First-generation College Students, Academic Libraries, and Social Reproduction: A Case study of a University Library System

By

Eric R. Ely

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The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

Rebekah J. Willett, Professor, Information School
Kristin R. Eschenfelder, Professor, Information School
Chaoqun Ni, Assistant Professor, Information School
Rachelle L. Winkle-Wagner, Professor, Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

I like reading things that are old. I mean, I really enjoy it! I like it so much that I decided, years ago (and it really does feel like years ago now!), that I would include a patronage-style acknowledgement. Now that the time has come, my wish can finally come true! Here goes:

Penetrated with feelings of gratitude and appreciation most profound, I venture to approach Your Majesty's glorious throne, to which I respectfully offer to the best of Graduate Faculty, the final fruits of my labor which will, by the grace of God, contribute to the greater glory and legacy of the School of Information at the University of Wisconsin – Madison.

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As I mentioned earlier, the years of my life spent formulating this project, collecting data, and writing my analysis and findings, went by so quickly. These years, it turns out, have also been the most significant of my adult life. When I began work on this project, I was a single man not even looking to date, let alone get married, buy a house, and have a baby. Fast-forward a few years and all of those magnificent things have occurred! There was also the less positive COVID-19 pandemic which, quite literally, shut down the entire world. Throughout all of these changes, my dissertation project was one constant.

Perhaps I shouldn't so openly admit this, but these larger events over the past several years greatly outshine this project. My wife Edna and baby Ricardo Alberto mean so much more

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Speaking of the future, as someone who doesn't like to do so, I will conclude by saying the Ph.D. is not the end, but the beginning. I cannot predict what the future will hold, but I can say for certain that the piece of paper I'll hang on a wall (or, more likely, stuff in a box) is a platform to build upon as I continually learn and strive to be a better person.

Abstract

First-generation college students (FGCS) are an increasingly significant population at institutions of higher education in the United States. While only one aspect of college student identity, first- generation students collectively enter higher education without parent(s) who have obtained, at minimum, a bachelor's degree. As such, FGCS tap into wider networks for advice and support in making the transition to college. In this way, tapping into one's social capital can contribute to college access, persistence, and success in the field of higher education. These terms – capital and field – are core concepts, along with habitus, that comprise Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical apparatus.

This dissertation applies Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus, and field to first-generation college students' (FGCS) attitudes, perceptions, and use of academic libraries within the general library system of a large, public, historically White university. The critical qualitative study adapts Phil Carspecken's (1996) 5-stage framework for conducting critical qualitative research and Bourdieu's recommendations for conducting a study of field. The resulting analytical framework includes inductive and deductive coding, meaning field and reconstructive horizon analysis, and an analysis of system relations. Findings can inform academic library practice and are also applicable to higher education more generally, e.g., via early intervention for FGCS. Three primary themes emerged during the data analysis process: (1) perceptions of academic libraries as anxiety-inducing spaces, (2) perceptions of libraries as sites of assurance and comfort; and (3) the relationship between students' capital composition and their perceptions and use of academic libraries.

Chapter I: Introduction

Scholars of higher education have focused on First-generation college students (FGCS), as a collective group, since the development of the term in the late 1970s as part of the American federal TRiO programs (Auclair et al., 2008). The first-generation term, however, is problematic, as scholars have not reached a definitional consensus regarding who the term includes, which has implications for research findings, analysis, and recommendations (Toutkoushian et al., 2018). Although Nguyen and Nguyen (201

5) conclude that scholars continue to use the FGCS term, the authors point out the problems of inconsistent application of the label and the term's limited capacity to demonstrate differential outcomes and experiences of students due to their various identities and backgrounds. Given the lack of scholarly and practical consensus, percentages of FGCS students can vary greatly, depending upon how the first-generation term is defined (Toutkoushian et al., 2018). Many institutions employ the federal definition developed for TRiO programs, which defines FGCS as students whose biological parents did not complete a four-year college degree. By this definition, 56-percent of postsecondary undergraduates in the United States were FGCS as of the 2015-16 academic year, indicating that FGCS are a significant population of students attending institutions of higher education in the United States (RTI International, 2019a).

Existing literature on FGCS focuses on various aspects of this collective group, including access to higher education (Forrest Cataldi, Bennett, & Chen, 2018), transition to higher education (Pascarella, Pierson, Wolniak, & Terenzini, 2004), and retention and graduation (Forrest Cataldi, et al., 2018; Redford & Hoyer, 2017). Much existing research on FGCS, however, focuses narrowly on the challenges and barriers these collective students encounter at institutions of higher education. In their literature review Ives and Castillo-Montoya (2020) conceptualized FGCS as learners and identified a limited body of literature that focused on

FGCS' lived experiences and the ways in which these experiences contribute to positive academic outcomes and personal development. This dissertation research will expand upon this limited body of literature via the application of Pierre Bourdieu's social reproduction theory (1973) and his theoretical concepts of capital, habitus, and field. Focusing on the unique and specific qualities of individual FGCS, this research will explore how one's familial, social, and cultural conditions contribute to attitudes, perceptions, and utilization of academic library resources and services, which is significant as academic libraries are connected to student retention and academic success (Oliveria, 2017; 2018a).

Background on First-generation College Students in Higher Education

First-generation college students are an increasingly significant student population at institutions of higher education in the United States. First-generation student groups and organizations are common across college campuses, institutions have initiated orientations targeting FGCS, and popular publications (e.g., U.S. News, Best Colleges) have created content for this population. Collectively, higher percentages of FGCS college graduates identify as American Indian, Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian, Pacific Islander (54%), Black or African American (59%), and Hispanic/Latinx/o/a (60%) and over the age of 24 (57%) at graduation (RTI International, 2021). Scholars exploring FGCS have examined access and retention issues, pre- and post-college enrollment intervention efforts (Tym, McMillion, Barone & Webster, 2004), and factors that contribute to students' academic success (Kuh, Kinzie, Buckley, Bridges & Hayek, 2006). Education scholars have framed FGCS as an at-risk population, highlighting the educational challenges these students face (Billson & Terry, 1982), without acknowledging intersecting identities that also contribute to FGCS' educational experiences (Nguyen & Nguyen, 2015). Frequently, scholars attribute these challenges to the relative lack of academic support FGCS receive, primarily focusing on FGCS' parents (Engle, 2007; Palbusa & Gauvain, 2017;

Terenzini, Springer, Yaeger, Pascarella, & Nora, 1996; Westbrook & Scott, 2012). Research demonstrates that when planning and preparing for college, students benefit from support and advice from parents and others who have college experience (Crisp, 2010; Kuh, Kinzie, Schuh, & Whitt, 2005). Tapping into wider, non-familial networks demonstrates how social capital can contribute to college access, and ultimately persistence and academic success (via degree completion), while parental support and advice can better prepare students to navigate the field of higher education via acculturating them to the appropriate norms and rules, i.e., cultural capital, of higher education. These terms – capital and field – along with habitus, are central concepts of Pierre Bourdieu's (1973) theoretical apparatus, which I applied in this study. I discuss Bourdieu's theory and define these terms in Chapter III.

Problem Statement

Academic libraries are integral components of the larger educational institutions in which they are situated. They provide various resources and services that contribute to student persistence, retention, and academic success (Oliveira, 2017; 2018). As a collective group, however, first-year FGCS depart from a postsecondary institution after the first year more frequently than their continuing-generation[1] counterparts, and 56-percent of FGCS have not attained an educational credential after six years of entering postsecondary education, compared to 40-percent of continuing-generation students (RTI International, 2019b). Given the potential connections to academic library use and persistence, retention, and academic success, libraries can contribute to diminishing the existing educational attainment disparities between first- and continuing-generation college students. While academic libraries continue to serve campus constituents and contribute to persistence, retention, and success of all students, academic

[1] In this dissertation, continuing-generations students are those who have at least one biological parent who has attained a post-secondary degree.

libraries have also responded to broad changes within higher education and have seen their roles within their parent institutions change (Cox, 2018). Throughout changes to the higher education system, access to institutions of higher education has remained a continual challenge, due in part to persistent issues (e.g., hidden curriculum, tracking) of K-12 schooling. Whether first- or continuing-generation, social reproduction – the continuation and maintenance of existing social relations from one generation to the next – can occur via educational structures, such as curriculum, pedagogy, and instructor-student interactions, which can negatively affect minoritized students, particularly students of color (Meza & Blume, 2020). Structures within the educational system can either reinforce or disrupt the social reproduction process. My dissertation will examine the role of academic libraries in this process and address the following questions:

1. How does an individual's habitus and capital composition and possession facilitate perceptions, attitudes, and use of academic library resources and services among first-generation college students?
2. What is the role of academic libraries in the process of social reproduction in the lives of first-generation college students?

Theoretical Framework

I employed Pierre Bourdieu's social reproduction theory in my examination of the role of the academic library in the lives of FGCS (Bourdieu, 1973, 1979/1984; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). Employing Bourdieu's theory, I expect to yield interesting and provoking findings that: (1) illuminate the role(s) of academic libraries in FGCS' lives, (2) contribute to and advance existent scholarship; and (3) provide recommendations for policy and practice.

Bourdieu's social reproduction theory is appropriate for my proposed dissertation as it provides a holistic view of FGCS, including their social contexts (e.g., familial background, culture), capital (cultural, social, and economic), habitus and field, all of which combine to influence action and practice, in this case the utilization of academic library resources and

services. I applied Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of capital, including Cultural Capital, which is the set of knowledge, skills and abilities that are rewarded in specific contexts (e.g., schools, academic libraries); Social Capital, which are the benefits and advantages one receives via various networks, connections and relationships that can be tapped into for social advancement; and Economic Capital, which are material resources that are immediately and directly convertible into money; Habitus, which is the set of ingrained dispositions that shape and influence one's actions; and Fields, which are the social arenas of practice and conflict in which habitus and the forms of capital interact. I fully define these concepts in Chapter III.

Each of these concepts work in tandem with one another to explain individuals' choices and actions. Bourdieu's concepts have become entrenched in educational research since their introduction to U.S. scholars in the 1970s. However, many scholars have focused on specific concepts in isolation, such as cultural capital or social capital (Davies and Rizk, 2017; Dika and Singh, 2002). Bourdieu (1990) criticized the disconnection of cultural capital from the accompanying concepts of social and economic capital, field, and habitus, stating that cultural capital is a relational, not a substantive, concept. In their reviews of cultural capital (Davies and Rizk, 2018) and social capital (Dika and Singh, 2002), both sets of authors are critical of scholars who do not consider Bourdieu's full theoretical apparatus in their empirical studies. I aim to avoid this critique by implementing a specific layer of data analysis, in which I create codes that represent each of Bourdieu's concepts that comprise his full theoretical framework.

Summary of Methodology

In this case study I explored the ways in which students' family and socioeconomic backgrounds contributed to their perceptions, attitudes, and use of academic libraries at one four-year public university in a mid-sized city in the Midwestern United States. I analyzed interview transcripts, student diaries, and observational fieldnotes collected over six months during one

academic year. I conducted four distinct levels of analysis. First, I collected, transcribed, read, and reread interview transcripts, student diaries, and fieldnotes. I conducted inductive, open, in-vivo coding, in which codes remained close to participants' words, to develop a codebook, which I used to code each transcript. In the next analysis phase, I conducted meaning fields and reconstructive horizon analysis (Carspecken, 1996). In phase three, I conducted deductive, closed coding, in which I applied codes to the data that map directly to Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of capital, habitus, and field. In the fourth analysis phase, I moved from the micro- to macro-level as I conducted systems analysis. I detail the data collection and analysis processes in Chapter IV.

Summary of Findings and Analysis

As I will discuss at length, three primary themes emerged during the data analysis process. The first theme relates to participants' perceptions of academic libraries as anxiety-inducing spaces, which I delineate into two categories: (1) anxiety by design and (2) anxiety by association. In the former, participants refer to physical characteristics of academic library spaces that cause feelings of anxiety, while in the latter, participants indicate there is nothing inherent about physical library space that causes anxiety, rather it is what they do while in academic libraries that produce these feelings. The second primary finding is oppositional to the first, as some participants hold perceptions of libraries as sites of assurance and comfort. The third primary finding considers the relationship between students' capital composition and their perceptions and use of academic libraries.

Study Significance

Findings of my dissertation will contribute to both scholarship and practice. First, because I utilized Bourdieu's full theoretical apparatus, rather than its constituent components in isolation, I addressed Davies and Rizk's (2018) suggestion to, "re-embed the concept [cultural

capital] within Bourdieu's fuller framework" (p. 347). Additionally, my research extended upon existing research on FGCS and academic libraries, (Couture, Bretón, Dommermuth, Floersch, Ilett, Nowak, Roberts, & Watson, 2020). It also contributes to existing scholarship regarding student perceptions of academic library resources and services. My dissertation research has the potential to investigate the relationship of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts to, and expansion upon, other theories and frameworks. Potential connections include Mellon's (1986) theory of library anxiety and various theories of college student identity development (Patton et al., 2016).

Dissertation findings will also contribute to practice. Results of my dissertation research may help inform academic librarians and staff in their daily interactions with FGCS, as well as help inform library strategies and interventions as academic libraries seek to positively contribute to the academic success of students and demonstrate their value to their larger institution. Lastly, while also informing institutional practice, my critical approach to research will extend existing research findings in the examination of the ways in which academic libraries may contribute to social reproduction and act as complicit entities in institutional marginalization.

Chapter II: Literature Review

This literature review provides an overview of previous research on the role of academic libraries in reinforcing or disrupting social reproduction and student perceptions of academic library resources and services and the role of academic libraries in students' lives. Because academic libraries are vital components of educational institutions, this three-part review will focus on education and library and information studies (LIS) scholarship. Part one examines scholarship of social reproduction in education. Examining social reproduction in educational settings provides necessary background and historical context for FGCS preferences, perceptions, and practice regarding academic library resources and services. Additionally, this discussion shows how Bourdieu's theory differs from other applications and illustrates its applicability to my research. Part two examines applications of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction and his concepts of capital, habitus, and field within education to broadly situate my research from a theoretical perspective. In part three, I focus on scholarship within LIS regarding college student perceptions of academic library resources and services to situate my research within existing empirical work within the discipline. I focus on student perceptions because this aligns with Bourdieu's concept of habitus, a key component of his theoretical apparatus, which, as part two of this review reveals, is relatively understudied in existing educational scholarship.

Because my research operates at the intersection of sociology, education, and LIS, I utilized resources from these disciplines to guide my search process and examination of relevant literature. I relied on my existing knowledge of the LIS and education disciplines obtained through years of graduate study to inform my search, through which I identified broad themes that informed a more detailed search. I utilized SocIndex, Educational Research Complete, Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC), Library Literature and Information Science

Full Text, and Library and Information Science Abstracts (LISA), in addition to past coursework and previous research projects, to locate sources for this review (See Appendix A for literature review methods).

Part I: Social Reproduction in Educational Research

Social reproduction, an extension of Karl Marx's (1885/1990) economic reproduction, is a class-based social theory that refers to the continuation and maintenance of social structures and relationships from one generation to the next. As reproduction theorist Paul Willis (1981) states, social reproduction refers to, "the replacement of that *relationship* between the classes (i.e., *not* the classes themselves) which is necessary for the continuance of the capitalist mode of production" (p. 2, emphasis original). Significantly, social reproduction is distinct from cultural reproduction, which is a subset of the larger process of social reproduction (Bourdieu, 1973; Willis, 1981). As a grand theory of sociology, particularly a sociology conceived as a total science, which constructs, "total science facts that preserve the fundamental unity of human practice across the mutilating scissures of disciplines, empirical domains, and techniques of observation and analysis" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 26-27), social reproduction theory is common among the sociology field. Scholars have approached social reproduction from various lenses, including feminism and gender studies (Laslett & Brenner, 1989; McLanahan & Percheski, 2008), migration (Delgado-Wise, 2014; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007), minoritized youth (Tyson & Lewis, 2021), health (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009), and education (Breen & Jonsson, 2005; Posselt & Grodsky, 2017; Raudenbush & Eschmann, 2015; Tyler, 1985). Part 1 of this review will focus on social reproduction and education.

Scholars who apply reproduction theory to the educational system (Bernstein, 1981; Bourdieu, 1973; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Willis, 1977) borrow from Marx's (1885/1990) theory of economic reproduction, in which the production, circulation and

consumption of goods and services reproduce voluntary and involuntary social relations between generations. Along with producing goods and services, the capitalist system produces, and reproduces, stratified class relations in which the wealthy bourgeoisie continually dominate the poor, proletariat working class. Within education, building upon Marx's class-based social divisions, scholars are concerned with the ways in which the structure of schooling perpetuates social divisions. Scholars who apply reproduction theory to education oppose the tradition in the United States of education being, "the great equalizer of the conditions of men – the balance wheel of the social machinery" (Mann, 1848/1891, p. 251) and instead argue that schools contribute to, and intensify, existing social inequalities. Although numerous scholars have applied reproductionist theory to education, not all have utilized the same approach.

Representative of the functionalist approach, which emphasizes the importance of social institutions (and their components) in the maintenance of social stability, Bowles and Gintis (1976) examined schools as sites of reproduction via hidden curriculum that mirrors the norms and values of the capitalist workplace. The authors argue that the hierarchical structure of schools reflects that of the labor market. Bowles and Gintis argue that, more than content knowledge, schools prepare students for, and teach them how to interact, in the workplace. According to this argument – the correspondence principle – the education system produces an uncritical, passive, and subservient labor force; encourages acceptance of hierarchical authority; motivation by external, rather than intrinsic, rewards; and a fragmented workforce. Schools teach working class students to be punctual, follow rules, and adapt to the alienating demands of unskilled labor, whereas schools teach middle- and upper-class students to exert leadership skills, think creatively, and cultivate an individualist mindset attuned to the capitalist system.

Paul Willis (1977) criticized the functionalist approach in his examination of English secondary school students. Unlike the functionalist approach, Willis examined the relationship between culture and power in the educational system. This cultural approach prioritizes the experiences of individuals to explore their relationship to education, work, and capitalist society. Unlike the passive students presented in Bowles and Gintis' (1976) work, Willis identified students actively disregarded and disrespected institutional and teacher authority and created a counter-school culture. Willis concluded that the students in his study actively chose to "fail" or reproduce their class, rather than the educational and capitalist systems producing this outcome.

Also taking a cultural approach, Bernstein (1971, 1981) examined linguistic patterns of students of different social classes, arguing that a student's social class produces different and distinctive speech patterns, which are cultivated in the home and valued (or not) in the educational system. Bernstein identified these distinctive patterns as restricted code and elaborated code and suggested a correlation exists between code and social class. Working class students use restricted code, which draws upon shared experiences, knowledge, and understanding, in which meanings are implicit, whereas elaborated code, used by middle- and upper-class students, is more explicit, meaning elaborated code expresses the individual speaker's unique, individual perspective. Bernstein argued that working class students use restricted code because of the conditions in which they were raised, opposed to middle- and upper-class students who, due to the conditions in their formative years, are exposed to both restricted and elaborated codes (1971). Furthermore, Bernstein (1973, 1981) examines the value schools place on elaborated codes, thereby identifying the educational system as one that contributes to social reproduction.

Taking a broader cultural perspective that extends beyond language, Bourdieu (1979/1984) argued that schools value the cultural backgrounds of middle- and upper-class students. Although Bourdieu acknowledged the economic capital of students and their families, prominent in Marx's critique of the capitalist system, Bourdieu's critique moves beyond this factor to include two additional forms of capital, cultural and social (Bourdieu, 1986). Furthermore, Bourdieu (1979/1984) further differentiated himself from other reproductionist scholars of education via his focus on students' lifestyles, tastes, and dispositions (i.e., habitus). Developed in the home and valued in schools, children, those who, for example, visit museums and galleries, listen to classical music, or attend fancy dinner parties, are prepared for academic success, success measured not only by degree completion, but by degree completion at selective, prestigious institutions. These tastes and dispositions, which operate at a quasi-unconscious level appear, therefore, to be normal; however, tastes are not a gift of nature, rather they are constituted by early immersion to cultural objects (Bourdieu, 1979/1984). Because Bourdieu focused on lifestyles, tastes, and dispositions, his approach is most applicable to the present study's focus on FGCS' perceptions of academic libraries (i.e., their habitus) and of academic libraries' role in disrupting or reinforcing social reproduction.

Part II: Applications of Pierre Bourdieu's Theoretical Concepts in Educational Research

While part one of the review focused broadly on social reproduction in education, part two primarily focuses on applications of Bourdieu's concepts in educational research, specifically within the United States given the geographical context of my research.

Although scholars of higher education have applied Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of capital, habitus and field to examinations of college students' experiences, much of this work has utilized these concepts in isolation, singularly focusing on, for example, cultural or social capital (Davis and Rizk, 2018; Dika and Singh, 2002). However, Bourdieu (1990) stated that these

concepts are relational, not substantive, and criticized the disconnection of concepts from one another, e.g., cultural capital from the accompanying concepts of field, habitus, and other forms of capital. For this reason, it is necessary to examine critically past scholarship citing Bourdieu's concepts to point out the shortcomings and limitations of using a singular concept and ignoring Bourdieu's full framework. Additionally, I argue that academic libraries, as components housed within larger institutions of higher education, contribute to the marginalization of non-normative student populations, including, among others, FGCS, a collective student population whom LIS scholars have traditionally framed from a deficit perspective (Ilett, 2019). Marginalization of non-normative student groups are frequently linked to social inequalities and what Bourdieu would identify as social reproduction.

Examination of scholars' applications of Bourdieu's concepts revealed a demarcation in publications, with conceptual publications (Gorder, 1980; Swartz, 1977; 1981), primarily from the late 1970s and 1980s constituting a first wave in Bourdieu scholarship in the United States, as his writings appeared in English for the first time; and a tripartite second wave that (1) critiqued Bourdieu's theory (Jenkins, 1982; Lakomski, 1984; Murphy, 1982), (2) responded to criticism (Harker, 1984; Thapan, 1988) and (3) empirical studies that attempted to put Bourdieu's theoretical concepts into practice (Dumais, 2002, 2006; Horvat et al., 2003; Lareau, 1987; Lareau & Horvat, 1999; Rupp and de Longe, 1989). Additional scholars have bridged the gap between these two temporal and methodological phases with explanatory publications in an attempt to make Bourdieu's dense writings available to a wider audience (Shirley, 1986). Others have expanded Bourdieu's theoretical concepts (Gartman, 1991; Lamont & Lareau, 1988; Lareau and Weininger, 2003; Yosso, 2005). In their specific examination of cultural capital research, Davies and Rizk (2017) noted a similar trend, as they identified three generations of cultural

capital research: a first generation (1970s-1980s) in which Bourdieu was understood within the broader traditions of social mobility research, educational stratification and conflict theory; a second generation (1980s-2000s), in which three variants: the DiMaggio branch (DiMaggio, 1982; DiMaggio & Mohr, 1985), Lareau branch (Lareau, 1989/2000; 2002; Lareau & Weininger, 2003) and Collins branch (Collins, 1998; 2004; 2008) emerged; and a third generation (post-2000) in which scholars elaborated upon each second generation stream. Winkle-Wagner (2010), in her review of cultural capital in educational research, took a different, yet related, approach that identified four definitional categories of cultural capital: (1) as high-status cultural knowledge or competence (DiMaggio branch); (2) as knowledge or competence (sometimes skills and abilities) of that culture, which is valued in a particular social setting; (3) as otherized cultural capital, which applies to nondominant or marginalized groups; and (4) as part of Bourdieu's larger theory of social reproduction (Lareau branch).

That there is an abundance of literature grappling with Bourdieu's theoretical concepts over nearly 50 years does not mean, however, that scholars' output is of equal merit or quality. In addition to the present review, others' (Davies and Rizk, 2017; Dika and Singh, 2002) examination of Bourdieusian concepts demonstrate educational researchers often applied singular concepts, most notably and frequently cultural and social capital. This piecemeal, selective approach is problematic because Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus and field are relational, thereby negating the utility of implementing a single concept in isolation in any given research study. Bourdieu was vocal in his criticism of such an approach and discussed the relational nature of his theoretical concepts (Bourdieu, 1990) and explicitly stated, "*A capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field*" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 101, emphasis original). While the relational perspective of his sociological vision is not new – in this

instance the influences of Emile Durkheim (1984/2001) and Karl Marx (1971) are apparent – "What is special about Bourdieu is the zeal and relentlessness with which he deploys such a conception [relational structure of society], as evidenced by the fact that both of his key concepts of *habitus and field designate bundles of relations*" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 16, emphasis original). The emphasis on cultural and/or social capital in the literature and Wacquant's (a frequent and close collaborator with Bourdieu) emphasis on habitus and field exacerbates the problematic approach, as a gulf exists between the concepts researchers most frequently apply and those considered crucial to Bourdieu's theoretical apparatus. With this substantial caveat in mind, some scholars, (Dumais, 2002, 2006; Gaddis, 2013) have made a more concerted effort to engage with Bourdieu's entire theoretical apparatus. The following paragraphs discuss the merit of these works that more fully utilize Bourdieu's concepts.

Bourdieu in educational research.

In a study of eighth-grade boys and girls, Dumais (2002) examined the effects of cultural capital on the academic success of these students using a statistical model that also included Bourdieu's concept of habitus, which, as the author noted, was only rarely included in previous studies. Dumais' statistical analyses of cultural practices, including, participation in fine arts lessons and sports; visiting museums; attending concerts; and going to the public library, previously grouped together on a single scale, revealed that women and all students from higher socioeconomic statuses were more likely to participate in cultural activities. Dumais' quantitative study utilized the National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS) data set, and the author intentionally operationalized cultural capital in strict terms – participation in the arts. This intentional operationalization allowed Dumais to (1) join cultural capital and habitus, operationalized via a variable for students' occupational expectations, in a single model of educational success to remain true to Bourdieu's intentions; (2) determine whether cultural

capital and habitus play significant roles in educational success; and (3) determine whether one's gender, in addition to one's socioeconomic status, leads to different benefits from cultural capital and habitus in terms of educational outcomes (Dumais, 2002, p. 45). This careful and intentional operationalization of terms is significant in light of Dumais' findings: that cultural capital has a positive, significant effect on the grades of female students and that female students may be more encouraged to use their cultural capital to succeed in school.

Of particular note for the present literature review and dissertation research, Dumais constructed cultural capital variables from a question in the NELS parental questionnaire that included, in one set of questions, "Do you or your eighth grader take part in any of the following activities?" with one activity listed being "borrowing books from the public library". Although the present research is interested in academic libraries, investigating one's public library use, particularly as children and adolescents, may contribute to one's habitus and, therefore, one's perception of, and disposition toward, utilizing academic library resources and services during their collegiate years.

Such a claim is relevant to Dumais' (2006) study in which the author utilized data from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study (ECLS) to show that children's cultural activities have a positive effect on teachers' evaluations of elementary school children's abilities in language arts and mathematics, but only for low-socioeconomic students. As in her earlier study, Dumais (2006) also included habitus, in this case of the parents, as "Teachers may have higher opinions of students whose parents are involved in and comfortable with the school environment, perceiving the students to have higher levels of skill than students whose parents do not have a school-oriented habitus" (Dumais, 2006, p. 88). Regarding parental habitus, Dumais found that only one aspect, expectations that their child will attain a bachelor's degree, had a consistent

positive effect on elementary teachers' evaluations. Based on these findings, Dumais (2006) suggests that the traditional conceptualization of cultural capital may not fit elementary school aged children and that other measures, like playing sports, participating in clubs or, perhaps, – relevant to the present study – frequenting one's public library, should instead be included for young children.

Picking up on the importance of operationalization and inclusion of habitus from Dumais (2002; 2006), Gaddis (2013) utilizes a longitudinal data set to examine the effects of cultural capital, operationalized as: (1) number of times an individual has visited a museum (within the past 12 months); (2) number of times an individual has attended a play (within the past 12 months); (3) weekly hours spent in cultural lessons (music, art, dance and language) outside of school; and (4) weekly hours spent reading, with habitus, measured via attitudinal variables obtained from the Harter Scholastic Competence score (HSC) and the Berndt and Miller School Value score (SV), as a potential mediator in students' academic success. Gaddis established a baseline of cultural capital absent habitus, then included habitus measures to both conduct tests for mediation effects and to more fully test the influence of habitus in the relationship between cultural capital and academic achievement, measured by student GPA. Gaddis found cultural capital had positive effects on GPA for disadvantaged students and mediation tests revealed habitus fully mediated these effects. Furthermore, Gaddis found that direct effects of cultural capital on GPA disappear once measures of habitus are included in the statistical models, suggesting that cultural capital changes a student's view of their ability to achieve academic success. Gaddis' finding that, "cultural capital operates through habitus to affect academic achievement" (p. 9) is significant, as it demonstrates the need to incorporate Bourdieu's full theoretical apparatus in educational research and that, "future investigations of cultural capital

should include measures of habitus to more adequately capture the process of educational inequality" (Gaddis, 2013, p. 10).

While some scholars have made a concerted effort to utilize multiple aspects of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts (Dumais2002, 2006; Gaddis, 2013), others have selectively chosen individual concepts, operationalized concepts in different, narrow ways, and/or misappropriated Bourdieu's theoretical concepts. DiMaggio's (DiMaggio, 1982; DiMaggio & Mohr, 1985) application of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts focused on cultural capital and his understanding of the concept in terms of artistic consumption or performance.

In his qualitative study examining cultural capital and school success utilizing the Project Talent data set, DiMaggio (1982) measured high school students' cultural capital using self-reports of involvement in art, music, and literature. In a later study DiMaggio & Mohr (1985), further examined the Project Talent data set. Essentially, in each study (DiMaggio, 1982; DiMaggio & Mohr, 1985), DiMaggio conflates high arts with cultural capital. Although claiming he is "following Bourdieu" (DiMaggio, 1982, p. 191) in these measures that attempt to quantify cultural capital, DiMaggio seemingly ignored Bourdieu's warning of the "danger of attributing to any one of the variables the effect of the *set* of variables" (Bourdieu, 1979/1984, p. 105-106) that impact an individual. In other words, DiMaggio largely ignores the social context integral to Bourdieu's relational social theory, and, more significantly, the impact of one's educational level, for Bourdieu attributed the acquisition of cultural capital to one's family and education (Bourdieu, 1979/1984). Additionally, DiMaggio (1982) and DiMaggio and Mohr (1985) rely on data sets not created with Bourdieu's concepts in mind. As such, the authors were forced to define cultural capital according to variables available in their chosen data sets.

DiMaggio's (1982) findings, that cultural capital returns were greatest for females from high status families and males from low status families, neither confirmed nor negated Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction. Instead, DiMaggio argued for a cultural mobility model, which allows low status students the opportunity to become upwardly mobile via active participation in prestigious status cultures. In schools, the cultural mobility model proposes that lower socioeconomic students receive greater academic benefits from participation in cultural activities. This model argues that participation in cultural activities can benefit low socioeconomic students via higher evaluation from teachers and help them fit in with their middle- and upper-class peers. In their continued analysis of the same Project Talent data set, DiMaggio and Mohr (1985) found that cultural capital had significant effects on college attendance, completion, and enrollment in graduate education. Given their conceptualization, operationalization and (mis)understanding of cultural capital, DiMaggio's findings (DiMaggio, 1982; DiMaggio & Mohr, 1985), although often cited and well established in the field (see Davies & Rizk, 2017), are limited and open to criticism.

Between these extremes lie scholars who have focused on an individual concept in their empirical research but situated their chosen concept in relation to Bourdieu's full conceptual arsenal. Lareau's (1987) early work is an exemplar of this line of research. Unlike the research exemplars discussed to this point, Lareau departs from their quantitative approach and employs qualitative research methods in her examination of family involvement in schools. Lareau (1987) specifically explored the ways in which primary school teachers interpreted familial involvement. Lareau's findings suggest that schools, as institutions, have particular and standardized views of what it means to be a proper parent. Furthermore, Lareau's (1987) results indicate that social class provides parents of young children with unequal resources to adequately

meet teachers' expectations of what is considered proper parenting, as "working-class parents had poor educational skills, relatively lower occupational prestige than teachers, and limited time and disposable income to supplement and intervene in their children's schooling (p. 81). Based on these findings, Lareau argued the economic, cultural, and social elements of one's family life contribute to being a proper parent in teachers' views. As such, this argument combines three elements of Bourdieu's larger theoretical framework, economic, cultural, and social capital, and suggests these concepts have merit as useful aspects that can help understand how differences in social class affect children's experiences of school. In later work, Lareau (1989/2000, 2011) continued her exploration of familial influence within Bourdieu's framework, engaging with cultural capital, social capital, and habitus.

In other work, Lareau and Horvat (1999) identified the relative absence of Bourdieu's concept of field in previous scholarship in an examination of family-school interaction. To account for this scholarly deficiency, the authors explicitly situated their study of third graders in a particular third-grade class (i.e., field) and examined how cultural capital operates in this particular field. Furthermore, Lareau and Horvat clearly link habitus to field and cultural capital in what is an exemplar of utilizing multiple concepts in an empirical study. Lareau and Horvat's nuanced study revealed that students received in-school rewards for the ways in which their parents were involved in their children's schooling and the ways parents interacted with teachers and school administrators.

To this point, the literature discussed provided a sense of when, why, and how educational scholars have applied Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus, and field in educational research. The next sections focus on educational research regarding FGCS and LIS research, the most relevant areas to my dissertation.

Bourdieu in FGCS research.

In examining and synthesizing search results, a common theme I identified, particularly while searching for applications of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts regarding FGCS, was the propensity for authors to engage superficially with Bourdieu's concepts. For example, Schwartz et al. (2018) simply state, "Research and theory indicate that social capital (i.e., the information, support, and resources available to an individual through connections and networks of relationships; (Bourdieu, 1986) plays a critical role in academic attainment and success" (p. 166-167). In their mixed-methods study investigating an intervention program Schwartz et al. (2018) further state, "social capital may relate to broader challenges and responsibilities. First-generation college students are more likely to be enrolled part-time, life off campus, and work more employment hours" (p. 167). In this instance, Bourdieu's concepts of economic capital, material resources that are immediately and directly convertible into money, and habitus, the set of ingrained dispositions that shape and influence one's actions, are clearly and closely linked to social capital. In this example, a lack of economic capital requires FGCS to work more hours in addition to their role as students. The link to habitus requires a higher inference claim, because the authors do not consider this in their study, but it can be argued that individual FGCS are conditioned to act in certain ways, for example, to live at home or work more than non-FGCS. In other words, these students may possess a blue collar or working-class disposition, i.e., habitus, developed during their formative years. Furthermore, Schwartz et al. (2018) state:

> Yet implicit expectations regarding the college student role may also place first-generation students at a disadvantage relative to their peers. For instance, there may be differences between students' and faculty members' expectations regarding use of support services (e.g., faculty office hours, engaging with professors) as common practice in the college setting (p. 167).

In this instance, a link to cultural capital, the set of knowledge, skills and abilities that are rewarded in specific contexts, is missing in the authors' discussion. Here, cultural capital,

acquired through family and education, would provide FGCS an opportunity to navigate the hidden curriculum of educational institutions. In sum, by focusing narrowly on social capital, Schwartz et al. (2018) miss out on a more detailed and nuanced examination of contextual factors of individual FGCS, which would better inform the Connected Scholars Program (CSP) intervention they discuss.

Similarly, Soria and Stebleton's (2012) qualitative study, in the DiMaggio tradition, introduced Bourdieu's concept of social capital in their introduction and stated, "Scholars who examine differences between first-generation and non-first-generation students often position their studies within Bourdieu's (1986) framework of social capital" (p. 675). In the authors' discussion, apart from, "Drawing back to our conceptual frame, it is believed that first-generation students' lower social capital results in their decreased academic engagement" (Soria & Stebleton, 2012, p. 681), they do not meaningfully engage with Bourdieu's concept. Additionally, the authors misuse and confuse social and cultural capital, stating, "first-generation students lack social capital related to being successful in higher education because they do not acquire it from their parents who did not earn a baccalaureate degree" (Soria & Stebleton, 2012). Bourdieu (1986) states it is cultural, not social, capital that, "made it possible to explain the unequal scholastic achievement of children originating from the different social classes" (p. 80). Cultural capital, of which there are three forms: embodied (long lasting dispositions), objectified (cultural goods) and institutionalized (educational qualifications) are acquired through family and education. The accumulation of social capital, unlike what Soria & Stebleton (2012) suggest, does not depend as heavily on one's family as does one's accumulation of cultural capital.

These are but two examples of empirical studies that demonstrate both a superficial reliance on, and misrepresentation of, Bourdieu's theoretical concepts, which are unfortunately

representative of much contemporary research. As my critical discussion of these works shows, utilizing Bourdieu's full theoretical apparatus is necessary to produce nuanced and detailed findings and analysis.

