

Ritva Hyttinen

Desire for Inclusion

Construction of Professional Identity of Library
Students with an Immigrant Background





Ritva Hyttinen

Previous studies and degrees

Master of Arts, Turku University 1995

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Some projects just choose long routes, avoid control and as if intentionally they refuse to follow clearly indicated direction. Instead of taking an advantage of wise advice, these projects decide to test several frames although the first one had been relevant in the context. Without question my doctoral study has been one of those projects. The plan was clear and straightforward but in practice the process became a series of actions which seemed to be quite separate from each other. However, after a number of turns the chaos started to become organised, a consistent storyline was found proposing answers to the posed research questions. At this stage I understood that the long process is reaching the end. I have learned a massive amount during my doctoral studies and my understanding has expanded. This project would not have been possible without support, and I have had the pleasure to work with great people, each of which has influenced my doctoral thesis.

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In Korppolaismäki, Turku, the spring equinox 2023, 20th March

Ritva Hyttinen

Abstract

The public library is a unique institution that aims to promote social justice which is attached to the concept of social inclusion. Although, multiculturalism is one fundamental principles of public libraries and the global library professional community is committed to advocating equality, diversity and integration, librarianship has not become a career choice of interest amidst the immigrant population. This study examines the professional identity construction of students with an immigrant background, during their studies in Library and Information Studies. This thesis contributes to understanding the professional identity construction and experiences which influence society newcomers' integration into the professional community and the career continuum.

The empirical study was carried out in a context of Library and Information Studies focusing on participants' (N=8) experiences of inclusion / exclusion in the professional frame as they progress through library education. A long-term approach was chosen, enabling a follow up how participants integrate into professional communities. The data are in the form of life story narratives, focus interviews and follow-up discussions and the material have been collected in three different phases: when the participants started their studies; at the end of their studies; seven years after their studies. The nature of the long-term study is qualitative and its epistemological and ontological orientation is social constructionism.

The professional identity construction is studied through the lens of public libraries and library professionalism, but the research is attached to the Social Identity Theory. According to the concept of social identity people seek groups that have meaning for them, have positive identity and can provide them the sense of belonging. Inclusion as such is linked with socialisation, a process during which an individual seeks a place for oneself among the group.

According to the results, the domains of education, practice and professional community are significant platforms at the beginning of the professional career. They provide a setting for the professional identity construction and career continuum evaluation. In that case, that librarianship aims seriously at the integration of people with an immigrant background into the profession, it should pay attention to each domain, how to support positive experiences which in turn produce a sense of belonging, strengthen self-esteem and distinctive identity construction. These in turn could improve newcomers' certainty of the career choice and its continuum.

Keywords: professional identity, librarians, inclusion, immigrants

Svenska sammanfattning

Det allmänna biblioteksväsendet är en unik institution vars mål är att främja social rättvisa, som i sin tur är förknippad med begreppet social inkludering. Multikulturalism är en av de grundläggande principerna för det allmänna biblioteksväsendet och över hela världen engagerar sig professionella inom detta område för att främja jämlikhet, diversitet och integration. Trots detta har den del av populationen som består av invandrare inte visat stort intresse för professionen inom biblioteksväsendet. I den här undersökningen studeras hur den professionella identiteten bland studerande med utländsk bakgrund utformas under den tid de studerar biblioteks- och informationsstudier. Den här avhandlingen bidrar till att förstå hur den professionella identiteten utvecklas och hur de studerande upplever inkludering eller exkludering. Detta har en inverkan på hur nyanlända integreras i denna profession och hur de ser på denna roll i framtiden.

Deltagares studier i biblioteks- och informationsstudier har legat till grund för den empiriska undersökningen. Den har sin fokus på hur deltagarna (N=8) under biblioteksutbildningen har upplevt inkludering eller exkludering. Ett långsiktigt perspektiv har därför valts, vilket möjliggör uppföljande av hur deltagarna integreras i professionen. Det använda materialet är i består av berättelser, fokusintervjuer och uppföljande diskussioner. Materialet har samlats in i tre omgångar; när deltagarna började sina studier, i slutet av studierna samt sju år efter studierna. Denna studie är av kvalitativ karaktär och dess epistemologiska och ontologiska inriktning är socialkonstruktionism.

Utformandet av den professionella identiteten studeras från det allmänna biblioteksväsendets och professionens perspektiv, men undersökningen är knuten till social identitetsteori. Enligt begreppet social identitet söker sig människor till grupper som känns betydelsefulla, som har en positiv identitet och ger en känsla av tillhörighet. Inkludering som sådan är kopplad till socialisering, en process under vilken en individ söker sin plats i en grupp.

Enligt resultaten av undersökningen är områden som utbildning, praktik och professionsgemenskap viktiga plattformar i början av yrkeslivet. Dessa områden ger en viktig inramning för utformningen av en professionsidentitet och bedömningen av denna identitet för framtiden. Om biblioteksbranschen verkligen har som mål att människor med utländsk bakgrund ska bli integrerade i professionen bör alla dessa tre områden uppmärksammas. Professionen bör vidare stödja positiva upplevelser som ger en känsla av tillhörighet, stärker självkänslan och säkerheten i yrkesrollen. Detta skulle i sin tur kunna innebära att nyanlända med större säkerhet kan avgöra sitt yrkesval och framtiden för densamma.

Nyckelord: yrkesidentitet, bibliotekarier, inklusion, invandrare

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1 Introduction

In Finland, public libraries have over 1200 service points around the country. The number includes main libraries, branch libraries, mobile libraries and other points providing public library services. (Libraries.fi, 2019.) People are active library users and around 67% of the population use library services (Pekola-Sjöblom, 2017), and although they borrow less today than ten years ago, they still visit libraries frequently (Libraries.fi, 2019). The functions and uses of libraries have become more diversified alongside social developments. Library users come from all population groups and people have several different approaches to enjoying public library services. However, the trend of society and working life, with communities becoming increasingly diversified in terms of culture, ethnicity and linguistic background (Foresight, 2013; Sippola, 2007) are not reflected in library professions (McCook, 1997; Adkins & Hussey, 2005; Kim & Sin, 2008; Hussey, 2009; Jaeger et al., 2010; Love, 2010; Pho & Masland, 2014; ALA, 2016; see also Minerva, 2019). Library occupations have provided a professional career mainly for the dominant population and the field has been unable to attract those with an immigrant background to pursue a library career. One wonders why those from ethnic minorities have not found their way to librarianship. It seems, however, that the library field could provide a number of professional dimensions in which a diverse professional community could benefit the branch and increase the impact of librarianship. The lack of ethnic minorities in the library field is discussed in many studies (McCook, 1997; Adkins & Hussey, 2005; Kim & Sin, 2008; Hussey, 2009; Jaeger et al., 2010; Love, 2010; Pho & Masland, 2014.) In 2000, *Library Trends* devoted an issue to ethnic diversity in the library field and particularly addressed minority communities and minority

library professionals. In 2018, *Library Trends* approached the topic again with the title of the issue being “Race and Ethnicity in Library and Information Science: An Update”. The editor of the issue, Nicole A. Cooke (2018), put forward the following argument:

it’s likely that the LIS profession will always need to be engaging in substantive and productive conversations about race, ethnicity, diversity, and related issues. But we also need to act before, during, and after our consistent conversations. Our conversations and actions need to be sustained and have the added benefit of creating and maintaining welcoming environments that will enable minority populations and LIS professionals to flourish (Cooke, 2018, 4–5.)

According to Hanna Kyhä (2011, 13), some professions are out of reach for those with immigrant background simply because they are unable to access education. One of these professions is the library sector in which library education, or a degree in Library and Information Studies (LIS), has long been the gateway to the profession. Education for the library career is currently provided within higher education institutions, academic universities and universities of applied sciences, and vocational education. The fact that entrance examinations of the universities of applied sciences have required a certain level of skills in Finnish may have driven away those who have no educational background in Finland and who are not fluent in Finnish. Without the formal qualification, one is unable to enter the profession. Those who are in the margin of society or lack the necessary resources are unfortunately excluded from certain fields and professions. (Kyhä, 2011, 13.)

This study focuses on the professional identity construction of students with an immigrant background, during their studies in Library and Information Studies. Identity issues have been investigated by many studies in the library field (see Chapter 4) but the professional identity construction of those with an immigrant background has not been examined. Identity has become an

increasingly inter-disciplinary subject of research, but the phenomenon has been studied particularly in the social sciences. Groups and group belonging are at the core of the concept ‘social identity’ which is used in this study. Social identity has been explored by researchers in sociology and psychology, whose concepts provide frameworks for this study. The study aims to contribute to Information Science (IS) which is an interdisciplinary academic field. IS includes knowledge and concepts which are relevant in the context of other disciplines (Engerer, 2019) whereas other disciplines, such as sociology, can also provide frameworks which are essential in the research conducted in IS (Holland, 2000).

1.1 Background

This study was motivated by the Open Zone Project (2008–2011) funded by the European Social Fund (ESF). The overall aim of the project was to develop Finnish public libraries as open arenas that support learning, active citizenship and multiculturalism. The project encouraged public libraries to pay attention to the immigrant population in Finland, and to recognise the needs of society newcomers and develop library services to meet their needs. One important element of the project was to plan, organise and implement training for a 60 ECTS university-level qualification in Library and Information Studies (LIS) for those with an immigrant background, and who already had a degree in higher education. The Turku University of Applied Sciences (Turku UAS) was the main executor of the Open Zone Project, and the Turku UAS degree programme in LIS was responsible for the implementation of the training within the project. The training provided immigrant students with an opportunity to acquire a formal qualification required for professional occupations in public libraries, as described in the Finnish Library Act (904/1998), and Decree (1078/1998), and enable the participants to pursue a

professional career in this sector. The admission criteria included a higher-education degree and an official certificate of the Finnish Language Proficiency Test, completed on the intermediate level B1 as a minimum. Formal entrance examinations were not administered but all of the 24 applicants were interviewed; among whom a total of 15 students were selected to start the LIS qualification training.

In general, the curriculum emphasised active learning and teaching methods as well as the interplay between the curriculum content and pedagogical methods, an approach which is in line with the current trends in higher education. Active pedagogical methods are based on the socio-cultural view according to which learning is an extensive process where the starting point and personal goals of the students are taken into consideration. The multiform studies combine lectures, interactive seminars and project work, often in the form of assignments from working life. Students work not only on campus, but also within professional communities providing a link between learning and practice. (Konst & Kairisto-Mertanen, 2020.) Joseph A. Raelin (2008, 12) emphasises learning within the work context, suggesting that while the basic skills and knowledge needed in a profession are learned during one's education, the actual skills needed in working life are increasingly being learned at work. The overall aim of the LIS training for persons with an immigrant background was to open the library profession to society newcomers and to provide Finnish public libraries with expertise in multicultural library work.

1.2 Aim and outline of the study

Although public library policies, such as the Finnish Public Libraries Act (1492/2016), emphasise the sensitiveness of libraries towards a diverse population and the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA,

2018) states that the global public library community is committed to promoting equality, diversity and integration, librarianship has not become a career choice of interest among the ethnic minority population. According to previous studies, the LIS professional field has failed to attract immigrant and minority populations (e.g., McCook, 1997; Adkins & Hussey, 2005; Kim & Sin, 2008; Hussey, 2009; Jaeger et al., 2010; Love, 2010; Pho & Masland, 2014; ALA, 2016). The aim of this study is to contribute to the understanding of professional identity construction among LIS students with an immigrant background through their experiences of inclusion and exclusion. The objective is to increase knowledge of the professional identity construction and find obstacles which might prevent society newcomers' integration into the LIS field.

The study provides knowledge of professional identity construction at the stage of early career. This in turn can promote understanding about why the population with an immigrant background is not included in librarianship. In this study, professional identity is approached within the framework of social identity, a concept coined by Tajfel and Turner (1979). In the Social Identity Theory (SIT), the focus is on groups. The membership of, and relationships in a group are the drivers of social identity construction, in which experiences of inclusion and exclusion are crucial. This study examines the discourses of library students with an immigrant background with a focus on intergroup relations. The main theme of the study involves the professional identity construction of LIS students with an immigrant background. The theme is approached through the following three research questions (RQ):

RQ1: How do students of Library and Information Studies, with an immigrant background, experience their participation in the library professional community?

RQ2: What are the inclusive/exclusive experiences of students of Library and Information Studies, with an immigrant background, in the library professional context?

RQ3: How do students of Library and Information Studies, with an immigrant background, view their library professional continuum?

In this study, the minority and majority setting cannot be avoided, but the aim is to promote understanding rather than emphasise the differences between various groups. The Multiculturalism Policy Index (MPI), (See Banting & Kymlicka [no date]) classifies minorities into three categories: indigenous minorities, national minorities, and immigrants. This study mainly refers to the last group, and the term minority (or minority population) denotes immigrants who are in a minority position in terms of language and culture. The majority population, in turn, refers to native Finns and, particularly, native Finnish speakers. The majority and minority setting is connected to identity construction, intergroup relations and belonging (Nortio, 2020). This study aims to contribute to the understanding of how minority identity interacts with professional identity during the process of an individual becoming a librarian.

This study comprises eight chapters which focus on examining professional identity construction, understanding the inclusive/exclusive settings and explaining them. The research topic, background, aim and context of the study as well as the main concepts and related terms are introduced in Chapter 1.

Chapter 2 focuses on professional identity, which is approached within the framework of social identity. The chapter starts by introducing the complex nature of identity, the theory of social identity and the variety of aspects within the concept. The chapter proceeds to discuss the process of professional inclusion, which is at the core of the Social Identity Theory (SIT) and thus included in the construction of professional identity.

Chapter 3 focuses on public libraries and librarianship. The chapter starts by presenting community orientation of public libraries, discussing the ideological background and functional dimensions of public libraries and how these are combined in the concept of the multicultural library. The chapter dwells on the various dimensions of librarianship, the status of profession and professional values. Moreover, librarianship in practice, with special reference to the duties and nature of the professional community is discussed in this connection. At the end of the chapter, LIS education and the qualification and competence requirements in the library field are discussed.

Chapter 4 presents a discussion on professional identity in the context of librarianship. Professional identity is presented as an example of social identity in a practical setting, namely library organisation, thus including organisational identity. Moreover, professional socialisation is discussed as a process closely linked with professional identity construction.

Chapter 5 concentrates on the methodological considerations and the research questions. It describes the implementation of the empirical study as well as the data collection and analysis methods. Moreover, the principles of validity and reliability are discussed, together with ethical considerations pertaining to the study.

Chapter 6 presents the results of the analysis. The presentation is structured around the five main elements produced by the analysis and aimed at providing answers to the research questions. The focus is on the participation and inclusive/exclusive experiences of students with an immigrant background and librarians as well as the library professional continuum.

Chapter 7 contains the discussion regarding the findings and related reflections within the theoretical framework of the study.

Finally, Chapter 8 discusses the implications and limitations of the study, while also proposing themes for further study.

1.3 The multicultural context

In Finland, the official languages are Finnish, Swedish and Sami. According to the Official Statistics of Finland (2011), the population of Finland in 2010 totalled 5.375 million of whom 90.4 percent were Finnish speaking, 5.7 percent Swedish speaking and 4.2 percent represented other languages. In 2010, fewer than 250,000 people with a foreign background lived in Finland. Nearly a decade later, in 2019, the population was around 5.5 million of which 87.3 percent were Finnish speaking, 5.2 percent Swedish speaking and 7.3 percent represented other languages. In 2019, altogether 423,494 people had a foreign background and nearly 400,000 spoke a native language other than Finnish. (Statistics Finland, 2020.) The described population trend influences public institutions, such as public libraries, which provide need-based services to the entire population. Multicultural library guidelines launched by the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA, 2009) emphasises that the success of library services requires that the library professional community reflects the diversity of a population. Today's Finnish society is multicultural as measured by the MPI (Banting & Kymlicka [no date]). The transformation coincided with the 10-year period between 1990 and 2000 during which Finland received its first MPI ratings. The MPI monitors the following eight aspects of multiculturalism policies: legislative affirmation, school curriculum, media representation, exemptions from dress codes, dual citizenship, funding of ethnic organisations, minority-language education and affirmative action. The first MPI rating showed rather low scores, but during the following ten years, between 2000 and 2010, Finland strengthened its multicultural policies and the country received higher scores. (Banting & Kymlicka [no date].)

According to Gozdecka et al. (2014), it is characteristic of the concept of multiculturalism to recognise and accept ethnic and cultural diversity and thus the concept not only pays attention to the population but also includes elements

such as public policies and human rights. Despite the growing multiculturalism of societies, there have been setbacks and majority populations in different countries have viewed multiculturalism as threatening their way of life (Kymlicka, 2010; Nortio, 2020.) However, Kymlicka (2010) argues that, rather than multiculturalism, the term post-multiculturalism characterises the current era ‘to foster both the recognition of diversity and the maintenance of collective national identities’ (Vertovec, 2010, 83). In fact, many researchers admit that multiculturalism is in crisis (Nortio, 2020, 22). Kymlicka (2010) opines that multiculturalism has been unable to support minorities or contribute to their social, economic and political inclusion.

1.4 Key concepts and related terms

In this study, professional identity is understood as a social structure which is actively constructed in conversations between people, and which takes place at a certain time and surrounding. This view follows social constructionism, which is a relevant approach and, in particular, together with the discourse analysis method to contribute understanding of the construction of professional identity. The study uses SIT as a framework to examine professional identity construction. According to SIT, people groups are significant social identity construction platforms. In case an individual reaches membership within a group, this setting provides opportunities for a professional identity continuum.

Although the singular form ‘identity’ is mainly used in the text, the study agrees that the plural form ‘identities’ characterises the phenomenon as being multidimensional, complex and flexible. Professional identity is one of the overlapping identities people need in the postmodern era. The study focuses on the construction of professional identity, but in addition seven key concepts and terms cut across the study: diversity, immigrant, multiculturalism/cultural diversity, public library, librarianship, librarian/library professional and

professional development. In the study, these are related to informants, public libraries and librarianship which are the cornerstones of the study. The following are definitions and descriptions of key concepts and terms used in the study.

Diversity

In general, ‘diversity’ is closely related to the term ‘multicultural’, which refers to cultural diversity and characterises diversity within a society (Song, 2020). At the end of the 1990’s, Lorna Peterson (1999) argued that diversity was vernacular and that the LIS field should promote a common understanding about the concept. Yet, the simple definitions mainly highlight the differences between groups of people, and it could be asked who has the right to identify people as being different (Peterson, 1999, 20–21.) The difference may refer to a minor aspect or a fundamental characteristic of an individual or a group, such as ethnicity, religion or sexual orientation. In professional contexts, diversity can be included in numerous topics such as ideas, organisational culture and values, or those who work in the profession in question (Hussey, 2013, 242–244.) Lisa K. Hussey (2013) examined diversity in the LIS organisations through visual diversity, the language of diversity and white privilege. Visual diversity refers to characteristics that can be seen, and minority representatives are easily evaluated through such visible characteristics instead of their professional competence. The language used may underline the differences between people and reinforce the categories of ‘us’ and ‘others’. In libraries, differences may be indicated by departments, such as ‘Services for Immigrants’, or professional titles suggesting that some populations require special services. White privilege, in turn, suggests that although some groups in the society have advantages based on their skin colour, they are not aware

of their privileged status and therefore have difficulties in understanding the effort needed of others. (Hussey, 2013, 244–247.)

In this study, diversity refers to diversity among people and, in particular, diversity within work communities. The policy issued by the American Library Association (ALA) emphasises equity, diversity and inclusion. The ALA’s definition covers members of the association, LIS professionals and communities, ‘*diversity* in all its complexity in order to recognise and honour the uniqueness of each ALA member, all members of our profession, and our very diverse communities’ (ALA, 2013.) The definition by former President of ALA Elonnie J. Josey and Professor Ismail Abdullahi (2002, 10) maintains the cultural aspect, and it says: “cultural diversity refers to the equal participation of men and women in organisations, regardless of their race, ethnicity, or gender. It also includes persons who are physically challenged as well as those who are concerned about sexual orientation.”

Diversity is a broad and dynamic concept acknowledging the variety of cultural differences and similarities that continue to change according to the dominant ideologies. The focus in this study is on the construction of social identity of library professionals in the context of training and practice. Moreover, the focus is on becoming professionals who are not majority representatives. Within this framework, the definition of diversity should include, in addition to the cultural dimensions, the work context and aspects such as customs, shared attributes, behaviour, the recognition of competence and career. According to Mor Barak (2009, 240), organisational literature mainly favours those definitions of diversity that indicate categories such as race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation and disability. This highlights differences and special characteristics of people and pays less attention to the context. This study applies the definition of workforce diversity given by Mor

Barak (2017), which identifies the processes and consequences of diversity instead of categorising people. According to Mor Barak,

workforce diversity refers to the division of the workforce into distinction categories that (a) have a perceived commonality within a given cultural or national context, and that (b) impact potentially harmful or beneficial employment outcomes such as job opportunities, treatment in the workplace, and promotion prospects – irrespective of job-related skills and qualifications. (Mor Barak, 2017, 132.)

