be interviewed.

Each classroom teacher interview lasted between 10 and 20 minutes, with two exceptions that lasted 25 and 40 minutes, respectively. I opened the teacher interviews by asking about the way school library media programs had been addressed in their professional preparation programs or other professional learning. This question was intended to ascertain some of the ways school library media programs were implicated in their institutional and embodied cultural capital. After this question, the primary focus of the teacher interviews centered on their use of the school library media program in their teaching. I also asked about any observations or impressions they had about their students' use of the school library media program, and what they thought they or the school would lose if their school library media program or school library media specialist was eliminated. Often, these questions led to insights about literacy and their own

personal beliefs about school library media programs, which reflected some of their habitus-related dispositions toward libraries, literacy, and learning.

School principal interview. Toward the end of data collection, I conducted an interview with the principal of Rolling Hills Middle School. Previous research in school library media emphasized the role of the principal in developing a vibrant school library media program. Although the principal maintained an extremely busy schedule and was somewhat difficult to pin down, I pursued this interview because I believed her thoughts about the school library media program might play an important part in how the library media program functioned. It turned out to be beneficial to conduct this interview toward the end of data collection. I asked questions about many occurrences I observed during my time at Rolling Hills. I also asked broad questions about the principal's ideal school library media program, and her professional beliefs about the role of the school library media program in the school. Finally, I asked how she might like to change and grow her current library media program to better meet the needs of students and teachers. This question was not intended as a negative judgment as much as a prompt for reflection and an acknowledgement that there are opportunities for positive growth in all educational situations. Many of the insights from this interview highlighted the way the principals dispositions toward the library media program affected program support. The principal also included information about how she tried to organize and channel different capital resources toward the library media program through her leadership and policy making. This interview lasted approximately 30 minutes.

Media clerk interview. During September 2011, schools rehired the media clerks throughout the district. This proved to be fortuitous timing, as it left several weeks after

her rehiring for me to observe any changes in the school library media program. After I completed participant observation I also interviewed the media clerk about her educational history, her views on the role of the school library media program, her professional work, and her impressions of the way the students used the school library media program. I hoped these questions would provide insights into her dispositions toward her work and a better understanding of how her presence enables literacies and capitals to circulate. This interview lasted approximately 40 minutes.

Library media specialist interview. In the final category of interviews included in the data set, I conducted two interviews with Elizabeth, the school library media specialist at Rolling Hills Middle School. The first interview took place in May, before the summer break. During this first interview, I spent just over an hour conversing with Elizabeth. First, we discussed her history as an educator. Then, we engaged in an extensive discussion about the Rolling Hills Middle School library media program both broadly and specifically, her views about literacy, and some of her wishes for and frustrations about her job. This interview included insights into some of the rules of the field, some of the strains on social, economic, and cultural capitals the program experienced, and her habitus-related dispositions toward literacy and school library media programs.

My original research design included a brief follow up interview with Elizabeth to discuss any new questions or developments. I conducted this follow up interview in November, after my participant observation visits concluded. We primarily focused on the way her job evolved with the rehiring of the clerk, as this was the biggest change since the first interview. This topic pointed directly at the way economic and social

capitals can shape the circulations of other capitals and the roles the school library media program can play in youth literacies. I also asked questions to flesh out other observations I made during the fall months. Finally, I asked her about her plans and gave her an opportunity to share any other insights or questions she had about the study. Even though the clerk had resumed her work, Elizabeth continued to keep a very busy schedule, lending a desire for efficiency to the interview. We exhausted all my questions and other points of conversation after approximately twenty minutes. At the conclusion of this follow up interview, I reiterated my openness to any additional questions, ideas, or insights Elizabeth wanted to share with me. Elizabeth's primary desire was to hear more about what I learned from my research. She expressed her interest in learning more about her own program based on this project.

As part of the initial consent process, each interview participant in this study agreed to audio recording of interviews. I used two audio recording devices to ensure that I captured each interview successfully. Each audio file was transcribed and reviewed before formal analysis of that interview commenced. A detailed description of the analysis process for all of the data categories follows.

Data Analysis

In qualitative research studies, data analysis is an ongoing process, not separate from other aspects of the project. Thus, several preliminary stages of analysis occurred before formal analysis began. The processes of field note expansion, transcript review, in-process memo composition, and document selection are each important elements of ongoing data analysis. I discussed these in reasonable detail in previous sections. What

follows is a description of the formal conceptual analysis process I undertook toward the end of the study.

I analyzed these data using the Bourdieusian concepts outlined previously. Developing a procedure for this Bourdieusian analysis was a multi-step process. After reading a number of research studies that used Bourdieu's thinking tools as a foundation, I found that educational researchers sometimes use traditional qualitative processes such as open coding, then, after developing themes or categories, turn to Bourdieu's work as an interpretive lens. Although this approach has yielded interesting insights into educational questions, critiques of using Bourdieu's work this way (e.g., Reay, 2004) influenced my desire to approach the data differently. Given my purpose of developing a theoretically informed understanding of school library media programs and youth literacies, I wanted to use Bourdieu's work at every step of the process. Setting his work aside as I processed the data did not make sense, especially given that his work influenced my research design and data collection.

With this in mind, I developed a set of 24 initial rooted in three categories of central importance to the research questions (see Appendix C for list of initial codes). First, I included the fundamental Bourdieusian concepts mentioned or implicated in the research questions. Second, because literacy is a substantive focus of this study, I also included some general literacy practices including reading, writing, and creation in this initial code group. Third, I included different identity markers such as race, class, and gender, which figured prominently in the research questions. Using HyperRESEARCH (Version 3.0.2) software to manage data and facilitate analysis, I uploaded each day of expanded field notes, each interview, and selected documents. Beginning during the

summer months, I analyzed each of these data sources collected up to the summer break using this initial list of codes. I did not pre-select a particular segment of data to code, as is protocol in line-by-line coding. Strict adherence to coding line-by-line or even idea-by-idea seemed to distance me from the Bourdieusian framework. Instead, using the initial set of codes, I assigned codes to chunks of data of different sizes. In some cases, I assigned codes to phrases, quotes, or small word clusters. In other cases, entire descriptions of activities would be assigned a code. However, within that broad description other codes could also be applied to smaller portions. I constantly tried to keep my analysis close to the Bourdieusian concepts. Also, allowing codes to overlap opened up the possibility of seeing how different codes related to each other throughout the study. This process related to the research question that specifically highlights the roles of capitals and rules in facilitating and limiting youth literacies.

As I continued to process data sources using this procedure, I also kept a supplemental list of codes that seemed like they could be candidates to add to the list of initial codes. This helped me capture some of my ongoing thinking and noticing of patterns as I read and thought through the data. Several of these codes were added to the initial list at a middle point in the analysis process. These codes captured key ideas that did not seem to collect under any other code. For example, I added the code *library is* to the list to specifically aggregate all of the comments expressing participants' views on the essential purpose of the school library media center. Similarly, the added code *school library media specialist* tried to capture essential roles and purposes of that position. I added the code *technology* because, as data analysis continued, I noticed tensions around the availability and need for technology that seemed separate from the *digital literacy*

code already included in the data set. Each of these codes still related to the research questions and purpose of the study, focusing on the roles and capitals relating to literacies in this library media program.

Although this analysis approach did have some mechanical processes, this was not a matter of simply labeling data chunks. In reading and analyzing data, I often jotted down notes about patterns I noticed or questions that came up for me. Bourdieu's concepts did not simply highlight certain aspects of the research context. They offered a way of working with data to understand the functioning, both obvious and hidden, of social fields. Instead of just noting an occurrence of a student interacting with a certain kind of capital, Bourdieu's concepts provided suggestions for interrogating the data, not simply labeling them (Reay, 2004). I asked questions such as: What capitals were valued in this school library media center? How did an individual come to interact with this capital? Did they have any choice or agency in the matter, or was the capital some kind of requirement? Repeated observations and interviews prompted questions about the kinds of capitals students might value that were absent or how students resisted, subverted, or repurposed the capitals offered them. They also led to questions about what capitals were missing and what rules kept capitals from growing, circulating, or having consequence.

In qualitative research, analysis is not an isolated portion of the research process. Instead, data collection, analysis, and interpretation are related, recursive, and reinforcing elements of research. I previously mentioned the preliminary forms of analysis that shaped data collection. Conducting interviews with students and teachers also shaped the way I viewed certain occurrences in the school library media center. The formal process

of uploading data sources and analyzing them also guided the latter parts of data collection. One basic example of this was my early analytic realization that I was not fully attending to identity markers in my field notes. Because identity markers figured prominently in my research questions, I included these as specific codes in the coding list. Adding these codes made tracking my progress in including these data easier.

For a second example, early analyses of observation data highlighted the connection between the rules of the field and classroom teachers. It became clear that the ideas teachers had about literacy, their own work, and valuable reading influenced the rules they set for student activities in the school library media center. Once the early analytic process highlighted this connection, I attended more closely to the words and actions teachers used when guiding students in the school library media center. In a third example of the way ongoing analysis shaped data collection, I noticed that the enforcement of the school library media center as a quiet place was one of the recurring rules of the field. This was especially evident in the way the "shush" was used by different individuals, but also through utterances of teachers and students as they spent time in the school library media center. This analytic insight informed the way I attended to the enforcement of quiet in my participant observation visits. It also guided my decision to include questions about the environment of the school library media center in later interviews with students. In addition, when comments about quiet or noise came up in interviews, I was careful to follow up on those comments to get more details about the role of quiet in the school library media center's functioning as a literacy space.

After analyzing each data source using these codes, I created reports for each code using HyperRESEARCH (Version 3.0.2) software and continued to interpret each code

group (see Appendix D for excerpts from one data report). I also created reports to see which codes coincided over the same data points most often. As I read and reread the reports, I made notes of which insights seemed the most salient and substantiated by the available data. I also reconsidered my research questions in light of the data I collected.

It is important to note that the use of Bourdieu's theory does not imply that the conceptual tools he provides explained every observation or accounted for every insight. At some point, every theory breaks down. These breakdowns are useful in themselves, especially given the premises of subtle social reproduction under which Bourdieu operated. Despite a rather bleak outlook on social fields, it was also the spaces of freedom and agency within fields that interested Bourdieu. These data demonstrate the way field, capitals, and habitus operated in a school library media center and how certain literacy practices were facilitated while others were limited. Some of the points where Bourdieu's theory fell short will be addressed in the implications chapter.

Reflexivity

Maintaining a reflexive stance toward myself as a researcher played an important role in this study. Reflexivity is a stance recommended by many qualitative researchers, including Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). My presence in the research setting made me a participant and shaped what happened in the study. This was especially true given my role as a participant working with students within the school library context. For example, because I helped at the circulation desk, the school library media specialist was able to move elsewhere in the school library media center, conduct different conversations with students and teachers, and fulfill other functions of her job. I also commented on my role in the research context in the previous section about my

positioning within the library media center. Composing regular in-process memos with an eye toward reflexivity helped me maintain this reflexive stance. I often used these memos as a way to examine my own role in the study and its development.

Reflexivity has a special role in a study using Bourdieu's thinking tools. Bourdieu himself demanded that researchers adopt a reflexive stance toward themselves and the subject of research. Bourdieu's emphasis on reflexive sociology required that I routinely examine myself using the same concepts I applied to others (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). As stated previously, I knew that I had an influence on the rules of the social field of the school library media center. I also come from a certain point of view on what those rules should and should not be. The social capital that I previously developed with the school library media specialist played a part in making the research possible and may have also shaped her actions throughout the study. My own embodied capitals enabled me to speak to students about their reading and writing, their interests and desires, and their experiences of libraries of all kinds. However, at the same time, my embodied capitals also closed off other lines of questions that could have provided different insights.

Perhaps the most difficult part of reflexivity was trying to maintain an awareness that the activities I chose to record in field notes, the questions I chose to ask in interviews, and the documents I chose to collect were all informed, almost invisibly, by my own habitus and embodied capitals. Trying to maintain an awareness of my own assumptions as well as what I chose to ignore were challenges throughout the process. I mitigated these challenges through the in-process memos I composed, asking open questions of the library media specialist throughout the study, and by talking to peers and

interested others as well. One example of using discussion to highlight my own assumptions came after my early decision to only language arts teachers. I assumed this was a valid decision because virtually the only teachers who brought classes to the library media center during my study were language arts teachers. Because this is a study looking at literacy, I also fell into the wrongheaded assumption that literacy is primarily the province of language arts teachers. Thankfully, conversations with my major professor pointed out this assumption as well as others. I remedied this by seeking interviews with teachers from other content areas. Interestingly, I mentioned this experience to the library media specialist as well, since I sought her advisement on teachers I might speak to. This, in turn, came up in several casual conversations we shared throughout the remainder of my fieldwork. Confronting my assumptions and my own role in the study was an activity I tried to remind myself to engage in as often as possible.

Summary and Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to develop a theoretically informed description of how a school library media program contributes to and detracts from youth literacies, broadly conceptualized. Rolling Hills Middle School met the established criteria with its busy school library media program, facilitated by a certified school library media specialist. In order to develop this nuanced account, I designed an interpretive case study (Merriam, 1998) incorporating data sources drawn from participant observation, semi-structured topical interviews (Rubin & Rubin, 2005) conducted with a variety of members of the school community, as well as documents and artifacts of various kinds. As I collected data, I routinely composed several types of in-process analytic writing

(Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). These writings encouraged regular reflection on the research process and prompted reflexivity in my role as a researcher.

I used the Bourdieusian concepts of field, capitals, and habitus, as well as other concepts drawn from the research questions to analyze these data. Reports from these analyses led to a deeper understanding of the roles of a school library media program in youth literacies, as well as a recognition of the barriers that prevented a school library media program from full participation in youth literacy learning. I now turn to this account of the school library media program at Rolling Hills Middle School, beginning with an examination of the many social fields that shaped the reach of this school library media program.

CHAPTER 4

THE ROLLING HILLS MIDDLE SCHOOL LIBRARY MEDIA PROGRAM

This chapter presents a detailed description of the Rolling Hills library media program and its role in youth literacies, divided into four parts. In order to gain a multifaceted understanding of the social field of this school library media program, this chapter begins with an examination of some of the external fields that played a role in the Rolling Hills Middle School library media program's functioning. These external fields demonstrate the dominated position the school library media program occupies in relation to a number of other fields. Then, I examine the social field of the school library media program itself, including attention to rules around the objects and spaces of the media program, as well as relations within the program, with special attention to classroom teachers. Third, I look closely at the youth literacies directly sponsored by the school library media program at Rolling Hills. Finally, I describe some of the insights into the ways identity markers interfaced with this school library media program. Throughout the chapter, I present the data through a Bourdieusian lens to demonstrate the complex dynamics of literacies, capitals, and opportunities both available and missed within this social field.

The School Library Media Program: A Social Field in a Dominated Position

I devoted attention to the history of the county where Rolling Hills Middle is located in the previous chapter. In addition to an awareness of history, Bourdieu emphasized the importance of understanding the context of research. According to

Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 104), one of the key elements in studying a field is developing an understanding of the position of that particular field in relation to fields of power. Based on his empirical and theoretical work, Bourdieu recognized that social fields are not entirely independent. Any given social field is acted upon by other social fields. With that in mind, I begin this section by highlighting some of the key features of larger social fields that, through my analysis, I identified as having important power over the way the school library media program at Rolling Hills Middle School functioned. I provide a brief overview of key features of the state and county education systems, including important decisions that shaped the role of the Rolling Hills library media program. Finally, I examine some of the fields within the school that influenced the way the school library media program functioned.

The State Education Climate

During the time of the study, a persistent focus on testing and measurement of students against state-established benchmarks dominated the state and national educational agenda. The test-focused era of No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top manifested itself in this school in a number of ways. Words such "data," "achievement," and "intervention" peppered an abundance of the conversations among adults I witnessed or overheard during my research. This was especially true due to the fact that the instructional coach had an office in the school library media center, immediately beside the school library media specialist's office.

In the collaboration meetings I attended outside of the school library media center, teachers and administrators focused on data-driven decision making and constant monitoring of student progress. A language arts faculty meeting I observed near the

beginning of the academic year included data review and discussion of specific students who qualified for specific tiers of intervention. Proactively addressing problems brought to light by standardized testing played a prominent role in language arts discussions.

The curriculum standards that Rolling Hills Middle School followed were designed and designated in a larger, more powerful educational and political field. Despite the distance, the standards shaped the daily classroom workings and relationships at Rolling Hills Middle School in innumerable ways. Through this brief example, we can see how dominant fields can exert power over related smaller, less powerful fields such as an individual school or classroom. In Bourdieusian terms, curriculum standards formed the basis for the institutional cultural capital the schools aimed to confer upon students. Achievement regarding these curriculum standards was measured through different assessment benchmarks. Favorable measurements against these standards indicated preparedness for the next grade level, a mark of institutional cultural capital.

In the summer of 2010, the State Board of Education adopted the Common Core State Standards. At the time of the study, policymakers were in the middle of rolling out the standards to classrooms across the state. Administrator trainings occurred during the first school year of the study. Teacher trainings officially took place during the second school year of observations. This timing may explain why the school principal was by far the most articulate participant in the study when it came to the Common Core State Standards. Other participants hardly mentioned them. Although this national-level standards initiative represented a significant change in content and approach from the previous standards, classroom teachers were just beginning to learn about and understand

them as data collection concluded. From my observations, pressures from county-based initiatives consumed much more of the classroom teachers' attention.

County-level Initiatives

Filtering down from the larger state education field of power, the language and thinking of state curriculum standards permeated the culture in this county and school. This standards-focused climate included a transition to what teachers called standards-based reporting or standards-based grading. During my time at Rolling Hills Middle, classes throughout the school were in the process of adopting grading procedures based not on traditional letter grades, but instead based on a does not meet/minimally meets/meets/exceeds spectrum. In this assessment approach, students received one of these designations for every standard in the state curriculum. This transition was a county-wide initiative, providing another example of the way a larger, more powerful field can exert power on a smaller, dominated field. At Rolling Hills Middle School, this standards-based evaluation procedure required assessment proof for every standard and substandard. In one grade-level language arts meeting I observed, a teacher leader stated that each standard required two formative assessments and one summative assessment as evidence for standards-based report cards. As I gleaned from observing faculty meetings, this requirement significantly increased the number of formative and summative assessments classroom teachers needed to develop, review, record, and manage.

Different subject areas and grade levels adopted this assessment approach at different times. The language arts faculty was still in the middle of the transition to standards-based reporting during the study, adding anxiety and confusion to collaboration meetings. Discussions about assessment procedures crowded out many of the substantive

curriculum conversations that might have happened otherwise. Because the library media specialist was not directly involved in assessments, her participation in these meetings often appeared ancillary. The pressures of the new procedures also committed much more student and teacher time to assessments. Thus, the measurement of institutional cultural capital dominated many faculty conversations and classroom decisions.

Another important curricular change that affected the school library media center occurred several years prior to the start of data collection. I would not have been aware of this change if it weren't for the recurring mention of it in interviews and conversations. Several years before the start of this study, reading and language arts functioned as two different classes for students at Rolling Hills Middle School. At some point, these two classes combined into one, lumping two sets of standards into a single instructional period. Even though it had been years since this change happened, it was still fresh on the minds of educators at Rolling Hills. Several teachers who taught at Rolling Hills during this change mentioned the decision to combine reading and language arts as a pivotal moment in literacy in the school. This change had direct ramifications for the school library media program. Harriet, a language arts teacher for seventh and eighth grade students identified as gifted, described the change to her use of the library media center this way:

> We are supposed to take our classes [to the school library media center] every two weeks and we used to have language arts and reading as two separate classes. They combined them several years ago, four years ago maybe, into one and so the issue is not so much with the combining them but in terms of loss of time. So when I taught just reading we went every two weeks, like all the time and it was

> like our favorite thing and we loved to go to the library …Now we have so much, especially with our pull down standards for ninth grade, I don't take my students for half an hour every two weeks. I can't. (Harriet interview, May 19, 2011)

Thus, from Harriet's description, we see the ways that curriculum changes from more powerful external social fields affected her classroom practice, namely her use of the school library media center.

Harriet's comments are notable for several reasons, one of which is that they give us a possible first hint of the position of the field of the school library media center within the school. For Harriet, in a time crunch, when activities must be shuffled and prioritized, the school library media center occupied a low position on her list. Visits to the library media center became more of a luxury than a necessity. Curriculum changes, through the external shaping of conferring institutional cultural capital, in turn shaped school library media center use.

Taking a different position, Lynne, the school principal, did not see the combination of reading and language arts as a reason to lessen visits to the school library media center. In fact, she noted in her interview that the pressures of combining these subjects should lead to more reliance on the school library media specialist.

> Really and truly I think that, I especially know for language arts teachers, that once language arts has been integrated and you don't have that separate reading and language arts class anymore, there is not enough time to do everything they need to do and the media specialist is your friend in that case. And she really takes some the responsibility off of the language arts teachers in terms of "Let me teach that research unit for you, bring them in and this is what we'll do" and she

> collaborates with them and so I think that she, especially for the language arts teachers….it's just imperative that you have that well developed relationship and that you have a go-getter as a media specialist that will say, "If you don't come to me, I will come to you." (Lynne interview, November 17, 2011)

Despite her belief that the combining of subjects made the library media center more valuable to teachers, at the end of this quote Lynne seemed to recognize that the combining of the two subjects could lead to language arts teachers coming to the school library media center less often. Lynne credited the habitus, or embodied dispositions of this media specialist, as the reason that the school library media center continued to be relevant in this school. Lynne seemed to recognize the challenges facing teachers and media specialists, and that the media specialist had to be a "go-getter" to stay involved with some teachers. In a particularly descriptive depiction of the media specialist's dispositions, Lynne said,

> If they, especially a language arts teacher, if they haven't signed up for the media center, she's going to track them down, you know, she's like that pitbull that's gonna get her hooks into you and not let go until you sign up and come in. (Lynne interview, November 17, 2011)

Lynne's description emphasized the determination that the school library media specialist had in keeping up connections with classroom teachers. Lynne clearly admired this disposition, and indeed saw this aspect of Elizabeth's habitus as nearly a survival skill for her library media program.

Another notable element of Lynne's quote is her close alliance between the school library media program at Rolling Hills Middle and the language arts content area. During

my observations, whole class visits to the school library media center at Rolling Hills nearly always occurred during language arts classes. This was likely a relic from the close association that the school library media program had with the reading curriculum area when it was taught as a separate subject. Although Elizabeth expressed openness to collaborating with other content areas, she focused much of her energy on the language arts faculty. George Glass, a sixth grade social studies teacher, saw that the library media specialist tried to work with different content areas, but still felt that "right now, they [the library] seem to be mostly aligned with language arts and I don't think that's the way, I think they should be completely open to the whole school. In other words….and I know that library media specialist tries to do this but it needs to be…the library should be teacher driven" (George Glass interview, October 31, 2011). Other content area teachers said that they had worked with the library media program but the level of working together they described usually amounted to the library media specialist pulling and finding materials.

The combining of language arts and reading was a significant change which seemed to solidify a relationship between the school library media center and the language arts content area. However, remembering the curriculum would continue to change after the study concluded, Lynne expressed her belief that the school library media program would become more important to other content areas with the implementation of the Common Core State Standards:

> I think with Common Core, I can't say enough about that with all of the literacy in social studies and science, lots of times those folks have the content background but not necessarily the literacy background, especially if they are

> more seventh [grade] to twelfth [grade] oriented. And they are going to have to heavily rely on that media specialist to help them. (Lynne interview, November 17, 2011)

Of special note here is the connection Lynne made between the school library media program and literacy for the content areas. Lynne viewed the library media specialist as a key part of the literacy program at the school, and one that could reach teachers and students in all areas. As people made decisions in the state and county social fields, the social field of the school library media program changed in role and importance.

Reductions in capital and opportunity: The media clerk. An additional county-level decision that had a dramatic impact on the school library media program was the removal of media clerks. During this study, the loss and return of the media clerk was the most illustrative example of the role of economic capital in reshaping the social field of the school library media program. As previously stated, the county eliminated media clerk positions at the end of the 2009-2010 school year. This was due to budgetary constraints in the county. From the first time I met with her to discuss her interest in participating in this study, the loss of the media clerk was a constant motif in my conversations with the school library media specialist.

Bourdieu stated that economic capital is the most fundamental type of capital, or the capital to which all others can ultimately be reduced (Bourdieu, 2007). The pivotal role of economic capital in a social field was clear in the situation surrounding the Rolling Hills Middle School media clerk, Octavo. Octavo worked as the media clerk at Rolling Hills Middle School for four years before the firings. Elizabeth mentioned the effect that this particular decision had on her work many times. When Elizabeth used

words like “overwhelmed” and “stressed” by the amount of work she had to do, I sensed it was due, at least in part, to the lack of a media clerk. In describing the effect the loss had on her work, Elizabeth said “I’ve been a media specialist here for six years and every year has been different and this year has been the hardest because I don’t have any constant help with a media clerk” (Elizabeth interview, May 31, 2011). The dependable help of a media clerk provided social capital upon which Elizabeth drew regularly to execute her work.

Throughout my field notes, I mentioned the lack of a media clerk many times. It is hard to know the nature and extent of the effects the loss of the media clerk had on the Rolling Hills School library media program. Because I was not there to see the program before the media clerk was laid off, I had to rely on interviews to understand the way the loss of staffing changed the program. When I asked her about these changes in her initial interview, Elizabeth said that many of the clerk’s duties simply did not get done:

> I’m just going to be honest. A lot of the clerk responsibilities have fallen to the wayside which makes it a lot harder for the kids to find the books that they are looking for because the clerk would go around occasionally and make sure everything was in its right spot. I don’t do that because I just don’t take the time. (Elizabeth interview, May 31, 2011)

This first quote described the role of the media clerk as one that often focused on the organization and management of the objectified cultural capitals in the media center. The clerk did the work of making sure things were in their correct spots. Thus, in part, the media clerk was responsible for making sure these objects were managed and circulated according to the rules of the field. Elizabeth could only manage this work occasionally:

> The only times I do [shelving] is when I go back there and the teacher is actually manning the desk and I come back here and I'm like, "Oh, my gosh." I'll see a couple that are out of place and I'll move them but that's about it.…and shelving doesn't usually happen. It doesn't usually happen. As you'll notice, I'll just keep piling on until someone comes in and starts volunteering. Or it gets too crowded and I really do have to shelve it so it becomes like the last priority. (Elizabeth interview, May 31, 2011)

The work of circulating and organizing objectified cultural capitals was not what Elizabeth saw as her primary work. She only focused on those details when someone was there to help her, such as a teacher staffing the circulation desk. Even then, she could only attend to a few of the objects in this large collection. Elizabeth's work beyond the management of these objectified cultural capitals was of more importance to her. Still, due to the lack of a media clerk, she could not completely ignore this work. Elizabeth had to take time away from other responsibilities to manage the objectified capitals in the library media center. The lack of social capital provided by the presence of a media clerk shifted the importance of certain capitals and the rules of the field.

The lack of a clerk to manage the objects, an economic decision, also led to object (and therefore economic) losses for the library media center. After the students left for the summer break, Elizabeth conducted the traditional yearly inventory of objects in the library media center collection. Notably, she told me that was her first time doing the inventory in her years as the library media specialist, since she had always had a media clerk to manage this task in the past. After she completed the inventory process, Elizabeth told the school counselor that there were 200 books that the school library

media program could not account for. Elizabeth seemed to attribute these losses to the absence of a media clerk.

