Chapter 9
Implications and Future Directions

This book presents the first thoroughly documented investigation of the relational dimensions of the interpersonal aspects of reference interactions. It shows that relational communication theory provides a powerful basis for analysis of this interaction and enables research to focus on important issues such as status differences, control, and context. Since Dervin’s article on the application of communication theory to library scholarship, research efforts in this area have begun to develop. Nevertheless, the application of communication theory to interpersonal encounters in the library context is still at the exploratory stage. This research demonstrates the value of its continued application.

Theoretical Implications
One major criticism of library research has been its lack of application of theoretical foundations. This study applies the heuristically rich relational theory from the communication field. Also, inclusion of the user's point of view in this study adds a piece that is missing in much research in the library field. This research demonstrates the importance of differentiating the viewpoints of users and librarians. Future research programs on the reference interaction should include the user’s perspective.

Current conceptions of interpersonal communication have moved away from the static, information transmission, linear model expressed by some of this study’s librarian informants. The linear model is usually represented as:
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S ——> M ——> R

in which the sender (S) sends a message (M) to the receiver (R) with the meaning implicitly centered in the sender. One librarian revealed this view of communication in the following comment:

I am trying to communicate with the person who will ultimately have to be the recipient of the knowledge . . . . I basically target the parent in the scenario as the person who is going to be on the receiving end of the knowledge that I am hopefully to impart . . . (L02)

Process-oriented models of communication, emphasizing meaning and receiver interpretation, are replacing these information transfer, linear conceptualizations. Evidence here argues for a new model of the librarian–user reference interaction. This new model recognizes the vital importance of the interpersonal, relational messages that are communicated in the encounter along with the information transferred. John V. Richardson Jr. believes that it is possible to have a “complete, balanced perspective” that incorporates knowledge of reference sources, the question negotiation process, and an understanding of the librarian–user interaction. He asserts: “Perhaps only then will the field have reference librarians trained, educated, and capable of rendering high quality reference service.” This new model would also integrate both the user’s and the librarian’s perspective. Much more needs to be discovered before this model can be fully articulated.

There are other theoretical areas in communication, sociology, and related disciplines that would be useful to the study of librarian–user interactions. One of these is sociologist Erving Goffman’s theory of impression management. Impression management is a dramaturgical model that regards people as being concerned with managing the impressions that they present to others. Impression management consists of any behavior by a person that has the purpose of controlling or manipulating the attributions and impressions formed of that person by others.

Many applications of the concepts of impression management have been made especially in psychological and sociological research. A recent doctoral dissertation by Mary K. Chelton uses Goffman’s theoreti-
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Application of social exchange theory might also prove fruitful because some users approach the reference desk with conflicting desires and fears.\(^9\) Social exchange theory holds that “relationships are sustained when they are relatively rewarding and discontinued when they are relatively costly.”\(^1\) Users need help with their library research, so they have to balance rewards (information) against possible costs (such as embarrassment, loss of face, or rejection).

Another area involves theories of interpersonal attraction. The analysis of paired perceptions described an encounter in which the librarian was sexually attracted to the user. Effects of interpersonal attraction on the reference interaction have not been explored in the library literature. There is a large body of attraction literature in the communication field that could apply.\(^1\) These theories also address nonsexual interpersonal attraction that may help librarians appear more approachable to users.\(^1\)

Future Directions

In addition to pursuing other theoretical approaches, another possible avenue for future research would be to replicate this study in other library contexts. Because this research was conducted at academic libraries, other types of libraries such as special, public, and school could be studied to see if results are similar. Librarian informants who have held positions in a variety of settings have suggested that special libraries, in particular, may yield results different from these. One librarian said: “In my experience, special library clients are less concerned with how they are treated, they are more focused on the bottom line.”

Two of this study’s ancillary findings were that users and librarians felt available time and information retrieval technologies had a major impact on the reference interaction. These suggest two additional areas for future research. Studies that investigate the time variable might focus more precisely on users’ perceptions of the interaction at various points in the semester, when they were pressed for time and when they were less stressed. This type of study would add to the understanding of the dynamics of the interaction in times of stress and help identify coping techniques for users and librarians.
Studies that investigate information retrieval technologies might delve more deeply into their effect on relational factors in the interaction. For example, librarians discussed encountering users with “computer phobia.” How does this affect perceptions of success in the encounter? How can librarians and users minimize negative affect (i.e., feelings)? How does the librarian’s attitude toward “phobic” users help or hinder the interaction’s success? Use of information retrieval technologies is receiving increasing attention in the library/information science literature, but no studies have looked at interpersonal impacts.