This definition is suited to the present study in which the informants have an immigrant background, library professional qualification and experience on working among majority professionals in libraries in Finland. The definition emphasises the resources of individuals rather than differences between the population.

Immigrant

In this study, the term ‘immigrant’ is a core term because the informants are immigrants whose discourse is analysed in order to find answers to the research questions. According to Kymlicka (2001, 153), immigrants are “people who arrive under an immigration policy which gives them the right to become citizens after a relatively short period of time”. In the context of this study, an immigrant refers to a person residing in Finland who has migrated to Finland from a foreign country. According to Statistics Finland (2018), there are various ways to specify immigrant background, for example, by citizenship, country of birth or language and, as added recently, with reference to the birth data of parents. In this study, however, the background of the informants is not examined, although language questions are addressed from a different perspective. The term ‘immigrant background’ emphasises, first, the immigrants’ position as newcomers in society and, second, their distinctive minority position in terms of culture and language in relation to the dominant

population. This study applies the definition of the Multicultural Library Services interest group of the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA) which states that immigrant minorities are “permanent settlers who possess their own language(s) and culture (s) which are distinct from those of the host society; the category also includes the descendants of immigrants who continue to identify with their ancestral culture” (Chu et al., 2005).

Multiculturalism / Cultural diversity

Lorna Peterson (1995) urged library professionals to define the term ‘multicultural’ and create a common understanding about the concept. Multiculturalism has become one of the leading philosophies in the field. In Finland, the current Public Libraries Act (1492/2016) states that “the implementation of these objectives is based on the sense of community, pluralism and cultural diversity.” Internationally, IFLA has been active and encouraged libraries to develop their services to meet the requirements of a multicultural library. In 1982, the Library Council of Victoria, Australia, published the standards for multicultural public library services, which were adapted by IFLA. Jointly with UNESCO, IFLA announced the Multicultural Library Manifesto (IFLA, 2008), according to which cultural diversity is a concept respected in the library field. In the manifesto, the concept is defined thus:

‘Cultural Diversity’ or ‘Multiculturalism’ refers to the harmonious co-existence and interaction of different cultures, where “culture should be regarded as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs” (IFLA, 2008, 5).

Cultural and linguistic diversity is the common heritage of humankind and should be cherished and preserved for the benefit of all. It is a source for the exchange, innovation, creativity, and peaceful coexistence among peoples. “Respect for the diversity of cultures, tolerance, dialogue and cooperation, in a climate of mutual trust and understanding are among the best guarantees of international peace and security.” Therefore, libraries of all types should reflect, support and promote cultural and linguistic diversity at the international, national, and local levels, and thus work for cross-cultural dialogue and active citizenship. (IFLA, 2008, 5.)

The study applies this definition of multiculturalism, which emphasises the overall equality of cultures and their mutual respect regarding the characteristics of each culture. However, the study concurs with the definition of cultural and linguistic diversity, which emphasises out that diverse cultures and languages are the basis of humanity. Public esteem of the diversity by libraries could promote interaction between people and inclusion in communities. As emphasised by IFLA (2008), public libraries must recognise diverse cultures and languages and treat all people equally, support their information needs in different languages, provide access to materials and services, and ensure that library professionals resonate with the environment.

Public library

The concept of ‘public library’ has been approached differently depending on the context in which it has been discussed. What is characteristic of the various definitions is that they determine the population for whom the library services are intended. For example, the Finnish Public Libraries Act (1492/2016) states categorically that, in the Act, “public library refers to municipal library services intended for the use of all population groups.” In the Online Dictionary for Library and Information Science (ODLIS) Public library is defined as “a library or library system that provides unrestricted access to

library resources and services free of charge to *all* the residents of a given community, district, or geographic region, supported wholly or in part by public funds” (Reitz, 2013.) However, this study prefers the holistic view of the concept of public library, which recognises the equity and multidimensionality of the service institution and which takes seriously its social responsibility in democratic societies. These aspects, which are included in the IFLA/UNESCO Public Library Manifesto 1994, are freedom, prosperity and the development of society and of individuals. These are fundamental human values which can only be attained through the ability of well-informed citizens to exercise their democratic rights and to play an active role in society. (IFLA & UNESCO, 1994.) According to the manifesto,

the public library is the local centre of information, making all kinds of knowledge and information readily available to its users. The services of the public library are provided on the basis of equality of access for all, regardless of age, race, sex, religion, nationality, language or social status. Specific services and materials must be provided for those users who cannot, for whatever reason, use the regular services and materials, for example, linguistic minorities, people with disability or people in hospital or prison.

All age groups must find material relevant to their needs. Collections and services have to include all types of appropriate media and modern technologies as well as traditional materials. High quality and relevance to local needs and conditions are fundamental. Material must reflect current trends and the evolution of society, as well as the memory of human endeavour and imagination. (IFLA & UNESCO, 1994.)

In addition, this study highlights sensitivity towards cultural and linguistic diversity, as stated in the Multicultural Library Manifesto (IFLA, 2009), according to which libraries should:

- serve all members of the community without discrimination based on cultural and linguistic heritage;
- provide information in appropriate languages and scripts;
- give access to a broad range of materials and services reflecting all communities and needs; and
- employ staff to reflect the diversity of the community, who are trained to work with and serve diverse communities.

Librarianship

The term ‘librarianship’ refers to the profession that ODLIS defines through information: “The profession devoted to applying theory and technology to the creation, selection, organisation, management, preservation, dissemination, and utilization of collections of information in all formats” (Reitz, 2013.) According to ALA, librarianship is “the profession concerned with the application of library and information science principles, theories, techniques, and technologies to the selection, classification, management, distribution and utilization of collections of information in all formats” (Carter & Levine-Clark, 2013.) Moreover, ALA includes professionalism in the core values of librarianship and maintains that library services are provided by professionally qualified personnel who have been educated in graduate programs within institutions of higher education (ALA, 2006).

Librarian / Library professional

R. David Lankes (2011) maintains that “the mission of librarians is to improve society through facilitating knowledge creation in their communities.” According to ODLIS, a librarian is an individual who is qualified to work in libraries and knows the tools, methods and contents of library organisations (Reitz, 2013.) The compact definition also recognises the needs of library users and access to information. A librarian is therefore defined as follows:

A professionally trained person responsible for the care of a library and its contents, including the selection, processing, and organization of materials and the delivery of information, instruction, and loan services to meet the needs of its users. In the online environment, the role of the librarian is to manage and mediate access to information that may exist only in electronic form (Reitz, 2013).

This study also emphasises the definition of the IFLA/UNESCO Manifesto, which argues for the active role of librarians by stating that the librarian is an active intermediary between users and resources (IFLA & UNESCO, 1994.) Instead of the term ‘librarian’, this study uses ‘library professional’ to refer to those who work in library professional duties and who have the formal LIS education. Library professional does not refer to specific positions or job titles, but rather, it is an umbrella concept that covers all professional library employees with an education in LIS.

Professional development

This study does not explicitly examine ‘professional development’ but since it is closely related to the construction of professional identity and the socialization process, the concept should be presented here (See e.g., Huvila et al., 2013.) In general, completing a professional degree is not the final step in education, which is needed in the working life but people need to develop their skills and knowledge throughout their career (Fisher et al., 2004). Professional development plays a key role in work organisations and is linked with societal changes and reforms. Particularly significant professional development is for experts working in information environments, which are characteristically dynamic and connected with technological development (Huvila et al., 2013; Cassner & Adams, 2006.)

Professional development enables people to orientate in changes through the acquisition of new skills and knowledge in various learning settings.

Professional development (PD), as defined by Stone in 1986 (See e.g., Woolls, 2005; Luo & Hostler, 2020), has been applied in the context of library studies. According to the definition, PD in librarianship “consists of all learning activities and efforts, formal and informal, by which individuals seek to upgrade their knowledge, attitudes, competencies, and understanding in their special field of work (or role) in order to: (a) deliver quality performance in the work setting, and (b) enrich their library careers” (Stone, 1986, 489–490.) Luo and Hostler (2020) propose that the definition is still valid and usable despite the changes in the formats, environments and technologies of information. We may, however, argue that the definition may be too narrow from the viewpoint of interaction, social learning and inclusion of community in the learning process.

In recent LIS literature, the concept of professional development has been discussed in the context of technological development, social media and new information environments in terms of, for example, work roles, practices and competences (e.g., Arif & Mahmood, 2012; Huvila et al., 2013; Corcoran & McGuinness, 2014; Deissler et al., 2015). Karen Kealy (2009) suggests that continuous learning is significant in librarianship for the professionals to be able to respond not only to current requirements but also to the future needs of user communities and societies. According to Kealy (2009), continuing professional development is a relevant tool that enables libraries to develop further their multidimensional services and merge new technologies to library services in order to ensure continuous high quality organisations. Acree et al. (2001) propose, in turn, that professional development could be linked with the societal signals in terms of increasing diversity among the population and, particularly, including minority-background people in the professional community. The authors suggest that professional development should be

strategically focused so that the aim is to promote recruitment and inclusion of new members to the profession.

2 Professional identity construction

Chapter 2 concentrates on the construction of professional identity, which, in this study, is seen as a representation of social identity. The concept of social identity denotes a structure that is influenced by interaction and relationships with other people. First, identity as a complex and multidimensional phenomenon is discussed, and then the focus is turned to the concept of social identity, in which groups and group memberships are significant factors. Second, professional identity is presented as a concrete example of social identity within a practical setting and organisational context. Third, the process of professional socialisation and inclusion, which are closely connected to professional identity through participation, is discussed.

2.1 Complex nature of identity

The Latin-based term, ‘identity’, can be dated back to the late 1500s (Ropo 2015, 26). Bethan Benwell and Elizabeth Stokoe (2006) propose, however, that identity as a kind of construction of human beings did not emerge until centuries later. Researchers did not show much interest in identity issues before the 1900’s but, during the last decades of the century, the phenomenon was increasingly studied within different disciplines, especially the social sciences (Côté, 2006, 3). Jochumsen et al. (2012) claim that, along with the development of post-modern societies, a need emerged among people to understand who they are and what their relation is not only with other people but also with the surrounding society (See Hall, 1992; Bauman, 2000). At the

start of the new millennium, Zygmunt Bauman (2000) introduced the term 'liquid modernity' that refers to constant changes, unstable constructions, and unpredictability. One representation of the liquid modernity is identity, which is understood as a flexible and fluid entity rather than a fixed and solid construction, thus providing people with endless options and variation for change.

According to James E. Côté (2006), the continually growing volume of research and fragmented approaches resulted in a need to create a common framework for identity research in the social sciences. One signal of the need for a framework was the diversified use of the term identity. Research on identity is based on different theoretical traditions among which the term is approached differently (Vignoles et al., 2011). Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper (2000) argue that, although the focus is on examining identity, other dimensions seem to steer the definition of identity. The definition can be based on various perspectives of identity, such as self-understanding, self-interest, or group belonging. In addition to the lack of a generally agreed definition, discussion has been intense regarding the nature of identity and particularly concerning the personal, relational, collective, or social nature of the phenomenon. Researchers are also divided by varying views on the essence of the phenomenon, whether it is stable, fluid or constantly changing. Moreover, some studies underline that identity is a personal construction while others emphasise the impact of interaction and relationships on identity building (Vignoles et al., 2011). Psychological identity research emphasises the individual perspective on identity, whereas the sociological view focuses on relationships between individual and community (Ropo, 2015).

According to Claude Dubar (2015), the question of identity is about me, us and others. His views follow George Herbert Mead who developed the concept of identity in the 1930s, emphasising socialisation as a social process during

which people construct their identities among other people. Accordingly, an individual's identity is a dual system in which the dimensions are 'I' and 'me'. The subjective 'I' refers to an internal self-definition, whereas the objective or external 'me' denotes the individual as seen through public lenses, experienced and characterised by others (Mead, 2011; Dubar, 2015, 91–93; Côté & Levine, 2002, 100–108.) According to James Gee (2015), people do not have only one identity but several identities through which they contribute to their performances in the society. This postmodern turnabout is connected with the crisis of identity, which is the outcome of the fragmentation of social connections and engagements (Hall, 1992, 274; Dubar, 2015.)

Although some researchers emphasise the overlap in the concepts of personal identity and social identity (See Stets & Burke, 2000, 224; Jenkins, 1996, 26), the division between these two approaches is important. The line between social and personal identity is sometimes invisible, and the personal identity is used in the construction of the social side and vice versa. As stated by Sundin and Johannisson (2005, 38), identity is a tool for people to build relationships and participate in communities. Social interaction, in turn, can influence and shape personal experiences (See e.g., Turner, 1975). Personal identity is seen as an interactive construction that people elaborate over the course of their lives among other people. Above all, personal identity is regarded as a concept and definition of an individual, including personal experiences and future hopes. Moreover, this view maintains that characteristics such as background, beliefs, values and orientations are the fundamentals of an individual. In some circumstances, a particular fundamental, e.g., skin colour, may become shared and social (See Foresight, 2013, 10). However, human uniqueness is intertwined with personal identity. According to Dubar (2015, 3), the paradox of identity is that, basically, in

identity, the question is about uniqueness, but the uniqueness of an individual becomes visible only among others (See also Turner, 1975; Jenkins, 1996)

2.2 Social identity

Social identity is generated through relationships between people and groups in the wider social and cultural context. According to Henri Tajfel (1978, 63), social identity refers to the knowledge of people that they belong to a certain social group and the membership is significant for them in terms of emotions and values. Therefore, in addition to cognitive processes, the emotional level is involved in social identity construction (See Spears, 2011). In the 1970s and 1980s, Henri Tajfel and his colleague John C. Turner developed the SIT based on the observation that people tend to identify themselves with the social groups that have meaning for them (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1985). According to SIT, various gatherings, societies and communities as well as smaller compositions of people are hierarchical constructions in which power settings are unequal. In fact, the form or the size of a group is not significant in SIT but the emphasis is on membership, which is proposed to have an influence on both the group and individual (See Ashforth & Mael, 1989). According to Tajfel and Turner (1979, 40), a social group is “a collection of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category, share some emotional involvement in this common definition of themselves, and achieve some degree of social consensus about the evaluation of their group and of their membership in it.”

Michàlle Mor Barak (2009, 244) argues that SIT is a kind of a mega-theory because it does not focus on any particular type of groups, communities or specific environments. SIT is more of a universal concept, which is flexible and adaptable to different contexts in which intergroup relations need to be

examined (Mor Barak, 2017, 152; Jenkins, 1996). Russell Spears (2011) highlights the intergroup context of SIT and, particularly by changing the salience of the different aspects of identity. This influences people so they can adopt group behaviour. According to Spears (2011, 207–208), SIT contributes to explaining why group relations are complicated but, first of all, the theory relates implicitly to social change aimed at equality and liberation. He further explains that the strength of SIT is “in its broad applicability to a range of topics and domains that can benefit from the theoretical analysis it provides” (Spears, 2011, 222). Rupert Brown (2000) opines that SIT has succeeded particularly in explaining in-group bias, inequality status between groups, perceived group homogeneity, and stereotyping. He agrees that SIT has its limitations but, instead of rejecting the concept, it should be developed further (Brown, 2000).

2.2.1 The social identity process

The concept of social identity includes social categorisation, identification and comparison, which are the three significant phases in the social identity process. Group membership is meaningful for people, and people tend to categorise not only themselves but also others through their participation and belonging in preference to paying attention to other characteristics (Mor Barak, 2017, 151). Through categorising, people position themselves and others. (Tajfel, 1978, 61–62; Tajfel, 1982). Stets and Burke (2000) explain the meaning of the social circumstances that without social context an individual cannot identify oneself with others and experience belonging with the group. Richard Jenkins (1996, 22) summarises that not only does an individual identify himself, but the others, in turn, identify the individual. In-group and out-group are categories used in SIT and they are based on people’s perception of belonging. The difference between an in-group and an out-group may be

concretised by thinking of ‘us’ and ‘them’. According to Tajfel and Turner (1986), people emphasise their belonging by referring to ‘us’ when speaking of the in-group they belong to, whereas the outsiders are ‘them’ and categorised as the out-groups.

Categorisation has different levels and one way to categorise people in social groups is based on a particular characteristic, such as age, gender, nationality, or profession. These categorisations may be practical in everyday use but Ashforth and Mael (1989, 20-21) indicate that there is a risk that simple classifications produce stereotypical settings more readily than valid evaluations. Dubar (2015, 203-205) claims that public authorities categorise people with a straightforward logic and language, as they may highlight the education, profession, work experience and current position of people without paying attention to other dimensions, such as cultural aspects, which often are highly significant matters for individuals. Stephen Reicher and Nick Hopkins (2013, 13) emphasise that if the aim is to improve inclusion in the society, public organisations should serve as examples of participatory and community sensitive service construction. The ever-increasing immigration and global movements have forced societies to react and prepare strategies for supporting integration and peaceful development so that those with different backgrounds could live side by side without conflict. According to Reicher and Hopkins (2013, 5), it is of significance how population groups are described and identified in public settings because if immigrants and society newcomers are continuously identified through differences in relation to the majority population, they are categorised as outsiders. As mentioned above, simple categorisation easily produces stereotypical groupings of people rather than realistic perceptions of individuals. Moreover, if public discussion underlines the ‘newcomerism’ of immigrants who are constantly identified by their country of origin, their integration to the new society becomes more difficult.

Furthermore, perception through differences may push people towards the margin and extremity (Reicher & Hopkins, 2013, 5.)

Social comparison is an ongoing process during which people compare various groups and favour the group they belong to (Tajfel, 1978, 67). Jenkins (1996, 24) refers to the importance of group boundaries where interaction between groups and people takes place and, thus, these are the areas in which identities are constructed. Each community and group is a hierarchical construction in which power and status are major factors and, to some extent, in-group members want to achieve superiority over out-group members. Categorising creates groups of ‘us’ and ‘them’ but, moreover, it produces favouritism, exclusion and discrimination, which are part of SIT, particularly in the phase of social comparison (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Mor Barak, 2017). Spears (2011, 204–205) argues that the contribution of SIT to discrimination and prejudice is interpretive and, in the real context, there is probably much more variation than the concept suggests. Jenkins (1996, 23) sees that the collective identities are linked to the power settings, particularly in the phase of social categorisation. Positive or negative social identity perceptions influence the groups and members. In case individuals are not satisfied with their group identification, they often start to seek a position in other groups or they may attempt to impact within the group so that it becomes positively distinctive (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 40; Tajfel, 1982, 9–11). Figure 1 is an illustration of the process of social identity.

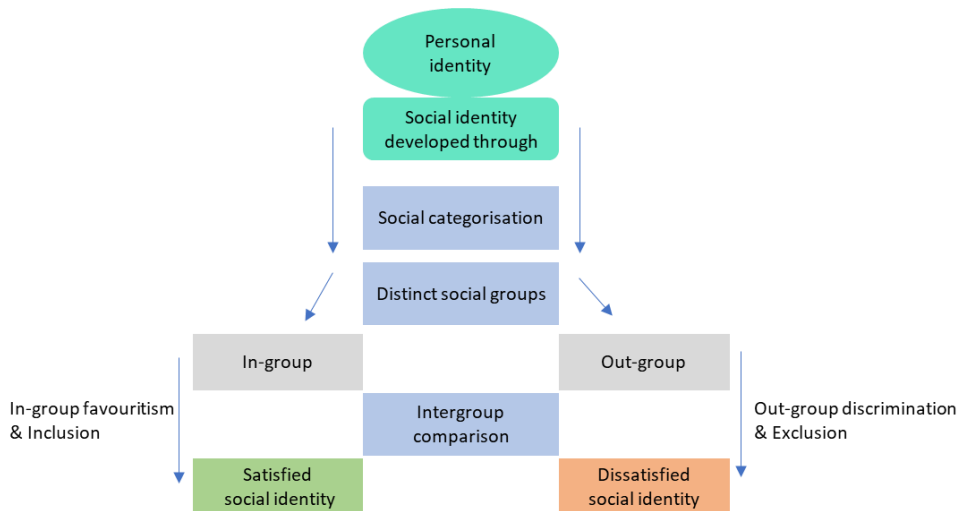


Figure 1. Social identity and group relations. (Adapted from Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1986.)

Figure 1 describes the concept of social identity as a process and also shows the link between the personal identity and collective identities. The personal identity includes the psychological mechanism of self-definition which, in turn, has an influence on communication and behaviours in the social setting. Similarities and differences identified at the individual and group levels influence the social and personal identity (See Patiniotis & Prodromitis, 2007, 98–99). Out-groups provide dissatisfied social identity platforms, with social discrimination and exclusion as potential outcomes and therefore an individual tends to seek the membership of the in-group that offers satisfied social identity and inclusion. Spears (2011, 204) emphasises that social comparison is a process of evaluation, which enables group distinction as the value of the group becomes visible. Spears proposes that social comparison might even be the state during which people define who they are.