Unlike the two publications just discussed, Dumais and Ward's (2010) application of cultural capital's role in the academic lives of FGCS is significant in several ways. First, their study is representative of the transition (from secondary to post-secondary educational institutions) theme identified in this literature review. Secondly, it demonstrates a more nuanced engagement with previous literature via the union of the fine arts conceptualization, i.e., participation in music, arts, and literature, typical of the DiMaggio (1982) branch, and strategic interactions conceptualization, typical of the Lareau (Lareau & Weininger, 2003) branch, a union which, "highlight[s] the importance of both structure and agency in Bourdieu's cultural capital theory (Dumais & Ward, 2010, p. 246). Third, Dumais and Ward's work is a representation of cultural capital and habitus that more closely resembles Bourdieu's call to incorporate his relational concepts. Finally, the authors' work, because of their engagement with capital and habitus, produced a more nuanced analysis. Dumais and Ward's findings suggest that cultural capital decreases in importance as students advance through their college years. Similarly, cultural capital is more important for initial access to college – the transition from secondary to post-secondary education – than it is once students are enrolled in institutions of higher education. Furthermore, the authors display their knowledge and familiarity with Bourdieu's full theoretical apparatus, as they discuss the role of habitus, in this case related to one's dispositions regarding post-secondary studies, stating:

> the negative effect of first-generation status appeared in the analyses of college enrollment, lending support to the idea of a first-generation habitus that might serve as an obstacle to higher education…cultural capital thus does not appear to compensate for a first-generation habitus with regard to entering postsecondary education (p. 262).

Dumais and Ward (2010) point out the formidable challenges of empirically testing Bourdieu's concepts. Their attention to multiple concepts, both cultural capital and habitus, demonstrate a necessary, appropriate approach when engaging with Bourdieu's concepts in educational research. Doing so allows researchers to, "remain true to Bourdieu's theory while showing how it can be applied to questions of higher education and inequality in the United States" (Dumais & Ward, 2010, p. 263).

Bourdieu in academic library research.

While Hussey (2010) identified applications of Bourdieu broadly in LIS research, my focus, and subsequent search, on academic library resources and services excluded scholarship not focused on academic librarianship.

Bourdieu (Bourdieu & de Saint Martin, 1965/1994) conducted a mixed-methods study to examine student attitudes towards the Lille University Library, a study that included observations of students in the library and the administration of library-use surveys. Bourdieu and de Saint Martin found that many students reported using the library to work and did not make use of the various available resources (i.e., catalogues, reference works, textbooks). Given these findings, Bourdieu and de Saint Martin (1965/1994) determined:

> From the failure to understand the services which specialist library staff provide or the role of the card-index to the type of work carried on while fritting away time chatting or coming and going, everything confirms the fact that students misrecognize the particular function of the Library and more often treat it as a meeting-place or at best a study area. (p. 123)

Much has changed regarding academic library spaces since Bourdieu and de Saint Martin's examination of students' academic library use. Access to material via open stack policies, at least in the U.S. context, have allowed students to browse collections. Physically, academic library design and layout has greatly shifted, as the trend toward learning commons (Blummer & Kenton, 2017) and a more social academic library environment (Seal, 2015)

demonstrate. Throughout these changes, studies continue to explore the intended purposes and uses of these spaces and the ways in which students actually use academic libraries (Gardner & Eng, 2005; Yoo-Lee et al., 2013).

What is striking about Bourdieu and de Saint Martin's findings, produced nearly six decades ago, is how little things have changed when compared with recent LIS scholarship and, as will be discussed, the findings of this dissertation. As mentioned, Bourdieu and de Saint Martin's findings included students' utilization of the library for meetings, studying and as a communal space. As the name suggests, learning commons are communal spaces that house traditional library resources, in addition to various technological resources (Blummer & Kenton, 2017). These spaces are also attuned to the changing needs and desires of users. Millennial/Generation Y (born between early 1980s and 2000) students value communication and collaboration, are tech savvy, and customize library spaces to fit their needs (Gardner & Eng, 2005). These students appreciate communal and social spaces within academic libraries for enabling collaborative work and socializing, while also utilizing academic libraries for solitary study (Yoo-Lee et al., 2013). Gayton (2008) commented that, despite the rise of e-resources, students continue to access physical libraries because they value, "the 'communal' experience of seeing and being seen by others, quietly engaged in the same serious, studious activity" (p. 60). Temporally separated by decades, Gayton's description of students' desire to be seen in the academic library mirrors Bourdieu and de Saint Martin's (1965/1994) claim that, "Student attitudes are defined more or less explicitly by reference to an image of work in a library as being seen to be at work" (p. 123). In this regard, Bourdieu and de Saint Martin's (1964/1994) study is prescient and prophetic.

Another of Bourdieu and de Saint Martin's findings, that students indicated a hesitancy to approach academic librarians, is also a common finding in recent LIS literature (Black, 2016; Miller & Murillo, 2012), including FGCS (Ilett, 2019). Black's (2016) review of educational psychology scholarship focused on the psychosocial reasons students avoid approaching librarians for assistance and identified several themes: goal orientation, degree of self-regulation, perceived threats to autonomy or self-esteem, desire to avoid being stereotyped, perceptions of librarians, and feelings of confusion, fear or anxiety. Many of these themes mirror those uncovered in Mellon's (1986) qualitative study, from which the author developed the theory of library anxiety. Miller and Murillo's (2012) qualitative study identified students avoided seeking assistance from librarians due to limited or complete lack of relationship with librarians, their propensity to seek help from others (e.g., professors, peers, family, public libraries), a lacking understanding of library services and support, not knowing when assistance is necessary, and a sense of self-reliance. In relation to the present dissertation research, the application of Bourdieu's concepts offers an opportunity to explore the ways in which students' capital and habitus affect their actions and practice in the field of academic libraries.

In an editorial column linking social capital theory to academic library outreach, Ramsey (2016) mentions Bourdieu as a seminal researcher, whose research is partly responsible for the expansive growth of articles involving social capital published in the 1990s. However, when defining social capital in the literature review, Ramsey does not cite Bourdieu. This complete omission represents a dual problematic within LIS research: on the one hand, it may demonstrate that LIS scholars do not cite Bourdieu because they are unfamiliar with his theoretical works. Shirley's (1986) explanatory primer on Bourdieu addressed this possible concern decades earlier in his attempt to make Bourdieu's writings more accessible to U.S. scholars. On the other hand,

LIS scholars may not frequently cite Bourdieu because their colleagues have not previously cited his work, thereby creating a closed circle in which Bourdieu is largely, though not entirely – Ramsey's mention of Bourdieu indicates LIS scholars are aware of his work – excluded. Regardless, in the case of Ramsey's (2016) article, to mention social capital, and even more egregiously mention Bourdieu within the article, then fail to cite his work, demonstrates a serious issue among LIS scholarship, one which my dissertation will address.

One notable exception is Folk's (2019) commentary that draws upon cultural capital to consider the ways in which information literacy threshold concepts may enable or constrain academic success for traditionally marginalized students. Similar to previous scholarship that engaged with Bourdieu's full conceptual framework, Folk (2019) focused on cultural capital, but also included habitus in her linkage of cultural capital to critical information literacy, particularly the Association of College and Research Libraries (ACRL) *Framework for information literacy for higher education* (ACRL, 2016). Examining the discourse of the *Framework* is especially intriguing from a Bourdieusian perspective, given the six frames (see Appendix B) consist of a key information literacy concept, knowledge practices, defined in the *Framework* as, "demonstrations of ways in which learners can increase their understanding of these information literacy concepts" (para. 2), and dispositions, which, "describe ways in which to address the affective, attitudinal, or valuing dimension of learning" (para. 2). As habitus is a set of ingrained dispositions that shape and influence one's actions or practices, the *Framework*, Folk (2019) argued, contributes to socioeconomic status based achievement gaps in higher education, as students from low-status backgrounds, including many FGCS, do not possess cultural capital necessary to build an academic habitus that allows them to understand the rules of the game, in

this case relating to information literacy specifically, higher education more generally, and within society at large.

Folk's commentary is a welcome addition to the limited scholarship regarding academic libraries within the LIS discipline; however, her assumption that, "the modes of thinking articulated by the six information literacy threshold concepts may remain tacit to students who are not from the culture(s) that higher education tends to privilege" (p. 663) presumes that students possessing institutionally valued cultural capital and an academic habitus also possess critical information literacy skills and, "ways of thinking and acting like a scholar" (p. 663). Put simply, if this were the case, then what is the point of information literacy instruction common among academic libraries across the United States? If students who possess cultural capital and an academic habitus already think and act like scholars, these classes would be an unnecessary burden for academic librarians and staff who lead these sessions and the students forced to attend them. Folk suggests reconceptualizing information literacy as a form of cultural capital provides a new lens through which academic librarians can address equity in their teaching. This may indeed be the case, but Folk's underlying premise that students who possess institutionally valued capital and an academic habitus also possess more innate abilities to think and act like a scholar is problematic.

Additionally, Folk (2019) argued that, "We [academic librarians, practitioner scholars, and LIS researchers] can no longer neglect race and class in our practice or scholarship" (p. 668). While I generally agree with Folk's statement, I disagree with her statement in the specific context of Bourdieu's concepts and larger social theory, particularly Folk's inclusion of race. As a class-based social theorist, scholars have frequently criticized and critiqued Bourdieu's social theory for ignoring race (Akom, 2008; Go, 2013; Yosso, 2005).

Folk (2019) also stated, “ignorance or avoidance of achievement gaps will only serve to make them invisible, meaning that we are complicit in the reproduction of these gaps” (p. 668). Folk’s statement and cited literature (Stephens, Hamedani, & Destin, 2014) frames differential achievement in terms of a gap. However, Ladson-Billings (2006, 2007) has argued persuasively against the term, as it fails to account for economic and social challenges that marginalized students have faced and has instead advocated for discussing educational disparities in terms of an educational debt, which more accurately accounts for the broader social and economic contexts in which students are situated. In relation to Bourdieu’s social theory of reproduction, in which the concepts of capital, habitus, and field are all related to one another, applying a debt metaphor to educational achievement disparities also more accurately represents the broader social contexts in which individual students, collective student groups (e.g., FGCS), academic libraries, and higher education institutions are all located.

Part II summary.

Conducting the literature review, I identified three general themes: (1) policy and practice; (2) institutional actors; and (3) transitions, with several subcategories, most notably for the purposes of my dissertation research, FGCS and LIS scholarship. In this section I have discussed relevant literature regarding the application of Pierre Bourdieu’s theoretical apparatus, including the concepts of capital, habitus and field. This broad discussion established context for the more specific discussions of applications of Bourdieu to FGCS and within LIS scholarship. Similar to previous literature syntheses (Davis & Rizk, 2017), I identified different phases of researchers’ utilization of Bourdieu’s work, in this case three temporal phases and various genres and purposes of literature, including (1) early conceptual works, (2) critiques and defenses of Bourdieu’s theoretical apparatus, empirical investigations; and (3) expansions and adaptations of his theoretical concepts. My discussion of these works has also demonstrated shortcomings and

limitations of previous research, particularly those that superficially refer to or misuse Bourdieu's theoretical concepts. In this way, conducting this review has identified the need to examine habitus and field, which have received considerably less attention than cultural and social capital, and also reinforced the necessity to utilize Bourdieu's full theoretical apparatus in my dissertation research.

Part III: College Student Perceptions of Academic Library Resources and Services

Part one of this review discussed social reproduction in educational environments. In part two, I examined how education scholars have applied Bourdieu's theoretical apparatus. Subsets of that literature included research regarding applications in educational research, FGCS, and academic libraries; however, a more focused literature review examining students' perceptions of and attitudes toward academic libraries is necessary to situate my research within this existing body of knowledge in the LIS discipline. Part 3 of this review focuses on student perceptions of academic library resources and services because of the focus on habitus, which dictates an individual's actions in a given field, in this case, academic libraries. How one is disposed to perceive academic library resources and services will dictate their (non)use of these resources and services. In this section, I provide an overview of selected literature regarding student perceptions of academic library resources and services. In this section, I extrapolate from literature that does not explicitly utilize Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of habitus, field, and capital to illustrate how this research relates to these concepts. In this section, I also emphasize scholarship that explores FGCS' perceptions of academic libraries.

Academic libraries offer numerous services and resources to students; both tangible (e.g., computers, books, physical study spaces) and intangible (e.g., reference services, information literacy, academic support). Librarians and library staff, those who hold advanced degrees and those who do not, engage frequently with students in delivering these services (Ely, 2022). While

public facing positions most clearly demonstrate library personnel interaction with students, in other library services, such as online public access catalog (OPAC), databases, and other discovery tools, the interface mediates the interaction between librarians and end users. In these instances, in which students do not immediately interact with library personnel, their experiences, positive or negative, may significantly affect their perceptions of a particular service (e.g., the library's OPAC) and the entire library. This section opens with an examination of FGCS and academic libraries, before expanding to all students to provide a more holistic view and encapsulate general student perceptions of academic library resources and services.

FGCS perceptions of academic library resources and services.

Logan and Pickard (2012) and Pickard and Logan (2013) compared first-year FGCS and senior level FGCS' research processes. In their qualitative study of 18 first-year first-generation students, Logan and Pickard (2012) found that, despite these students possessing past research experience while in secondary school, this experience did not translate to post-secondary research. Students indicated differences in their understanding of the college-level research process compared with their experience in high school. Study participants attributed these differences, in part, to difficulties encountered while using physical library spaces and, as such, perceived academic libraries as too large to effectively navigate and locate resources. In a subsequent study of 18 senior FGCS, Pickard and Logan (2013) used the same questions as in the first study to compare the two student groups. Findings indicate that senior students are more comfortable with the research process and library navigation. Additionally, these students also indicated a greater understanding and utilization of academic librarians and library resources.

Focusing specifically on undergraduate FGCS who self-identify as Latino/a, Long (2011) examined the perceptions of nine students regarding the academic library and library staff using

a multiple case study design. Findings indicate the size and complexity of academic libraries can be intimidating and affect student perception. Students also perceived the academic library as both a study and social space, which supports previous research regarding Latino/a college students (Adkins & Hussey, 2006). Furthermore, participants indicated an inability to differentiate between academic librarians and other library staff, while also stating uncertainty and hesitancy to approach any library personnel; none of the nine participants had approached a librarian for assistance, a concerning finding in any circumstance, but especially worrying given that seven of the nine participants were junior or senior students.

Exploring FGCS broadly, Couture et al. (2020) explicitly counter common conceptions of these students as outsiders in the academy (Ilett, 2019) and from deficit perspectives (Tewell, 2020) in their two-phase study including a survey of 901 students and interviews with 48 students at three universities. Findings indicated FGCS are aware of their status as first-generation students and, moreover, attribute their use and perceptions of academic libraries to this status, as multiple participants made broad claims that FGCS are "self-taught", "forward thinking" and "risk-taking" (Couture et al., 2020, p. 133). Participants indicated a willingness to both seek assistance when necessary, but also indicated an inclination to figure things out on their own. Students' ability to customize library resources and services contributed to their sense of belonging, and they indicated their high regard and value of the range of features that allowed them to take ownership and customize library space. Couture and colleagues found that FGCS perceive academic libraries as welcoming spaces where they feel respected, which contributes to a general sense of belonging. In contrast, students also identified barriers to seeking assistance and navigating library resources and services, including personal feelings of anxiety, discomfort and intimidation. These contradictory findings demonstrate the pitfalls of attributing the first-

generation label and considering these students as a monolithic group (Nguyen & Nguyen, 2015). Despite these barriers, participants in Couture et al. (2020) mentioned library personnel, reference, and instruction as valuable library services. In the sections that follow, I will expand upon these areas to include general student perceptions of various academic library resources and services.

FGCS perceptions of academic library resources and services: Relation to Bourdieu's theoretical concepts.

Logan and Pickard's (2012) findings indicate academic research at the collegiate level is more challenging and demanding that what FGCS previously encountered during their secondary education. Furthermore, that Pickard and Logan (2013) identified senior FGCS demonstrated greater understanding of, and developed a more complex approach to, library resources and services, suggests student exposure to the academic environment – their accumulation of cultural capital – contributed to these changes.

FGCS indicated a hesitancy to approach academic library personnel. Explanations for this hesitancy are varied, as Couture et al. (2020) suggest this hesitancy is linked to a do-it-yourself ethos among FGCS, while Mellon (1986) attributes this hesitancy to general library anxiety. Applying Bourdieu's concepts of cultural capital, social capital, and field are useful devices to interrogate further FGCS' hesitancy to approach academic library personnel. As cultural capital is accumulated from one's family and education, and in light of Pickard and Logan's (2013) finding of first-year and senior FGCS, exposure to an academic environment, and academic libraries specifically, can contribute to overcoming hesitancy in approaching library personnel and more general library anxiety. Because the forms of capital are linked, an increase in one form, i.e., cultural, can contribute to an increase in another, i.e., social. Or perhaps FGCS accumulate social capital via non-library engagement on campus, which can contribute to an

increase in their cultural capital. However their accumulate capital, this accumulation can contribute to a better understanding of the field of academic libraries.

Student perceptions of digital resources and services.

In a survey of 220 undergraduate students at a mid-sized public university, Cordes (2014) examined student perceptions of search tool usability of three common tools: the library OPAC, Academic Search Premier database and the Google Advanced search engine. Cordes used bivariate correlation analysis to identify relationships between usability dimensions within individual tools and analysis of variance to examine potential differences between systems. While Cordes did find statistically significant differences in students' perceptions of the usability of one tool over another, for example, students indicated the OPAC was more difficult to use, Cordes cautions that, in actual use, the OPAC, "was probably not much more difficult than using the other search tools" (p. 28). If, as Cordes suggests, the differences in usability are minimal, student perceptions of various search tools may not affect their larger perceptions of academic libraries. However, if student experiences with the library's OPAC or, more generally, website or other online resources, is noticeably disruptive, these negative experiences may extend to more general perceptions of the library, making the need to incorporate and implement a user-friendly and cohesive online experience a priority for academic libraries (Chase, Trapasso, & Toliver, 2016).

As search systems incorporate more data types and become more complex these tools may become more difficult to use and the differences Cordes (2014) found may become more noticeable. In a more recent study, Hamlett and Georgas (2019) used a mixed-methods approach and examined student perceptions of OneSearch, a web-scale discovery platform used by CUNY libraries. Along with setting participants a series of tasks, the authors combined this data with observations, user questionnaires, and qualitative feedback. While student participants indicated

a positive response to OneSearch in questionnaire responses, Hamlett and Georgas found disparities in the qualitative feedback and in their observations, which indicated that, “many of the students found the interface difficult to navigate or too overwhelming” (p.239). Again, these findings indicate the significance of an academic library’s online presence and the potential for students to extend their experiences and perceptions with online resources to the library as a whole. With many resources and services available online, this is, and will remain, a significant issue for academic libraries.

In a three-part series, Georgas (2013; 2014; 2015) conducted a side-by-side comparison of federated searching and Google. In Part I, which included 32 undergraduate students from Brooklyn College, Georgas (2013) focused specifically on user preference and perceptions. Students indicated mixed preferences regarding various aspects of each search tool, with students indicating Google was easier to use, however, students also indicated the federated search tool was more efficient, preferred it to Google for future research assignments, and would recommend the federated search tool over Google to other students. From these conflicting results, Georgas concluded there is a place for both Google and a federated search tool. Apart from students’ specific preferences and perceptions of Google and federated search tools, experiences using either tool, particularly the federated search tool, may impact their more general perceptions of libraries. For example, Georgas indicated students in her study asked if the library website had a federated search tool, indicating they did not know the tool was available. Unlike the previously discussed studies (Cordes, 2014; Hamlett & Georgas, 2019), in which negative experiences with the library’s virtual tools is clear, this case of ignorance demonstrates an opportunity for academic libraries to engage with students during the search process. A clearer identification of what the library does for students to provide assistance and

meet their needs could elicit a positive response and produce a positive perception of academic libraries among students.

Students may not know or care about the invisible labor that allows them to access various electronic resources via search tools or the library's OPAC. Textbooks, a more immediate and visible issue to students, are another resource that can affect students' perceptions of academic libraries, as libraries are well-positioned to advocate for open educational resources (OER) (Colson, Scott, & Donaldson, 2017). The cost of higher education is particularly relevant given contemporary political discourse and textbook costs are a common concern, with high costs impacting students of historically marginalized groups (Jenkins et al., 2020).

In a survey of students and faculty at 10 institutions of higher education in Utah, Fischer, et al. (2020) explored the influence of textbook costs on academic behavior, faculty openness to adopting OER, and potential librarian support. Across the ten institutions, students indicated textbook costs negatively affected their academic success. The authors conclude that, "given academic librarians' typical mission to enhance learning and research, which certainly dovetails with social justice motives, they still cannot do it alone" (p. 410). Findings from faculty members indicate that 90-percent of participants would be willing to use OER in their courses. While the authors indicate a moral imperative (i.e., social justice), a practical imperative (i.e., relieve financial burden for students), and logistical imperative (i.e., academic librarians are well situated to assist faculty), they fail to adequately engage with these intersecting issues. Given the relevance of the topic, Fischer et al. present a worthy study, however, their conclusions are lacking. The authors clearly state that students prefer OER resources, but their focus on the financial reasons for doing so completely ignore other perceptions. For example, I am left wondering if students actually like to use OER, what they think of the quality, and their thoughts

on format of OER, or if student preference is simply financially motivated. The survey also did not include academic librarians, despite the study team working with librarians at each college who, "oversaw survey distributions at their respective institutions" (p. 401). This descriptive study is a positive first step that warrants more meaningful discussion.

In a similar study, Magro and Tabaei (2020) examined a Psychology OER pilot program to gauge the cost, outcomes, usage, and perceptions of OER quality. Unlike Fischer et al. (2020), Magro and Tabaei's student survey did include a quality measure and examined student preference for traditional textbooks or OER. Results indicated that students strongly preferred OER, as 57.6-percent (n=61) of respondents liked OER more than print textbooks and 39-percent indicated feeling indifferent, while only 3.4-percent responded that they liked OER less than print textbook. Similarly, a majority of student participants (68-percent) indicated the quality of OER was better than other texts, 32-percent responded that it was the same and no one said the OER textbook was worse. In addition to these findings, Magro and Tabaei's study contributed to practice, as they discuss lessons learned from their pilot study regarding faculty-librarian collaboration. However, I was still left wondering what, if any, effect the library's assistance in providing OER had on student perceptions of the academic library. Like Fischer et al. (2020) this is an area – academic library provision of OER and potential impact on student perceptions of academic libraries – that merits further investigation.

Student perceptions of digital resources and services: Relation to Bourdieu's theoretical concepts.

Examining literature regarding student perceptions of virtual library resources and services reveals assumptions of technology use among college students. Cordes (2014) focused on various measures (perceived ease of use, perceived usefulness, disorientation, intensity of flow, and aesthetic quality) of usability, while ignoring participants' backgrounds and the

socioeconomic conditions that affect access to technology. Likewise, although Hamlett and Georgas (2019) included participants from a variety of institution types (college, technical college, community college), the authors' focus on product, rather than people, ignored how students' backgrounds affects technology access and use.

An individual's habitus, the set of ingrained dispositions that shape and influence one's actions, is relevant to online activity, including research and search habits. Furthermore, scholars have expanded upon Bourdieu's concept of capital in applications to the digital environment. Ragnedda (2017) explored digital inequalities and argued that, in addition to one's economic conditions, their cultural and political backgrounds are also related to online activity, further discussing how access to digital technology plays a role in social stratification. Building upon Bourdieu's (1986) concept of cultural capital, or, what Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) later termed informational capital, "to give the notion its full generality" (p. 119), Ragnedda (2018) conceptualized digital capital as a bridge between online and offline capitals, that allows previous capitals (i.e., economic, cultural, and social) "to be exploited on the digital realm, but also fosters them, reproducing profits into the offline realm. The real benefits users get from the use of the Internet are based on their previous capitals plus their interactions with digital capital, both during and after the online experience" (p. 2367). In this way, inequalities regarding access to digital information can reinforce and reproduce existing non-digital inequalities.

Also building upon Bourdieu's (1986) forms of capital, Selwyn (2004) uses the term technological capital to describe differential engagement (e.g., research, education) and outcomes (e.g., political and social activism) of technology use, based upon an individual's capital composition. For example, a student who grows up in a household with high technological literacy, i.e., was taught appropriate and safe online behavior, has access to reliable

and consistent internet with the free-time to explore, will be in an advantageous position compared to a student who did not have constant internet access and/or relied on shared access via smartphone or tablet in a household in which parents or guardians did not have the free-time to teach appropriate online behavior. In the field of higher education, in which access to opportunities is both increasingly digital and reliant on social connections, i.e., social capital, these conditions manifest in unequal opportunities to access higher education. In the field of academic libraries, students who grew up in technologically privileged households are better placed to view online resources, including those of the academic library, in a positive way and may be more adept at utilizing online resources for educational purposes. If one grows up using the internet for academic or educational purposes, as opposed to strictly entertainment purposes, their habitus, their ingrained dispositions, direct them to act and utilize online resources in the pursuit of their educational success.

Student perceptions of information literacy (IL).

Whether virtual or in-person, students frequently encounter information literacy (IL) while engaging academic library resources and services. Information literacy is a crucial component of academic libraries, the centrality of which is evident in the formation of the discipline (Webber & Johnston, 2017) and the evolving definitions and frameworks over the past thirty-plus years (O'Connor, 2009). Studies repeatedly demonstrate that students, across disciplines and year in school, are challenged by the research process, value IL, and appreciate the work of librarians in teaching information literacy skills, while also indicating a preference for skills-based and active learning.

Scholars have identified the significance of implementing a relational approach to IL instruction (Gross & Latham, 2009; Maybee, 2006). In her phenomenographical study of undergraduate students at the California Polytechnic State University, Maybee (2006)

interviewed participants about their perceptions of information use. Data analysis revealed three distinct conceptions of information: as sources, as processes, and as a knowledge base. This three-tiered conceptualization of information requires information literacy educators to develop pedagogy and curriculum that facilitates change in students' conceptions of information. Maybee concludes that a relational approach is necessary to strengthen student learning that results in their ability to use meaningfully information in their academic, professional, and personal lives.

Gross and Latham (2009) conducted semi-structured interviews with freshmen students to provide a baseline for students' perceptions of their IL skills, then measured student scores on the Information Literacy Test (ILT) to compare students' self-reported IL skills and test measurements. Findings indicated students' ILT scores somewhat substantiated their self-reported confidence regarding their IL skills, as the students demonstrated proficiency, but 65-percent of participants scored below 80-percent on the ILT, leading Gross and Latham to conclude, "The majority of participants in this study represent the top ten percent of their incoming class, yet their information literacy skill, as indicated by their scores on the ILT, are unexceptional" (p. 346). This finding demonstrates that IL skills require training to acquire and refutes the idea "that growing up with computers provides these [IL] skills" (Gross & Latham, 2009, p. 346), contradicting Folk's (2019) assumption that conflates students' cultural capital possession with that of IL skills. While students indicated a preference for self-efficacy, Gross and Latham (2009) found students prefer people over other information resources when seeking assistance, however, this preference is limited to, "consulting human sources that they already have an established relationship with or people who are convenient to ask over tracking down a librarian or instructor" (p. 347). Furthermore, Gross and Latham found, in general, students perceive IL as product-focused means to an end, rather than a process, leading the authors to

conclude that a relational approach is necessary when designing IL instruction given this perception of information and IL skills.

In a similar study of skills-based and test assessment of IL skills, Michalak and Rysavy (2016) compared international graduate business students' self-reported perceptions of their IL skills against measures of the Information Literacy Test (ILT). Implementing a questionnaire to establish self-reported IL skills and a test instrument based upon then current Association of College and Research Libraries (ACRL) IL standards, Michalak and Rysavy found discrepancies between perceptions of IL skills and actual IL skills. Like Gross and Latham (2009), Michalak and Rysavy's found, despite self-reported confidence in IL skills, students are overconfident in their IL skills, as study participants' self-reported perceptions of their IL skills were higher in all five categories than their test results as measured by the IL test instrument. Based on their findings, the authors collaborated with business faculty to embed IL assignments into MBA courses and developed active learning tools to address IL skills, which followed Detlor, Booker, Serenko and Julien's (2012) suggestions for IL instruction based upon empirical investigation of students' perception of IL instruction.

In their qualitative study of 65 first-year community college students who were identified as having below proficient IL skills, as measured by the Information Literacy Test (ILT), Latham and Gross (2013) found these students placed a high value on personal relevance in IL instruction; prefered a combination of demonstration and hands-on activities [cf. Detlor, Booker, Serenko, & Julien (2012) suggestion to eliminate passive instruction], appreciated interaction with instructors and other students; and used supplemental instructional material. Latham and Gross (2013) also found, when confronted with academic tasks, students indicated they, "were more likely to go to instructors or tutors or classmates – in other words, people they perceive as

having some level of expertise in the topic" (p. 442). Notably, this did not include librarians. However, participants indicated consulting "'library resources,' such as databases, books, and periodicals" (p.442). It is not clear from Latham and Gross' analysis and discussion why participants seemingly perceive library resources as valuable, but not librarians themselves. What is clear from this distinction, however, is that these students did not consider librarians as library resources which can be utilized in additional to non-human physical and digital resources. The authors did not interrogate why participants perceived library resources as valuable yet excluded librarians. However, in the context of FGCS, academic libraries, and social reproduction, that these students may not perceive librarians as valuable resources closes off a resource that can support their academic endeavors and, ultimately, success.

An understanding of how students conceptualize information is useful to guide information literacy instruction, as Maybee (2006), Gross and Latham (2009), and Latham and Gross (2013) suggest. Instruction, in various forms, including formal information literacy sessions or while responding to questions at the circulation desk, is part of academic librarianship and, in part, contributes to librarians taking on a teacher identity, in which they both embellish and resist professional stereotypes (Walter, 2008), while also prompting responses to the changing roles of librarians and the various terms used to describe instructional activities with which they engage (Ariew, 2014). Often, as the implications of Michalak and Rysavy's (2016) study exemplify, the instructional activities of librarians are collaborative, as was the case in Insua, Lantz, and Armstrong's (2018) action research study that explored first-year students' conceptions of the research process. In their analysis of student research journals, the authors found students perceived the research process as difficult. Student journals revealed self-reported challenges with research and writing processes, as well as asking for assistance. Despite these

challenges, students did not actively seek assistance from the writing center. That students in the study participated in library instruction sessions made them more amenable to seek help from librarians, as previous scholarship demonstrated non-use of academic library services, particularly reference and research assistance (Long, 2011; Miller and Murillo, 2012).

Further studies demonstrate the collaborative nature common to instruction in academic libraries and shed light on student perceptions of information literacy (Gamtso & Halpin, 2018; Jankowski & Sawyer, 2019; Kim & Shumaker, 2015; Paterson & Gamsto, 2017). These studies examined classes in specific disciplines and explored students' perceptions of information literacy sessions collaboratively delivered by departmental faculty and academic librarians.

Focusing on the modality of information literacy instruction, in which the authors taught hybrid and completely online courses, Gamtso and Halpin (2018) found non-science majors in a biology course preferred online IL instruction. Although speculative, the authors attributed this preference to, "the different – and unexpected – format offered an interesting alternative to the perceived redundancy of in-class library sessions" (p. 110). Unlike in-person sessions, students in the online course can navigate instructional material at their own pace and revisit sections in which they need clarification or skip to portions of particular relevance. Ultimately, the authors concluded that scaffolded, point-of-need IL instruction can successfully support students' IL skills development.

While Gamtso and Halpin (2018) focused on IL instruction modality, Jankowski and Sawyer (2019) implemented a survey that explored undergraduate Biology student perceptions of IL instruction generally, and in the context of a targeted workshop series specifically. Examining data collected over a two-year period, the authors found students responded positively to the 7-module series addressing IL skills. Students' neutral or negative responses

often related to their prior knowledge of workshop content, which substantiates Gamtso and Halpin's (2018) finding that students preferred online IL instruction because this modality allowed students to skip redundant content. Unlike Gamtso and Halpin, however, students in Jankowski and Sawyer's (2019) study indicated lower levels of satisfaction with online IL sessions. Regarding more general student perceptions of IL skills, respondents indicated they perceive these skills to be valuable and relevant. As is common among studies discussed in this review, the authors do not examine how or if students' perception of individual library components, in this case IL instruction, contribute to their more general perceptions of the academic library itself.

Kim and Shumaker (2015) and Paterson and Gamsto (2017) both implemented surveys to gauge student perceptions of IL instruction embedded within English courses. Findings of both studies indicated students' perceptions of IL instruction as effective, valuable, and important, although Kim and Shumaker (2015), who compared student, librarian, and instructor perceptions, found students held statistically significantly lower opinions of IL skills than did librarians and instructors. In both studies, students indicated confidence in their IL skills, which supports previous studies (Gross & Latham, 2009; Michalak & Rysavy, 2016). Paterson and Gamsto (2017) also found value in one-on-one research consultations, which participants indicated as an especially effective method to both aid their IL skills and build confidence. Among their conclusions, Paterson and Gamsto stated IL instruction must resonate with students on a personal level to be most effective, as Latham and Gross (2013) found in their examination of first-year college students.

Student perceptions of IL: Relation to Bourdieu's theoretical concepts.

Information literacy is a practical bridge connecting Bourdieu's concepts to LIS, particularly if scholars reconceptualize IL via the lens of cultural capital. Folk (2019) highlights

the possibilities the shift in professional conceptions of IL from competency standards (ACRL, 2000) to concepts (ACRL, 2016) affords LIS professionals, despite what I consider an unjustified assumption that students who possess institutionally valued cultural capital and an academic habitus also possess IL skills. As studies of student perceptions of IL suggest, not all students who presumably possess high levels of cultural capital, for example, the participants in Gross and Latham's (2009) study that represent the top 10-percent of their incoming class, possess exceptional levels of IL skills. While these students were more proficient than others (Latham & Gross, 2013), they still had room to expand their IL skills. Furthermore, student participants repeatedly reported high levels of confidence in their IL skills (Gross and Latham, 2009; Kim & Shumaker, 2015; Michalak and Rysavy, 2016; Paterson & Gamsto, 2017). This perceived confidence in skills may stem from students' accumulation and consumption of cultural and social capitals, with students rich in both conditioned, via family expectations and values, to excel in higher education. The accumulation of these capitals from an early age produces a habitus that prepares students for higher education. The present research explores if and how academic libraries reinforce or disrupt this process. Without question, reframing IL in terms of cultural capital offers LIS professionals and practitioners refreshing opportunities; however, it is an oversimplification to conflate cultural capital possession with possession of IL skills.

Student perceptions of reference service and academic library personnel.

Reference services have been a staple of the LIS profession for well over 100 years (Bishop, 1915; Pena & Green, 1876/2006; Tyckoson, 2003). A selection of recent scholarship on student perceptions of reference service indicates that, in an increasingly digital world, discussed above, this remains a valued service. As mentioned in the previous section examining student perceptions of IL, students often hesitate or refrain from accessing assistance from librarians.

Potential reasons for this reluctance to seek assistance, particularly library anxiety, are beyond the scope of this review, but theoretical and empirical scholarship have addressed this issue as it relates to reference service provision (Bostick, 1992; Carlile, 2007; Keefer, 1993; Kilzer, 2011; Mellon, 1986).

Scholars examined individual assistance in academic libraries and how one-on-one interactions affect student perceptions. In a qualitative survey of students at Utah State University, Martin and Park (2010) examined reference consultations of students enrolled in English composition courses. Student participants first attended an IL class before a required assignment asked them to seek assistance via consultation with a reference librarian. Although a course requirement, only 66-percent (n=56) of students completed the assignment. Among the reasons students did not participate was that they, "felt they could research on their own" (p. 337), which supports student self-sufficiency findings of other works discussed in this review. Students who did participate in the reference consultation reported highly positive perceptions of their experience.

In a mixed-methods study of undergraduate student, instructor, and librarian perceptions of chat reference, Jacoby et al. (2016) presented participants with an anonymized chat reference transcript of a reference interaction to elicit respective responses regarding the role of chat reference in undergraduate instruction. Student responses indicated many pain points, specific instances that cause them to feel, in respondents' words, confused, frustrated, struggling, stuck, lost, or scared (p. 115). Overcoming these affective obstacles is critical, as students indicated that once they did reach out to librarians for assistance, the help they received was largely, although not universally, beneficial and contributed to students' positive perceptions of reference services.

Students recognized and acknowledged the value of the assistance and instruction received in chat reference interactions with librarians.