The barrier of lack of self-disclosure is another possibility for future investigation. There is a large body of literature on self-disclosure and deception that could be used to develop an understanding and perhaps ways of coping with surrogate users.

This study found that users reported more perceptions of the librarians’ nonverbal behavior than librarians reported of users’ nonverbal behavior. This finding suggests that investigations of nonverbal approachability could provide valuable insights for librarians seeking to understand nonverbal behavior as both facilitator and barrier. For example, Marie L. Radford has studied nonverbal approachability and identified positive and negative nonverbal behaviors that can invite the approach of users or repel them. To date, however, there have been very few scientific studies of nonverbal behavior in the librarian–user interaction.

Qualitative methods, such as interviewing, the critical incident technique, and the paired perception analysis, are increasingly being applied in library research. Qualitative research methods were effective here in exploring and forming understanding of the librarian–user interaction. The dynamic and multifaceted nature of this interaction requires a method of study that recognizes its complexity. Also, context is vitally important in investigations of human interaction. Qualitative methodology seeks to preserve the context surrounding the phenomenon it investigates. Continued application of qualitative methods is highly recommended in future research of librarian–user interaction.

Limitations
Although the qualitative methods in the present study proved very effective, they also had several limitations. These results are considered exploratory in nature. They are exploratory because the sample studied is small.
noted in chapter 4, a small sample size is common in qualitative research.\textsuperscript{18} This sample size was chosen to allow for a thorough analysis of the large amount of interview data that was generated. Also, because of the constraints imposed by the field setting, librarian and user participants could not be randomly selected. Therefore, these findings cannot be generalized to larger populations without further study. In addition, because the research was conducted at three academic sites, no generalization can be claimed to other types of libraries such as special, school, or public libraries.

Data-gathering techniques used in this study depended, for the most part, on user and librarian self-report. There was nonparticipant observation of the interactions that served to contextualize the data, not to make independent judgments of issues such as the success or accuracy of the information. The basis of the analysis is, therefore, the subjective perceptions of the participants. In addition, the analytical procedures were largely based on the subjective decisions of the researcher in developing the category and coding schemes. As a check on this, samples of the data from the critical incident and paired perception analysis were sent to two additional pairs of raters as a reliability check.\textsuperscript{19}

Analysis was also limited by the use of audio- rather than videotapes. Use of audiotapes focused analysis on verbal expressions and precluded use of nonverbal data that would be available from visual cues. In addition, the audiotapes were transcribed and analysis concentrated primarily on the interview transcripts. Nonverbal behaviors such as laughs and pauses were noted, but analysis focused primarily on the verbal data. As noted in the findings and discussion chapters, nonverbal behaviors play an important role in the interpersonal communication process. Users, especially, revealed sensitivity to their perceptions of the librarian's nonverbal cues. It is recommended that future studies strive to include both verbal and nonverbal components, perhaps utilizing videotaping and coding of nonverbal behaviors.

Another limitation concerns the possibility of the Hawthorne effect.\textsuperscript{20} This suggests that people may change their behavior when they know they are being observed. In this study, both users and librarians may have been affected by the data collection process that was obtrusive, in that librarians and users were interrupted in their work to be interviewed. Reports of perceptions of success by users may have been influenced by the knowledge that their responses were being tape-recorded, although they were reassured of the confidentiality of this record. One user was observed to have
hesitated when recalling a negative critical incident and to glance around the office in which the interview was being conducted to make sure the librarian was not around. The user then related a critical incident that had taken place in a different library, thus deciding that he or she could not chance being overheard, although the librarian in question was not present in the building.