2.2.2 Professional identity and organisational setting

According to Suzanne M. Stauffer (2014, 254), modern sociological theories view professional environments as identity construction platforms. Organisations in which people work and practice their professions are not isolated areas dedicated to work duties only but employees have characteristics and individual traits that influence the work community. Characteristics, such as gender, family history and background, minority or majority representation, contribute to identity that is overlapping, and at same time private and shared. These characteristics may have an impact on inclusion, particularly through comparison, as explained above. Professional identity is mainly built within the organisational context comprised of both occupational and social dimensions. The organisational setting provides several opportunities to apply SIT because work environments are organised in groups, such as departments or teams, which are typical surroundings for categorisation and identification. Ashforth and Mael (1989) were the pioneers in applying the concept of SIT in the organisational context. Haslam and Ellemers (2011, 715) followed the tradition, emphasising the interaction between employees and organisations when they commented that “organizations make us who we are, and who we are determines the type of organizations that we make” Joacim Hansson (2010, 1–3) is of the opinion that the relation between profession and organisation depends on the branch, and different professions have a different sense of identification that, in turn, depends on several factors, such as hierarchy and the size of organisation. Regarding librarianship, the link between profession and library organisations is intense due to the long tradition and established normative structures for organisations and professional standards. This tradition provides professionals with a somewhat inflexible framework. Professional identity is linked with the values, visions and strategies of organisations, and the employees are supposed to integrate these in their

professional identities. Opposite ideologies might cause challenges and even make personal commitment to the organisation impossible. (Mor Barak, 2008; Brown et al., 2007.)

2.3 Professional inclusion

According to Dubar (2015), professional inclusion refers to the situation in which newcomers adopt the values, culture and policies of the organisation and agree to the aims of the work community. Whereas exclusion means that people are not involved in the community and may be left outside of formal settings. (Dubar, 2015.) Literature provides a wide range of definitions for the concept of inclusion. The definitions emphasise, acceptance and treatment as an insider (Pelled et al., 1999, 1014), the need to remove the obstacles of participation (Roberson, 2006, 217), and experienced belonging (Lirio et al., 2008, 443). This study applies the definition of Lynn M. Shore and co-authors (2011, 1265) who define inclusion as “the degree to which an employee perceives that he or she is an esteemed member of the work group through experiencing treatment that satisfies his or her needs for belongingness and uniqueness.” The definition emphasises the experience of belonging and the uniqueness of individuals, which provide a link to identity construction.

Inclusion as such is linked with the socialisation process which according to Croxton (2015, 126), is the foundation of the professional identity construction. Pierson et al. (2019, 424) contend that “socialization is the process in which professional norms and expectations, such as missions, values, behaviours, and ethics, are internalized through social interaction.” This anchor is indicative of the social interaction between an individual and others in the profession, such as in everyday practice. Martineau et al. (2009, 244) also maintain that during the past three decades, professional socialisation has become one of the main issues that characterises working life. The authors

distinguish three significant dimensions in the socialisation process: the first dimension highlights the abilities of individuals to adopt work roles, the second emphasises the ability to adopt the values and culture of the organisation, and the third maintains inclusion in the professional community. Martineau et al. (2009, 244) suggest that professional socialisation should be evaluated through the outcome of the process where the extremes are inclusion and exclusion, which describe how people experience their relation among colleagues and others in the work organisation.

Socialisation is an ongoing process within the community, and the entire professional community is involved in the socialisation of the newcomer. Membership is never self-evident, but the interactive socialisation process provides an individual with an opportunity to become a member of a group. (Dubar, 2015.) Often membership requires new skills, knowledge and vocabulary by which people indicate their characteristics and uniqueness, as well as similarities with and differences from others (See e.g., Sinikara, 2007; Hicks, 2014; Hicks & Schindel, 2016).

2.3.1 Workplace inclusion

According to Sundin and Johannisson (2005, 34–35), communication is a tool through which people interpret their practical surroundings, such as work environment. The interpretations, however, are not identical but people produce diverse perspectives and proposals, which, in turn, may cause conflict. The presented proposals compete with each other and often only those views which are promoted are presented by people in dominant positions. In terms of work environment, the consequence of this is that people in the margin, in particular, are required to follow the decisions of the dominant groups while their own views are not respected (Ibarra, 1993; Ibarra, 1995). Work organisations may recognise the needs of minority populations and proceed to

recruit people with an immigrant background but, if the ideas of newcomers are not heard, they are not able to bring influence in the work community, and their presence remains nominal.

Only a few frameworks are provided to facilitate the study of workplace inclusion in the setting of majority and minority employees. One of them is the Inclusion Framework presented by Shore et al. (2011) that measures uniqueness and belongingness along a low-high spectrum. The framework relies on the optimal distinctiveness theory of Marilynn B. Brewer (1991), which is about the balancing of tensions between individual needs within a group setting (See Shore et al., 2011). Another framework, which is used in this study, is presented by Mor Barak (2009) who studied the concept of inclusion-exclusion in a research project among ethnic minority social workers. The inclusion-exclusion continuum of Mor Barak (2009, 149) refers to “the individual’s sense of being a part of the organizational system in both the formal processes, such as access to information and decision-making channels, and the informal processes, such as social gatherings and lunch meetings, where information exchange and decisions informally take place.” This indicates that all settings in the work environment are significant from the perspective of participation, and thus, coffee breaks and formal meetings are as relevant as professional actions. The model has been tested (Mor Barak et al., 1998, 2006; Findler et al., 2007; Acquavita et al., 2009) and it has been enriched with the views arising from the concept of social identity and particularly with elements that enable us to explain exclusion in the work organisation (Mor Barak, 2009). From that viewpoint, the significant aspects of SIT are, first, the group membership that has an influence on interaction; second, social identification that can strengthen stereotypical perceptions; third, social comparison that provides authority for one group over the others; and fourth, categorisation that may lead to in-group favouritism and out-group

discrimination. Furthermore, those groups that have higher perceived social status invite along those who are considered as being similar with group members, whereas differences are not accepted or included in the group (Mor Barak, 2008; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1985). Figure 2 illustrates the construction professional identity in the context of SIT.

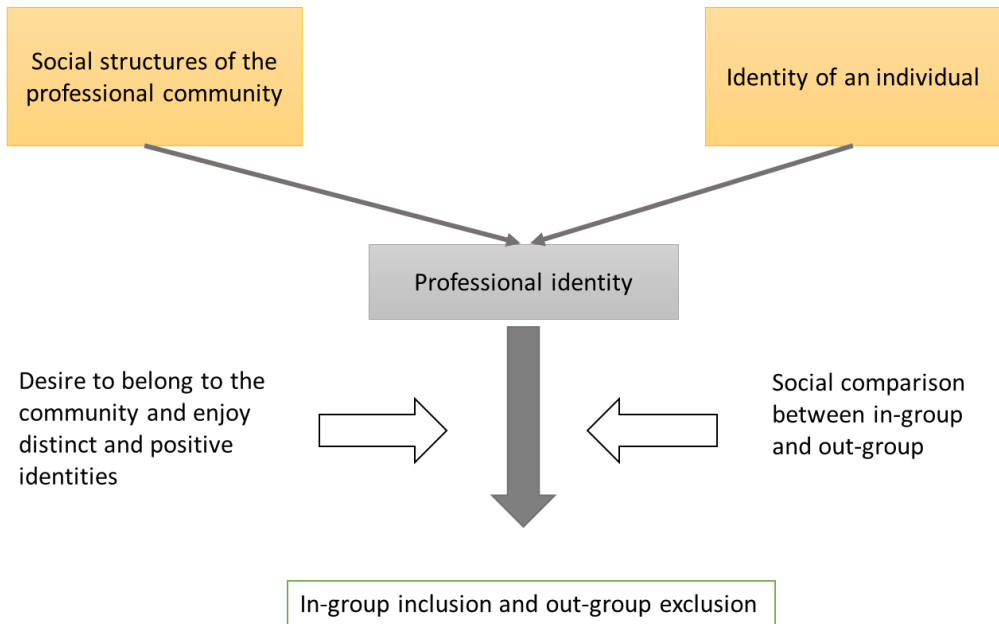


Figure 2. Professional identity construction. (Adapted from a Schematic Diagram of Social Identity Theory’s Basic Principles in Mor Barak, 2009, 247.)

Figure 2 illustrates how professional identity is developed through interaction between an individual and a professional community that operates in a certain frame and social setting. Within the professional context are various groups and the individual compares the groups, some of which provide

a more distinctive and positive identity than others. According to SIT, people want to belong to groups that have positive identity and can provide them with the sense of belonging Mor Barak (2009, 244) suggests that workplace exclusion is experienced similarly everywhere in the world and there are no cultural or national factors which could protect people from the negative impacts of exclusion. It seems, however, that factors such as minority-background influence both career opportunities and inclusion in a work community. (See Ely & Thomas, 2001; Hewlin, 2009.)

2.3.2 Practice and inclusion

The concept of Community of Practice (CoP) emerged in the literature in the 1990s and the concept provided a frame for situated learning. The situated learning model is an approach of social learning which is based on the Constructivist Learning Theory and emphasises that learning is an outcome of interaction between people in practical environments. Although CoP does not emphasise professional identity, according to the theory, identity is constructed in communities of practice through learning which is an outcome of interaction between experts and newcomers (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Practice emphasises community which is the platform for learning and knowledge creation, and identity construction is linked with participation, belonging and continuum (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1999, 149–150.).

According to William Snyder and Etienne Wenger (2010, 110), the main elements of CoPs are domain, community, and practice. These three dimensions influence learning and, in particular, communities' ability to operate as a learning system. Domain refers to the common ground for participation; it is the passion shared by the members, their reason to act and gather. Community denotes a social setting with a shared community spirit and an interactive platform for learning and interaction. Practice, in turn, is both a

method and action related to learning, sharing and developing knowledge among community members. (Snyder & Wenger, 2010, 110.) In general, CoPs are flexible, either informal or formal settings, which may be self-organised although they often exist within a certain context, such as work organisation. In the organisational context, CoPs follow the system and titles the organisation uses so CoPs might be, for example, teams that focus on certain thematic topics. The CoP concept encourages people in organisations to assume collective responsibility for information and knowledge management to meet the relevant needs. In CoPs, knowledge is created mainly through dynamic processes in which individual people contribute with a multitude of aspects. (Wenger, 2011, 3–4.)

As stated by Audunson et al. (2011, 222), libraries resonate with the concept of CoP and particularly with the process whereby newcomers are invited into a community. Learning is a tool for integrating newcomers to the community and public libraries could be an arena for social learning within CoPs. According to Hussey and Campbell-Meier (2016, 346), professional communities are significant for the development of professional skills, knowledge and career in the LIS field. During their LIS studies, students orientate themselves to professional communities and, especially during internship periods, they seek membership in professional groups. Furthermore, the close collaboration between library professionals and user communities enhances innovation, goal orientation and problem-solving capacity for all participants. (Kim, 2015, 47.) In the multidimensional LIS field operating in both academic and public environments, the concept of CoP is useful because libraries are user and community oriented service organisations. Knowing their local communities, librarians learn what their needs are and can support CoPs by, for example, providing access to knowledge. (Hussey & Campbell-Meier, 2016, 347.)

While CoPs have been implemented in various type of libraries (Kim, 2015, 49–51), research focusing on communities of practice from the perspective of public libraries and their user communities is largely missing. Yon and Albert (2013) found that the CoPs established within the public library network increased librarians' sense of participation and identity, interaction, mutual learning, and practice sharing. The authors noticed, in particular, that working together improved knowledge sharing and informal learning (Yon & Albert, 2013). According to Jong-Ae Kim (2015, 52), librarians were able to promote local CoPs by providing knowledge and enabling the CoP members to seek and acquire information while also offering them venues.

2.4 Summary

The SIT, presented in Chapter 2, is the theoretical backbone of the study. As the chapter shows, SIT provides an adaptable framework to examine professional identity in the study which approaches professional identity as a social construction. This study aims to contribute to the understanding about the construction of professional identity and continuum of a population, with an immigrant background who are in the minority position both in the society and among the professional community. Groups, group relations and memberships are at the core of SIT and thus the concept provides a potential for examining the construction of profession identity through experienced participation. As already discussed, SIT has been utilised in studies of professional identity which link identity construction with the experiences of inclusion/exclusion which in turn influence the continuum of professional identity.

In addition, Chapter 2 has presented identity as a multidimensional and complex phenomenon. The construction of professional identity starts in the

early phase of one's career, and education provides newcomers with their first professional contacts to the branch. Personal identity is always a social construction that cannot be achieved without others, who are needed in order to understand the individual characteristics, similarities and differences. The sense of belonging is significant for an individual and an important element of identity. The building of social identity, in turn, is based on personal identity. In professional contexts, socialisation is a process during which people seek and negotiate their place and participation within professional communities. Professional socialisation is not only a process that takes place at the beginning of the career but it is an ongoing negotiation between the community and an individual. Worth of noting is that the early stage of one's career is extremely meaningful as it is the stage when the individual and community compare, examine and observe each other for the first time. This comparison happens through the lenses of education, competence, practice, expectations and values.

According to the concept of social identity, membership is a significant factor and people position themselves and others through social categorisation, identification and comparison. Social groups are hierarchical constructions and people tend to organise themselves and others into 'us' who are in (in-group) and 'them' who are out (out-groups). People want to participate in groups that have a positive and distinctive identity. The in-group tends to favour its members and construct a positive social identity around them. Through intergroup comparison, the out-groups are left with the position of exclusion and dissatisfied social identity. However, groups are not static constructions but they are changing and people easily shift from one group to another. Some groups are more closed and not accessible to new members, and they set their own terms for membership. Education, values or communication skills may be significant keys to group memberships. Nevertheless, new members influence the group and, in return, the group has an effect on its members.

Movement of people has influenced societies, which have become more diverse in terms of their cultural and ethnic background. Construction of professional identity requires that people can commit to the values and norms of organisations. If the work environment is not responsive and does not recognise, for example, the values of newcomers, the newcomers will not be able to participate in the in-group. This may eventually make them feel they are being marginalised in the community, and may therefore start to seek membership in other groups.

3 Evolving public libraries and librarianship

Chapter 3 focuses on public libraries and librarianship and their performance. The aim of the study, as mentioned earlier, is to provide knowledge on professional identity construction in the context of a public library and therefore it is important to examine the purposes, principles and fundamentals of the public library institution. In addition, trajectory and characteristics of librarianship are essential to know when the aim is to improve understanding about the construction of professional identity of library and information students, with an immigrant background. Chapter 3 aims to examine if the establishments, frameworks, values or education at the practical and theoretical levels provide any signs of such underlying factors that may influence the experiences of inclusion or exclusion among students with an immigrant background, in a professional setting. Section 3.1 concentrates on the community orientation of public libraries, and discusses the ideological background and functional dimensions of public libraries and how these are combined in the concept of the multicultural library, as well as how the impact of community orientation could be indicated. Section 3.2 focuses on the

various dimensions of librarianship, the status of the profession, and professional values. Moreover, the section discusses practical librarianship, the duties of the professional community, as well as the nature of the professional community in terms of the background of practitioners. Section 3.3 describes library education in Finland and particularly the qualification and competence requirements in the LIS field. Finally, Section 3.4 summarises the complexity of organising and running public libraries as multidimensional service organisations in society.

3.1 Community orientation of public libraries

In England, the first libraries that served people in general were established in the 1400s, and later, the British Library was founded in the mid-1700s. In the United States, the first public library was opened in 1833 in New Hampshire (Sessa, 2003). The growing urbanisation and immigration were two major factors contributing to the development of public libraries in the 1800s. Large population movements within Europe and from Europe to the United States challenged the towns and cities. Libraries were seen as one solution to support the integration of newcomers. In their early days, however, public libraries, for example in the southern states of the United States, followed closely the municipalities' policies, which were not necessarily sensitive towards the new population (Malone, 2000, 80–82.). In general, industrial workers lacked education and, together with poor language skills, the low education level actually hindered their integration. In this situation, politicians took advantage of public libraries as an instrument to support integration and also to boost the economy. The Public Library Movement (PLM) started in Boston in the early 1850s (Jones, 2017, 229). The main idea behind the movement was the strong confidence in education, which was supposed to have a positive influence on the population. Proper reading and learning materials were seen as tools to

protect society against criminal behaviour, unwanted political activities and ideas that could lead to social disorder (Jones, 2017, 234–238.). In terms of values like equality and democracy, public libraries have their roots in PLM.

In the 1800s, many European countries followed the model of Britain and America and established libraries, which gradually evolved into public libraries as they are currently understood: Public service institutions providing collections, facilities and other services to the population at large and maintained by public funding (Sessa, 2003). In the turn of the 19th Century, increasing interest in the American model of public libraries was visible in the Nordic countries (Hansson, 2010, 5). In Finland, the start of public libraries is closely linked with the development of schools and education systems (See Mäkinen, 2001).

Community-based thinking returned to public library policies in the 1970s and 1980s, along with the increased social consciousness and progress. In Finland, the number of public libraries grew rapidly and the expansion was associated with the development of the Finnish welfare state (Mäkinen, 2001, 118). According to Hansson (2010, 7), public libraries resonate with the social norms of the surrounding communities and societies, which is also suggested by Talja (1998) in her study of the development of Finnish music libraries. Talja (1998) identified three consecutive repertoires of libraries that follow the societal development and values. The first is the common culture repertoire characteristic of the 1950s and 1960s. This repertoire refers to the idea that music libraries support learning, particularly through the commonly agreed canon of music. Second, the consumer culture repertoire from the 1970s to the late 1980s emphasises the contrast between public services and the private sector. Third, the mosaic culture repertoire, which started in the 1990s, reflects the postmodern discourse on diversified needs and interests (Talja, 1998). Although Talja concentrates on music libraries, we may argue that the three

repertoires she presents also characterise the steps of Finnish public libraries from the 1950s onwards. It seems that currently the stakeholder community dimension is strengthened in public libraries and, for example, Barbara Sen (2014) proposes that community orientation should be adopted as a premise of strategic thinking in public libraries. According to her, (Sen, 2014, 506) community orientation “focuses on community needs and aims to improve access to service for users”.

3.1.1 Ideological background

Vatanen (2002, 23) reminds us that the American Public Library Movement was, first of all, an ideological innovation based on the idea that societies, communities and individuals are empowered by improving their access to cultural and educational resources. According to Vatanen (2002, 20–21), the development and spread of public libraries can be linked with the concept of re-invention, in which local applicability and community acceptance are significant phases. In other words, new models have promising prospects if they are flexible and modifiable and also meet the local needs. Since public libraries met these conditions, the library concept was successfully rooted in societies.

In 1994, IFLA and UNESCO published the Public Library Manifesto. Due to the development of new information formats, media and technologies, the manifesto was updated in 2009. The foundation of the manifesto emphasises human freedom, equality and the democratic development of societies, which are enhanced by providing people with access to knowledge and information through public libraries (Koontz & Gubbin, 2010). The advocacy of these principles contributes to the social responsibility of libraries, while the pragmatic orientation of libraries easily proposes linkage to basic aims such as human rights and social justice. Libraries aim to comply with human rights as

announced in policies and legislation, which offer them a justified framework to operate and promote the general idea of social justice. (Gorham et al., 2016a, 4–5.) Moreover, the idea of social justice within the frame of public libraries is attached to the concepts of social inclusion and exclusion. (See, e.g., Lawal, 2016.) Encouragement of participation, in particular, characterises public libraries in Nordic countries (Koizumi & Larsen, 2019). According to Jaeger et al. (2015, 121–122), services that improve literacy skills and digital competence will promote involvement opportunities among the population. Moreover, a wide range of actions, such as networking, community outreach programmes, various trainings and education in both physical and online environments, aim at preventing social exclusion. The central premise of social justice is also included in the right of intellectual freedom, which is an essential aim of public libraries (See e.g., Hoffman, 2016; IFLA, 1999). IFLA’s advisory committee for the Freedom of Access to Information and Freedom of Expression (FAIFE) provides public libraries with guidance in questions of intellectual freedom, ensures that libraries are involved in high-level discussions of intellectual freedom, and updates the statements so that they correspond to the needs of various environments (IFLA, 1999). Peter Johan Lor (2018) argues that intellectual freedom has been challenged by the phenomenon of post-truth, which refers to the current discourse in which the status of objective facts is being questioned and facts are replaced by personal beliefs and opinions. This setting has created a need for accurate, accountable and reliable information and thus, the need of library services is urgent in terms of, for example, valid collections, access to information and literacy training. Through the prevention of misinformation and focus on actions like fact-checking, public libraries continue the tradition of being reliable resources for communities. (Lor, 2018.) The changing circumstances and environments have highlighted the need for open institutions, such as the public library,

which is able to support democracy by introducing its foundations to newcomers in society (Koizumi & Larsen, 2019, 453).

The connection between libraries and democracy is clear. As stated by former president of ALA, the American Library Association, Nancy Kranich (2001), libraries are the cornerstones of democracy and democracy needs libraries. In Finland and in the other Nordic countries, this connection is explicitly stated in the legislation. For example, the current Finnish Public Libraries Act (1492/2016) states that the duty of the public libraries is to “promote active citizenship, democracy and freedom of expression as well as to promote social and cultural dialogue”. According to Koizumi and Larsen (2019), the current open libraries are the outcome of the development process in which the democratic societies have invested. Hansson (2010, 7) argues that libraries cannot evolve in a vacuum, but they tend to follow the social norms and values of the society in which they operate. Malone (2000) adds that public libraries are mainly oriented towards maintaining the power structures in societies, and thus, they reflect the values of the dominant population (See also Hansson, 1998, 2010). This raises the question if it is at all possible that an institution like the public library could develop independently without any control by authorities. In Finland, for example, it is acknowledged that, in the late 1800s, the libraries promoted the prevailing nationalistic approaches and political ideologies (Vatanen, 2011, 29). According to Newman (2007), after the Second World War, nationalistic approaches were visible in the libraries whereas the needs of minority populations were ignored in terms of collections, literature and languages. LIS researchers have not sufficiently studied the linkage between public libraries and dominance and politics although the perspective could produce new understanding about libraries. Libraries have emphasised their neutral attitude and impartiality but this view

can be questioned by the argument that public libraries are dependent on political decision-making. (Jaeger et al., 2014, 3–6.)