Discussions about the losses of objectified cultural capitals happened quite a few times throughout my fieldwork. I noted several occasions when students claimed to have turned in books, but the books did not appear to be on the school library media center shelves. Elizabeth explained to me that, due to the loss of the media clerk, many different people took on responsibilities for the circulation of library media center objects. Early in the school year, some parents volunteered consistently, but by January none were able to continue for work, health, or other reasons. Teachers took on circulation responsibilities occasionally. Some of these people had little to no training in operating the circulation equipment. Having spent many hours circulating student materials in the Rolling Hills Middle School media center myself, I knew that it was easy to make mistakes such as checking out a book to the wrong student, checking out a book when I thought I was checking in a book, and so on. Elizabeth also appealed to students for help shelving books at times, which undoubtedly led to shelving errors.

It was not uncommon for students to question the accuracy of electronic circulation records. Considering that students with an overdue book were not allowed to check out other materials, this presented quandaries for Elizabeth on many occasions. When questions about objects and checking out books occurred, Elizabeth often placed the priority on student reading and learning over objects. She often believed the student and marked the book as lost or overrode the computer function barring the student from checking out. With such loose management of objects, Elizabeth did not want to penalize students or restrict their access to reading.

Teachers noticed that the loss of a clerk changed Elizabeth's job, orienting her more toward objects as well. In fact some teachers were frustrated that she was not available to help them with objectified cultural capitals when they needed it. Elizabeth described the way her service to teachers changed in this and other regards:

> It's been very stressful…especially like people will call and I'm in the middle of [teaching] a lesson, and you've seen it, people will call or want to check out and I'm like…(frustrated sound). And they call like I can just answer the phone at any time. But, I can't. But, you know, it's been difficult. And then a teacher will come in here and be like, "I want to check out something right now, I need you find this, I need you to check a bulb, I need to do this" and you're like, I can't do that. Most of them have been very understanding. But sometimes it's like they don't understand. I'm only one person. (Elizabeth interview, May 31, 2011)

Elizabeth's comments demonstrate the struggle for legitimacy between attending to objects and devoting efforts to activities for teaching and learning. Communication with the teachers, an example of relations in the social field of the library media center, was also affected. Teachers expected to contact or come to the library media center to receive immediate access to help with objects or other issues. With the absence of the social capital provided by the media clerk, this help was often not available. Thus, the media specialist was also unable to be a dependable source of social capital for the teachers.

In a similar vein, Harriet connected Elizabeth's increased focus on objects to a decrease in the literacy-oriented activities the school library media program sponsored:

> I feel like it's had a really negative impact on literacy promotion in general because she [Elizabeth] was able to do so much more when there was somebody

> always there to check out books. Now if she's going to do a lesson, which is something important that she wants to do, then she can't check out the books to the children. She can never do the things that are outside of checking out books for kids. Basically it's pretty much limiting her and I think in a really negative way. She's so good and she just completely takes it in stride and works really hard. If she were a lazy person it would have been the end of the library eventually, but she works so hard and keeps things going as well as she can. (Harriet interview, May 19, 2011)

Harriet thought the school library media program suffered due to the loss of the clerk, showing how this shift in economic capital affected the literacies made possible through the library media program. It is notable that Harriet connected Elizabeth's habitus to the very survival of the school library media program after the loss of the clerk. If Elizabeth was disposed to be less hard-working or outgoing, Harriet thought the library media program might not have survived. Even though the library media program continued, Harriet hinted that the loss of the media clerk affected Elizabeth's attitude or approach to the program:

> She is keeping things going but I don't feel like she's happy with the way any of it [is going]….She did more with all of those things that she can't do this year. And it's not through any fault of her own. It's truly because she doesn't have anybody's help. (Harriet interview, May 19, 2011)

As Harriet's comments indicated, it was not just the increased attention to management objectified cultural capitals that occurred with the loss of a clerk at Rolling Hills. This loss dramatically affected other aspects of Elizabeth's job. One important

aspect of her job that Elizabeth said she missed was attending weekly teacher meetings to find out what students were working on in their classrooms. When I asked her if she had been able to go out of the library media center more before the clerks were removed, Elizabeth replied, "yes." But after the clerk's removal she was unable to attend the meetings, even for an hour each week: "I have not been to a single [meeting]…I can't go to collaboration, I can't go to grade level meetings, I can't go to any of that" (Elizabeth interview, May 31, 2011). This comment demonstrated the overall constriction of Elizabeth's, and the school library media program's, reach into the rest of the school community. This constriction represented a fundamental change in the size and scope of the social field of the school library media program.

Lynne was acutely aware of the contraction in Elizabeth's movement throughout the school that losing the media clerk caused. She seemed to know that Elizabeth, and by extension, the school library media program as a whole, was constrained by the loss of the clerk. In her interview, Lynne said that she constantly tried to keep the problems related to the firing of media clerks at the forefront of conversations with county leadership. Notably, Lynne said she mentioned it to several people in particular at the county level: "whether it's been the teaching and learning person, whether it's been the superintendent, whether it's been the special ed director, all these people that make up the budget committee" (Lynne interview, November 17, 2011). Lynne's comment demonstrated that the clerk issue came down to economic capital and the people with power over economic resources. Lynne said, when describing how she would speak to county leadership, that her concerns about Elizabeth's spatial constraints were a source of deep concern:

> I'm losing sleep over my media specialist. I'm worried about her. She does not have enough time during the day to get things done. She cannot adequately do her job and serve these teachers and serve these kids when she is held captive to the media center every day. She does not have time to go to the restroom. She does not have time to eat. She does not have time to do anything because she has a ball and chain around her ankle which is the media center check out and that's about all she does. We have begged and pleaded for volunteers and to some degree we have that, however, please know that she is not accessible during the day to meet with our teachers and plan with our teachers and come to curriculum meetings and come to grade level. She doesn't know what is going on in the school unless we go back and have a personal one-on-one with her. This is not happening. She's got to have some help, especially in a school this size. (Lynne interview, November 17, 2011)

Lynne's comments were of interest for several reasons. Lynne spoke of Elizabeth's relation to the library media center space with the prison metaphors of "ball and chain" and "held captive." Indeed, the reach of the media specialist was contained and shut down by the loss of the clerk. Lynne also discussed the dramatic restraint this situation placed on Elizabeth bodily needs and functions, showing in bold strokes how limiting, even dehumanizing, the media specialist job could become without a media clerk. With this in mind, Lynne said her message to county leadership was "I'm worried about my media specialist…that's a top priority, that's a top priority, I don't care what you do anywhere else. We've got to get the media program back" (Lynne interview, November 17, 2011). Note, again, the way Lynne saw the mobility and reach of the media specialist

and the existence of the media program as closely aligned, even coincidental. Limiting the media specialist to circulating objects within the walls of the media center meant the loss of the media program.

In addition to redirecting her attention toward the circulation of objectified cultural capitals, restricting her movements, and constraining her relationships, the loss of the clerk also squelched many of the additional teaching and literacy initiatives Elizabeth developed in past years. Elizabeth mentioned particular time of day called Extended Learning Time, when she used to lead different literacy programs for students. It was also a busy circulation period. Thus, with the loss of the clerk, she could not continue leading these literacy-focused groups:

> Extended Learning Time. That's when the insane times happen…usually, people are always checking out and I'm trying to help with the news back there and I used to teach, you know like I taught in iMovie and I had a writer's block and a folklore class where we would go to the elementary school and we'd tell stories to the elementary school kids. It was so much fun. I couldn't do it this year. And reading bowl, I couldn't help with reading bowl hardly at all. And I felt bad they made fourth place. That's because I didn't have a clerk. (Elizabeth interview, May 31, 2011)

Several different groups of students engaged in types of literacy involvement through the school library media center were discontinued because of the lack of a media clerk. Opportunities for reading, writing, and digital literacy learning were affected by the loss of the media clerk.

In a final change that came as a result of the loss of the clerk, Elizabeth said that she had changed her lesson planning practices: "now, because I don't have a media clerk, I don't plan new lessons, I just recycle" (Elizabeth interview, May 31, 2011). To some extent, my observations bore this comment out, but I still witnessed attempts by Elizabeth to customize lessons in some cases. For the most part, she would teach the same lesson to every class that visited in each grade level for a two-week span.

Thus, the loss of the media clerk had a dramatic effect on the capitals, literacy facilitation, and reach of the school library media program. The data demonstrate the way the reduction in economic capital eliminated literacy opportunities available through the library media center. The valuation of capitals shifted, giving objects greater prominence while other capitals and learning experiences faltered. Ultimately, the loss of the media clerk limited access to the media program by tethering the media specialist to the library media center itself. This financial decision led to less help for students and teachers, less collaboration and communication, and fewer opportunities for the school library media program to enrich classroom and out-of-classroom learning. If we accept that, in a Bourdieusian framework, the limits of fields extend to the point at which their effect is no longer felt (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), it is clear that the decision to fire the media clerk reduced the size of the social field of this school library media program.

I watched Elizabeth struggle and persist through her daily work up to and after the summer break. Elizabeth was deeply bothered by the limitation on her movements and participation with other teachers. She knew the situation needed to change. In our conversation just before the summer break, Elizabeth said that she planned to ask the principal if she could "go out every week and if there is not somebody here to watch the

library, then I'll lock the doors" (Elizabeth interview, May 31, 2011). It is not clear whether this conversation occurred, but when school began in August, there was no change.

In September, weeks after school resumed, it seemed Elizabeth had reached her breaking point with the amount she had to do. She scheduled a meeting with the principal to discuss possible solutions for her feeling of being overwhelmed by her job. Elizabeth told me that she planned to ask if she could close the school library media for an hour at the end of each day. This action was a last resort for both Elizabeth and Lynne, who emphasized in her interview that closing the library media center during the school day was against the law. Lynne said, "it's against the law to close your media specialist" (Lynne interview, November 17, 2011). Although I suspected that Lynne meant to say that it is against the law to close your media *center,* this apparent slip of the tongue is notable. In many ways, the loss of the clerk did mean that the media specialist was closed down. Lynne went on, emphasizing her intent to follow the law: "I don't know if all the administrators know that or realize that or don't care or whatever, but we can't do that [close the media center]" (Lynne interview, November 17, 2011) she said, placing emphasis on the last words of her sentence. This is another example of the way external rules can structure a localized social field.

In an unexpected turn of events around this time, the county school board decided to re-establish the media clerk positions across the county. I walked in to the library media center one morning and saw the story on the front page of the county newspaper, lying on the circulation desk. This financial decision came as a result of additional money coming in to the county. Lynne texted Elizabeth from the school board meting

the night before to tell her the news. Elizabeth was thrilled the first time I saw her after the rehiring decision was made. Her demeanor seemed to change immediately. When Octavo made the commitment to come back to her position at Rolling Hills and her date to start was set, Elizabeth was ecstatic. In my field notes, I recorded her comments: "YAY!!!!! My life is going to be a bowl of cherries! …Now I can go to more collaboratives! And grade level, and…" she went on (Field notes, September 20, 2011). Elizabeth immediately imagined extending the reach of the library media program back into classrooms and student learning.

In a move that would likely not surprise Bourdieu, the reinstated media clerk positions did not offer the benefits and insurance they previously included. As Elizabeth mentioned, "the benefits are one of the reasons people take that job" (Field notes, September 19, 2011). This overall reduction of economic capital for the same work is in line with some of the more pessimistic aspects of a Bourdieusian framework.

After the clerk's return. Since losing her job as the media clerk, Octavo spent time working as a substitute teacher around Rolling Hills Middle School. Before I learned who she was, she immediately stood out to me as I observed class visits in the library media center, since she seemed at ease with using the circulation equipment and shelving materials while students were involved in a lesson. Remembering the fish in water metaphor that Bourdieu used for the harmony between habitus and field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), Octavo seemed immediately comfortable and confident in taking over basic school library media functions. This was a stark contrast to many of the other classroom teachers, who seemed uncomfortable, puzzled, even flummoxed by the workings of circulation technologies or locating materials. On the occasions I arrived

during checkout, aside from Octavo I was often greeted with a sigh a relief because someone was there to take over circulation duties.

I was anxious to see the kinds of changes that might occur once the media clerk began her daily work. The first day I observed the school library media center after the media clerk returned, it was already evident that Octavo spent substantial time organizing the materials in the library media center. From that point on, I observed Octavo spending at least part of every day reading the school library media center shelves to ensure that materials were in the correct order. Octavo shelved materials promptly after students returned them. Circulation of objects was a top priority for Octavo. I noticed the area behind the desk was also reorganized and tidy. Octavo's presence showed an immediate difference in the objectified capitals within the library media center.

More significant than the immediate effect the clerk's return had on materials and organization, the presence of the clerk made a dramatic difference in the mobility of the library media specialist. The concerns that worried Lynne about the media specialist held captive disappeared. Once Octavo was stationed in the library media center, the library media specialist immediately moved out into the building. As I observed, Elizabeth was constantly coming and going for a variety of purposes, including attending meetings, delivering resources, and holding conversations with faculty. There were days she spent more time outside of the media center than inside it, a complete turnaround from the days without a media clerk.

To see the way these extensions shaped her practice, I attended some of the meetings along with Elizabeth. The meetings I attended were often subject-based planning meetings, going over curriculum and more. They allowed Elizabeth to learn

more directly about what was happening in classrooms throughout the school. This is a direct illustration of the way that a shift in economic capital can change the relations in the field. Over time, in contrast to the contraction of the field that the loss of the clerk caused, after the addition of the clerk it seemed that the field itself expanded. It allowed Elizabeth to take the library media program out into the school in a palpable way, extending the reach of the program throughout the building. It also allowed her to build her own embodied cultural capital about the kinds of lessons teachers were doing in their classrooms. This, in turn, enabled Elizabeth to share the capitals of resources with teachers in a targeted fashion, plan instruction in ways that complemented their needs, and generally improve the connection she had with teachers and students and their classroom work.

Before she was able to attend these collaboration meetings, Elizabeth seemed to develop her lessons with limited knowledge of what students and classroom teachers needed. Although she did reach out via e-mail and make offers, the lessons seemed to be more generic or of limited use, unless a teacher made a specific request. She did make attempts to connect to the classroom content, such as the case of a lesson I observed early in my fieldwork. Elizabeth decided to teach summarizing skills, for which she selected books that related to topics students were studying in social studies to use as examples. However, when Elizabeth was isolated in the media center, the synergy between her lessons and classroom content was less than ideal.

After she was able to attend the collaboration meetings, Elizabeth was able to develop resources and lessons that targeted specific skills that students would need. She came back from meetings with detailed lists of the work students were doing in

classrooms and ideas for how the school library media program could complement or extend student learning. Overall, the addition of the clerk strengthened relations in the field of the school, allowed Elizabeth to build social capital as a dependable member of the teaching faculty, and allowed capitals to circulate more freely and efficiently.

In-School Initiatives

In addition to the state and county level decisions that shaped the role of the school library media center at Rolling Hills Middle School, I noticed one local teacher-driven initiative that also influenced the school library media program at the time of this study. In what appeared to be a faculty-designed professional development effort, many of the language arts teaching faculty decided to study and implement the work of noted literacy scholar and educator Nancie Atwell (1998, 2007). I learned about this initiative from an entry on the school library media center calendar that read, simply, "NAG." I asked Elizabeth what it meant, and she told me it stood for the Nancie Atwell Group. A group of language arts teachers held monthly meetings to discuss their collective effort to transition to a reading and writing workshop model of literacy instruction patterned on Atwell's ideas.

The close contact between the school library media program and the language arts content area made this localized effort especially important to Elizabeth. Elizabeth mentioned the work of NAG several times in informal conversations about the school library media program. Like the other members of the NAG group, Elizabeth read books by Nancie Atwell and attended the meetings. Notably, these meetings occurred after school. Otherwise, she would not have been able to attend many of them because of the lack of a media clerk.

At times, what Elizabeth read, as well as what Atwell seemed to leave out of her vision of literacy education, concerned her. For example, in a casual conversation in her office, Elizabeth worried that Atwell did not discuss the role of school library media programs in literacy learning. Elizabeth spent time trying to figure out how the school library media program would fit with Atwell so that she could convey that understanding to the language arts faculty. Based on her participation in the NAG group and personal observations, Elizabeth also tried to understand how this group's professional efforts might be changing the school library media program's role in the school and in teacher instruction. In a rudimentary example, Elizabeth suspected that, at this early stage of implementing Atwell's ideas, most of the teachers organized their reading and writing workshop structure in similar ways. Many even went so far as to focus on writing on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, then reading on Thursday and Friday. At the same time, Elizabeth noticed an overwhelming demand on the school library media program on the days most teachers scheduled reading workshop, while few if any visits or checkouts took place on writing workshop days. This is another example of the way an external social field, in this case the language arts faculty, exerted influence over a subordinate field, in this case the school library media program. Although teachers are not always seen as a powerful group within the school setting, in this case their curricular and organizational decisions resulted in changes in the social field of this school library media center.

In one notable instance, the implementation of Atwell's reading and writing workshop meant that a specific seventh grade teacher felt that she could not get to the library media center at all. This seventh grade teacher led the language arts collaboration

meetings for the grade. As this teacher said to Elizabeth in a collaboration meeting, "we are kind of feeling overwhelmed" by the shift to reading and writing workshop. She went on to say that the reading and writing workshop structure made it difficult for her to go to the media center. The teacher said, "with two days a week of reading" it was too difficult to get into the library media center. She then asked Elizabeth, "Can you come to my room?" (Field notes, September 29, 2011). Because this meeting occurred after the rehiring of the clerk, Elizabeth was able to accommodate this request. Had the clerk not been rehired, Elizabeth would likely not have been able to bring the library media program to the classroom, so to speak. Elizabeth may not have even known about this need at all, since she presumably would not have attended the meeting, which occurred during the school day. This is another example of the way the social capital provided by the media clerk enabled communication and extension of the media program into classrooms.

After Elizabeth agreed to the teacher's initial request, the teacher then told the library media specialist that she would love for her to pull 25 "high interest, average reading level" books and booktalk them in her classroom. Another teacher then jumped in and asked if the library media specialist could select some high interest, average reading level books for her as well, so that her students could briefly read, pass the books around, and journal about them. The local classroom structural changes driven by the NAG group prevented some teachers from getting to the library media center. Thus, changes from different sources shaped and even prevented student access to the school library media program. For a number of reasons, the library media program needed to go to the students and Elizabeth was able to accommodate these needs.

In another comment about external fields and their influence, I noted that the cumulative effect of the lack of visits on writing workshop days, in addition to the combining of reading and language arts into one, showed the media specialist that her program was often seen as aligned with reading. But Elizabeth did not simply observe the other fields and their changes, or merely lament the barriers she saw. Bourdieusian social fields are sites of struggle, and many of the changes happening presented the school library media program with struggles for legitimacy. For example, Elizabeth saw the school library media program as a good fit for the choice driven tenets of Atwell's reading workshop. However, perhaps because she noticed the downturn in participation and suspected it was a result of the writing workshop, Elizabeth became determined to include more writing in school library media center lessons. Because of her commitment to maintain her program's relevance, Elizabeth observed these influences and tried to make changes accordingly. This seemed to stem from the determination Lynne admired in Elizabeth's habitus.

In addition to the NAG group, some school-wide initiatives that did not directly include the school library media program are also worthy of mention. In one notable example, over the summer during the study, the school decided to require all students to complete science fair projects. Despite the research component, there was no formal inclusion of the school library media program in the science fair process. As Sea Otter, a sixth grade science teacher, said during her interview, which took place at the end of the science fair project:

> They had to do research but a lot of it had to be done at home. This has all been an at- home project because we have to cover so many standards. It was the

> expectation that this was an at-home project and that's what the students have struggled with, the research aspect of it, because they didn't learn that in fifth grade…that's what some parents have been concerned about because they didn't learn those skills in fifth grade and these are fifth graders coming into sixth grade not knowing research skills. (Sea Otter interview, November 17, 2011)

As we spoke about the project, Sea Otter immediately saw the way Elizabeth could have helped, but because of the last-minute nature of the project development, Sea Otter (as well as the other science teachers) did not think to include the school library media program at the time. She then commented, "you know, I probably need to have a big sign in front of me at the beginning of the year: 'Recruit Ms. Bowen for…' [science fair research] (Sea Otter interview, November 17, 2011). To be fair, some students did come in to the media center to find science fair materials, but there was no apparent systematic inclusion of the media center in this effort.

During the course of the science fair project, Elizabeth told me that she sent an e-mail message out to the teachers to talk about the projects and to see if she could help. She wanted to know what the teachers felt were the biggest hurdles in doing research. She received a variety of responses from different teachers. Elizabeth wanted to tailor her instruction to individual teachers, but realized that the planning was going to be a challenge. Still, she tried to insert the library media program into the process, even after the process had already begun. This is one small instance of many that demonstrated the struggle for the library media program to maintain legitimate roles in the social field of this school.

Another trend worthy of note was the somewhat spotty drive to include technology in instruction and classrooms. This effort took place on the national level as well as the local level. This trend, which might be seen as related to objectified cultural capital, cropped up in several ways in the data. First, as will be discussed in a following section, relatively little technology was available in the Rolling Hills Middle School library media center. It was also not a top priority to put technology in the library media center, evidenced by the fact that the school library media center was one of the last classrooms in the school to get a SMART board. But, an interesting point came up in two interviews that indicated the way technology ultimately excluded certain people and classes from the media center. Sea Otter, the science teacher, said "use of the library, I would say probably I used it [the library] more before I had my SMART board and access to the Internet. I'm sure that I did….I know I remember her [Elizabeth] bringing down carts of books for me [in the past] to use when we were doing things… but I haven't done that as much because probably of the SMART board, I think that's why" (Sea Otter interview, November 17, 2011). Sea Otter's own Internet connectivity and technology, coupled with the demands of the science curriculum, made it easy to forget about the school library media program.

George Glass, a sixth grade social studies teacher, went even further with his discussion of technology and the school library media center. Mr. Glass had once been an avid user of the school library media center, stating "back when I first started teaching…you didn't have any computers in your classroom. If you were going to do research you had to go to the library" (George Glass interview, October 31, 2011). Over his lengthy career, his personal learning about connective technologies changed the way

he conducted and taught research. He viewed the school library media program at Rolling Hills as behind the times with outdated technologies, but not an outdated school library media specialist:

> Now, some schools have more computers than we do but you just have to learn to go with what you've got. And our library…and especially our librarian, I think she works very, very hard at trying to include as much as she can but obviously, again, she can only work with what she's given and I think that's the problem. We're going to have to make the commitment to become more of an electronic [library media program]. (George Glass interview, October 31, 2011)

George Glass held a strong view about what a library media program needed in order for it to be of use to his instruction. He hinted at a commitment that needed to be made to bring the library media program into relevance for his work with students. We can assume that the commitment George Glass talked about would require significant amounts of economic capital. In the end, he placed the onus of maintaining the library media program's relevance on the school library media specialist and other school leadership. I left our interview with the feeling that George Glass had little use for the Rolling Hills library media program, in its technologically laggard state, and felt his instruction could succeed without it.

In this section, I discussed a wide array of fields that shaped the use of the school library media program at Rolling Hills Middle School. As has been noted, there are a number of layers of barriers that contribute to the struggle for legitimacy of this social field. I now turn to the library media center itself, to understand the environment and activities there.

The Social Field of the Rolling Hills Middle School Library Media Center

Up to this point, I focused on the external fields that had a clear influence on the library media program. Although these external influences are important to contextualizing the activities in the school library media center, it is also worthwhile to spend time examining the library media center itself. With that in mind, I begin this section with a basic description of the physical space of the school library media center. In order to understand the activities within the media center, a sense of the physical environment is important. The availability of capitals and rules of this field are important in understanding the literacy practices that the school library media center facilitated for students.

The entrance door was located within fifteen feet of the circulation desk. Four student computer stations sat next to the entrance door, as well as the school library media specialist's office. The instructional coach's office was also located there, but when the instructional coach was in her office, the door was often closed. The library media specialist's office housed Elizabeth's desk and computer, a number of ongoing projects, supplies, books for review and weeding, and one of the hidden collections I will describe later.

The school library media center functioned as a classroom. Three long tables, surrounded by approximately 12 chairs each, comprised one of the main instructional spaces in the school library media center. A colorful reading-themed rug marked the other large-group instructional space. In the first months of the study, shelves filled with encyclopedias and magazines bordered this rug. However, at the end of the first school year of the study, the SMART board was installed in place of the encyclopedias. This

physical change and addition of capitals transformed Elizabeth's pedagogy in important ways, which will also be discussed later.

Separated from the rug area by sets of bookshelves holding reference materials, small groups often used two round tables for testing or small group conversations. The rest of the main room was primarily filled with bookcases for the main student collection. Three rooms off the rear of the library media center held the news studio, a teacher workroom with the professional collection and equipment such as the laminator, and a book room that held classroom novel sets and smaller sets of books, apparently intended for literature circles. Notably, the news studio had a small separate room at the back, which functioned as the secure holding space for standardized tests while they were in the building. Significant anxiety and security surrounded this room throughout testing season.

Rules Related to Objects in the School Library Media Center

Bourdieu discussed social fields as social spaces structured by rules, relations, and struggles for legitimacy. Even from this brief description, it is relatively simple to understand the physical space of the library media center at Rolling Hills Middle School as a rules-laden social field. From book organization to instructional spaces, the configuration of fixtures and objects provided structure to the space. However, it is important to note that these rules and structures were not inflexible.

The case of the encyclopedias being shifted to make room for a SMART board and projector is notable, both literally and metaphorically. Almost every classroom in the school had a SMART board before the school library media center was equipped with one. Before the SMART board arrived, students had to move to the rear of the library

media space to look at online resources on a pull-down screen, rendering technology integration inconvenient. As is clear from the accounting above, there was no full-class set of computers for students to use. The addition of the SMART board facilitated instruction that was more visual, media enriched, and participatory.

The school library media specialist also discussed the way she rearranged the tables from the previous media specialist's configuration. The previous media specialist had her main instructional space as one long table with approximately 30 seats around it. Elizabeth found this to be unworkable, as she valued proximity to students as part of her pedagogical practice. The previous media specialist's organization had one side of the table backed up against a bank of bookshelves, making it impossible to hold one-on-one conversations with many students. Thus, Elizabeth reorganized the media center to reflect her own pedagogical stance to some extent. These tacit rules gave a certain order to the space of the school library media center, representing the work and capitals valued there.

The media specialist was not the only person who made decisions about the rules of the space. Many of the most obvious rules in the library media center related to the circulation of resources (objectified cultural capital). After extended observation, examples of these rules are listed below:

- General materials circulated for 2 weeks. After that, students could renew unless they were on hold for another student. When students had an overdue book, they could not check out anything else.

- Students could check out two books at a time. Seventh and eighth grade students could request a third checkout if they turned in all their books by the announced deadline at the end of the previous school year.
- If a student lost a book, they could not check out another book until the book was paid for. In some instances, students participated in trade-offs when they could earn checkout privileges through shelving, inventory, or other library labor.
- Students could check out Young Adult (YA) books with appropriate paper identification. YA labels were affixed to all books restricted by YA rules. The media specialist waived this requirement in certain circumstances.
- Holds could be placed on books of a student's choosing through student Destiny accounts. Notices about available holds were communicated weekly through announcements on the morning news, as well as through a blog updated regularly.

The organization of the library media center collection also operated according to rules. Most materials are shelved according to the implicit traditions of the Dewey Decimal System. Fiction was displayed on separate shelves, as is the custom in many school library media centers. However, flexibility did occur within these rules. For example, a number of smaller collections were pulled out from the main shelves. These included a story collection, Spanish language materials, current state book award nominees, general picture books, picture books organized according to the 6-trait writing approach (Spandel, 2008), recent purchases, and the *Left Behind* series (LaHaye & Jenkins, 1995). Separate racks displayed magazines and audio books. Reference

materials were also shelved in a physically separate area. Recent encyclopedias were kept in a remote corner, separate from the reference section.