Librarians may have been even more susceptible to the Hawthorne effect. Unlike users, they knew that they were being observed and that questions would be asked of the users and themselves regarding specific interactions. Librarians may have reacted to this by being unusually friendly, patient, or thorough. Interestingly, some evidence was offered that suggests that librarians did not change their behavior in ways that were noticeable to the users. During postinteraction interviews, three of the twenty-nine users (10%) revealed that they had previously interacted with the same librarians. All three reported that they had noticed no difference between the librarian’s previous behavior and the present interaction. When asked about this, one user’s response was:

User: I think she was very nice and helpful and pleasant.
Interviewer: So you would say today she was not affected by my watching?
User: No, I don’t think so. (U08)

Another user at first said there was no difference but, when pressed, admitted that:

User: I guess maybe a little bit more of attention, but not so much that I, I mean now that you bring it out, I kinda could say maybe there was a little bit more attention, but at the time I wasn’t even . . . but not overly wasn’t like . . .
Interviewer: It wasn’t noticeable to you until . . .
User: Yeah, until you just said it now . . . yeah, exactly, ‘cause I remember last time she was just as helpful and I don’t think she was being interviewed by another graduate student.(U26)

This is of interest, because usually in field work of this nature, there is no previous encounter to compare with the interaction being studied. This is
also notable because it suggests that more often than has been assumed librarian–user interactions may a sequence of encounters rather than just isolated events.

Pragmatic Implications/Recommendations
This research has several important practical implications for:
- graduate education of librarians;
- continuing education, reeducation, and in-service education;
- recruitment of librarians and graduate students;
- working with increasingly diverse library populations;
- development and implementation of reference and other service policy statements;
- evaluation of reference librarians;
- instruction of library users.

These implications are discussed in detail below.

At the present time, librarian education is centered on reference sources and systems. For the most part, it treats interpersonal communication processes superficially. This study found that the relational dimensions of communication are critical to user assessment of the quality of reference service. These findings support the views of others. Library schools need to recognize the importance of understanding the interpersonal communication process and the value of communication skills.21 Robert S. Taylor noted that library schools have traditionally focused on the reference sources rather than on the “dynamics of communication.”22 Thompson R. Cummins points out that:

The complexities of the interactions involved in this whole process are ones for which librarians are not in general trained. Most library schools ignore the interpersonal aspects of the reference encounter almost entirely.23

Sandra M. Black believes that until library schools recognize that interpersonal skills:

are at least as important as cataloguing, and reflect this in their admissions procedures and their course approach, the personality of librarians and their ability to communicate effectively will not change.24
It would be extremely beneficial for librarians to increase their study of interpersonal dynamics in basic and advanced reference courses. The author recommends an entire course on interpersonal communication for all students of library science, with inclusion of additional study of communication processes as appropriate throughout core curricula and advanced courses. Further, because users are sensitive to the librarian’s attitude toward them, librarians need to be made aware of the importance of their verbal and nonverbal communication. Although many practitioners believe that “people skills” are inherent, research has shown that librarians can be educated to improve their interpersonal communication skills.

Because most librarians currently in the field have not had formal education in communication, this research also points out the need for veteran librarians to attend continuing education courses or in-service workshops on communication. Even those who feel that they have good people skills can benefit greatly from refreshers and from being appraised of recently developed techniques or research findings.

The present study suggests that library schools should seek students with good interpersonal skills and outgoing personalities or, for those who are more reserved, with a high degree of sensitivity to others. It also points out the need for replacement of the stereotypical images of the reference librarian, isolated and surrounded by dusty books in glass cases. More current and accurate images may be ones in which the reference librarian is helping people to use books and information systems.

Comments from librarians interviewed reflect increasing enrollments of foreign and minority students. To respond to this trend, libraries need to recruit minority and bilingual reference librarians. Second-language study should also be encouraged for prospective and practicing librarians. Every library should offer a list of speakers of foreign languages who would be willing to act as translators/interpreters in the reference process. This study reveals that it can be difficult for users and librarians to come to an understanding when they are both native speakers of the same language. A language and/or cultural barrier makes clear communication even more difficult and frustrating. Mengxiong Liu and Bernice Redfern note that:

Cultural diversity is a reality today. If librarians do not make an effort to study their more ethnically diverse patrons, misperceptions about these groups and their information needs will remain.
This research also has implications for the development and implementation of reference and other service policy statements. A policy that defines success in reference interactions solely in terms of the accuracy of information delivery is inadequate. Reference policies (as well as other policies affecting service to users) need to include sections that define the desired interpersonal qualities in library service. The “Guidelines for Behavioral Performance of Reference and Information Professionals” provides an excellent template for establishing such policies.  

Other policy implications follow from the findings of this research. For example, the way the reference librarian’s time is structured is exceedingly important. Because users perceive librarians’ time limitations to be critical to success, it is vital, especially during busy periods, to have two or more librarians available. If additional help is not available, busy librarians can increase positive user perceptions by verbally or nonverbally signaling to waiting users that they will be helped as soon as possible.