Public libraries aim to contribute to promoting human rights and social justice but, as regards concrete actions, it has been argued that the debate is missing and the library field has not been able to generate real discussion of the principles (Gorham et al., 2016b). It has also been argued that lack of mutual vocabulary has prevented common discussion not only within the library field but also with stakeholders, networks, authorities and other audiences (Lor, 2018; Debono, 2002; Gorham et al., 2016b). Dadlani (2016) found that people in libraries attach different meanings to the manifestations of social justice. A clear articulation is needed to improve mutual understanding, to avoid ambiguities and also to make the significant actions of libraries in the field of social inclusion properly visible (Gorham et al., 2016a). The demand for discussion was heard by IFLA, which engaged in a massive vision work in the form of national, continental and global workshops with over 30,000 library professionals participating. One part of the vision work was to collect national level views of the core values of libraries. According to the Global Vision Report (IFLA, 2018), the global public library community is committed to promoting the following common values:

- Equal and free access to information and knowledge
- Commitment to dissemination of information and knowledge
- Commitment to community engagement and empowerment
- Diversity and inclusion
- Protection of cultural heritage and memory

In Finland, the purpose of public libraries is stated in the Public Libraries Act (1492/2016), according to which public libraries aim at promoting

- equal opportunities for everyone to access education and culture;
- availability and use of information;

- reading culture and versatile literacy skills;
- opportunities for lifelong learning and competence development;
- active citizenship, democracy and freedom of expression.

Looked through the lens of identity, both the values indicated in the Global Vision Report (IFLA, 2018) and the aims of public libraries stated in the Finnish Public Libraries Act (1492/2016), provide an extensive basis for the construction of professional identity. So, it seems that high level guidance does not strictly limit library professionals but offers them freedom to execute the professional orientation. According to SIT (See Section 2.2), membership is significant for people, as they want to identify themselves with the groups that have meaning for them. In terms of agreed global values and national level public library tasks, the library profession is able to provide group membership and identity building platforms for various professional approaches.

3.1.2 Functional orientation

According to IFLA, “the primary purpose of the public library is to provide resources and services in the variety of media to meet the needs of individuals and groups for education, information and personal development including recreation and leisure. They have an important role in the development and maintenance of a democratic society by giving the individual access to a wide and varied range of knowledge, ideas and opinions.” (Koontz & Gubbin, 2010, 2). This suggests that libraries should promote learning, overall access to information, development of people, and encourage the development of cultural understanding, participation and inclusion among communities. The four-space model developed by Jochumsen et al. (2012) describes both the meaning and potential of public libraries. The multidimensionality of libraries has been difficult to articulate, and thus, the discussion concerning the function

of libraries has been limited and mainly emphasised collections and book borrowing. The four-space model provides an extensive framework for the analysis of the functions of libraries and communication with the audiences and authorities regarding the needs, meanings and roles of public libraries in society. (Jochumsen et al., 2012, 586–587; Chisita & Fombad, 2021.)

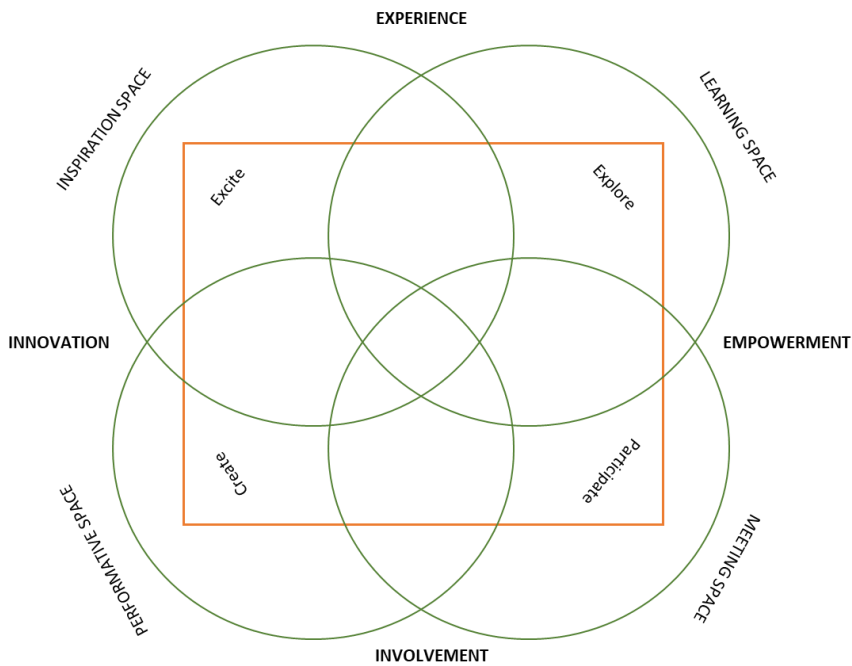


Figure 3. The four spaces of the public library. (Adapted from Jochumsen et al., 2012, 589.)

Figure 3 visualises the four-space model describing the extent and interactive orientation of public libraries. The model is not an image of concrete library venues but it contributes to the actions, services and opportunities provided by public libraries for people in general. Whether they are executed in physical or virtual environments is not of importance, what is important is for each organisation can decide on the most suitable setting. According to the model, the aim of libraries is to enable individuals,

communities and societies to develop in terms of experience, involvement, empowerment and innovation. *Experience and involvement* refer to input at the level of individuals and how libraries can support people, for example, in constructing their identities. Whereas *Empowerment and innovation* are social level approaches (Jochumsen et al., 2012, 589). The model has been applied, for example, by the Danish Agency for Culture and in the design of the Oslo new main library (Jochumsen et al., 2017). Outside Nordic countries, the model has been utilised in Zimbabwe, where it has provided a framework for developing a new inclusive strategy for Harare City Libraries (Chisita & Fombad, 2021). Collence Takaingehamo Chisita and Madeleine Fombad (2021) assure that the strength of the four-space model is that it enables libraries to reconfigure their spaces to meet the needs of communities.

The four-space model proposes that public libraries should invest in the involvement of individuals and in empowering communities as involvement and empowerment can be linked with the experiences of participation and inclusion. As indicated by many LIS studies, public libraries have full potential to promote the inclusive experiences of people (See e.g., Train et al., 2000; Lockyer-Benzie, 2004; Gehner, 2010; Stilwell, 2011; Jaeger et al., 2014; Stilwell, 2016; Lawal, 2016) and to minimize social exclusion (See e.g., Jaeger et al., 2014; Miller, 2014; Stilwell, 2016; Vårheim, 2011; Vårheim, 2014; Veros, 2019).

The four-space model emphasises the participative dimension of public libraries; also Vårheim (2014, 67) sees that inclusiveness characterises public library organisations. The public library is described as a public sphere institution (Aabø et al., 2010; Vårheim, 2019; Audunson et al., 2019a; Audunson et al., 2019b) which can promote inclusion at the practical level by providing premises where, for example, immigrant populations have an opportunity to create informal social contacts with other people (Vårheim,

2011; Vårheim, 2014). LIS researchers, including Aabø et al. (2010), Audunson (2005), and Audunson et al. (2011, 2019a, 2019b) have found that people appreciate libraries as meeting places where they can easily cross borders and encounter various debates, ideas and views, which can open them wider perspectives compared to their other everyday routes. Public libraries as public spheres enable meetings between library users whereas social innovations have potential to improve interaction between library professionals and library user communities by finding common solutions to social challenges (De Moor & van den Assem, 2013; Zbiejczuk Sucha et al., 2021). The starting point of social innovation is to recognise a need to which an innovation is a response. The concept of social innovation suggests that, within a community, people should be motivated, activated and supported to solve the articulated needs rather than turning to external parties and purchasing ready-made solutions. Mulgan (2006, 149–150) presents the term ‘positive deviant’, which proposes that, instead of regarding a need as a problem, it should be approached as an opportunity. According to Mulgan (2006, 146), social innovation refers to “innovative activities and services that are motivated by the goal of meeting a social need and that are predominantly diffused through organizations whose primary purposes are social. Phillips et al. (2008, 36) maintain that social innovation addresses a need, but in addition, they recognise the value created to the society by defining social innovation as “a novel solution to a social problem that is more effective, efficient, sustainable, or just than existing solutions and for which the value created accrues primarily to society as a whole rather than private individuals” (Phillips et al., 2008, 36). One significant feature of the social innovation process is that it increases awareness and improves know-how within the community, which, in turn, can benefit the population to a greater extent and encourage them in the innovation process without external facilitation (Grimm et al., 2013).

According to Gorham and Bertot (2018, 203–205), socially sustainable innovation means that solutions are developed in close interaction not only with local people but also with the operators from the public, private and third sectors, who are invited to collaboration. The idea is that the outcome should resonate not only with the local need but also with local initiatives. The collaborative approach can be productive especially in surroundings where people struggle with social and economic challenges as tackling the issues may require new ecosystems instead of one limited solution. Gorham and Bertot (2018, 205) also inform that, in many neighbourhoods, libraries are often the only service providers that are open, accessible and offer expertise in information seeking and using ICT. This support is significant in terms of social innovation and it enables communities to transform and decrease their challenges systematically. Regarding the library organisation, social innovations are initiatives that libraries execute within their communities. These aim mainly at learning, and libraries have succeeded in introducing a variety of programmes that strengthen communities through new knowledge and skills (Gorham & Bertot, 2018, 205).

3.1.3 The multicultural library

Multiculturalism is the fundamental principle of the public library institution (IFLA, 2008) which is to be achieved by common global guidelines (IFLA, 2009) as well as by local library service solutions. At the national level, multiculturalism is often under the umbrella of diversity as in the United States of America, for example, where the American Library Association (ALA) has published a strategy *Equity, Diversity and Inclusion*. In Finland, the Public Libraries Act (1492/2016) emphasises equity of all people, and the promotion of social and cultural dialogue among the population. The aim of the multicultural library is not to separate library services from each other so that

multicultural populations are provided with a different package than the dominant population, but rather, it is an ideology that permeates all structures of organisations (Mabi, 2018, 200–201.)

Within the library branch, the first steps to discuss minority rights were taken in the 1960s, but the more detailed debate about diversity did not start until two decades later (Josey & Abdullahi, 2002, 10). In 1982, the Library Council of Victoria, Australia, announced the standards for multicultural public library services, which became the baseline for the library field. IFLA followed them in both the *Multicultural Communities: Guidelines for Library Services* and *IFLA Multicultural Library Manifesto*. The first document encourages libraries to establish and develop multicultural services in practice, whereas the second is a declaration concerning the relationship between the global library community and the phenomenon of multiculturalism (IFLA, 2009). The manifesto is a clear statement for human rights and it articulates the mission of multicultural libraries, which mainly relates to information, literacy, education and culture. The main idea behind the multicultural library is that all people have equal right to public library services, which should be organised so that they acknowledge the diversity of the population and serve individuals regardless of their background, beliefs, religion, capability etc. (IFLA, 2009). The multicultural principles of IFLA emphasise that library services should enable people in a new environment to maintain their language and culture of origin, and yet the newcomers of society should be supported in social inclusion.

Besides institutional multiculturalism, public libraries have presented a number of initiatives concerning multicultural libraries (Smallwood & Becnel, 2013), which emphasises the serious attitude of public libraries towards institutional multiculturalism. We may even argue that, through the development of the concept of a multicultural library, public libraries have not

only improved their understanding about social inclusion but also supported the development of work methods. For example, in Canada, the Working Together Project (2008) introduced community-based methods for library professionals to step out of libraries, reach out for different population groups and develop services together with people in the community (Working Together Project, 2008; Williment, 2009; Williment & Jones-Grant, 2012; Maguire & Winton, 2014). Another example is the scenario process conducted within the New South Wales public library network in Australia. One starting point of the process was the fact that the society is multicultural and future libraries need to implement services for immigrant populations regardless of their age, ethnicity, or income level (NSW State Library, 2009, 15). This viewpoint was included in the scenario, with particular emphasis on the social role of public libraries, for example, in identity construction (NSW State Library, 2009). When individuals can surely see that they are involved in the common stories and histories of communities, their experience of social participation will improve (Caidi & Allard, 2005, 320). Katherine Robinson (2020) is convinced that public libraries have the full potential to promote ordinary activities of everyday multiculturalism by facilitating meaningful multicultural interventions. These are not multicultural events as such, but small-scale ordinary activities that provide opportunities to create "a space of sociality and connection for racially diverse groups" such as the group of knitters in the study by Robinson (2020).

During the past decades, minority questions have increasingly emerged in LIS studies. In particular, researchers have been trying to find out why LIS professions do not resonate with minority populations, who are mainly missing from both LIS education and librarianship (McCook, 1997; Adkins & Hussey, 2005; Kim & Sin, 2008; Hussey, 2009; Jaeger et al., 2010; Love, 2010; Pho & Masland, 2014). Annie Pho and Turner Masland, in turn, argue that LIS

research may be limited as it focuses on those minority groups that are clearly distinguishable rather than on the assimilated minority populations. For example, cultural and linguistic background, sexual orientation, religion and number of disabilities are private matters that are often excluded from studies. Moreover, people can experience being different among others, for example, because of their socioeconomic status or educational level (Jaeger et al., 2013, 244). Pho and Masland (2014, 259) also maintain that, in terms of diversity, the question of power is significant because the relationships and encounters between ‘minority’ and ‘majority’ often include authority issues. LIS students with a minority-background appeared to construct their understanding of diversity from their position of an outsider (Hussey, 2009, 209).

Guidelines for multicultural library services (IFLA, 2009) highlight the multilingual approach that encourages libraries to pay attention to linguistic diversity among those who work in libraries. Piller (2016) relates multilingualism to the principle of social justice and claims that language is a significant aspect in the experiences of inclusion and exclusion. Piller (2015, 2) proposes that multilingualism should be seen “as an umbrella term that covers a wide variety of linguistic contexts and practices; for example, language status, speaker status, national histories, individual proficiencies and institutional contexts are some of the main variables that shape a great diversity of ‘multilingualism’”. Whereas linguistic diversity covers those who are flexible in combining different languages in terms of grammar and vocabulary (Piller, 2016, 9–12). However, in working life, linguistic diversity may cause experiences of injustice, particularly among immigrants who have several linguistic barriers, including limited proficiency of the dominant language (Piller, 2016, 72–76). In contrast, a monolingual mindset refers to a setting in which people live and conduct their duties in environments where language has its standards and any deviations such as multilingualism are seen as

problematic. Monolingual environments tend to support and justify monolingualism (Piller, 2016, 31–33). Collins (2018) argues that, in library organisations, language is used to establish, maintain and enhance power settings, which creates an obstacle in terms of inviting people to the field from outside of the dominant language group. She sees that current institutional language “created and reinforced by hierarchical power dynamics” should be questioned (Collins, 2018, 44). Collins (2018) is of the opinion that the analysis of institutional discourses could help the LIS field to move from words to action, and find and remove barriers from diversity.

The role of the employees is significant especially because people working in libraries should reflect the diversity of societies and communities in terms of cultural background and competence to work with multicultural communities (IFLA, 2009). Recruitment aims at ensuring that the potential of libraries reaches various populations and is aware of cultural diversity in the society (IFLA, 2009); but it may implicitly refer to the idea that, without the representation of immigrant population, it may be difficult or even impossible to develop a sensitive multicultural library. This is an important matter for the future.

3.1.4 The impact of community orientation

In Finland, the expenses of public libraries are covered by public funding, and their performance is closely monitored. The Ministry of Culture and Education collects statistics on public libraries, including the use of libraries, extent of collections, number of staff, size of venues, and cost efficiency (Libraries.fi, 2019). The statistics provide public libraries with opportunity to evaluate their current performance, but they should also be used prospectively and applied when setting short-term and long-term goals (Nyström & Sjögren, 2012, 18–20). It has been argued that people, places and platforms are the cornerstones

of public libraries, and also regarding social inclusion and human capital, which are strengthened through activities like meeting and creating, learning and sharing (Garmer, 2014; Audunson, 2005; Audunson et al., 2011, 2019a, 2019b; Gorham et al., 2016a). Furthermore, libraries often emphasise their role in promoting the principles of democracy, equality and freedom. These fundamental aspects are difficult to measure and thus they may remain at the statement level although there might be a need for impact assessment. Assessment would be important not only for the purposes of revealing the work of libraries in terms of social justice and human rights, but also for showing that libraries are able to understand their actions, analyse their output, communicate the results with wider audiences, and develop their services further (Gorman et al., 2016, 424; Debono, 2002). Despite the lack of agreed indicators or continuous outcome assessment methods, which would enable evaluation of the outcomes of social inclusion, the impacts of libraries have been analysed in several studies (e.g., Kerslake & Kinnel, 1997; Kerslake & Kinnel, 1998; Debono, 2002; Aabø, 2005). They show that the influence of libraries is extensive, particularly in terms of community well-being, skills, local identity construction, social cohesion, and confidence (Kerslake & Kinnel, 1997; Kerslake & Kinnel, 1998; Debono, 2002).

Multicultural library work is one example of the implementation of the ideological foundations in public libraries, but it is difficult to show the concrete impact of this work. For example, the Finnish Public Libraries Statistics Database does not offer much information about the cultural and linguistic characteristics of library users (Libraries.fi, 2019). If library professionals represent the majority population and are rooted in a certain library concept, it may be difficult to perceive that newcomers may be familiar with a different tradition (Mabi, 2018, 226). According to Caidi and Allard (2005, 302–303), information practices of immigrant populations should be

investigated sufficiently so as to enable libraries to truly promote inclusion. A holistic view would allow different operators act jointly in order to decrease the experiences of social exclusion among the population. However, development should be based on researched knowledge so that the barriers that seem to prevent the use of libraries could be recognised and removed (Audunson et al., 2011, 222; Maguire & Winton, 2014; Helsingin kaupunginkirjasto, 2016, 24, 55).

3.2 Multidimensional librarianship

Public libraries have followed the development of societies and have become multidimensional public service institutions, which have strong ideological background and community orientation. In this section, librarianship is discussed as a profession that contributes to the variety of duties included in the library organisation and aimed at serving its clients. The section focuses on the potential of the profession in promoting the integration of people with an immigrant background, into librarianship.

According to Roberts and Donahue (2000, 368), “bureaucracy expects its members to promote and represent the interest of the organization; the professional expects the interests of the client to be supreme.” The connection between organisations and those who work within the relevant context is interesting, especially when the question is about a professional field. Vesa Suominen (2016) coins the abbreviation L&Lship to denote the combination of libraries and librarianship. L&Lship refers to the idea that professionals working in the branch are principal factors of organisations, and libraries could not have become successful service organisations without the profession of librarianship (Suominen, 2016). Bertil Jansson (2010, 12–14) also emphasises the connection between librarianship and libraries, but he argues that librarianship is dependent of the library organisations rather than the other way

round, and that libraries could survive without librarians. In fact, we might say that there is already empirical evidence of the last-mentioned development since the growing number of self-service libraries, launched in the first decade of the new millennium, has increased both the opening hours and the use of libraries (Engström & Rivano Eckerdal, 2017). Actually, the self-service concept might even promote the basic idea of public libraries in terms of accessibility and openness (Engström & Rivano Eckerdal, 2017, 156–157). Nevertheless, physical libraries characterise librarianship, and they influence the professional identity of librarians. Work environments are significant professional identity platforms, and changes such as shifts from physical premises to digital platforms, for example, might have remarkable impacts on the professional identity construction (Pierson et al., 2019, 429).

3.2.1 Status of profession and professionals

Sare and Bales (2014, 574) have shown that librarianship has developed and changed extensively during the past decades and the established modern librarianship has a need to contribute to professional identification. Thomas Brante (2009, 25–26) sees that the link between university education and professions is not as strong as it used to be and current professions are identified by professional action where the capability to apply abstract knowledge is needed as well as the ability to manage demanding tasks. Also Andrew Abbott (1988) connected abstract knowledge with professions in his *The System of Professions*, where he presented the concept of professionalisation. Garcia and Barbour (2018) characterise professionalisation as an ‘ongoing, communicative, and macrosocial process’. According to Abbott (1998), along with the loose frame of librarianship in terms of expertise, the status of a profession has become an issue and librarianship should be categorised as a semi-profession rather than a true

profession (see also Estabrook, 1981; Birdsall, 1982; Stephens, 1986; Harris, 1992; Abbott, 1998; Brante, 2009; Litwin, 2009). The discussion about semi-professions mainly concerns certain contexts, such as the welfare state (e.g., Weiss-Gal & Welbourne, 2008), gender representation (Nolin, 2008; Abbott, 1988), or organisational bureaucracy (Roberts & Donahue, 2000, 368). According to Garcia and Barbour (2018, 567) “professions are institutionalized occupations in the sense that they operate as an extra organizational influence, transcending any particular organization”. Keith Roberts and Karen Donahue (2000) have recognised six factors that characterise professions and distinguish them from occupations:

- Mastery of specialised theory
- Autonomy and control of one’s work and how that work is performed
- Motivation focusing on intrinsic rewards and on the interests of clients
- Commitment to the profession as a career and to the service objectives of the organisation for which one works
- Sense of community and feelings of collegiality with others in the profession, and accountability to those colleagues
- Self-monitoring and regulation by the profession of ethical and professional standards in keeping with a detailed code of ethics (Roberts & Donahue, 2000, 366–368).