Studies of face-to-face reference interactions also found students held positive perceptions of these interactions. Examining survey data of students and librarians, Butler & Byrd (2016) found students generally regarded in-person reference interactions positively. Although confusion over terminology and use of library jargon (e.g., databases, e-journals, LibGuides) may contribute to somewhat negative student experiences, the benefits of approaching a librarian and engaging in a reference interaction outweighed this potential obstacle; however, overcoming that initial barrier, as Jacoby et al. (2016) also indicate, is substantial. Once crossed, Butler and Byrd (2016) highlight that communication, particularly library-specific vocabulary, may affect a reference interaction and can contribute to student perceptions of reference services.

In a qualitative study of student perceptions of research consultations, similar yet different from reference interactions, Rogers and Carrier (2018) interviewed students and conducted content analysis of verbatim transcriptions. The principle finding of Rogers and Carrier's study is students' value of the individual attention they receive from a librarian during these interactions and their appreciation of librarians' willingness to engage with them while offering assistance. Furthermore, students recognized librarian expertise, particularly when working with a subject specialist or librarian with specific subject knowledge. For this reason, the authors conclude that, if not already doing so, academic libraries should operate on a subject specialist model, which would maximize the benefits for students via matching staff to individual consultation requests. However, not all institutions may have the resources to implement such a service model.

Acknowledging the implications of library reorganization and decreasing library personnel, Jameson, Natal, and Napp (2019) distributed a survey to students across disciplines at the University of Toledo that examined students' use and perceptions of library reference services. Questions focused on student perceptions of librarians and results indicated students had difficulties identifying which workers were librarians, a finding that supports Long's (2011) study of Latino/a FGCS. However, results also indicated students felt librarians were approachable (46-percent), very approachable (33-percent), or slightly approachable (16-percent). Accompanying these quantitative survey questions, the authors solicited responses to two open-ended questions regarding perceived barriers and facilitators to seeking help from librarians. Regarding barriers, 30.4-percent (n=68) of respondents indicated it was not difficult to ask a librarian for help and 21.4-percent (n=48) indicated they had no need to seek help. This finding supports the self-sufficiency indicated in other scholarship discussed in this review (Gross & Latham, 2009; Latham & Gross, 2013; Long, 2011; Martin & Park, 2010). Among explicitly stated reasons, students indicated an inability to identify a librarian, library anxiety, and lack of awareness of library resources as the primary barriers. Reasons for approaching librarians for help mirror the barriers just discussed, with students indicating an ability to identify a librarian, an increased awareness of the help librarians can provide, and librarian accessibility and approachability as contributing factors. Results also indicated students consult with another person before seeking assistance from a librarian, again supporting other research discussed previously in this review. However, Jameson, Natal, and Napp's findings indicate students generally hold positive perceptions of librarians once they overcome the initial hurdle of engaging with them in reference interactions.

Literature discussed to this point has focused on specific academic library resources and services. These resources and services have, to differing degrees, a human element. In this section, I will discuss selected literature that focuses explicitly on academic library personnel.

As part of a series of publications, Fagan et al. (2021a), in their extensive literature review of faculty, student, and librarian perceptions of academic libraries, identified several themes, many of which are present in the literature discussed in this section, including: the perception of librarianship as a service-oriented profession; the broad nature of library personnel duties and the many roles they occupy; the lack of students' awareness concerning these roles; and the ways in which librarians and staff can provide assistance. The authors suggest moments of interaction with library personnel drives student perceptions of academic libraries, interaction which typically occurs in one area (e.g., reference, instruction, public service, etc.) at a time, leading to students' limited view of the profession, lacking awareness of academic librarians' duties, and limited understanding of the resources and services academic libraries offer.

In their survey of students at James Madison University, Fagan et al. (2021b) gauged perceptions of academic librarians. While certain findings support previous research, others shed new light on student perceptions of academic librarians. Most generally, Fagan and colleagues' findings indicated students perceive librarians as helpful, respectful, approachable, and, among students who consult with librarians, contribute to their academic success. However, the authors found students hesitate to seek assistance, indicating they do not see the need to do so, despite asking for help in elementary, middle, and high school, a finding that supports much of the literature in this review, particularly Latham and Gross (2013). Unlike Latham and Gross, however, whose study indicated that students did not perceive librarians as experts or appreciate librarians' knowledge and abilities, students in Fagan et al. (2021) indicated they recognized and

valued librarians' expertise, knowledge of resources, and interpersonal skills. This recognition of librarian expertise supports Rogers and Carrier's (2018) study, which focused on reference consultations. The more general finding of Fagan et al. (2021) is promising and demonstrates students' appreciation of librarian knowledge and expertise outside that specific context. Fagan et al. also found that more students identified which library workers were librarians (47-percent) than those who could not (29-percent) and those who were not sure (23-percent), a finding that contradicts that of Jameson et al. (2019), in which students indicated difficulty in identifying librarians. However, Fagan and colleagues' study indicates that, taken together, most students in their study (52-percent) either could not or were not sure if they could identify librarians among all library workers. Neither study discussed signifiers that identify librarians (e.g., lanyard, badge, etc.) in the respective libraries, despite students' difficulty in identifying academic librarians from other library personnel. Students also indicated an association between librarians and books, despite their recognition that academic librarianship is not limited to that particular resource.

In a grounded theory study, Sare, Bales, and Budzise-Weaver (2020) interviewed forty-one undergraduate students at various stages of degree completion to examine students' the academic library perceptions. The authors identified three themes: (1) constructing the academic library as geographic space, (2) constructing the academic library as idea; and (3) constructing the library worker. Sare and colleagues' findings largely confirm other literature regarding student perceptions of resources and services in this review. The notable departure is from Fagan et al. (2021) regarding association of academic libraries with books, as students in Sare, Bales and Budzise-Weaver's (2020) study actively constructed the academic library as physical and ideological space to fit their needs, in this way supporting Couture et al. (2020), who found

FGCS customize library resources and services. Sare, Bales and Budzise-Weaver (2020) significantly contribute to existing work, primarily in their discussion of physical space and idealistic abstraction. The contradictions that arose in this discussion, of the possibilities (and limitations) of physical space and resources against the idealized notions of what a library represents, are framed positively, as the authors state, "nearly all participants described academic libraries in terms of positive abstractions, several did not actively take advantage of the opportunities that the library offered to both fulfill material needs and live up to the humanistic rhetoric" (p. 13). For example, one participant relayed their encouragement of friends to use the library help desk and the library as a study space, but also admitted they only go to the help desk as a last resort. This example is representative of students in Sare, Bales and Budzise-Weaver's study, as well as much of the other work discussed in this review: contradictorily, students hold positive views of academic library resources and services, yet they exhibit a hesitancy to fully utilize these resources and services.

Student perceptions of reference service and academic library personnel: Relation to Bourdieu's theoretical concepts.

While scholarship in this review does not explicitly embrace Bourdieu's concepts or larger theory, field, habitus, and capital are all relevant. In the field of academic libraries, specific rules structure one's actions via the range of possibilities they offer. For example, library anxiety, an oft-cited barrier that inhibits student engagement with librarians, produces emotions and feelings within students that deter them from fully utilizing academic libraries. Not knowing how to navigate physical or digital library spaces, services, and resources is akin to not knowing the rules of the game, i.e., the explicit norms of, and acquiescence to, acceptable behavior in the academic library field. Like the earlier discussion of technological literacy in relation to virtual library resources and services, the composition and possession of one's capital resources

contribute to knowing how, or how not, to play the game in academic libraries. Students attending well-funded private K-12 schools with small class sizes in which they receive care and attention of teachers and other support staff are better positioned than those who attended underfunded public schools with large class sizes taught by overburdened teachers. From an early age, children develop a habitus that either prepares them to succeed in the legitimate fields of education and libraries, giving them resources, material, via economic capital, and immaterial, e.g., privileged group membership via social capital, benefits. However, one's habitus is malleable and, through interactions in new and different fields, and through the acquisition of new and different capitals, individuals can both learn the rules of the game and potentially alter their position in society.

This is where my dissertation research interjects. Of particular relevance to my research is Couture et al.'s (2020) finding that FGCS indicated a sense of belonging in academic library spaces. Applying Bourdieu's concepts offer a way to interrogate this sense of belonging and explore how FGCS' engagement with academic library resources and services disrupts or reinforces social reproduction.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I provided a brief, general overview of the ways in which sociology scholars have variously engaged with social reproduction theory from multiple lenses. Focusing on applications within sociology is appropriate because this perspective situates students' actions, perceptions, and attitudes within larger social and cultural contexts. Following this brief introduction, I provided a detailed discussion of social reproduction in educational research. In this section, I identified and differentiated two common approaches, functionalist and cultural, while detailing various scholars who utilized each approach. Because Bourdieu was an adherent of the socio-cultural approach, I focused the discussion in this section on that perspective.

Next, in Part 2, I reviewed applications of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of capital, habitus, and field within educational scholarship. In this review, similar to other scholars (Davies & Rizk, 2018; Dika & Singh, 2002; Winkle-Wagner, 2010), I identified various strains of scholarship, as I demarcated publications into three distinct phases: (1) early conceptual publications that introduced Bourdieu to the U.S. audience, (2) a tripartite second wave in which scholars critiqued Bourdieu, responded to criticism, and produced empirical research; and (3) scholars that expanded upon Bourdieu's theoretical apparatus. Based upon this review, I identified the need for scholarship that incorporates Bourdieu's full conceptual apparatus of capital, habitus, and field, as scholars have frequently focused on concepts, particularly capital, in isolation.

In Part 3, I examined existing scholarship regarding college student, with specific attention to FGCS, perceptions of various academic library resources and services. I chose to focus on student perceptions of academic library resources and services because of my emphasis on habitus in the present study, which, as mentioned, is relatively understudied in previous applications of Bourdieu's concepts within educational research, as habitus – one's set of ingrained dispositions that shape and influence action – determines how individuals perceive and act within various fields. A detailed description of Bourdieu's sociology and theoretical concepts follows in Chapter III.

Chapter III: Theoretical Framework

Academic libraries provide various resources and services to assist college students in their academic endeavors. Utilization of these resources and services, however, varies in quantity, intention, and frequency among college students. Some students are frequent and active academic library users, while others rarely or infrequently utilize the variety of available resources and services. Perceptions of, and attitudes toward, academic library resources and services among FGCS may affect utilization, which may be linked to social stratification and inequities. Bourdieu's (1973, 1979/1984) theory of social reproduction is one potential explanation to account for the disparity in academic library usage among college students, including FGCS.

The purpose of this study is to explore FGCS' perceptions of, and attitudes toward, academic library resources and services and examine FGCS' social locations to determine whether academic libraries disrupt or reinforce social reproduction. Using Bourdieu's (1973, 1979/1984) social reproduction theory, I examine how an individual's habitus and capital possession and composition contribute to perceptions and attitudes of academic library resources and services, i.e., the field of academic libraries. While scholars have frequently applied Bourdieu's theoretical concepts in higher education generally, there is relatively less application of Bourdieu's concepts to academic libraries (see Chapter II). In this chapter, I will briefly discuss Bourdieu's early work on education before describing his theory of social reproduction, his concepts of capital, habitus, and field, and outline how I implement these theoretical concepts in this study.

Bourdieu's Early Work on Education

Pierre Bourdieu was a prominent and influential social theorist whose work regarding the educational system and social reproduction argues that educational institutions reinforce larger

social inequalities instead of inhibiting them. I situate my research within Bourdieu's work on education, particularly his early work *The inheritors: French students and their relation to culture* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964/1979) and *Reproduction in education, society, and culture* (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). I have chosen these early works because of Bourdieu's focus on students, cultural capital, a primary theoretical concept, and school structures (e.g., pedagogy).

Speaking of his work as a sociologist, Bourdieu claims his task is to "determine the contribution made by the educational system to the reproduction of the structure of power relationship and symbolic relationships between social classes" (1973), the primary argument Bourdieu (1964/1979) makes in *The Inheritors*, in which he documents an ongoing overrepresentation of middle- and upper-class students in French universities despite an expansion of higher education in France. Situated in postwar France, Bourdieu's examination of higher education and intellectual life is very much a product of situation and circumstance, which represents a limitation on the expansion and applicability of his findings to other eras and locations; however, his theoretical concepts are more universal, particularly his concept of cultural capital, which is central to a Bourdieusan explanation of education's role in reproduction. Unlike functionalist scholars who have studied the relationship between education and social inequalities and concluded that the educational system is bound to capitalist economic systems, in which schools produce the necessary labor force to maintain the social and economic status quo (Bowles & Gintis, 1976), Bourdieu rejects the notion of correspondence between education and the economy.

Alternatively, Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) posits that the educational system's "relative autonomy enables it to serve external demands under the guise of independence and neutrality, i.e. to conceal the social functions it performs and so to perform them more

effectively" (p. 178). Bourdieu interrogated the internal operations of schools to explore their mediating role in societal operation. As a sort of prelude to his extensive examination of taste and social distinctions (Bourdieu, 1979/1984), in *The Inheritors* Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964/1979) argues that schools' structures, e.g., pedagogy, act upon students and that these structures are socially informed. Educational activities cannot, and do not, act in a separate domain from larger social activities. As such, studies of education must be situated within a larger theory of social practice. School structures can act upon students in ways that seek to uphold the existing social status quo, as such structures can alter students' social trajectories as a sort of natural sorting mechanism, into which students with scholastically recognized gifts or aptitudes are rewarded, while students without easily recognizable gifts or talents are not. In the field of education, we see how cultural capital, specifically embodied cultural capital – long lasting dispositions of the mind and body – offer students agency to either combat or reinforce the mechanisms of scholastic structures. Students with an abundance of cultural capital are fit to work within the mechanisms of school structures, thereby obtaining their desired credentials (e.g., college degree), increasing their capital (institutionalized cultural capital), and reinforcing social process of reproduction. Contrarily, students with lower levels of cultural capital are negatively affected by educational structures as, "the legitimatory authority of the school system can multiply social inequalities because the most disadvantaged classes, too conscious of their destiny and too unconscious of the ways in which it is brought about, thereby help or bring it on themselves" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964/1979, p. 72). As a reminder, in Bourdieu's theory, one's habitus informs actions within any given field and that said actions are shaped by an individual's attitudes and perceptions regarding the likelihood of success. Moreover, one's attitudes and perceptions shape individual desires, aspirations, and goals. As discussed in

Chapter III, students' *natural* proclivities and talents are natural insofar as they are recognized by institutions (i.e., schools) and by individuals themselves. Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964/1979) calls this phenomenon 'misrecognition' and highlights the significance of schools in perpetuating the belief that the social hierarchy is a natural one.

Influenced by Marx, Bourdieu's sociological thought focused on the accumulation of capital; however, Bourdieu's explication of economic, social, and cultural capital expanded upon the primacy Marx placed on economic capital as a structural societal force. Max Weber significantly influenced Bourdieu's social thought as Bourdieu took up Weber's three components of social stratification – class, status, and party – and what Weber termed life chances, "a shared typical probability of procuring goods, gaining a position in life, and finding inner satisfaction" (Weber, 1978, p. 302), which Bourdieu (1986) conceptualized in his concepts of habitus, field, and capital.

Bourdieu's Social Reproduction Theory

Bourdieu's sociology is fundamentally relational. Like Marx (1971), Bourdieu's sociological thought focused on the accumulation of capital; however, Bourdieu's multiple forms of capital, including economic, cultural and social, expanded upon the primacy that Marx placed on economic capital in structuring and organizing society. Like Durkheim (1984/2001), Bourdieu believed that social structures reproduce themselves; however, he vehemently rejected Durkheim's functionalism. As a conflict theorist, Bourdieu emphasized social inequality and suggested that social change is both necessary and desirable to achieve a more just and equitable society. The work of Max Weber (1946/2001) significantly influenced Bourdieu's social thought in this regard, as Bourdieu took up Weber's three components of social stratification – class,

status, and party[2] – and what Weber termed life chances, "a shared typical probability of procuring goods, gaining a position in life, and finding inner satisfaction" (Weber, 1978, p. 302), that is, in other words, opportunities to improve one's social situation, which Bourdieu (1986) conceptualized in his concepts of capital and habitus.

Additionally, Bourdieu's sociological endeavor is primarily concerned with uniting the objective relations of individuals variously positioned within society with subjective human experience. In other words, Bourdieu theorized one's habitus, which represents an individual's subjective experience, contributes to their actions while engaged in various environments, i.e., fields, each with given objective conditions. Referencing Marx's (1847/1900) objective theory of class, Bourdieu (1979/1984) resolves this objective-subjective dichotomy via the concepts of field (objective) and habitus (subjective). Each of these theoretical concepts – capital, of which there are three types: economic, cultural and social, field, and habitus – work with one another to explain individual practice, as Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) states:

> The strategies of agents depend on their position in the field, that is, in the distribution of the specific capital, and on the perception that they have of the field depending on the point of view they take *on* the field as a view taken from a point *in* the field (emphasis original, p. 101).

In relation to the present study, this quote demonstrates the significance of an individual's perceptions on a given field, which in this case is the academic library. Additionally, one's perceptions of a field are dependent upon their capital possession, which determines their social position. Furthermore, an individual's social position contributes to their habitus, or ingrained dispositions, which in turn inform the actions one takes in a given field, i.e., a person can *see* themselves as belonging, or not, in the objective academic library field, based upon their capital

[2] As a social theorist, Weber was concerned with power distribution within society along class (economic order), status (social order), and party (political order), in which all orders affect, and are affected by, one another. Each order often comes into conflict with others and within order conflict also exists.

possession and (subjective) habitus. Definitions of these concepts – economic, cultural and social capital, field and habitus – are provided below.

The forms of capital.

While Bourdieu introduced other forms of capital, including educational (1979/1984) and symbolic (1980/1990), he most explicitly and fully defined economic, cultural, and social capital (1986). To account for the structure and functioning of society, Bourdieu argues economic capital is insufficient, and all forms of capital must be considered. Generally, capital is any resource that enables individuals to receive the specific profits resulting from participation and contest in a given social arena (i.e., field). Economic capital are material and financial resources that are immediately and directly convertible into money. An example of economic capital is family income or wealth, which is one factor that can considerably affect the college experience of all students, including FGCS. Cultural capital consists of scarce resources, knowledge, skills and abilities that are rewarded in specific contexts and comes in three states: (1) embodied, in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body, (2) objectified, in the form of cultural goods; and (3) institutionalized, a form of objectification that confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital it is presumed to guarantee (e.g., educational qualifications). Hidden curriculum[3] is an example of how one's (lack of) cultural capital can affect students, mirror, and reinforce existing social inequalities. Social capital are resources acquired via group membership, networks, connections, and/or relationships that individuals can tap into for social

[3] Hidden curriculum refers to implicit norms, values, and beliefs ingrained within the educational system that are not explicitly taught as part of the formal curriculum. Hidden curriculum takes many forms and includes, among others, valuing obedience and docility among students (e.g., raising hands to speak), assigning material from dominant (i.e., straight, White, male) authors, reinforcing social hierarchies (i.e., upper/middle class values over working-class values) and gender roles (e.g., giving more attention to male students than female students).

advancement. Student organizations, clubs, and athletics are examples of social capital within the field of higher education.

Each form of capital is relational and contributes to the accumulation of other forms. For example, cultural capital, which is obtained primarily via one's family and education, is readily converted into economic capital and manifests in the labor market, that is the more educational credentials one obtains, the higher their salaries and earnings. Bourdieu (1986) argues that this type of conversion perpetuates and maintains social inequities, thereby reproducing said inequalities within society. As educational credentials are the means by which one obtains access to legitimate, dominant (i.e., high-paying, white-collar, upper-class) jobs, the educational system, which rewards middle- and upper-class norms and values, systematically dispossesses non-dominant students (i.e., low-income and working-class) of the opportunity to achieve lucrative professional careers. Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) argues that children from upper-class families possess different cultural capital (e.g., language, fine arts) from working-class students and, significantly, the education system places high value on these upper-class forms of cultural capital. Because the educational system surreptitiously rewards certain students, that is students rich in cultural capital, which itself is relatively invisible via its transmission within individual family units, students with the *natural* abilities – natural in the sense that knowing how to navigate the educational system is rewarded *by* the educational system – to achieve academic success are able to increase their economic capital via conversion of cultural capital, which is objectified in the form educational qualifications, thereby contributing to social reproduction.

Like cultural and economic capital, social capital is dependent upon, and interacts with, the other capital forms. For example, if a student is involved in extracurricular activities or is a

member of campus groups, they may receive benefits from said involvement and membership. A group for FGCS and student success may, for example, offer students the opportunity to tour and visit an academic library to familiarize students with library resources and services. In another example, a legacy student may receive tips and advice from parents or siblings who attended the same institution. In each of these examples, group membership increases the amount of an individual's social capital, thus affording the individual the opportunity to convert their social capital into cultural capital, in the form of an academic credential, and subsequently into economic capital, in the form of a high-paying job post-graduation.

Habitus and field.

As mentioned, Bourdieu's sociology sought to overcome the apparent opposition between objectivism, which holds that social reality consists of sets of relations that impose themselves upon individual agents, or "those forms of knowledge that focus on the statistical regularities of human conduct" (Schwartz, 1997, p. 35) and subjectivism, which holds that social reality is comprised of countless interpretative acts in which individuals collaboratively construct meaning, or "those forms of knowledge that focus on individual or intersubjective consciousness and interactions" (Swartz, 1997, p. 35). To unite objectivism and subjectivism, Bourdieu developed the theoretical concepts of habitus and field.

Habitus, which represents the subjectivist position, is the set of ingrained dispositions that shape and influence one's actions. Habitus is the system of dispositions through which individuals judge, act, and react to various circumstances and situations within society (Bourdieu, 1997/2000). Building upon Weber's (1946/2001) concept of life chances, habitus is, "a system of lasting and transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 82-83). One's habitus is formed

and developed via lasting exposure to social conditions in which an individual internalizes the external constraints and possibilities of their social surroundings. Thusly, habitus informs individual practice and action from the inside and is a highly individualized process. Bourdieu (1977) states that one's habitus is the "strategy-generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations" (p. 72). Habitus is malleable in that one's dispositions constantly evolve based on the influences of their current social position; however, one's previous experiences limit the malleability because habitus itself serves to filter social influences. Additionally, one's habitus depends upon the possession and composition of capital in all its forms, particularly cultural capital, as this capital is established and developed primarily within one's family.

Fields, which represent the objectivist position, are social arenas of practice and conflict in which habitus and the forms of capital interact. Originally devised as a concept to examine art and literature, Bourdieu later expanded the range of utilization to include all social arenas, for example, intellectual, scientific, academic, religious, and political fields (Bourdieu, 1993). In relation to their operation as modes of differentiation withing society, Bourdieu (1984) declares, "There are thus as many fields of preferences as there are fields of stylistic possible" (p. 226). Relevant to the present study, college and university campuses and academic libraries are more specific, concrete examples of fields. Fields inform individual practice and action from the outside. Fields structure one's practice and actions via the range of possibilities they offer to individuals. Furthermore, one's practice and action depend upon their position within a given field, that is, capital distribution is unequal among individuals within society, which privileges some while subordinating others. For this reason, established members of privileged or, in

Bourdieu's terms, dominant and dominated positions (Bourdieu, 1979/1984) are interested in preserving the existing social order, while others are interested in challenging the status quo.

Use of theory in this study.

This research project contributes to the theory of social reproduction, particularly Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus, and field, within educational research, specifically focusing on FGCS, research universities, and academic libraries. This research project does not test theory, rather it uses Bourdieu's version of social reproduction to understand participants' experiences. As such, the use of theory in this study may contribute to an expansion of our understanding of FGCS experience within higher education and academic libraries. Use of theory in this project is not descriptive, rather I use theory to examine how, where, and why oppression may operate in the lives of FGCS. Furthermore, as Mouzelis (1991) states, sociological theory is, "not meant to produce empirically testable hypotheses, but merely to prepare the ground for an empirical investigation of social structures and actors" (p. 2).

I utilized Bourdieu's version of social reproduction to explore how an individual's family background and socioeconomic status contribute to perceptions, attitudes, and use of academic libraries and, more broadly, to examine whether academic libraries contribute to or disrupt social reproduction. Using Bourdieu's entire theoretical apparatus addresses limitations of previous research, which commonly employed Bourdieu's concepts in isolation. As a theoretical frame, my use of Bourdieu's concepts follows his own outline and recommendations for carrying out studies using his theoretical concepts (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Each concept, working with one another, contributes to an understanding of how capital, habitus, and field influence perceptions, attitudes, and use of academic library resources and services as these concepts take into consideration an individual's unique social location.

Chapter Summary

I utilize Bourdieu's social reproduction theory (1979/1984) to frame the present research project. As Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1990; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) argued, his entire theoretical apparatus of capital (economic, cultural, and social), habitus, and field are relational concepts and, therefore, must be used together when applied to empirical research. In this chapter, I began by describing Bourdieu's general sociological thought before providing a detailed description of capital, habitus, and field, which are the three components that comprise his theoretical apparatus. Included in these descriptions were examples of each concept as they relate to higher education. Following these descriptions, I discussed how I used Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction and his theoretical concepts in the present study. In the next chapter, I describe and justify the methods I used in carrying out this project.

Chapter IV: Methodology

Informed by a critical subjectivist epistemology, my dissertation research employs multiple qualitative techniques, including observation, interviews, and participant-produced diaries to explore the following research questions: (1) How does family background, particularly parental educational attainment, and socioeconomic status facilitate perceptions, attitudes, and use of academic library resources and services among first-generation college students? and (2) What is the role of academic libraries in the process of social reproduction in the lives of first-generation college students? Applying an instrumental case study approach, I examine the relationships among FGCS, academic libraries, and Bourdieu's theoretical concepts at several academic libraries located within the general library system at a large public research institution located in a mid-sized city of approximately 260,000 in the midwestern United States. An instrumental case study facilitates, "understand[ing] something else" (Stake, 1995, p. 3). Through studying individual FGCS in different academic libraries, my research provides insight into the ways in which FGCS perceive academic libraries and how academic libraries disrupt or reinforce social reproduction. Because I incorporate multiple students and academic libraries, each case is instrumental to learning about wider library utilization among FGCS and academic libraries' role in contributing to or disrupting social reproduction. As such, these multiple cases formed a collective case study, which is an instrumental case study extended to several cases.

In the previous chapter, I discussed the theoretical concepts that I employ in my exploration of FGCS, academic libraries, and social reproduction. In this chapter, I begin by describing my philosophical approach to the research process, including my epistemological and critical positions. In this section, I discuss the links that exist between these research positions. Next, I provide rationale for my research design. I then provide descriptions of the research sites and participants. Next, I explain my data collection and analysis processes, in which I adapt

Bourdieu's suggested process of carrying out a study of a field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) and Carspecken's (1996) five stage model for conducting critical inquiry. I move from explaining my data collection and analysis methods to a discussion of the methodological limitations of this research project before discussing the validation methods. I close this chapter with a positionality statement, in which I discuss my relationship to this project.

Epistemology Statement

A subjectivist epistemology posits that meaning, "is imposed on the object by the subject. Here the object as such makes no contribution to the generation of meaning" (Crotty, 1998, p. 9), which implies that no objective truth exists awaiting discovery. As such, truth, or meaning, comes into existence via the imposition of the researcher on the object(s) (e.g., participants, contexts, conditions) of study. While objects under study create their own meanings based upon their varied and unique experiences, a subjectivist epistemology holds that the study of such meaning making processes is a subjective act independent of the object. The construction of meaning about meaning making depends entirely upon the researcher's assumptions, impositions, and perceptions.

As a researcher who subscribes to a subjectivist epistemology, I openly acknowledge my presence in, and effect on, all phases of the research process. During data collection, my status as a researcher effected participants' responses during the interview process. During data analysis, my own conditions, contexts, and experiences affect my interpretation of interview transcripts and diary entries, as well as the abstractions made during the reconstructive horizon analysis. As a researcher, therefore, I cannot disassociate myself from the work and I fully acknowledge my position and values. Carspecken (1996) defines a researcher's value orientation as the impetus for, "the reasons why people conduct their studies…The value orientation of the researcher does not 'construct' the object of study: the same 'object' can be examined for a large variety of

reasons, under a larger variety of motivations" (p. 6). I am invested in my research and have clear and explicit interests in choosing what to study and how to conduct research. The object of study, and the ways in which the study of said object occurs, differ based upon the researcher's values and motivations for undertaking research. As a critical researcher, my approach to the present study centers the voices and experiences of FGCS. While an alternative framing could situate academic libraries at the center of the research, my interest in FGCS requires that I utilize my position and power as a researcher to elevate these voices. Employing a critical approach allowed me to amplify FGCS, whom LIS scholars have frequently framed from a deficit perspective in previous research (Ilett, 2019).

Critical Theory traces its roots to Weimar-era Germany and the Institute for Social Research, commonly known as the Frankfurt School, an unaffiliated Marxist-oriented institute whose members, "set forth a normative social theory that seeks a connection with empirical analyses of the contemporary world" (Bronner & Kellner, 1989, p. 2). Critical Theory, from early Institute for Social Research members, including, among others, Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, and Herbert Marcuse, to so-called second-generationsists, led by Jürgen Habermas, "maintains a nondogmatic perspective which is situated by an interest in emancipation from all forms of oppression, as well as by a commitment to freedom, happiness, and a rational ordering of society" (Bronner & Kellner, 1989, p. 2). Critical Theory, of the Institute for Social Research tradition, moves beyond identifying social injustices and seeks to enact social change based upon research findings. Critical inquiry involves research agendas that strive to address social inequalities and injustices and serve as a combative retaliation against societal systems of oppression. Crucial to critical inquiry is the researcher's intent to move beyond simply interpreting the world and instead actively advocate for change in ways that resist

the status quo and promote a more just and inclusive society. Furthermore, critical inquiry explicitly names social inequalities. Results of critical research strive for positive social change. As Denzin (2015) states, "As global citizens, we are no longer called to just interpret the world, which was the mandate of traditional qualitive inquiry. Today, we are called to change the world and to change it in ways that resist injustice while celebrating freedom and full, inclusive, participatory democracy" (p. 32). Denzin's critique of traditional qualitative inquiry is one primary way in which critical qualitative inquiry differs from other qualitative approaches.

This critical approach underlies the entire research process. This approach provides a precise understanding of values, facts, and the connection between these concepts. This critical stance requires understanding holistic modes of human experience and their relationships to communicative structures. Utilizing Carspecken's (1996) reconstructive horizon analysis, which I fully describe in the upcoming data analysis section, allows researchers to study meaning and human experience at multiple dimensions and from multiple layers. Horizontal dimensions allow for the distinction between objective, subjective, and normative-evaluative claims, while vertical dimensions allow for the distinction between foregrounded and backgrounded meanings. Employing Carspecken's reconstructive horizon analysis as part of the analysis process, I examine why participants said what they said. Such analysis elicits individuals' reasons or motives and seeks meaning in their words and actions.

Rationale for Qualitative Research

This study explores FGCS perceptions, attitudes, and utilization of academic libraries through the application of Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction, particularly his concepts of capital, habitus, and field. My research adds to the increasing qualitative scholarship regarding student perceptions of academic library resources and services, while also contributing to the larger body of scholarship within educational research that has applied Bourdieu's theoretical

apparatus. Although previous studies relied primarily on statistical models to measure and predict school outcomes (i.e., DiMaggio's status attainment framework) and survey instruments that attempted to quantify Lareau's concept of concerted cultivation (Davies & Rizk, 2018), other studies (i.e., Lareau) have used qualitative methods to understand the function of cultural capital within the U.S. educational system. This study adds to existing qualitative scholarship that allows student participants to discuss and explain at length their perceptions and attitudes in a way that cannot be achieved via statistical models, surveys, or other quantitative methods.

Qualitative inquiry emphasizes experience, understanding and meaning making in individuals' everyday lives. The task of the researcher, the primary instrument of data collection and analysis, is to focus on understanding the meaning of experience and to provide a rich description of this meaning-making process (Merriam, 2009). In producing a rich description of individuals' familial and socioeconomic contexts, particularly the ways these factors influence one's perceptions and attitudes toward academic library resources and services, the intent is not to generalize, rather the goal of qualitative research is to understand how individual contexts contribute to one's experiences and meaning making, in this case regarding academic library resources and services. I do not propose to generalize findings from this study, or from individuals within this study, rather I adhere to Cronbach's (1975) working hypotheses, which are hypotheses that prioritize local, situation-specific conditions, which cautions against ignoring these local conditions in favor of generalizing to other individuals or settings that themselves possess unique, local, and situation specific conditions. For example, a study of working conditions in a Ford Motor Company production factory in Valencia, Venezuela, Chennai, India, and Wayne, Michigan demonstrates the hazard in generalizing about predictive validity, "because test validity varies with the labor pool, the conditions of the job, and the criterion"

(Cronbach, 1975, p. 125). As such, “when we give proper weight to local conditions, any generalization is a working hypothesis, not a conclusion” (Cronbach, 1975, p. 125). Cronbach’s concept of working hypotheses are particularly useful in social science research that focuses on human behavior and interaction, which is receptive to, “intensive local observation [that] goes beyond discipline to an open-eyed, open-minded appreciation of the surprises that nature deposits in the investigative net” (Cronbach, 1975, p. 125). Furthermore, because I implement a case study approach, in which the task of the researcher is to provide a detailed description of a specific case or cases, Stake (2006) asserts that the responsibility of making generalizations, to the extent possible, “should be more the reader’s than the writer’s” (p. 90). Stake’s assertion is similar to Erickson’s (1986) concept of concrete universals, which are arrived at “by studying a specific case in great detail and then comparing it with other cases studied in equally great detail” (p. 130). Lastly, the qualitative approach generally, and my consideration of generalizability specifically, coincides with my analytical foundation in Critical Social Theory.

The qualitative approach applied in this study allows me to explore these local conditions within each individual participant to explore their perceptions and attitudes of academic library resources and services. Additionally, the qualitative approach also allows me to examine academic libraries themselves, with the selected libraries within the general library system serving as cases (i.e., bounded systems) themselves.

Rationale for Case Study Approach

A case study is a detailed description and analysis of a bounded system (Stake, 1995, 2006). Stake (2006) variously identifies a case as “a specific thing” that “usually has working parts” and “is an integrated system” (p. 2). In a qualitative case study, understanding specific cases requires “experiencing the activity of the case as it occurs in its contexts and in its particular situation” (p. 2) and was developed to “study the experience of real cases operating in

real situations" (p. 3). The objective of the researcher is to capture experience and activity of the case (Stake, 2006). In the present study, I treat individual FGCS as a case and examine their individual attitudes, perceptions, and use of several academic libraries located within the general library system at one public research university. Each case is a system bounded by place and time: place being the physical locations within which FGCS relate and document their experiences of academic libraries and time the actual time spent engaging with academic library resources and services. I captured the working parts of each case via observations of the activities at selected library sites, including those of patrons, staff, physical artifacts, and interactions among these various components to understand academic libraries as an integrated system. Through these observations, in addition to interviews and written diary analysis, I produce a rich description of the experiences of individuals in real cases operating in real situations. A case study is an appropriate research design because, as mentioned, I am not testing theory in this study, rather the case study approach, "offers insights and illuminates meanings that expand its readers' experiences" (Merriam, 2009, p. 51).

Research Sites

Several academic libraries within the general library system at a historically and predominantly White university, located in a mid-sized city of approximately 260,000 in a Midwestern state, are the research sites for this project. The public research institution is the flagship institution of the state system with more than 47,000 total students, which includes undergraduates (33,000+), graduate (9,700+), special (1,900+), and professional (2,600+) enrolled as of the Fall 2021 semester. The public research institution is predominantly White: as of the Spring 2020-21 term 65.4% of the population identified as White, 7.16% as Asian American, 6.0% as Hispanic, and 2.19% as Black, with 12.6% of the student population comprised of international students. A majority of the student population, 60.06%, are between

18 and 21 and 28.99% are between 22 and 29. With 13 schools and colleges and over 285 undergraduate majors and certificates, 250-plus master's, doctoral, and professional programs, the university offers students a variety of academic options. Within the general library system, comprised of 30+ libraries, observational data was collected from five campus libraries. The selection of these sites offers the opportunity to explore FGCS at campus libraries differing in type, size, scope, and intention. Convenience was the primary factor in selecting the institution and library sites.

Institutional Review Board

Prior to data collection, I submitted an application to the institutional review board. This study, protocol ID number 2021-1011, was determined to meet the criteria for exempt human subjects research because it presented low risk to participants.