Temporary collections also developed at times. For example, during my first months in the research setting, the sixth grade language arts classrooms initiated a genre-based reading approach. Students had trouble locating books from specific genres within the larger collection. To remedy this, a temporary beige plastic shelf was brought in to the media center. The media specialist attached sheets of paper with names of featured genres to the shelves. I pulled books for these shelves frequently, although I noticed little change or circulation of the titles I placed there during the weeks the shelf was present. Thus, there was flexibility within the mandates of the collection to meet the literacy needs of students and teachers.

One of the reasons school library media specialists use a system like Dewey Decimal is because it provides some consistency and accessibility in regards to resources. When I moved books to the genre shelves I was somewhat hesitant, because there was no apparent way to indicate which books had been moved or where they had been relocated. I found myself wondering if students came in looking for a title, but could not find it because it was relocated to the genre shelves. At the same time, I noticed that very few students actually used the online catalog to locate specific titles for leisure reading. The majority of students used techniques such as wandering through the shelves, reading the back or jacket flap of a book, or selecting a book by a known author.

In addition, this school library media center featured several hidden collections with limited access. Elizabeth kept recent books that might need a YA designation on a shelf in the back of her office. Certain students and teachers knew about this collection

and would walk into her office freely and take books with no apparent record keeping. The informal rules of this collection included an agreement to provide an evaluation of the book to the school library media specialist regarding the book's content and appropriateness for the collection.

Another ancillary hidden collection was kept in a small room between the school library media center proper and the faculty restroom. This collection was primarily comprised of Advanced Readers Copies (ARCs) of recent and upcoming titles. These objects could not be included in regular circulating collections due to copyright restrictions. They were available to teachers for personal reading and to place in classroom collections, although I rarely saw teachers take advantage of this benefit. It was unclear how many teachers knew about this collection and its rules.

How did these rules indicate what was valued in this social field? The rules about object management reflected the importance of capital circulation. Loan times were not extraordinarily long, but renewals were possible. There was an orderly system in place for high-demand books, but limited numbers of students seemed aware of it, or the intricacies of how it worked. This kept high-demand books out of circulation at times.

Some of the rules around object organization were certainly tradition-based. This is an older collection, and changing a collection's organization can be time consuming and difficult. The basic rules of Dewey Decimal System are widely accepted in the United States as standard organizational practice for school library collections. Still, the organization on the shelves was imperfect, at best. The library media specialist did not take a cataloging course in her library media specialist preparation program, which may explain some of the inconsistencies. It is also possible that various volunteers handled

aspects of cataloging in the absence of a media clerk, adding to inconsistencies in the organization and labeling of objects.

Many students appeared to be aware of the division between fiction and non-fiction in the school library media center. Certain students seemed very comfortable with the way the school library media center collection was organized. For example, MissyLacy, a seventh grade student, said "We have a lot of books and Ms. Bowen is always getting new books in. She's got them categorized really well and it's really easy to find them. She's got all the shelves labeled and they're really neat and it looks good" (MissyLacy interview, October 21, 2011). Many students seemed to be able to locate books in a favorite series or written by favorite authors. But, the organizational intricacies of the school library media center collection also appeared to be mysterious to many students. Libertii, an eighth grade student, was put off by the organization of materials in the school library media center. She remembered the way her elementary school library media center was organized with fondness:

> What I liked about that [media center] was they put dots on the books, different colored dots for different grade levels and so if you felt like you were more advanced and could read the fourth grade books you could get one when you were second or third grade. They kind of gave you an idea that this more advanced and this is kind of less advanced so you knew what you were doing. [In the media center at the middle school] It's just kind of scattered. They have it set up by alphabetical order but you have no real idea of what's more sixth grade, what's eighth and stuff. (Libertii interview, October 11, 2011)

Interestingly, the labeling by reading levels that Libertii described in her elementary school media center is often seen as against the principles of intellectual freedom to which school librarians adhere (American Association of School Librarians, 2011). Contrasting with the idea that such labels are limiting, for Libertii, the labels enabled her to locate books that matched what she felt was her reading level.

In another issue related to the objects in the school library media collection, students also seemed to perceive the school library collection as static. For example, several students were not aware of the new or updated books that the school library media program offered. In interviews, students stated that the Rolling Hills library media center did not own books such as the *Hunger Games* (Collins, 2008, 2009, 2010) series and other recent YA fiction. However, these materials were in fact available through the school library media center. It is hard to know why students were not aware of these discrepancies. Students may have made an error in searching through the catalog. They may have looked on the shelf and not seen the book, but did not realize that the book might be checked out, on hold, or being processed. Some students seemed to develop and generalize perceptions of the school library media program from limited numbers of key experiences. Because of an inability to locate a certain title, they would conclude that the school library media center did not have recent books or did not have books they liked.

Rules Regarding Spaces in the School Library Media Center

Bourdieu mentioned that fields are sites of struggle and negotiation. In addition to negotiations about objects, struggles were also evident in how spaces were repurposed

throughout the study. Several different paradigms drawn from patterns in the data explain common uses of the library media center space.

The school library media center as a classroom extension. Teachers often claimed the spaces of the school library media center as an extension of their classrooms. For example, in numerous instances the enclosed reference section became a place where students needing accommodations for testing or time to make up tests could do this with adult supervision. These visits were unscheduled and happened several times each week. At other times, teachers used the school library media center computers as an extension of their classroom technology resources, sending students to write and do research on the school library media center computers. Although the school library media specialist clearly valued technology in her work, the use of school library computers to do classwork was a practice she lamented. This was due to the objectified cultural capital within the library media center's walls. The lack of technology in her library media center made Elizabeth scrutinize technology use carefully. She wanted at least two of the four library media center computers open for students to look up books and materials at all times. Although she rarely restricted or excluded students from using the computers, the fact that her technology resources were completely occupied at times for purposes brought in from outside the library media center was a source of exasperation. Elizabeth wanted the limited technology capitals to be available for school library media-specific purposes. But, many times the technology capitals within this field were repurposed by external sources of power. The media specialist's habitus disposed her to be helpful and not to punish or exclude students for teacher actions. This is one example of the way

others set the rules of the school library media space and capitals over the rules Elizabeth wanted to maintain.

The school library media center as a social space. Students carved out social purposes for the library media center. Octavo, the media clerk, described it this way:

> it's a place where the kids can come and find their friends during the day and just connect with them. They're not allowed to socialize in here but, you know, if they happen to come in and "oh, you're in here too" you know…and I just think it's a social place setting for the kids. (Octavo interview, November 16, 2011)

Despite an acknowledgement in her interview that socializing was not allowed in the library media center, Octavo did not seem uncomfortable with the idea of students using the library media center as an informal meeting place. Octavo also surmised that students might actually coordinate library media center meetings during other potentially social times, like lunch. Again, this did not seem to be surprising or even objectionable to her. Octavo even said that if she were a student, she would likely do the same thing. Given that Octavo was one of the primary people responsible for managing library media center behavior once she was rehired, her comments indicated that students were given a certain amount of leeway in using the library media center space for social purposes. Thus, students were able to negotiate some of the rules of this field at times.

In contrast to Octavo's relative comfort with students negotiating their own purposes for the library media center space, classroom teachers were less comfortable with the social aspect of the school library media center. Underlying several teacher interviews was the presumption that the school library media center was a less controlled

social space. The different social rules and configurations of the library media center actually kept George Glass from taking his classes there for research. As he said:

> I usually get resources from the library and bring them here. It's been my experience that trips to the library usually turn into social events. And we do a lot of social things in [my classroom] and I won't that say we're never social in here, because that's actually part of the process. But I have more control over the socialization going on in [my classroom] than I do in the library. (George Glass interview, October 31, 2011)

For George Glass, the rules of the school library media field appeared to change his authority or his level of control over student activity. Other teachers also suspected the school library media center was used as a social meeting space as well. Ellen, who taught sixth grade science and social studies, said she had students ask to go to the school library media center "if we're having down time or whatever. So, they'll ask to go to the library, whether they are going there to get a book or to be social, I don't know." When asked whether she got the sense that the library media center was a social destination for students, Ellen said, "it depends on the student. It really does" (Ellen interview, November 17, 2011).

The school library media center as an escape. In other cases, the school library media center was seen as a place where students went to hide out. One student in particular, who called herself MissyLacy, was identified by more than one teacher as using the school library media center as a place to escape the classroom. An e-mail from a teacher described MissyLacy as a student who cut other classes to spend time in the media center. I noticed MissyLacy early in my observations as someone who took a lot

of time to select materials from the library media center collection. On one occasion early in the study she was in the library media center for more than thirty minutes trying to select books. When MissyLacy changed to a new language arts teacher in the fall, her time in the library media center was much more restricted: "She [my teacher] lets one person go at a time and gives them five minutes or so to get a book and come back and then the next person goes" (MissyLacy interview, October 21, 2011). MissyLacy also said that her language arts teacher did not visit the school library media center with the whole class, and only had a very small classroom collection. MissyLacy described her relationship with the school library media specialist as a good one, and she could turn to the library media specialist to help her select books efficiently. Still, the limitation to five minutes in the media center was difficult for MissyLacy.

Berry, another avid user of the library media center, reported a similar change in access when he changed language arts teachers, and similar frustrations with the lack of time he had to spend selecting books. Before the summer break, Berry was in the library media center nearly daily. At times, he was there more once per day. He roamed the stacks with little limitation on his access. After the summer break, I watched for Berry to return, and wondered to myself what happened to him when he didn't come back immediately. Finally, Berry came in after a couple of weeks of school, delighted. He said his new language arts teacher had told him the library media center was not open yet, when it actually was. Berry did not return to his previous level of use (due, he said, to teacher restrictions), but he was still a regular visitor. In September, I overheard a conversation where Berry complained about the limits placed on his library media center visits. He told the library media specialist that his language arts teacher limited his visits

to five minutes. This frustrated Berry, especially given the fact that this was "a library I've been coming to for three years!" (Field notes, September 20, 2012). The implication of this quote was that he had read so much of the collection, he needed more time to locate different reading materials. Although he described himself in his interview as someone who would read any books "as long as they're good," the library media specialist described him as a reader with relatively narrow preferences. Berry considered it a challenge to find materials in the Rolling Hills Media Center that were new and interesting to him. For a while, I wondered if Berry was using the library for his own reasons in addition to the sanctioned ones offered by his teachers. I even wondered if Berry was hiding from something.

There are many reasons that may explain the lack of time allotted for individual library visits. Perhaps the teachers felt the library media center was undermonitored, or that it was easy to lose track of students and their time while in the library media center. At times, this appeared to be true. Especially when there was no clerk, there was often little regulation of whether or not students used the space with permission. The pressures of curriculum, mentioned previously, also may have played a role in limiting school library media center access. Regardless of reason, it is certain that teachers held power over the level of student access to the school library media center much of the time. Despite the room students sometimes had to establish their own purposes for the library media center space, classroom teachers still established the rules for independent visits and whether or not they would occur.

Interviewees also identified additional escapist purposes for the school library media center. During my months of observation, I heard teachers and the library media

specialist talk about a girl who used the school library media center as a place to hang out to avoid social discomfort during dismissal. Octavo, as the library's clerk, also identified the library as

> a center of help for the kids….Sometimes just to listen to them because sometimes when they come in, I have had this several times, kids who wander around and I think they just need somebody to talk to and in the end they come up and they talk to me and then they leave without anything. And if somebody can just be there, it's just to help. (Octavo interview, November 16, 2011)

In one particularly touching instance of this, Octavo recalled

> every time I think about the kids here that are coming in and talking to me…if I have to stop what I'm doing and listen to them, sometimes I think it's very frustrating…but then I remember, I think it was one of my first years, a boy came in and he just looked so down and I said, " You look really down today" and he said, "yeah, my sister just committed suicide" and he said "My dad is upset with me and he doesn't want to talk to me" and I thought, you know, there is somebody who needs to have somebody to listen to them. (Octavo interview, November 16, 2011)

Octavo talked about the school library media center as an environment in the school that met many different student needs. Octavo pointed to the fact that for some students, the school library media center was a place to escape from the classroom and perhaps seek someone to listen to them. She seemed to value the idea that the library could be a place where students could escape other pressures. Considering that Octavo was the first face many students saw when entering the media center for independent visits, her thoughts

about the rules and purposes for the media center were important. Her willingness to listen as part of her work along with her previously mentioned attitudes about social connection between students set the stage for students to use the library media center as a place to build social capital. How her absence during the period when clerks were laid off affected this particular aspect of the library media center is unclear.

The school library media center as a quiet space. Perhaps the most interesting rule in this social field was not written down or announced by the media center staff. Instead, it was a rule that cropped up in everyday interactions in the media center throughout the study. This rule, characterized by the stereotypical "shush" associated with librarians of different kinds, mandated that the school library media center be a quiet environment. The source of this rule puzzled me at times, since it did not come from the school library media specialist herself. Only twice in my many hours of observation did I observe the media specialist "shushing" students. One of these was during a whole class lesson, when she shushed a chatty class in order to hear the contributions of a student she called on to participate. The second instance happened during a period when the library was extremely busy, with a school library reading incentive activity going on at the same time as more than twenty students looked for books on independent visits. The school library media specialist shushed the students looking for books so that the students participating in the activity could hear what was going on. So, in both cases, the "shush" functioned not as an effort to keep a silent environment as much as to allow authorized voices to be heard. This contrasted with the stereotypical view of librarians as enforcers of silence. Elizabeth was comfortable with a reasonable amount of noise and activity within the school library media center environment. Many of the lessons she taught

involved activity, talking, and movement. She also welcomed a certain level of noise from independent visitors.

The school principal, Lynne, supported a noisy, bustling ideal of the school library media center as well. Lynne was articulate about the way a modern media center should leave the "whispers" of the past behind. She even went so far as to whisper part of her comments about the role and environment of a modern school library media center:

> The media center basically has grown and developed into something very unique and something that, in my opinion, should never go back to being the library of olden days where you walk in and [whispers] everybody is quiet and you don't say a word. And you sit there and you check out a book and you leave, or you stay and you do research and you never open your mouth and the only interaction that you have with the media specialist is when they check out your book for you, or if you can't find something they might help you, or they might refer you to the card catalog [end of whisper]. Those days are long gone and I hope they never return because the media center has become really and should be the hub of the school. Everything should thrive off of that media center….[the media center] should be a place of…and I don't want this to come across in a negative way…very productive, sane chaos, if that makes sense? It should have an activity going on, should be buzzing. Of course, we don't want loud shouting and hollering and carrying on but again, the days of old where you are stone quiet should not exist. It needs to be a place where the media specialist interacts with students on an ongoing, daily basis. (Lynne interview, November 17, 2011)

Although neither the school library media specialist nor the principal enforced a quiet environment, it became clear through the course of the study that the prevailing presumption in many cases was that the school library media center would be a quiet place.

If not from the school library media specialist, where did the rule of the school library media center as a quiet space originate? Interestingly, one of the primary sources for enforcing the school library media center as a quiet space came from the students themselves. The most remarkable instances of this happened during the early months of data collection, when fifth graders visited Rolling Hills Middle School to learn a little bit about the school they would start attending in the fall. Over the course of several weeks, I witnessed a number of small groups of fifth-grade students touring the school library media center. The tours were student-led and developed, meaning that aside from a list of the places they were assigned to visit, there seemed to be relatively little consistency from group to group in terms of tour content. Some groups had a more thorough tour, while others wandered around with little direction. In watching these student-led tours, I realized how the eighth-grade student leaders showed their ideas and what they thought was important about the library media program through the way they conducted these introductions. In some regards, these introductions hinted at rules and priorities for the school library media program. The leaders also seemed to enjoy some of the powers that came with leading the tours of younger students.

In three instances I noted, the first thing that the student leaders did when entering the school library media space was shush the fifth-grade students. Interestingly, it was the consistent shushing by several student leaders that helped me realize that the school

library media specialist was not a shusher herself. The shushes of the student leaders were jarring and, as the first impression some of these students received of the Rolling Hills school library media center, may have set the tone for new student thinking about this school library media center. Another student leader began her tour with "y'all gotta be quiet, this is the library" (Field notes, May 17, 2011).

I also noted three instances when middle school students shushed one another in the course of library media center activities. One time this happened during a lesson. The other two instances happened when entering the school library media space. Although not a huge number, the students still shushed one another more than the leaders of the library media center shushed them, especially as a way to show power over each other. A final related conversation occurred during the book fair. When one student shouted, another replied "You shouldn't shout. This is a library, you know." But, the girl shouting responded with: "The library doesn't care about that" and continued what she was doing (Field notes, May 12, 2011). This was another instance of contested rules in this social field.

Another source of the "shush" came from classroom teachers and other adults. The most obvious example of this related to the fact that the school library media center was often used as a place for make-up testing or testing for students with mandated testing accommodations. When testing occurred, the adult who supervised students testing would try to ensure quiet throughout the media center environment. In one instance, a proctor came into the school library media center with several students to take tests. At the same time, the library media specialist was working on editing a video behind the circulation desk. A video of a pep rally played loudly as the proctor glared,

clearly confused, even annoyed that the quiet environment she expected and required was not honored by the library media specialist.

Classroom teachers reinforced the notion that students needed to be quiet in the library media center in other instances throughout the study. Teachers often told their classes to be quiet while in the school library media center. A substitute teacher that accompanied a seventh grade class said "Hey, guys, you are in a library. I do NOT need to be hearing your conversation all the way over here" (Field notes, October 19, 2011). Although some of these expressions may have been part and parcel of wanting most learning environments to be quiet, clearly the library media center was a distinctive quiet space. One of the teachers that came with the fifth grade students entered library media center and said "I needed someplace cold and quiet" to grade papers while students did their tour (Field notes, May 10, 2011). This may provide a clue to the expectations that happen in the elementary school libraries filtering in to Rolling Hills Middle School.

Shushing and quiet seem to be part of the habitus or lore of the library. Shushing and quiet are dispositions that inhabit people's bodies as they come to understand the rules of a library field. Many of these students and teachers carried ideas from their previous libraries. It is possible that the idea of a library was an archetype in their minds. This provides an explanation for the reason that some people in the school community enforced rules that weren't necessarily valid at Rolling Hills.

Interestingly, the students I interviewed were divided about whether or not the expected quiet environment in the library media center was positive. Nicole said "I like that, quiet is better for me" (Nicole interview, October 12, 2011), while Haley said the quiet made the environment unpleasant for her: "I don't like the quietness, but like I like

going in there just to get a book and then I try to get out of there as fast as I can" (Haley interview, October 11, 2011). Jane was somewhere in the middle:

> it's too quiet sometimes…sometimes quiet is nice but sometimes it's too quiet… Like quiet enough that you can concentrate but I need noise in the background…Otherwise it feels like there's just this awkward silence that makes me not want to read. (Jane interview, October 11, 2011)

Emily described her ideal library media center as "really big and not as quiet" (Emily interview, October 11, 2011). Clearly, the widely held assumption was that the library media center, as it existed, was supposed to be quiet. Students differed on whether or not this made the environment appealing. As the principal noted, it would be ideal to have a library media center that could support the sane chaos she hoped for while at the same time harboring spaces for quiet study and reading. These expectations speak to the ideal images different people have for learning, reading, and libraries.

Additional purposes for the school library media center as a space. Other purposes for the library media space also cropped up during the study. The book fair transformed the school library media center into a place for commerce, albeit purportedly literacy-related. The celebrations of reading incentives turned the library media center into a party and eating space. In a couple of instances, the school library media center was also used as a holding space for students. In one case, students waited there when they were late for a standardized test administration for well over an hour. In another case, maintenance work was happening in a classroom and the teacher needed to use the media center until the work was completed. The rules of the field shifted in each of these cases, based on the purposes established by those in power at the time.

When a full class visited the school library media center, the school library media specialist often took a passive role regarding student behavior and reading selections, allowing the students to check out their books, but making herself immediately available for help if needed. Most teachers told students to read once they had selected a book. Only some teachers followed up to insist that students read quietly at tables. Others allowed students to wander, talk, and socialize near the shelves. There was an uneasy negotiation of how the space in the library was used throughout. At times, neither the teacher nor the school library media specialist enforced rules, allowing students to use the space as they wanted.

Relations in the Field: Teachers

Although many rules in the school library media center were relatively static, such as organizational principles, there were also rules and dynamics that changed. In Bourdieu's theory, fields are relational. Different kinds of capital count differently within certain social fields. This is true of objectified capital as well as the capitals embodied by people.

The changing rules and valuations of capitals and practices in the Rolling Hills media program were most striking when different teachers entered the space of the school library media center. This also revealed insights about the ideals and habitus of the school library media specialist. Although Dressman (1997b) concluded that the school library media specialist was a primary determining factor in how the school library media center operated in regard to literacy, in the present study classroom teachers played an equally prominent role in how students used the resources of this school library media center. This is not to say that Dressman's conclusions were incorrect. However, the

habitus of this school library media specialist at Rolling Hills allowed the classroom teachers' ideas about literacy and valued reading to take precedence much of the time. The rules of the field at Rolling Hills Middle School were somewhat malleable in this regard. The school library media specialist took a deferential role to the literacy rules of the teacher in many cases.

Elizabeth's general ideas about reading and the library media program were simple. She stated, "I'll check out anything to anybody" (Field notes, March 28, 2011). She did not place requirements on students to check out certain books. After an informal conversation, I described her philosophy of reading from her time as a language arts teacher: "Reading every day was a big part of her curriculum. She didn't care what they read as much as that they read" (Field notes, September 1, 2011). Although Elizabeth did institute the YA book permission policy, she did this, I believed, with the hope of extending access to students to more mature themes, not to restrict students from reading materials. She encouraged all students to seek parental permission to check out YA books, as well as audiobooks, cameras, and so on.

Although the school library media specialist said she would check out anything to anyone, there were rules and impositions on this open stance from a variety of sources. Through observations, it seemed that teachers and parents were the most common infringements on a totally open reading policy.

Classroom teachers shaped reading selections within the school library media center in a number of ways. Many of the classroom teachers who visited the school library media center enforced rules about the kinds of materials that students were allowed to check out from the school library media collection. These rules provided

insight into the teachers' ideas about literacy and the role of the school library media center in student reading. First, several teachers used general directives such as "choose a book that is challenging." The meaning of challenging was left up to the students to discern, although one particular teacher did ask students to state why a particular book was challenging to them.

Another teacher, who only visited the library a couple of times during my observations, required students to choose a book near their assessed Lexile level. I was not in the library media center on the day this happened, but Elizabeth went out of her way to tell me about it:

> When I asked about the process the teacher took, Elizabeth said that the teacher had tried to handle the Lexile stuff. Kids looked through catalog ahead of time, located books that were right for their range and interests, printed off lists, but then when they got there it was a different story. Things that seemed interesting on the computer were not so interesting in hand. It sounded like a huge mess. (Field notes, September 1, 2011)

This relatively extensive selection strategy showed clearly how a teacher placed rules over book selections that trumped Elizabeth's open policies. She went on:

> "It was insane!" [Elizabeth] said. It sounded like kids were in and out all day. Elizabeth has a strong belief that kids should be able to check out what they like. But, this group had kids reading Clifford [because their Lexiles were so low]. Elizabeth concluded that she needed to find more books for low readers that will be interesting to them. She said the Left Behind series is relatively low Lexile as well. (Field notes, September 1, 2011)

In contrast to the Lexile and other requirements, there were numerous teachers who simply asked students to pick a book out with no further specifications. Many classroom teachers also provided help to students who needed assistance finding something to read. However, the reader's advisory processes teachers used appeared to be individually developed, since every teacher used different strategies, including a variety of websites dedicated to reader's advisory, the Destiny Quest reader's advisory functions, and drawing on personal knowledge with their students.

On several occasions, I did witness teachers taking away books that the teacher judged to be inappropriate choices. In one instance, a teacher seemed to indicate that graphic narratives were not adequate educational reading choices. I observed this teacher tell a boy in the stacks, "if you check out *Bone* (Smith, 2004), you have to check something else out too, with words" (Field notes, September 1, 2011). In addition to the quote, I noted the teacher's "implication that it [the graphic narrative] is isn't 'real' enough reading" (Field notes, September 1, 2011). It was unclear whether the objection was the fact that the book is a comic, a book with pictures, or a book with presumably fewer words.

Aside from these exceptions, teachers seemed to allow students to make decisions about their reading choices based on broad categories. Of course, school library media centers are not the only possible source for reading material. Many of the language arts classrooms in this building had classroom libraries. These ranged in size from extremely limited to collections of books numbering in the thousands. Thus, the reasons and purposes for using the school library media center may have been invisible, at least in part.

In this building, teachers controlled access to the school library media center itself in important ways. Although there were many times when the school library was full, there were also many students who rarely if ever came to the library media center. A number of teachers did not bring their students to the school library media center as a class, but would allow students to go to the library individually when necessary. There were also examples during less structured parts of the day when swarms of students flooded the library, sometimes forty or more at a time. To get an idea of some of the different approaches to literacy and the school library media center, in this section I highlight the attitudes and ideas shared by several classroom teachers.

Theresa. At the time of my interview with Theresa, she was beginning her twenty-fifth year of teaching. Since starting at Rolling Hills Middle School eight years prior, she had taught language arts in all three grades "backwards and forwards," as she put it, and never had much opportunity to stay in the same grade level for several years in a row. When we spoke in late September 2011, she was in the process of adapting to seventh grade curriculum and standards based reporting.

Theresa did not remember learning much about the school library media center in her professional education. In her previous school, where she spent fifteen years teaching,

> the media specialist was not very kid friendly and left a lot to be desired for that kind of position. Kids should just want to be pouring in…kids should want to be beating the door down and it wasn't a fun experience. (Theresa interview, September 29, 2011)

At her previous school, Theresa did all the work of literacy promotion herself. To some extent, she maintained this stance into her time at Rolling Hills. She spent summers reading middle grades literature, and sought out book recommendation websites to use with her students.

Theresa was a member of the Nancie Atwell group, and she had also studied Atwell in the past. Theresa said that the structure of visiting the school library media center every two weeks suited her schedule and goals for students well. As for what students were allowed to check out while they were in the library media center, she shared the following:

> For the most part, now, there are some, if they're a really strong reader and they're checking out a drawing book, then I'll literally pull it out of their hand and say, "No, you can't check that out" or if they are, you know like the concept of I call it, your eyes are bigger than your stomach, you know, if they're checking out thick old *Eragon* (Paolini, 2003) or *Inkheart* (Funke, 2003) or whatever and they're only reading on a third grade level, then I'm like, "you're wasting your time." And so I believe in being really honest with my students as far as "are you doing that for your own ego or for someone else's to notice? Read what you want to read, and read what you enjoy right now because in high school you're going to have to read stuff that you really don't want to read and you might as well enjoy it and love it." So I'm definitely an advocate of that. (Theresa interview, September 29, 2011)

Theresa's ideas about literacy and valued reading were clearly different than Elizabeth's "check out anything to anyone" philosophy. Theresa also took account of the student's

reading level and tried to address other motivations they may have for checking out a certain book. Theresa shaped the rules around the capitals in the field of the library media center for her students. Although she stated her belief that students should read what they enjoy, there were also limits.