These traits of a profession are applicable to librarianship and, correspondingly, this study follows Winter (1983), Litwin (2009), Jansson (2010), Keer & Carlos (2014) and Suominen (2016), who provide clear statements about the independent library profession. The traits provide a comprehensive framework for understanding the nature of a profession and they are used in the following sections. The report on the scenario work conducted within the New South Wales library network indicates that, while working life is increasingly agile and applies networking, libraries are still

quite hierarchical and controlled organisations (NSW State Library, 2009, 12). Deprofessionalisation, in turn, refers to a process in which the autonomy of a profession is weakened through the increased control by those who are not professionals in the field (Roberts & Donahue, 2000). In library environments, the phenomenon of deprofessionalisation is connected to, for example, recruitment policies that open professional occupations to those who are not qualified rather than recruiting competent experts with a proper education (Litwin, 2009, 51–54). Without formal LIS professional education, those who work in libraries might be excluded from professional groups (Hussey & Campbell-Meier, 2019, 967). According to Litwin, in the context of library professions, deprofessionalisation can have influence on the autonomy of librarianship and decrease the freedom of professionals in the field to determine how they organise their professional occupation and conduct their duties (Litwin, 2009, 49, 54–56). Thus, library professionals should continue the discussion concerning the nature of the library profession, follow the development in other fields, and prepare for action in case the phenomenon of deprofessionalisation spreads. Kerstin Sevón (2007) has examined library professionals and how their opportunities influence their duties and roles during an organisational reform. Sevón found that the interactive attitude of librarians ensures their inclusion in the process and reinforces their possibility of achieving their objectives. If library professionals are not active themselves and fail to show engagement during the process of change, the risk of being excluded from the process increases. A passive attitude can lead to a situation in which the power to decide is provided to people coming from other fields. (Sevón, 2007; Vassilakaki & Moniarou-Papaconstantinou, 2015, 41.) Olof Sundin (2006, 87) suggests that the expertise of professions should not be carved in stone, but rather, professionals should readily recognise and react to the signals of change.

It has been argued that the image and social status of librarianship are subject to an ongoing struggle but actions that aim at protecting and improving the social status of the profession and expertise of professionals are implicitly implemented into professional communities (Garcia & Barbour, 2018). According to Deborah Hicks (2016, 617), the image of a profession refers to the view of others, that is, the way in which other people perceive the profession. Kaisa Sinikara (2007, 26) found that the public image of librarians is mainly characterised as solid and static, rather than flexible and responsive. Ongoing social changes demand, however, that professionals should be reactive and able to adopt innovations (Svensk biblioteksförening, 2008b, 10). The image, or public perception of librarianship has been a shared concern among library professionals who have actively sought to strengthen their status through, for example, technological initiatives, concepts of information and knowledge, and increased interaction with library users. These actions have supported library professionals in introducing new roles, duties and methods into their profession, which have also improved the outcomes of libraries. Another question is whether these actions have managed to upgrade the overall status of library professionals in society (Svensk biblioteksförening, 2008a; Garcia & Barbour, 2018). We may argue that a clear indicator of the legitimacy and status of professionals in society is legislation that recognises the profession. In the relevant legislation of Nordic countries, libraries are regarded as institutions that are managed by professionals. Moreover, recent statistics concerning public libraries in Finland indicate that the use of libraries has increased (Libraries.fi, 2019) and, at least implicitly, this suggests that library professionals have succeeded in their efforts to manage their profession.

3.2.2 Professional values

Commitment to ethical codes is a significant factor for a profession and, according to Hicks (2016, 615–616), reliability and accountability are significant traits of a profession for service users. Roberts and Donahue (2000, 368) emphasise that written ethical codes imply a profession's capacity for self-regulation and systems to identify unwanted behaviour. Such codes also reinforce professions against outside control and subsequent deprofessionalisation. In order to advocate librarianship (see Hicks, 2016) and meet the relevant requirements, library professional communities have contributed to professional values and codes at both international and national levels. Instead of declaring the values of librarianship, the American Library Association published the core values that are critical elements of library professions (ALA, 2006). These core values, including democracy, intellectual freedom, the public good, social responsibility and diversity, provide a straightforward connection with the principles of public libraries discussed earlier. Dadlani (2016, 16) emphasises that the aim to promote the idea of social justice is at the core of library and information professions. In 2012, IFLA published ethical codes for librarians and other information workers, with due consideration of the following:

- Access to information
- Responsibilities towards individuals and society
- Privacy, secrecy and transparency
- Open access and intellectual property
- Neutrality, personal integrity and professional skills
- Colleague and employer/employee relationship (IFLA, 2012).

These aspects are closely linked with the ideological principles of public libraries and overlap with various nationally issued ethical codes, such as the Ethical Principles of Library Work in Finland (Ethics work group, 2011). The

Finnish Library Association, the Finnish Swedish Library Association and the Finnish Research Library Association have jointly issued ethical guidelines, which emphasise library professional duties, impartiality, statements for good life, and collegiality among professional community. Pierson et al. (2019, 418) suggest that shared professional values could influence the construction of homogeneous professional identity but because values are internalised and processed through individual perceptions, the professional identities of people are never similar structures.

Berg and Jacobs (2016, 459) suggest that the core values of ALA have no clear relevance in everyday library professional occupations but, instead, they may promote political or institutional aims. However, we can argue that work on values serves as a discussion platform, allowing library professionals as individuals, groups or communities to contribute to the essence of their profession and examine its principles (Berg & Jacobs, 2016, 262; Hicks, 2016). The discourse on library services often highlights neutrality (Koontz & Gubbin, 2010, 50) in terms of ideologies, but this view has not been approved by all (Phenix & McCook, 2005, 24; Gorham et al., 2016b, 422–423). According to Gorham et al. (2016b, 423), there is a controversy in terms of objectives that, first, aim to provide completed multidimensional collections and, second, propose remaining outside politics. Furthermore, they see that the desire to remain out of political debates may limit the library professionals' opportunities to participate in social discussion and, therefore, the profession may not be invited to contribute, for example, to discussion about social inclusion.

Librarians are aware of the fact that the salary level is low in their professions and it does not correspond to the high level of education and constantly increasing demands of their professional occupations. Nevertheless, the importance of their work seems to motivate them in their daily duties to a

larger extent than monetary compensation (White, 2016, 143). Robert P. Holley (2016) contends that LIS students are initiated to the values and culture of libraries during their studies and adds that, although professional membership is reached during the work career, a Master's degree in LIS is essential for one to enter the professional community in the first place. (Holley, 2016, 207.) Holley (2016, 208) also indicates that LIS curricula include a variety of contents that explicitly or implicitly discusses such topics as professional ethics, intellectual freedom or the information needs of customers, which are the foundation of library professionalism.

3.2.3 Practical orientation of librarianship

In practice, the duties of librarians are extensive. In 1990s, Andreas Ørom (1993) and Peter Enström (1995) delineated the duties of libraries by identifying the roles of library professionals in public libraries. They proposed an extensive setting, including the responsibilities of a public educator, cultural mediator, cataloguer, knowledge mediator, social worker, information organiser and knowledge broker. Although the Finnish Public Libraries Act (1492/2016) does not provide any detailed list of the professional duties of librarians, these are indicated in the regulation as to:

- provide access to materials, information and cultural contents;
- maintain versatile and up-to-date collections;
- promote reading and literature;
- provide information services, guidance and support in the acquisition and use of information and in versatile literacy skills;
- provide premises for learning, recreational activities, working, and civic activities; and
- promote social and cultural dialogue (Public Libraries Act, 1492/2016).

These tasks, as defined by authorities for libraries, are highly demanding, and to concretise each of them at the level of services and duties requires broad understanding and commitment from the professional community. According to the IFLA Public Library Service Guidelines, the needs of library users should determine public library services and library services should not be designed by library professionals alone but in close collaboration with communities and user populations (Koontz & Gubbin, 2010, 35–47). This implies that library professionals should know their community in terms of various groups at different ages and stages of life, and with consideration to special needs as regards cultural and ethnic background, disabilities, lack of capacity, economic situation, or institutional settings (Koontz & Gubbin, 2010, 35–47). All individuals, groups and communities are not library users because of a variety of issues. Nevertheless, as stated by IFLA and the Finnish Public Libraries Act (1492/2016), public libraries should serve all inhabitants and library professionals should pay attention not only to those who are library users, but also to those who are not (See also Mäkinen, 2010, 4).

Tuominen (1997) notes that library users seem to reserve a rather limited role to library professionals while Jansson (2010, 51) adds that the higher education of library professionals and their skills and knowledge are not always recognised by library users, who seem to pay more attention to library venues and collections rather than to the professional capacity of librarians. Again, public discussion often emphasises the library organisation while the librarians remain in the backstage although they actually are the ones who enable the organisations to develop and provide public service (Prins & Geir, 1995a; 1995b, 37). One example of a mission was completed in 2018 when the Oodi, Helsinki Central Library was opened. In Oodi, the multidimensional tasks that the library should tackle were streamlined early at the construction phase of the building when library professionals invited library stakeholders to

contribute to the planning and design of the services (Helsinki Central Library, 2021). Oodi is a model of comprehensive library services that are an outcome of professional proficiency and community inclusion. The result reminds us of Mäkinen's description (2010, 3) of libraries being like 'supermarkets', where customers can pick those services that best suit them.

Current librarianship is, first of all, a profession with occupational duties related to public service. As Mäkinen (2010, 1) indicates, in 1990s the duties of librarians concentrated on the acquisition of physical volumes to the collections and on classifying and cataloguing these entities. Librarians served as an authority and gateway to information, they decided which books and journals should be included in the collections and enabled customers to find the desired information. Today, people no longer need librarians in a similar way because technological developments along with social and economic changes have forced libraries and information specialists to update their role in society, to rethink their expertise and to upgrade their competencies (Sundin, 2006, 87). Tuominen (1997, 361) is of the opinion that, in the library context, new expertise areas may be difficult to define whereas Mäkinen (2010, 3–5) emphasises that multicultural populations and technological innovations provide various opportunities to operate, serve, and interact with diverse communities. Increased awareness of the social responsibility of public libraries has enhanced the development of the community-based approach and work methods among library professionals. These, in turn, enable librarians to promote social inclusion and prevent exclusion (See Williment, 2009; Williment & Jones-Grant, 2012).

3.2.4 Professional community

According to a survey conducted by the Finnish Library Association (Minerva, 2019), there are about 5,000 people working in the library field and 70% of them, altogether 3,500 people, work in public libraries. People working in library occupations are typically Finnish speaking (93%) out of whom females are 82%. The middle-aged total 58%, who are individuals between 41 and 60 years old. Over a half (55%) have been loyal to their employer and have been employed by the same employer for over 10 years. Those who are concerned about the future of libraries are about three quarters (72%), while those who think their occupation is meaningful and significant and are inspired by their work are 90% (Minerva, 2019, 2).

Based on the analysis, the Finnish Library Association expresses its concern about the fact that library professional occupations are mainly held by individuals with a majority background, that is, native Finnish or Swedish speaking people. This may increase the risk that libraries are not able to use their full potential and meet the needs of all population groups as required by legislation. Growing diversity among library professionals in terms of language and cultural background could benefit both library users and the development of library services (Minerva, 2019, 2.).

The background and number of people working in the library branch may be limited, but professional titles in the field are numerous, which can be seen to reflect the multidimensional character of the profession. The challenge is that various professional titles are so closely related that it is difficult to distinguish between them and, for those who are not involved in the library field, the system of titles may appear as ambiguous. The respondents to the survey included librarians, library assistants, information officers and information specialists, but as many as 22% of the respondents categorised themselves in the group 'other professional title' (Minerva, 2019, 11). Hussey

and Campbell-Meier (2016, 345–346) recommend that LIS professionals should define their occupational roles and titles accurately to avoid confusion with other professions and the impression of being generalists. Clear language and terminology promote the professional community in terms of communication with audiences and authorities, thus contributing to the creation of a positive public image (Hussey & Campbell-Meier, 2016, 345–346). Traditionally, the duties of librarians have concentrated on tasks involving a high degree of responsibility, such as budget administration, collection management, development duties and leadership, whereas the routine tasks and everyday customer service have been the duties of library assistants. However, the differences between various professional groups have diminished and even disappeared, as there are signs that libraries are shifting towards the use of occupational titles that indicate the nature of the main duties of the professional in question, for example, library pedagogue (Grundvall, 2019, 13).

Cultural diversity is not a new phenomenon in working life where multiculturalism is related to values such as equality, social justice and democracy (Sippola, 2007). According to Hussey (2009), minority populations in the United States do not recognise the potential of the library field when they are making their career choices. Hussey (2009, 164) suggests that missing role models and lack of knowledge may explain why young people with a minority-background do not find their way to LIS studies. According to Jaeger et al. (2010, 176), less than 4% of full-time staff of LIS faculties in the United States have Latino background and 5.5% are African Americans. These figures do not resonate with the total population of which nearly 15% are Latinos and almost 13% are African Americans. Although the American Library Association has emphasised actions on diversity in terms of involving ethnic people with a minority-background to librarianship, the results achieved so far

are not encouraging (ALA, 2016). The strategy plan *Equity, Diversity and Inclusion* of ALA (ALA, 2016, 13) indicates that, in the United States, 88% of library professionals are white; while for comparison, the figure was 88.5% in a previous report 25 years earlier. This notwithstanding, LIS education has introduced more promising initiatives and, although the steps taken are modest, they are encouraging and have enhanced cultural diversity among LIS professions (Croxtton et al., 2016). One proposal invites LIS researchers to tackle the issue and through increased knowledge enhance the visibility of the LIS field among minority populations (Jaeger et al., 2010, 179). Some researchers argue that diversity questions are not adequately addressed within library and information science (Jaeger et al., 2010, 2015; Mestre, 2010; Subramaniam & Jaeger, 2010, 2011) while others are of the opinion that the overall discussion concerning diversity has increased in LIS, but mainly through the voice of the majority. Accordingly, the role of immigrant populations is mainly limited to being only a subject of study, rather than of actual research, and if the setting could be changed around, the visibility of LIS field would be enhanced to reach the population as a whole (Gonzalez-Smith et al., 2014; Swanson et al., 2018). Hussey emphasises that the aspect of power is included in diversity issues and that tackling the obstacles connected with power is a complicated but not an impossible task for the library field (Hussey, 2009, 211–212).

The scenario work conducted in Australia within the New South Wales library network in 2009 (NSW State Library, 2009) established that librarians were not characterised as a dynamic community, as they tended to look backwards rather than plan the way forward. Similarly, the growing cultural diversity among the population was seen as a challenge, but one that should be responded to immediately. LIS education would assist the field but in order to

support a comprehensive renewal, the LIS curricula should be reformed (NSW State Library, 2009, 12).

3.3 Library education

Regarding professional identity, education is a significant initiation phase during which the construction of professional identity of an individual starts (Smith, 2017; Pierson et al., 2019, 416). The formal LIS education is not necessarily a long process, but even a less than two-year training could shift an individual from incompetence to the position of a professional newcomer. Professional education has triggered the construction of professional identity, which enables the transformation of an individual. (Sare et al., 2012, 180.) Further, professional education has close linkage with the professional community, which in turn influence the construction of professional identity of an individual (Hussey & Campbell-Meier, 2016, 246). Hussey and Campbell-Meier (2019, 967) ascertains that formal education is one criterion for inclusion and, thus, those who work in libraries but do not have the LIS education are mainly not included in professional communities. According to Weidman et al. (2001, iii), professional education is “the processes through which individuals gain the knowledge, skills and values necessary for successful entry into a professional career requiring an advanced level of specialized knowledge and skills”.

According to Jansson (2010, 47), profession is a two-sided concept in which both practice and theory are equally significant. Consequently, it is not enough that professionals in a certain branch adopt the needed skills, manage their duties and execute their work in practice but they should also understand the main theoretical concepts behind their expertise and be capable of applying the knowledge produced by research (Jansson, 2010, 47). However, it has been argued that there is a kind of tension between practical librarianship and the

theoretical approach of information science. Organisations have different demands, roles and needs and, for example, library professionals in public libraries apply more community-based methods whereas their colleagues in academic libraries emphasise work methods that improve accessibility to information. (Svensk biblioteksförening, 2008b, 27). In general, professional skills and knowledge are the outcomes of multiple learning processes, including formal education, further education, social learning, and non-formal education, which are further complemented by practical competence accrued through work experience. To be able to continuously develop their services, public libraries need to ensure that people working in the field are competent to respond to the requirements.

Modern librarianship is based on education, which is mainly implemented within the discipline of Information Science. Maria Grundvall (2019, 129) underscores the fact that Information Science is, first of all, an academic discipline, including its object of study, used methods, systems to organise knowledge and information, and discourse. Audunson (2007) also has the views that research orientation and professional education could both be included in Information Science. These two approaches can enrich each other through extensive knowledge and competence creation (Audunson, 2007). A degree in LIS does not only provide formal qualification but it is also connected with expertise and wider understanding about library institutions (Pierson et al., 2019, 216).

3.3.1 Library education in Finland

In the library branch, education systems and qualification norms vary from country to country. Some countries have official and formal qualification systems whereas others have given a mandate to working life so that municipalities or library organisations, for example, can decide on and specify

the required expertise. In Finland, the earlier Library Act (904/1998) and Decree (1078/1998) defined the qualifications needed in library professional occupations in public libraries. The legislation required, in particular, that 70% of people working in public libraries should have their educational background in library and information studies. The Act did not describe the content of the studies in detail, but indicated the level and duration of the studies. To qualify as a librarian, one was required to attain a minimum of 60 ECTS university level credits in library and information studies. The current Public Libraries Act (1492/2016) is similar to the library legislation of other Nordic countries, which does not specifically define the qualifications for people handling library professional tasks. However, according to the Finnish Act, public libraries should have “a sufficient number of qualified staff trained in library and information services and other staff. Staff members in expert positions shall have a suitable higher education degree, unless otherwise required by the nature of the position.”

Finland was the first Nordic country to provide university level education in the library profession. The first trainings for librarians were integrated into teacher education and they provided a compact introduction to practical library work (Vatanen, 2002, 134). The first university level courses started in 1945, and in 1971, a degree study programme was established in the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Tampere. The name of the department was Library Science and Informatics, which indicated the importance of libraries and their comprehensive training role. (Iivonen, 1986; Kokkonen, 2012.) At the early stages of university-level studies, the perspective towards libraries was technical and the education and curricula focused on cataloguing, classification, selection of literature, and bibliographical work. According to Vakkari (1996, 147), library education was intended to tie together different libraries and approaches and it was agreed that the concept of access to

information would serve this aim. Research in the discipline, however, emphasised information and phenomena that examined the relation between people and information, such as information behaviour (See e.g., Case et al., 2016, 41–51). Straightforward connections and discernible links between education, libraries and library professions declined along with the increase of research activities. Furthermore, ongoing changes in universities, especially during the 2000s, have influenced faculties, departments and degree programmes. These changes have also affected library and information studies, and university programmes have grown into a discipline titled ‘Information Science’. (Eriksson-Backa & Widén, 2013, 3–5.)

Education for library careers is currently provided at three levels in Finland. Within higher education, the academic universities offer Bachelor’s and Master’s degree programmes, while the universities offering applied sciences have mainly Bachelor degree programmes. In addition, studies in library and information services are also provided within vocational education. An overview of library education in Finland is available through two studies. Raija Aaltonen (2004) focuses on the period when the degree programmes in library and information services were established in the three Finnish universities of applied sciences, at the time when the previous Public Library Act (904/1998) regulated the qualifications of library professionals. Grundvall (2019) examines library education and the influence of the current legislation that does not specifically define the qualifications of library professionals. According to Aaltonen (2004, 16–17), the difference between studies in information science at academic universities and studies in library and information service programmes at universities of applied sciences was clear during the period under study. The universities provided better opportunities to choose from a range of optional studies; they also emphasised the theoretical approach, and provided a path to Master’s and Doctoral studies, whereas the universities of

applied sciences highlighted work methods, community and professionalism. Although the structure of studies was different, both types of higher education had a close occupational link with library professions, which in turn meant that the graduates would compete with each other on the labour market (Aaltonen, 2004, 19). By 2019, a concrete change in LIS education had taken place when the decision was made to terminate one degree programme in library and information services but without increasing the number of students in the other institutions. This will reduce the number of new LIS professionals entering the field. In Sweden, the current situation in the library field is different from that prevailing in Finland, as Sweden intends to increase the number of LIS students and encourage research in the field. (Svensk biblioteksförening, 2018; Hansson et al., 2018, 61–62.) In Finland, the structures and financing of higher education institutions have undergone changes, for example, the Act on Universities of Applied Sciences (932/2014) confirmed the status of universities of applied sciences as limited liability companies. The institutions still operate under the Ministry of Education and Culture, but the new status has increased their autonomy. (Wennberg et al., 2018.) In general, personal study plans are highlighted within higher education so that studies are based on an individual student's orientation and students can choose studies from a large selection of courses. Multidisciplinary universities provide more opportunities and a good foundation for active students to receive relevant competencies through a variety of combinations. According to Grundvall (2019, 122), funding rather than the needs of working life has influenced education in some cases. The professional and working life orientation is clear in the universities of applied sciences and particularly in their research,

development and innovation (RDI) activities, which are mainly conducted in partnership with working life¹ (Wennberg et al., 2018, 79).