Participants and Recruitment

Individual participants serve as the unit of analysis in this study. I recruited 16 total participants. I utilized purposeful sampling to recruit participants. In purposeful sampling, "the inquirer selects individuals and sites for study because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study (Cresswell & Poth, 2018, p. 158). More specifically, I employed typical case sampling, which highlights what is normal or average (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This decision was intentional, as I was interested in providing a detailed, rich description of each case and exploring the experiences of individual units of analysis as opposed to, for example, identifying a critical case, which permits generalization and maximum application to other cases, extreme/deviant cases, which offers insight into unusual manifestations of the phenomenon of interest, or confirming and disconfirming cases, which are best suited after initial analysis has been conducted to seek exceptions or variation (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

To begin recruitment, I contacted the faculty advisor for a campus FGCS student group. I was initially concerned about the recruitment process because I was unsure if first-generation status is protected data under the Family Education Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA). After consulting with the faculty advisor, I contacted the institution's Office of the Registrar for further information. The Registrar's Office eased my initial concerns, as first-generation status is not protected data under FERPA. Recruitment was conducted via the institution's first-generation student group and included e-mail solicitation. Initial recruitment was difficult, as I struggled to find participants willing to volunteer their time and energy to participate in the project. Eventually, persistence paid off and I relied on snowball sampling to recruit additional participants. Table 4.1 displays selected participant information.

Name[4]	**Race/Ethnicity**	**Year in college**	**Major**
Shihan	Chinese	1st year PhD	Human Ecology
Alberto	Mexican American	Junior	Personal Finance and Health Promotion & Equity
Charlotte	White	Freshman	Undecided (English)
Rebekah	White	4th year Junior	Engineering
Catherine	White	Junior	Nursing
Lana	Asian American	Junior	Psychology
Qing	Chinese	1st year PhD	Business and Statistics
Zixin	Chinese	1st year graduate	Finance and Economics
Kalpana	Indian American	Junior	Psychology
Lois	White	Senior	Biology (Global Health certificate)
Karthik	Indian	PhD	Fiscal Behavioral Economics
Chloe	Lao American	Junior	Genetics (Health & Humanities certificate)
Hilda	Mexican American	Freshman	Math
Jian	Chinese	1st year Graduate	Business Management
Smriti	Indian American	Senior	Psychology (Gender & Women's Studies certificate)
Richard	White	5th year Senior	Genetics & History

Table 4.1: Selected participant demographic information

[4] Pseudonyms are used throughout this study to protect participant confidentiality.

Data Collection

Data collection occurred in multiple stages in which I adapted Carspecken's (1996) recommended framework for conducting critical qualitative research: (1) compile the primary record, (2) conduct preliminary reconstructive analysis, (3) generate dialogical data, (4) examine system relations; and (5) use system relations to explain findings. Data collection included observations, participant-produced diaries, and interviews. The entire process occurred throughout the course of one academic year, from late October 2021 to May2022.

I began the data collection process with an initial period of intense observation to orient myself to selected campus libraries and begin to establish the primary record. In this first stage, I compiled extensive field notes. In these notes, I detailed the space and recorded interactions that took place between various individuals, e.g., student-student, student-library staff, and library staff-library staff (see figures 4.1 and 4.2). Following each observation, I reflected on my visit and kept an ongoing research journal. Reflection allowed me to acknowledge and monitor my biases throughout the research process. After several weeks of field visits, in which I visited each site several times, I reduced my time in the field to once-monthly visits for the remaining duration of the data collection process (approximately six months).

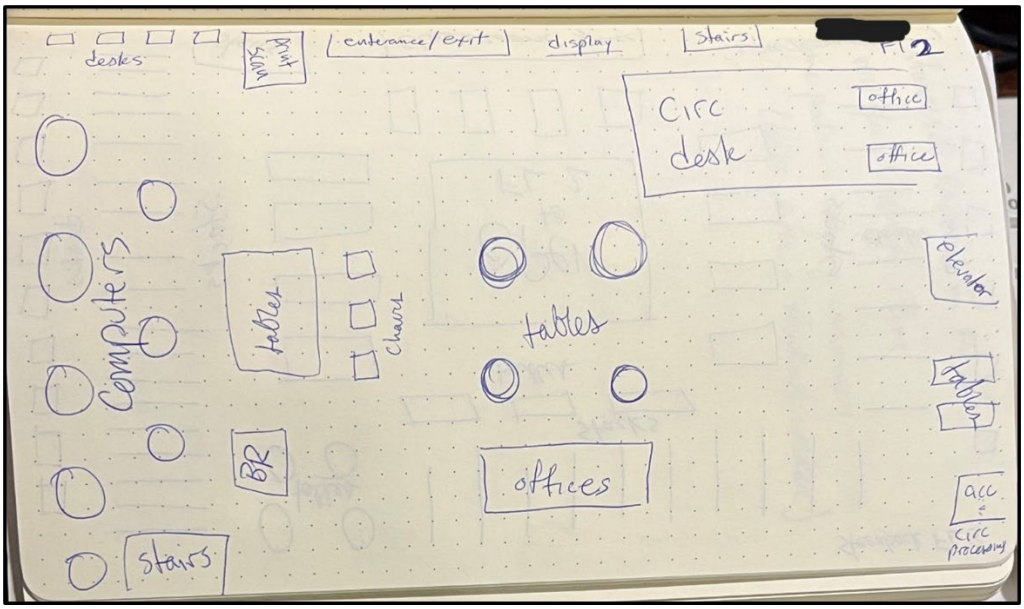

Figure 4.1: Example of spatial documentation of research site

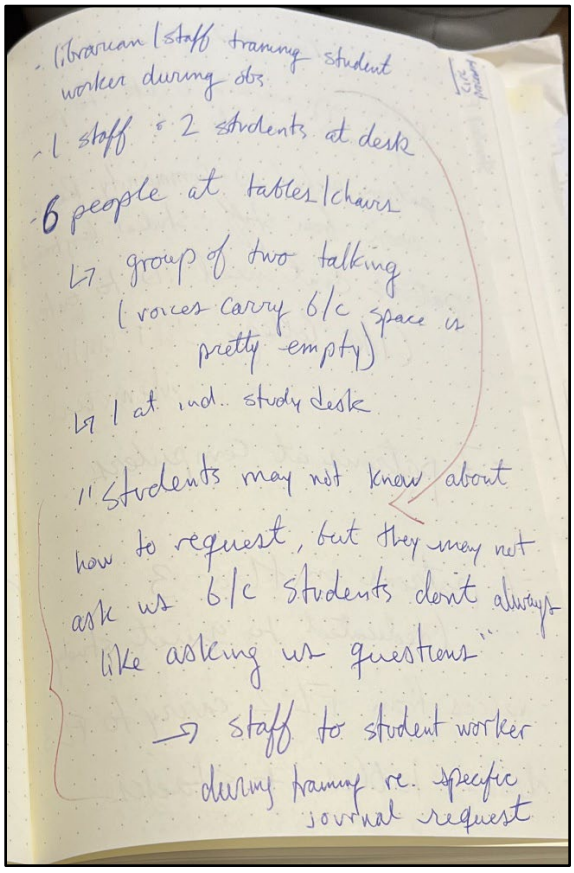

Figure 4.2: Example of observational field notes

The first stage of dialogical data collection consisted of individual interviews with participants, which occurred from October 2021 to January 2022. I utilized Carspecken's (1996) recommended interview protocol, which includes topic domains, lead-off questions for each domain, a list of covert categories for each domain, and a set of possible follow-up questions for each domain (see Appendix D). I recorded the audio of each interview which, when aggregated, resulted in 577.66 minutes (9.63 hours) of material.

Written diaries with individual participants formed the second stage of dialogical data collection, which took place during one academic year. Following the recruitment process, I sent interested participants a protocol for the diaries (see Appendix C). Participants recorded their diaries in electronic format and shared their written diaries using Google Docs. Among the 16 participants, five contributed written diaries in addition to their interviews.

Data Collection Challenges

The data collection plan described above changed slightly from the initial plan developed prior to commencing the project. The original plan included initial interviews to occur with each participant early in the 2021-22 academic year. Initial data collection was delayed due to two weeks away in Texas for my wedding. Additionally, the initial recruitment difficulties also contributed to the slow start of the project. While the initial research design included follow-up interviews with each participant near the end of the academic year, with the intent to address themes, questions, or other points of interest that arose in the initial interviews, these follow-ups did not take place. The initial research design also included focus groups to collectively discuss significant aspects of individual interviews; however, scheduling proved difficult, as participants were unwilling or unable to participate in late-April focus groups, due in large part to end-of-semester time constraints.

At the advice of my committee members, I changed the mode of collecting student diaries from audio diaries to written ones, which would be more feasible and easier for participants to produce. This advice was prescient, as five of 16 participants completed the diary portion of the research design.

Data Analysis

As mentioned, Bourdieu (1990) explicitly stated the concepts of capital, habitus, and field are relational and criticized isolated use of these concepts. As such, utilizing each concept is required in any application of his theoretical apparatus. That said, Wacquant (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) identified habitus and field as "key concepts" (p. 16) and, as the literature review demonstrates, these concepts are underutilized within higher education research. For these reasons, I give equal attention to habitus, field, and capital in the data analysis process.

To guide my analysis, I rely heavily on Bourdieu's (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 104-105) recommended framework to carry out a study of a field and the necessary steps required in this type of analysis. An analysis in terms of field includes three steps, in which one must: (1) analyze the position of the field vis-à-vis the field of power, (2) map out the objective structure of the relations between the positions occupied by the agents or institutions who compete for the legitimate form of specific authority of which this field is the site; and (3) analyze the habitus of agents, the different systems of dispositions they have acquired by internalizing a determinate type of social and economic condition, and which find in a definitive trajectory within the field under consideration a more or less favorable opportunity to become actualized. Figure 4.3 displays how I adapted Bourdieu's (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) framework and Carspecken's (1996) model in this research project.

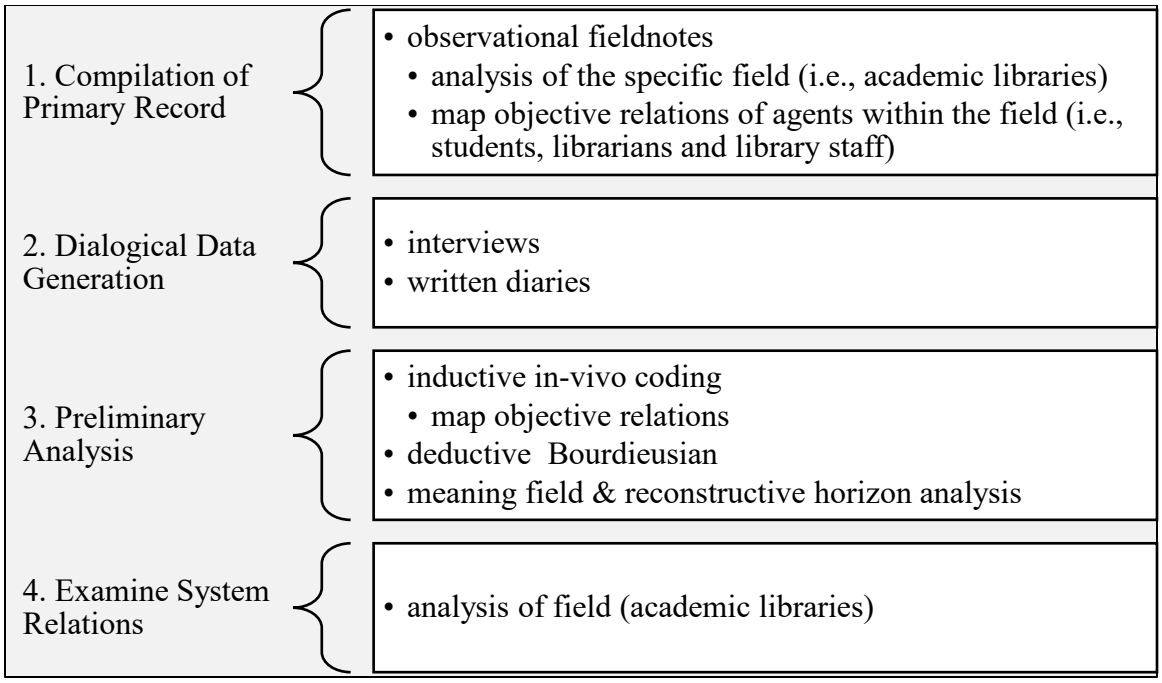

Figure 4.3: Analytical framework adapted from Bourdieu and Carspecken

Data analysis occurred in multiple levels and included both inductive and deductive coding. I analyzed data in four distinct phases: (1) inductive, open, low-level coding, (2) inductive, open coding based upon meaning field and reconstructive horizon analysis (Carspecken, 1996), (3) deductive, closed coding in which I applied codes that map directly to Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus, and field; and (4) system and field analysis.

Although presented and discussed in a linear fashion, to which I largely adhered, the entire analysis process was somewhat iterative, particularly in the later stages. Steps One and Two occurred first before I undertook any type of analysis. The inductive, low-level and deductive Bourdieusian coding occurred more-or-less simultaneously, as I switched between each to simply provide a mental break. Following the rounds of inductive low-level and deductive Bourdieusian coding, I reviewed my observational fieldnotes and participants' written diaries. In combination with the first rounds of coding, this review process informed my choices of segments for use in the meaning field and reconstructive horizon analysis.

Analysis phase I: Inductive in-vivo coding.

In phase one, I collected, transcribed, read, and reread interview transcripts and participant diaries. This phase was partially intended to reorient myself to the data after the initial data collection and production of the primary record. In this phase, I created additional notes and memos that summarized the thick, extensive data obtained while building the primary record. I conducted low-level coding of transcripts. These codes remained close to participants' words and required little abstraction. I created a codebook based upon these low-level codes by coding a selection (approximately 20%) of interviews transcripts. I sent the selection of uncoded transcripts to my advisor, who then coded the data, after which we met to compare codes and debrief. Following the creation of the codebook, I recoded the entire set of transcripts. In this phase, I examine students' status as first-generation in relation to their position in the field of academic libraries. In the close reading of phase one, I mapped the objective relations of various agents operating within academic libraries, i.e., field, to examine relations and relationships of power within the field, following Bourdieu's recommendation. Focusing on the objective relations of various actors, i.e., students, library staff, allows for an examination of the relations between these actors, as well as students' perceptions and attitudes of the field of academic libraries. This is the appropriate stage for this analysis because participants explicitly spoke about relations and engagement with others during their activities in academic libraries. Table 4.2 provides an example of the coding technique described above.

Transcript segment	**Low-level codes**	**Objective relations**
My, my relationship with my parents was so complicated because growing up I was surrounded by broken families. Like my dad. He's a bit alcoholic. So I grew up in an abusive household, like I witnessed domestic violence. I saw, I think when I was really young, I saw my dad after he got drunk, he will beat my mom and so it's just a mess. And it's really hard for a young kid to make	Parental relationship; family; alcoholism; abuse; young; sense making; household environment; emotions	Family Parents and daughter Mother and father

sense of, like, how come you were born into this family and the two people who are supposed to be in love with each other…how can they hate you so much? Like, I just can't get my head around that. So, it's really tough for me growing up in that kind of household. [interviewed paused to allow participant to emotionally compose themselves]		
Well, my family…so we're always following for carpentry. So, I would sometimes help with carpentry and stuff. When I was very…I mean, starting at like 6 or 7, I would help, like, you know, if there's a…if they're [father] working on a site, I would have to like sweep or clean up. Then my dad threw out his shoulder, like, his rotator cuff, so he couldn't work for a while. And that, you know, that was part of the cycle of, you know, being poor and everything [said matter of factly].	Family; work; carpentry; young; helping; injury; being poor; cyclical poverty	Family Father and son
It [the public library] was kind of the only thing nearby that was, like, an okay building. Most of the buildings around the area where I lived are old and, like, not the safest. Also the library, I think my mom, she kind of was looking for things for us to do because, like I said, there weren't many things for us to do in that area.	Buildings; safety; neighborhood; mom; family; keeping busy	Mother and daughter
In elementary school my parents…my teacher told them something that, like, I was not reading or, like, performing at grade level. And…it was because, like, my parents didn't have time to sit with me and read or teach me math. My mom would take me to the library to read or like…encouraged me to like, bring my reading back up to grade level.	School; parents; teachers; academic performance; encouragement	Teacher and parents Mother and daughter
Oh, yeah! It was kind of like "You're going to college!" Like, we were really, really young…like I remember being five or whatever the first time I remember things. It was always like, "Oh, you're gonna go to Yale. You're gonna go, like…you're gonna go to an Ivy, you're gonna be a doctor!" That was drilled into our heads since we were really young. Like, we're all going to college. It's not, like, even an option. It wasn't like, "Oh, you could go to college." It's like "You're going to college!"	College; young; memories; expectations; no choice	Family Parents and children
Um, well, I mean I have, like, a class or two technically in the [academic] library, but I just haven't been a lot of times [other than for class]	Library; class; studying; many people; noise; home;	Classmates

for studying and stuff. Like, there's so many people here that like, I'll go and there's a ton of people and I'm like 'Oh God, what if I accidentally make a lot of noise?' I just haven't really checked out the library very much. I mean, my roommates aren't always in the room, so I'll just study at home. But I guess I just haven't gone to the library much, which is really weird because I thought I would, but I guess I haven't.	library (non)use (expectations vs. reality)	Roommates

Table 4.2: Sample data of low-level codes and objective relation mapping

Analysis phase II: Meaning field and pragmatic reconstructive horizon analysis.

In phase two, I created high-level codes, which are dependent on greater levels of abstraction. High-level codes are useful for picking up analytic emphases, which will be discussed in detail in the analysis. These high-level codes are based upon explicit meaning reconstructions and horizon analyses (Carspecken, 1996). In this phase, again following Bourdieu's recommendation, I also analyzed individual habitus of participants. This is the appropriate stage for this analysis because participants did not explicitly use Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus, and field, necessitating abstraction on my behalf, abstraction that Carspecken's reconstructions and meaning fields also require. Due to the abstraction inherent in these analytical methods, the claims I make in this dissertation are more speculative in nature.

Meaning field analysis.

Carspecken (1996) identifies meaning fields as both an analytical and substantive concept. As an analytical tool, meaning field analysis allows the researcher to clarify initial impressions of meaning from observations and participants' actions and words. As a substantive concept, participants and researchers alike interact within a given setting and obtain their impressions of meaning in the same way, in which each agent is, "generally cognizant of a range of possible intended meanings for each act, a range of possible interpretations that others in the setting may make of the act, and an awareness that the actor herself is aware of a range of

possible interpretations others may make of her act" (p. 96). Carspecken (1996) calls this the uncertainty principle of meaning: "meanings are always experienced as possibilities within a field of other possibilities" (p. 96). Using *and*, *or*, or *and/or* statements to indicate the ambiguity of meaningful acts, the researcher articulates a variety of possible meaning fields that range, "from the tacit to the discursive" (Carspecken, 1996, p. 96).

Due to the depth and intensity of meaning field analysis as an analytical tool, I selectively applied this analysis to the data. Carspecken (1996) suggests that a close reading of the primary record and initial low-level coding allow the researcher to identify appropriate segments for this analysis, "the selections must be made in light of your progress with low-level coding" (p. 95). When applied to interview and audio diary transcripts, as I have done in this project, meaning field analysis allowed me to understand the full range of possible meanings for a given statement. Moreover, employing meaning fields as an analytic tool allowed me to place parameters around the data during the coding process. For example, the statement "I just never felt very comfortable in the library" eliminates innumerable possible meanings, such as, "I don't like attending class" or "I wish I didn't have to work so much so I could concentrate more on my academics". An analytical strength of meaning fields is their capability to understand the full range of possible meanings and, more specifically, to elucidate more or less possible meanings of a given statement. To take meaning field analysis one step further, I also conducted reconstructive horizon analysis, which allowed me to explore the possible meanings of participants' statements at a higher, more abstract level, to add a layer of complexity to the data.

Reconstructive horizon analysis.

I conducted reconstructive horizon analysis to provide further insight and understanding of the data. Based upon Habermas' (1984, 1985) theory of communicative action, and borrowing and relocating the term *horizon* from the phenomenology and hermeneutics of Gadamer (2013),

Carspecken (1996) developed pragmatic reconstructive horizon analysis, which categorizes validity claims implicitly preset in all human interactions into four categories: objective, subjective, normative-evaluative, and identity validity claims (see Table 4.3).

Validity Claim	**Access**	**Description**	**Validation**
Objective	Multiple access	What is (e.g., there are 25 computers in the library's computer lab)	Repetition (e.g., multiple people agree that there are 25 computers in the lab)
Subjective	Privileged/limited access	Individual thoughts, feelings, beliefs, desires (e.g., I feel like library staff monitor my actions too much when I'm in the library)	Honest disclosure (e.g., a participant sincerely reveals how they feel when in an academic library)
Normative-evaluative	Shared access	Socially recognized as proper, appropriate, or conventional; often associated with should/ought (e.g., Libraries should be places for quiet, individual study, not loud, collaborative work)	Via cultural and/or social norms (e.g., compare individual claim with those of other people (e.g., other students) or entities (e.g., academic library policies)
Identity	Privileged/limited OR shared access	How an individual defines themselves (e.g., I am a first-generation college student; I am a library user)	Honest disclosure (e.g., a participant sincerely reveals identifying characteristics/ groups with which they identify)

Table 4.3: Four types of validity claims

Objective validity claims are open to multiple observers who agree to their existence; they are universal claims to the extent that individuals share common language and culture. Objective claims are based on observable evidence. These validity claims are expressed in the third-person. Subjective validity claims express personal experiences and opinions and are often

about what one thinks, believes, or desires. In contrast to objective claims, subjective validity claims cannot be accessed via observation and, thusly, rely on privileged access via an individual's honest disclosure. Subjective validity claims are expressed in the first-person. Normative-evaluative validity claims are those that a given social group recognize as worthy of being considered appropriate. These claims can be expressed in the first or third-person and are often associated with what is good and bad, best and worst, or what should or ought to be done. Culturally constructed expectations, values, and patterns influence one's normative-evaluative validity claims. Identity validity claims are those in which an individual defines themselves, are often in the first person, and can be observable or heard in one's subjective claims.

According to Carspecken (1996), these four types of validity claims can be categorized in one of five ways: as *intelligible*, as socially *legitimate* or *appropriate*, as representative of an actor's *subjective* state, as representative of an actor's *identity*, or as *objective* (p. 104). Furthermore, pragmatic reconstructive horizon analysis allows for analysis at multiple levels, from emphasized, foregrounded meanings to tacit, backgrounded assumptions. For example, the claim, "Miserable day, isn't it?" uttered when standing at a bus stop in the rain assumes: (1) the statement is intelligible to the person to whom you are speaking, (2) it is socially appropriate to make small talk with a stranger, (3) you have benign intentions in engaging with another individual; and (4) you identify as a friendly person (Carspecken, 1996, p. 104-105). Pragmatic reconstructive horizon analysis allows for an understanding of various claims both horizontally (i.e., objective, subjective, normative-evaluative, and identity) and vertically (foregrounded, backgrounded, and highly backgrounded). Table 4.4 provides an example of meaning field and reconstructive horizon analysis.

Transcript segment

Yeah, I think, to be honest, I was into drawing and reading because that was all I could, like, get my hands on in a way given, like, my socioeconomic conditions. I don't think I…I don't think we were, like, financially stable enough to have me play an instrument or have me, like, be in a dance club or anything. But I am really grateful that it has given me the skills and the talents that I do [have]. And then when I got to high school I signed myself up for tennis because I thought that colleges want to see that. 'Oh, this person's well-rounded, they do sports', and so I was able to convince my parents to support me in tennis.
Low-level codes
Hobbies; drawing; reading; socioeconomic status; financial stability; family; parents; interests; talents; skills; abilities; tennis; college
Meaning field
I liked to draw and read OR I liked to draw and read because that is what my family could afford AND I liked to draw and read because my parents could not afford for me to participate in other activities AND I am glad I liked to draw and read because they are valuable skills OR I am glad my socioeconomic status taught me valuable skills AND My socioeconomic status required me to persuade my parents to support my interest in tennis AND I was motivated to play tennis in high school because I thought it would help me get into college AND My motivation to play tennis in high school was driven by my desire to attend college AND/OR My motivation to play tennis in high school was driven by my parents' desire that I attend college.
Foregrounded
Objective: Drawing and reading are cheap activities. Playing an instrument is an expensive activity.
Subjective: I think my socioeconomic conditions shaped my hobbies and interests.
Normative: Colleges and universities like to admit students who are well-rounded individuals.
Identity: My family did not have much money when I was growing up.
Backgrounded
Objective: Playing tennis is an expensive activity.
Subjective: I think my socioeconomic conditions made me a good person with many skills and strong values.
Normative: People should not let their socioeconomic conditions limit their potential.
Identity: I am proud of my background and my family and grateful for all they've done for me.
Highly backgrounded (less obvious, higher inference)
Objective: Demonstrating varied interests will improve one's chances of getting accepted into college.
Subjective: I think one's socioeconomic status can contribute to producing "good" people. A person's class background can positively shape them into skilled, stable, "good" people.
Normative: People should be well-rounded individuals. People should have varied skills and interests. People should have strong values and a sense of self.
Identity: I am a family-oriented person. I am a person who comes from a good family

Table 4.4: Example reconstructive horizon and meaning field analysis

Analysis phase III: Deductive Bourdieusian coding.

In phase three, the deductive coding phase, I created codes to specifically link Bourdieu's concepts to interview and diary data. These codes mapped directly to Bourdieu's concepts of

capital (cultural, social, and economic), habitus, and field. For example, if a participant discussed a positive experience of the public library as a child, I coded this as "habitus – public library" or if a student mentioned getting help from an academic librarian based on a friend's recommendation, I coded this as "social capital – academic library". Table 4.5 provides an example of the deductive coding I employed in phase three of the analysis process.

Transcript segment	**Bourdieusian code**
On a professional level, I think the relationship with my, with the librarian at the school and one teacher, Miss Callahan, who was very straightforward.	Social capital – school Social capital – [school] librarian
Um, I mean, my parents, my parents always kind of like, gave me books as a kid because I was really good at sitting still and just listening to books.	Cultural capital – home Habitus
Well, I was very, I don't know the word…like successful in school. So I knew that I would do well in college or at least be set up to do well and the thought that I could be a better paying job by going to college motivated me [to attend college]	Cultural capital - school Economic capital
You're lonely, but you're not alone, because you're there [public library] to do your own thing. But you're also surrounded by people doing their own things. So, as an introvert, I love that environment.	Field – public library

Table 4.5: Example of Bourdieusian coding

The sequencing of inductive and deductive coding is intentional. The first round of inductive, open coding remains close to participants' actual words. The meaning fields and reconstructive horizon analysis of phase two included both little abstraction (e.g., objective foregrounded validity claims) and greater levels of abstraction (e.g., subjective highly backgrounded validity claims). The deductive coding of phase three, in which I applied a set of predetermined codes, required a higher level of abstraction, as I applied Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus, and field to participants' interview transcripts and diary entries.

Analysis phase IV: Systems and field analysis.

In addition to these three analytical phases, I also conducted an analysis of system relations, as part of Carspecken's model, as well as Bourdieu's recommendation to analyze the field in relation to the field of power. In this fourth analytical phase, I explored the findings of this project, "in light of existing macro-level theories" (Carspecken, 1996, p. 202), which, in the case of the present research, is Bourdieu's version of social reproduction. In this phase of analysis, I focused specifically on participants' identity as FGCS, which aligns with my stated interest in FGCS, despite the recognition that this particular focus is a limitation of the present research. I considered the ways in which this aspect of participants' identities was internalized and manifested in their perceptions, attitudes, and utilization of academic libraries. I also examined how academic libraries catered, or not, to this specific student group. Systems level analysis is appropriate to conduct after meaning field and reconstructive horizon analysis as it considers the larger social factors that may influence participants' actions and words.

I also explored the field of academic libraries in relation to the field of power, in which I considered the socio-economic status of the FGCS participants, given Bourdieu's focus on between and within class relations. Bourdieu (1983) originally examined the field of cultural production via the literary field in late 19th century France and identified writers (and artists and intellectuals more generally) as a dominated fraction of the dominant class: "It [literary and artistic field] occupies a *dominated position* (at the negative pole) in this field [field of power], which is itself situated at the dominant pole of the field of class relations" (p. 319, emphasis in original). In the present research project, I examined the field of academic libraries and the position they occupy in the institution of higher education within which they are situated.

Limitations

The limitations of the methodology and research methods of the present study are: (1) lack of generalizability, (2) a narrow focus on participants' identification as first-generation college students, (3) Bourdieu's theoretical focus on class as a marker of social stratification and my decision to not produce a class-based analysis; and (4) the potential for researcher bias. In this section, I address each limitation and briefly discuss how I addressed these limitations.

As previously discussed, a primary limitation across qualitative research is generalizability. This issue is magnified in the case study approach, an approach whose "real business" (Stake, 1995, p. 8) is particularization, not generalization, as Stake (1995) continues, "There is emphasis on uniqueness, and that implies knowledge of others that the case is different from, but the first emphasis is on understanding the case itself" (p. 8). The present study, an examination of FGCS and selected academic libraries within a general library system, cannot be generalized to academic libraries situated within all institutions of higher education. However, as mentioned, I do not claim, nor intend, to generalize findings from this study to larger populations, rather I employ Cronbach's (1975) concept of working hypotheses, through which I prioritize the local and acknowledge each individual's unique conditions, contexts, and experiences.

To address the issue of generalizability in this study, I was careful to not present or claim that each participant's experiences were representative of all FGCS or, in the systems and field analysis, that the academic libraries in this study were representative of all academic libraries. When discussing participants' experiences, I focused on the importance of each individual via active acknowledgement of their unique conditions, contexts, and experiences and how these influenced participants' responses and diary entries.

Additional limitations pertain to the data analysis processes described above. As Nguyen & Nguyen (2018) have identified, researchers need to acknowledge the significance of intersectionality in examining the educational experiences of FGCS. The present study consciously focuses on participants' status as first-generation, a single identity marker. To address this limitation, I clearly indicate that this study is not intersectional in nature. Identity is complex. The focus on the first-generation aspect of participants' identities in this study ignores various other identity components that may contribute to an individual's perceptions, attitudes, and utilization of academic library resources and services. Similarly, this study's focus on class as a distinguishing feature of social stratification ignores other factors that influence one's social position within society.

As a conflict theorist, Bourdieu (1979/1984) examined the workings of society and the social markers, or tastes, that contribute to maintaining the social hierarchy. Although significant to Bourdieu's social theory, which is the theoretical impetus that drives the present study, I did not explicitly address social class in this study because participants did not do so in their interviews or diary responses. While Carspecken's reconstructive horizon analysis offers the methodological tools to do so, that participants seemed either reluctant, or perhaps did not themselves consider their experiences from a class-based perspective, I scrapped plans to include a class-based, highly inferential analysis chapter and left this as a possibility for fruitful future research.

Another potential limitation of the present study is researcher bias. Consistent with my epistemological stance, identify as a FGCS, and critical approach to research, the danger of becoming too close to participants, or having my own experiences affect my data analysis, is a real possibility. Additionally, meaning field and reconstructive horizon analysis requires high

levels of abstraction, which can potentially lead to mistakes in coding and analysis. To address these issues, I implemented several techniques, which I describe in the following section.

Validation Methods

Just as there are various perspectives, approaches, and methods to conduct qualitative research, there are similarly various perspectives regarding validation (Cresswell & Poth, 2018). Whereas LeCompte & Goetz (1982) suggest using parallel qualitative equivalents to quantitative counterparts, other scholars suggest using alternative terms including: *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability*, and *confirmability* (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), *triangulation*, *construct validation*, *face validation*, and *catalytic validation* (Lather, 1991), *understanding* (Wolcott, 1990; 1994), and *credibility*, *authenticity*, *triticality*, and *integrity* (Whittemore, Chase, & Mandle, 2001), while Richardson and St. Pierre (2005) suggest metaphorically reconceptualizing validity as a crystal. Regardless, validity – or whatever term one chooses to use – remains significant to the research process and, as such, requires attention in every research project.

In the present research project, I implemented various validation methods following Carspecken's (1996) recommendations, in alignment with my data analysis methods. These validation methods included: (1) an examination of my value orientations, (2) techniques to maximize objectivity while building the primary record, (3) procedures to produce subjective validity claims (i.e., member checks, peer debriefing, strip analysis, and negative case analysis) throughout the analysis process; and (4) prolonged engagement in the field. I briefly describe each validation method in the subsections that follow.

Value orientations examination.

As briefly discussed in relation to my subjectivist epistemology and critical research approach, I cannot entirely disassociate myself from the research process and, therefore, acknowledge my presence in said process. More specifically, before beginning research for this

project, I considered how my approach to research, my positionality, and my identities, particularly as a first-generation student, bias and effect my research. This reflexivity process, what Lincoln and Guba (2000) define as, "the process of reflecting critically on the self as researcher, the human as instrument" (p. 183), in which I acknowledge my local conditions, contexts, and experiences, is significant as they directly influence all aspects of my research, but particularly my meaning fields and reconstructions, which comprise a large portion of my data analysis.

Techniques to maximize objectivity while building the primary record.

According to Carspecken (1996), the primary record, "prioritizes the objective validity claim: claims open to multiple access" (p. 87). As such, validity requirements for this stage are directed toward a limit case, "a situation that can be imagined and approximated but not usually reached" (Carspecken, 1996, p. 88) in which a researcher's procedures aim to produce a record of which general consensus can be reached and that other individuals present would consent. Carspecken (1996) identifies two principle procedures that meet the validity requirement: (1) passive observation of naturalistic social interaction and (2) recording interactions via fieldnotes (p. 88). The techniques I implemented to support the objective validity claims made in the primary record are: (1) use of multiple recording devices, (2) use of a flexible observation schedule, (3) prolonged engagement in the field, (4) use of low-inference vocabulary in the written record; and (5) use of member checks.

When conducting field observations at selected campus libraries, I used a flexible observation schedule to disrupt unconscious bias. During observation visits, which occurred throughout six months of an academic year, I recorded detailed notes via text and speech. I recorded my initial thoughts during each visit using an audio recorder as I surveyed the site. Following this initial set of voice notes, I continued my site observations by recording detailed,

written notes. Whether in speech or text, I made a conscious effort to use low-inference vocabulary to avoid the inclusion of "normative-evaluative and subjective-referenced connotations that go beyond multiple access" (Carspecken, 1996, p. 89). When it is not possible to avoid overtly normative or subjective language, I used expressions such as *as if* or *as though* in my voice notes (e.g., The librarian at the circulation desk spoke as if she was irritated). In the written notes, I used brackets and *observer comments* (OC) (e.g., OC: [The librarian at the circulation desk spoke in a way that seemed irritated]). During interviews with participants, I conducted member checks in which I shared portions of my observational notes with participants to gage their agreement with my record of events.

Procedures to produce subjective validity claims throughout the analysis process.

Phase two of my data analysis process, in which I conducted meaning field and reconstructive horizon analysis, focused on the normative-evaluative ontological category of validity claims. I followed Carspecken's (1996) recommended procedures to greatly lessen my vulnerability to, "the accusation of simply projecting [my] own beliefs onto other people" (p. 140). These procedures included: (1) interviews and written diaries[5], (2) member checks, in which I shared drafts of my analysis with participants to gather their feedback, (3) prolonged engagement, via my ongoing observational fieldnotes collected during the duration of the study, (4) strip analysis, in which I compared segments of my reconstructive analysis to my fieldnotes and other participants' data to ensure reconstructions are consistent with the entire corpus of data; and (5) negative case analysis, in which I looked for any inconsistences. As I discuss, Alberto is a negative case and I provide an explanation for the lack of fit. Significantly, negative cases do not necessarily indicate faulty analysis, rather, as Carspecken (1996) notes "actors can

[5] Interviews ranged from 22:20 to 1:05:29. Three of the interviews occurred face-to-face, while 13 occurred virtually via Zoom. Five participants provided written diaries of their academic library use.

always draw upon a variety of cultural material when they act, so a negative case does not necessarily invalidate your conclusions" (p. 141-142).

Carspecken (1996) claims that dialogic data, participant-produced written diaries and interviews in the case of the present project, "basically facilitate subjects in producing their own reconstructive analysis" (p. 141). During the interview process, I included observational insights derived from the primary record compilation to check these findings with study participants. I worked with members of my dissertation committed at various points throughout my data collection and analysis processes to engage in peer debriefing and check for biases or absences in my reconstructions. Frequently visiting each research site contributed to my understanding of the space and its operation, such familiarization being indispensable to establishing an insider perspective. Because, "reconstructions of most interest are those that seem to be frequently in play and thus that explain many of the social routines and interactions you have observed" (Carspecken, 1996, p. 141), I took strips (i.e., segments) of the primary record to check for consistency with reconstructed themes. Negative case analysis works similarly, as I identified incidents that seemed inconsistent with the larger analysis and reconstructions to examine these instances to, "come up with an explanation for the lack of fit" (Carspecken, 1996, p. 141).

Prolonged engagement in the field.