Sally Duke. Sally Duke had been teaching since 1997. Much of that time she spent teaching language arts. At the time of our interview, she taught sixth, seventh, and eighth grades:

> All three language arts classes are Title language arts classes so either they've struggled previously and have been identified or a lot of times it's a lower CRCT score and that's kind of the indicator but they are in here and they get small group instruction. And then the two reading classes is a combo, like half Title, half special ed just because the program we use was paid with like both sets of funds and so they both kind of have equal access. (Sally Duke interview, October 10, 2011)

Sally Duke spent her days with students who struggled with reading according to externally established benchmarks. With students who are labeled as struggling, we might expect her to use the school library media center in a limited way. However, her ideas about literacy reflect a different stance on book choice and reading. When I asked her if she ever limited her students' choices in reading materials in the school library media center, she responded

> I mean, they know, you know? Like "this might be a little frustrating" but I'm not going to tell them no. "If you want to try it, then you try it" because I tell them all the time, "I'd rather go down swinging and striking out…than to have stood there

> and never swung the bat…if you want to read it, then you go for it." But they have to know they might just strike out and that's okay. So, that's our thing. We'd much rather strike out swinging than to have never picked up that book. That's terrible. (Sally Duke interview, October 10, 2011)

Of all the teachers I interviewed, Sally Duke's approach to literacy was probably the closest to the stance taken by the school library media specialist. Sally expressed an openness about what students should be allowed to check out, which matched the ideals Elizabeth mentioned.

Sally described mixed experiences with school library media programs in the past. At her previous school, students went to the school library media center two at a time to check out. There were no regular teaching experiences in the library media center in her previous school. Sally also had a stereotypical school library media specialist in her own youth, complete with hair pulled pack into a bun and glasses. However, that stereotypical-looking library media specialist also provided a good model of reading enjoyment, reading *Amelia Bedelia* (Parish, 1991) aloud to Sally's class, an experience Sally remembered with warmth.

Also like Theresa, Sally could remember little mention of the school library media program in her teacher preparation program. She spoke fondly of her children's literature course, but the course was not particularly school library-focused. The main quote Sally remembered from her teacher preparation program about school library media programs was from her middle grades methods professor:

> The only thing she said was once you get a job, you never tick off the secretary or the librarian. And that was the only time you know, that I ever heard [about the

> library media program]. I'll always remember that. She said you're going to need these people and if you make them mad, they will not help you. (Sally Duke interview, October 10, 2011)

Sally learned not so much about the positive contributions of the school library media program as the possible negatives that crossing the school library media specialist could have on her daily life in a school. The school library media specialist was portrayed as someone with a power to make decisions and perhaps restrict assistance and resources in the social field of a school. Sally likely left that course remembering that the school library media specialist was more someone to be feared than sought out for instructional partnership. She was pleasantly surprised by what Elizabeth did at Rolling Hills.

Madeline Smith. Compared with Theresa and Sally, Madeline Smith was a new teacher. At the time of our interview, she had been teaching for a year and a half. She worked with sixth grade general education students before the summer, then changed to eighth grade after the summer break. For Theresa and Sally, who had been in their teacher education programs a number of years ago, it was conceivable that they simply did not remember learning about school library media programs. However, Madeline's experience in her teacher education program was similar. Even though she had been in a teacher preparation program recently, when asked what she had learned about school library media programs in her teacher preparation program, Madeline said "Not very much, honestly" (Madeline interview, May 18, 2011). When I asked her if she had any other educational opportunities to learn about the school library media program, Madeline said "The only time I learned about it when I went to the library in school, like in elementary school" (Madeline interview, May 18, 2011).

Although language arts teachers were supposed to go every two weeks to the library media center, Madeline somehow missed this in her early months of teaching. When asked if she had gone to the school library media center regularly, she replied

> not this year because I didn't really know that's what people did. Nobody really told me. So, I was like "oh, it's time to go to the library because we haven't been in awhile" but then once we started the genre thing we really went every two weeks from then on so probably January on we kind of went every two weeks. But I would let my kids go whenever they needed to go usually. Some kids read fast. (Madeline interview, May 18, 2011)

Elizabeth did present information about the library media center during teacher planning at the beginning of the year, but Elizabeth realized that a first year teacher had a lot to manage. She did not necessarily expect a new teacher to think about the school library media program when they were negotiating issues like insurance. It is also understandable that the school library media center might not be at the top of a new teacher's mind, especially if the media program has not been emphasized in teacher preparation programs. However, as I have argued elsewhere (Friese, in press), there are benefits to attending to the needs of beginning teachers as a library media specialist. This may be especially true given that these new teachers may have learned little to nothing about library media programs in their teacher preparation programs.

Although Madeline did not initially use the media center for lessons, she said she did not restrict access to the library media center. This statement was corroborated by the fact that several of her sixth graders were among the top students in the school in regard to school library media center checkouts. Madeline did state that the library media center

was valuable to her as a source of materials, especially since her classroom library collection was quite small:

> I don't have the money to go out and buy as many books as they would need to have and to trade out and then probably read all of them because a lot of my kids have already read most of the books in my classroom just from when they didn't' have a book, they'd go grab one and be like "Oh, I've already read that, already read that, already read that" and so it's hard for them to find them in my classroom library because it's smaller. (Madeline interview, May 18, 2011)

She also appreciated the official rules that came with a school library book checkout. With her classroom library books, "a lot of them [students] don't feel the need to return them because it's not the library, it's not as official" (Madeline interview, May 18, 2011). Thus, the objectified cultural capitals in the school library media center have rules surrounding them that confer a special status with students and within the social field of this school.

The school library media specialist also had special embodied cultural capital that was valuable to Madeline in terms of teaching. Madeline talked about the value of the lessons Elizabeth taught in the library media center. In her description of the lessons, Madeline made an interesting distinction about the topics Elizabeth taught in the library media center:

> I think she helped this year just by incorporating those little lessons that maybe I didn't really have time to do in class. Because of standards-based [reporting] we don't have time to cover just the common, everyday things they really need to know, like how to look up things. (Madeline interview, May 18, 2011)

Madeline seemed to indicate that the institutional cultural capital of standards based reporting took time away from the "everyday things they really need to know." We might think of these things as the practical embodied cultural capitals students can use in daily life, which in Madeline's classroom seemed to be squeezed out by demands of the required assessment system.

Madeline also talked about the personal resource Elizabeth was to her when Madeline sought book recommendations for specific purposes. Elizabeth's embodied knowledge of literature was something Madeline came to seek out. In an interesting contrast from the previous school year, at the beginning of the 2011-2012 school year, one year after knowing little about the school library media program, I observed Madeline coming in to the library media center. She had moved to teaching eighth grade. She walked directly to the library media specialist, saying that she needed to read an excerpt aloud from a memoir and could only think of Maya Angelou's *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* (1969). The library media specialist went with Madeline to the bookshelves and pulled out *Guts* (Paulsen, 2001), *Knucklehead* (Scieszka, 2008), *The Pigman & Me* (Zindel, 1992), and *How Angel Peterson Got His Name* (Paulsen, 2003). This action represented a dramatic change that demonstrated the kind of impression that Elizabeth's work had made on Madeline (Field notes, August 5, 2011). Madeline sought Elizabeth out to help in locating appropriate objectified cultural capitals to achieve a curricular goal.

Harriet. Theresa, Sally, and Madeline brought their classes into the library media center frequently. Still, there were language arts teachers I rarely, if ever, saw during my observation visits. When I attended the Nancie Atwell Group meeting, I noted

that there were several language arts teachers I had never seen before. In order to get a fuller picture of the school library media program, I sought out several of these teachers for interviews. Only one agreed to speak with me.

Harriet taught seventh and eighth grade language arts in the gifted program. She had been teaching for ten years. Of the teachers I interviewed, Harriet had the most to share regarding the way she learned about the school library media program during her teacher preparation studies:

> I remember us talking about using the librarian as a resource if we ever had books challenged in class. We talked more about classroom libraries. I mean that was really, the biggest thing was the librarian is the expert in terms of what sorts of books you should or should not make available to students. The librarian would be the person to have resources to defend you if ever you got into trouble for having something. And that was all that they ever talked about in my preparation. (Harriet interview, May 19, 2011)

For Harriet, the school library media specialist had expertise, but the expertise seemed to be framed in terms of which capitals to provide and which to avoid.

Harriet described herself as "a horrible, horrible, horrible patron of the library... as a whole group we don't go anywhere near as much as we're supposed to" (Harriet interview, May 19, 2011). Harriet noted several reasons for not taking her classes to the school library media center often. One reason she mentioned, discussed earlier in this chapter, was the intense level of curriculum she had to cover. Another reason was "a lot of my students, because they are very advanced readers…some of them, many of them, then they don't want to have to sift through a lot of stuff that is below their level" (Harriet

interview, May 19, 2011). Harriet's students apparently expressed a dislike or frustration with the materials in the school library media center. Certainly, it seemed to be the objects in the school library that deterred Harriet and her students from using the school library media center. However, the objectified cultural capital in her own classroom also played a role in this avoidance of the school library media center.

Harriet provided an extensive classroom library for her students. Harriet estimated that her classroom library consisted of approximately 2,000 books. This may not be surprising, considering the above quote from her interview, which seems to prioritize classroom libraries over school library media collections. I had the opportunity to speak with several of Harriet's students during the study. Most of these students I spoke with reported using Harriet's classroom library for books as well as their own books or books from other sources. Several of her students were frustrated with the organization of the school library media center, where they felt it was difficult to find books they would like to read. Students also mentioned that they appreciated the close relationship they had with Harriet and how she knew them as readers. Her personal embodied knowledge of books and the students, combined with the proximity to the classroom collection, seemed to make it far easier for a close circle of appropriate recommendation and obtaining reading materials to occur. There was little sifting through books that were below their level.

Elizabeth was aware of this situation, mentioning it in her interview with me. Despite what she considered her overall positive effect on reading and library media center participation since she became the library media specialist, Elizabeth said the gifted students were an exception to this rule:

> more [students] seem to want to check out books except for the gifted. The gifted already have books in their classroom and that might be a reason why they don't come here as often because they get a lot of the newer books. I know that Harriet gets a lot of the Advanced Readers Copies and so they use that. Unfortunately we can't put those in the library because it's against the [rules]. (Elizabeth interview, May 31, 2011)

The relationship between Harriet and Elizabeth appeared to be a collegial one. I observed Harriet coming in to the library media center several times with boxes of Advanced Readers Copies, which she then examined and culled, presumably to review for her classroom collection. Harriet and Elizabeth seemed to hold upbeat conversations during these visits. Harriet made many positive comments about Elizabeth and the library media program during our conversation. However, it seemed that she also felt that her students had their needs for reading materials met in other ways:

> there are some students that always have their own books and you can tell it's brand new from the store and some students go to the public library a lot and they'll come in with public library books and then some students borrow from me all the time. (Harriet interview, May 19, 2011)

The one area that Harriet used the school library media program for with her students was research. She had Elizabeth seek out print resources as well as teach information literacy skills.

> [Elizabeth] does lessons for them about primary and secondary sources and lessons for them about paraphrasing about documenting sources…pretty much whatever I ask from her she'll get them lessons on. We'll go there during the course of

> research several times for them just to work in the library, to be able to not borrow but you know, use different resources that are there like reference…she's really, really fantastic with our research stuff. She'll do anything we ask. (Harriet interview, May 19, 2011)

Harriet was largely complimentary of the library media program, even though she did not bring her classes there often. Notably, Harriet seemed to realize that her lack of participation in the school library media program might be having unintended effects on her students.

> I wish we could go more, I really do. I want them to understand the importance of the library, I guess that's what I feel…extra bad about I guess in not taking my kids as often as I would really like to….is that I worry that they'll leave me and not realize that the library is a great thing and somewhere they should go on a regular basis and I don't want them to think that, I want them to think that it's valuable and it's good. (Harriet interview, May 19, 2011)

Based on some of the comments of students, it is possible that they left with a more negative idea about libraries than the positive attitude Harriet hoped they would adopt. Many of Harriet's gifted students had abundant access to objects at home and social capital to get them to other libraries or book sources. Perhaps not surprisingly, given Bourdieu's theories of social reproduction, objectified cultural capital, and the gifted status of these students, many of them had multiple and sophisticated capital pathways for obtaining literacy materials. They also had interesting objections to the school library media program at Rolling Hills. One student had two parents who were teachers. She participated in five sports, and reading was not a priority for her. Her

teacher-parents brought her books from their schools, which afforded her the chance to ignore the rules of the field of due dates. Another student had a parent who had worked at a bookstore. The parent maintained a good relationship with the manager there and still received significant discounts on books. In other cases, students had access to electronic reading devices and many owned significant numbers of books. Several of them also reported having access to transportation to public libraries as well. I did not collect enough data to make broad comments comparing the development of literacy capital networks, but all of Harriet's students I spoke with were saturated with possibilities for literacy, even without the school library media center. Thus, they could afford to be more particular about where they obtained their materials.

Content area teachers. In addition to interviewing language arts teachers, I also spoke to teachers working in other content areas. Vanna taught sixth grade mathematics. She worked with students identified as gifted. During her interview, Vanna shared several experiences about the library media specialist at Rolling Hills Middle School. Vanna often sought out Elizabeth for ideas for novels incorporating mathematics concepts "Sometimes I'll go to Elizabeth and ask her, 'I'm doing this, is there a math book that will go along with this or a book I can read?' because I do read alouds with my kids" (Vanna interview, December 8, 2011). Thus, the school library media program extended into Vanna's classroom as well. In the past, Vanna had also asked Elizabeth to teach lessons for her:

> [our media specialist] actually teaches. Like, you can say, "Will you teach a unit or a lesson in my class?" and she'll take my class in there and she'll do that. And I've done that before, she's done a lesson I think, for me, on reading in the math

> classroom or something like that because she used to be a math teacher. (Vanna interview, December 8, 2011)

Elizabeth's institutional and embodied capitals in mathematics and literacy were of use to Vanna and her students. Finally, Vanna remarked on the level at which her students used the school library media center. She felt that the students valued the library media program in the school. Vanna would seek out the help of the school library media specialist to connect her with the books students enjoyed. This enabled her to have conversations with her students about the books they were reading.

Some content area teachers handled their use of the school library media center differently. Ellen taught science and social studies. Like other teachers, she had heard nothing about the role of the school library media specialist in her teacher preparation program. But she learned what Elizabeth could do from Elizabeth herself: "Ms. Bowen, here at the school, does a really good job of coming around and telling us what we need to do as far as if we have anything we need we can go to her" (Ellen interview, November 17, 2011). Ellen taught different topics in different grade levels during her time at Rolling Hills. She recounted different units, such as a sixth grade social studies unit on explorers and a seventh grade science unit on rocks and minerals, for which Elizabeth had gathered resources, both books and websites. However, Ellen did not take her students to the library media center herself

In Ellen's case, she depended on the language arts teacher on her team to help students fulfill the library media center tasks for her class. As Ellen phrased it, "they go with language arts normally and I'll work with the language arts teacher so she'll know what they need to get and she'll do it through her class. So, it just

makes it that much easier" (Ellen interview, November 17, 2011). Communicating within a team structure allowed Ellen to combine her purposes for the school library media center with the students' regularly scheduled visit during language arts. Ellen's use of the term "easier" in regard to streamlining media center visits with language arts prompts wonderings of whether she thought of trips to the media center as a hassle, or as a lower priority for her instructional time. Her comments describing arrangement seem to reinforce the idea of the media center as a place to get materials instead of a setting for learning and literacy experiences to occur.

I mentioned the impressions of two other content area teachers earlier, George Glass and Sea Otter, both of whom attributed their lack of media center interaction to advances in technology. Brandi was the final content area teacher I interviewed. She taught seventh grade science. Brandi was also the only content area teacher who I observed bringing her class to the school library media center during the entirety of my observations. Very close to the end of the study, Brandi brought her students to the media center to do research about biomes for a science project. Elizabeth had pulled a large number of resources for the project before students arrived. She piled the books on tables, separated and labeled by biome. Students sat down around their biome's table, skimming and seeking information about their biome based on the teacher's packet of project guidelines.

Of the many hours I spent in the Rolling Hills library media center, observing students engaged in this project was one of the most fulfilling times. Students worked in their small groups, flipping through resources and discussing relevant points. They shared photographs and interesting facts, envisioning the kind of project they would like

to create from the information they found. The school library media specialist and the classroom teacher circulated the entire time, answering queries and provoking other questions. Interestingly, Brandi said that the other science teachers she planned with decided to bring the books to their classrooms to do the same work. There is no way to know why the other teachers made this decision from the data collected. Perhaps, similar to George Glass, they felt that the school library media center was a less controlled social environment. Perhaps it saved them time to do it in the classroom. However, Brandi saw it as important to come to the school library media center. When I asked her about this, she said

> I just think the library environment helps the kids and it helps keep them a little more focused and helps them see the resources they can use from the library because not just in this class they have research stuff to do. I mean really, more in language arts or social studies and I think it helps them connect the library with that process and "Oh, hey, I remember in Ms. B's class went to the library to look at books on biomes, now we're talking about the human body, I'll bet they have books on the human body, I can go to the library and get books on the human body. (Brandi interview, November 16, 2011)

Brandi saw going to the physical school library media center as an important embodied experience for research. She also saw the library environment as one with rules and benefits that enabled worthwhile inquiry experiences. Notably, Brandi did take her students to the computer lab to do research on the following day. She felt that the books in the school library media center were an important starting place, though. As Brandi said it, the school library media center resources enabled students "to get some good,

solid starts on information. Like on the Web, they'll get lost in it and they'll just Google, Google, Google and click on Wikipedia and Ask.com and this and that….so they're getting a solid foundation for their biome" by using the school library media center first (Brandi interview, November 16, 2011).

The School Library Media Center and Youth Literacies

After a thorough examination of the external fields shaping the school library media program, and the rules and relations that affected the literacies in the Rolling Hills Middle School library media program, we turn to specific literacy initiatives and contributions made by the school library media program. Elizabeth made her ideas about the role of the school library media program in literacy learning clear through her interview. Elizabeth felt that reading, writing, and other literacies were central parts of the school library media program's mission. Many library media program activities endeavored to support a broad range of student literacy learning. This section of the chapter is devoted to examining the kinds of student literacies that the library media program addressed.

As noted in chapter three, I had the benefit of interviewing a number of Rolling Hills students in the process of collecting data. Although the interviews were generally quite short, in many ways they were telling about the role of the school library media program in students' lives. Most of the students could articulate the learning that they had done using the resources from the school library media program. I draw from both the interviews and my observations to try to capture some of the ways the school library media center helped students in their literacy learning. I divide this section into four parts. The first three parts, reading, writing, and digital literacies, discuss the way the

school library media center facilitated these three types of learning. I devote the final part of this chapter to books, as books seemed to be a salient feature of nearly every student interview I conducted.

Reading

Many teachers discussed the importance of the school library in students' lives as readers. I knew from the time I spent in the school library media center that reading was a huge emphasis of this school library media program. The school library media specialist integrated the modeling of reading into her daily work. She constantly read at the school library media center door before classes arrived and in the fiction section as students spent time in the library. She did this to keep up on the latest titles as well as to act as a reading role model for students. "Reading" was also one of the most frequently used codes in the data set. As I read these data, I noticed a number of broad themes.

First, a reflexive comment about the way I thought about reading itself. I have a broad definition of what counts as reading. I am liable to classify reading as access to reading materials and reading promotion as much as the physical or cognitive process of reading. My label of reading extended, then, to other kinds of reading-related activities, such as talking about reading, sharing insights about books, and seeking reading materials, as well as the act of reading.

Students at Rolling Hills Middle School employed a wide range of strategies for finding reading materials in the library media center. Some students use strategies that seem to be informed by previous knowledge of how a library is organized as well as acquaintance with sources that can help students find what they need. There were students who walked directly to the shelf where their favorite author or series was

located. Others went to the computers and used the online catalog. Still others just wandered through the sections, occasionally picking up a book and reading the back or jacket flap. I also saw numerous examples of students sharing their reading ideas and selections with others. Thus, the reading at Rolling Hills Middle School library media center involved many different kinds of capital. Students used embodied capitals and strategies for finding reading materials, or objectified cultural capitals. Many students sat at tables and read passages or shared pictures from their reading books with one another. Others depended on the social capital availed by the school library media specialist in finding books they would enjoy.

I previously discussed at length the way teachers shaped reading choices in the school library media center. Other influences also shaped what students were allowed to read. Perhaps the largest of these was the Young Adult (YA) reading program at the school. The YA reading program was emphasized from my earliest visits to the library. During orientation visits for new sixth grade students, the school library media specialist explained that YA books were those with mature relationships, curse words, or graphic violence. One of the issues this school library program faced was how to take account of the reading needs of students with a wide range of interests, reading abilities, maturity levels, and value systems. The YA reading program at Rolling Hills Middle School was one attempt to address the varied interests and maturity levels of students while acknowledging the different value systems held by families. A small yellow sticker indicated the YA books in this school's library collection.

In order to check out YA books, students needed to have a certain form signed by parents. This form was included as part of the beginning-of-the-year package received by

all families. During the first school year I was in the school library media center, the students would show an agenda page with a specific hole punch to indicate that they had permission to check out YA materials. There were many occasions when students had to go back to their lockers to get their agendas in order to check out their YA books. However, the problems that could result from a student checking out a YA book without permission were apparently a concern worth the trouble. The second school year, the school did not issue agendas due to budget constraints so the school library media specialist created small red cards to indicate YA permission. Just as with the agendas, students would lose or forget their cards, which again meant locker trips or simply not checking out the books. This turned into an ongoing management issue for Elizabeth, who had to make and account for the cards on numerous occasions throughout the early months of the school year. There were also teachers who had students sign a permission slip to read YA books from their classroom collections. This led to what seemed to be an uneasy agreement from the school library media specialist to extend this permission to library materials as well.

The American Library Association issued a position statement on labeling of materials as a possible form of censorship (American Library Association, 2009). Although on the face it may seem like censorship, the YA policy Elizabeth created could also be seen as like a way to extend what the collection could contain without leading to unnecessary self-censorship by the school library media specialist.

Reading incentives played a significant role in the participatory reading environment at Rolling Hills Middle School. Some teachers used the Accelerated Reader (AR) program as part of their classroom reading program. However, the use of AR was a

decision left to the individual teacher, and some teachers did not use it at all. The school library media specialist developed her own reading incentives as a counterbalance to this. In contrast to the uneven use of AR, the reading promotions hosted through the school library media program aimed to give everyone a chance to participate. In the first year of my time at the school, the school library media specialist had a series of promotions called Sweet! Reading. To be a "Sweet Reader," students had to read selections from specific categories of books including state book award nominees and books drawn from Dewey Decimal categories like the 300s or 700s. There were also "wild card" or free choice options. If students turned in a Sweet Card meeting the requirements they could come to a party featuring desserts. The program required language arts teachers to initial students' cards before turning in, again deferring some of the capital and endorsement to the teacher. When asked why she developed this initiative, Elizabeth said,

> I thought it was important. We used to do AR and I felt like the kids like it when they get a little something and it helps them broaden their horizons, too. It's not just AR for points, you know, where you read the same thing over and over again. You're actually broadening your horizons, you have to read some non-fiction, you have to read a different type of fiction. (Elizabeth Bowen interview, May 31, 2011)

Thus, Elizabeth wanted the students to expand their reading knowledge and exposure through her reading initiative. The Sweet Card event in the spring of 2011 was attended by 31 people.

In the fall, during the second school year of my time at Rolling Hills, Elizabeth decided to switch to a "Teen vs. Book" themed reading promotion. She adapted this

from the popular "Man vs. Food" television show. As Elizabeth put it, instead of stuffing the students with food, they stuffed their minds with reading. In much the same style as the Sweet Card promotion, the Teen vs. Book promotion required the students to read several different kinds of books including state book award nominees, wild card choices, and books from the 800s and 900s. These also had to be certified by the classroom teacher. At the completion of the promotion, participants were eligible to attend a party where Elizabeth served copious amounts of fried chicken, mashed potatoes, biscuits, and sweets. This party occurred at the same time many students were in the school library media center checking out books. Although it made the school library media center extremely crowded, with nearly 70 students in the space, this timing also caused other students to express a desire to participate in future reading initiatives. Watching the party in the crowded school library media center also suggested how many students had no idea that the reading promotion was happening at all, even though Elizabeth highlighted it in school library media center instruction as well as through the morning newscast. There was some breakdown in the communication of those capitals and opportunities to all students.

Elizabeth valued participation in statewide reading programs, especially voting for the state book award winners. In another initiative, she dedicated a bulletin board to the state book award program. Students who read a certain number of these books received recognitions. This extended the reading program into the space outside of the library media center. Within the school library media center, Elizabeth displayed the state book award titles prominently, and featured them as categories in her other reading

promotions such as the Sweet Card. Elizabeth wanted her readers to be recognized by the whole school, and to participate in broader groups of readers as well.

How important was the school library media program in the reading lives of these students? It is impossible to characterize the students as a whole, but students expressed a wide range of uses for the school library media program. I return to the example of Berry, who we could easily call an avid reader. I noticed Berry very early in my time at the school, and got to know him relatively well throughout the study. At the end of the school year, he talked about skipping field day so he could read. Berry checked out books until the day before summer break, often two or three at a time.

Berry had a free and easy relationship with Ms. Bowen. He walked into her office and grabbed books from her shelves. It was hard to avoid talking about Berry with the school library media specialist. He was an interesting and often-present part of life in this school library media center. When I asked her what she thought about Berry, Elizabeth said that she once had her suspicions whether or not he was reading all of the books he checked out. (His total checkouts from the year before exceeded 200 books). But, after speaking with him, she said Berry was able to articulate all kinds of details and ideas from the books. She concluded that he was simply a voracious reader who also enjoyed the climate of the school library media center. I suspected he also enjoyed Elizabeth's company.

However, these jovial experiences in the school library media center were not universal for Berry. I also saw Berry come in with his class. In one remarkable instance, he sat in the very corner through the entire lesson, his head buried in a book. The other students would tease or ignore him, and he just continued to read. I recorded my

observations this way: “He is withdrawn, nonparticipatory in writing and sharing, apologetic. Kids almost seem to be making fun of him?... When they move to the carpet, he is the last to move and teacher has to invite him. He slumps” (Field notes, September 29, 2011). I also heard comments made about him in faculty meetings. Berry was not seen as an “easy” student to work with. In one case, a language arts teacher mentioned that Berry had not turned in his reading log for that 9-week grading period. Berry received a zero for his reading grade since the teacher had “no proof” that he read, even though she stated that she had seen him read nearly constantly. This was an interesting example of the way the institutional cultural capital of grades may not reflect embodied cultural capital. We can surmise that Berry’s independent visits to the library media center were a positive part of his day, both as a reader and as a student. We may never get to the core of Berry’s purposes for frequenting the school library media center, but we can be sure it was important to him as a place of social and objectified capital. As he put it,

> one of the reasons I love the library is because I can’t like just ask my parents to take me out somewhere to buy a book because they get home so late…and so, the library is an awesome place for me. I guess it’s a world where each book is a new world and every world is filled with stories and mystery and possibilities and chances of what is going to happen and has happened and what could happen and what couldn’t happen and what happened if you did this thing and not that….That’s what the library is to me, a place of possibilities and intrigue and adventure. (Berry interview, October 5, 2011)

In addition to Berry's comments, and the comments of other students, teachers saw the school library media program as a unique context for reading at Rolling Hills. Harriet saw it this way:

> A lot of what Elizabeth does in the library is to encourage kids to read for these other reasons and so I feel like that is extremely important. And if we did not have her then there would not be that push, even as individual teachers make a push for things across the school, not so much across the county but across the school, it's going nowhere. Whereas she can really reach all the kids. She knows all of the kids in school by name. (Harriet interview, May 19, 2011)

As Harriet pointed out, Elizabeth was in a unique position where she could potentially reach all of the Rolling Hills students and play a role in their literacy development. Elizabeth also stood somewhat outside the typical classroom demands for reading, which Harriet found valuable. Being able to press a bit more on the embodied cultural capitals, in addition to the institutional cultural capitals, was worthwhile in Harriet's estimation. Brandi, a science teacher, identified the library with literacy as well: "It's a great resource. I think it's so important to read across the board. I think it's important for every subject to be literate and the library helps promote literacy" (Brandi interview, November 16, 2011). Brandi saw the school library media program as reaching across curricular subjects from a literacy perspective. To these teachers the connection between libraries and literacy is clear, and its position unique in its broad reach.