Also, distractions such as phones at the reference desk and responsibilities for hardware maintenance (e.g., changing paper or cartridges in printers) should be kept to an absolute minimum. If possible, student assistants or paraprofessionals should screen calls and attend to hardware “housekeeping” duties. Not only would this policy free librarians for longer interactions with users, but it would also increase their appearance of availability to users and decrease their personal stress levels that are communicated to users and colleagues.

This study also has implications for evaluation of librarians. Its communication-centered findings call for an evaluation of librarians that gives equal emphasis to interpersonal aspects and accuracy. Often librarians are evaluated solely in terms of their accuracy and efficiency in answering reference questions, but this study found that establishing positive interpersonal relationships with each user is just as important. Librarians who are aware that relational aspects will be an important part of their performance evaluations would pay more attention to the information “given off” as well as to that “given.”

This study also has major implications for instruction of academic library users. Like librarian education, present bibliographic instruction and courses in library literacy focus attention on orienting users to locations of materials and familiarity with the use of information sources and systems. But this study shows it is extremely important for users to learn about the
interpersonal dynamics of the interaction. It is recommended that basic library orientation focus increased attention on interpersonal aspects of library use. Users could certainly benefit from increased understanding of what librarians expect and value in the reference interaction. Users could also benefit from being made aware of the importance of planning for their research, allowing sufficient time, and being persistent (e.g., waiting during a busy time or returning for additional help when the librarian is available).

Users also would profit from an understanding of the importance of their attitude toward task and toward the librarian in the interaction. Users who are indifferent to the assignment may provoke a negative attitude in the librarians and form a barrier to achieving their goal.

Finally, more users should think of the librarian as ally rather than adversary in the reference process.

Value of the Study to Social Science Research and Theory
This study has provided results that may be useful to researchers, educators, and library practitioners who are interested in the librarian–user interaction. In addition, it may be of value to practitioners in other fields (such as doctors or lawyers) in which similar interactions take place. Librarians, much like physicians, come to the interaction:

as knowledgeable professionals “at home” in the environment in which the interactions are occurring . . . . They are familiar with terminology and protocols, able to routinely take medical histories and perform necessary physical exams and diagnostic procedures, and generally have substantial experience with the range of medical problems and circumstances which present themselves.

The librarian “operates” from a comfortable, familiar environment—the reference desk—surrounded by the well-known reference materials and systems. Answering queries from users becomes a routine matter, indeed in the academic setting, the same library assignments are given to classes of students regularly each semester. With experience, these questions become easily “diagnosed” and tried-and-true reference sources “prescribed.” On the other hand, the user, like the patient, comes to the interaction:
looking for help . . . . They do so in an environment that is unfamiliar—one which they often perceive as intimidating . . . . Frequently they enter the interaction anxious about their health, and lacking medical knowledge or relevant professional expertise. 39

Users, like patients, lack the technological knowledge and experience of the information provider—the librarian. This study has shown that the user also may be similarly intimidated or anxious about approaching and interacting with the librarian, and can be subject to severe time constraints. At busy parts of the semester, users may have to wait in a line at the reference desk, perhaps increasing their stress.

Considering these similarities, the findings from this research have potential application in other contexts in which a technically skilled or highly educated professional interacts with a client who is less knowledgeable. Future research might explore these relationships.

This study’s application of qualitative research methods in the library context may encourage future research using similar techniques. The study illustrates three methods—development of a category scheme, critical incident technique, and analysis of paired perceptions—that may provide models for other research. In addition, vital interpersonal dimensions that this study identifies could be used as variables by future researchers.

Conclusion
This study has extended knowledge of the librarian–user interaction in two significant ways.

1. The study’s three interlocking analyses have shown the importance of interpersonal aspects of the reference interaction.

2. The study has identified relational dimensions that are central to perceptions of success and failure.

The research reported in this book just begins to explore the dynamics of this complex interaction. Nevertheless, it does define many areas for future research. With increased understanding of this process, greater success and satisfaction for both users and librarians is possible, even in an era when sources, systems, and society are becoming ever more sophisticated.
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Notes


5. Ibid., 85.


8. See Tedeschi, *Impression Management,* for an overview of these projects.


25. The author has developed and taught a course of this nature titled “Interpersonal Communication for Information Professionals” at Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, N.Y. Student feedback indicates that they find the course to be extremely valuable to their professional development. A syllabus is available from the author upon request.
27. See also Black, “Personality.”