According to Grundvall (2019, 21), the reform of the public library legislation in Finland aimed at offering more options for libraries in terms of their recruitment policies. In fact, during the past years, public library recruitments have placed increasing emphasis on personal and social skills instead of the technical skills needed in librarianship and favoured people with broad competencies (Grundvall, 2019, 4). The current duties of libraries are so extensive and diverse that LIS education alone may not be sufficient to cover all the skills and knowledge needed. The diversity of competencies within the work community can be an advantage for organisations but, at the same time, one wonders whether these are the same competencies emphasised by recruiters. (Orme, 2008.) Should librarianship adopt new skills and knowledge and expand its foundations? Baruchson-Arbib and Bronstein (2002, 401) caution that the demand for change has put pressure on librarianship; and it is not enough that librarians improve their role in terms of action and interaction but, in addition, proactivity is needed. The consequence of this development is that library professionals increasingly adopt the role of facilitators who support both individuals and communities to proceed and achieve their goals. Although this new role provides opportunities for reaching new positions in society, the change is not supported by library education. To be able to manage new duties with emphasis on inclusion and capability to support all community members, librarians need to enrich their information-based competencies with pedagogical knowledge and guidance skills that increase their capacity in

¹ The Open Zone project, which implemented vocational education in which the informants of this study participated, is one example of RDI activities at Turku University of Applied Sciences.

terms of social and community involvement. (Baruchson-Arbib & Bronstein, 2002, 401.)

Curriculum provided for students with an immigrant background

The contents of the curriculum overlapped with the LIS trainings previously provided by the Turku University of Applied Sciences. However, within the framework of the Open Zone project, there were some differences in the curriculum compared to the other LIS trainings. Multiculturalism with a community approach was an overarching theme in the project, so all course modules had a link to the multicultural library and the promotion of inclusion in society. In addition, one course concentrated on the Finnish culture, thus enabling the students to approach 'Finnishness' in terms of literature and popular culture. The studies did not include any specific Finnish language courses but rather, in order to improve the Finnish communication skills of the participants, Finnish was used as the main language in the courses, assignments and seminars and other occasions, such as visits to libraries and other organisations. Further, the theoretical studies and selection of LIS literature were mainly based on research papers written in Finnish.

Altogether 11 experts were involved as visiting instructors: some of them gave short presentations of their field of expertise and some organised workshops or other activities. The curriculum included 10 course modules, which were implemented as multiform education with lectures, face-to-face meetings, independent study assignments and group work. Contact teaching was offered during two- or three-day sessions every second week. Each course was worth 5 ECTS credits, except for the internship and development project module, which totalled 15 credits.

As the internship and development project were combined into a single module, the students were provided with more freedom to perform them in a

way that best supported their individual orientation. Those students who worked in a library during their studies preferred a development project in the form of a compact empirical study, with the framework, context, methods and results reported and presented at a seminar. Whereas those students who did not have any previous library work experience conducted an 8-week internship mainly in public libraries. They were required to report on their internship, which included limited empirical projects. The course focusing on multicultural work communities was implemented jointly with native LIS degree students and, in addition, a group of library professionals participated in the course.

3.3.2 Library professional competencies

In the LIS field, the discussion about competencies has been ongoing for decades. The debate has concerned the skills and knowledge needed in current and future working life, in knowledge organisations or information management duties, and proceeded to the active and multidimensional roles of librarians (Hansson et al., 2018, 29). Frequent debate is needed since the questions of skills and knowledge are currently at the core of professions and their meaning may be even more significant as previously. The reforms of library legislation indicate that libraries are considered as social operators, whereas the progress of ICT technology has changed the information behaviour of people within a short time.

The American Library Association has produced a competence framework, which should be followed by the 60 ALA accredited LIS programmes. The framework includes eight core competencies on which the students should focus during their Master's studies, while each of them is further divided into more detailed contents (ALA, 2008). Although the Nordic library associations do not provide similar accreditation standards, they are active in promoting the

discussion of skills and knowledge needed in librarianship. The Swedish and Finnish library associations contribute to the discussion on competence by carrying out studies and surveys, which they conduct or sponsor. (Minerva, 2019; Svensk biblioteksförening, 2018; Hansson et al., 2018.) In both countries, the library legislation was reformed in the 2010s and we may assume that the new duties assigned to public libraries have influenced the growing need to examine the skills and knowledge of librarianship.

From time to time, the debate emerges about which competencies are required in librarianship, and how these are implemented in the LIS education. (White, 2016; Suominen, 2016, 27–28). According to Olaisen (1988), information is the backbone of librarianship, and professionals in the library field are experts in terms of information seeking, information retrieval and related concepts aimed to respond to information needs (See Case et al., 2016). Baruchson-Arbib and Bronstein (2002, 398) and Jansson (2010, 47) argue that, traditionally, library and information professionals have had two perspectives towards information. One view focuses on information acquisition, with reference to collections in varied formats, whereas the other view emphasises competencies that are required for organising and ensuring the usability of information. Particularly, this latter view refers to skills, knowledge, tools and methods of cataloguing, classification and indexing. According to the authors, these form one set of the core competencies needed in the library branch (Baruchson-Arbib & Bronstein, 2002, 398; Jansson, 2010, 47).

Library and information studies have a focus on information and, thus, dimensions such as literature and culture have a minor role (Hansson et al. 2018, 18). Grundvall (2019, 121) suggests that the main challenge in librarianship within the context of public libraries is that their aims and duties are so diverse that it may not be possible for a single education to cover them all. As stated by the Swedish Library Association (Svensk biblioteksförening,

2008b, 6), it is difficult to sum up a simple *raison d'être* of librarianship since it seems that the profession includes several approaches, which are all significant. Although information science is a flexible discipline and it could benefit libraries to a larger extent, it may be impossible for information science to include, in its curricula, a growing number of subjects that fall outside of its core. It has been claimed, however, that instead of being the primary career choice, often people enter librarianship from other fields and the library profession is seen as an alternative career (Fraser-Arnott, 2019, 117). This trend might make it possible for libraries to tackle the competence requirements which are diverse, as Verity Orme (2008, 625) found in the analysis of job advertisements of LIS professionals. Such competencies include professional skills, generic skills, personal qualities and experience.

Thus, rather than recruiting people with a similar educational background, it would be of benefit if people entered library professions through different educational paths. This trend, however, might contradict the status of librarianship which is considered as an autonomous profession, as discussed in Section 3.2.1. The risk of deprofessionalisation might increase if libraries are seen as work environments in which LIS education and qualifications are secondary demands.

The objective of librarianship is to serve communities; therefore, since societies are becoming increasingly diversified, librarians should be better prepared to understand diversity and inclusion so that they are able to reach all community members and understand their information needs (Jaeger et al., 2015, 130; Jaeger et al., 2013, 244.). That is the reason Audunson et al. (2005) emphasise multiculturalism as an essential competence area in the LIS field. The diversity of society is growing and, along with other operators in society, libraries should be sensitive and inclusive and support not only community members but also newcomer populations. Furthermore, the authors argue that,

although within LIS studies, multiculturalism has been included in separate courses, a systematic perspective that cuts across the curricula is still missing (See also Peterson, 1999).

Multicultural skills and knowledge are everyday library professional competencies, which are enriched with capability to develop library services so that they meet the needs of the culturally diversified population (Audunson et al., 2005, 155). A recent study (Niemelä, 2019, 23) proposes that multicultural competence should not be thought of as an isolated set of skills but rather as ability or sensitiveness to recognise diverse cultures in various contexts. One significant aspect of multicultural competence is the ability to work in professional communities that are culturally diverse. According to Niemelä (2019, 86), multicultural competence consists of four elements: cultural understanding and balance; multicultural environment and situational action; social interaction and communication skills; mind processes and awareness. *Multicultural communities: Guidelines for library services* (IFLA, 2009) is a practical and detailed manual that aims at supporting libraries in developing their services for a culturally and linguistically diverse population. The guidelines stress that libraries should invest in education, engagement and understanding. Furthermore, multicultural library services should rely on knowledge received through data collection and analysis; only then can libraries develop their policies, collections, partnerships, and resources in terms of professionals and financing so that they can meet diverse communities. (IFLA, 2009.)

3.4 Summary

The aim of Chapter 3 is not only to describe the multidimensionality of public libraries and librarianship but also to examine if there are any factors that might prevent the inclusion of people with an immigrant background in library

professions. The ideological foundation of public libraries was established along with the American Public Library Movement in the 1800s, and during the 1900s, public libraries were anchored to promote social justice and human rights in society. This is explicitly stated by IFLA and UNESCO (1994) in the Public Library Manifesto, which emphasises equality, democracy and freedom of expression. Another foundation of public libraries derives from legislation, which provides them with a national level ideological framework for the interaction between libraries and democracy, as evident in Finland. Although the role of libraries as an institution that promotes inclusion, active citizenship and social and cultural dialogue is officially stated at the highest level, more discussion is needed at the grassroots level of libraries. However, libraries do not have a common understanding or definite terminology for this purpose, and thus, it is difficult to target at the same goal.

The four-space model developed by Danish researchers Jochumsen, Hvenegaard Rasmussen and Skot-Hansen (2012) describes the broad practical orientation of public libraries. The model provides a tool for public libraries to concretise their capacity and move forward from the traditional public discussion that has focused on collections and book borrowing. The societal role of libraries is significant and libraries have been active in terms of social innovations. Although library services have growingly been digitalised, the meaning of library as a physical place has not diminished, rather the opposite has been the case. As free and open spheres, public libraries provide society newcomers with opportunities to see and hear, listen and speak, and participate. An opportunity to be among others without any requirements or demands, is significant for social inclusion. In fact, the multicultural library is a manifestation of the public library principles. The multicultural library guidelines of IFLA provide detailed instructions how libraries should establish, maintain and develop their services to reach the multicultural population, but

the overall aim is for the culturally sensitive approach to be an integral part of all library activities. The realisation of this aim requires that library professionals are able to reach not only library users but also people in the periphery who do not show up in libraries. Particularly, the IFLA manifesto encourages libraries to recruit immigrants and people from a minority-background.

In terms of transparency, libraries should evaluate their performance and proficiency. This can be done by, for example, regularly collecting data for statistics or conducting research to assess the performance of libraries from various perspectives. However, as far as the ideological background of libraries is concerned, the evaluation processes should be improved. Currently, libraries claim that they are promoting social justice and freedom of expression, but to be able to show the impact, this should be evident in clearer and more concrete outcomes. The work done among society newcomers is a concrete example of work for democracy and equality, but more knowledge is needed in order to fully utilise the capacity of libraries.

Librarianship is a broad profession in terms of the tasks and duties library professionals are expected to manage. This may explain the difficulty to indicate the uniqueness of librarianship when its status has been questioned. The debate on professionalism has probably enabled librarians to establish a stable foundation regarding theoretical knowledge, relation with user communities, commitment to their work, and accountability and ethical codes. However, the practical side of the profession is seeking a balance between traditional connection with information and other orientations, such as skills to promote dialogue between different groups in society. Currently, librarianship is rather homogeneous in terms of cultural and linguistic background.

Library professionals value their education and see it as supporting their career. Although multicultural or diversity issues may not be included in the

LIS curricula as such, they seem to be a perspective that cuts across education. Active teaching and learning methods in higher education emphasise multidisciplinary orientation and encourage interaction between students, professionals and user communities. Thus, learning is not just an outcome of specific topics in the curriculum but, in addition, it is about understanding the context.

Modern public libraries are complex, multidimensional service organisations operating in both physical and virtual environments. Library services should resonate with policies and guidelines as well as diverse populations. Moreover, libraries are memory organisations, which provide communities with access to the past, while at the same time, libraries are future oriented and they also have the power to include newcomers in shared narratives. This can be done through collections, which are information resources and part of the accessible, accountable, and useable information services of public libraries.

No fundamental obstacles explain why those with an immigrant background could not be involved in librarianship. On the contrary, both ideological background and practical aspects of public libraries underline the fact that diversity is needed to assist professionals working in public libraries achieve the objectives set for the libraries. Librarianship resonates with libraries, and its aims, proficiency and values are inviting people with an immigrant background to the professional community. However, up to date, the profession is mainly occupied by the dominant populations and, despite various initiatives to change the situation, the improvement in the field has been modest. One interesting scenario is the language setting of public libraries. Multilingualism is a value that is emphasised within the context of both libraries and librarianship, but in terms of the professional community, it may actually be an issue in monolingual communities.

4 Identity discussion in the LIS field

Recent LIS studies on professional identity emphasise the question of a professional community and examine the commitment of professionals to their occupation (See e.g., Sundin & Johannisson, 2005; Wise, 2012; Hicks, 2014; Campbell-Meier & Hussey, 2019; Fraser-Arnott, 2019). Sharyn Wise has analysed how practitioners in the information profession (IP), in the LIS field, construct their professional identity and she makes the following comment:

Professional identity is a constant negotiation of recognition between professional and other societal actors, and one's self. This recognition depends upon meeting certain contingent professional expectations and norms, but also concerns 'values': how one recognises, or constructs, one's practice as 'valuable', both professionally and personally. Questions of information professional identity thus also raise questions about how ethical meaning is made of situated practice by IP practitioners. (Wise, 2012, 171.)

Wise thus proposes that in the library and information field, professional identity is an ongoing interaction between the professional community, other operators in society and the individual professional (cf. Section 2.2.1). In addition, the definition underlines values which are often used by library professionals to characterise their professional identity (Garcia et al., 2018), which is in line with the social identity theory discussed in Chapter 2. According to Deborah Hicks (2014), professional identity is connected with language use, and she defines professional identity as "a description, or representation, of the self within specific professional practices" (Hicks, 2014, 252; cf. Figure 1).

The number of studies on library professional identity has increased over the past few decades and these studies offer a multidimensional view on the profession, as shown by the literature review of Pierson et al. (2019). Mary

Jane Scherdin and Anne K. Beaubien (1995) discuss the resistance of the stereotypical representations of libraries and librarians. According to Gretchen Keer and Andrew Carlos (2014, 64), the stereotype refers to:

a cultural shortcut that conveys simplistic assumptions about librarians as a group or about individual librarians as a result of their profession. Stereotypes are developed by consensus in that they make sense within the cultural context of their creation. They communicate assumed personality traits (fussiness, organization, intellectualism, seriousness, humorlessness, sexual repression, permissiveness or deviance, professional competency, technological virtuosity, and more) that can be read in both positive and negative lights. (Keer & Carlos, 2014, 64.)

Many studies emphasise the fact that the stereotypical perceptions of librarianship may have an influence on the professional identity in the field and result in a negative impression of the profession (See e.g., Scherdin & Beaubien, 1995; Peresie & Alexander, 2005; Fallahay Loesch, 2010). Gaines (2014, 99) argues that the phenomenon survives because librarians are continuously presented in the media through stereotypical lenses. The representations of librarianship in popular culture may have an impact on the professional identity of librarians although this impact might not become visible in the explicitly identifiable identity elements; however, it might be audible at the level of argumentation when library professionals react on the presented stereotypical characterisations (Wilkins-Jordan & Hussey, 2014). This suggests that a variety of outside perceptions influence the professional identity of librarians (Cherry et al., 2011; Fraser-Arnott, 2018; Pagowsky & Rigby, 2014). Given the fact that most librarians are white, Hussey (2009) reports that students from a minority ethnic background who served as informants in her study had noted gender and ethnic issues in the field. Gaines (2014, 86) argues that categorising librarianship as a female occupation not only reveals stereotypical thinking but also reflects a structure of professional

occupations that is based on gender rather than on skills and knowledge (See Section 2.2).

To some extent, library professionals acknowledge that their professional identity is not clear but blurred, especially in contexts in which the role of a librarian is strongly associated with the duties of other professions, such as teaching (Pierson et al., 2019, 421). According to some studies (Simmons, 2000; Davis, 2007; Walter, 2008; Fallahay Loesch, 2010; Julien & Genuis, 2011; Linton, 2016), librarians who work in the libraries of educational institutions easily link their professional identity with teaching. Evgenia Vassilakaki and Valentini Moniarou-Papaconstantinou (2015, 41–42) claim that the combination of teaching and library professional duties has become a challenge, which, consequently, influences the construction of professional identity. According to Jansson (2010, 51), LIS professionals may have difficulties in professional identity construction in cases when their practice is close to other professions. Heli Kaatrakoski and Johanna Lahikainen (2016) also argue that, especially in academic libraries, library professionals may be facing challenges with the construction of their professional identities. In academic surroundings, librarians may be unable to independently manage their work but they are required to follow the rules of the educational institution and, thus, the authority is in the hands of other professionals. Melissa Fraser-Arnott (2019, 115) found out that library professionals feel partly excluded from professional groups if their work roles do not correspond to the general view of library professional duties. Their occupational duties may be linked with non-library duties, new duties on the branch, or duties conducted only by a few professionals (cf. Section 2.2.2). Sevón (2008) encourages library professionals to engage in increased interaction, suggesting that if they are not active themselves, there is a risk that they will be ignored and professionals from other fields will define the roles of library and information specialists.

Kimmo Tuominen (1997) examined the identities of librarians by analysing user-centred discourse that ‘constructs the way users and librarians are positioned as subjects within it’ (Tuominen, 1997, 353). His analysis focuses on Kuhlthau’s *Seeking Meaning: A Process Approach to Library and Information Services* and particularly on the hidden ideas of the text limiting out the intention of the author (Tuominen, 1997, 254). Tuominen’s (1997, 160) ‘monologic subject’ refers to users who require personal service from library professionals whose identity, in turn, is built in relation to users’ information needs. Sundin (2008) applied the results of Tuominen in his study of web-based tutorials and found that tutorials allowed library professionals to position themselves as information experts, which was reflected in their professional identity.

Sinikara (2007) examined librarianship during the shift to the information society, when the profession adopted computerised, networking and proactive approaches as part of professional identity. Gray (2013) argues that modern society has influenced librarianship by defining it through its orientation with markets and consumers. Sara Klein and Bartłomiej Lenart (2020) offer a philosophical view into the identity discussion, proposing that the much used essentialist perspective offers too simple a picture of professional identity while the complexity and dynamicity of the profession are bypassed. Fraser-Arnott (2019, 115) presents four themes which characterise professional identity experiences in the LIS field. First, librarianship is in a transition phase which is visible both at the level of definitions and practice; second, during the career, professional identity can change to a great extent; third, the impact of others into professional identity is significant; fourth, the conflict within the library profession is potential because of the differing perceptions of definitions and practices (cf. Figure 2).

4.1 Construction of professional identity of librarians

The definitions of professional identity emphasise the goals, interests and values of professionals, ethical principles and commitments at work, as well as future prospects and guidelines (see Vähäsantanen et al., 2017). However, professional identity is not a static construct but, most of all, it is an active process (see Section 2.2.1). A Finnish researcher team connects the idea of professional ‘agency’ with the development of professional ‘identity’. Agency refers to the active role of professionals whereby professionals tend to influence, make choices and decisions, as well as negotiate, reconstruct and renew their professional identity. (Eteläpelto et al., 2013.) Sare et al. (2012) establishes that the linkage between librarianship and personal identity among new librarians and librarianship provided professional newcomers a channel for self-action (cf. Section 2.1). Wenger (1999) elaborated here I would use past tense given how old the source is: elaborated further that the construction of professional identity is a learning process during which an individual proceeds from the position of a novice to the status of a professional (see Section 2.3 on professional socialisation). In this study, the professional identity of library professionals in the context of public library organisations represents a manifestation of social identity. The concept of social identity has been applied in a limited number of studies in the library and information science. One of the few examples is the study by Rebecca Croxton (2015) who analysed the professional identity construction of LIS students during their online studies. Karen Downing (2009) utilised the social identity theory in her dissertation on the work roles of academic librarians. However, social identity theory in her study does not refer to SIT, the framework of Tajfel and Turner (Tajfel, 1978, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1985) as discussed in Section 2.2, but to SID which refers to social identification (see Ashforth & Mael, 1989). To understand how librarians themselves construct librarianship and its

characteristics, Hicks examined their ways of speaking about their profession and found that librarians identify themselves strongly as service professionals who work in library organisations and help users of libraries to satisfy their information needs (Hicks, 2014, 263–266).