I conducted fieldwork for this project throughout one academic year, with visits to each site beginning in early November and lasting through the following May for a total of seven months in the field. Early in the research process, I sought to become familiar with each site, including the physical layout of the library spaces, as well as the atmosphere and operation of each site. During early visits, I engaged informally with students and library staff before conducting formal data collection via interviews and diaries.

Researcher Positionality

My interest and investment in this research project stem primarily from my personal experiences and status as a first-generation college student. Although everyone's unique conditions and contexts contribute to distinct experiences, as I emphasized repeatedly above, I empathize greatly with the participants in this project. In addition to my first-generation status, I also attended the university in which the research for this project was conducted. These connections made the research process an intimate and personal one as I collected and analyzed data from individuals with whom I share a first-generation identity at sites with which I am extremely familiar.

In my personal and professional lives, I keep a reflective journal, a technique I utilized in this project as well. I recorded my immediate thoughts and emotions after each interview. Following the entire data collection phase of the project, I took a break to give myself space, recharge, and reflect on the collection process. During interviews, in the post-interview reflection, and in the post-data collection break, I could not entirely remove myself from the project or the information study participants graciously and openly disclosed. Whenever I was in a campus library, whether as a patron or as a student worker, situations constantly reminded me of experiences and insight participants shared. Some of my earliest childhood memories are of my father pulling me in a wagon to the Beaver Dam Public Library during warm summer days when he had a day off. In addition to these early memories regarding public libraries, I have extensive experience with academic libraries, as someone who has worked in a campus library for eight years, and who has studied them intensely for the past several years. As someone who is training to become a supposed "expert" on academic libraries, I cannot stress enough how much study participants taught me over the past several months. I am, and will remain, indebted

to their wealth of knowledge and sincerely thank them for expanding my understanding and providing a basis for further growth.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I described how my subjectivist epistemology and critical approach to research affected the decisions of what and how to study. I also justified my choice to conduct a qualitative case study. This approach is appropriate as I sought to examine how an individual's unique conditions, contexts, and experiences contribute to their perceptions and attitudes of academic library resources and services. Additionally, the decision to include participant-produced diaries allowed me to center participants' voices, a crucial component of the critical research tradition to which I adhere. After discussing my rationale for the methodological choices, I provided a detailed discussion of my data collection and analysis processes. I incorporated each of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts in the analysis process, in which I inductively and deductively coded, as well as conducted reconstructive horizon analysis (Carspecken, 1996). However, given the relative lack of attention paid to habitus and field, and scholars' general lack of engagement with Bourdieu's entire theoretical apparatus (Winkle-Wagner, 2010), these concepts featured prominently in the study's analysis. In my positionality statement, I discussed how my personal identities, conditions, and experiences also shaped what, how, and why I chose to examine FGCS and academic library resources and services. Both my epistemology and positionality statements reflect how I shape, and am simultaneously shaped by, the research process.

The next three chapters present the findings of this research and are divided into three thematic categories. Chapter V presents an analysis of Bourdieu's concepts of field and habitus via Mellon's (1986) theory of library anxiety. Chapter VI analyzes the relationship between habitus and capital focusing on participants' status as first-generation college students. In

Chapter VII, I focus on Bourdieu's forms of capital in an analysis of participants' support networks. Through these analyses, I demonstrate the value of academic libraries in the lives of FGCS and identify intervention strategies academic libraries can take to assist first-generation (and all) students in pursuit of their academic goals. While I discuss those recommendations in Chapter VIII, the conclusion to this dissertation, in the three analysis chapters that follow I focus on participants' voices, experiences, and expertise.

Chapter V: Analysis I – Field and Habitus via Library Anxiety

"There's just something, I don't know, for me, it's like I can feel it before I put myself in the situation, like if I were to walk into a library, everyone would be staring at me…It doesn't make sense, but I feel like that's what happens especially because I don't know where to go. I find myself like, really not knowing where to go. Or the culture, those unspoken rules and those types of things."

- Smriti

First-generation college students share commonalities with their non-first-generation peers: all experience similar emotions about entering college; they may take the same classes; some may share living space; all experience the stress of exams. While just one of many markers of difference, and the one focused upon in this research, first-generation student status can contribute to additional challenges navigating campus and coping with collegiate life, including their (non)use of academic libraries. Even among FGCS, differences in lived experience, upbringing, and familial conditions, which in this dissertation are one's habitus and capital composition, contribute to inter-group differences. In this chapter, I explore how the presence or absence of early socialization within the field of public libraries shapes an individual's habitus and how this set of deeply ingrained dispositions affects an individual's attitudes, perceptions, and, ultimately, governs their actions as they operate within the field academic libraries.

Review of Habitus and Field

As discussed in Chapter II, in my analysis of existing literature that applies Bourdieu's theoretical concepts in educational research, I identified the relative lack of scholarly attention given to habitus and field, which produces a direct corollary on the relative absence of scholars who utilize Bourdieu's full set of theoretical concepts. In Chapter III, I outlined Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction, defined key concepts, including the forms of capital (economic, social, and cultural), habitus, and field; and explained my use of his full set of theoretical concepts in this research.

An individual's habitus is the set of deeply ingrained dispositions that shape and influence their attitudes, perceptions, and, ultimately, their actions. Habitus is the system of various dispositions through which an individual judges, acts, and reacts to various circumstances and situations within society (Bourdieu, 1997/2000). Bourdieu (1977) defines habitus as "a system of lasting and transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks" (p. 95). One's habitus is formed and developed via lasting exposure to social conditions in which an individual internalizes the external constraints and possibilities of their social surroundings. Ultimately, then, in Bourdieu's larger theory of social reproduction, one's habitus is the impetus of reproduction, as an individual's deeply ingrained dispositions produce actions that result in the reproduction process. Within education, one's habitus influences student choices regarding, among other choices, their decision to attend college, or not; their choice of major; and their (non)use of academic libraries.

Fields are social arenas of practice and conflict in which habitus and the forms of capital interact. Originally devised as a concept to examine art and literature, Bourdieu later expanded the range of utilization to include all social arenas, for example, intellectual, scientific, academic, religious, and political fields (Bourdieu, 1993). The "academic library" is a specific, concrete example of a field and is the field of investigation in the present research. Unlike habitus, fields inform individual practice and action from the outside, in that they structure an individual's actions via the range of available possibilities. Furthermore, one's actions depend upon their position within a given field, in which one's capital distribution must be considered along with their habitus.

In this chapter, I analyze how participants' habitus affects their attitudes toward, and actions within, the field of academic libraries. As discussed in Chapter III, I will utilize Bourdieu's theoretical concepts as tools to understand participant experiences, specifically their attitudes, perceptions, and (non)use of academic libraries. As I will discuss, participants often talked about academic libraries as anxiety-inducing places. As this common thread emerged from the research, I will introduce Mellon's (1986) theory of library anxiety to supplement my use of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts in this chapter's analysis.

Academic Libraries: Fields of Anxiety

The primary research question driving this project was: How does family background, particularly parental educational attainment, and socioeconomic status facilitate perceptions, attitudes, and use of academic library resources and services among first-generation college students? The question is phrased in a way that focuses specifically on participants' status as first-generation college students, which is but one of many identities FGCS simultaneously hold. This research question establishes the foundation to explore how their first-generation status affects their attitudes toward, perceptions of, and, ultimately, use, of academic libraries. To reframe the question to explicitly align with Bourdieu's concepts, this research explores how an individual's possession and distribution of capital, in combination with their habitus, affects their attitudes toward, perceptions of, and actions within the field of academic libraries. My analysis in this chapter focuses on participants' discussion of affective factors that contribute to their attitudes and perceptions of academic libraries, which influences their level of engagement in physical academic library spaces, as well as their utilization of physical and digital resources. Participants' attitudes and perceptions (i.e., their habitus) not only impacts their (non)use of campus libraries, but they also affect one's choices and actions within these spaces.

This chapter is comprised of three sections. First, I introduce Constance Mellon's (1986) theory of library anxiety to situate my findings withing extant LIS scholarship. Mellon's theory is a useful correlate to Bourdieu's concepts considering the present study's findings. Utilizing Bourdieu's concepts allows me to contribute to existing LIS scholarship in new and enlightening ways.

After introducing Mellon's theory, I explore participants' experiences of academic libraries as a field of anxiety based upon their perceptions of physical academic library spaces, what I term anxiety by design. In section three, I examine experiences of participants that pertain to academic libraries as anxiety-producing spaces based upon what they do – and see other students doing – in academic libraries, what I term anxiety by association. Although fewer participants clearly indicated feelings anxiety toward or about academic library spaces, those that did discussed their feelings in greater depth and with significantly more emotion. In some cases, participants used explicit language to document their feelings of anxiety and apprehension within physical library spaces, while others – as the quotation from Smriti that opens this chapter demonstrates – spoke about their anxiety in veiled terms. In the former, the inductive, low-level coding I conducted sufficed as an analytical tool. In the later, I utilized meaning field and horizon analysis, which requires higher levels of inference, to construct the analytical narrative. I discuss the anxiety participants maintain vis-à-vis academic libraries first, as these perceived and actual feelings are a product of one's habitus, in some cases quite explicitly.

Academic libraries: Mellon's theory of library anxiety.

In both interviews and diaries, participants frequently mentioned feelings of "anxiety," "panic," and "stress" when talking about, or being present in, academic libraries. These similar emotions emerged from participants' relation of their perceptions or lived experiences within academic libraries. In many cases, participants identified concrete past experiences that continue

to taint their perceptions of not only physical library spaces, but, by extension, library resources and staff. In the following section, I focus specifically on participants' emotive attitudes and conceptions of physical library space as, interestingly, all participants in this research project immediately conceive of 'the library' as a physical place and describe their experiences within physical buildings. Only when prompted did participants consider academic libraries' virtual presence and resources as part of their conception of 'the library.' Given the abundance with which participants described academic libraries as anxiety-inducing spaces, and to assist with the framing of the analysis in this chapter, a brief description of Mellon's (1986) theory of library anxiety is appropriate.

Based upon qualitative data collected over a two-year period, during which 20 English composition instructors collected students' free writing related to their academic research processes, Mellon (1986) utilized grounded theory methodology, namely the constant comparative method, an identified most respondents (ca. 75%) described their initial response to the library in terms of fear or anxiety. Mellon attributed these feelings to four factors: library size; lack of knowledge about where things were located; how to begin; and what to do. Based upon her analysis, Mellon (1986) proposed that, "when confronted with the need to gather information in the library for their first research paper many students become so anxious that they are unable to approach the problem logically or effectively" (p. 163). While Mellon's theory is based upon students' initial affective and emotional responses to conducting library research for the first time, findings of the present study expand upon Mellon's work as I consider individuals of a specific group's (first-generation students) general perceptions of academic libraries and apply Bourdieu's theoretical concepts to students' experiences.

The anxiety participants reported fall into two categories: first, some participants associated their anxiety with components of the perceived and actual library space and secondly, participants more frequently associated campus libraries with anxiety or stress not because of anything inherent to the library, such as library size or layout, but rather to the things they do while in academic library. I will first discuss what I call anxiety by design, in which participants discuss physical aspects of libraries that cause anxiety. I will then discuss the much more common anxiety by association, in which participants discuss feeling anxious not because of inherent physical features, but rather the activities they do while in academic library spaces.

Anxiety by design: Students' perception of, and experience with, academic library spaces.

For some participants in this project, their initial experience with a campus library was overwhelming from a strictly physical perspective. Examining Lois's experiences, which represent common physical triggers of anxiety across participants, demonstrate how physical components of academic libraries can produce anxiety within students. Lois, a senior Biology major, was born in a "super small town, population like 1,000 people." When discussing her childhood, and the things she did for fun, unprompted, she talked about the library "a block away from our house. So we [she and her cousins] went there to, they kind of, like, have a play section in it, and it was just, like, a bunch of books that were about different cheat codes for video games and stuff." When discussing academic libraries, Lois, a frequent public library user from early childhood; however, talked about how she "almost never" uses academic libraries on campus, as she explained:

> Right, so, part of the reason why [I don't use academic libraries] is just because, like, I'm from a small school, so I was kind of used to everything being in, like, under one roof. So then having a library spread out, I would say [is] a lot more intimidating, just because of how big they are.

Despite being disposed to public and school libraries growing up and as an adolescent, Lois' transition to college, specifically her transition from her small school library to campus libraries,

represents the un-malleability of an individual's habitus, which functions "as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 82-83). As Lois' experiences demonstrate, her positive dispositions regarding public and school libraries did not transfer to academic libraries or, in Bourdieu's (1977) words, did not enable her "to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations" (p. 72). When exposed to new conditions, i.e., large, overwhelming, academic libraries, Lois' early socialization experiences that shaped her conception of what a library is, changed. As such, her internalized dispositions regarding what is possible, and is accepted behavior, in libraries shifted. Her habitus, which informs her current perceptions and practices, and which is based upon her earlier socialization of external structures in public and school libraries, perhaps struggled, or struggled to a certain degree, to re-internalize the conditions of much larger, overwhelming, academic library spaces. Significantly, Lois' experiences are not universal across all participants in the present study, as others were able to more readily cope with new situations upon entering college and experiencing academic libraries, a discussion of which follows later in this chapter, when exploring Catherine's ability to navigate new, unforeseen situations as she engages with campus libraries, as well as in the next chapter which explores what happens when the malleability of one's habitus is theoretically pushed to the extreme.

While Lois discussed feeling anxious in campus libraries because of their size, when asked to describe academic libraries in three words, Smriti, an Indian American, born in Milwaukee, but who grew up with her mother in Las Vegas, began by describing them as "really daunting." As she elaborated, the physical size of libraries contributed to her unease while in academic libraries; however, more specifically, Smriti referred to the items within large

academic libraries. In a somewhat remorseful tone, Smriti, a senior, said, "[Libraries] are also, like, full of resources. I know that there's a lot of stuff happening in libraries that I haven't utilized and I'm like, I wish I could have used years ago." She continues to say "It [library resources] kind of seems out of reach, you know? In a weird way." Smriti is a self-described public library user and an infrequent academic library user.

Again, as with Lois, Smriti infrequently utilizes academic libraries and their resources, despite her being "in love with the idea [of libraries]. You can just, like, go there and be and that's okay. I like that. I really like that." Smriti's infrequent academic library use may stem from her fear of the unknown, demonstrated in both the quote that opens this chapter, and her discussion of not knowing about the vast array of library resources. Her transition into academic libraries disrupted her early socialization into public libraries in Milwaukee and Las Vegas. Via Smriti's more specific discussion of the overwhelming nature of academic library resources, opposed to Lois' more general comments about library size, a more clearly delineated disruption of habitus is present, and requires less inference to make a claim about said disruption. Her public library use as a kid revolved around YouTube, "I would go there [public library] probably, like, that was when YouTube was really new, so I feel like I went to the library to explore YouTube." After moving to Las Vegas, her public library use changed, but not so drastically as to alter her dispositions toward them: "In Vegas, I live in, like, a [pause], we are not wealthy by any means. But we live in a more affluent area. So the libraries are really nice. So, yeah, I spent time in the summer just because I have a lot of work over the summer, so I go there to study." Smriti's disposition toward public libraries, stemming from her childhood and early socialization of the actions acceptable in public libraries, and the acceptable uses of public libraries, was compatible with her newfound utilization of public libraries as a "nice" place in

which she could be productive. On the other hand, the unfamiliar resources, which causes a fear that Smriti says keeps them out of reach, of academic libraries does not conform to her deeply ingrained dispositions. While public libraries can be places of entertainment and leisure, while also being places of productivity, Smriti's only socialization of academic libraries centers her anxiety of those spaces. Bourdieu (1977) discusses how one's habitus emerges via practical socialization, meaning individuals measure the likelihood of success of a given action in a given situation and incorporates factors from various inputs (e.g., background, class, socioeconomic status, education) to determine how we act and respond in various fields. For Smriti, her anxiety and fear, based upon my analysis informed by Mellon's (1986) theory and Bourdieu's theoretical concepts, dominate her perceptions of academic libraries, thereby limiting the expansion of her dispositions toward the field of public libraries to the field of academic libraries.

Examining Smriti's perceptions and experiences of both public and academic libraries via Bourdieu's concept of habitus emphasizes the complexities and nuances of this concept and potentially exposes Bourdieu's theory of habitus as too rigid of a concept. As mentioned, Bourdieu claims that one's habitus "integrat[es] past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 82-83) that enables "agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72). Smriti loves libraries, or, more specifically, loves her memories of public libraries from her childhood. Upon entering college, her introduction to academic libraries did not match her previous experience and expectations of what a library is and how it can be used. Her feelings of anxiety regarding campus libraries dominate her more ingrained dispositions toward public libraries, thereby limiting her expansion of positive public library dispositions to the academic library. As I discuss in Chapter VI,

Smriti's inability to integrate the academic library into her habitus, or, as I will argue, create a separate set of academic library dispositions – a separate habitus – is not universal or representative of other participants.

In addition to describing academic libraries as overwhelming spaces from a physical perspective, two participants, Richard and Zinxin, discussed feeling overwhelmed in a more abstract way. Richard, a fifth-year senior majoring in Genetics and History discussed his feelings of "respect" and that he "feel[s] like it's too much information in one spot, like I wouldn't be able to tackle everything." Zixin, a first-year graduate student from China studying Finance and Economics summarized his feelings of the academic library as follows:

> I like the heavy feeling of all the books, not like the actual meaning that the book is like, how many pounds or how many kilograms. Those [books] are history, the written words from the past, people, our ancestors, and we have – I don't know – hundreds of thousands or even millions of books here on this campus. So, I think that is something to cherish. And the library is the place that can accumulate all that stuff.

That Zixin developed such an appreciation for academic libraries is grounded in his previous experience, or lack thereof, with public libraries in China. Zixin was a very infrequent public library user, "I would say less than 10 times for, for my whole lifetime." He attributed his infrequent public library use to external factors, such as underfunding of the local Chinese public libraries in the area of Southwest China in which he grew up. Contrarily, Zixin would have liked to use libraries more, which explains his frequent academic library use, because of his self-motivation to learn, in addition to the pressure he feels from his parents, as an only child, to succeed and support them in the future. Utilizing Bourdieu's concept of habitus, without dispositions toward libraries of any kind prior to attending university, first in China, then in the United States, Zixin was able to craft his dispositions within strict parameters of academic libraries, which explains his recent anecdote about using a Chinese public library on a visit in 2021:

> So, last summer, I was, I went back home. Like I mentioned before, our library [pause], it got renovated in the years since I left. The only time I was there, twice, I went to the library to study. I brought my own books and my own material. All I needed was the space. So, pretty much the same purpose that I go to [academic] library here.

Because of Zixin's library dispositions having been formed within the parameters of acceptable actions and behaviors within academic library spaces – because he was socialized into the field of academic libraries – it is as if Zixin transferred his socially acceptable actions to the adjacent field of public libraries to utilize that space to fulfill his needs.

Anxiety by association: Students' use of academic library spaces.

All participants in this project are self-reported library users, although their level of engagement and use varied greatly with some participants indicating they go to a campus library as infrequently as once each semester, while others indicated they are in a campus library several times per week. Perhaps unsurprisingly, participants who reported frequent library use also reported being more comfortable; however, this was not always the case. Alberto, a Mexican American junior Personal Finance major described campus libraries as a "kind of safe space." Shihan, a Chinese first-year Ph.D. student, reported visiting the library very often and sometimes would, "just go to the library and relax." On the other hand, Catherine, a junior Nursing major, who also indicated frequent library use, described feeling "panicked" and described campus libraries as "stressful". What can account for these differing opinions from two frequent library users? Generally, context matters and the reasons students go to academic libraries, and the activities they do within them, affect their emotive conceptions of these spaces. On one hand, context matters in relation to Bourdieu's concept of field and how students perceive academic library spaces. Not only do students perceive individual academic libraries in certain ways, and even describe campus libraries in terms of their perceptions of them, e.g., Undergrad Library is more relaxed and receptive to loud group work, while Monumental Library is for quiet, individual study. On the other hand, context matters in relation to one's unique habitus. For

example, Alberto's familial upbringing fostered within him a drive and desire to succeed academically to honor and repay his parents for the sacrifices they made that allowed him to pursue higher education. In this case, the determined attitude Alberto possesses contributes to actions that more readily influence his decisions to utilize academic library resources despite no prior dispositions toward libraries of any kind; if anything, his previous experiences would dispose him *against* using academic libraries.

Alberto, who was born and raised in Chicago and moved for the first time to attend university, discussed his feelings of comfort during his frequent utilization of academic library spaces:

> So, I think now I have the opportunity to do so [work in libraries], so it's kind of a safe space; libraries are a safe space to do work…I can just take my laptop, notebook, and a pencil and spend a good four or five hours in the library. If I was somewhere else, like my apartment, I have to worry about other people's noise so I can just go to the library with just the sole purpose of doing work.

Alberto acknowledged it took time for him to access campus libraries, as his previous library usage was limited. There was no local public library in his neighborhood until he was a teenager and his high school library was often "used for detention," the latter of which demonstrates the complex interaction of field and habitus, in this case particularly field *on* habitus. In one of many analogies, a field can be conceived of as a "space of play which exists as such only to the extent that players enter into it who believe in and actively pursue the prizes it offers" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 19). Alberto, although not disposed to use academic libraries, let alone feel so comfortable operating within their spaces, came to utilize academic libraries to assist in the achievement of his goals and ambitions, a demonstration of the nature of the habitus which, much like Dickens' three spirits of Christmas Past, Present, and Yet to Come, is composed of past experiences, present conditions, and future aspirations. The habitus, as the "strategy-generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations"

(Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72) produces practices that are informed by previous experience to meet one's needs in the present, while considering the consequences of said practices in the future. A discussion of Alberto's utilization and comfort within academic library spaces, despite not possessing a disposition toward them, follows in Chapter VI; here it is sufficient to state that Alberto is a negative case – a case inconsistent with general experiences of most other participants – and which I will next explain the lack of fit.

In addition to being a first-generation college student, Alberto is also a 1.5-generation[6] Mexican American. Discussing the complexities of immigration, ethnicity, and identity all lie outside the scope of this research. However, evidence Alberto disclosed provides insight into the effects of his upbringing and demonstrates how "actors can always draw upon a variety of cultural material when they act" (Carspecken, 1996, p. 141). In Alberto's case, his unique circumstances in relation to most other participants [Chloe (Lao American) and Kalpana (Indian American) are the other second-generation citizens] contribute to the discrepancy between his relative lack of library usage as a child and adolescent and his frequent, and more significantly, level of comfort while utilizing, academic libraries as a college student. While all participants discussed their familial relationships, with most indicating the importance of these relationships, Alberto was among the most profusive in describing his relationships, not just with his immediate family, but his extended family as well. For example:

> My dad's been in the restaurant business for his entire life pretty much. He's been working like 70-80 hours a week for the past 15-20 years, and then he's been working more since I got into college to be able to, like, he would always say I work harder so I can give you food if you need it. So, like, if I have an exam, I'll tell them, like my exams are [occurring] and he'll be like, since you have an exam, go get Chipotle, get, like, some outside food. So, I really appreciate that.

[6] I use the term 1.5-generation to refer to the first generation born in the United States.

Parental/guardian sacrifice was a common theme across participants, but, as illustrated Alberto's discussion of his father's sacrifice, and more importantly, his recognition and appreciation of what his family has done to contribute to his success, is more detailed, explicit, and avowed. Furthermore, Alberto's discussion of his decision to major in Personal Finance stems from his past experiences, in which he explained how he would "always help people fill out any sort of application…applications for jobs, for government aid, anything, so I've always wanted to see money to buy a house, which I'm currently doing with the help of my uncle." Inferring from the two passages, Alberto is clearly connected to members of his immediate and extended family and is invested on emotional and financial levels with them. Additionally, during my in-person interview with Alberto, he struck me as exceptionally mature and pragmatic, the type of person who is determined to achieve their goals. As such, when considering his strong family connections, temperament, and demeanor, it is less surprising that, as an infrequent public or school library user, Alberto would, after a period of adjustment to collegiate life, utilize any and all resources to achieve academic success, including making frequent use of academic libraries. Additionally, contrary to the upcoming discussion regarding differing perceptions of public and academic libraries, Alberto's relative lack of public library use also explains how he is able to associate academic libraries as both "kind of a safe space" and "a safe place to do work." Unlike other participants, who possess positive dispositions toward public and/or school libraries, Alberto's association, based upon my analysis, stems from his *lack* of a library habitus which, along with his aforementioned traits, may equip him to readily use academic library spaces and resources.

For Shihan, sometimes the library is a relaxing place where she can explore the shelves and make serendipitous discoveries, such as when she described "meeting" Paulo Freire:

> I stumbled upon Paulo Freire, actually, in the library. I didn't plan to read about him but that…just this thin, tiny book called *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, like, caught my eye, like, 'Oh, I love this catch[y] title!' And I, this thing is small. I feel like maybe I can read it over the summer. So I borrowed it. And I was so in love with the ideas in that book. I feel like, okay, education is an investment. Emancipation is…that's the alternative!

In moments like the one Shihan described above, a visit to a campus library can serve as a cathartic, transformation moment. With the freedom to explore shelves of books at will, Shihan described a memorable, exceptional experience in which she created "a really special bond" with a book, and she continues to further enhance the momentous experience discussing how libraries are a place that facilitates building "on that [special bond]. You can find your voice through other people's voices too."

Such a positive, transformative, moment for Shihan in an academic library has roots in her past stemming from her childhood in Jiangsu province. Growing up in the city of Suzhou, and spending time during the summers with her grandparents in small rural villages, Shihan, among other things, enjoyed reading as a child. Because of her parents' educational attainment – her father did not attend school after finishing primary school and her mother attended school through grade nine – they were not academically inclined, nor were they strong readers. As a self-described introvert, and an only child up to age 15, Shihan described how she could "take joy in just reading stuff!" Although Shihan did not regularly visit public libraries as a child, due to her urban upbringing, she was a frequent visitor of a bookstore where she would ask to be dropped off by her parents while they went to the adjacent mall to shop.

Shihan's ability to enjoy, relax, and view academic libraries as a type of "haven" are rooted in her childhood experiences. Although her parents did not explicitly promote or encourage Shihan to read at a young age, they both held aspirations for her to attend college and receive a good education: "since entering kindergarten, and then primary school, then middle school, high school, everything lead toward this goal [attending university]. So, it's like my

parents will say ‘Just focus on your schoolwork. Don’t worry about anything else!’” From an early age, Shihan was disposed to reading and learning with the ultimate goal being her admission to university. Despite her parents’ disinclination toward reading and their relatively limited educational experiences, they actively contributed to Shihan’s dispositions toward reading, learning, education, and affection of libraries. Developed from an early age, these dispositions – Shihan’s habitus – inform her current affective relationship with academic libraries, which allow her to feel comfortable, relaxed even, in these spaces. As discussed earlier in the case of Alberto, field can act *on* habitus when these concepts intersect. In this case, Shihan’s experience demonstrates how one’s habitus can act *on* a field. Her disposition toward public libraries, developed from past experiences during her formative years produces practices that suit her current situation as a graduate student who frequently utilizes campus libraries, which is a clear demonstration of her past influencing her present.

Despite her disposition toward libraries, which allow her to describe academic libraries as a “haven” or “shelter,” Shihan used the terms “pressure” and “anxiety” to describe her perception of others with whom she co-occupies academic library space. “You can just feel the anxiety, like people are really pressured to cram, especially during midterm or final season,” she says. As Shihan eruditely expresses, it is not necessarily the physical environment of academic libraries that cause anxiety, rather it is what students do in academic libraries that produce such intense feelings and emotions.

Academic libraries, as a field, a social arena in which habitus and the forms of capital interact, are physical spaces in which individuals coinhabit and coexist. Bourdieu’s conception of field considers practices of individual agents and how their habitus governs the ways in which they inhabit a given social space, the interaction among individuals provides additional

complexity, which Shihan astutely described during her member check of my analysis.[7] Based in the personal, Shihan commented on the fact that she can "choose what I want to read, instead of simply following what teachers instruct me to read. There's a spirit of rebellion there. That could explain why I feel sorry sometimes for students who are stressed in libraries. I think libraries have so much to offer." Here Shihan makes claims about herself and others about what a campus library can and should be. In these claims, she also speaks directly to the functioning of fields according to Bourdieu, who, regarding a field, states

> the field, as a structure of objective relations between positions of force undergirds and guides the strategies whereby the occupants of these positions seek, individually or collectively, to safeguard or improve their position and to impose the principle of hierarchization most favorable to their own products (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 101).

Shihan's comments underline the complexities of a field analysis. As she indicates, and Bourdieu emphasizes, fields are comprised of individuals who occupy a social space for various purposes, Shihan more altruistically spends time in academic libraries for, on occasion, purely personal benefit – to read what she wants to read – but also simultaneously in a way that increases her cultural capital. Shihan views how others use academic libraries in a way that more aligns with Bourdieu's battlefield analogy of a field as a space of conflict and competition. As mentioned, students who she identifies as feeling "pressured to cram" are using academic libraries to, in Bourdieu's words, utilize academic libraries in ways that are "most favorable to their own products." Their actions can be explained as being produced by a habitus that is situated in the present and utilizing the field of academic libraries as a resource to enhance their capital composition and possession to produce tangible outcomes for their future selves (e.g., college degree and economic capital). The complexity is introduced in Shihan's own use of academic

[7] During the member check process, Shihan added additional clarification regarding her feelings of, and within, academic libraries.

libraries, in which she reads for personal benefit and enjoyment, implying that an increase in her cultural capital is not the primary goal. However, strictly adhering to Bourdieu's interactive concepts, an increase in cultural capital manifests in an increase in economic capital. While she does not admit it, or perhaps is not aware, certain activities, such as reading for fun in an academic library, can produce tangible future outcomes, just as for those who are feel anxious and under pressure when in academic library spaces.

Like Shihan, Catherine, a junior Nursing major, has similar experiences of libraries from her childhood:

> There was, it was a preschool teacher. She always encouraged us to read and stuff. She had us do, like, all the summer reading programs and stuff. But the libraries are [part of that], so, yeah, I liked to read and read for fun a lot.

Born and raised in a small town in east-central Wisconsin, Catherine was an active child, the oldest of three kids, whose parents encouraged her to participate in a variety of sports and other physical activities. While her parents were not as active in contributing to Catherine's disposition toward books, reading, and libraries as were Shihan's, she has fond memories from early childhood of using her town's public library as part of the summer reading programs she remembers from preschool. As a frequent public library user throughout her formative years, and extending into middle and high school, Catherine, like many participants, holds fond memories of public libraries, but holds, at best, neutral sentiments toward academic libraries, or at worst, as is frequently the case among participants in the present study, described her feelings regarding academic libraries in adverse or unfavorable terms. In describing Catherine's experiences in detail, I utilize her recollections as representative of the general consensus across participants who frequently used public and/or school libraries, but who are infrequent or non-users of academic library spaces and resources. Catherine explicitly described a common conception many participants voiced, that of holding vastly different conceptions of public and academic

libraries, the former held in high regard and discussed in positive terms, the later discussed as anxiety-inducing spaces:

> I think, growing up, when you go to the [public] library, it's just like, you get your book and you read it at home, then bring in back the next week or whatever…But then, like, in college, I guess the meaning of library kind of changes because then that's where you spend a lot of your time. Maybe not so much reading for fun, but, like, reading because you have to and finding stuff for your school [work].

For Catherine and many other participants, public libraries are frequently associated with childhood memories, often positive. Public libraries are fun and welcoming places and their conceptualized purpose is to promote leisure, enjoyment, and recreational use. Contrarily, academic libraries are commonly conceived as serious places for work and study within which one should be productive. As discussed, Alberto shares this conception specific to academic libraries. Catherine aptly described her experiences, which represent general consensus of study participants:

> I think I usually feel, I usually go to the [academic] libraries, like, if I really need to cram something out or finish something or just want to do a really good job on something. That's usually what I go to the [academic] libraries for. And then once I'm there I feel like if I wasn't a little, like, panicked about whatever it is [I'm working on], you know…there's some stressful times.

Despite Catherine's frequent use of, and disposition toward, public libraries from early childhood, and having positive memories and conceptions of that particular type of library, her uses of academic libraries, which differ from her use of public libraries, shape her conceptions of academic libraries as "stressful" spaces. I argue that the ways in which Catherine has come to use academic libraries demonstrates the malleability of an individual's habitus. Positively disposed toward public libraries, and comfortable using them to find books for fun and leisure reading, her use of academic libraries to "cram," "finish something," or "do a really good job on something" produced a shift in her attitudes toward, and perceptions of, academic libraries. Catherine's experience counters that of Lois, who did not adapt to situations she encountered in

academic libraries that contradict her earlier experience. At the same time, Catherine incorporated these unforeseen and ever-changing situations into her existing habitus, whereas, as I discuss in the following chapter, other participants seemed to develop an entirely different set of dispositions toward academic libraries and come to possess what I term a dual habitus.

Again, I utilize Catherine's experience as a vignette because they summarize and model commonalities across participants in the present study regarding the vastly different conceptions of public and academic libraries. Using her story as an illustrative example also demonstrates how shifts can occur over time in one's habitus when an individual is confronted with new situations and information. What Catherine's story does not illustrate, however, is the variety in perception and use of different academic libraries that comprise the general library system of the university at which participants in the present study attend. Chloe's story is an illustrative example which demonstrates this complexity.

> Not too sure why I am at Undergrad[8], knowing how it has made me feel in the past. I think I am trying to overcome that feeling, I'm studying with a few friends and so far so good. I haven't been here for too long though so we'll see![9]
>
> Experiencing, for the first time in Monumental Library, major anxiety. Maybe it's because the only other people in this room are a homeless guy sleeping and a medical student studying for his STEP1 exam – on top of that, this essay is due in less than 12 hours and I have only gotten evidence down. Maybe I am just not vibing with my outfit today (I'm going to donate this shirt maybe). This is gonna be a long night.

Chloe, a Hmong American junior genetics major, wrote the above as part of a diary she kept documenting her use and feelings of campus libraries as part of this research project. The general library system of the university at which this project took place consists of member 12 libraries,

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[8] Names of campus libraries have been anonymized.

[9] During the member check, Chloe indicated that they remember this diary entry and said the following: "When I used to study at Undergrad Library, after a few hours, I would get a lot of anxiety all at once, but it's the main place people go to study together. With my friends, I also wanted to see how long I could stay before the anxiety hit. I remember at one point I did leave them because it did."

two professional libraries, an historical society, and several special purpose libraries. Informally, students generally hold differing conceptions of different libraries, which participants in this project confirmed. Chloe speaks directly to these differing conceptions:

> Of course, like the two main libraries are Undergrad Library and Monumental Library. So, Monumental Library has always been my go-to because it's quiet and silent. And that's how I like to work. I don't go to Undergrad Library anymore because whenever I go there [laughs] I feel a lot of anxiety, a lot of anxiety to the point where I feel like I'm running and I can't focus. I just have a fear. I just don't go there anymore![10]

Different libraries on campus have their own environment, or culture, which Smriti references in the quotation that opens this chapter. Among students in general, and participants in this study, Monumental Library is perceived as the library in which serious work and study takes place. Like Chloe says, this is the library that is "quiet" and "silent," which is conducive to productivity. However, Chloe points out, even in spaces with explicit rules in place, that these rules are not always followed:

> For serious assignments, I do not prefer to study with music, white noise, or even chatter. The **most** frustrating part about studying at Monumental Library, and probably on my TOP 3 pet peeves of all time is people who chat (or even whisper chat and think they're quiet) in silent study areas. It makes me angry and trying to give 'glances' never work. So, I set a timer. If after 20-30 minutes (which is a long time to tolerate while studying), they still chatter in the silent area, I kindly ask them to stop or pack up and leave.

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[10] From the member check: My note on this: Honestly, I sometimes avoid studying in some library places simply because there's a lot of white students. I know I'm probably not the only POC who does this, but I every so often before studying, I scan the room to measure the diversity. Sometimes, settings with mostly white students empower me to stand my ground and make space for myself as a POC, but other times, it feels unsettling to sit in those spaces. For this reason, I rarely study at the Wisconsin Historical Society in particular, even though the inside is beautiful and quiet, it's often packed with white students. When I started studying at the Multicultural Student Center towards the end of junior year, I realized I had been missing out on study spaces that felt safer and recognized me for who I was (not sure if that's the right way to express it).

Chloe's comment submitted as she reviewed her initial interview comments is undeniably powerful. As mentioned in the limitations section of Chapter IV, this dissertation focuses specifically on the first-generation aspect of student identity. This research acknowledges the complexity and recognizes there are multiple components of identity that contribute to how college students navigate campus environments. As stated, this project is not an intersectional one and, as such, I have chosen to not analyze in detail the multiple aspects of identity that affect all students.