Writing

Libraries of all kinds have long been identified with reading. Although library media centers have been identified with reading, writing also played a role in the library

media program at Rolling Hills Middle School. The push toward creation in library media centers is palpable in many professional conversations and documents, although it is unclear how quickly the profession is adopting writing as a part of the school library media program's work. In my observation, the push toward writing and creativity in the library media program at Rolling Hills came from the embodied cultural capitals and habitus of the school library media specialist, as well as from external sources and changes.

Three factors seemed to influence Elizabeth's gravitation toward writing in the school library media program. The first two I mention here were external factors, while the third one was part of her own embodied cultural capital. The first external influence was the work of the Nancie Atwell Group. The Atwell group did not insist on Elizabeth's participation. Instead, Elizabeth participated voluntarily, and learned from the meetings how she could shape her media program to complement and enhance the new literacy initiatives the members of the group were trying to put into place.

Much of the Atwell group meeting I attended focused on implementation of Atwell's ideas and concerns about the effectiveness of her work for all students. Elizabeth spent time writing down ideas and initiatives that she thought would impact her program, but in the meeting I attended, she did not speak much, if at all. One idea shared at the meeting was the need to establish a way to share resources about publishing student work for authentic audiences. Interestingly, Elizabeth was not seen as a logical source for these resources. The teachers planned to collect ideas and facilitate sharing them among themselves. After the meeting, I did suggest some resources for authentic publishing to Elizabeth, which she then shared with her language arts faculty.

Although Nancie Atwell herself wrote extensively about both reading and writing, Elizabeth felt that her school library media program fit relatively well with Atwell's reading workshop model. No significant changes were needed. However, writing was not such a natural fit with the structure of her library media program, and would require more of an adjustment. Elizabeth started by creating lessons that were more writing centered, such as a lesson where she took first lines of state book award nominees, printed them on bookmarks, and asked students to write the next lines of the story. She then hung examples of this work outside the library media center, as if to signify her participation in writing instruction. The shifts outside the field of the school library media center brought changes inside the field.

In addition to the Atwell group, the second external factor influencing Elizabeth's inclusion of more writing was her observation that many teachers had difficulty managing all of the assessment around writing. She also noted the frustration some teachers felt with the new assessments. When I asked Elizabeth about her goals for the next school year after the clerk had returned, she said,

> I had a brainstorm the other day…I don't know how it's going to fly but we'll put it out there and see if it works. I really want to help out with assessment since everybody will be on all standards based report cards next year, even eighth grade, it will be sixth through eighth grade and I really want to help out with the writing aspect because I feel like these kids don't write enough. I mean, the teachers are worn out trying to get them to write. So what I'd really like to do is having a writing lesson in here and then I would grade the papers. (Elizabeth follow up interview, December 8, 2011)

How much of that she would have been able to achieve without the return of the clerk is open to question. She went on to say

> I don't know how it's going to work yet…I might just do the pre-writing here and then have them take it back to the classroom and finish up the writing and then the teacher can give it to me to grade. I don't know, I still haven't worked out the kinks on that but I think I would really like to do that. Just reading the word of the week stories reminded me how much I enjoy trying to help. I mean, that's why I had the Writer's Block. (Elizabeth follow up interview, December 8, 2011)

In this quote, Elizabeth mentioned two initiatives she created. The writer's block was a special writing club she taught, and the word of the week stories were another contest she initiated herself. She was able to articulate a clear vision for the reason the school library media center should be involved in writing instruction:

> I really think that [writing] goes with the whole library because they do the reading part but their writing really explains do you understand what you're reading or can you express yourself in a different way, things like that. And I really think the kids will like it if they could see more of their books in here. I mean, there's a couple that Ms. Harriet did in her gifted class, you know, five years ago, but I think we should have more student writing in here, you know? I think just looking at the writing scores, I know you probably know this, and she was talking about how writing is not where we need to be. And so I really think they need more experience in writing. (Elizabeth interview, May 31, 2011)

Elizabeth included the embodied capitals of expressing oneself, authentically published objectified capitals with the symbolic legitimation of including them in the collection,

and the institutional capital of writing scores in her response. Elizabeth saw the school library media program as a logical place for these things to occur.

Even with her articulate ideas about the role of writing in the library media program, we cannot forget the third influence, Elizabeth's embodied and institutional cultural capital associated with being a former language arts teacher. These capitals made her attraction to writing understandable. Elizabeth felt great comfort with writing. Elizabeth possessed experience with and knowledge about writing, and even talked several times about her enjoyment of editing student writing. Her confidence and comfort with writing contributed to her disposition to continue learning about writing instruction and making it a vital part of the Rolling Hills Middle School library media program. Many students participated in her writing initiatives and received recognition for their work.

Digital Literacy

The lack of technological objectified cultural capitals in Elizabeth's media center was, at times, a cause of tension and frustration. In interviews, many of the students did not question the role of technology in the school library media program at Rolling Hills. However, as noted previously, there was little digital technology available within the school library media center. Only four computers were available for student use, all of which were full on a number of occasions I witnessed. When discussing technology in the school library media center, often as a result of a direct prompt from me, most students mentioned looking up books on the computer, with the occasional mention of audiobooks, cameras, or other uses for the computers such as typing papers. Although

students recognized the available pieces of technology as part of the media center landscape, they only seemed to identify very basic uses of that technology.

Despite the low number of technological objects available in this school library media center, Elizabeth tried to infuse digital literacy into her school library media program in several ways. First, Elizabeth incorporated technology into the lessons she taught to classes in the school library media center. This was especially true after the installation of her SMART board. I personally observed Elizabeth using Animoto (http://animoto.com/), wordle (http://www.wordle.net/), and other tools in her lessons, as well as videos, sound clips, and other media. Still, due to the low number of objectified technological capitals, the control, for the most part, remained with Elizabeth during these lessons. She did allow students to participate in navigating the SMART board, which they seemed to enjoy. But this participation was still limited to one or two students at a time. When it came to whole-class participation, Elizabeth had to manage it in creative ways.

Take, for example, the lesson she taught showing students how to add a review to the library media center catalog. This electronic catalog had social features, and allowed students to participate in sharing their reviews as part of a book's record. In line with her desire to increase writing instruction, Elizabeth taught students about the difference between worthwhile and unhelpful book reviews. She pointed out the importance of substantiating opinions with details and using descriptive language. She showed them examples of each type of review in the catalog. Elizabeth then invited each student to write a review for a book he or she had strong feelings about. Elizabeth then handed out notecards for students to write their reviews. After all the instruction she put in using the

electronic catalog, the lack of technological objectified capitals in the library media center forced Elizabeth to resort to pencil and paper for student writing. She then planned to type the reviews into the catalog herself, and credit the author of each review for their work. Elizabeth ended the lesson by asking each student to write down the name of a book he liked on a paper she circulated. She then typed the titles into wordle (http://www.wordle.net/) and invited students to help design word clouds of their favorite book titles, which she then posted on paper in the media center and on the media center webpage. It is difficult to say how many times Elizabeth taught this lesson, although she often taught lessons many times to different classes. I did see word clouds for at least five classes. The step of typing in the reviews highlighted Elizabeth's commitment to digital literacy and participation in the face of limited capitals. It also suggested lost opportunities and time due to the mismatch between Elizabeth's commitment to technology and the sparse capitals at her disposal. This lesson was typical in Elizabeth's efforts to incorporate technology in whole class lessons. Due to lack of objects, she was unable to decentralize control and encourage direct participation. The lack of capitals imposed restrictions, but Elizabeth's habitus still disposed her to find a way to bring student ideas and technology together.

Elizabeth was much more successful in incorporating direct digital literacy experiences with the smaller groups she managed. One of the key groups Elizabeth infused with digital literacy was the media crew. Other school library media specialists in the district admired Elizabeth's media crew, one of the club options at Rolling Hills. Already quite large during the first school year of the study, during the second school year Elizabeth enrolled over 55 students in her media crew. Blair was an enthusiastic

multi-year member of the media crew. As she described it, digital literacy and creation played a role in her enjoyment of the media crew:

> We make commercials for the book fairs. Every year, I've just been a camera person or a small part person, but this year I was like 'I'm gonna go for a big part' so I got a big part this year. One of the commercials we just made was really cool, for the Fear Factor. (Blair interview, October 17, 2011)

Although Elizabeth provided a guide for the script for these videos, students could add to the script while also designing the visual appearance of the project. Blair also talked about editing the videos as well as making updates to webpages. She said she learned how to update webpages from Elizabeth during her sixth grade year.

Near the end of the study, Elizabeth also began using Edmodo to communicate with her reading bowl team and other groups she worked with. She credited this change to the return of the clerk, stating:

> I started doing something which I would have no time whatsoever to do if she [the clerk] wasn't here. I don't know if you've heard of Edmodo. I love it. I don't remember who I saw doing it and then I was like, yeah, I've seen it before and it was on somebody's website but I hadn't tried it, and then I was like, "oh I'm going to try this out because I have so many things to tell kids about" and there are so many different groups I need to tell, like the morning news or my club [media crew], or…morning news club, or reading bowl which is my AIMs class. So I was like, why don't I just make one, and then one for each of the groups and then within that group you can make smaller groups, so I tell the smaller group of people who are going to do the commercial tomorrow, "this is the script we're

> going to use" and then the people who are doing bulletin boards, "this is what we are going to do on the bulletin board" so they can actually figure out what they're going to do before they get here. (Elizabeth follow up interview, December 8, 2011)

She described Edmodo as "Facebook for education" without all the advertisements and other concerns. At the time of the interview, not long after she opened her Edmodo account, about half of Elizabeth's small group students were enrolled and using the tool.

Elizabeth's disposition toward technology, coupled with the lack of technological objectified cultural capitals in the media center, made for an interesting quandary. Elizabeth's workarounds, from submitting student work to online sources herself, to infusing small groups with technology whenever possible or opening up technological avenues that could allow students to participate through their own technological capitals, showed Elizabeth's desire to use technology with students. However, dispositions of habitus alone cannot always compensate for lack of objectified cultural capitals.

Books

I would be remiss not to devote a brief section to the role of books in the school library media program at Rolling Hills Middle School. I reserved this section for last, despite the fact that so many students I interviewed talked about books first. The reason for putting this section last is my belief that Elizabeth tried to emphasize the roles of the library media program beyond objects. I saw her constantly strive to put books and texts into use for literacy, although she had to attend to the objects in themselves at times.

Despite her focus on objectified cultural capitals in use, the objects were often the initial elements students associated with the school library media program. The first

question I asked each student interviewee was "what comes to mind when I say 'school library media center'?" With few exceptions, the answer was the same for all students: "books." Their feelings about the preeminent objectified cultural capitals in the Rolling Hills library media center were divided.

For some of the students, the books played an attractive role in the library media program. For these students, books brought opportunities for enjoyment, and the selection of books at the Rolling Hills library media center was adequate for their needs. Haley, a seventh grader who felt the library media center at Rolling Hills had many books she liked, said "I like reading, so I like books and going to the library" (Haley interview, October 11, 2011). Interestingly, Haley mentioned the books in relation to reading, which she enjoyed. Lexie was similar, in that she talked about reading and enjoying the books: "[I think about] Getting to read books….the books there are real good and real interesting" (Lexie interview, October 12, 2011).

For others, the books were a detriment to their thoughts about the school library media program. Take Asaw, who said the school library media center brought not just books to mind, but "older books…a lot of them are used and worn and damaged" (Asaw interview, October 12, 2011). He also said the Rolling Hills library media center did not have many new books to choose from. Bri said the media center made him think of "a bunch of books… I don't really like the media center because it's harder to find books because there are so many books…and so it's hard to find good books that I like" (Bri interview, October 11, 2011). Both Asaw and Bri focused on the physical aspects of the books, as opposed to their content. To some students, the condition of the object mattered to the quality of the reading experience.

Other students had reservations about the content of the books there. Jane mentioned books first, then computers, but returned to books as the primary reason she did not enjoy the school library media program: "most of the time I just think of books and I don't think of it as the most exciting thing…sometimes they don't have the most interesting books" (Jane interview, October 11, 2011). Nicole preferred the wider variety of books available at the public library. She didn't think the school library media center had books she enjoyed.

Blair, who had a long standing relationship with Elizabeth from several years on the media crew, mentioned Elizabeth before the books: "Ms. Bowen and how she's always into the book fairs and how our library has so many books, audio books, and stuff" (Blair interview, October 17, 2011). Tavirous also mentioned Ms. Bowen and how she was the one to help you find things to read. But, outside of these examples, the spontaneous mention of the media specialist was rare. Books are still important, especially in a media center like Rolling Hills, which had few other types of material resources to offer students. For some readers, the condition of the objects was important. The number of books, content, and organization mattered as well. Still, changing minds about the library media center as being primarily about books was an ongoing process.

Identity Markers in the Rolling Hills School Library Media Program

One of the more difficult challenges of this study was trying to discern the ways identity markers shaped the use of the school library media center. I divide this section of the chapter into two parts. First, I examine the ways the traditional identity markers of race, class, and gender seemed to influence use of the school library media program.

Then, I discuss some of the identity markers outside of this cluster that seemed to make a difference in participation in the school library media program.

Race, Social Class, and Gender in the School Library Media Program

Race, social class, and gender are among the typical identity markers used in literacy research. Examinations of these and other identity markers are often seen as pathways to understand the ways literacies are inclusive or exclusive. I included race, social class, and gender as specific things to look for within my analytic system, but also tried to look for other identity markers outside of these three conventional ones in order to understand the ways the school library media center may be inclusive or exclusive of certain groups.

Although I included official census data in the previous chapter, I will include the principal's description of the population here.

> We're about forty-four percent free and reduced lunch…we have some minority groups but not as much…we're not as diverse as some of our neighboring counties but we do have some diversity here…we have about a fourteen to fifteen percent special ed population which is rather high …but we also have a twenty percent gifted population which is also very high. So, we're very unique in that we do have a high percentage of the upper end but also a rather high percentage, more than the feds would like for us to have, of the lower end as well. So, we've got a great mix here. (Lynne interview, November 17, 2011)

When I asked Elizabeth to describe the student body, she was hesitant, but focused most of her comments on social class:

> Well, every student is different, it's hard to lump them as a group….I don't know, it's hard to describe all the students. Cause it's like, I don't know, I think some of them have a good home life but I think we are thirty percent on reduced lunch which is not a huge population but there are still those kids who aren't getting, you know…I mean, they don't have everything they need. I don't know how else to say that and that they're never going to get the iPod or be able to buy a book in the book fair or things like that. (Elizabeth interview, May 31, 2011)

In many cases, libraries are seen as equalizers for students who do not have resources at home. This may explain Elizabeth's primary focus on social class and objects in her response.

Reading race in the school library media center. As a researcher, taking account of identity markers was a challenge. For example, I realized early in the study that it makes me uncomfortable to try to read race by sight. I prefer to let students self-identify, which was difficult to do as a participant observer in the middle of the bustle of a busy school library media center. Even in quieter times, I had little to no interaction with students in many cases and did not want to simply ask them to racially self-identify during their work in the school library media center.

In my field notes, I did try to record instances and observances that seemed like they might involve race. For example, on the very first day of observation, I recorded a discussion that came up during a lesson. A student seemed to thrive off of disrupting the lesson with loud comments about race.

> On this day, the school library media specialist was teaching an information literacy lesson. Students arrive and sit down. Library media specialist explained

> the difference between plagiarism and paraphrase. She demonstrated double entry notes using the white board and a sentence about Mao Zedong. She chose Mao Zedong because it is a topic they are studying in class. This is a class of nine people. There were quite a few behavior disruptions during this lesson. One young man in particular talked loudly about racism against Asians because of the sentences chosen to describe Mao Zedong. He went on to talk loudly about rural people being 'trailer trash.' (Field notes, March 28, 2011)

This instance was clearly an attempt by the student to disrupt instruction. It was not clear what the inclusion of race was about, aside from being potentially inflammatory.

Much later in the study, during a particularly busy time in the library media center, I observed the following conversation between an African American boy and a girl who appeared to be of Hispanic origin.

> Are also many kids in the library media center to check out or to hang out.
>
> African American boy arguing with girl over fiction shelf.
>
> "Do you even know English?"
>
> "I wasn't born here."
>
> "That's racist."
>
> "Is that racist?"
>
> "I'm the greatest Black man in the world." (Field notes, October 24, 2011)

There were other instances when race seemed to be implicated in observations, but was not directly mentioned. One such instance occurred during the summer camp for rising sixth graders. Students were making a video in the news studio when a White boy said "Barack Obama should be kicked out of office. Barack Obama should be dead."

(Field notes, June 2, 2011). The library media specialist quickly said that this talk was "not appropriate" but the boy continued: "welcome to being a republican...our government doesn't control us, we need to pay our medical bills, our water bills, our electricity bills" (Field notes, June 2, 2011). Although I could not be sure this comment was about race as well as politics, the mention of the death of the president due to these policies raised questions about potential racial elements in his comments. These few moments do not amount to any conclusions we might make about race. It seemed as if race-focused comments occurred in the library media center just as they might in any other classroom context.

In a few instances, race seemed to be involved in student selection of objectified cultural capitals for their reading.

> Girl (Asian American appearance) cannot find book. She asked teacher for help in finding a book. Teacher walked her through reader's advisory process, asking about what she likes. Girl said "I like books about culture and what they go through." Teacher suggested other books by the author of a book she enjoyed in the past. I helped with this. They told me the title and I told them the author. The teacher came up with *Weedflower* by Kadohata (2006) but it was not in. Then decided to look for *Cracker!* by Kadohata (2007) but it is not in this collection. Girl left with nothing. (Later I looked and the only copy of *Cracker!* in the county is at the elementary school). (Field notes, August 15, 2011)

Unfortunately, this attempt to locate culturally relevant materials was unsuccessful. It was difficult to know where the breakdown happened in the process of finding a book to suit this student's needs. The teacher seemed to be operating from limited knowledge of

these materials and her own resources for reader's advisory, which did not match up with the holdings in the school library media center. I failed to note the role of the media specialist in this instance. Both student and teacher left the school library media center frustrated.

This is not to say that there were no racially diverse materials in the school library media collection at Rolling Hills Middle School. One instance involving a student who appeared to be an Asian American male showed that these materials are both present and desired.

> Asian American male checked in *Dragon's Gate* (Yep, 1993), *Jouahnah: A Hmong Cinderella* (Coburn & Lee, 1996), and *Tangled Threads: A Hmong Girl's Story* (Shea, 2003). He then looked through fiction, wandering, then went to Destiny Quest [online library catalog] and searched for the word "chinese" [sic]. He found one book in stacks, then back to Destiny Quest, then strolled around fiction area several times, then asked me for help. The book he was looking for is in the Story Collection. I see the SC on Destiny Quest. I show him the SC on the screen and then we go find it on the shelves. The book was called *Shen of the Sea: Chinese Stories for Children* (Chrisman, 1968). (Field notes, September 8, 2011)

It was impossible to tell whether a curricular purpose or a personal one motivated this boy's search. Perhaps the books fulfilled both personal and curricular needs. Regardless of his motivation, this is but one example that showed the way diverse materials are needed in this library media center.

For the small number of instances I observed where the search for racially diverse materials was explicit, there were likely many more of these searches that went unnoticed. The two instances noted above hint at some of the barriers students may find as they seek racially diverse objectified cultural capitals. In the first case, the teacher's limited knowledge or her particular reader's advisory strategies may have prevented her from helping the student locate a book to suit her tastes. The social capital the student used in asking the teacher, combined with the embodied cultural capitals of the teacher and student, did not amount to the ability to locate an appropriate objectified capital. An overall lack of these capitals may be part of the problem as well. In the second instance, the organization of capitals into a separate story collection confused the boy's attempts to locate the book he wanted. The complex rules of the field rendered this capital practically invisible. How many racially diverse books were tucked away into ancillary collections was impossible to say. The social capital available through a person in the library media center available to help him look enabled him to obtain the objectified cultural capital he sought out. These complex configurations of social capital, embodied cultural capital, and objectified cultural capital are worthy of further study.

In a final note on race in this library media program, I made many notes about the races of the students in the library media center in an attempt to understand the way races may have been underserved. The only marked differences I noticed dovetailed with ability groups, which will be discussed in a later section. Finally, in spite of the boy's success in finding "chinese" materials in the observation described above, it was also clear that the level of racially diverse materials in this collection was low. The collection at Rolling Hills Middle School was quite old, and older library media collections tend to

have lower levels of racially diverse materials, given the disproportionately high number of children's books by and about people from the White race in United States publishing throughout recent decades (Cooperative Children's Book Center, 2011). Sifting through all of the books about White culture and characters can be a formidable task.

Reading social class in the school library media program. Similar to the concerns expressed about reading racial diversity noted above, social class also seemed to be far more complex than could be read by sight. Although students may wear name brand clothes or the latest in footwear, this is unreliable data when determining social class. Again, looks can be deceiving, even purposefully so. The constructs of race and class are complex, and visual cues alone are of extremely limited use in discernment.

In terms of social class, some of the more interesting data I collected were drawn from interviews. The presence of books at home was important for Bourdieu (2007) as fundamental to his theory of cultural capital, which helped to explain some of the class reproduction undergirding the education system. During interviews, I asked students about the number of books they had at home, and many of them also mentioned technologies for reading or gaming. Most of the students I interviewed reported owning significant numbers of books at home. For example, I sat with three male students for interviews just before the summer break. All three of them were avid readers. At first glance, I would not have been able to tell whether the three of them came from different social classes. But, from listening to them speak, there were signs that they came from different economic backgrounds. They all had books at home. When I asked Andrew about his reading materials at home, he said "my whole room is books." He went on to say that books were a feature at holiday gatherings in his family: "on Christmas, all my

presents are books" (Andrew interview, May 17, 2011). Like Andrew, Jeremy also had a lot of books at home. He told me that "I have a whole closet reserved" for his books (Jeremy interview, May 17, 2011). But the nuances of these books are of interest. Some students considered twenty or thirty books a lot, while others stated that they owned well over a hundred books, or measured their books by numbers of shelves or entire rooms full. The nuances of these answers were also perplexing. For example, some students counted books from their days as primary readers. Other students seemed to combine their accounting from personal collections with their parent's collections. Still, most of the students interviewed in the study indicated that they had ready access to books from a variety of sources. They also mentioned access to e-readers such as Kindles and Nooks, and other reading technologies. But, this is all self-reporting from a limited number of students, and therefore incomplete data.

The few notations I made about social class in observations were also incomplete. For example, in the first weeks after summer break, a boy came in looking for a book titled *The Ask and the Answer* (Ness, 2009). As he picked it up from the Rolling Hills library media center shelves, I asked him whether he had read the first book in the trilogy. He said that he read the first one in a week, but he had been waiting all summer to check the second book out (Field notes, August 9, 2011). At the time, I interpreted this comment as a sign of lower socioeconomic class. However, it is more defensible to say that this boy did not have the social capital to get to the public library, or other economic means to acquire the book himself. Thus, there were any number of capital conflicts or discontinuities that rendered the school library media center important for students.

The educators had their own ideas about the social class standings of their students and the importance of the school library media program. Many times I framed an interview question in a way that would help contextualize the role of the school library media program in the overall lives of students. Brandi said that the school library media center is "where they get most of their books. I mean, some of them, yeah, they buy the books or whatever, but these kids, if you look around they all have library books on their desks" (Brandi interview, November 16, 2011). Other teachers acknowledged a spectrum of availability in resources. When I asked Madeline Smith about whether or not her students had books at home she said

> A lot of my kids do because they ask, "Is it okay if I read this book? I already have it at home" and I'm like, "Sure"…so a lot of them do. I think their parents buy them a lot of books and things like that. We have a lot of kids that are very fortunate at home and then we have a lot that don't have very much at all. So, I think there is a big spectrum there. There's not really a lot in the middle. (Madeline Smith interview, May 18, 2011)

Madeline's comments may reflect the growing income disparities that were also occurring in the wider United States at the time of the study.

Ellen seemed to think that the materials available through the school library media center were of help to parts of the population with lower financial resources. She even looked at it in terms of the wider financial situation of the school:

> think about it, we don't have textbooks…we have a class set of textbooks so the kids can only use it in the class, they can't take it home so, I mean, if they don't have books to read, a lot of kids can't afford books. Some, I know, they rely on

> those library books and then some, you know, they're a little more well off so they probably do have a lot of books at home. But they do get the library books here, too. I just think we'd be doing a disservice to our lower income kids if we did not have that material that they could bring home to read. (Ellen interview, November 17, 2011)

Technologies were also of interest when the adults talked about financial access to resources and learning opportunities. When I asked Elizabeth about student access to technologies, she answered this way:

> A lot of them have phones, I know that. I think a lot of them have iPods. I've heard kids talk about iPads and I was like "oh my gosh, your parents gave you an iPad? That's insane." I'm sure we have kids that, you know, we live in the [name of large affluent subdivision next to the school] area. I'm not saying that they're all…I mean, they could all be credit cards to the max, I don't know, but they're getting the stuff. And I've seen some kids who have Nooks. I mean, not a whole lot, but like two or three who have shown me their Nooks, and I'm sure there are more that have them. (Elizabeth interview, May 31, 2011)

Because portable student-owned technologies were generally kept hidden at Rolling Hills, it was hard to tell how many students were carrying around phones or other technologies in their pockets. I did keep my iPhone out during observations in case I needed to take a photograph or make a voice note. This prompted a number of comments, and even a student showing me his favorite apps on his own iPhone, slipped quietly from his pocket.

Lynne, the principal, also acknowledged the social class differences, even going so far to discuss some of the subtleties she noticed with online access decisions.

> [It] does concern me, especially with the economy like it's been…we do have more and more kids who do not have the internet access because when parents look at their budgets that's one thing parents choose to eliminate. We try to make sure that those parents know that they can come into our building and use those resources. Of course, the public library also provides those things as well. Lots of times parents have opted to have internet access on their phones and while that's great and it does give them some internet access it's probably not very conducive to the type of access that our kids would need in terms of research. You can probably do some search engines but as far as being able to pull up documents and print something out, the phone is limited. So while I acknowledge that, we have some limited applications, too, in terms of what our kids may need. So, that's the struggle. We do try to make sure that our parents know that if they need something, we try to make sure that our teachers are aware of that so that when kids need to get access to that information, they can't take the Internet home with them but at least maybe if they've done some research they can print it out and take the print form of the material. (Lynne interview, November 17, 2011)

Lynne discussed ways of negotiating lack of online access for students. She mentioned the roles of the school and different libraries in trying to ensure equality in access to information and experiences. However, Lynne expressed in her interview that the school library media center at Rolling Hills was significantly less technologically advanced than she wanted it to be.