In terms of librarianship, the process of professional identity construction begins when an individual starts formal LIS education, regardless of whether the entry in the LIS branch is intentional or accidental (Smith, 2017; Pierson et al., 2019, 416.) Vähäsantanen et al. (2017, 516) highlight the development of professional consciousness during education, and according to Sundin and Johannisson (2005, 38), professional education prepares students to meet the expectations, values and norms of the professional community (see 2.2.2 on integrating organisational values). Thus, education is not only linked with the skills and knowledge in practice but is a major factor in terms of inclusion in the professional collective as part of the construction of professional identity (Hussey & Campbell-Meier 2016, 246).

The findings of Croxton (2015) emphasise the importance of work experiences and practice in the construction of professional identity (cf. Section 2.3.2 on CoP). In general, in LIS studies, practice is meaningful on the construction of professional identity as in the study by Cameron M. Pierson et al. (2019). Through the analysis of LIS literature, Pierson et al. (2019) recognised 14 themes in the construction of professional identity of librarians. These themes are connected with the career steps, professional identification, the questions of status and values, the settings and events in practice, while self-claiming; transferability and blurring are also seen as significant factors in the construction of professional identity. Moreover, they include, in the list, socialisation, which is the process where the recognised themes are linked together more than the element of the identity construction. Based on the analysis, Pierson et al. (2019) have construed the Library Professional Identity

Continuum concept, having its core as ‘practice’ and ‘professional identity’ anchors.

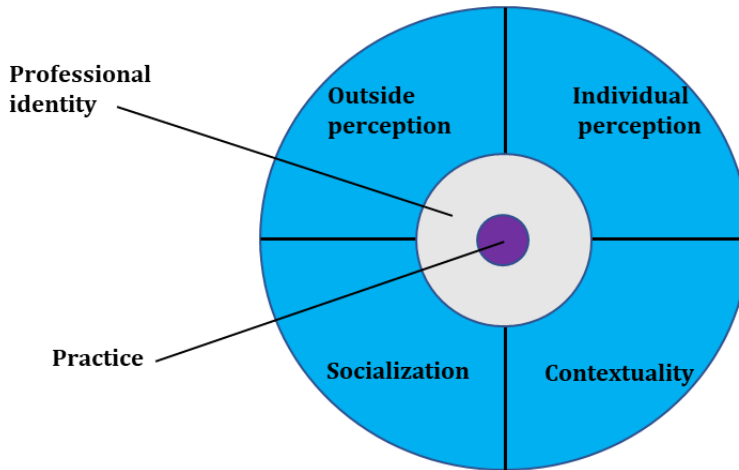


Figure 4. Library professional identity anchors. (Adapted from Pierson, Goulding and Campbell-Meier 2019, 422.)

As illustrated in Figure 4, professional identity is based on four cornerstones or bounding facets: outside perception, individual perception, contextuality, and socialisation. Together, these four professional identity anchors support professional practice, which is an expression of identity and the core of the professional identity over time. The professional identity of librarians is constructed through communication between the anchors and practice in order to find a balance between them. Contextuality refers to the existing situation such as the current time, place and surroundings, but also to those who have not only certain status but also characteristics and earlier experiences which have influence on the context. Whereas socialisation refers to the process which begins with the interaction between an individual professional and professional community members and during the process an individual seeks a place for oneself among the community (cf. Figure 2). Society is the

manifestation of cultural and temporal dimensions as well as outside perception, which often proposes a stereotypical setting for librarians. Individual perception, is the view of an individual librarian how the individual defines the society, colleagues and oneself. The professional identity construction is an ongoing process, a continuum, as the model of Pierson et al. (2019) emphasises. The professional identity reconstruction can start from the outside impulse. Since social professional identity is based on the personal identity, the membership of an individual among the professional group is negotiated in person, in the discussions between the individual and the group (see Figure 1). Further, professional roles are based on individual experiences and thereby any outside influence on the professional role is not predictable because each professional evaluates impulses through one's own individual history. For example, one impulse might promote the reconstruction of professional identity of one professional, whereas the other does not see the value of the impulse and thus does not adopt it to the professional identity. (Pierson et al., 2019, 418; Linton, 2016.)

4.2 Professional socialisation

Many LIS studies on professional identity contribute to the discussion on professional socialisation (e.g., Downing, 2009; Fraser-Arnott, 2019; Hussey & Campbell-Meier, 2019; Pierson, 2016, 2019). These two concepts are closely linked as socialisation aims to promote individuals in positioning themselves within the profession and increasing understanding about the practices of the profession (Fraser-Arnott, 2019, 121; also see Section 2.3). Although Hall (1987) opines that “career is viewed as a long-term ‘bundle’ of socialization experiences, as the person moves in, through, and out of various work-related roles”, over the span of the work career, LIS studies have emphasised mainly socialisation experiences at the early stage of career. Only

few LIS studies have examined socialisation during the work career; one example is the study by Fraser-Arnott (2019) who analysed the professional identity of LIS graduates who worked in non-traditional library roles. However, in terms of construction of professional identity, the early professional socialisation experiences are understood to be more influential than the experiences of the later career (Donovan, 2014; see also Cherry et al., 2011). Hussey and Campbell-Meier (2016, 2019) discuss the importance of job titles and professional environments in the socialisation processes. These can explicitly show that an individual is a member of a professional community, for example, a librarian working in a public library. As stated by Pierson et al. (2016, 2019), “the combination of education and/or training and socialization provides a basis by which to internalize the profession”. According to Sinikara (2007, 172), the first experience of the profession, e.g., an internship, is important but the first professional position serves as the phase when an individual seeks his/her place and role within the community.

In a practical environment, during the socialisation process, the social mode of action of the profession is transferred to the newcomer who interprets received information based on education and earlier experiences of practice and picks the elements to construct and profile professional identity (Pierson et al., 2019, 416). Hussey and Campbell-Meier (2019) have applied the *Becoming, Doing and Relating* model developed by Michael Anteby et al. (2016) to librarianship. The first element ‘becoming’ refers to the traditional approach of the profession, while socialisation refers to initiating newcomers to the established values and norms. Formal education is a gateway to the profession whereas the socialisation process is completed in professional environments whereby one becomes a member of the professional community. The ‘doing’ perspective highlights practical performances and actions after formal education. ‘Relating’, in turn, refers to the interaction and collaboration

between professional teams, external stakeholders, and networks. (Hussey & Campbell-Meier, 2019, 962–963.)

During the socialisation process, the status of profession is evaluated in relation with other professions and the influence of outside perception on the individual level perception (Cherry et al., 2011). Black and Leysen (2002) emphasise that, because the values, goals, missions, and the culture of work organisation are significant elements for inclusion, these should be announced clearly in recruitment. If the work community and a newcomer do not meet at the level of, for example, values, the socialisation process may not result in inclusion (see Figure 2). The socialisation process is particularly complicated in organisations in which the employees share similar salient characteristics, such as gender or ethnic background, and the newcomer is different from others (Black & Leysen, 2002; Downing, 2009).

4.3 Summary

The preceding Chapter 3, describes the intense development of public libraries. Currently, the Finnish public library is a much utilised and respected public service institution which responds to the extensive demands the official policies and guidelines place on the institution. In practice, library services are based on the recognised information and service needs which are customised jointly by library professionals and library users as suitable for the use of public libraries. At the same time, with the development of public libraries, librarianship has been involved in the ongoing serious debate about the relevance, status and image of the profession. Moreover, the professional community has continuously returned to the discussion about the professional roles, duties, tasks and competence requirements. In this frame, it is obvious that also the discussion about professional identity in the LIS field is extensive

and the professional identity question has been a matter of significance, as discussed in Chapter 4.

The discussion on library professional identity emphasises the dynamic nature of professional identity and moreover the fact that people tend to construct and reconstruct their professional identities throughout their work careers. The meaning of the social aspect and the importance of the professional community are identified in the LIS studies which examine the construction of professional identity. These studies indicate that people tend to structure their professional identity in social situations where people interact with each other and during which personal perceptions encounter perceptions of other professionals. The professional identity structures of people are never identical; each professional has a unique professional identity and behind the uniqueness are the distinctive experiences and perceptions and the authenticity of an individual. As argued above, in case that professional identities among the professional community members become structured based on the very various views of the profession, the situation may cause disagreements within the professional group. In such a case, the core of the conflict might raise the question about the membership of the professional group and, in particular, the accepted professional frame to construct the LIS professional identity. One might question who has the right to define library professionalism; and who are invited into the full-professional group to construct their professional identity as members of the professional community.

The perspective of belonging is the significant aspect of the construction of professional identity, but belonging is important during the professional socialisation process. In the course of professional socialisation, an individual positions himself in relation with other professionals and seeks a place for himself among the professional group. Often in socialisation, the question is about the newcomer and veterans who meet in practical settings where their

perceptions, expectations and values as well as traditions and future perspectives are encountered.

This study examines the construction of professional identity of LIS students with an immigrant background. The study approaches professional identity as a social structure where the experience of belonging is essential. This chapter corroborates LIS studies which emphasise inclusion, which is understood as primary potential that enables an individual to start the career and the professional identity continuum. If an individual is not able to attain the position among the community during the socialisation process, he/she runs the risk of being professionally excluded. As discussed in Chapter 4, those with a minority background do not typify library professionals; in fact, the opposite is largely the case. Although the LIS discussion emphasises transformation of the profession and the continuous reconstruction of professional identity, it might be argued that professional identity might be a too narrow structure; this is because its bonds with traditions are so tight that librarians from a majority background are not prepared to meet the perceptions of newcomers at the level of practice.

5 Methodological considerations

The preceding chapters have presented the concepts that serve as the framework and foundations of the study, while Chapter 5 focuses on methodological choices and decisions. First, the metatheoretical thinking and research questions are presented; second, the methodological choices are discussed; third, the implementation of the study is described, including the informants' presentation, researcher's role, as well as the data collection and

analysis processes; fourth, questions of validity and reliability are discussed; and finally, the chapter presents ethical considerations.

5.1 Discourse analytical orientation

The tradition of discourse analysis connects the term discourse to social interaction in which language is a significant factor. Discourse analysis suggests that the way people express themselves is influenced by social norms and, thus, discourse analysis examines people's relationships during interaction and how they communicate within certain groups or communities (Fairclough, 2003). Discourse analysis pays attention to language and the way language is used; however, it does not offer a clear framework but is rather a multilevel and interdisciplinary method. In his critical discourse analysis approach, Norman Fairclough (2003, 2) emphasises language as “an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life”. He perceives social life as being constructed of different social practices within which social action and agency can be analysed. (Fairclough 2003, 205–206.) Correlation with reality, however, is not the aim of discourse analysis but it offers a method for listening sensitively to the available material and examining what kind of reality arises from it. According to Sanna Talja (2005, 15), “in discourse analysis, extracts from the texts studied have an important role, because the analysed texts (spoken or written) are not *descriptions* of the object of research; rather they are the *object* of research”. Vivien Burr (1995, 4–6), elaborates that language does not describe reality as it is, and Fairclough (2003, 124) reminds that one characteristic of human interaction is that it refers to future hopes and contains imaginary or conditional elements. Fairclough (2003, 205–206) considers discourse analysis as a particularly feasible method of examining the construction of social identity and power structures. Moreover, discourse analysis can be used to

study the role of language in the reconstruction of social reality within specific settings, circumstances or organisations (Talja, 1998, 18). Language is an agent that makes events and experiences visible and presents and enables us to share them with others (Wetherell, 2001, 16).

This study is inspired by narratives, which are approached through discourse analysis. Discourse analysis offers a method for studying people's talk, what they discuss and how they speak about various matters. Social constructionism provides a good starting point to study professional identity and its construction, which are the themes of this research. From the perspective of philosophy of science, discourse analysis falls under the umbrella of constructionism (see Potter, 2004; Hepburn & Potter, 2004). Here, (social) constructionism is the metatheory that offers the epistemological and ontological orientations to the study. Metatheory is a device and strategic orientation in research (Vakkari, 1997, 452) that enables researchers to explain how they conceive knowledge creation (epistemology) and reality (ontology) in their work. Within information science, the metatheories of constructionism, constructivism, and collectivism have been applied and they have contributed to the creation of new concepts and accumulation of knowledge. They differ in many ways, for example, how they view learning, language, and social relationships. However, they also include overlapping elements and should not be seen as competitive theories. If used in research to complement each other, different metatheories will provide more extensive views on issues under study. (Talja et al., 2005.)

Table 1. Major features, influences and representatives of cognitive constructivism, collectivism and constructionism (Source: Talja et al., 2005, 82.)

Metatheory	Constructivism (Cognitive constructivism)		Collectivism (Social constructivism)	Constructionism
Origin of knowledge	Individual creation of knowledge structures and mental models through experience and observation	Individual creation of knowledge structures and mental models; influenced by history and social relationships	Knowledge is social in origin; the individual lives in a world that is physically, socially and subjectively constructed; mutual constitution of the individuals' knowledge structures and the socio-cultural environment	Production of knowledge in ongoing conversations; knowledge and identities are constructed in discourses that categorise the world and bring phenomena into sight
Philosophical influences	Kelly, Piaget	Bruner (early work)	Bruner (later work), Vygotsky	Bakhtin, Foucault, Garfinkel, Gergen, Wittgenstein (later work), Volosinov
Representatives	Brookes, Todd	Belkin, Ingwersen, Kuhlthau	Hjørland and Albrechtsen, Rosenbaum, Taylor	Blair, Frohman, Given, Mckenzie, Savolainen, Talja, Tuominen

Table 1 presents the differences between the various metatheories. Constructionism and cognitive constructivism are clearly distinguishable from each other whereas collectivism shares certain aspects with the two other metatheories. Constructionism is based on language and human relationships but not as an individual mental or cognitive process in the same way as in constructivism and collectivism, of which the latter is also known as social constructivism. In terms of knowledge creation, social constructivism emphasises interaction between individuals and socio-cultural surroundings, whereas according to constructionism, people construct their social reality in linguistic communications with others. During active and ongoing relationships, people build not only their knowledge but also their identities. (Talja et al., 2005; Gergen, 2015.)

5.2 Research questions

This study explores the construction of professional identity of students with an immigrant background, who are in the beginning of their library professional career, in Finland. The broader purpose of the study was to increase understanding of how librarianship could promote the construction social identity and professional inclusion of LIS students with an immigrant background. Professional identity is discussed within the framework of social identity, in which group comparison, power settings and inclusion are significant dimensions. In this context, social identity refers to the way people experience and define themselves among others in certain social settings. An individual may be included in a group through acceptance and shared meanings and values, or become excluded on the basis of experienced contrast with members.

The main theme of the study was the construction of professional identity of LIS students with an immigrant background, and their inclusion in the professional community. The theme is approached through the following three research questions (RQ):

RQ1: How do students of Library and Information Studies with an immigrant background, experience their participation in the library professional community?

RQ2: What are the inclusive/exclusive experiences of students of Library and Information Studies, with an immigrant background, in the library professional context?

RQ3: How do students of Library and Information Studies, with an immigrant background, view their library professional continuum?

The formulation of the research questions was challenging. Professional identity was the topical theme from the start of the study and, initially, the researcher was focused on the links between the ‘personal’ and ‘professional’ identities of the informants. During the analysis phase, however, it became apparent that the participants also contributed to the professional community, group membership, and acceptance, which are main elements of the concept of social identity.

5.3 Methods

The methodological framework of this study is comprised of discourse analysis and individual interviews. Discourse analysis is linked with the use of language in social interaction, referring not only to situations in which people concretely meet and talk with each other but also to a variety of other interactive contexts. The research involves working with texts, which are interview transcripts, for example. A range of different data collection methods can be used, depending on the social setting in which the interaction and language use are to be analysed. Discourse analysis has been applied to the study various materials (See e.g., Van Dijk, 1993; Wetherell, 2001; Hall, 1997; Sacks, 1992). Moreover, researchers can combine different methods and examine various materials by means of discourse analysis (Talja, 1998). Regarding professional identity, discourse analysis has been utilised in studies of professional identity of librarians (Kimmel, 2011; Hicks, 2014, 2016) and teachers (e.g., Søreide, 2007; Taylor, 2017; McAlinden, 2018), for example.

For the purposes of discourse analysis, interview methods are frequently used. Interviews even allow us to collect data on matters that are sensitive or delicate, provided that the anonymity of interviewees is safeguarded (Silverman & Peräkylä, 1990; Hepburn & Potter, 2004). For this study, individual interview methods were selected, but other methods, such as group

discussions were also carefully considered. The individual interview method was primarily selected because of the different levels of language skills of the informants. Limited language skills may result in tension and insecurity in some participants, thus restraining their interaction in the group setting. Another reason for using individual interviews instead of group discussions was to avoid any power settings among the participants. According to Deborah Tannen (2001), various cultures and their representatives differ in terms of how they view the hierarchy-equality or closeness-distance dimensions. These factors can have an effect on interaction and may cause invisible obstacles.

Moreover, the key concept in this study is social identity, in which an individual's experience of participation and inclusion is a significant factor. Also, to ensure the capture of the intended meanings of each informant, individual interview methods were used. In these methods, life story narratives and focused interviews were employed (See Sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3). These methods were chosen to increase researcher's understanding of participants (See Rastas, 2005), their motives and paths to a library professional career. Further, the methods allow the researcher to hear the own voices of informants, which is significant, as far as professional identity development of people is concerned.

5.3.1 Research interview

Paul Atkinson and David Silverman (1997) created the term *interview society*, which refers to the idea that, through interviews, it is possible to understand the current world and situations. Tim Rapley (2004, 16) adds that interviews are social situations in which people meet and discuss past and future events and, according to Johanna Ruusuvaori and Liisa Tiittula (2005, 22), research interviews are not so different from everyday discussions, albeit the aim of a research interview is to collect research data as a result of the interaction

between the interviewer and interviewees. Steinar Kvale (2008, 8) indicates that the interviewer determines the structure of the interaction; he states, “The interview is a uniquely sensitive and powerful method for capturing the experiences and lived meanings of the subjects’ everyday world.”

Research interviews always have a purpose and aim, so they are not spontaneous discussions, although they may be informal and relaxed. Researchers have certain interests and they perform research interviews concerning the selected themes and questions. The roles of the interviewer and interviewee are different: the former collects data and poses questions, while the latter serves as an informant (Ruusuvuori & Tiittula, 2005, 23). Informants invited to research interviews are those who are assumed to know about the topic of interest for the researcher and to have related opinions, perspectives or experiences (Tiittula & Ruusuvuori, 2005, 13–14). In general, research interviews are divided into structured and unstructured interviews. Structured interviews are systematic, with the same questions presented to the interviewees always in the same order. Unstructured interviews, in turn, are not based on a particular scheme that is similarly repeated every time but they are more like conversations. Between these two, there is the semi-structured interview that follows the themes the interviewer has planned beforehand but the structure of the interviews may vary. (Tiittula & Ruusuvuori, 2005, 11–12.)

The intention of research interviews is to produce research data in the form of verbal speech concerning relevant issues or phenomena. According to Rastas (2005, 79), one fundamental premise for achieving the goals set for a research interview is that the interviewer and interviewees should understand each other. If the researcher and informants come from different societies and cultures, they may have difficulties understanding each other but, in general, the researcher should be aware of this and prepare for possible challenges

(Rastas, 2005, 80, 83). Alasuutari (2005, 149) cautions that although researchers are inevitably connected with a certain culture through their background and education, and although desirable, avoiding theoretical views in interview situations is not always possible.

5.3.2 Life story narrative

In her early career, Catherine Kohler Riessman (2002, 695) noticed that no matter how carefully she had planned the interviews, the answers of the respondents were long and their stories seemed to have little to do with the question. These experiences encouraged her to focus on the narrative inquiry method with emphasis on the story the informant is telling. The multidisciplinary narrative method has been extensively adopted by nearly all disciplines and a variety of professions (Riessman, 2002, 296). Narrative inquiry is an umbrella method covering, for example, interviews, autobiographical or life stories, or other forms of narration. Using the narrative interview method, the interviewer requests for narration, provides room for narration and asks questions that easily elicit narrative responses (Hyvärinen & Löyttyniemi, 2005, 191). Riessman (2002, 697–698) categorises personal narratives into three different types. The first category is the entire life story of a person, which is combined from various materials, such as interviews and texts. The second category includes shorter narrations, which describe certain personal experiences or events. The third category includes personal narrations that are the outcome of interaction. Robert Atkinson (2002) emphasises people's right to decide and, accordingly, defines a life story as “the story a person chooses to tell about the life he or she has lived, told as completely and honestly as possible, what a person remembers of it and what she or he wants others to know of it, usually as a result of a guided interview by another”. (Atkinson 2002, 125.)

Life narratives are multidimensional sources for research providing information not only of the current situation of an individual but also of how things have been in the past and how they might be in the future (Rosenthal, 2004, 50). Riessman (2002, 705) collected women's narrations in India, and she gives a concrete example of an informant who views her past through her present situation and values. At the age of 55, this woman describes her childlessness and situation decades ago. In her narration, she looks at the past through her current position and enriches the narration with views she probably did not have when she was younger. (Riessman, 2002, 705.)