As Chloe and Smriti indicate, students' use of campus libraries differs based upon their perception of a specific library's culture. Unlike Monumental Library, Undergrad Library, on the other hand, has a reputation among students for having a more laid-back culture in which being loud is more openly tolerated. As Chloe discussed, many students go to Undergrad Library with their friends to study in groups or individually among friends, a feeling common among study participants.

As discussed, Catherine's disposition toward academic libraries stems from her childhood, in which she was a frequent public library user. Like Catherine, Chloe is a frequent academic library user; however, unlike Catherine, Chloe does not have fond memories or a life-long history of public library usage that would dispose her to academic library use.

Chloe was born in Milwaukee to Hmong parents. While her parents cared deeply about her education – Chloe described attending a "whitewashed" high school on the insistence of her father because of his skepticism of Milwaukee Public Schools – she emotionally, through tears, recounted wanting to go to the local public library as a child, but not doing so:

> I was trying to read any books I could find in the house. When I read all them, not saying there was very many, I wanted to go to the library but I never could because, I think [pause], I think, umm [pause], I always felt like a burden when I asked my parents to take me. So, yeah, I just never went.

Similar to Alberto's situation, Chloe, although not by choice, was not a public library user; however, she is a frequent academic library user. I utilize Chloe's experiences to represent participants who did not use public libraries even though they would have liked to have done so, which is different from not-public library users who did not utilize public libraries by choice. As she discussed in her interview and via her diary, Chloe has perceptions of campus libraries, clear preferences for library space, and expectations about herself in relation to libraries. While Chloe was not disposed to libraries as a child, she associates academic libraries with work and being

productive, and as places to get things done, as she explained, “I use the libraries [on campus] as much as I can because that’s really like the only place I can focus…I think when I need to focus the most and am doing high priority things, I do them at the library.” Like many participants, Chloe’s association of academic libraries as sites of production, as physical spaces to which one goes to work, study, and get things done, produce anxiety and apprehension. In addition to participants associating academic libraries as sites of production, some participants explicitly demarcated perceptions and actions associated with public libraries from those associated with academic libraries. Kalpana, an Indian American junior Psychology major, astutely described this common theme.

“Cozy, independent, and adventure.” Those are the three words Kalpana, born in the United States to Indian immigrants, used to describe a public library. Growing up in Milwaukee, when not studying or playing in the parking lot of the motel her parents operated, Kalpana spent time at the local Milwaukee Public Library branch near their house, which suited her well, as Kalpana is a self-described avid reader. The local public library branch contributed to this hobby, “My mom would take me to the library to, like, read books. And she encouraged me.” Kalpana’s early socialization experiences structured her dispositions toward reading, public libraries, and what actions and practices correspond to the public library field. At that time, and with the support of her mother in particular, Kalpana’s early socialization fostered specific perceptions and attitudes regarding public libraries: as places she associated with her mother and in which she spent time reading, a favorite hobby, away from home. Her use of public libraries was “mostly recreational.” Furthermore, as a rather introverted child, the public library was a place where “you’re lonely, but you’re not alone because you’re there to do your own thing. But you’re also surrounded by people also doing their own thing. So, as an introvert, I love that

environment." Kalpana's socialization experiences meshed with her personality to create a strong, enduring set of dispositions toward public libraries.

When asked to describe an academic library using three words, Kalpana responded "busy, studious, and grueling." Like other participants, Kalpana's experiences with campus libraries challenged their perceptions and conceptions of *library*. This is clear in Kalpana's discussion of her first impressions of campus libraries "I see, like, libraries here [on campus] when I go to them, I always see students more studying rather than reading for their own, like, recreation or, like, for fun." As a junior, Kalpana socialized her early experiences within academic libraries based upon what she saw others doing within this field, which is different from her experiences in public libraries. It is as if Kalpana, a frequent academic library user, compartmentalized her past disposition toward public libraries and developed a simultaneous disposition toward academic libraries. Unlike Smriti, who was unable to create new dispositions toward academic libraries, Kalpana's development of this dual disposition benefited her as she transitioned to college, and to academic libraries specifically. Considering habitus malleability is a prime example of the necessity to incorporate Bourdieu's full theoretical apparatus, as opposed to utilizing his concepts in isolation. In this case, I argue that Kalpana's personality, in combination with her socialization into public libraries, contributed to making her more amenable to change and incorporation of new dispositions toward academic libraries, as she used public libraries and academic libraries in similar ways and, significantly, saw *others* using academic libraries in a certain way (i.e., for studying). Additionally, I also argue her cultural capital played a significant role because, as a child, she recalled her family's experience, as immigrants, in terms of "surviving in America." I inferred from her interview data that she felt a need to repay her parents for their emotional support and economic sacrifices by succeeding in

college. For this reason, I argue that her habitus and capital possession combined in the field of higher education, and more specifically academic libraries, which demonstrates the theoretical necessity to conduct analysis using all of Bourdieu's concepts. Based upon her conditions, Kalpana was not averse to common challenges of collegiate life, namely the pressure to succeed academically. For Kalpana, her association of academic libraries with schoolwork, which produces stress and anxiety, by association making academic libraries anxiety and stress-inducing spaces, did make campus libraries overwhelming for her, yet there is nothing inherent about campus libraries that make her anxious. To overcome this challenge, Kalpana discussed a simple, yet effective coping strategy:

> I used to not go to the library because it kind of gave me anxiety because I know when I go there, I have, like, a bunch of work to do so I feel overwhelmed with, like the amount of work I have to do. But I found a way to mitigate that is to, like, make a list of things that I want to get done at the library and then execute that there.

For many participants, there is nothing inherent about academic libraries that are anxiety-producing, rather it is one's perceptions and actions within these spaces that cause anxiety.

In this section, I discussed the experiences, perceptions, and actions of participants who documented their feelings of "anxiety," "panic," and "stress" regarding academic libraries. This analysis, based upon participants' disclosure in interviews and, in some cases, participant produced diaries, explored two emergent themes: participants whose feelings emanated from aspects of the library itself (e.g., Lois' anxiety regarding library size) and participants whose anxiety I termed anxiety by association. In the latter case, participants feel anxious, panicked, and stressed in academic libraries not because of inherent characteristics of these spaces, rather these feelings develop as a consequence of the activities one does within academic libraries. More specifically, these feelings derive from their association of activities (e.g., study, work, cram for exams) conducted in academic libraries, associations and actions which themselves

stem from one's habitus, their internalized dispositions of what is acceptable and proper behavior in the field of academic libraries. While it may seem applicable to associate participants whose anxiety stems from physical aspects of academic libraries with Bourdieu's concept of field, doing so does not appropriately engage this concept. Fields are not merely physical spaces, rather they are social arenas that, although they necessitate a physical place, also include an individual's habitus (and all that goes into its formation) that influences their actions and practices based upon one's perception of the range of possibilities fields offer them. The next section will explore the interaction of field and habitus via examination of participants whose absence of early dispositions toward public libraries actually influenced their feelings about academic libraries in a positive manner: rather than harbor feelings of anxiety, apprehension, and fear, some participants discussed feeling "comfortable" and "safe."

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I explored how the presence or absence of early socialization within the field of public libraries contributes to an individual's attitudes, perceptions, and, ultimately, governs their actions within the field academic libraries. I discussed the two primary emergent themes regarding anxiety and academic libraries. Mellon's (1986) theory of library anxiety was a helpful tool to support my discussion of participants who reported feeling anxious about, or when using, academic libraries. While Mellon's theory identified students' emotive relationship to academic libraries, her work does not explore the social complexities that contribute to stated feelings of anxiety toward academic libraries. My intervention, via the application of Bourdieu's concept of habitus, provides one explanation as to the social factors that contribute to students' attitudes toward, and perceptions of, academic library spaces. In the next chapter, I further examine Bourdieu's concept of habitus in relation to the fields of public and academic libraries and explore the possibility of an individual developing multiple habitus.

Chapter VI: Analysis II – Developing a Dual Habitus

This chapter is divided into two sections. First, in contrast to students' perceptions of academic libraries as sites of anxiety, I present participants' experiences of academic libraries as productive, welcoming, even comfortable, spaces, what I term fields of assurance. In this section, I explore participants that did not mention feeling anxious or nervous when discussing academic libraries, or their actual academic library use. This analysis was especially fruitful, as it emerged that some frequent academic library users had little or no previous academic library use. Interestingly, there was not a link between early public library use and current academic library use, indicating the complexities inherent in attempts to understand social behavior and actions. Furthermore, participants who did not, or infrequently, utilized public libraries growing up, were less likely to disclose feelings of anxiety toward academic libraries. For these participants, they do not have to confront their existing dispositions and, therefore, can avoid what I call a dual habitus: one that includes dispositions toward public libraries and separate dispositions toward academic libraries. Some participants, like Richard, surmounted their feelings of anxiety – which is the subject of Chapter VII – as a result of acute life events, personal circumstances, and one's possession and composition of capital in all forms.

In section two, following Bourdieu's (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) recommendation, I analyze participants' objective positions within academic libraries, i.e., field, and that of their stances, i.e., habitus, because "the field of positions is methodologically inseparable from the field of stances" (p. 105). In this section I depart slightly from the participant-centered analysis as I discuss system-level and field analysis. Although I begin this section examining the ways in which participants internalized, or not, their early socialization experiences within libraries as children, and how this internalization manifested in their perceptions, attitudes, and utilization of academic libraries, this section ultimately centers the field – "a network, or a configuration, of

objective relations between positions" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97) – of academic libraries.

Academic libraries: Fields of Assurance

While many participants openly and genuinely discussed their feelings of anxiety regarding their attitudes and perceptions of, and feelings within, academic libraries, this reaction was not universal. Some participants did not strongly disclose their emotive state regarding academic libraries as exceptionally anxiety-inducing spaces, nor did they indicate feelings of comfort or repose. In this section, I discuss participant sentiments toward academic libraries as sites of assurance. Interestingly, participants who self-identified as infrequent public library users tended to feel more comfortable in academic libraries and did not disclose feelings of anxiety when discussing how they feel in these spaces (see Table 6.1).

Participant	Public library use (Y/N)	Academic library use	Reported anxiety regarding academic libraries
Catherine	Y	Frequent	Y (association)
Kalpana	Y	Frequent	Y (association)
Lana	Y	Frequent	Y
Chloe	N	Frequent	Y
Lois	Y	Infrequent	Y (physical)
Smriti	Y	Infrequent	Y
Charlotte	Y	Infrequent	Y
Shihan	Y	Frequent	N
Richard	Y (as adult)	Frequent	N
Alberto	N	Frequent	N
Jian	N	Frequent	N
Karthik	N	Frequent	N
Qing	N	Frequent	N
Hilda	Y	Frequent	N
Zixin	N	Frequent	N
Rebekah	Y	Frequent	N

Table 6.1: Relationship among public library use, academic library use, and anxiety

A dual habitus?: Dispositions of public and academic libraries.

The analysis of this emergent theme, and the findings I present, are the most speculative, as they require the highest level of inference and represent the point at which I was the farthest removed from participants' own words. It is also the point at which my application of Bourdieu's concepts was the most heavy-handed. For these reasons – my application of Carspecken's (1996) reconstructive horizon analysis and my imposition of Bourdieusian terms via deductive coding – make the findings in this section especially speculative. The participants with little or no experience of using public libraries in their childhood did not possess dispositions which would predispose them to utilize academic libraries as college students. In this case, however, the absence of a habitus that includes early socialization into the field of public libraries, contributes, and perhaps even encourages, the development of dispositions toward academic libraries.

To explore this line of thought, let's examine the experiences of Charlotte, a first-year student yet to select a major (although she is considering English), who spoke profusely about her love of reading from an early age:

> So, funny story. When I was like four-and-a-half, I accidently locked my dad in the basement when my mom was gone and he couldn't get out. And the way he kept me satiated while we were waiting for my mom to get back was he had me slide books underneath the door, and then he just read to me through the door, and I didn't move for like, three hours!

In addition to the above anecdote, Charlotte also talked about her "love" of libraries, both public and school libraries, as well as her love of reading. Clearly, from an early age, Charlotte was disposed to libraries, books, and reading, with her family and school experiences contributing to these deeply ingrained dispositions. Just as clearly, her dispositions continue to inform her perceptions and attitudes toward libraries as a college student. When asked to describe libraries using three words, the first word Charlotte chose was "books," as she explains:

> Well, I say books because a lot of times, like, the libraries that I went to at school or at the public library, I'd go there for the books because I wanted to check out the books. I wanted to read the books. I wanted to learn more and that was my access to it [learning] was books.

Charlotte's dispositions toward libraries, her early socialization into actions that are possible in those spaces, has not changed. As a first-year student, Charlotte mentioned her surprise at having hardly ever used academic libraries during her first semester on campus. Like Kalpana, who relied on her first impressions of campus libraries to develop a dual habitus to accommodate her differing conceptions of public and academic libraries, Charlotte attributes her infrequent use of academic libraries to what she sees others doing in those spaces on the occasions she inhabits those physical spaces:

> I just haven't been [to a campus library] a lot of times with studying and stuff. Like, there's so many people here that, like, I'll go and there's a ton of people. I'm like, 'Oh God, what if, I like, accidently make a lot of noise or something? I just haven't really checked out the library very much. I'll just study in my room. But, I guess, I just haven't gone to the library as much, which is really weird because I thought I would, but I guess I haven't.

Unlike Kalpana, a junior, Charlotte has not yet – as her use, or lack thereof, of academic libraries – altered her existing dispositions, nor has she developed a dual habitus to accommodate her new experiences of what are possible actions and acceptable behavior in academic libraries. While Charlotte did not explicitly talk about her past and present library experiences in terms of dispositions and habitus, her actions demonstrate how she has yet to adjust to her encounters with, and perceptions of, the field of academic libraries.

Unlike Charlotte, participants who do not possess such deeply ingrained dispositions toward public libraries are more easily able to utilize academic libraries, particularly for the pursuit of academic goals which, ultimately, can produce tangible future outcomes via their achievement of a college degree, i.e., obtain more economic capital. They do not have a lifetime of experiences that govern their expectations, attitudes, and perceptions regarding academic

libraries that may conflict with their existing expectations, attitudes, and perceptions of public libraries. Not being socialized into the field of public libraries makes their entrance into, and ultimately their composure within, the adjacent field of academic libraries, and the socialization into said field, a demonstrably more manageable task. Perhaps counterintuitively, early socialization to public and/or school libraries, whether positive or negative, may contribute to socialization to academic libraries as college students. For students without existing habitus that includes dispositions toward libraries, they do not have to 'unlearn' all they know and associate with libraries before encountering academic libraries for the first time.

While some scholars have criticized Bourdieu's sociology of being deterministic (Jenkins, 1982), others (Karabel & Halsey, 1977) place him within the structuralist tradition based upon the influence of Weber and Durkheim on his work. While the discussion of such critiques is beyond the scope of this research, the idea of the dual habitus I present offers an insight into the common miscategorization of Bourdieu's theoretical work. Speaking of the durability of habitus and directly addressing the charge of determinism, Bourdieu states that habitus "becomes active only *in the relation* to a field, and the same habitus can lead to very different practices and stances depending on the state of the field" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 116, emphasis in original). As mentioned in Chapter III, Bourdieu's theoretical concepts are fundamentally relational. While Bourdieu states the same habitus can lead to different practices, I propose that an individual can develop dual habitus. This perhaps simplistic proposal is made in light of Bourdieu's insistence that habitus:

> as the product of social conditionings…is endlessly transformed, either in a direction that *reinforces* it, when embodied structures of expectation encounter structures of objective chances in harmony with these expectations, or in a direction that *transforms* it and, for instance, raises or lowers the level or expectations and aspirations (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 116, emphasis added)

I propose, in the case of libraries generally, and public and academic libraries specifically, individuals do more than reinforce or transform their habitus, they create an entirely new set of dispositions that govern their actions within each unique field. Responding to the determinist criticism of Bourdieu, an individual's mismatch between habitus and field – Charlotte's public library habitus encountering the field of academic libraries – represents a rupture in the determinist account of Bourdieu's sociological theory.

Fostering an academic library habitus.

As with participants who exhibit feelings of anxiety or stress regarding academic libraries, those who do not also talked about different aspects of academic libraries that contribute to their feelings. For example, Jian, a Chinese, first-year graduate student majoring in Business Management, focused on physical aspects that contribute to his feeling comfortable when in academic libraries. For others, like Karthik, an Indian Ph.D. student studying Fiscal Behavioral Economics, being in an academic library makes him feel "really energized." Still others, like Hilda, a Mexican American first-year Math major, demonstrate the variety of factors and contexts that affect, along with unique experiences individuals can draw upon, that inform their actions. In this case, Hilda's position as a student worker at a campus library contributes to her affective relationship with academic libraries.

Reasons for an individual not using a public library, as already discussed, vary. Like Alberto, who did not have a local public library until his early teenage years, the city in which Jian grew up did not have a public library when he was growing up. When asked about public libraries, Jian explained, "There is not [a public library]. After I got into university, the government built a new one, but I never used this because I'm, like, I already go to the university so I don't use that one." Despite not using a public library in his youth, Jian, by circumstance, began to use academic libraries frequently as an undergraduate student in China because:

> I can't, I just can't study in my dormitory because Chinese dormitory [pause] there's four to six people in your room, so if you study you don't [pause] it is really easy to get distracted. So, I have to go to the library. When I go to the library, I just feel like I have plenty of space and people don't talk, they're just [there] to study.

Not having the experience of early socialization into the field of public libraries allows Jian's dispositions toward academic libraries to form externally from the parameters an earlier public library habitus would constrict. Furthermore, by necessity, Jian's association of academic libraries as physical spaces in which one can work undisturbed, structures his actions within academic libraries. Having sought the peaceful and quiet refuge of academic libraries as an undergraduate student, Jian's experiences inform his expectations of academic libraries – one word he used to describe them was "quiet" – and his actions within physical space: quiet individual study.

Similar to Jian, Karthik, an Indian student who came to the United States to study, did not use a public library growing up, "There were public libraries, but I never went to one. It wasn't easy, accessible, and it's not found very commonly here [his hometown]. There are libraries around, but [pause] it's just difficult to get to." Inaccessible public libraries are a step up from nonexistent ones, but the difficulty involved in utilizing them contributed to the absence of an early disposition to libraries for Karthik. Karthik's experience, who represents several participants without early dispositions toward, and socialization within, public libraries, contributes to the formation of a strictly academic library habitus, in which one's attitudes, perceptions, and actions within academic libraries do not compete with earlier dispositions. As such, it is as if one's experiences within academic libraries, the only library field with which these individuals are familiar, can bypass conflicting dispositions within one's habitus, which can evoke positive affective relationships with academic libraries. This is certainly the case for Karthik, who describes feeling "really energized" when in academic libraries:

> I think that this [academic library] is like, a sea of information. And then I get really excited that I need to consume the information. But time is limited, so I cannot. But being around books makes me feel that there's so much greatness, and I also appreciate the way that all of this knowledge is stored, sorted, and accessible. So being in a library makes me feel quite elevated state of mind. I also see so many other people focused and studying and it kind of creates an environment where it's friendly to education.

As the experiences of Jian and Karthik – representative of the set of participants who are frequent academic library users despite not being disposed to public or school libraries during their formative years – demonstrate, not having experience using public libraries as a child, not being able to tap into a set of dispositions that predispose one to libraries, does not prevent one from developing dispositions later in life. Moreover, considering the contrasting experiences of Charlotte, an avid public library user who has yet to make use of academic libraries in her first year of college, not having predispositions to public libraries may encourage *more* academic library use, as one does not face the challenge of disrupting or confronting deeply ingrained dispositions that inform attitudes and practice.

In this section I discussed participants who expressed feeling comfortable in academic libraries and who described their attitudes toward, and feelings within, these spaces in affirmative terms. Interestingly, participants with little or no early socialization into libraries during their formative years, i.e., individuals not disposed to libraries, were more likely to hold positive attitudes regarding academic libraries, and to feel more comfortable in these spaces than did participants who expressed fond memories of time spend in libraries as children, i.e., individuals with ingrained dispositions and early socialization into libraries during their formative years. To account for this phenomenon that emerged from the data, I exemplified what I termed the dual habitus, in which one's ingrained dispositions that inform action within the field of public libraries, is incompatible with actions in the adjacent field of academic libraries. In general, participants in this project hold vastly different conceptions of public and academic

libraries, with most participants associating the former with leisure or recreation, and associating the latter with work and as sites of productivity, ultimately contributing to some participants, especially those with what I consider a public library habitus, causing them to view academic libraries as anxiety-inducing spaces.

Field Analysis: The Field of Power and Academic Libraries

In the following section I analyze participants' objective positions within academic libraries, i.e., field, and that of their subjective stances, i.e., habitus, because "the field of positions is methodologically inseparable from the field of stances" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 105). With the shift in focus to the field of academic libraries, I depart slightly from the participant-centered analysis of the previous sections, in which I focused my analysis on the habitus of individual participants, as I discuss system-level and field analysis. This section begins with a brief discussion of my use of Bourdieu's concept of field as an analytical tool. Then, I briefly examine the field of power which, in the context of the present research, I consider the field of higher education. Then I explore the field of academic libraries and the ways in which participants internalized their dispositions toward libraries based upon their early socialization into the field of public libraries, or not in the cases of participants for whom this socialization process was absent. I examine how this internalization manifested in their perceptions, attitudes, and utilization of academic libraries with specific attention on interactions with, and within, academic libraries. This section introduces Bourdieu's concepts of social, cultural, and economic capital, each of which is significant in contributing to one's habitus. I focus specifically on social and cultural capital in great detail in Chapter VI.

The concept of field as an analytical tool.

As an analytic term, Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) defines a field as, "a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions" (p. 97). According to

Bourdieu, fields are unique and are "spaces of objective relations that are the site of a logic and necessity that are *specific and irreducible* to those that regulate other fields" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97, emphasis in original). In application, via analysis of the French educational system, Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) contends a field analysis must be an internal process with an examination of external factors that affect practices and actions in a given field undertaken from a perspective within the field of study. As fields are the social areas in which habitus, one's dispositions that shape practice and behavior, and capital, of all types, interact, and given that individuals navigate various fields in their daily lives, field analysis seeks to discern how individuals manage intra- and inter-field conflict. It is tempting to place strict definitional boundaries onto individual fields, such as public and academic libraries, and the inclination to do so is inviting as doing so provides an opportune chance to pit opposing fields against one another; however, Bourdieu disputes the application of strict boundaries, which are antithetical to the foundational relational aspect of his theoretical concepts. "To think in terms of field," Bourdieu states, "is to *think relationally*" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 96, emphasis in original). Instead, "one of the advantages of a field perspective is to encourage social scientists not to narrow prematurely the range of their investigation" (Swartz, 1997, p. 121). As participant experiences in the preceding analysis show, presumptively bounding the fields of public and academic libraries, or not distinguishing between the two, would cloud and limit the analysis. As an analytical tool, Bourdieu's concept of field, "offers a coherent system of recurrent questions that saves us from the theoretical vacuum of positivist empiricism and from the empirical void of theoreticist discourse" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 110). The use of field in this project as an analytical tool, therefore, also aligns with my stated subjectivist epistemology.

Field analysis: The field of power.

Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) defines fields as sites of struggle, "In a field, agents and institutions constantly struggle, according to the regularities and the rules constitutive of this space of play…with various degrees of strength and therefore diverse probabilities of success" (p. 102). In the context of the present research project, the field of academic libraries operates within the field of power, that of the institution of higher education. Figure 6.1 displays a hierarchy of fields and an individual's place therein.

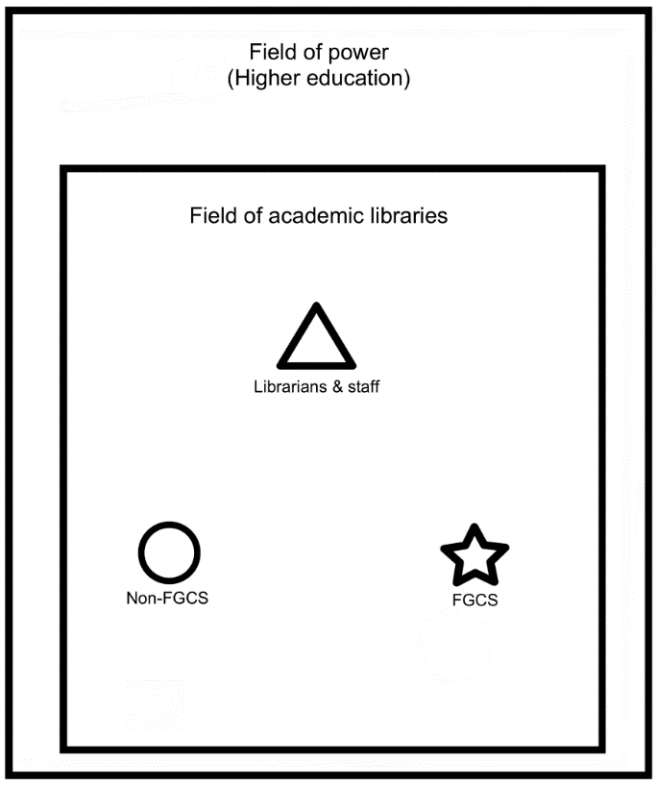


Figure 6.1: Hierarchy of fields

Within this greater field of power, academic libraries possess characteristics, rules, and regulations of their own that restrict and set parameters that govern action within these objective spaces. Knowing, or learning, how to operate within these confines is imperative to assert one's space and stake a claim, or, using the combative struggle metaphor, defend one's ground, to

utilize the prized resource, and reap the benefits from, the field of academic libraries. For first-generation college students, the struggle in and against the field of higher education is greater than the struggle in and against the field of academic libraries, as "Those who dominate in a given field are in a position to make it function to their advantage but they must always contend with the resistance, the claims, the contention…of the dominated" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 102). As I argue in this section, the absence of early socialization within, and dispositions toward, libraries benefits students regarding their conceptions and use of academic libraries. In the context of this research, first-generation students must contend with their non-first-generation peers, whose advantages within the field of higher education – due to one's possession and composition of capital being rewarded differently in distinct fields, the subject of which will be discussed in the following chapter – may not extend into, or may not produce as impactful benefits within, the field of academic libraries. While non-first-generation students occupy the dominant position within the field of higher education, because of these students' greater levels of possession of social, cultural, and, presumably, economic capital, non-first-generation students, based upon evidence presented in the previous section regarding early public library socialization and later academic library conceptions and use, may *not* possess an advantage within the field of academic libraries, and may perhaps face with increased frequency the challenge of adjusting their existing dispositions or developing an entirely new set of academic library dispositions.

Field analysis: The field of academic libraries.

Regardless of previous library use, all participants in this project discussed their expectations of academic libraries and what those spaces should be like, in essence, each participant described what they thought were, to use Bourdieu's field as a game metaphor, the rules that govern the field of academic libraries. If participants had previous library experience to

rely upon, the new field of academic libraries presented challenges as their expectations of this specific type of library conflicted with the experiences from their past. The challenge facing participants who did not have previous library experience was one of learning the rules of the game. All participants recognized explicit and implicit rules regulate behavior within academic library spaces. Even participants who stated they have not, or are infrequent academic library users, understood that there are field-specific rules to which one must adhere. One's habitus is formed "as the result of the internalization of external structures [i.e., public libraries], habitus reacts to the solicitations of the field in a roughly coherent and systematic manner" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 18). As such, it is as if participants who were socialized into the field of public libraries during their formative years found the rules of academic libraries incoherent with their internalization of the structure of public libraries. Charlotte, the avowed lover of reading and avid public library user, assumed one of these rules was silence, as she was afraid of, "mak[ing] a lot of noise." This assumed rule of silence was common among participants. Karthik, for example, stated their surprise regarding, "the fact that there are areas where people talk in libraries is kind of surprising to me because I used to think that library means pin-drop silence."

Whether or not one's expectations of academic library spaces matched the actual rules in place, their perceptions and assumptions manifested in their actions within academic libraries. At one extreme (see Figure 6.2) are those participants who identified as being frequent public library users, but infrequent or non-academic library users. For these participants: Lois, Smriti, Hilda, and Charlotte, it is as if their internalized dispositions developed from early engagement and socialization within public libraries prevents them from utilizing physical academic library spaces. Their perceptions of academic libraries, more specifically their perceptions of the rules

that govern behavior and practice within these spaces, prohibit them from accessing the physical resources housed within academic libraries that can support their collegiate experience, contribute to their academic success, and ultimately lead to success in their future professional lives (i.e., produce economic capital).

	High public library use	Low public library use
High academic library use	Shihan Catherine Richard Kalpana Rebekah Lana	Zixin Alberto Chloe Jian Karthik Qing
Low academic library use	Lois Smriti Hilda Charlotte	

Figure 6.2: Participants' reported public and academic library use

Some participants reported more frequent academic library use and an analysis of these individuals (Catherine, Kalpana, Lana, and Chloe) reveals, even though their perceptions of these spaces conflicts with their previous socialization within public libraries, the contention is not so severe as to deter participants from overcoming the challenge. Catherine, for example, also expects academic libraries to be quiet places. However, she also talked about using academic libraries for collaborative study:

> I mean, I feel like any group project you've ever done, you met at the library at some point with your group members. Obviously, I mentioned the word quiet, but not all the library's, like, totally quiet. So, there are spaces for group work to happen. That's Undergrad Library.

Unlike Charlotte, who was afraid of making too much noise, and Smriti, who is unfamiliar with the "culture" and "unwritten rules" of academic libraries, Catherine's communal use of academic libraries demonstrates one's ability to confront their own perceptions and attitudes to become a player in the game. Smriti's apparent inability to overcome this challenge resulted in her

avoidance of academic libraries: she does not attempt to learn, in her words, the rules that govern academic library spaces. Opposingly, Catherine devotes the effort to learning the rules, in Bourdieu's words, to maximize the extent of possibilities available within the field of academic libraries.

Like several other participants, Qing, a Chinese first year Ph.D. student studying Business and Statistics, was not socialized in public libraries as a child, as his town did not have a public library. More explicitly than any other participant, even those who did not use libraries during their childhood, Qing does not differentiate between those two library types, or those two adjacent fields. For Qing, who eventually used the public library in the city in which he attended university, both public and academic libraries serve the same purpose: libraries are sites of learning. Qing attributes this to having many interests outside his fields of study, which ultimately took up much of his time. As a person of many interests, he would utilize public and academic libraries to learn about other subjects, "I feel motivated, self-motivated, because in every case I want to know more. And there are lots of things I can learn [about] in libraries, so I feel self-motivated." Similar to the discussion in the previous section regarding the existence of a dual habitus, Qing developed a single library habitus via his engagement within the field academic libraries, which he apparently then simply transferred to the adjacent field of public libraries.

In this section, I utilized participants' internalized attitudes and perceptions of academic libraries and the ways these internalized attitudes manifested in varying levels of academic library usage. At one extreme, it is as if participants' perceptions of what an academic library should be, of what rules govern the field of academic libraries, cause them to almost avoid academic library spaces completely. At the other extreme, Qing's internalized perceptions

formed entirely within academic libraries, meaning that his dispositions, which inform his actions, within the field of academic libraries conform to – using Bourdieu's game metaphor – the instructional manual included with the game.

Acknowledging local context: Academic library spaces on campus

Participants in the present project attended a large, public, historically, and predominantly White institution that serves as the flagship of a state-wide university system. The general library system at the university contains 24 libraries that range is scope and size. As such, participants have a variety of options to meet their needs. While most participants discussed and frequently utilize two of the main libraries, there are other options that serve specific populations, whether that be individual departments or specialized collections that cater to specific programs, or those that serve broad-based disciplines. In addition to these spaces that comprise the library system, there are additional spaces that serve similar purposes, for example, the Multicultural Student Center and other identity centers for Black, Indigenous, Latinx, and Asian and Pacific Islander students. Chloe, whose experiences of anxiety were previously discussed, actively avoids certain campus libraries because "there's a lot of white students," which causes her to

> scan the room to measure the diversity. Sometimes, settings with mostly white students empower me to stand my ground and make space for myself as a POC, but other times, it feels unsettling to sit in those spaces.

As a junior, Chloe has had three years on campus to find spaces that "felt safer and recognized me for who I was."

Because of the unique institutional context, in which there is such a variety of library and other study options, students' experiences with academic libraries at the research site, and, more generally, similar large, public institutions, are dependent on the options available. Continuing Chloe's discussion of minoritized students, having so many options available allowed her to eventually identify and locate safe spaces. This may not be the case at other institutions operating

within different conditions and contexts. A small, private, liberal arts college located in a less diverse community, for example, may not offer as many study options as are available at the research site in which this study was conducted. On the other hand, the experiences of Black students at a historically black college or university (HBCU) may negate, or at least ease, the necessity of spending years to find a safe, affirming space on campus.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I discussed participants who harbor opposing feelings of, and when in, academic libraries: the feeling of assurance. I juxtaposed the experiences of Charlotte and Kalpana to demonstrate what I termed the development of a dual habitus: one attuned to the field of public libraries and the other to the field of academic libraries. Entering this research project, I assumed that one's dispositions toward public libraries would translate, or promote, dispositions toward academic libraries. As became distinctively clear, participants conceive of these two spaces as very distinct, conceptions which impact their actions within each space and, as significantly, impact what they perceive to be acceptable actions within these adjacent, although distinct, fields. My proposal of the dual habitus also provides a theoretical contribution, as it serves as a counterexample that addresses the deterministic critique of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts.

In section three, I switched focus slightly to examine the manifestation of participants' internalized attitudes and perceptions regarding academic library spaces. In exploring the field of academic libraries, conceptualized as physical spaces, I also discussed the unique conditions of the university in which this project was situated. This analysis focused on the individual and how individuals perceive, act, and react within the field of academic libraries. In the next chapter, I explore how an individual's interactions with others, via their social capital, affects their perceptions and use of academic libraries.

Chapter VII: Analysis III – Habitus, Field, and Capital

"Like, I mean, if you were just looking for a certain book, yeah, that's [the library] huge, you know…multiple floors? Kind of overwhelming…a little bit, yeah. But, I mean…like I said, librarians can immediately fix that by just talking to them."

- Richard

The Forms of Capital: A Brief Review

Bourdieu (1986) discusses capital in relation to fields and succinctly defines capital as "species of power whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97). There are three principal forms of capital: economic (material resources and financial assets), cultural (scarce resources, knowledge, skills, and abilities), and social (resources acquired via group membership, connections, or relationships). An individual's position in the grand social hierarchy, and position within specific fields, depends on two primary factors: (1) the volume of their capital and (2) the composition of their capital. An individual's possession and composition of the three types of capital enables one to profit from their participation in a given social arena. While the three forms of capital are relational via the process of conversion (e.g., one's cultural capital, in the form of a college degree, converts to economic capital because of their occupation, which necessitates a post-secondary education), this chapter focuses specifically on the concept of social capital and is supplemented with instances of cultural capital where appropriate.

In the context of this dissertation, libraries are fields of anxiety when an individual does not have enough support, but they can also be fields of assurance with appropriate external support. In this research project, I refer to cultural capital in two of its states: embodied and institutionalized. Embodied cultural capital takes the form "of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 80). Embodied cultural capital, therefore, begins in one's formative years and is cultivated, in part, in an individual's upbringing and familial conditions. Bourdieu (1986) regards embodied cultural capital as a form of wealth "converted into an

integral part of the person, into a habitus, [that] cannot be transmitted instantaneously (unlike money, property rights, or even titles of nobility) by gift or bequest, purchase or exchange" (p. 81). In this project, embodied cultural capital refers specifically to familial relations and personal characteristics and attitudes that stem from participants' familial conditions and upbringing. I focus considerably less on institutionalized cultural capital, which Bourdieu (1986) states is cultural capital "academically sanctioned by legally guaranteed qualifications, formally independent of the person of their bearer" (p. 83). In this project, institutional cultural capital refers to the academic credential participants are pursuing at the time of the research.

In this research project, social capital refers specifically to interactions with non-familial human resources participants leverage to increase the odds of improving their social position via collegiate academic success, i.e., their cultural capital, which can be converted into economic capital, i.e., stable, well-paid employment. One's social capital, in Bourdieu's (1986) words, consists of the network of relationships that is

> the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at *establishing* or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term, i.e., at transforming contingent relations, such as those of neighborhood, the workplace, or even kinship, into relationships that are at once *necessary* and *elective*, implying durable obligations subjectively felt (feelings of gratitude, respect, friendship, etc.) or institutionally guaranteed (rights) (p. 85, emphasis added).