Teachers expressed different perspectives on the levels and benefits of online access for students. Ellen estimated that "probably about a quarter of kids don't have internet access…so they rely on coming here and doing all of their research. We try to give them opportunities for that but they just watch TV" (Ellen interview, November 17, 2011). Ellen's comment is an interesting one, given the current discussions in education that discuss the "digital divide" as an opportunity gap. In arguments about the opportunity gap, the problem is not access to screens so much as quality learning experiences involving those technologies. George Glass, the social studies teacher, incorporated Edmodo into his classroom teaching. When I asked him about his concerns about access, he said

> I have about eleven or twelve who are really fanatical with [Edmodo] and they're online at least once a day. Other kids are only able to get online when they're here and that's okay and I understand that and I tell them, "You know, no one is going to punish you because you don't have stuff at home." But obviously if it's something that you can do…I think to try to keep people from feeling bad we actually went in the opposite direction. And I think now we're punishing kids because you do have it. If you have the resource, why can't you use it? And I will make sure that everyone in my class gets the material that they have to have but there are some things that I can't provide you if you don't have these other things but I'm not going to withhold it from other kids. (George Glass interview, October 31, 2011)

Thus, George did acknowledge the social class and cultural differences in his classes. He tried to ensure equity as much as possible but not to the point of excluding technology because a student did not have home access to Internet resources.

All of these speculations and observations cannot be seen as hard-and-fast data for determining social class. Few conclusions can be made. Perhaps this is indication that it is a lower priority at Rolling Hills, or simply that it is uncomfortable to talk about. Still, the comments (and silences) around social class and resources are important to note, especially because Bourdieu developed his theory of cultural capital based on the differences in culturally valued materials some students had at home. Since the time of Bourdieu's work, the advent of digital technologies and the rising importance of visual media added new extensions to his ideas, and another axis for some students to gain advantages over others. But even as students from working class homes acquire culturally valued materials and technologies, this does not necessarily add up to equity in educational opportunity. Mere possession of technologies does not equal an increase in capital or other advantages.

Reading gender in the school library media program. Gender may seem to be the simplest of the three main identity markers to determine. However, gender is also more complex than the simple male/female binary. Even though gender felt the easiest to read by sight, I did find myself wondering a number of times if I was doing an injustice to the complexities that were either masked or felt by the students themselves. However, even with these concerns, none of the participants seemed to self-identify outside of the dominant binary. The data showed interesting patterns within this binary.

Gender also seemed to be the least controversial and most directly addressed of the identity markers in regard to school library media programs. Classifying books as "girl books" or "boy books" seemed to be perfectly acceptable. Some have argued that entire library sections, even the binary between fiction and non-fiction, have a gendered undercurrent (Dressman, 1997c; Garrison, 2003). That argument has been extended to include the entire library, even the act of reading itself, as feminized through sociohistorical development.

With this in mind, it may not be surprising that the prevailing lore in much of the scholarly and popular literature is that boys are not reading as much as girls. As discussed previously, this assertion has been critiqued on a number of fronts, most notably that the definition of what counts as reading is often too narrow when considering these questions. However, even with a narrow, print-book based definition of reading, many boys in this school were visibly avid readers. Most of the students with the highest number of checkouts were boys. Many members of the reading bowl team were boys. Perhaps due to gendered expectations, the most vocal participants at the reading bowl team practice I observed were also boys. At the "Teen vs. Book" reading incentive celebration held in the fall, over half of the students who attended were White males. Many times throughout the study, I found myself wondering why this male dominance appeared to be the case. I tried to attend carefully to all the aspects of the school library to see if there was a particular bias toward the male gender.

At times, there did seem to be some emphasis on materials that might be seen as traditionally appealing to boys. In one example, during a "treasure hunt" lesson to promote an upcoming book fair, Elizabeth hid several books around the school library

media center. Small group located books and brought them back to the instruction tables. She then did a brief booktalk of all the titles. An excerpt from my field notes was the spark that caused the reflection on the gendered titles she selected:

> Activity of reading clue and finding "treasure" "and it should be obvious what the treasure is - books!" says Elizabeth. She is sharing book fair books. Library media specialist booktalks the books after they find them. She says has read them all, pretty much. Titles are *Ghost Story* (Butcher, 2011), *Darth Paper Strikes Back* (Angleberger, 2011), *The Eleventh Plague* (Hirsch, 2011), *The Fast and the Furriest* (Behrens, 2010), and *Vietnam Book One: I Pledge Allegiance* (Lynch, 2011). [I wondered, Are these all "boy books?"] Library media specialist tells about each book, does a good booktalk, tells which are series. (Field notes, October 5, 2011).

Although all students were welcome to check out all books, the topics of the books featured in this particular lesson (which was taught many times over) did seem to fit stereotypical notions of what boys might enjoy reading. Although books with stereotypical girls themes were present in the collection, the fact that they were not among the featured titles is worthy of note. These subtle instances of bias may have occurred at other times, but I did not recognize them. Many of the notes I made about gender in observations did not seem to lead to broader interpretations. Most observations simply noted the apparent gender of the person(s) taking part in the activity, such as the ways genders often segregated themselves to different tables when Elizabeth taught lessons. Despite the inability to draw conclusions about gender, this school library media program seemed to be an exception to the broad notion that boys are not reading. To the

contrary, many of the most enthusiastic readers in this school were boys. The reasons for this require further study.

Beyond Race, Social Class, and Gender in the School Library Media Program

During data collection, I began to notice identity markers other than the traditional ones discussed previously. The identity markers that did stand out and seem to make a difference were often identity markers imposed on students by the school institution. Several of these markers merit mention. First, grade level markers seemed to matter when it came to student experiences in the Rolling Hills Middle school library media center. Participation in the media center seemed to decrease across the three years of middle school. This pattern seemed to hold both for whole classes and individual participation. For the most part, sixth graders appeared more eager to be in the school library media center. Their teachers often brought them regularly to the media center, and a disproportionate number of the individual visits I noted were from sixth grade students. This enthusiasm seemed to wane with each successive grade level. Class visits from sixth grade teachers happened more often than class visits from seventh and eighth grade classes. The media clerk corroborated this trend. When I asked her for an explanation of it, she surmised that it was because of the nature of the curriculum in eighth grade, and the number of projects that eighth graders had to complete (Octavo interview, November 16, 2011). Because Harriet was the only eighth grade teacher I spoke to in this study, and she willingly admitted that she did not visit the school library media center often, I have no data from teachers to explain this pattern. Many of the eighth grade students I spoke to were from Harriet's classes, and I shared their reasons for not coming to the school library media center previously. To be clear, there were

certainly eighth grade members of the media club, the news crew, and eighth grade students who visited the library independently for different reasons. Still, there was a marked downturn from sixth to eighth grade.

Another kind of identity marker that seemed to affect school library media center visits was what might be called ability grouping. Because school library visits were most often organized around language arts classes, the groupings based on school-defined language arts abilities were most important in school library media center scheduling. At the beginning of the school year, the media specialist tallied her classes as follows: "three resource, ten gifted, one self contained, thirty-two regular, three Title reading, equals forty-nine language arts classes" (Field notes, August 12, 2011). There were a few marked differences in how Elizabeth taught the gifted and regular classes, including a bit of extra content and demands for gifted students. Still, the basic topics were often the same. I did observe Title reading classes in the school library media center, and the basic content of lessons was also similar to that of the regular classes. I did not note observations of resource or self-contained classes. The main difference I noted was that there seemed to be fewer students of color in the higher ability grouping classes I observed. There was a larger proportion of students of color in regular and Title classes.

Aside from school-defined identity groups, there were also identity markers that seemed to be more student-defined. The most salient one of these was the football team. I did not notice the football team until the after the summer break. Football season is in the fall, which explained the team's invisibility to me until later in the study. Football season at Rolling Hills brought along with it days of wearing football jerseys. The bright white sheen of their athletic shirts made these students easy to identify. The fact that they

seemed to move and sit in clusters also helped. As I have written elsewhere (Friese, 2008), school library media centers can be places for students to seek information and connection with their personal affinity groups (Gee, 2000). Although I noticed the obvious signs of the football team, I wondered what other affinity groups and their capitals circulated through the school library media program that may have been more invisible to my observer's eye (Field notes, September 1, 2011). I wondered about the boy wearing a football jersey, who returned one of the *Bone* series of graphic novels (Smith, 2004) only to check out another one. He also encouraged another boy wearing a football jersey to check out a *Bone* book as well (Field notes, September 1, 2011). Did many of the football players also read graphic narratives? Or would these boys read comics along with friends in another affinity group? When a cluster of boys came in to return the *Bone* books, and one boy asked to check out the book another in his group just turned in, I suspected that there was an undercurrent of social reading that the library media program at Rolling Hills Middle School enabled. The two girls who repeatedly checked out copies of the same book so they could read together provided another example of this phenomenon (Field notes, August 19, 2011). The objects within the school library media center enabled literacy connections that happened both inside the library media center and outside its walls.

Summary and Conclusion

The school library media program at Rolling Hills Middle School did not function independently. Instead, this chapter described a number of external social fields that shaped the activities that happened there, including fields at the state, county, and school levels. These different influences often formed barriers to literacy learning, especially

when economic capital lessened. In addition, relations in the field with teachers and administrators shaped the possibilities for literacies in the school library media center in particular ways.

Although barriers and limiters existed, the data described here also suggest some of the negotiated spaces of freedom and literacies that students took up. The reading, writing, and digital literacy programs Elizabeth initiated engaged many students in different forms of literacy practices. Her open policy also allowed many students the opportunity to read freely and pursue their own interests. Many students also used the space of the library media center for social interaction. These data can only suggest possible patterns regarding identity markers and the way they interfaced with the school library media program. In the following chapter I will comment on this as well as other future directions for policy, practice, and research.

CHAPTER 5

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY, PRACTICE, AND RESEARCH

As stated in the opening chapter of this dissertation, the purpose of this study was to develop a theoretically informed description of how a school library media program contributed to and detracted from youth literacies, broadly conceptualized. Using a variety of data sources drawn from the case study of Rolling Hills Middle School library media program and a Bourdieusian analytic lens, this report demonstrated the ways the library media program added to the literacies available to middle grades students. The data also showed a number of barriers to a robust, extended school library media program that could fully contribute to student literacy learning. Given these data, in this chapter I will suggest several implications for practice and future research. I divide this chapter into two parts. First, I discuss implications for practice, clustered around the three Bourdieusian concepts of field, capital, and habitus. In the second section, focusing on future research, I discuss possible avenues for subsequent studies as well as the importance of publishing across multiple fields to increase the knowledge base about school library media programs.

Before suggesting these implications, I briefly note that this case study only described one school library media program out of many thousands throughout the United States. Any claims and conclusions drawn only applied to the situation at Rolling Hills Middle School, and perhaps other schools with similar demographics, histories, and context. Despite these limitations, insights drawn from the activities at Rolling Hills can

suggest possible avenues for future inquiries and actions. At the very least, this case study suggested the potential of studying school library media programs as dynamic sites for literacy opportunities. Similarly structured studies in different school situations would strengthen and refine the implications presented here.

Implications for Policy and Practice

This section, examining implications for policy and practice, is divided into three parts, loosely gathered around the Bourdieusian concepts of field, capital, and habitus. I address the external social fields that affect school library media programs, the different capitals that seemed to be especially important to the Rolling Hills school library media program, and the importance of changing habitus toward library media programs in general. Each of these analytic concepts yielded relevant implications for school library media programs.

Understanding External Social Fields

In chapter four, I devoted extensive attention to the external fields that shaped the school library media program at Rolling Hills Middle School. One of the more difficult challenges facing school library media programs is the process of changing the external social fields that influence school library media programs within the educational community. There are several levels of fields where practitioners and advocates may address any misconceptions and barriers they find. For the purposes of this discussion, I will take the barriers identified at Rolling Hills and explore potential actions. Some of these barriers will apply to many other situations, while others are more particular. These potential actions range from involvement in national policy to actions in individual school library media centers, with layers in between. Thus, changing the role of the

school library media center is about more than simply changing conditions and rules within a single library media center itself. Understanding the rules of the external fields by which school library media programs are affected is a part of keeping school library media programs robust and relevant.

National and state level. As the data demonstrated, the standards and student achievement discourse significantly shaped classrooms and teacher actions at Rolling Hills Middle School. Given the prominence of these movements, Elizabeth and other school library media specialists would be wise to infiltrate the circles that create and implement, for example, the Common Core State Standards. These standards, as instruments defining the institutional cultural capital schools confer, are central to current educational directions in this country. Given their importance, there will likely be little progress in stabilizing school library media funding without a strong demonstration of relevance to the Common Core State Standards as well as any future similar initiatives. Elizabeth's principal was articulate about the increased relevance of the school library media program given the prominent literacy demands the Common Core State Standards spread across the curriculum. Elizabeth herself had apparently either not made this connection or was immersed in attention to facilitating her program, leaving little time to prepare for the advance of the new standards. Without early and obvious involvement in these dominant discourses, it is difficult to imagine school library media programs changing their dominated, even somewhat marginalized status within the educational field. Elizabeth devoted a lot of time to adjusting her program to school-based initiatives, but taking similar actions in regard to larger fields is also important.

A related national trend at the time was the focus on assessments and student achievement. This presented a quandary for school library media specialists, as often they are not directly tied to standardized test scores. With this in mind, school library media programs may be seen as somewhat apart from the official curriculum, taking only a supportive role. Although there are benefits to being somewhat outside the official curriculum, given national policy priorities it is wise to be able to align library media center initiatives with the standards related to student learning and achievement goals. In practice, most of the initiatives that Elizabeth conducted could be connected with literacy standards. It would not be a difficult transition to explicitly articulate standards with lessons. Part of raising the understanding of school library media program above objects and management might be the school library media specialist demonstrating herself as a teacher with curricular ownership. Elizabeth tried to make clear connections to her teachers, and also expressed interest in taking responsibility for writing teaching and assessment. Of course, this was only possible when she was untethered from the media center through an economic capital investment in reliable support staffing. An understanding of curriculum, future changes, and new educational directions is essential. Observing the teachers' anxiety and stress that came with changing the literacy paradigm and assessment practices highlighted an opportunity for Elizabeth to be a curricular leader as teachers implemented Common Core State Standards. Lynne already saw her in that role. At present, the growth of the Common Core State Standards is an opportunity for school library media programs to present themselves as a foundational element to this significant curricular change. In light of this county's move to standards-based reporting, Elizabeth could also take on certain standards as the school library media program's

responsibility, giving her direct charge over some of the institutional cultural capital the school conferred.

This is not to say that larger educational movements and policies are not worthy of critique. I am not suggesting that media specialists simply jump on the latest policy bandwagon and wiggle in wherever they can. However, library media specialists cannot afford to ignore these dominant initiatives, especially given the ties to funding that come along with adherence to current policies. School library media specialists must be prepared to demonstrate and defend the worth of all aspects of their programs based on current educational policy. If there are critiques to be made, library media specialists can add their voices to those conversations alongside other educators. Joining in this struggle may also increase visibility of library media specialists in wider educational circles.

Relatedly, maintaining a contributing presence on teams developing tests, standards, assessments, and curricula is essential for school library media specialists as a professional field. The more school library media specialists participate, the more they can demonstrate their understanding and partnership in these educational directions. School library media specialists can also work to share their embodied knowledge of literacy, information, and learning in a way that aims to shape future standards and their implementation. In addition to striving to participate, school library media specialists can in turn endeavor to change this dominating field on behalf of student learning.

School level. Elizabeth's active participation in the Nancie Atwell Group suggested the benefits of school library media specialists' involvement in teacher professional development and other school-level learning initiatives. Elizabeth's attention to the NAG was an effort that kept her apprised of the on-the-ground changes

that she could then enhance through the school library media program. It also afforded her the context to understand changes that affected the internal workings of the school library media program. If Elizabeth had not been a part of the NAG group, she likely could not have crafted her writing lessons to extend the principles the NAG group sought to adopt. She also may not have known why certain days on her schedule were crowded and others were empty.

At Rolling Hills, the library media program was primarily aligned with the language arts content area. This was likely due to historical associations with reading when it was taught as a separate subject. Despite possible benefits from this close alignment with one subject, this association may also limit other beneficial opportunities. I wondered during the study if initiatives similar to NAG existed in other content areas at Rolling Hills. Seeing the benefit of her work with NAG suggested that seeking those opportunities with other groups of teachers might yield similar benefits and even connections across content areas. At a time when many of the Rolling Hills teachers felt the crunch of standards and assessments keeping them inside their classrooms, Elizabeth might be in a position to make these connections. Especially in light of Lynne's expressed belief that Elizabeth was a key part in implementing the expanding literacy requirements that Common Core extended to all content areas, this presented an opportunity for Elizabeth to extend the reach of the school library media program. None of the content area teachers I spoke with indicated awareness of this potential connection between their content area, the school library media program, and the coming changes in standards. If Elizabeth could commit the time and maintain the mobility to attend meetings for each curriculum area, she might initiate projects between them and enrich

the literacy possibilities in all classrooms. This change in standards and the accompanying anxieties presents an opportunity for school library media specialists like Elizabeth, who may have certain content area alliances, to reconnect with all content areas and become a resource for literacy learning and the use of complex texts in all classrooms.

Capitals and the School Library Media Program

The school library media program at Rolling Hills facilitated capitals in numerous ways. At the same time, rules and relations around capitals also proved to be a limiter of literacy opportunities on a number of occasions. Given the foundational nature of economic capital, I discuss it individually, then turn to broader comments on school library media programs in configurations of other capitals.

Economic capital. This study demonstrated the critical role of economic capital in the fulfillment of the Rolling Hills library media program's mission to enrich youth literacies. Monetary investment can be made in objectified cultural capital to provide more reading choices. However, more importantly, investments in staffing allowed the embodied cultural capital and the social capital that Elizabeth provided to circulate more freely. The descriptive data in this study showed the constrictive effect that a lack of support staff had on the media program at Rolling Hills Middle School. Although new books and objects are attractive and appealing for readers, one of the overriding lessons of this study is that investment in library staffing may make the objectified capitals in the school library media center more appealing and efficiently shared.

Elizabeth's example suggested that the school library media program is more than just the library media center space. However, a reduction in economic capital, resulting

in the loss of the media clerk, led to the restriction of the school library media program at Rolling Hills. This, in turn, led to in an increased focus on objects by the media specialist and tethering the media specialist to the school library media space. It also resulted in a reduction in potential and actual social capital because Elizabeth was unable to leave the school library media center most of the time. This isolated her and prevented the school library media program at Rolling Hills Middle School from actively extending its capitals into classrooms. Teachers and students often used the media program as an option, instead of as an integrated element in literacy instruction and learning.

The rehiring of the media clerk illustrated the importance of adequate staffing in school library media centers. The social capital afforded by Octavo's dependable presence in the school library media center allowed Elizabeth to circulate any number of capitals, including her embodied knowledge, more effectively. The school library media specialist cannot be restricted to the school library media center space if library media programs are to maximize the capitals available to educators and students throughout the school community.

Thus, advocacy efforts for school library media center budgets are a critical part of keeping school library media centers operating at their full capacity. As Lynne seemed to understand, speaking to people with responsibility for budgets is especially important. Be these administrators, county officials, or other leaders, the influence of economic capital on the scope and functioning of the school library media program was substantial. Bourdieu's premise that economic capital is the foundation for all other capitals appeared to be borne out by this study. As resources were limited, especially with the elimination of the clerk's position, the data showed the reduction of scope and

effectiveness of the library media program. Over time, the county continued to withhold funds, the energy and reach of the library media program withered, continuing the decrease of social capital and shifting other capital priorities. This in effect disconnected the school library media center from the rest of the building. It also co-located the program with the space of the library media center itself.

School leaders need to understand, as Lynne did, that the tethering of the school library media specialist to the school library media center has a stifling effect on the capitals held there. Media specialists cannot be ball-and-chain captives in the school library media center. School leaders, who often hold the local purse strings, can use this study as one illustration of the consequences of tethering the school library media specialist to the library media center space. Lynne, the principal, proved to be an articulate advocate with a nuanced understanding of how the lack of a clerk impacted the school library media program at Rolling Hills Middle School. She also knew that talking to the people with money was important, which showed her understanding of economic capital as fundamental. Lynne saw that school library media specialist was the heart of her school library media program, and that the space did not define the program as much as the media specialist did.

School library media programs and configurations of capitals. Speaking in the objectified sense, numerous instances showed student reliance on the Rolling Hills Middle School library media program for the objectified cultural capitals of reading materials and technologies. Even when students reported owning books at home, the school library still often extended their choices and opportunities for reading. Without the availability of the school library media program, a number of students would have

had restricted access to resources. As research has shown time and again, school library media centers are important sources for reading materials for students (Allington & McGill-Franzen, 2008; Edmunds & Bauserman, 2006; Ivey & Broaddus, 2001; Krashen, 2004; McQuillan & Au, 2001; Worthy, 1996; Worthy, Moorman, & Turner, 1999).

Some students in this study described well-developed networks of cultural and social capitals outside of school, including use of home and public libraries, while others relied more heavily on the resources available through their school and classroom libraries. Although this study cannot make a definitive statement on how many students at Rolling Hills relied on the school library media collection as their primary source for reading materials, there is little doubt that the library media program increased the objectified cultural capitals to which students had access. The numerous instances I recorded of students reading, carrying around library media center books, or using library media center books for personal and curricular use demonstrated the traditional, but nonetheless valuable role of this library media program in providing reading materials for students. Also, as was the case in Madeline's class, teachers may have differing degrees of classroom libraries, making access to a well-developed and maintained school library media collection all the more important for new teachers and teachers without reading materials within their classrooms.

However, there were still instances when students could not find what they wanted, or expressed dissatisfaction with the school library media program's rules and objects. Each library media center acts as a different node within the capital networks of students. Greater understanding of student capitals and configurations would be helpful to customizing the services and materials in a school library media program. Flexibility

is important in understanding what those different configurations of capital are, with an eye toward extending and enhancing what is available. For example, Theresa mentioned that her students completed a reading inventory, which included a question about how many books they owned. Although she did not remember many details about the results of this survey, it would be beneficial for the school library media specialist to have access to such data. Some students did mention that the school library media center did not represent their reading preferences in the collection, so channeling literacy data through the school library media program can help enhance services to meet student needs. Elizabeth also created channels for capital with public libraries and other libraries in this area. Extending these services further, creating more direct and well-traveled pathways for capital exchange and creation, would be positive. The school library media specialist must resist the temptation to think of the capitals students bring and desire as "stuck" entities. In order to meet student needs, the library media program must be nimble and responsive to the learning community it serves. In order to manage this, adequate economic capital is essential.

Although the contribution the Rolling Hills school library media program made in regard to the provision of reading materials was often a positive one, this was not the only way the school library media program enhanced student literacy learning. Elizabeth Bowen, the library media specialist at Rolling Hills Middle School, strived to see that objects were not primary way that the school library media center contributed to the literacy learning in this school. As the data in this study demonstrated, the students at Rolling Hills also used the school library media program as a place for learning, writing, digital literacy, and social support of different kinds. Students and teachers both

articulated their belief that the school library media program enhanced the condition and promotion of literacy at Rolling Hills Middle School. Over and above providing objectified cultural capital in terms of literacy roles, there are many different kinds of capital this school library media program built.

The different literacy initiatives extending from the Rolling Hills school library media program are prime examples of the different ways library media programs can contribute to literacy learning. Through the media club, the writing and reading contests, and the reading bowl, to name a few, the library media center at Rolling Hills Middle School afforded students opportunities for different kinds of literacy participation. The variety and implementation of literacy initiatives in this school library media program are due primarily to the efforts of the school library media specialist, Elizabeth Bowen. Through her interviews and observations of her work, Elizabeth described the media program as an important element of the learning that took place at Rolling Hills Middle School. She developed both classroom-connected and independent opportunities for students to participate in the library media program in ways that allowed them to enhance and engage in literacy activities. However, in order to extend these opportunities, the economic capital invested in a media clerk was essential.

When talking about the Rolling Hills library media center, the principal and library media specialist, in addition to teachers and students, discussed the benefits that additional technological capitals would bring. At Rolling Hills, technology was a central reason that George Glass and Sea Otter did not come to the school library media center at all. Despite Elizabeth's enjoyment of technology and attempts to use it in small and large group instruction, the fact that there were relatively few computers in the media center

was a detriment to full implementation of her ideas. Also, the library media specialist was not always able to demonstrate her knowledge and understanding of technology to the teachers. This may be due to her need to attend to object management. Elizabeth clearly knew a great deal about technology, but barriers deterred her from integrating the school library media program into the technological push forward of the school. Additional time and objects would enable greater technology use and learning to take place.

Despite the limitations on this media program, Elizabeth was still able to do some interesting activities that showed her understanding and beliefs about libraries, literacies and middle grades youth. In order for these kinds of initiatives to thrive, media specialists need to continue to demonstrate their benefit to audiences that matter (i.e., that make funding decisions) using language that they understand, constantly researching and moving to keep ahead and play a role in decision making.

Changing Habitus and the Roles of the School Library Media Program

In some ways, habitus is the most mysterious of Bourdieu's constructs. And yet, in this study, habitus may account for much of the reason school library media centers are stuck or in crisis. In popular library discourse, there is a temptation to point at many school library media specialists who have not kept with the times as the primary cause that school library media programs are not seen as central to literacy learning. However, this study points at many sources that can hold school library media programs in limited roles. The tendency to blame school librarians themselves for lack of change is only part of the story. The habitus, or embodied dispositions, toward the school library media

program can be addressed in many areas, including school library media education, teacher education, administrator preparation, and student experiences.

Fortunately, as Bourdieu stated, habitus is durable but not eternal (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 133). Habitus can be changed through experiences and education, but it is not easy. As Bourdieu put it, "any dimension of habitus is very difficult to change but it may be changed through this process of awareness and of pedagogic effort" (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 29). To change habitus, creating experiences that actively transform notions of school library media programs is a priority. Although changing habitus is a slow process, changing habitus can, in turn, change what people expect to do in school library media programs also what to expect of these programs. Changing habitus seems essential to eventually changing the process of reproduction of school libraries into producing school libraries differently. This section focuses on the different groups and habitus that may merit attention as school library media programs attempt to increase their relevance in literacy learning.

The rules of the fields of libraries are embedded into popular culture and everyday experiences. Popular culture seems to position libraries of all kinds as silent places of reading or study. This portrays learning as solitary and quiet, a paradigm opposite some current theories of learning as dialogic and participatory. It is also anathema to the reality that exists in many school library media centers today. This paradigm continues to be reinforced through a number of likely sources. Although the school library media specialist at Rolling Hills rarely shushed students, in this study both the students and teachers reinforced this rule to one another. We can assume that this is, at least in part, due to past experiences with libraries of different kinds – public, school, and academic.

Popular culture may also play a role. From the school library media center on the popular television show *Glee* to MTV's *Silent Library* and even shows for very young children, the stereotypic image of libraries is a quiet one. As Hartzell (2002b) pointed out, such popular culture images of libraries have a long history.

Although each library is unique, at Rolling Hills the general understanding of *library* seemed to be set as a place for quiet study. These constantly, subtly reinforced rules of the field become part of bodily and mental dispositions toward school library media centers. As Bourdieu said, we develop the dispositions of habitus unconsciously. The self-perpetuating element of the habitus may give the paradigm the illusion of permanence, making the arbitrary rules of this field seem natural or essential. This places responsibility on school library media specialists and public librarians to work consciously and diligently toward changing the habitus. Dispositions can be actively brought to the surface, addressed directly, and eventually changed.