Because of their FGCS status, participants are forced to step outside their familial network to receive advice, assistance, and support regarding post-secondary education. They elect to establish relationships that, although not strictly necessary, contribute to their academic success. To demonstrate this point, this chapter discusses the experiences of Alberto, an infrequent public library user who described academic libraries as a "safe space" in the previous chapter, Rebekah, a frequent public and academic library user, and Richard, also previously mentioned, but whose experience merits further exploration regarding the confluence of public library use, academic

library use, and social capital. Examining the experiences of Alberto, Rebekah, and Richard, I explore the tangible (e.g., assistance with a college entry essay or how to do taxes) and intangible (e.g., improving one's social life on campus) benefits participants received from their expanding social networks or, in other words, I focus on the effects one's social capital can have on their perceptions of, and actions within, the field of academic libraries. Although I focus on social capital, cultural capital, in the form of educational credentials, which is a common manifestation of the institutional type, is ubiquitous and operates in the background, as participants' primary goal is the achievement of a college degree and an increase in their consequent economic capital.

Alberto

Alberto, who did not have a local public library branch near his childhood home, is an infrequent public library user who became a frequent user of academic libraries. A Mexican American student who left his hometown of Chicago to attend university, Alberto discussed his devotion and care for his immediate family. His familial relationships drove him to succeed in his academic pursuits. For example, Alberto mentioned he began to help his aunt, who sold food as a street vendor, initially as an unpaid cashier while he was in middle school. Even the way Alberto described his family demonstrated his affection and attachment to the people he cared about:

> Okay, the family that lived with me was my mother and my father. And we were very close with our neighbors. So, I will say that they will be included in my family. And they were a family of five, three kids and both parents. And then another neighbor was also another family of five. Then we had another neighbor which was a family of four, now a family of three. Then my cousins are very close, they are a family of five.

As discussed in Chapter V, Alberto's father has worked in the restaurant business his entire life and has increased his work since Alberto entered college to better provide for his son's academic success. Alberto's mother, in his words, "has always been working as well helping my auntie" to provide for her son. Alberto expressed his appreciation for the sacrifices both his parents made

that have allowed him opportunities to succeed in college. Although Alberto did not explicitly discuss the impact of his upbringing, being surrounded by industrious, hardworking family members has impacted his current work ethic as a college student. Over time, Alberto's familial circumstance instilled within him a determined work ethic and an appreciation for the sacrifices those around him, his family, have made. The nature of his relationship with family members, therefore, was a primary factor in utilizing any and all resources to achieve his academic goals, including campus libraries, regardless of his previous public and school library experiences. Cultural capital is one explanation for his frequent academic use as an undergraduate student. Alberto's cultural capital combined with his social capital, his active expansion of his social connectionsproduced a high-achieving, academically successful college student.

In describing his high school experiences, Alberto noted "the main thing I enjoyed from school is relationships I built with friends and connections, which I still have to this day. That's the main thing I enjoyed." These relationships and connections were not limited to his student peers. Alberto spoke fondly about two relationships with high school faculty, a teacher and the school librarian. These relationships were particularly important to Alberto and other first-generation students, as he elucidated:

> Miss Callahan was a very straightforward teacher. She was like if you go out this weekend, if you don't study, you're not going to get good grades. And she would tell us, like, how the college application process worked. You can't just have good grades. You have to have other stuff on your application, you have to have a good essay, you have to have all these things. My parents didn't go to high school. So, I think just having her guidance was amazing.

Being "the aggregate of the actual of potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 84), Alberto's relationship with his high school teacher provided valuable advice and guidance he could not get from home, as his "parents didn't go to

high school." Alberto described Miss Callahan's guidance as "amazing," implying he either would not be the successful college student he is, or that his path to college success would have been more difficult, complex, and protracted without the benefits he received from this relationship. Although Alberto did not speak of Miss Callahan's expectations for him or his peers it is, however, implied that she did hold high expectations of her students. If not, she would not have provided guidance regarding the college application process, which she clearly did as Alberto detailed.

Despite the numerous beneficial characteristics Alberto has accrued from his family, and the ways in which his upbringing and home environment has contributed to his current position as a successful student on the path to becoming a successful professional, his family was unable to provide adequate guidance and advice regarding the field of academia. In their review of research on FGCS published between 2008 and 2019, Baldwin, et al. (2021) identified common themes regarding parents and families of FGCS. Summarizing extant literature, the authors discuss how parents of FGCS are unable to provide procedural or college knowledge support because "it is hard to give advice about something you don't know" (ibid, p. 99). However, Baldwin and colleagues also state research on families has "underscored the importance of their emotional support" (ibid, p. 99). Baldwin et al. note the significance and positive impact of parents and families and conclude by stating "parental encouragement often is a form of capital for first-generation students" (ibid, p. 99). In this regard, Alberto's experience is common. Although his parents were unable to provide college-specific guidance and advice, their support, including their work and financial sacrifices previously mentioned, combined with their expectations that Alberto would attend college. When asked if he planned to attend college, Alberto responded:

> Yes, always…from an early age. I think the expectation from my parents was to go to college. So, I think they had a mindset if they're doing too much work, it's for me to achieve this goal of going to college. Growing up, my parents were the primary factor, but then, like when I approached the time to come to college it was my desire as well.

To supplement those qualities his familial relationships instilled within him, and the encouragement and emotional support they provided, Alberto expanded his social network – he tapped into resources within his high school environment – to assist his navigation of the academic realm. "She was very straightforward," Alberto continues, "So I think for, like, a 16-year-old, the best thing…what's the word? The best thing is to have some tough love." Utilizing Miss Callahan's tough love to both navigate high school life and, more specifically, gather advice to help with the college admission process, Alberto's experience is one demonstration of how an individual's possession and composition of capital allows them to "modify the structure of the field" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 18). As spaces of conflict and competition, in which, to use a battlefield metaphor, one's arsenal consists of their capital possession and composition, Alberto's embodied cultural capital, i.e., his work ethic, determination, and desire to repay his family's sacrifices, combine with his expanded social capital to give him the metaphorical high ground. As FGCS are frequently portrayed from deficit perspectives within higher education (Baldwin, et al., 2021) and Library and Information Studies (Ilett, 2019) literature, it is as if Alberto has altered the field of academic libraries via his accumulated cultural and social capital. This example also demonstrates the relational nature of Bourdieu's concepts and the imperative that researchers simultaneously engage each of his theoretical concepts. The following discussion of Alberto's relationship with his high school librarian will further emphasize this point.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Alberto did not use the physical resources of his high school library, which was more often used as "a break room during lunch" or "for

detention." While Alberto did not use the physical library space, he did frequently seek help and advice from the school librarian who "was a very good writer":

> So, I would ask him, like, 'How should I word this?' or 'What is the best way to phrase this?' He actually helped me write my college application essay. He gave me a book on college essays as well. He was really helpful in guiding me throughout that [college application] process.

Despite not being disposed to libraries due to his lack of public library use during his formative years, along with his mis-utilized school library, Alberto managed to forge a connection and increase his social capital by forming a relationship with his high school librarian who, along with Miss Callahan, assisted his transition from high school to college.

Once enrolled in college, Alberto, as mentioned, became a frequent academic library user who feels comfortable operating in those spaces. While Alberto was not disposed to libraries – public or academic – his accumulation of social capital is one partial explanation for the development of dispositions toward academic. It is as if his personal relationship with his high school librarian, a relationship that developed after Alberto discovered the librarian was a good writer and, therefore, a beneficial resource, as opposed to the physical high school library space, was paramount in the creation of his affirmative feelings regarding academic libraries. Speaking of his feelings toward academic libraries, Alberto associates academic libraries with determination and resilience. He explained:

> As I mentioned before, in high school, I…there was no work being done in the library. So, I think now I have the opportunity to do so, so it's become kind of a safe space and a safe space to do work. Because if I would have done work in the high school library, that's kind of a judgement place. Now I can just take my laptop and spend four, five hours in the library.

The combination of Alberto's home environment (i.e., cultural capital), desire to succeed (i.e., habitus), and relationships with his high school teacher and librarian (i.e., social capital) combined to produce dispositions toward academic libraries as a valuable tool he would be

foolish to not utilize. In discussion the relationship between field, habitus, and capital, Wacquant (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) states:

> "A field consists of a set of objective, historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital), while habitus consists of a set of historical relations 'deposited' within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporeal schemata of perception, appreciation, and action" (p. 16)

Alberto relied on his embodied cultural capital, which stems from his parents' financial sacrifices and their encouragement, support, and expectation that he attend college; his habitus, which includes a strong work ethic and desire to succeed created during his formative years; and his social capital via the relationships he established with his high school teacher and librarian to feel comfortable in the field of academic libraries and become an academically successful college student. Without each of these components, however, Alberto may not have arrived, or may not have as easily arrived, at his current position regarding the field of academic libraries and higher education more generally.

Rebekah

Like most participants, Rebekah, a Junior Engineering major, holds differing perceptions of public and academic libraries and associates each type of library with different activities. Rebekah considers academic libraries as places of work and production, while she associates public libraries as places of recreation. In Rebekah's case, these differing perceptions stem from her frequent use of public libraries during her formative years when she would, during the summer, "go to the public library a lot and get books to read just for fun." Rebekah's public library usage was largely limited to the summer months because she was also a frequent school library user.

Growing up in a small town, Rebekah maintains a close relationship with her family, "We're pretty close, yeah. So, my relationship with my family is important. Definitely one of the

most important things in my life." Speaking of her parents specifically, Rebekah remembers them encouraging her to use public libraries when she was a child. This familial support contributed to instilling within her a disposition toward the field of public libraries from an early age. However, as she progressed through school and the time came for her to begin the college application process, she needed to extend her support network as she sought assistance navigating the transition from secondary to postsecondary education. Although her parents are unable to provide beneficial advice related specifically to the collegiate experience, they are able to provide robust and timely emotional support because they live in a suburb of the city in which Rebekah attends college.

To supplement this strong and local familial support, Rebekah built social capital via the relationships she formed with high school administrators, guidance counselors, and her peers. She also built her social networks through the high school library, as she maintained her usage of school libraries from her childhood. Unlike Alberto, the school library was better resourced and better equipped to assist with students' needs. For this reason, she did not encounter the challenges Alberto did in utilizing the physical and human resources of their school libraries. Rebekah's relationship with her school library, and school library staff, developed over time as she utilized the library for both academic and personal means, "I went there [school library] a lot to check out books for class. But then I would also go there to get my own [books]."

Because neither of her parents attended college, Rebekah realized the need and felt compelled to tap into non-familial personal networks for guidance and advice on college decisions. This was especially the case for Rebekah, as her parents were less intent and did not harbor demanding expectations that she attend college or major in a particular field, as she explained:

> I don't personally know any engineers and I didn't really know what it was. But then in high school, I had a friend who was going to major in it [engineering] and I took a class that was very design innovation oriented and I really like that. So, that was like…and my interest in science and math and problem-solving kind of led me to choose engineering.

While in high school Rebekah was preparing for the next stage in her academic career via her utilization of her existing social network in a targeted and specific way. She relied on an existing friendship to learn about potential college majors and could tap into this relationship once she herself was in college. Rebekah's prescience speaks to Bourdieu's (1986) notion of social capital, in that "the network or relationships is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term…" (p. 84-85). In the short term, Rebekah pragmatically benefited from her friend's guidance, as she could organize her course schedule to best prepare for her intended major. In the longer term, Rebekah could utilize her friendship in an academic sense, as her friend could provide additional emotional support she was already receiving from her family but, more significantly, her friend could provide support regarding the college experience, and even more specifically her friend could provide discipline-specific help, guidance, and advice.

Although Rebekah could rely on older friends who were in college, navigating the high school to college transition was a difficult one, as Rebekah didn't have a clear idea of what to expect, apart from knowing "it was gonna be hard." In discussing this transition, Rebekah elaborated:

> You're kind of just on your own. So, at times, I felt like, I felt like I didn't know what was going on or, like, I didn't know about some event happening. But I really had a lot…I've had a lot of good connections and really realized how much the college experience is about networking and meeting new people and making friends and that social aspect of it.

Clearly, during the general transition to college, and her experiences as an undergraduate student over the past few years, Rebekah has developed strong social connections to help navigate the academic environment that she was unable to obtain from her family, despite her parents' continued emotional support. Despite being disposed to both public and school libraries, along with frequently utilizing academic libraries during her time as an undergraduate, when asked if academic libraries can be part of one's social support network on campus, Rebekah hesitated before she stated "Yes, but I definitely discovered that over time." Prior to this research project I would have been surprised that Rebekah did not make this connection sooner but, given the previous discussion regarding the dual habitus, that she stated it took time to develop is less surprising. Rebekah's acknowledgement that academic libraries can contribute to academic success is promising, as is her assertion that "the vast amount of knowledge that the library has in its books and then also the people and resources outside, like the staff." Given her previous engagement with public and school librarians, it is unsurprising that Rebekah has come to consider academic librarians and staff as valuable resources she can leverage as part of her extended collegiate network in the pursuit of her academic goals.

Richard

Throughout a nomadic childhood, Richard did not frequently visit public libraries. Born in Louisiana, he moved with his family to Massachusetts as an infant before moving again in his early teens to Wisconsin. Even as an adult, after turning 18, Richard "bounced around a lot." Regarding the early moves, Richard "didn't have a choice, really." He continued:

> So, the story is that my dad was following work. He was a carpenter and, you know, to make money they were following where the work was. Growing up, yeah, it was always, like, my family's poor, lower working class, very poor. I was surrounded by people who were poor. Eventually the crowds I fell into were also, you know, rural poor people.

In addition to the disruption these moves caused, Richard also commented frequently about family issues and his parents' divorce, which were also additional complications during his formative years.

Despite these conditions, Richard attended a branch of state university system immediately after high school because "everybody else was." Richard elaborated upon this decision:

> I just didn't have any guidance or anything. I didn't know what else to do. I think my guidance counselor just said, like, 'you should go to college' without even asking, like, if I wanted to or anything. And so, I literally followed like two or three of my friends who did that as well.

Unlike Alberto and Rebekah, both of whom had relatively greater amounts of cultural and social capital, Richard was seemingly severely negatively impacted because of his limited capital possession of both types. In addition to his limited cultural capital – Richard's parents did not place expectations on him to attend college when he was younger – Richard also did not actively pursue or forge beneficial social relationships to assist with his future career plans. Following the recommendation of his high school guidance counselor, Richard decided to attend the same four-year institution as some of his friends. During his first semester of college, Richard recounted that he began smoking marijuana during that time. He was quick to not use that as an excuse for leaving after that first semester:

> I just felt out of place and I had no, like, survival skills. I had no social skills and stuff like that. Things just didn't make any sense. I didn't know why I was taking the classes I did. I just remember being, like, I don't know…I don't want to go to school. I don't see any purpose in it.

As Baldwin et al. (2021) state, "not every student, however, receives support from their parents and families; therefore, it is valuable to identify how students manage under such circumstances – that is, when family members are apathetic or even antagonistic toward pursuing higher education" (p. 99). Richard is an example of a student with parents who are apathetic toward

higher education. Richard recalled his mother's attitude toward his experience during his first semester of college immediately following high school:

> I don't want to go to school. I don't see any purpose in it. I told my mom. I thought maybe she would disagree with me. She just, like, didn't care and was like, 'Okay, if you don't want to, that's fine.'"

After completing his first semester of college, Richard did not return the following Spring Semester. Before returning to a different, two-year school several years later, Richard spent time incarcerated in various state institutions. His year incarcerated had a profound effect on changing and shaping the person he is today – a fifth-year undergraduate at the flagship institution of a state university system.

In addition to the relative lack of economic capital, a lack of social capital is a significant component of Richard's story. Unlike Alberto, who forged connections with a high school teacher and librarian to create relationships he could tap into to advance his social position via accessing a college education, Richard's experience was quite different. Richard's high school guidance counselor, a potential source of social capital for Richard to accommodate into his otherwise limited resources, was unable to provide valuable assistance to support Richard as he transitioned from high school to the next phase of his life. In this case we see the stark consequences of limited social capital on Richard's life. Thankfully for Richard, although perhaps not in the manner in which he would have liked, he was able to receive support from both jail libraries and public libraries following his period of incarceration.

The jail libraries, and the folks who operate them, in the facilities in which Richard was incarcerated had a profound effect on his experience. Richard read a lot in jail, which instilled within him a desire and passion to learn, "I felt enlivened by learning and I still carry a lot of that passion today." He recounted a story in which he tore a book in half and snuck a portion in his

pants from one facility to another. Richard attributes his outlook on academia to his unique experience:

> I hear a lot of other people complain about school and stuff, and I feel super lucky to be here [at university] and I don't feel that same way…that same kind of bitterness or, like, like being in academia. You hear people complain about that all the time.

Richard places an almost immeasurable value on the jail libraries and the people who operate them. While in the past, during his high school to college transition, Richard did not actively pursue avenues to increase his cultural and social capital, he was able to do so via the individuals and resources of the jail libraries situated within the institutions in which he was incarcerated. Without these libraries and their resources, it is difficult to imagine Richard's development and growth while incarcerated, which ultimately contributed to his perspective on academics and schooling. Somewhat ironically, during his incarceration, Richard began to develop the survival and social skills that had been largely missing from his life. Jail libraries, and those individuals who operated them, contributed to this development.

If jail libraries were a significant entity in Richard's incarcerated life, public libraries became an integral part of post-carceral life, as Richard stated, "I never really recognized how important they [public libraries] were until later in life." While he was aware of public libraries growing up, and the communities in which he lived had public libraries, he did not utilize them, nor was he encouraged to do so. Following his incarceration, however, they became a crucial component in his life:

> At, like, 26-27 I started going to the library to get help with, like, how to do taxes and how to find my way around town, how to find a place to rent, how to do everything basically because I didn't have…my family didn't teach me any of that growing up. And so, I had nothing and then when I finally did have something it was through drug dealing and illicit means. I didn't grow up with instruction in life. So, I relied on librarians at Waukesha to kind of take me by the hand and show me certain things about living a normal life. So, I would always seek them out for help.

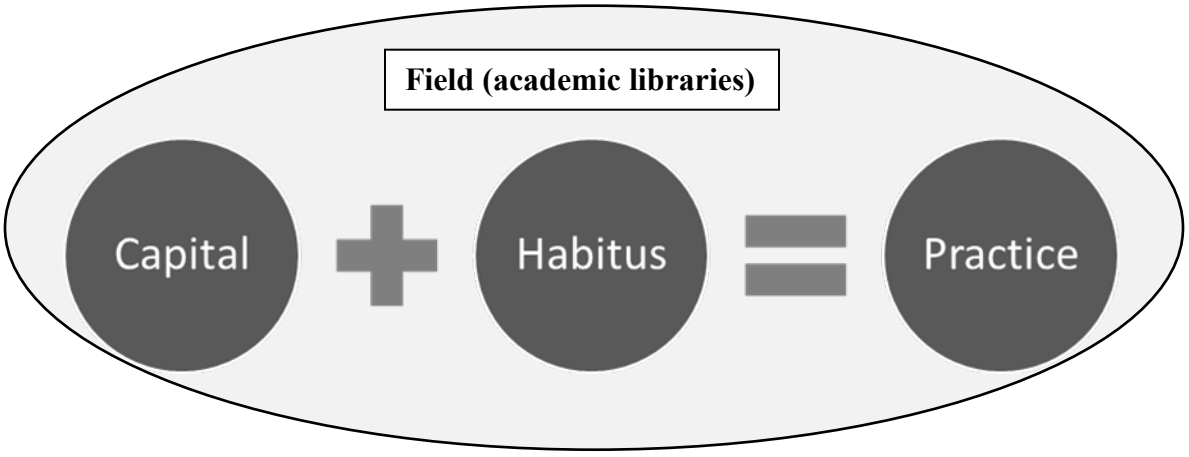
Richard became comfortable with libraries and librarians via public libraries, and it is as if his malleable habitus combined with his social capital to produce attitudes and actions amenable to academic libraries. His introduction to libraries was to jail libraries, but I hesitate to use the word comfort in that environment. While jail libraries helped him find meaning and purpose while incarcerated, Richard truly became comfortable with libraries post-incarceration. His initial utilization of public libraries was to fulfill information needs as a formerly incarcerated person. Those initial needs seemingly acclimatized and developed dispositions toward public libraries. Richard also found crucial support and accumulated valuable social capital within public libraries to the point where he "would always seek them [public librarians]" out for help.

Social capital, habitus, and field

As a reminder, Bourdieu's concepts are relational (see Figure 7.1), and Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) states:

> A field consists of a set of objective, historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital), while habitus consists of a set of historical relations 'deposited' within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporeal schemata of perception, appreciation, and action (p. 16)

Figure 7.1: Simplified model of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts[11]



[11] An individual's capital composition and possession interacts with their habitus to produce practice or actions in a given field which, to a certain extent, are subject to the historical and socio-cultural conditions of the field in question. Theoretically, an individual with relevant capital (cultural, social, and

The examples of Alberto, Rebekah, and Richard discussed in this chapter display this relational aspect of habitus, field, and capital. Rebekah's lifelong use of various library types, and her relations with those entities, formed positive dispositions toward libraries. Comfortable operating in library spaces, she was able to navigate the similar fields of public, school, and academic libraries. On the other hand, neither Alberto nor Richard were predisposed toward any types of libraries during their formative years, with, if anything, both being disposed *against* them, as Alberto's high school library was often used as a detention space while Richard's first real exposure to libraries occurred while he was physically detained. How then did these two individuals become so acclimated to the field of academic libraries? What were the conditions that allowed them to create a malleable habitus in relation to academic libraries? Again, as mentioned earlier, the forms of capital are the arsenal with which individuals enter contentious and combative social fields. Their accumulation of social capital is one explanation. Being the resources accrued via group membership or other social connections, social capital proved invaluable to both Alberto and Richard. Bourdieu's (1986) definition of embodied cultural capital, which includes "long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body" (p. 80), is another explanation. Being long-lasting dispositions, this state of cultural capital is most closely linked with an individual's habitus. For Rebekah and Alberto, who both possess relatively large quantities of embodied cultural capital, this capital resource greatly contributed to their actions within the field of academic libraries.

Focusing specifically on social and embodied cultural capital, at the expense capital in its economic form and the other states of cultural capital,[12] demonstrates the value of social

economic) and who was socialized, or disposed (habitus), to a given field, will achieve, or have a better chance of achieving, success, in said field.

[12] I acknowledge the limitations of restricting the analysis to these forms of capital. Doing so ignores the complex conversion processes from one type of capital to another. For the sake of this research, I do not

embodied cultural capital and how each of Rebekah, Alberto, and Richard have set themselves up on the path of increasing social trajectory – of disrupting the reproduction cycle – via the expansion in volume of their social capital.

Developed over time, Rebekah's library and scholarly dispositions combined to instigate her utilization of academic library resources that, in Bourdieu's (1979/1984) words, "engender progressive dispositions towards the future" (p. 123). As a first-generation student, Rebekah needed to develop additional social connections to succeed in higher education, something her parents could not provide. As such, Rebekah's volume of social capital increased. For example, although she did not develop a new friendship, she leveraged an existing friendship in new ways to support her collegiate experience. She relied on her older college-aged friend who is majoring in engineering to assist her own academic path in the same discipline. In so doing, this additional social capital is a crucial contributor to her increase in cultural capital, specifically of the institutionalized type via the degree she will receive upon graduation. Said degree will allow her to obtain economic capital upon entering the job market and securing a job in the capitalist economic system. Although Rebekah discussed at length her non-library connections, she did develop, over time, social connections with librarians:

> The word library makes me think of, like, the public library back home when I was a kid and the reason I would go there is strictly for the books and reading. There was always a present librarian or staff worker who would want to help or put on activities or things like that. So, I think that picture is ingrained in my head from childhood.

While not immediately connecting these prominent memories from her childhood to academic libraries, during her years on campus Rebekah eventually shifted her dispositions and developed

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consider Bourdieu's discussion of conversion, nor the hierarchal or unequal weight each category holds (see Bourdieu, 1977; 1986). As the forms of capital are related, I will discuss each type, but focus the analysis on the role of social and cultural capital in increasing one's future social trajectory.

social connections with academic librarians and staff that contribute to her increasing social trajectory.

Unlike Rebekah, Alberto, by choice and circumstance, did not possess dispositions stemming from historical relations with libraries throughout his life. His neighborhood did not have a local public library until his teenage years and his high school library was little more than a library in name only, frequently used as lunchtime overflow and as a detention space. Despite these conditions, Alberto forged a meaningful, and beneficial, relationship with his high school librarian, a relationship he leveraged in his preparation for post-secondary education. After enrolling in college, Alberto's desire to succeed stems from the sacrifices his parents and family made, and continue to make, as he pursues the academic credential that will lead to an economically successful career through which he can show his gratification. A stable career, for example, will allow him to purchase the house with his uncle that he has dreamed of doing. More generally, expanding the volume of his social capital via his connections to his high school teacher and librarian, Alberto will accrue the institutionalized cultural capital (i.e., college degree) that he can then convert into more tangible economic capital. His frequent use of academic libraries throughout his undergraduate career – his "safe space" to work, study, and be productive – contributed in no small part to his academic success and, ultimately, his ability to improve his social standing.

Like Alberto, Richard, by choice and circumstance, did not develop dispositions toward libraries as a child. Not very interested in school growing up, and not encouraged to use public or school libraries, Richard's first meaningful experiences with libraries of any type occurred during his incarceration and the jail libraries had a lasting impression:

> Yeah, like, the jail libraries and stuff have meant a lot to me. Because I got lots of learning done and it was such an escape. I really…you know that old saying, like,

> knowledge sets you free? I 100-percent lived through that. And they [(jail) libraries] have special meanings.

While jail provided structure to Richard's life, the jail libraries provided a platform from which he has maintained a fondness for other types of libraries:

> When I lived in Green Bay, they [public libraries] were kind of cool to just, like, go and sit at. They also had, like DVDs I would go for and get for the night to watch at home, independent movies and stuff.
>
> I was living with my dad at the time. I just got out of jail for the first time.

A non-library user prior to his incarceration,[13] Richard began using public libraries following his release, as the above quotation demonstrates. He expanded his library use from checking out recreational DVDs to, out of necessity, forging relationships with librarians:

> I never really recognized how important they [libraries] were until later in life. And not only for the books and stuff but, like, to ask a librarian literally anything and even if they have no idea what I'm talking about, they'll help me research a topic. Once I understood that about librarians I became a fan of librarians because, like, that's kind of a mission-oriented job and they're always, like, trying to urge people to come to them and ask for stuff, like, come here and ask us anything! And, you know, once people actually do it, they're [patrons] understanding, like, Wow!, that person's a resource for all types of knowledge. And yeah, so, I forgot the question!

The relationships Richard forged with public librarians has had an apparently tremendous impact on his life, which have consequences on his academic endeavors, and have created positive dispositions toward academic libraries, librarians, and staff to the point where, as stated in the quotation that opens this chapter, Richard is comfortable walking right up to academic librarians with the expectation and confidence in librarians' ability to provide assistance. As a self-described poor, formerly incarcerated person, Richard has managed to place himself on an upward social trajectory with opportunities to improve his position within society, thanks – at

[13] While Richard does not define himself entirely based around his previous incarceration, he does admit he frequently brought up jail because "literally, like, it's a backdrop for, like, so much of my life."

least partially – to the increase in social capital via his connections to jail, public, and academic libraries, librarians, and staff.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I utilized the experiences of Alberto, Rebekah, and Richard to demonstrate the relational nature of habitus, field, and capital, specifically social capital and embodied cultural capital. The cases of Alberto and Richard demonstrate these forms and states of capital can explain how FGCS not predisposed to libraries of any type from a young age can foster a malleable habitus in which they are comfortable, and even thrive, in the field of academic libraries. Rebekah's experience demonstrates how one can effectively tap into existing dispositions and capital reserves to assist their academic success. In discussing fields, Wacquant (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), states:

> Each field prescribes its particular values and possesses its own regulative principles. These principles delimit a socially structured space in which agents struggle, depending on the position they occupy in that space, either to change or to preserve its boundaries and form (p. 17).

In the field of academic libraries, cultural and social capital are the dominant forms of capital which regulate that particular social arena. Possession and composition of these types of capital, therefore, dictate, to a certain extent, one's actions in the field. Alberto, Rebekah, and Richard all utilized their reserves of social capital, while Alberto and Rebekah also relied on their embodied cultural capital to comfortably operate within the field of academic libraries.

Chapter VIII: Conclusion

In this dissertation, I addressed the following research questions: (1) How does family background, particularly parental educational attainment, and socioeconomic status facilitate perceptions, attitudes, and use of academic library resources and services among first-generation college students? and (2) What is the role of academic libraries in the process of social reproduction in the lives of first-generation college students?

Utilizing Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of habitus, field, and capital, I focused on the attitudes, perceptions, and actual lived experiences of 16 first-generation college students regarding academic libraries within a single institution of higher education at a flagship public university in a midwestern U.S. state. Via analysis of interview transcripts, participant-produced diaries, and observational field notes, I explored the myriad emotional and physical responses FGCS hold regarding academic libraries. I demonstrated how possession of social and cultural capital can contribute to academic library use in the pursuit of academic success and degree attainment, even for students who were not otherwise disposed to library use of any type during their formative years. I developed the notion of the dual habitus, a theoretical expansion of Bourdieu's key concept, as analysis made clear that participants with little or no experience of using public libraries in their childhood, i.e., those who were not socialized into the field of public libraries at an early age and who did not possess dispositions which predisposed them to utilize academic libraries as college students, contributed to, and perhaps encouraged, the development of dispositions toward academic libraries as college students.

In this chapter, I provide a summary of the research findings that emerged during the data analysis process. In the next section, I discuss the contributions of this project, including theoretical contributions and contributions to existing scholarship. Then I discuss the

methodological, theoretical, and practical implications before discussing avenues for future research. I close this chapter with a brief conclusion.

Situated within institutions of higher education, itself a field that constricts and affords differentially based upon an individual's dispositions and, particularly, capital composition, academic libraries are also fields that inhibit or allow real or perceived individual action. For example, Smriti, as previously noted in the discussion of academic libraries as fields of anxiety, professed a love of libraries that stems from her early experience with public libraries as a child; however, her early experiences of academic libraries, which she described as intimidating and daunting, prevented her from utilizing resources she, as a senior, "wish[es] I could have used years ago." In other examples, several participants expressed feelings of anxiety regarding academic libraries, or even what they thought *about* academic libraries, which ultimately determined, to a certain extent, their use of these spaces. Many participants perceived academic library spaces as sites in which one studies or works, thereby affecting their perceptions of, and actual experiences within, academic libraries. This situation is what lead Shihan, a frequent academic library user for both work and pleasure, to "feel sorry sometimes for students who are stressed in libraries. I think libraries have so much to offer." As a theoretical concept, fields are social arenas of practice and conflict in which habitus and the forms of capital interact. Defined as such, emphasizing the combative nature of fields, those who feel anxious, overwhelmed, or intimidated in these spaces operate at a disadvantage to those who do not harbor such feelings and emotions.

While much of Bourdieu's research agenda focused on the role of education in contributing to the maintenance or disruption of larger social hierarchies, the present study was more granular in focus, as I sought to highlight the individual as they operate within social

systems, like education. In a class-based society, higher education can be a source of, if not social disruption, social alteration and discontinuance. While higher education itself can disrupt the process of social reproduction, the factors that contribute to whether one attends post-secondary education, or not, are beyond the scope of this study. Suffice to say that barriers to higher education exist and, as such, because academic libraries are situated within institutions of higher education, their ability to disrupt the social reproduction process is potentially limited. This is especially the case given the findings of this research regarding the dual habitus and students' academic library (non/under) use.

Summary of research findings and analyses

Three primary themes emerged during the data analysis process: (1) perceptions of academic libraries as anxiety-inducing spaces, (2) perceptions of libraries as sites of assurance and comfort; and (3) the relationship between students' capital composition and their perceptions and use of academic libraries. I analyzed each theme in chapters V through VII and briefly summarize them here before moving into the primary sections of this concluding chapter – contributions of this project to existing scholarship and methodological, theoretical, and practical implications.

In Chapter V, I focused on participants who disclosed feelings of anxiety and nervousness regarding academic libraries. In this chapter, I connected Mellon's (1986) established theory of library anxiety to Bourdieu's theoretical concepts as I analyzed participants' perceptions of academic library spaces and resources. Within this general theme of anxiety, it emerged that students may be anxious about physical characteristics of academic libraries, while others feel anxious in these spaces not because of anything inherent *about* academic libraries, but rather their anxiety stems from what they *do* in academic libraries. Because an individual's capital and habitus combine to produce action within a given field, one's

attitudes and perceptions of, in this case, the field of academic libraries contributes to the extent to which they use, or not, academic libraries.

In contrast, in Chapter VI, I discussed my analysis of participants who are comfortable in academic libraries and when using library resources. Interestingly, it emerged through the data analysis that participants with little to no previous library experience often felt comfortable within academic libraries and were frequent academic library users, while some participants who grew up using public and/or school libraries were infrequent academic library users, while still others were frequent public/school library users *and* frequent academic library users. Although I did not formally compose hypotheses prior to conducting this project, I anticipated the opposite: frequent early public and/or school library use would transition to frequent academic library use. That the opposite was the case, and that some participants were frequent library users of various types, led to what I termed the 'dual habitus'. As participants made clear, their conceptions of public and academic libraries are very distinct, and these conceptions impact their actions within each similar, yet adjacent, field. Significantly, one's conceptions of a given field impact what they perceive to be acceptable actions. My proposal of the dual habitus provides a platform for discussion regarding the malleability and nature of the concept. This theoretical contribution is discussed in more detail later in this concluding chapter.

In Chapter VI, I also discuss the field of academic libraries in relation to the field of higher education. Utilizing Bourdieu's concept of field, although often overlooked by scholars in applications of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts, allowed me to analyze participants' perceptions of academic libraries and their actions within those spaces. That the concept of field is so often overlooked is a major detriment to much existing scholarship as fields are the arenas in which one's habitus is on display, as it is one's habitus that largely determines how they act (and do not

act) in a given environment. An analysis of field is necessary not only in relation to one's habitus, or, in the case of some study participants, dual habitus, but also in relation to one's capital possession and composition. In Chapter VII, I presented how social and cultural capital are necessary elements in producing actions within the field of academic libraries for first-generation college students.

Contributions to Existing Scholarship

The primary research findings contribute to existing scholarship in Library and Information Studies, higher education, and that focused on Bourdieu's theoretical concepts. In this section, I discuss the contributions of the present research to each of these bodies of literature.

Contributions to LIS literature.

The first primary finding of this project relates to Constance Mellon's (1986) theory of library anxiety. Based upon qualitative data collected over a two-year period that included students' free writing from 20 English composition courses, Mellon developed a grounded theory of library anxiety as students described their initial response to the library in terms of fear and anxiety. Mellon attributed these feelings to four factors: library size, a lack of knowledge about where things are located, how to begin a research project using library resources; and what to do in libraries and with library resources. Mellon also categorized students' responses into two groups: students who felt lost in the library and students who felt confused in the library. In the present study, I categorized participants' responses in similar ways. In what I termed 'anxiety by design', I presented students' feelings of anxiety regarding academic library spaces that stem from characteristics of physical library spaces – what Mellon described as students feeling lost in the library. In what I termed 'anxiety by association', I presented students' feelings of anxiety related to what they do while in academic libraries or while using library resources, which is

similar to what Mellon described as confusion on the part of students when confronted with utilizing library resources for academic purposes.

Mellon's (1986) original purpose for collecting data "was to help find better ways to teach search strategy and tool use…The intent was to use the findings to shed light on the increasing literature about how library instruction should be accomplished" (p. 163). The pragmatic origins of Mellon's research aimed to foster innovation and best teaching practices in library instruction. Unlike Mellon's pragmatism, the current research project is more idealistic and theoretical. The goal of the present research was not to address acute issues within library instruction, however valuable Mellon's contributions were, rather, the scope of this dissertation project was considerably broader as I applied Bourdieu's theoretical concepts to explore how one's dispositions and capital resources contribute to feelings and use of academic libraries. My utilization of Bourdieu's concepts provided a more wholistic account of the factors that contribute to perceptions, feelings, and use of academic libraries than what Mellon considered in her development of the theory of library anxiety.

In her qualitative approach, Mellon relied upon and the work of Bogdan and Taylor's (1975) phenomenological approach to social science and, more intently, composition theorists (Britton, 1970; Emig, 1971; Flower & Hayes, 1979; Moffet, 1968) as theoretical reference points, which differ significantly from Bourdieu's sociological concepts. Additionally, Mellon's reliance on composition theorists produced analysis that focused students' compositions and prioritized the data sources, rather than interrogating the conditions that produces students' work that comprised her dataset. While Mellon's, at the time groundbreaking and unique research, identified the phenomenon of library anxiety and uncovered valuable insight into student perceptions of academic libraries, her work did not explore the conditions and factors that

contributed to library anxiety. While numerous scholars, notably Bostick (1992), Jiao and Onwuegbuzie (2001), and Jiao, Onwuegbuzie, and Bostick (2004) have furthered Mellon's original work, only more recently have scholars (Lund and Walston, 2020) expanded Mellon's work in a theoretical direction in their examination of the Anxiety-Uncertainty Management (AUM) theory as a prelude to Mellon's theory. Even this work, however, is housed within the rather limited scholarship of information seeking behavior. The present dissertation presents an expansion of library anxiety research beyond information seeking behavior literature. Applying Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of habitus and capital, in addition to the field of academic libraries, offers new analytical insight into an often-cited body of literature.

Unlike the first primary finding, the second primary research finding is not nearly as well established within existing literature. For this reason, my dissertation research contributes via filling an understudied aspect of academic librarianship, namely positive student perceptions of academic libraries to counter the plethora of literature documenting student anxiety. While Mellon's theory is a seminal work in LIS literature, there is no such companion piece regarding students' positive affective perceptions of academic libraries. The body of existing literature is largely comprised of case studies documenting positive interventions to combat anxiety or initiatives that address librarian-perceived deficiencies or areas of concern (e.g., Parks, 2019); the relationship between library use and academic success (e.g., De Groote & Scoulas, 2022); and research from a user experience perspective – both physical (e.g., Mei, Aas & Eide, 2020) and virtual (e.g., Dease, Villaespesa & MacDonald, 2020) – with few theoretical interventions in this body of literature (Lund & Walston, 2020; McAfee, 2018).[14] My contribution to positive

[14] I conducted a search of LIS databases using combinations of various terms including: academic library, quality of service, student attitudes, psychology of students, psychology of library users, satisfaction, assurance, affirmation, support, and promise.

student perceptions of academic library spaces and resources is significant, as students' perceptions regarding academic libraries may affect their utilization of these spaces or even prevent students from making use of academic libraries entirely. This contribution adds to the work of Couture et al (2020), who are among the few scholars to examine FGCS and academic libraries that delves into the affective nature of this relationship.

As discussed at length in Chapter II, there is a paucity of LIS research specific to academic libraries that engages Bourdieu's theoretical concepts. Hussey (2010) acknowledges "Bourdieu's work provides several concepts relevant to the LIS professions: habitus, capital, symbolic power and the use of language, and the fields of cultural production" (p. 48). In providing a brief review of LIS research, notably across library types and not specific to academic libraries, Hussey discusses scholarship that incorporates Bourdieu's concepts rather than his entire theoretical apparatus. As I have repeatedly stated, Bourdieu's theoretical concepts are relational and the frequent scholarly application, in LIS and other academic disciplines, is a crucial detriment to much existing scholarship. Theoretically, not incorporating Bourdieu's full theoretical apparatus produces simplified and uncomplicated analysis that ignores the nuance and complexity of his relational concepts. Ignoring any of Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field, and capital is akin to removing one leg of a stool: the entire structure collapses if not used and understood as a complete package. Practically, ignoring one of more of his concepts ignores the very real conditions that interact to explain, at a grand level, how society operates, but more significantly, how individuals live their daily lives. Without a consideration of habitus, what accounts for individual's actions and practices? Although more complex than simple physical environments, fields require a social space in which one's habitus influences action. Similarly, ignoring one's capital composition and possession ignores how social connections, skills, and

financial resources affect how people act and behave. Even in her discussion of future research, Hussey outlines avenues for research that utilizes Bourdieu's concepts in isolation. My dissertation, and the subsequent publications that stem from this root, will provide considerable value to existing literature simply because it fully incorporates Bourdieu's theoretical concepts.

Bourdieu's own work on academic libraries (Bourdieu & de Saint Martin, 1965/1994) revealed that many students reported using the library to work and did not make use of the various available resources (i.e., catalogues, reference works, textbooks). Not only does this reflect Bourdieu's own conceptions of what a library space is and how users should use physical libraries, it also demonstrates how, despite the intervening years and differing cultural contexts, students will make use of a space to suit their needs. As in 1960s France, students in the 21st century United States use campus libraries to work and study, not necessarily to make use of the physical resources and collections. To reiterate, only when prompted did participants consider digital resources as part of 'the library' with some participants needing a probe to mention physical resources. This particular finding represents anecdotal support to larger discussions within LIS about library space, design, and the move toward information and learning commons (Allison, et al., 2019; Cha & Kim, 2015; Khoo et al., 2016; Montgomery, 2014; Oliveira, 2018b).

Contributions to applications of Bourdieu's concepts

The third primary research finding adds to the abundant body of literature, within higher education and LIS, regarding the forms of capital. In this regard, my research joins the extensive existing literature, but because I incorporate Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and field with social and cultural capital, this research avoids the pitfalls of much existing research that "commentators have faulted empirical researchers for disconnecting cultural capital from his [Bourdieu's] accompanying concepts of field, habitus, and practice" (Davies & Rizk, 2018, p. 347). Scholarly critics of this misappropriation of cultural capital rightly argue that, as a

relational concept, “studies that tear the concept out of its surrounding framework and its related notions of field, habitus, and practice, they contend that culture become ‘capital’ only in relation to the dynamics of the surrounding field” (Davies & Rizk, 2018, p. 347). As a relational concept, cultural capital does not contain any inherent properties. Instead, the surrounding field confers value to cultural capital. In the field of academic libraries, the influence of cultural capital is most notable in the case of Alberto, who was not disposed to libraries during his childhood; however, as operationalized in this study, his cultural capital – his personal traits and characteristics developed as a child – led him to frequently utilize academic libraries to achieve academic success and reward the sacrifices of his parents and extended family that allowed him a path to post-secondary education.

Returning to the literature review, the present research engages with Dumais’ (2002) quantitative study that utilized the National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS) data set, in which the author explored habitus and cultural capital, intentionally operationalized as participation in the arts. Included in the questionnaire administered to participants, Dumais asked participants about their public library use (“Do you or your eighth grader take part in any of the following activities…borrowing books from the public library”). As speculated, one’s public library use as children and adolescents does contribute to one’s habitus, although the analysis process revealed, as discussed, a complex relationship between an individual’s socialization into public libraries in their formative years and their subsequent socialization, or not, into academic libraries as college students.

Theoretical contributions

Throughout the iterative dissertation process – from the selection of topic, formulation and reformulation of research questions, the literature review, data collection, analysis, and writing – it became clear my project would be heavily theoretical, and this has proven to be the

case. As such, the findings of this work make initial theoretical contributions, of which I would like to pursue in future research, described later. Immediately, I will introduce the theoretical contributions of the present study.

Dual habitus.

Taken at a large scale, critics and scholars had identified Bourdieu's social theory is not overly conducive to social change, nor does his framework encourage researchers to seek out forms of change (Swartz, 1997). What I term the dual habitus is my contribution to what Swartz (1997) identifies as "one conceptual possibility for resistance and change rests on the mismatch between the expectations of habitus and the opportunities offered by fields" (p. 290). As discussed in Chapter VI, via the analysis of participants who successfully and unsuccessfully modified their habitus based upon dispositions toward public libraries as children, I propose that students who are able to develop a dual habitus, like Kalpana, recognize the opportunities offered by the field of academic libraries and are able to reconcile the mismatch between their public library habitus with their newly developed academic library one, resulting in the position of the dual habitus. While Bourdieu (1990) discussed the reinforcement or transformation of one's habitus, I propose individuals do more than reinforce or transform their habitus, they create an entirely new set of dispositions that govern their actions within each unique field.

Field.

Perhaps nothing is as significant in Bourdieu's relational theoretical concepts as in the relationship between habitus and field, as "they function fully *only in relation to one another*" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 19, emphasis in original). Bourdieu used battlefield and game metaphors to discuss the operation of social fields and, in the game metaphor, a field is "a *space of play* which exists as such only to the extent that players enter into it who believe in and actively pursue the prizes it offers" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 19, emphasis in original).

Each social field has specific rules of the game that generally govern said social space. At the individual level, one's understanding of these rules, which stem from their capital composition and habitus, affect their position in the field and, ultimately, their actions and practices, or, in Bourdieu's (1989) words:

> But just as subjectivism inclines one to reduce structures to visible interactions, objectivism tends to deduce actions and interactions from the structure. So the crucial error, the theoreticist error that you find in Marx, would consist in treating classes on paper as real classes, in concluding from the objective homogeneity of conditions, of conditionings, and thus of dispositions, which flows from the identity of position in social space, that the agents involved exist as a unified group, as a class (p. 17).

Crucially, to continue with the game metaphor, two children – habitus and field – meet and it is this interaction, the interaction between the subjective, mental structures of the habitus, and the objective, social structures of the field, produce individual practice. It stands, then, in any analysis involving these concepts, one must explore the internal dispositions of an actor *and* the external social conditions and structures, making Swartz's claim regarding field of utmost importance, "Of all his concepts, field is currently the least well understood and yet the most promising for future sociological work" (Swartz, 1997, p. 291). Despite the indispensable nature of the field, that, as discussed in the literature review of Chapter II and which Swartz confirms, is a concept that scholars have not adequately incorporated in their applications of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts. While my intention in the present research is to focus on the experiences and perceptions of the first-generation participants, my analysis of field, here conceived of as the fields of public and academic libraries, indicates action and practice *are*, as theoretically conceived, affected by both the subjective habitus and objective rules and structures that govern any given field.

While Bourdieu prioritized cultural fields (e.g., literature, arts, science, religion, etc.), I have prioritized the social aspects of physical environments, namely public and academic

libraries, in my analysis. Despite this difference, an analysis including the field concept is integral to applying Bourdieu's theoretical apparatus. Power and hierarchical relationships are essential components of the field concept from an analytical perspective. As arenas of conflict in which individuals are in competition, fields afford analytical insight into how one's cultural, social, and economic capital, in combination with their habitus, combine to create advantageous and disadvantageous conditions that affect one's actions and practice, and, ultimately, contribute to social processes that stratify society. Any analysis that omits the field concept is incomplete, as a field analysis provides a way to monitor and map the productive interaction of habitus and capital that individuals utilize to position themselves within society.

Cultural and social capital.

Bourdieu (1979/1984) refers to cultural capital as a set of inclinations, or tastes, that originate in the home during an individual's formative years and which come to serve as markers of difference in a class-based social hierarchy. More succinctly, Bourdieu (1986) defines cultural capital as scarce resources, knowledge, skills and abilities that are rewarded in specific contexts and can take one of three states: embodied, objectified, and institutionalized. In relation to the present study, which examined first-generation college students, their levels of cultural capital are limited because their parents did not receive a four-year college degree, which implies that first-generation students were not raised in an academic environment that would contribute to one's inclination to attend college or their taste for pursuing scholarly endeavors, thereby producing a barrier to college enrollment.

Although not universal, a vast majority of the first-generation participants in this study indicated a sense of pressure – of varying degrees – from their parents to attend college. For some students, this parental pressure was more culturally based, for example, Jian, Qing, Shihan, and Xixin, all Chinese students, mentioned, implicitly or explicitly, an expectation they attend

college. For others, the expectation was discussed in economic terms, as Hilda explicitly stated her parents equated college with success and money, while Chloe discussed the expectations in veiled economic terms in that she did not want to replicate her parents' employment in tiring factory jobs. While their parents may not have received a four-year college degree, nor are they familiar with the requirements, expectations, and activities of post-secondary education, many first-generation participants in this study actively pursued additional, non-familial advice and support regarding college. In this regard, the findings of this study indicate the limitations of using cultural capital as a stand alone concept, which is common among much existing scholarship. This study demonstrates the relational aspects of Bourdieu's forms of capital and the necessity to acknowledge this relationality and concurrently utilize these theoretical concepts.

Furthermore, as Baldwin, et al. (2021) indicate in their examination of recent literature regarding FGCS, scholars' use of cultural capital tends to position first-generation students from a deficit perspective and argue "researchers and practitioners should adopt a strengths-based approach when viewing the capital that first-generation students bring with them to college, which might include identifying how students successfully navigate institutions despite social and cultural capital shortfalls" (p. 112). This statement corroborates Ilett's (2019) finding in his review of scholarship regarding FGCS within LIS literature. As such, my discussion of cultural capital, in addition to my discussion of the positive parental and familial impact on participants' habitus, combat the regrettably common conceptions of first-generation students from a deficit perspective.

Baldwin, et al. (2021) also indicate researchers' need to situate cultural capital of first-generation students "within the classroom and focus on the college experience after the first year" (p. 112). My research addresses both of these calls, as I consider the role of cultural

capital, not within the classroom, but within academic libraries, a vital space and house of resources that can assist in positive within classroom outcomes. Additionally, only two of the 16 participants in the present study are first-year undergraduate students. Although I did not analyze and compare experiences along these lines, doing so is a potential avenue for future research. Relatedly, Baldwin, et al. (2021) raise the following question as an example to spur scholarly research, "how do first-generation students build their social and cultural capital by their third and fourth years, and are they able to level the playing field?" (p. 112). This two-part question is closely related to the research questions my dissertation addresses. As I discuss throughout the analysis, first-generation students supplement their cultural capital, which develops in their home during their formative years, with their active solicitation of support and advice from non-familial actors to assist their navigation of post-secondary education. Academic libraries, including staff, services, and as a physical space, contribute to their capital composition and possession.

Using a cultural and social capital approach can have a tendency to oversimplify the collegiate experiences of first-generation students, as Baldwin, et al. (2021) describe, "For example, studies that identified a lack of cultural capital passed on by parents assumed that first-generation students could not use alternative methods, including social and institutional support, to fill in the gaps" (p. 112). Baldwin, et al. correctly point out a limitation of utilizing cultural capital in isolation, which matches my repeated mention of the relationality of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts, as it is not uncommon for scholarship to focus on cultural (or social) capital alone. A strict application of Bourdieu's cultural capital may lead to first-generation students' limited use of institutional support, as, theoretically, these students were not raised in a household in which institutional knowledge of higher education was present, thereby restricting

their familiarity with institutional support systems. My presentation of participants' experiences demonstrates an intentional and active pursual of social support to supplement the support first-generations students receive from their family.

Implications

There are several implications of the findings of this research project. In this section, I will discuss the methodological, theoretical, and practical implications pertinent to the findings of the present study.

Methodological implications.

Conducting qualitative research during the COVID-19 pandemic posed unique challenges and inconveniences; however, the situation also posed unexpected conveniences. On one hand, the situation impacted the opportunities for collecting observational field notes to accompany participants' interview responses and written diaries, while, on the other hand, it was relatively easy to schedule, coordinate, and conduct virtual interviews with participants. Although it was easy to schedule and meet, it was immeasurably difficult and awkward to manage the virtual interviews when participants became emotional as they recalled delicate, sensitive, or difficult memories and experiences. Reflecting on these moments immediately after the interviews' conclusion, and looking back on those moments from a greater temporal distance, I have been more acutely considering ethics in the data collection process. For example, I realize the necessity in deviating from the interview protocol and anticipating when participants may become especially emotional so as to be, at the very least, more prepared to respond to those moments. As I reflected from an even greater temporal distance – months later following data analysis – it seems reasonable that conducting virtual interviews via Zoom, as opposed to face-to-face, perhaps allowed participants to feel more comfortable revealing personal experiences, being open, and allowing themselves to show vulnerability, all of which they may not have done,

or done to a lesser extent, during an in-person interview. By nature, virtual interviews creates a distance. Furthermore, although this is purely speculative, perhaps participants, most of whom are in their late teens and early 20s, are more comfortable in general operating in virtual spaces, while the effects of COVID-19 have, to a certain extent, created a new normal regarding virtual interactions.

Theoretical implications.

Theoretically, the findings of this project demonstrated the absolute necessity with which scholars applying Bourdieu's concepts do so wholistically, and not superficially or inadequately engage his concepts. As I present in my analysis of participants' experiences, it is not enough to isolate, for example, cultural capital, from habitus and field, and even from Bourdieu's other forms of capital. Doing so ignores the complexities of the social world and, as such, brings the findings of such research into question. Applying Bourdieu's theoretical concepts in isolation is akin to removing one leg of a 3-legged stool: if one leg is removed the entire structure is compromised. In the present study, analysis of participants' experiences that examined their cultural and social capital composition, along with their dispositions, or lack thereof, regarding early socialization into the field of public libraries, contributed to the emergence of what I have termed the dual habitus, a phenomenon that demonstrates the complex relationship among habitus, capital, and field.

Additionally, the analysis and findings of this project expose the need for researchers and academics to complicate and modernize Bourdieu's theoretical concepts and ask simple questions that have complex answers: How can we define field? How can we identify habitus? Along with dissecting and further exploring the implications of these questions to his grander social theory, his work on education also requires a reexamination. One relevant critique of Bourdieu's scholarly output regarding education – although this critique is applicable more

generally – is the unique context in which it took place. Nineteen-sixties-era France was a very different time and place than 21st century United States. With discussions of immigration and race at the fore of public discourse in the post-Trump era, there is a need to modernize Bourdieu's concepts as scholars examine the notions of race, nationality, and social class in the United States.

Practical implications.

Along with the aforementioned methodological and theoretical implications, findings of this project also have practical implications. First, academic libraries suffer from something of an image problem, as participants' differing conceptions and memories of public and academic libraries illustrate. Participants who used public libraries as children all had fond memories of those spaces and associated them with leisure and fun. Nearly half (seven of 16) of the participants in this research project associated academic libraries with feelings of anxiety or apprehension. Concerted effort on behalf of academic libraries to ease the common association of academic libraries with anxiety is necessary if they are to best serve all campus constituents.

Similarly, participants in this research study hold very different conceptions of academic and public libraries which, for those who were public library users as children, stem from their positive childhood memories; however, as emerged from the data analysis, these differing perceptions contributed to a mismatch with the subjective expectations of what libraries should be (i.e., the public library habitus) and the objective structures of the field of academic libraries. Some students, like Kalpana, were able to transition and develop a dual habitus, while others, like Charlotte, were not. As such, academic libraries must engage in early intervention initiatives to reach all students. Perhaps simply being in a campus library can take the edge off the anxiety some students may feel. For others, those not disposed to public libraries during their formative years, being in a campus library can help foster the development of an academic library habitus,

rather than place the onus on individual students to explore academic libraries on their own, which, of course, some students may not do. It should be the job of academic libraries, not individual students, to initiate a potentially valuable discovery of the wealth of knowledge, resources, and services housed in academic libraries within institutions of higher education across the country.

It emerged from the data that all 16 participants thought of academic libraries as physical spaces and only talked about digital resources when prompted during the interviews. Similarly, in participant diaries, individuals reflected on their time spent in campus libraries and not their experiences utilizing digital library resources. This finding of participants conceptualizing academic libraries as physical spaces first and then, if at all, thinking about digital resources as part of "the library" has implications for use, especially in relation to the finding that many students harbor apprehensive feelings toward academic library spaces. Commonly conceived as houses of knowledge within institutions of higher education, this conceptualization creates multiple barriers of access, both emotional (e.g., overcoming feelings of anxiety) and logistical (e.g., getting to the physical library). On the one hand, academic libraries must develop and actively promote the various digital components of their resources and services, as even students, like engineering major Rebekah, who frequently obtains journal articles via the library, do not initially consider virtual resources and services as part of "the library." On the other hand, academic libraries need to address and, given the results of the present research, should prioritize physical characteristics that may cause anxiety among users, or even worse, prevent students from utilizing academic libraries in the first place. To this end, an example from my notes observational fieldnotes is constructive: at Monumental Library there is a now unstaffed reference desk and accompanying reference section that comprises a substantial portion of an

entire floor of the library. During observations, students would approach the desk, read the sign indicating the desk was closed as a service point, and, instead of pursuing the support they clearly sought, would return to their work. All this is to say that it is imperative that academic libraries make identifying and finding assistance as easy as possible for all library users.

In addition to the anecdote from my field notes, considering the intersection of physical library space and library anxiety, I propose a number of recommendations that stem from this project. First, librarians and staff must carefully consider as many factors as possible that may affect physical comfort in academic libraries, including temperature, as Jian indicated cold desks in library make him feel uncomfortable. Seating is another consideration, as again Jian indicated he prefers to sit by a window when working in a campus library. This consideration is relation to another librarians and staff must consider: lighting. Windows provide natural light, which some students may prefer. In (re)designing library space, conscious consideration should be given to where study areas are located, near windows, for example. These suggested recommendations only begin to scratch the surface and, suffice it to say, any consideration of physical library design requires detailed thought and consideration.

Future research

Having completed this dissertation project, narrowly focused on two specific, yet expansive, research questions, I am left with more questions – including methodological, theoretical, and practical – that present opportunities for future research.

As mentioned in my discussion of the methodological implications that emanated from this research project, I am more attuned to the role of empathy in the data collection process. Related specifically to my experience conducting virtual interviews, during which participants became overtly emotional, I am planning to compose future publications regarding virtual empathy. Furthermore, I am also more perceptive to affect and emotion more generally within

the qualitative data collection process, with my future work adding to a wealth of existing scholarship, particularly that of Margaret Wetherell (2013; 2015). Regarding the specifics of this project, I plan to examine the relationship between affect and social class in another avenue to pursue in my future work. Threadgold's (2020) work on affective affinity, which operates at the intersection of Bourdieu, social class, and affect, provides a foundation for this line of inquiry.

Theoretically, I am most excited about exploring what I termed the dual habitus that emerged from the analysis process in this study, or of what Lahire (2003) has called "a sociology at the level of the individual." Whereas Lahire (2003) asks "Is it possible to assess degrees of formation or reinforcement of dispositions according to the frequency and the intensity with which they were acquired?" (p. 335-336), I pose a similar question based upon findings that emerged from this study: Is it possible to simultaneously hold multiple dispositions according to the frequency and intensity with which they were acquired? Pursuing theoretical scholarship within the sociology of the individual in the Lahireian vein accompanies my approach to research which focuses on individual action within the confines of external societal factors.

At the border of theory and practice lies my interest in further examination of academic libraries as place/space. Drawing upon Henri Lefebvre's (1991) Marxist, class-based lens, I am interested in applying his theoretical conceptualization of space to academic libraries. Proposed research in this arena will also draw upon Mellon's (1986) theory of library anxiety, as well as the analysis of the present dissertation research, to further explore the emotions and affective perceptions of academic libraries students hold beyond anxiety. This line of research aligns with my subjectivist epistemology, critical orientation, and overall approach to qualitative research, in which I strive to center individual experiences. I am eager to explore Lefebvre's three categorizations of space: spatial practice, representations of space, and representational spaces, in

relation to college students and academic libraries. These theoretical conceptions of space can have practical implications if academic library administrators and staff take into account user conceptions of *their* (i.e., library admin and staff) library space.

In the present study, with Richard being the notable exception, participants did not frequently nor explicitly address social class in their responses or diaries. Several participants mentioned a personal desire to attend college; and many felt encouragement, pressure, or both, from their parents to obtain a college degree, with the implication being a college degree will lead to better economic opportunities. No participants, however, explicitly discussed their situation in such blatant economic terms, not even Richard who otherwise very openly discussed being poor and not having much money growing up. As previously mentioned, I decided to scrap a chapter focused on social class for the dissertation, potentially a limitation of the current project given Bourdieu's emphasis on social class; however, a highly inferential examination of FGCS, social class, and academic libraries is one avenue for future research. Examining the relationship between aspirational feelings regarding the pursuit of higher education, social class, and the role of academic libraries presents a fruitful prospect for further exploration. This line of inquiry, with its specific attention to academic libraries, differs slightly from existing work at the margins of affective theory, social class, and higher education (Mulcahy & Martinussen, 2022a; 2022b).

In addition to a more extensive examination of social class, I would like to conduct future research to gather more detailed and focused data that examines specific socially constructed and conceived categories, including race and gender, which, in addition to class, are well-researched topics in the sociology of education (Buchmann, DiPrete, & McDaniel, 2008; Kao & Thompson, 2003; Sirin, 2005). In the same vein, intersectional analysis of college student – first-generation

or otherwise – identities as they relate to academic libraries in a Bourdieusian framework is another fruitful avenue of additional research and one in which would complement the present research, as it is intentionally non-intersectional.

Participants in this dissertation project represent various groups, including, among others, graduate (n=5) and undergraduate (n=11) students, international (n=5) and domestic (n=11) students, and students who identify as female (n=10) and male (n=6). I did not use these categories in the analysis process; however, analyses of these categories present multiple avenues for future research to further explore FGCS' perceptions of, and experiences within, academic libraries.

Conclusion

Ultimately, the experiences of the first-generation college students who participated in this study demonstrate the complexities in their perceptions, attitudes, and use of academic library spaces, resources, and services. While academic libraries can play a crucial role in contributing to academic success, which can lead to disruption of larger social reproduction, academic libraries are situated within institutions of higher education, entrance to which includes barriers and factors that are beyond the scope of this research. The findings of this project indicate some students who are disposed to public libraries did not translate those dispositions to academic libraries (e.g., Lois & Charlotte), while others (e.g., Alberto & Richard) developed dispositions toward academic libraries despite not being disposed to public libraries as children. Still others (e.g., Kalpana), who were disposed to public libraries growing up, managed to develop a dual habitus to incorporate the field of academic libraries. In Bourdieusian terms, being disposed (i.e., habitus) to the field of public libraries as a child does not necessarily equate to dispositions toward the field of academic libraries as college students. Additionally, participants' responses indicated the value of cultural and social capital in fostering an academic

library habitus and utilization of academic library spaces and resources. As individuals are complex, unpredictable beings, their demands of academic libraries are myriad and subject to change, providing an immense challenge for academic libraries to serve as potential sites that can assist FGCS in disrupting the social reproduction process; however, the significant potential for academic libraries to intervene makes taking up the challenge worthy and invaluable.

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List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Appendices

Appendix A: Literature Review Methods

To address how education and LIS scholars have utilized Bourdieu's concepts and identify gaps in extant scholarship, I conducted a search on 17 March 2021 of the following databases: SocIndex, a full text database including nearly 450 full-text journals dating to 1908 and abstracts for more than 800 journals back to 1895; Educational Research Complete, a full-text database covering all stages of education and various education subfields that includes more than 3,500 journals; Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC), an education database that indexes over 1.3 million bibliographic records, including journals, books, conference papers, reports and policy papers; and Library Literature and Information Science Full Text, an LIS database with coverage dating to 1980. In each database, I included the following search terms: "higher education" AND "cultural capital", "social capital", "economic capital", "symbolic capital", "habitus" "Bourdieu". Additionally, in Library and Information Science Full Text, I also included the following search strings: "academic libraries" AND "cultural capital", "social capital", "economic capital", "symbolic capital", "habitus" and "Bourdieu" because of my specific interest in academic, not other types, of libraries. I did not place any initial limitations on the search (e.g. date, location, type of publication). I conducted keyword searches, not subject or author-supplied subject terms, because author-supplied terms are a form of folksonomy, a classification system in which users (in this case authors) apply tags to organize content, rather than language the database controls. Additionally, the keyword search parameter is broader than subject heading, meaning a keyword search will include subject headings. This initial search yielded 5,836 initial results (see Table 1).

Database	Search Term 1	Search Term 2	Initial Results
Education Research Complete	"higher education"	"cultural capital"	362
	"higher education"	"social capital"	512
	"higher education"	"economic capital"	26

	"higher education"	habitus	254
	"higher education"	Bourdieu	428
ERIC	"higher education"	"cultural capital"	892
	"higher education"	"social capital"	1141
	"higher education"	"economic capital"	46
	"higher education"	habitus	350
	"higher education"	Bourdieu	924
SocIndex	"higher education"	"cultural capital"	205
	"higher education"	"social capital"	220
	"higher education"	"economic capital"	19
	"higher education"	habitus	122
	"higher education"	Bourdieu	212
Library Literature and Information Science FT	"higher education"	"cultural capital"	1
	"higher education"	"social capital"	11
	"higher education"	"economic capital"	0
	"higher education"	habitus	2
	"higher education"	Bourdieu	1
	"academic libraries"	"cultural capital"	3
	"academic libraries"	"social capital"	25
	"academic libraries"	"economic capital"	0
	"academic libraries"	habitus	1
	"academic libraries"	Bourdieu	2
Total initial results			5,759

Table 1: Combined initial, unfiltered search results

Unfortunately, limiting database results to a specific geographic location is not straightforward. Only one database consulted in the search (ERIC) allows for location identifiers; however, it is not clear what the controlled term is for a location identifier (i.e. could be “United States” or “USA” or “U.S.A.” or “U.S.”) because the option is free text, not a pick list. In the other databases consulted, there is not location identifier or geographic specification. Adding the term “United States” (or “USA”, “U.S.” etc.) would pick up the phrase anywhere it appears, meaning that, for example, a comparative study of cultural capital in Australian and United States higher education institutions, but was conducted in Australia, would be included in the

search results. For these reasons, I applied language (English) and publication type (scholarly or peer-reviewed) limiters to filter further the initial set of results, which left 4,879 results.

In the next step, I manually examined the 4,879 results and eliminated those outside the United States and those that did not focus on students (e.g., results examining curriculum or teachers and/or educators, academic staff) I also eliminated duplicates in this phase. With a set of unique results, I then further eliminated nonrelevant results (e.g., those that did not explicitly utilize Bourdieu's concept(s) or those I did not filter out in the earlier phases).

To complete the search process, I examined the reference list of various articles and books, including the appendix to Wacquant and Bourdieu (1992), to explore additional avenues to uncover potential resources that did not come up in the search described above. Additionally, I relied on previous related projects to include additional relevant resources. Lastly, I consulted with scholars in the field of Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis (ELPA) and LIS to respectively identify seminal works and check the literature search described above.

Appendix B: Six frames for information literacy for higher education

1. Authority is constructed and contextual
2. Information creation as a process
3. Information has value
4. Research as inquiry
5. Scholarship as conversation
6. Searching as strategic exploration

Appendix C: Codebook

Inductive, Low-level Categories and Themes

Category	Theme	Definition
Family		References to people; specific family members (e.g., mother, father, sibling, grandparent); References about people; specific family members
	Positive, affirming relationships	Experiences regarding positive, affirming, supporting relationships with specific family members
	Negative, adverse relationships	Experiences regarding negative, adverse, difficult relationships with specific family members
Childhood		References to general memories about one's formative years; References to specific events that occurred during one's formative years
	Positive memories	Experiences of which participant holds positive, pleasant, or satisfied memories
	Negative memories	Experiences of which participant holds negative, unpleasant, or dissatisfied memories
	Familial influences	Experiences from participant's formative years they attribute to a specific family member; Experiences from participant's formative years they attribute to external factors (e.g., socioeconomic status; immigration status)
School experiences (primary & secondary)		Participants' experiences from their K-12 education
	Positive experiences	Positive or affirming experiences from participants' K-12 education
	Negative experiences	Negative or adverse experiences from participants' K-12 education
	In-school experiences	Positive or negative experiences that occurred within schools during participants' K-12 education
	Out-of-school experiences	Positive or negative experiences that occurred outside of schools (e.g., family circumstances & conditions) during participants' K-12 education
Post-secondary education		Participants' (ongoing) experiences and emotions about their post-secondary education

	Positive experiences, feelings & emotions	Positive (ongoing) experiences and emotions about their post-secondary education
	Negative experiences, feelings & emotions	Negative (ongoing) experiences and emotions about their post-secondary education
	On-campus experiences, feelings & emotions	Experiences and emotions about their on-campus lives; Experiences and emotions that take place on-campus
	Off-campus experiences, feelings & emotions	Off-campus factors that impact participants' on-campus experiences and emotions (e.g., parental encouragement to attend college)
Libraries (general)		Participants' general thoughts, attitudes, perceptions of the term 'library'
	Library space and resources	Participants' conceptualization of 'the library'
Public libraries		References to participants' experiences in public libraries
	Public library (non)use as a child	References to all (positive & negative) experiences of public libraries when growing up
	Public library (non)use as an adult	References to all (positive & negative) experiences of public libraries as an adult (≥18 years old)
	Positive experiences of public libraries	Positive or affirming experiences of public libraries during all life stages
	Negative experiences of public libraries	Negative or unpleasant experiences of public libraries during all life stages
Academic libraries (non/use)		All references to what participants do in academic libraries; All references to conditions, circumstances, or situations that contribute to non/under-use of academic libraries
Academic libraries (feelings & emotions)		References to how participants feel when in academic libraries
	Positive feelings & emotions	Positive, pleasant, and satisfying feelings and emotions participants disclosed about academic libraries
	Negative feelings & emotions	Negative, unpleasant, or uncomfortable feelings and emotions participants disclosed about academic libraries
	Feelings of anxiety	A specific type of negative feelings and emotions participants disclosed about academic libraries

Academic libraries (attitudes & perceptions)		References to how participants feel *about* academic libraries; References to participants' perceptions *of* academic libraries
	Toward academic librarians & staff	References to participants' attitudes and perceptions toward librarians & library staff
	Toward library resources	References to participants' attitudes and perceptions toward all library resources; Includes references to physical & digital resources
	Toward physical library spaces	Specific references toward physical library spaces; References *about* participants' attitudes & perceptions *of* physical library spaces

Deductive Bourdieusian Coding

Bourdieusian concept	**Code**	**Sub-code**
The forms of capital	Social capital	
		Social capital – family
		Social capital – friends
		Social capital – school
		Social capital – libraries
	Cultural capital	
		Cultural capital – family
		Cultural capital – school
		Cultural capital – libraries
	Economic capital	
		Economic capital – family
		Economic capital – self
Habitus	Habitus	
Field	Field	
		Field – school
		Field – public library
		Field – academic library

Appendix D: Interview Protocol

Interview Protocol
Topic Domain: Background Questions
Covert categories
Family SES background; Family and economic capital; Family and cultural capital; Habitus; Dispositions; Likes/dislikes
Lead-off question
How are you feeling today?
Follow-up questions
Where are you from?
Where did you grow up (i.e., geographic location, urban/rural)?
What are your hobbies?
Did you have a job/jobs when you were growing up? Do you have a job/jobs now?
Topic Domain: Family Questions
Covert categories
Family SES status; Family and economic capital; Cultural capital
Lead-off question
Do you maintain contact with your immediate family? Do you see and/or communicate with them often?
Follow-up questions
Do you parents/guardians work?
What did/do they do?
Do you have siblings?
Talk about your parents/guardians and siblings' education. What is their highest level of education?
Topic Domain: Education Questions
Covert categories
Habitus; Dispositions; Capital (cultural)
Lead-off question
What year in school are you?
Follow-up questions
What kind of schools did you attend growing up (e.g., public, private, home school)?
Did you enjoy going to school?
What were your favorite subjects in school?
Did you always plan on going to college?
What were the primary factors that impacted your decision to attend college?
Topic Domain: School Library Questions
Covert categories
Dispositions; Habitus: Family and cultural capital
Lead-off question
Did any of your schools (elementary, middle, or high school) have a library?
Follow-up questions
Did you use your school's library?
What did you think about your school's library?
Topic Domain: Public Library Questions
Covert categories

Dispositions; Habitus; Family and cultural capital

Lead-off question

What do you think about public libraries?

Follow-up questions

Did the place where you grew up have a public library? Did you visit the public library growing up?

- If yes:
  - What made you visit the public library?
  - What did you do in the public library?
- If no:
  - What prevented you from going to the public library?
  - Would you have liked to go to the public library growing up?
  - What are your expectations of a library?

Were you encouraged to visit the public library growing up? If so, by whom?

Conceptual questions

What does the library mean to you?

When someone say library, what do you think of?

Word association: What three words come to mind when someone says the word "library"?

Topic Domain: Academic Library Questions

Covert categories

Dispositions; Habitus; Capital

Lead-off question

What do you think about academic libraries?

Follow-up questions

Do you use the academic library/libraries on your campus?

- If yes:
  - What do you use the library for? What do you do in the academic library?
  - Roughly speaking, how often do you use the library?
  - How do you feel when you are in the academic library?
- If no:
  - What prevents you from using the academic library?
  - What would have to change about/for you to use the academic library?
  - What would have to change about the academic library for you to visit?

What do you think happens in an academic library? For library workers? For library patrons?

What are your expectations of the academic library?

What *should* an academic library be like?

Are you encouraged to use the academic library? If so, by whom?

Conceptual questions

What does the academic library mean to you?

When someone says library, what do you think of?

Word association: What three words come to mind when someone says "academic library"?

Appendix E: Diary Protocol

Please record your thoughts, feelings, and emotions as you navigate library space and engage with library personnel and other students. In situations of direct contact (e.g., when talking with a librarian), record your personal reaction as soon as possible after these interactions finish.

While recording, you are encouraged to openly share your personal experiences. The following are general prompts for you to consider, but your responses are not limited to these specific prompts. Please express yourself as freely as you are comfortable with doing.

- Describe your activities (e.g., working at a computer, looking for books, studying, etc.)
- Explain your activities (e.g., why you are doing what it is that you are doing)
- Discuss your feelings/emotions (e.g., nervous, anxious, relaxed, etc.)
- Why do you think you are experiencing the emotions you have just discussed?
- Any other information you would like to provide