The school library media specialist habitus. The literature review for this study addressed the current focus on library media specialist dispositions in developing more effective library media professionals. The current study cannot speak to many of those findings, except to say that Lynne, as a powerful member of the social field of the school, clearly valued Elizabeth's proactive, hardworking dispositions. Harriet also mentioned that she thought the school library media program might not have survived without Elizabeth's dedicated work ethic. Of course, Elizabeth is just one media specialist, and her dispositions speak only to her program, just as the dispositions Lynne valued in a media specialist can't be generalized. The fact that many aspects of school library media programs appear to be dependent on the habitus of the school library media specialist has

both benefits and drawbacks. Freedom experienced by school library media specialists can be a good thing in the hands of a media specialist with a proactive habitus and a knowledge of literacy and learning. On the other hand, a library media specialist with a habitus disposed to focus on objects to the detriment of a more extensive view might, as Harriet mentioned, mean the end of a school library media program.

At the same time, we cannot attribute the continuance of this school library media program solely to Elizabeth's habitus. Although important, the conditions at Rolling Hills also produced Elizabeth's actions and may have limited the school library media program in other ways. For example, in more than one case, Elizabeth took the library media program to language arts classrooms, based on teacher requests and their stated inability to get to the school library media program. Much of my interpretation presents Elizabeth's mobility as positive. However, it also might be interpreted in other ways. Elizabeth seemed to defer to teacher requests and ideas about literacy in many cases. In doing so, she positioned herself and the school library media program as reactive. What might be gained and lost from such a stance? What power to produce the school library media program has Elizabeth given up by allowing others to set and maintain the rules of the field and her job? How might Elizabeth's actions unconsciously maintain the dominated position occupied by this particular school library media program? Further, how might changes at a dispositional level upend the reproductive structures that position school library media programs and school library media specialists as dominated?

Critically examining and cultivating professional dispositions may be a fruitful topic for school library media preparation programs to address. Although there are practices endorsed by the library media profession at large, the way these practices are

implemented at each school with a library media program is idiosyncratic. In some ways this individualization is positive, allowing the school library media program to adapt to meet the needs of the particular learning community. In other ways it is negative, in that it relies heavily on the habitus of the school library media specialist as well as the embodied capitals of those in the educational system and the rules of the social fields external to the school library media center. In some cases, the combinations of these factors have likely resulted in the elimination of school library programs and personnel. As Harriet stated, had Elizabeth not been disposed to work tirelessly even as she lost her clerk, it may have been the end of the library media program at Rolling Hills. This, despite the statements from different teachers suggesting that without the library media program, literacy at Rolling Hills would certainly suffer.

The educator habitus. As we learned from Harriet and the other classroom teacher participants, the ways teachers at Rolling Hills used the library media program seemed to matter to the possibilities for student literacies. The rules of the field changed based on the teacher, sometimes in spite of the basic rules put forth by the library media specialist. Some teachers allowed students to check out whatever books they chose, while others placed restrictions on students. Some teachers visited the school library media center regularly, while others did not visit at all. Clearly, classroom teachers played a significant role in the way students used the school library media center at Rolling Hills.

None of the educators in the study, aside from Elizabeth herself, knew or heard much about school library media programs in their professional preparation programs. This means that the school library media programs these educators came into contact

with in the past are likely their primary teachers and contributors to their understandings of school library media programs as a field within the school. With this in mind, teacher and administrator education programs are good targets for changing understandings of the rules surrounding the field of school library media programs. Even though this would be a long and laborious process, people who are becoming teachers and administrators are good candidates for transforming ideas about the role and condition of school library media programs in a sustainable way. If graduates of educator preparation programs begin their careers with the expectations that the school library media specialist should be an active part of literacy learning in the classroom, changes are more likely to occur. These educators can also serve as strong advocates and partners for strong school library media programs.

The teachers at Rolling Hills Middle School seemed to be surprised at the kinds of services that Elizabeth's program provided to them and the students. None of them were able to describe a media program that they had seen or heard about that was as vital as what Elizabeth provided. To change the role of the school library media program within the school and the entire field of education, we must get to the point where teachers feel cheated when their school library media program is not strong, instead of simply lucky when they have a media program that is robust and contributing. Classroom teachers should be asking for the library media program that would best accommodate the literacy needs of their students. Embedding collaborative experiences with library media specialists into teacher education programs may help to confront staid expectations.

Hartzell (n.d.) argued that gaining a foothold in administrator education programs is even more vital to the process transforming dispositions toward and expectations of

school library media programs. Providing examples of the positive contributions a library media program can make a lasting impression on future administrators. Although Lynne articulated a bustling center of learning as her vision for a school library media program, she described that vision as one she developed herself through many years in different roles in middle schools. She could name no example or formal learning that led her to her beliefs. Relatedly, at the conclusion of our interview, she suggested I write an article about these issues for a professional journal for administrators. She thought there was a dearth of discussion about the role and contributions of a fully realized school library media program. Cultivating understanding of the contributions of an effective school library media program is a task to be addressed on a number of fronts.

The student habitus. The school library media program played an important part in the learning lives of students at Rolling Hills Middle School. Many students at Rolling Hills expressed, through words as well as actions, a desire to read, write, and pursue their interests. To that end, students developed their own lines of capital and configurations of resources, including the school library media program, within the boundaries confining them. In some cases, capitals in the school library media center were limited by restrictions on time and rules imposed by the classroom teacher. Although this study presented no direct evidence of teacher attitudes affecting student use of the school library media center, Harriet's personal concerns about her own lack of school library media center use and its potential effect on her students' long term support of libraries in general are telling. If we remember that the dispositions of habitus are constantly in development, being shaped by new experiences, lack of school library media center use without apparent impact on availability of reading materials or literacy opportunities may

diminish overall support of libraries. Considering the comments some of Harriet's students made, concern about their attitudes toward libraries may be well founded. At the same time, students who did not find materials that reflect their own cultures, interests, or experiences may also draw conclusions about school library media programs that may discourage further use and support of school library media programs.

Middle school students have likely learned the dispositions of libraries from their previous experiences in public libraries and elementary school libraries, as well as from sources such as caregivers, popular culture, and classroom teachers. In many cases, middle school students may have had several years or more with a single elementary library media program to teach them what to expect of a library media program and the rules of that field.

Beyond Harriet's concerns about her lack of school library media center use, student dispositions toward the school library media center would benefit from being jarred in a number of ways. As Alexandersson and Limberg (2003) noted in their studies of students in school library media centers, students seem to have rigid ideas about the kinds of work that can happen in school libraries. The case study reported here shared some similarities in the narrow descriptions students provided when prompted to discuss school library media programs. Most importantly, many of the students in this study identified books as their first thought when describing libraries. School library media specialists may need to directly address the dominance of books as a signature element of school library media programs. Although objectified cultural capitals, including books, are important parts of library media programs, for school library media centers to sustain and thrive, objects cannot be the foundation of the field. Objects such as books are made

to decay. Student concerns about the condition of these objectified cultural capitals suggested the importance of centering the library media program on things other than objects in bold relief. Students at Rolling Hills also expressed concerns about the holdings of the school library media center collection. They thought the library media center did not have books that it did, in fact, have. Shifting the emphasis away from objects and toward learning may diminish some of the disappointments that come with the focus on objects. At the same time, as objects are not going away, a concerted effort to keep the objects in the school library media collection attractive and up-to-date retains importance. However, maintaining the condition of objectified capitals is a job that can be managed by a clerk or paraprofessional, protecting the focus on learning as the role of the school library media specialist.

The voices of students in this study suggest that some of the rules in the library media center might be rethought. Certainly, at Rolling Hills, signage that goes against the expected norms of quiet study, perhaps encouraging conversation and social activity, can help to upend static dispositions regarding the expectations for behavior in school library media centers. Elizabeth herself might engage students in these conversations about the roles and purposes of a school library media center. Rules around objects might also be rethought. For example, flexible due dates are worthy of exploration. However, in line with lessening the focus on objects, I will leave close consideration of those rules for other scholars to ponder, with one brief exception. For many students and even teachers at Rolling Hills, the school library media center was a place of mystery. Organizational schemes for the objects there confused many students and teachers, not to mention circulation equipment. In order for the school library media program to invite

more participation, it is worthwhile to reconsider the organization of objects. In regard to identity markers, the "neutrality" of the organization of objects in libraries has been subject to scholarly scrutiny in the past. Bourdieu and de Saint Martin (1965/1994) suggested that library organization was transparent only to certain social classes. Dressman (1997c) showed that the organization of the school library media center collection bore little resemblance to the way students organized knowledge. The many instances of puzzled looks and repeated trips between the shelves and the computer system recorded in my notes reinforced this notion. When compared with the relative ease Harriet's students felt with the organization and accessibility of her classroom library, organizational systems that are more intuitive are worthy of exploration. Although there are examples of libraries abandoning the Dewey Decimal System in favor of a more "bookstore-inspired" model of organization (Kenney, 2007; McCoppin, 2011), school library media specialists might also envision the use of pathfinders or digital technologies to make large school library media center collections more navigable for all users. Although some in the library world might find the idea of modifying or abandoning widely accepted systems for organizing objects worrisome, it might also be seen as a manifestation of a deep commitment to local access and usability. Participatory organizational strategies might also shake up some of the habitus-related dispositions around libraries as fixed entities with universal (and sometimes off-putting) rules.

Changing students' minds about school library media programs may also help change parents' dispositions as well. This might encourage volunteering and advocacy activities. As parents are at least part of the power and financial structure in schools, parents who can articulate the meaning and benefit of school library media programs may

help convince policy makers of their worth. Again, changing the expectations of school library media programs requires work on numerous levels.

Implications for Future Research

This study is an example of a detailed examination of a school library media program and its role in youth literacy learning. Beyond a warehouse for books or a simple stopping point on the way to other literacy spaces, this study showed the Rolling Hills Middle School library media program as a contributor to the literacy experiences of many students. It also exposed many missed opportunities for literacy contributions due to misunderstandings, differing priorities, as well as lack of sufficient resources.

This study suggests to literacy researchers that school library media programs are not simply about literacy objects or literacy obstruction. Objectified cultural capitals certainly matter in libraries, but this study suggests that ideally, these objects should be seen as acting in service of developing the embodied and institutional cultural capitals deemed important by various participants in the educational community, including the students themselves. The library media center is a literacy context and a learning environment in its own rite, worthy of close examination by researchers. In an era when educational and funding decisions must be "research-based" or "data-driven", increasing the amount of research about school library media programs is essential. Taking the time to study, write about, and share research about school library media centers is another way that the habitus of school library media programs can be changed throughout the layers of educational environments and decision-making. Additional detailed examinations of school library media programs can help provide justification for the economic capital investment that allows a school library media program to extend

resources throughout schools. This study suggests that the school library media program is worth closer scrutiny within broader studies of literacy.

This study also presents opportunities for school library media researchers. Few in number, researchers of school library media programs have traditionally addressed a narrow group of topics. Although literacy-as-reading and information literacy are among these traditional topics, the current study suggested that school library media programs are involved with broader aspects of literacy learning as well. School library researchers would do well to continue expanding research into the areas of digital literacies and composition, in addition to other parts of the expanding spectrum of literacies. Limiting the inquiries school library media researchers conduct to narrow categories of literacies shortchanges the actual roles school libraries may play.

Publication outlets for studies of school library media programs are a point to consider. With so few journals and researchers, it is understandable that studies would be published within the school library media research field's journals. However, studies of school library media programs are also needed in the literacy literature. The process of gaining validation in the literacy research community requires meeting the standards of publication that are important rules of the literacy research field. Although there are pieces of research that suggest that libraries are important to literacy learning, whether these pieces of research would meet the standards expected in literacy research is open to question. Gaining familiarity with literacy research and publishing across fields will certainly increase awareness and hopefully broader understanding of school library media centers as literacy contexts in educational research. Hartzell (n.d.) made a similar, and

equally important, argument for publishing in journals for educational administration scholars.

Because of the changes in media center staffing at Rolling Hills Middle School, the role of support staff is one of the key takeaways in this study. The present study showed that lack of consistent support staffing can make a significant difference in the way capitals circulate through and from a school library media program. The time frame for this study left little room to understand the way the media clerk's rehiring continued to extend the school library media specialist's capital throughout the school. The dramatic changes I reported happened over the course of a few weeks. The benefits of this stable relationship likely continued to unfold after fieldwork completed. Dependable social capital takes time to fully restore. Future studies might examine this dynamic over a longer period of time. They might also align the presence of support staff with student learning to further bolster the argument that adequate support is needed for school library media programs to maximize their benefits to literacy growth.

Lynne, the principal at Rolling Hills, presented a strong counterexample to the prevailing notion that school principals know relatively little about school library media programs. With this in mind, a related research task would be to conduct a qualitative study of the dispositions of school principals who share a similarly broad understanding of the role of the school library media program. In this case, Lynne described her understandings of media programs as coming from her own experiences. How can we transfer similar attitudes to other school leaders through structured learning experiences in leadership education programs? Based on Lynne's example of advocacy for media

programs, researchers might also study the way principals advocated successfully for the restoration of media support.

This study could be extended in a number of ways to examine different facets of school library media programs in various school situations. As a case study of a single school library media program, this study cannot be generalized, but only suggest issues that might be studied in other contexts. Case studies of school library media programs serving different populations and different degrees of student achievement may illuminate unique roles or tensions that the library media program can play in literacy learning. Cases of library media programs with different levels of technology and different leadership styles may also yield other useful insights. In every case, the habitus of the school library media specialist and other parties in the school will shift, demonstrating new types of relations for the school library media program within the social field of a school.

Future case studies will benefit from a careful focus on the relationships within and outside of a school that affect the school library media program. Examining these relationships can help researchers understand the dynamics of objects, people, and resources that create beneficial configurations for student learning. Attending to the rules, both written and unwritten, in library media spaces as well as the implications of those rules can help school library media specialists decide which rules are consequential and which are less important. More examples of cases provide the data upon which an argument convincing to lawmakers and others with financial responsibilities can be built.

It was difficult to discern many conclusions about the way identity markers such as race, class, and gender affected the way students used this school library media

program. The few insights provided by these data suggest that school-imposed identity markers such as ability groups played a more obvious role in literacy activities in the school library media program. This suggested that further investigations of these patterns might provide insight into subtle inequalities not substantiated here. Further, as scholars have pointed out, school-legitimized categories may smuggle in other forms of exclusion based on race, class, and gender and additional personal traits. For example, certain classes and races may be overrepresented in certain ability groups. As Nieto (2002) noted, "ability grouping" seems to favor some racial groups over others. School-legitimated categories, worthy of critique in themselves, may hide other discriminations. In what might be seen as an unexpected twist, it was the Title reading teacher I interviewed who espoused the most open policy for reading choices in the school library media program, while Harriet, the teacher for students identified as gifted, hardly used the school library at all. This example raises questions about school libraries and Bourdieu's theories of access to objects and capitals as equating to educational advantage. As other researchers suggested, despite the apparent benefits of the presence of a school library media program, it can still mask inequality of opportunity. Harriet's gifted classes and their low level of school library media center use also provoked questions about the long-term consequences of teachers who choose to avoid the school library media program in favor of their own resources. What attitudes do these students walk away with?

Although theories of culturally responsive librarianship exist, detailed research examples are few in number. Diversity in libraries has been a somewhat neglected topic in the midst of advances in technology and the fight for library survival. However, these

two topics can be paired with diversity to provide a more vital argument for investment in school library media programs. Designing studies that more directly address identity markers in school library media centers may also add to our understanding. The study reported here relied on extensive observations along with a number of brief student interviews. As discussed in chapter four, these data sources did not result in sufficient data to draw conclusions on this question. Perhaps deeper access to demographic data would allow future researchers to capture a more racially and socioeconomically diverse group of interview participants.

Finally, the Bourdieusian methodology and the collection of thinking tools provided by Bourdieu's theory enabled generative insights into different elements of influence that shaped the roles of this school library media program. As stated in earlier chapters, although Bourdieu's work has gained relative familiarity in literacy research, much of the library scholarship involving Bourdieu has only theorized potential empirical applications of his framework (e.g, Budd, 2003; Kapitzke, 2006). This study, as one that puts Bourdieu's concepts to use to confront new situations and research objects, presents an invitation to the library research community to extend Bourdieu's work into further practical examples.

The Bourdieusian framework highlighted several aspects of the research situation that might have otherwise gone unnoticed. For example, in the school library media practitioner literature, it is relatively common to hear about the importance of understanding wider school learning initiatives, addressing the principal's position on the role of the school library, and other related topics. However, within ethnographic research involving school library media programs, few studies take the step to critically

examine the collection of relations and social fields that bear down on the library media program. The Bourdieusian lens encouraged a serious and thorough examination of many social fields external to the school library media space that may have seemed less important in other descriptive approaches.

In another example, Bourdieu's statements about the foundational nature of economic capital focused data collection and interpretation on the underlying importance of money and how the withdrawal of funding caused this library media program to wither. Although the loss of the clerk would have been notable regardless of the methodological framework, Bourdieu's emphasis on social capital and economic capital prompted a focus beyond immediate the effects of Octavo's absence. Instead, the Bourdieusian approach led me to seek further data about the relations and capitals surrounding this decision.

Finally, the Bourdieusian framework shaped the data included in this dissertation. With extensive observations and numerous interviews, not to mention documents and artifacts, the constructs of field, capital, and habitus dictated much of the account presented here. Many data describing other elements of the school library media program were left aside in order to foreground the external fields, relations, and dispositions central to a thorough Bourdieusian study. The Bourdieusian concepts used here structured a focused examination of multiple fields, capitals, and habitus in a way that would likely not have occurred using a different frame.

Further studies might take this Bourdieusian analytic model and adapt it to other learning situations. At the same time, the Bourdieusian framework can only extend so far. Take the example of digital and mobile technologies. Elizabeth's comments and my

observations suggested that many students at Rolling Hills Middle School carried technologies around in their pockets or backpacks. These technologies were not utilized in learning at Rolling Hills Middle School. Were these rules relaxed, it is open to question whether or not the tendency toward reproduction might be, in some small way, reversed or upended. In a related change, an increase in technology in the school library media center could potentially decenter some of the power held by Elizabeth and allow her to redirect energies to connecting students with technologies more directly. To be patient as we undertake the slow, small shifts of habitus is a formidable task. Whether technologies or other innovations can speed these changes is a task other researchers might take up. In addition, using a different theoretical framework to approach similar literacy-focused research questions would enhance the picture we have of school library media centers and literacy learning.

Re-Producing School Library Media Programs

In conclusion, I return to one of Bourdieu's fundamental concerns, namely the reproduction of social strata through the mechanisms of field, capital, and habitus. As Bourdieu noted (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), social reproduction does not happen naturally. Instead, it is produced by active agents who, knowingly or not, act in accordance with internalized rules and logics to help create what may seem predetermined or natural. With this in mind, the previous sections highlighted some of the actions we might take so that school library media programs might be produced differently.

In the introduction chapter of this dissertation, I discussed Dressman's (1997b) study as the most fully realized use of Bourdieu's theoretical constructs in a study of

school library media programs. By examining three school library media centers in demographically distinct areas, Dressman's study both supported and critiqued some of the reproductive aspects of Bourdieu's work. Although the study reported here involved a single school community and therefore does not lend itself to a similar cross-site comparison, elements of this study still raise questions about potentially reproductive aspects of the school library media program at Rolling Hills. Certainly, there were students who found the organization of knowledge in the library media center much more intuitive than others. This trend is reminiscent of the patterns Bourdieu and de Saint Martin (1965/1994) noticed in their study of academic library use, where students of higher social classes were able to locate library resources with greater ease and facility than students from lower socioeconomic classes. Bourdieu and de Saint Martin described this difference as appearing to be natural, but they concluded that this pattern instead revealed a hidden exclusionary function in the library's organization. Although the demographic data presented in this study is not enough to substantiate similarly solid conclusions, it is possible that the struggles some students had in using the school library media center at Rolling Hills reflected a similarly exclusive social class bias.

Perhaps the most compelling data related to social reproduction came from the behavior and attitudes of Harriet's gifted eighth grade language arts classes. From a perspective of social reproduction, it is not surprising that Harriet's classes seemed to have the most ideal access to objectified cultural capitals through Harriet's extensive classroom library, some of which was provided through the school library media center. Many of Harriet's students who volunteered to be interviewed were saturated with access to multiple kinds of literacies. Their capital networks were extensive and multifaceted.

Add their networks to the immediate access these students had to Harriet's classroom collection and Harriet's knowledge of them as readers and it is clear that Harriet's students had many advantages which were multiplied by their classroom environment. In light of this situation, it is little wonder that visits to the school library media center were not a priority for Harriet or her students. They could also afford to be critical of the condition, organization, and variety of the books in the school library media center as well as other policies, because they often reported access to more attractive alternatives for acquiring capitals. However, the fact that they had so many choices also made active engagement with the library media program optional.

Thus, for Harriet's students, who were identified as having higher institutional cultural capitals, the school library media center was a relatively unimportant source of objectified cultural capitals. Although the school library media program aimed to make literacy objects and opportunities available to all students, those in Harriet's class had better access in numerous ways, thus suggesting a potential pattern of social reproduction which excluded the school library media program. How such an attitude might play out over time is open to question. The underlying attitude conveyed by some of Harriet's students that the library is good for others but not important for them may well have lasting consequences.

The library media program at Rolling Hills appeared to play more of a role for students tracked into general education courses and other groups not labeled as gifted, like Sally Duke's Title reading students. Although we might surmise that the financial support that came with Title I status would have led to an extensive classroom library in the same style as Harriet's, Sally's classroom library was significantly smaller and, as

Sally stated, the students seemed to rely on the school library media program for many of their books. At the same time, the enrichment opportunities for literacy, such as the reading incentive program, were rarely taken advantage of by Sally's students. These students, as Sally stated, were too busy trying to negotiate the demands of their classes to participate in the additional literacy opportunities the school library media program sponsored. Thus, again, the students who are labeled as possessing less institutional cultural capital are afforded fewer opportunities to participate in the school library media program, which may suggest another reproductive mechanism at work.

At the end of the study, the students who never came to the school library media center linger as an absent presence in the data. I rarely saw eighth grade classes of any kind, and never found much of an explanation for this trend. What might this be reproducing? Is it teacher attitudes, the relentless compressions of curriculum, or something else? What have students lost by not frequenting the school library media center at Rolling Hills? On the other hand, what might they have gained?

What seems to be the best approach to changing habitus of stakeholders throughout the school community? How do we make the school library media program a more vibrant and essential node in students' literacy and capital networks? How do we design library media programs to maximize literacy learning? At the end of this study, these questions persist and invite inquiry. Developed in a time of rapid digital advancement paired with steep financial retraction, this study depicted a pivotal point in the history of school library media programs. Whether or not we simply reproduce what has come before or re-produce school library media centers into something vitally different remains to be seen. As the students at Rolling Hills Middle School

demonstrated, the idea of what a library is does not just exist externally. It inhabits bodies through quiet behavior and the ways people silence one another in the library environment. In order to re-produce the rules of the school library media field, library professionals are charged to loudly communicate our purpose and value, both within and, more importantly, outside our own field. In turn, those who see and hear about the roles of contemporary school library media programs can carry the message further.

Objectified cultural capitals in the world of school libraries are persistent. It will take concerted effort to redefine school library media programs in terms of learning and literacy instead of objects. Rethinking the overwhelming number of rules about objects in libraries such as Rolling Hills may be a place to start. Another place to start is with the users themselves. An orientation toward participation and critical, transparent discussions about school library media programs will help us re-produce school library programs into vital centers for learning in schools. If, as Bourdieu stated, habitus can in fact be changed through education and experience, and every student's habitus regarding library media programs is changed through experiences with a library media program, every school library media program can make the changes that move the field forward. How school library media programs will continue to develop remains to be seen. Considering the insights gained from this study, it is vital that library media specialists, principals, teachers, and students take an active part in this re-producing, enabling literacies and libraries to flourish.

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Appendix A

Participant Observation Log

Week 1	3/28, 10:00-1:00 (3 hours)	3/31, 1:30 – 3:45 (2 1/4)	4/1, 9:55 – 1:25 (3 1/2)	3 days, 9 3/4 hours
Week 2 *after Spring Break	4/11, 7:45-10:55 (3 1/6)	4/13, 10:15 – 12:15 (2)	4/14 - 11:00 - 2:00 (3)	3 days, 8 ⅙ hours
Week 3	4/19, 3:00-4:00 (1)	4/21 – 1:30-4:00 (2 1/2)	4/22 – 9:30-12:00 (2 ½)	3 days, 6 hours
Week 4	4/25, 10:00 – 1:25 (3 5/12)		4/29 - 7:50 - 11:05 (3 1/4)	2 days, 6 ⅔ hours
Week 5	5/5, 8:00 – 10:30 (2 1/2)	5/6 - 12:00 - 3:10 (3 ⅙)		2 days, 5 7/12
Week 6	5/10, 9:15 – 12:00 (2 ¾)	5/12, 8:05 – 1:00 (4 11/12)		2 days, 6 5/6
Week 7	5/17, 8:10 – 12:00 (3 ⅚)	5/18 9:00 – 12:30 (not counting interviews) (3 1/2)	5/19 – 11:30 – 3:00 (3 1/2) (came for interviews but none really happened)	3 days, 10 5/6 hours
Panther Pounce - Week 8	5/31 – 8:00-11:30 (3 1/2)	6/1 – 9:00-11:00 (2)	6/2 – 9:00-11:00 (2)	3 days, 7 1/2 hours
Week 9 - back to school	8/5, 11:20 – 2:35			1 day, 3 1/4 hours (this was the only day I was in town and available to come. School started Weds 8/3)

Week 10	8/10, 10:10-1:30 (3 ⅓)	8/11, 12:00 – 3:10 (3 ⅙)	8/12, 1:00-3:00 (2)	3 days, 8 ½ hours
Week 11	8/15 – 11:30 – 2:30 (3)	8/16 – 10:30 – 1:30 (3)	8/19, 10:15 – 12:45 (2 1/2)	3 days, 8 1/2 hours
Week 12	8/23, 9:30 – 12:45 (3 1/4)	8/25 - 9:00 – 3:15, (6 1/4)		2 days, 9 1/2 hours
Week 13	8/29, 10:30 – 1:30 (3)	9/1; 8:30 – 11:45 (3 1/4)		2 days, 6 ¼ hours
Week 14	9/8, 9:00 – 11:30 (2 1/2)	9/9 – 8:00 – 11:00 (3)		2 days, 5 ½ hours
Week 15	9/12, 12:45 – 2:45 (2)	9/13 – 9:00-10:30 (1 1/2)	9/16 – 2:45 – 3:45 (1)	3 days, 4 1/2 hours
Week 16	9/19 – 1:00 – 3:15 (2 1/4)	9/20 – 10:45 – 1:00 (2 1/4)		2 days, 4 1/2 hours (39 / 111 ⅝)
Week 17	9/26 – 11:00 – 1:45 (2 3/4)	9/29 – 10:20 – 1:05 (2 1/4) (minus 30 min for interview)		2 days, 5 hours (41 / 116 ⅝)
Week 18	10/5 – 1:30 – 3:30 (2 hours)	10/6 – 10:45 – 1:00, minus 15 min for interview (2 hours)	fall break for the school	2 days, 4 hours (43 / 120 ⅝)
Week 19	10/9 – 11:00-3:00	rest of week was spent on interviews - not much time in LMC, unfortunately		1 day, 4 hours (44/124 ⅝)
Week 20	10/17 - 9:15 - 11:30 (2) (minus 15 min student interview)	10/19 – 9:15 - 10:55 (1 ⅔)	(also did interview this week on 10/21 but did not enter library)	2 days, 3 ⅔ hours (46 / 128 ½ hours)
Week 21	10/24 - 9:15 - 11:00 (1 3/4)	10/25 - 1:30 - 3:00 (1 1/2)	(rest of week out of town for AASL)	2 days, 3 1/4 hours (48 / 131 3/4)
Week 22	10/31 - 9:30 - 11:45, with			1 day, 2 hours (49 / 133 3/4 hours)

	brief interview break (2)			
Week 23	11/16 - 15 minutes around other interviews			1 day (50 / 134 hours)

Appendix B

Initial Interview Guides

Student Interview Guide

- What does "school library media center" bring to mind?
- How did you use the school library media center in elementary school?
- Do you like to read? If so, what do you like to read? Where do you get your reading material?
- Do you like to write? If so, what do you like to write?
- Do you like to spend time with technology (computers, phones, social media, videos, and so on)? What are your favorite technologies? Where do you access them?
- Do you use the school library media center often? Why or why not?
- Tell me about the school library media program in your school.
- What is your favorite place in the school library media center?
- Do you ever go to the public library?
- Do you have books at home?
- Have you ever looked for something in the school library media center and couldn't find it?
- How could the school library media center be better?
- Additional questions may be asked to follow up on interview responses. Other questions may also be asked based on site observations.

Classroom Teacher Interview Guide

- Tell me about your history as an educator.
- What did you learn about school library media programs in your professional education?
- What is the role of the school library media program in your job?
- How often do you visit the school library media center with students? Are there times of the school year when your visits increase or decrease? What are they?
- How do your students use the school library media program?
- Why is the school library media program important to your students? Why is it important to you as an educator?
- Describe one memorable experience, lesson, or unit involving the school library media center.
- Do your students ever ask to do to the school library media center? If so, why do they want to go?
- Do you have rules that involve the school library media program? If so, what are they?
- Can you think of a time when you wanted to use the school library media center but could not? If so, please describe this experience.
- What would this school lose if the school library media center or school library media specialist were not here?

Administrator Interview Guide

- Tell me about your history as an educator.
- Tell me about your history as an administrator.
- Tell me about the student body of this school.
- What did you learn about school library media programs in your professional education?
- What do you see as the role of the school library media program in this school? What contributions does it make?
- Describe an effective school library media program.
- What are the successes and challenges of the school library media program in this school? How could the program be stronger?
- What decisions have you made about the school library media program in your time as the administrator here?
- What does literacy mean to you?
- How does the library help with student achievement? How does it help with school goals?
- What would this school lose without a school library media program?

School Library Media Specialist Interview Guide

- Tell me about your history as an educator.
- How long have you been a school library media specialist?
- Why did you want to become a school library media specialist?
- What are some of your memorable experiences with the school library media program as a student?
- Describe the state of the school library media program when you first started the job. What did you notice? What did you change and why?
- How has the school changed since you started your job as a school library media specialist? How has the program changed?
- What do you see as the roles of the school library media program in this school?
- How do the students in this school use the school library media center?
- If you could add something to the school library media program (resources, staffing, etc.) what would it be? What changes would you like to see happen?
- Why are school library media programs important?
- What do you consider your biggest success stories?
- What are the missed opportunities for the school library media program in this school? What would you like to accomplish that you can't do? What are the challenges you face?
- What does literacy mean to you? How does it factor in to this school library media program?
- What are the lives of the students in this school like?
- What are your goals? What would you like to do more of?

- How do the teachers and administrators here think about the school library media program?
- What would your dream program look like?
- Many other questions were added in the interviews, based on participant comments and on site observations.

Note: Because there was no Media Clerk at Rolling Hills Middle School during the development of this study, no specific protocol was developed for the Media Clerk interview. Instead, I combined questions from the school library media specialist interview guide and the classroom teacher interview guide with questions based on observations of her work.

Appendix C

Initial List of Codes (in Alphabetical Order)

Creation

Digital Literacy

Economic Capital

Embodied Cultural Capital

Gender

Habitus

Identity Markers

Information Literacy

Institutional Cultural Capital

Objectified Cultural Capital

Other Literacy

Participation

Race

Reading

Reflexivity

Relations in Field

Rules of Field

Social Capital

Social Class

Speaking

Struggle for Legitimacy

Understanding

Viewing

Writing

Appendix D

Excerpts from Data Report Using Code "Writing"

Case Code Frequency Type Reference Source
AndrewJeremyEthan Writing 3 Text 5453,6774
andrewjeremyethan.rtf
Source Material:
Do you guys like to write?
Jeremy & Andrew: Yes.
Ethan: I love writing.
BETH: What do you like to write?
Jeremy: Like fiction stories.
BETH: Okay. What do you like to write, Andrew?
ANDREW: A lot of stuff, fiction…I started a little book, my dad says since I like to read so much and I have a big imagination I should write my book and send it to different publishers.
BETH: Wow, that's amazing. Andrew!
Jeremy: We might hear his name someday.
Beth: How about you, do you like to write, Ethan?
ETHAN: I love writing and not too long ago they did a contest, like you had to write a paper and Ms. Bowen, read a book and then she read half of a chapter and then wanted us to finish half the chapter and see what we think would have happened next and a lot of people wrote in and only a couple of people got picked out and we had lunch with the author.
BETH: Oh, really! Was that when [author] was here! Did you get to do that, get to have lunch with the author…that was so cool, that was right before I started.
ETHAN: And only two people from each grade got to come.
BETH: Really? So you like to write, too.
Jeremy: I didn't even know about that contest.
Andrew: Me either
BETH: (laughs). How did you find out about it?
ETHAN: From the library. When we were here for class.

Asaw Writing 1 Text 5950,6851 Asaw.rtf
Source Material:
BETH: Do you like to write?

ASAW: Sometimes. It depends on what I'm writing. I like narratives and memoirs because they're like, more…you can get into them but things like persuasive essays, I'm not that great at.
BETH: Have you done…like last year she had a writer come in and then another time she had like a word of the week contest…did you do any of those?
ASAW: When we had the author come for us to read her book and see if we liked it, I did that and we had to read her book in parts and then tell her what we thought about it. That was really fun, like reading the book before anybody else did and before it was published even. But like the word of the week things, I couldn't usually do that because it's kind of hard to make up a thing with that word.
BETH: (laughs). Yeah, I saw the list. I did read some of the entries, they were really off the wall, trying get those words in there.

Blair Writing 2 Text 1914,2475 Blair.rtf
Source Material:

BLAIR: Probably about once a week.
BETH: Really?
BLAIR: I'm either typing a paper here or checking out a book.
BETH: So, where else do you type papers? Can you type papers in your classroom?
BLAIR: Yeah, but she only has two computers so and a lot kids are doing research and typing and stuff and so it's easier to come here because she has those computers over there.
BETH: And your teacher is pretty good about just letting people come up here to do that kind of work.
BLAIR: Yeah, she just lets us come up here and type and then we go back to class.

DFNWeek13Day1 Writing 6 TEXT 2317,2752 DFNWeek13Day1.rtf
Source Material:
The pair of co-readers are in this class - two girls who check out the same books to read together.
Kids want to see cover of Extra Credit as they write.
They share, Several, instead of continuing the paragraph, decide to just describe what they thought was happening.
Some action
A couple of great ideas.
...and then she read the actual paragraph
"all of ya'll were real close, except the killing" - someone had written about killing

DFNWeek13Day2 Writing 9 TEXT 573,851 DFNWeek13Day2.rtf
Source Material:
Another class in before this one has even left. 13 kids - 7 girls, 6 boys, 8th grade.
Intros to reading incentive categories.
"To get you excited about the GBAs" she intros activity.
This group's work boogers and spit balls, dragging, and "bam, I got hit by a cantaloupe again"

DFNWeek13Day2 Writing 9 TEXT 3632,3882 DFNWeek13Day2.rtf
Source Material:

Chains sentence - writing - tells them about teen v book and man v. food. Then directs them to "write the next sentence" (but then they don't keep writing and she has to push them to continue.)
Teacher is reading email, reading Get Schooled blog, etc

DFNWeek13Day2 Writing 9 TEXT 9217,9324 DFNWeek13Day2.rtf
Source Material:

MS reading Mechanically Inclined at the door "I feel so smart, I haven't read professional books in a while"

DFNWeek15Day1 Writing 1 TEXT 3270,3629 DFNWeek15Day1.rtf
Source Material:
Girl comes in, checks in, looks through the NF then proceeds to go sit at the computer. And then all three and chatting an occasionally working. Then girl 3 does search, on destiny, then goes to NF, then fic, other two still on Wikipedia, fishing and Braves. They leave at 140. Not sure either of them did anything. Very little writing happened, if at all.

DFNWeek15Day2 Writing 1 TEXT 1619,1937 DFNWeek15Day2.rtf
Source Material:
Kid with no clue about how to find NF book on table tennis. (?!?!?) Smacks gum in my ear as I look through the shelves.
2 kids wordprocessing drafts - one girl, one boy. One about coca-cola (gets official brand symbols and inserts into paper.) Other has to interrupt to save (LMS asks)> Other two comps are empty.

DFNWeek17Day1 Writing 3 TEXT 2101,3060 DFNWeek17Day1.rtf
Source Material:

LMS shows reviews on destiny.
Q: What is a review?
-A from kid - summary
LMS; no
kid- tells what it is about
LMS; no
kid - tells what you thought.
LMS - yes, and with these I just want your opinion because the description of the book is already there (on the destiny record).
Shows Hunger Games as an example of a positive review already in the catalog.
Shows the process
Gets them excited about the movie - one says "I can't wait til March."
Then reads negative review. Shows Twilight.
"You have that book?" kid asks.
Review is good because it gave specifics about what the writer did not like. Also suggested other alternate books
LMS says you need to write specifics - what did you like about the book that would make others like it?
Throughout they have been in smartboard area. Now go to tables, write on notecard a review of a book - title and opinion, name if you want it on the website. (if she had the computers, could they do it themselves?)

DFNWeek17Day1 Writing 3 TEXT 5294,5537 DFNWeek17Day1.rtf
Source Material:
LMS spent part of the day typing into either WP or destiny - not sure which.
She also has google doc for wordle URLs
I leave at 145/ LMS setting up for next class and reviews / wordle lesson.
Pair is still typing up on word, doing research.

DFNWeek17Day2 Writing 4 TEXT 939,1527 DFNWeek17Day2.rtf
Source Material:
She tells me she knows 6th is working on expository writing with a presentation for each student, science fair, and a bucket list project - what you would like to do before you die.
She says she can "kind of get it in my head" from these meetings, find out when they are starting, etc.
She plans to attend collab meetings regularly now "I'm no longer tied to the library" - will go to collabs later for 7th and 8th.
Said she kept thinking during the meeting about how she had to go do other things, but then reminded herself that the meeting was the most important thing she had to do.

DFNWeek17Day2 Writing 4 TEXT 1530,1928 DFNWeek17Day2.rtf
Source Material:
Another class of 8th, lesson with book reviews, just opinion no summary, shows + and - reviews, clerk checks books in, at same time a group of 4 comes in to take test, 2 with adult reading aloud, and two others each at separate tables.
Then kids write about book they like (in lesson), some chat and laugh, some just stare, Berry reads his book in his lap (very different from gifted class).

DFNWeek17Day2 Writing 4 TEXT 4958,5342 DFNWeek17Day2.rtf
Source Material:
We leave because LMS has another class coming for lesson. She felt meeting was productive. She "got a curriculum overview and lots of asking for help" - says all grades are feeling pressure because of upcoming end of 9 weeks, must have grades for all areas, reading writing vocabulary grammar...
many are not meeting writing and reading standards, from what they said in the meeting.

DFNWeek18Day1 Writing 2 TEXT 20,610 DFNWeek18Day1.rtf
Source Material:
I walk in, clerk is shelfreading, LMS in office.
2 white girls wordprocessing at C3 and C4 - #3 writing an info report on Atlanta Braves and #4 writing a letter to her Mom

DFNWeek18Day1 Writing 2 TEXT 614,1146 DFNWeek18Day1.rtf
Source Material:
Girl at C4 walks all the way over to me to ask about printing. (She didn't see LMS? who was in her office, right next to her?) I got to peek at the letter - it was a persuasive letter about wanting to take a trip to Canada to see a friend. She mentions how she skypes with the friend there all the time.

DFNWeek18Day2 Writing 1 TEXT 1410,1835 DFNWeek18Day2.rtf
Source Material:
Kids still testing in reference from when I first arrived. No adult with them? They seem to be talking.
Quiet until 1130 - had a short talk with LMS about scheduling, permissions for interviews, etc.
NAG meeting on Monday I hope to attend. LMS will go - says it is a place where teachers can get out their frustrations about the Atwell approach - many are having a hard time merging standards based life with RWW thinking.

DFNWeek1Day1 Writing 2 TEXT 1084,1412 DFNWeek1Day1.rtf

Source Material:
LMS did have the kids write their sentence and their notes on a wide notecard. Then they read it out loud. They left their notecards in the library. No use as an assessment was evident. Many students worked independently. They seemed to use short notes for the most part, no interpretation or opinion which was another choice.

DFNWeek1Day1 Writing 2 TEXT 2355,2476 DFNWeek1Day1.rtf
Source Material:
LMS says she has uploaded 200 reviews from students there. She did them on notecards "since I don't have enough computers"

DFNWeek2Day3 Writing 1 TEXT 1503,1661 DFNWeek2Day3.rtf
Source Material:
2 boys come in, create works cited on computers - also searching google images for pix, word processing, typing, citing
Must have asked permission or something

DFNWeek3Day2 Writing 1 TEXT 1071,1238 DFNWeek3Day2.rtf
Source Material:
Starting a "word of the week contest" based on the WoW from news. These, again, are words she has noticed from her own reading that she didn't think kids would know.

DFNWeek5Day1 Writing 5 TEXT 1975,2178 DFNWeek5Day1.rtf
Source Material:
Girls are writing, practicing, rewriting the news. Pretty much all self-managed.

DFNWeek5Day1 Writing 5 TEXT 4971,5166 DFNWeek5Day1.rtf
Source Material:
For word of week writing contest, kid had already sent in piece, but some words were used incorrectly. Is a kid who participates in reading / writing a lot. LMS read it and gave it back to him.

ElizabethBowen Writing 20 Text 26557,27365
elizabethbowenwatermk.rtf
Source Material:
ELIZABETH: Extended Learning Time. That's when the insane times happen…usually, people are always checking out and I'm trying to help with the news back there and I used to could teach a class you know like I taught in iMovie and I had a writer's block and a folklore class where we would go to the elementary school and we'd tell stories to the elementary school kids. It was so much fun.

BETH: That sounds like so much fun.
ELIZABETH: I couldn't do it this year. And Reading Bowl, I couldn't help with Reading Bowl hardly at all. And I felt bad they made fourth place, and I'm like, that's because I didn't have a clerk. You know?

ElizabethBowen Writing 20 Text 33343,35019
elizabethbowenwatermk.rtf
Source Material:
BETH: That makes a lot of sense. What are your goals for next year, have you thought about that yet?
ELIZABETH: I have, actually. I had a brainstorm the other day…I don't know how it's going to fly but we'll put it out there and see if it works. I really want to help out with assessment since everybody will be on all standards based report cards next year, even eighth grade, it will be sixth through eighth grade and I really want to help out with the writing aspect because I feel like these kids don't write enough. I mean, the teachers are worn out trying to get them to write. So what I'd really like to do is having a writing lesson in here and then I would grade the papers.
BETH: Oh, wow.
ELIZABETH: I don't know how it's going to work yet…I might just do the pre-writing here and then have them take it back to the classroom and finish up the writing and then the teacher can give it to me to grade. I don't' know, I still haven't worked out the kinks on that but I think I would really like to do that. Just reading the Word of the Week, stories reminded me how much I enjoy…trying to help…I mean, that's why I have the Writer's Block and then the problem with the Writer's Block is that I'm still working on the ones from the previous, you can never give up the story and these were all writers who can never give up the story, you know…a writer, it's very hard for them to stop and say, "Okay, this is good enough to be published"….so, we'd go back and forth and I'd finally say say, "Do you think this is okay?" and then they'd write some more (laughs). So, it's hard to finally say, "Cut that off" and then say, "Okay, we're ready to publish"…

ElizabethBowen Writing 20 Text 35023,36554
elizabethbowenwatermk.rtf
Source Material:
BETH: The Writer's Block…what do you mean?
ELIZABETH: That was ELT that I did a year ago. I still haven't published all their stuff and I'm going to send out on email to all of them because we did it on Google Docs which is really cool. So, I got to see all their work and they got to see all my comments and I would highlights thing and it was really cool and neat. And they really liked it. I wish that I could do that again but you know how that is. Anyway, so, I still have all of

those on Google Docs, they haven't unshared me (laughs). So I have them all and I'm going to send out an email to all of them and say, "If you want me to publish this, I'm ready to publish it and I'll be publishing it in August" along with a Word of the Week stories, too.
BETH: Are you going to go through a company and get them made into books?
ELIZABETH: LuLu - Lulu is great
BETH: Yeah, that's a great idea.
ELIZABETH: And I already had one published. I had the Writer's Block, I'd done it for two years and the first year…none of them wanted to publish….They were all like 'no!' And one did want to publish and she already has like a hundred pages…I mean, she was already writing the story because we started the Writers' Block and so her book is already in here, it's called "The Experiments " and it was pretty good. I told her that she probably wanted to take off the gifted stuff, because I said, "Not everybody is gifted"… (laughs). You're trying to get a large audience and she said no and I said ok. So, it's in here.

ElizabethBowen Writing 20 Text 36558,38776
elizabethbowenwatermk.rtf
Source Material:
BETH: Why does writing seem to be so important to you?
ELIZABETH: Well, I just think…it kind of goes with…I really think that goes with the whole library because they do the reading part but their writing really explains do you understand what you're reading or can you express yourself in a different way, things like that. And I really think the kids will like it if they could see more of their books in here. I mean, there's a couple that Ms. Wallace did in her gifted class, you know, five years ago, but I think we should have more student writing in here, you know? I think just looking at the writing scores, I know you probably know this and she was talking about how writing is just is just not where we need to be in writing. And so I really think they need more experience in writing and I don't think I was a good writer until I got to college and someone actually sat down with me said, "This is a good start but this is where you need to change" because I was going formulaic because that's the way they taught us in high school. You know, you got the big idea, then get littler, you know, formulaic. And they were like no no no no no. That's not it. And so, I mean, that's where I learned how to write, it's like these kids..I feel like, you know, we're just not taking the time for writing just because we have so much other stuff we've got to do. We just don't have them write and like I said, even when I did social studies, I still had them write. They wrote different stories, like they had to write all different things. One time they had to write an Australia story using dialect and then one time they had to use Mayan Heiroglyphics and they had to put Hieroglyphics in their story. Just different kinds of things. I'd make them write every time we had a unit. I'd be like "Time to write!"…."OK!"

BETH: Do you feel like librarians belong in writing instruction in general or is it just a personal passion of yours?
ELIZABETH: I don't know…I mean, with as much books as we deal with, I think that we should take up the writing profession and help students out with that because we read all the time and they say all the time, the better reader you are, the better writer you will be.

ElizabethBowen Writing 20 Text 9911,10662 elizabethfollowup.rtf
Source Material:
BETH: Do you have any thoughts about teachers or anything else? Or any goals that you have?
ELIZABETH: I still want to include writing as much as possible in the media center. And we did do a little bit of that with Ms. Theresa's class, we did some technical writing like we had different examples of technical writing and they each had to tell me what they had on their table, like I had a recipe book, I had a video camera manual, I had a book on…like resumes…and I'm trying to think of the other things….I had like one for each table and they had to tell me what the book was and then I said, "All these things are technical writing" and I said, "What does it make it?" and "It makes it technical" and generally they get around the definition.

ElizabethBowen Writing 20 Text 10665,11381 elizabethfollowup.rtf
Source Material:
BETH: They dance around it?
ELIZABETH: Yeah. And then I said, "Okay, what I want you to do is we're going to do a little bit of technical writing and we're going to write a recipe and you have to follow this format because technical writing follows a format, so. You have to have the recipe title, you have to have the ingredients, you have to have the procedure. can you handle that?" and they said yeah (muffled) and we all wrote it.
BETH: Did she ask you to do technical writing?
ELIZABETH: She did.
BETH: And you did it, wow.
ELIZABETH: Well, she said, "Will you pull out some examples of technical writing?" and I said, I'll do a whole lesson on it. (Beth: I bet she was happy) Yeah, she liked it yeah.

ElizabethBowen Writing 20 Text 11385,12501 elizabethfollowup.rtf
Source Material:
BETH: So, why writing? Why is writing important to the media center? Why does it belong here….because the more I read …people definitely see the media center as a place

for reading but I don't feel like people are convinced that writing is something that we should be doing. Why do you think it matters?
ELIZABETH: Well, I think as students…I think an educated person needs to be a good reader and writer above all else because if you can read something then you can get all the information you need and if you are able to write about it then that means you show understanding and you can communicate to other people what you understood. So, I think its a big part…I mean, it's all literacy, you know? So, a lot of studies show and all the different things that they've been doing throughout the year have been…and I'm also in the NAG group so I want to show them I'm trying to use what they do in class so that they'll come and use me, you know? So, that's another reason and I just think because if you're a good reader you should be able to write and we should have your writing in the media center as well.

Emily Writing 1 Text 3024,3225 emily.rtf
Source Material:
BETH: Do you ever do the contests, like Teen vs. book or the writing contest that she does?
EMILY: Not usually…Cause I'm a good writer but I don't think I'm strong enough writer for that kind of stuff.

GeorgeGlass Writing 1 Text 4714,5669 georgeglass.rtf
Source Material:
BETH: Do you see your students having an interest in that kind of thing?
GEORGE: Yes, I'm constantly looking for things they can do on the computer…of course, you see that I have three computers in my room so we are limited…but we're doing like…I don't know if you're familiar with Edmodo, our kids are Edmodo-ing now.
BETH: Really?
GEORGE: Yes.
BETH: Oh, that's awesome. How's it going?
GEORGE: It's going real good. I have about eleven or twelve who are really…fanatical with it and they're online at least once a day. Other kids are only able to get online when they're here and that's okay and I understand that and I tell them, "You know, no one is going to punish you because you don't have…stuff at home" but obviously if it's something that you can do….I think to try to keep people from feeling bad we actually went in the opposite direction…and I think now we're punishing kids because you do have it. Well, why can't you have this resource…

Lexus Writing 3 Text 8562,9661 lexus.rtf
Source Material:
BETH: Is that your thing? And sports? And…(laughs).

LEXUS: I really like, in language arts my favorite is probably writing because I like to express myself through my writing and just write about whatever I feel like. I mean, like I gave my language arts teacher a narrative and I got a 91 on it and she goes, “Edit it and make it a 100” and I was like, “Okay” because she knew that I was pushed for time 'cause it was eleven pages and she said, “If you handed it in for editing then it would have been perfect" because my conventions are terrible, just terrible, across the board terrible
BETH: But great ideas, I bet.
LEXUS: Yeah. My dad says, “You’re going to be a writer on the side of all your sports” And I'm like, oh yeah...
BETH: (laughs).
LEXUS: I think probably my favorite thing in school is probably writing because that’s where I get to be myself

Madsmith Writing 3 Text 13328,14056 madsmith.rtf
Source Material:
BETH: Did any of your students participate in any of the writing activities out of the library?
MADELINESMITH: Mmhmm. The one they had with the author…? Yeah.
BETH: Yeah, did anybody do that?
MADELINESMITH: One of my boys who actually interviewed with yo did that.
BETH: He must have been one of the people I talked to this morning.
MADELINESMITH: Just a few minutes ago.
BETH: He mentioned that just spontaneously…because I wasn’t in the school until after that but he said he really remembered …
MADELINESMITH: …yeah, he’s a good writer and he loves to do stuff like that. He’s always in the library, he always wants to come and then I can’t get him to leave, I always have to call and be like “Bring him back”.

Missylacy Writing 1 Text 9134,10154 misslacy.rtf
Source Material:
BETH: Oh. Do you like to write?
MISSLACY: Not as much…I mean, if I can find something that I really know exactly what’s going to happen, I sometimes like to write but…when assigned a topic and say, “This is when it has to be due, this is what you’re doing”…I do not like that. It just bothers me.
BETH: Yeah. Did you do the Word of the Week…she did like a writing thing last year….where she had an author come in and then she had a Word of the Week Writing Challenge…did you do either of those
MISSLACY: I did the Word of the Week Writing Challenge….and got exceeds on my use of words. and on my paper (?) - grade is really happy.

BETH: Oh, nice. That's good. Did you just feel like doing that or…
MISSLACY: Well, my teacher made us….but I might have done it anyway because there was a prize and stuff and it was a challenge to use all the words correctly and you had to use like fifteen or so…I used most of the list…like…I think there were like twenty on there, I used close to twenty instead of just 15.

Nicole Writing 1 Text 3107,3964 nicole (1).rtf
Source Material:
BETH: How about...have you ever done have little writing contests or reading incentive contests or anything like that?
NICOLE: Uh huh.
BETH: Why do you do those?
NICOLE: Just because they're fun and normally they offer prizes, too, so…
BETH: (laughs) Prizes are good. Did you do the writing contest last year...she did like a word of the week contest or something where you had to use all these different vocabulary words?
NICOLE: Yeah, I did that.
BETH: How do you find out about those?
NICOLE: They're normally on the school news or Ms. Harriet tells us about them.
BETH: And you just feel like participating, sounds like a good thing to do? Do you like to write?
NICOLE: Sometimes, it depends on my mood.
BETH: Are you a good writer?
NICOLE: I think so.

SeaOtter Writing 4 Text 14883,16280 seaotter.rtf
Source Material:
So, the reason we're behind is because I've taken school class time to go over how to write the paper, how to…
BETH: …so were you in charge of composition of the paper and everything too or was that shared?
SEAOTTER: It was somewhat shared…the language art teachers…during our AIMs time, we've had maybe two or three rotation periods where it was like…this week was just one week…I think we had like a two or three week period….maybe it was…I forget

SeaOtter Writing 4 Text 16649,17524 seaotter.rtf
Source Material:
I mean, I would take enormous time to just teach the writing process which I really couldn't do if I've got to do all that.
BETH: I saw your Nancie Atwell over there (laughs).

SeaOtter Writing 4 Text 17526,18414 seaotter.rtf
Source Material:
BETH: A lot of management.
SEAOTTER: It's been a lot of that, just been tough. But it's been a lot…I think the kids have done a great job for the fact what has been handed to them, they've done a great job. I don't know…We'll see, I'll read my papers. I think some of it is gonna be pretty sketchy and minimal with a lot of kids 'cause they just struggle with writing period.
BETH: And they may not have had help at home.
SEAOTTER: Well, that's the thing…for kids who have support at home, it's a great experience. For kids who don't, it's like walking in the dark…I had a kid the other day, "I don't know how to write my paper"…now, the eighth grade teachers came up with a guideline for writing a paper and that was really helpful, very step-by-step. To tell a kid how to write an abstract…for a sixth grader? Most adults would have trouble with that.
BETH: Yeah, that's intense.

Tavirous Writing 1 Text 3897,4360 Tavirous.rtf
Source Material:
BETH: No? Do you remember any of the lessons that Ms. Bowen did?
TAVIROUS: At the beginning of the year we did this thing where we had to like continue the part of a book like what we thought was gonna happen…????
BETH: Was that okay?
TAVIROUS: Yeah, it was fine. But we had the option to like get it good on our own time and continue it and she like put it in the hallways. I didn't do that but when we were in there we did it as a demonstration or whatever…