Rosenthal (2004, 49) argues that the narrative interview can be called an autobiographical interview even if its focus is not on the entire life story but, rather, on a particular theme or phenomenon that arises from the narration. The narrative inquiry method is feasible for the study of, for example, the relationship between people and their professional orientation. In practice, autobiographical interviews start with open and general questions that encourage informants to tell their life stories and not just to answer to specific questions. The researcher or interviewer assumes a passive role and concentrates on listening to the story and not interrupting with comments or questions. However, if needed, the interviewer can ask clarifications after the interviewee has finished the narrative. Ruthellen Josselson (2013, 121) claims that, at their best, interviews consist of the interviewees' narratives with as few interruptions as possible.

The advantage of the narrative method is its potential to produce an extensive life trajectory rather than a fragmentary collection of episodes. In general, the number of participants in narrative interviews should be limited. The intense nature and long duration of narrative interviews support this view. Kvale (1997, 97) is of the opinion that interviews frequently have either too many or too few participants, although Riessman (2002) is convinced that

regardless of the number of participants, the narrative method produces rich and multidimensional research material (Riessman, 2002, 695.) In addition, Hyvärinen (2004, 303) introduces the role of an editor, referring to the idea that researchers interact with narratives. In the research context, editing means the analysis and interpretation of narratives so that they become research (Hyvärinen, 2004, 303). Atkinson (2012, 120; 2002, 130) further describes life story interviews as being both art and science.

According to Rosenthal (2004, 50–53), narrative interviews proceed through two phases: the first involves the main narration and the second is reserved for questions. Once the main story is finished, the interviewer may further encourage the interviewee to tell more about a particular topic that is interesting in terms of the research and actually mentioned during the main story. The internal narrative phase should not include any new openings but simply clarify the issues the interviewee has already mentioned. During the external narrative phase, the interviewer can ask questions about such topics that were not mentioned but are interesting in the context of research. (Rosenthal, 2004, 50–53.)

5.3.2 Focused interview

The focused interview method belongs to the category of semi-structured interviews and, according to Sirkka Hirsjärvi and Helena Hurme (2008, 47), it is closer to the unstructured than structured interviews. The aim of a focused interview is to learn about interpretations and meanings people give to issues, situations and experiences (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 2008, 48). The focused interview concentrates on the topic and themes that are significant to the research, and the related perspectives are discussed in the interview situation. The focus is not on specific questions that should be presented in a certain order but on the interaction between the interviewer and interviewees. Rather

than being a formal situation, the interview is a discussion or conversation that encourages participants to generally speak about the topic and not just answer the questions prepared in advance. (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 2008, 48.) However, during the interview, the themes can be approached through specific questions to ensure that all aspects are covered during the session (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 2008, 66).

5.4 Implementation of the study

The data for this study was collected in three phases, over a period of nine years. The first phase involved the collection of life story narratives by means of qualitative narrative interviews with the informants who had started their studies for a qualification in LIS. The second phase included semi-structured focused interviews at the time the informants were finishing their LIS studies. The third data collection phase comprised follow-up interviews arranged in Facebook Messenger eight years after the completion of the LIS qualification.

5.4.1 Participants

The study concentrated on the construction of professional identity within the library professional community. The focus was on the inclusive and exclusive experiences of individuals with an immigrant background, in the beginning of their library career in Finland. The informants were recruited from a group of students enrolled in a further education programme in LIS, at the Turku University of Applied Sciences (Turku UAS). This qualification training programme was arranged within the Open Zone project (2008–2011) which aimed to develop multicultural library services. A higher education degree with 60 ECTS credits in LIS qualifies one for library professional duties, as described in the Finnish Public Library Act 904/1998. This was a non-degree

programme designed for those immigrants who already had a higher education degree and sufficient language skills to study in Finnish.

In January 2010, all 15 students in the LIS qualification training programme were invited to participate in the study. They were informed about the content and aims of the research project through a written description that was shared with them prior to a face-to-face meeting, in which the objectives and methods of the study were jointly discussed. Moreover, the students received a personal e-mail that encouraged them to participate and stressed the voluntary basis of participation. Nine students decided to participate in the research and gave their consent. Finally, eight interviews were included in the analysis, although the material of one student had to be excluded because of some misunderstanding. The informants, one male and seven females, represented six different native languages and they had originally moved to Finland from five different countries. Table 2 presents the informants' background information, including their gender and age, duration of living in Finland, education (LIS or other), library professional experience, country of origin, as well as participation in the follow-up study. The informants are listed in alphabetical order by the pseudonyms given to them during the study.

Table 2. Characteristics of the informants (N=8, assigned with pseudonyms).

Informant (gender)	Age	Years in Finland	Education	Library work experience	Background	Notes	Follow-up study
Anna (female)	49	13	A bachelor's degree from the university of the country of origin.	Yes: A 6-year library career in Finland	Russia	Former career in pedagogy, she has no formal library education but she works in the public library during the LIS studies.	No
Julia (f)	28	1,5	A master's degree from the university of the country of origin.	No	Russia	After graduation she worked in the culture sector in her country of origin.	Yes
Kaya (f)	46	13	A master's degree in LIS from the university of the country of origin.	Yes: A 5-year library career in her country of origin and in Finland several temporary posts in public libraries for 2 years.	East Europe	In Finland she has participated in the university level LIS short courses and she works in the public library during the LIS studies.	Yes
Lin (f)	48	10	A PhD degree from the Central European university.	No	South-East Asia	All university degrees studied in Central Europe and in Finland she has several years research career.	Yes
Mariko (f)	31	5	A bachelor's degree from the university of the country of origin and a master's degree studied from the Finnish university.	No	East Asia	In Finland she has worked in the field of tourism and she graduates from the Finnish university during the LIS studies.	Yes
Rafiq (male)	50	23	A bachelor's degree from the Middle Eastern university.	No	Middle East	In Finland pedagogy career, pedagogical vocational training courses in pedagogy and master studies during the LIS studies	No
Saskia (f)	46	13	LIS bachelor's degree from the university of the country of origin	Yes: A 9-year library career in the country of origin and 6 months work experience in a Finnish library.	Russia	A short-term work contract in the field of tourism in Finland.	No
Tare (f)	31	3	Bachelor's degree and LIS qualification from the university of the country of origin.	Yes: 3-month work experience from the Finnish public library.	East Asia	During the bachelor studies she participated in the exchange programme and stayed one year in Finland. She has a part-time work in a library during the LIS studies and has worked in a book store in Finland.	No

The participants were classified into three groups on the basis of their previous connections with the library profession. The first group included those who had had both a higher education degree in LIS and experience of library work. The second group comprised those who had had library work experience but no formal education in LIS. The third group involved those who had had no former library professional experience. The first group, Kaya, Saskia and Tare, had a Bachelor's or Master's degree in LIS from their country of origin. The first two had had a previous career of several years in library work in their country of origin, and Tare had had a few months' experience of library work in Finland. Only one person, Anna, fell in the second group; she had worked in a public library in Finland continuously for six years without formal LIS education. The third group, Julia, Rafiq, Mariko and Lin, had had no former library professional experience, so the LIS qualification training offered them an opportunity to start a library career. The participants could also be grouped on the basis of whether or not they worked in libraries during their studies. Kaya and Anna worked continuously during their studies, whereas Tare and Mariko had short contracts during their studies.

All the eight informants were interviewed twice during their LIS qualification studies between 2010 and 2011. In addition, four of them participated in the follow-up interviews, in 2019. The first interview, using the narrative inquiry method, was conducted at the start of the studies; the second semi-structured interview took place at the end of the studies; and the third follow-up interview was conducted eight years after the completion of the interviewees' studies.

5.4.2 Role of the researcher in conducting interviews

When I started the research project, and especially before the data collection phase, I had to carefully reflect on my dual role as a researcher and a teacher

of library professional subjects for the participants. Kvale (2008, 13–14) makes it clear that a research interview is an interpersonal situation, a unique interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee, which produces knowledge that might not be created with another researcher. However, one risk is that the informants may not feel free to express themselves. Deliberately or unintentionally, the interviewees may withhold some information, for example, to protect the interviewer or themselves (Kvale, 2008, 15). Being aware of these risks, I wanted to minimise the possibility that the informants would give me such views they thought the researcher would like to hear, or would hesitate to share their actual experiences or say anything they thought might be harmful for them or me. Thus, it was necessary to assure the informants that their participation was voluntary, and that they could withdraw their consent any time and they would not be identified from the research papers. During the actual interviews, I assumed the role of an active listener and did not press or rush the discussion. The questions were open-ended, and respondents were not interrupted during their narration.

I knew none of the participants before they started the LIS training in January 2010. In fact, I hardly knew any immigrants living in Finland and had not taught any groups with an immigrant background, before this LIS training; I had only a cursory idea of their language skills, motives, background, and education. Dealing with unfamiliar respondents is always a concern, a challenge that the researcher has to deal with. Kvale (2006) clarifies this interviewer-interviewee relationship as he opines that the research interview settings include a power asymmetry between the interviewer and interviewee. He adds that the interviewer rules the situation, place, topic, and questions, and it is possible that the interviewees do not answer the questions presented to them but talk about something else (Kvale, 2006, 485). Katja Vähäsantanen and Jaana Saarinen (2013) discuss the complexity of power in interview

situations, especially in those cases where there are significant differences between the interviewer and the interviewees. However, they argue that, although the sameness between the parties may support equal relationship and information sharing during the interview, the similarity of participants is not a necessary requirement for a successful interview. Rather, they highlight the importance of the researcher being aware of both the similarities and differences of the participants in an interview situation. (Vähäsantanen & Saarinen, 2013, 507–508.)

In the first phase, I decided to use life story narratives as the interview method to become familiar with the participants, their motives and paths to a library professional career. It was important to hear their own voices, to keep the cultural, linguistic or educational differences but also to understand how these differences might affect the interview and the interpretation of the material. Language skills were one major concern, particularly to ensure that the interaction was not being negatively affected by this variable. In this type of research, researchers need to ensure that they do not offer their own views, words, or knowledge to the informants but to concentrate on the latter's own presentations and the words they use. The differences between each individual informant and the researcher are obviously bound to be varied. The responsibility of the researcher is to use clear language, use synonyms, employ alternative expressions and where necessary paraphrase for the respondents. Also, I encouraged the informants to ask if they did not understand the question. Reciprocally, I asked them to present examples if I did not understand what they said. They were sent the transcribed interviews and asked to correct them if I had not understood their intention incorrectly. The follow-up interviews also provided them with an opportunity to correct any misunderstandings.

5.4.3 Data collection

The study concentrated on the development of social identity of LIS students and librarians with an immigrant background within library professional communities. This main theme was approached through three research questions, for which the study set out to look for answers, through the analysis of the data collected in the three phases, as mentioned earlier.

Table 3. Research questions in relation to the data collection phases

Main Theme: Professional identity construction of LIS students with an immigrant background.			
Research phases	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3
Research questions	Life story narrative	Focused interview	Follow-up discussion
RQ1: How do students of Library and Information Studies, with an immigrant background, experience their participation in the library professional community?	In order to understand how informants perceive experiences of participation and inclusion / exclusion.	In order to understand how informants view inclusion / exclusion in library professional contexts.	In order to understand whether informants agree with the views of previous phases after their LIS studies and starting the career.
RQ2: What are the inclusive/exclusive experiences of students of Library and Information Studies, with an immigrant background, in the library professional context?	In order to understand informants' views of inclusive / exclusive experiences in (library) professional or work context before LIS studies in Finland.	In order to understand inclusive / exclusive experiences informants confront in library professional contexts.	In order to understand whether informants agree with experiences of inclusion / exclusion in library professional contexts recognised in previous phases.
RQ3: How do students of Library and Information Studies, with an immigrant background, view their library professional continuum?	In order to understand future plans of informants before the LIS studies in Finland.	In order to understand future career hopes and plans of informants.	In order to understand how informants view their future in librarianship.

Table 3 shows the relationship between the research questions and the three data collection phases. The main research questions are presented in the far-left column, while the other three columns represent data collection phases, and how each of them improved understanding, in order for the study to respond to the questions and produce knowledge about the main theme. The table indicates the motives for several data collection phases. If one of the data collection steps is left out, the result would be incomplete and thus it would be impossible to receive full understanding about the theme. The data collection

methods, life story narratives (Phase 1), focused interview (Phase 2) and follow-up discussion (Phase 3) are introduced in the following sections.

Life story narratives

The research material of Phase 1 consists of the life story narratives collected between April and June 2010 from nine informants who had started their LIS qualification studies. The interviews were held in Turku, Helsinki and Espoo in libraries that offer meeting rooms for private discussions. To avoid a power setting where the researcher would have a dominant position, universities or similar venues were not an option.

The participants were informed in advance about the life story interview method and that the interviewer wanted to hear their autobiographical stories. They were told that there would be no time limit and that they would be free to tell their life stories in the order they wanted – to start and end at any point they decided. The interviewer was supposed not to interrupt the main stories but present the necessary questions only after the interviewee had finished. This plan worked in theory, but, in practice, the informants were not able to narrate their life stories in one part as a single long story, but they rather wanted to have the interviewer present some clear questions.

In the beginning of the very first interview, and speaking for all informants, one respondent told the researcher that they found it very challenging to tell one long story without a break. Their main challenge was the language, and they thought it was difficult to present a long monologue in Finnish. However, they were encouraged to tell their life stories in a single sitting and were presented with follow-up questions after their main narratives. The life story interviews thus became dialogues with a focus on the individuals' life events rather than pure autobiographical narrations. However, all of the interviews contained the main narration part that included the important steps from early

childhood in the native country to the situation they found themselves in, in Finland. My dual role as a researcher and educator may have affected the storytelling because there is an emphasis on school and study experiences across all life stories told by the informants.

After the main narration, I asked the informants to tell more about the topics they had mentioned in their narration. I used specifying questions, for example, “Could you tell more about your university studies?” or “Could you give an example of any positive experience you gained in a library?”. No new topics were introduced through the questions here; the discussion focused on the issues the participants themselves had brought up during the main narration.

Focused interviews

Data collection in Phase 2 dealt with focused interviews, arranged between April and June 2011. The idea was to find locations where the informants would feel equal, safe and free to express themselves. Public libraries in Turku, Helsinki and Espoo served as venues for all other interviews except for one respondent, who proposed that the interview be held in her home due to time constraints. During the second phase, five of the respondents were working in public libraries.

The focused interview covered two main themes. The first theme was vocational education in library and information studies for people with an immigrant background and the second theme concerned library professionalism. The second theme was divided into two subthemes: general views about library professionalism and ‘me as a library professional’ for the informants’ personal views. The informants were presented with these themes in advance and they were also informed that all their views, experiences, and thoughts would be welcome. They were cautioned that this second data collection phase was different from the first life story narrative interview and,

this time, the topics would be approached through specific themes and subthemes.

Although the focused interview method does not include pre-formulated questions, the informants indicated that they would like to know beforehand what issues they were expected to talk about. So, they were provided with sample themes, for example, regarding the Curriculum, they were asked: *Could you evaluate the curriculum, including pedagogical methods and content, of the education?* On Professionalism, they were asked: *What are the roles of library professionals? Could you describe yourself as a library professional?*

Altogether, I had planned ten subtheme questions for each of the two main themes. However, the informants were talkative and replied to the questions broadly, offering views even to other topics than the one at hand, so there was no need to cover all questions. Technically, the interview situations were straightforward and the informants were highly inspired to speak about the education, which was about to be completed, at the time of the focused interviews. The atmosphere during the interviews was good and positive, the informants seemed to be relaxed, and they spoke openly also about difficult experiences they had had. Many informants said that the focused interview in a way provided them with an opportunity to sum up their education. One informant admitted that through the interview, she was able to move mentally from the role of a student to that of a librarian.

Follow-up study

The follow-up study (Phase 3) was conducted in March 2019, eight years after the completion of the LIS qualification programme. Five informants were contacted and four of them were interested in participating in the follow-up interview. The fifth declined to participate for private reasons.

The intention of this phase was to present the findings from the analysis of the previously collected material (in Phase 2) and to discuss these with the informants. The following three questions were relevant in this phase: *Do the informants recognise their intentions and hear their voice in the findings? Do the informants perceive the intended meaning of the findings and do they agree with them? Based on the findings discussed, what are the informants' current views of the library profession and professional community?*

'Interview' is not perhaps the right term to describe the interaction in this phase; it was more like having an informal discussion with individual informants. Although group discussion might have been a good method in this phase, it was not a realistic option because of the busy schedules of the parties. The discussions were carried out as Facebook Messenger voice calls because it was a familiar application to everyone. This time, the interviews were not recorded but they were transcribed during the meetings, which were compact sessions of 20–30 minutes. As in the previous phases, the participants were willing to talk openly and share their views and experiences.

5.4.4 Analysis

Transcription of the data

Recording enables an interviewer to return to interviews easily and repeatedly, but careful and detailed analysis of interview data requires that the material be transcribed to a written text. Transcription allows the researcher to observe nuances arising from the material and, because each research project has different needs, the accuracy of transcription is linked with the research questions, methods and analyses (Tiittula & Ruusuvuori, 2005, 16). The interviews of the first two data collection phases were recorded and transcribed to a written form for closer analysis. The longest interview lasted 2 hours 15 minutes and the shortest interview 45 minutes. A total of nearly 26 interview

hours turned, through transcription, into 320 text pages (font Times New Roman, size 12, space 1.5, margins 2.5 cm). To make sure that the meanings of the responses were not altered, the interviews were transcribed verbatim, including all grammatical errors, repetitions, pauses and fillers such as *um*, *er* or *well* in the transcribed text. I was aware of the risks of misunderstanding because the interviews were conducted in Finnish, which was my native language, but a foreign language for the informants. Hence, to minimise the risk of wrong interpretation, the recorded parts of the interviewer were also transcribed so that, during the analysis, it was possible to check that the interviewees were not influenced or misled by the researcher. Further, I did not share the same cultural background with the informants, so the meaning of some fillers, body language or other non-verbal expressions were difficult to interpret; therefore, they were not included in transcriptions.

During the transcription phase, interview responses of one informant had to be excluded from the analysis. She did not seem to understand the aim of the study as her replies mainly echoed the words of the interviewer who actually produced the main part of the discussion during the interview. Secondly, despite the fact that she was prepared for the situation and she even had written 'answers' with her, it was not certain that she understood the concept of a research interview. I got the impression that the ideas she had scribbled on the paper may not have been her own; but, rather that she had outlined them with the assistance of someone else. Finally, the focus of the interviews was on the views, experiences and thoughts of the informants that should have been expressed in spoken Finnish. Obviously, the informant's oral skills of Finnish were not good enough, so there was the risk of being misunderstood. Although she had a background in library and information studies from her country of origin, and was willing to participate in the study, she had to be left out so that she would not be misled.

Data analysis

The main data analysis was conducted after all the data material had been collected, except for the follow-up interviews. A preliminary analysis was done during the transcription, which was a demanding and time-consuming process. Kvale (2008, 101) argues that in the analysis phase, it is too late to complain about the amount of material; however, he also indicates that the phase of the interviews should not be separated from the analysis but, rather, these can be connected. The interpretation, for example, can start during the interview, when the interviewer can interpret the discussion, by asking for clarification and seeking meanings through questions posed to the interviewee (Kvale, 2008, 102.). The transcribed data contains several examples where, in order to understand the meaning, the interviewer asks the interviewee to explain or clarify certain issues.

Discourse analysis concentrates on language and the intention is to discover the reality that arises from the material through language use. In this study, no quantitative methods were used, but data was examined through substances and significances. The analysis process proceeded stepwise and was based on the identification of meaningful statements. Data exploration, the first step of the analysis was to read and reread through the transcribed text in order to obtain a holistic overview of the material. The second step was to distinguish significant statements referred to as meaning units, from the text. The third step was to do coding of the meaning units, into categories and themes, to simplify and condense the original form of meaning units and put them into categories. The fourth step was to identify the essential themes. (See Silverman, 2006; Kvale, 2008, 104–109; Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009, 310–312.)

In the current study, the analysis was a long process because of the information-rich material and, in order to recognise meaningful and important

statements, the analysis had to be done carefully. The informants similar as persons, but distinguished from each other by their views, experiences and knowledge. Moreover, the interviews were far from being identical; each interviewee used the time reserved for the interview differently.

Therefore, the data, particularly that of the life story narratives, is multidimensional and complicated from the perspective of analysis. The analysis of narrative material requires a more focused, closer and holistic approach, even if the number of participants is limited, as compared to other methodological approaches. (See Rapley, 2004; Rosenthal, 2004; Hyvärinen, 2004.) However, the focus of this study was not on the everyday life of the participants; the prior motivation for collecting narrative material was to obtain an understanding about the informants as individuals and as a group before the second data collection phase.

Data exploration

The first time when I familiarise with the data was during the transcription. After that, during the several reading and rereading rounds, focus was on exploring the meaning of the data with an open-minded approach before breaking the data into units. When reading the material for the first time, I read like a novel, without any pre-planned aim. When it was read for the second time, the aim was to identify various trajectories, and during the final reading rounds, the focus was on similarities and compatible experiences.

During these several reading rounds, there was an attempt to identify common themes and patterns from the data. My first attempt focused on discussions about the variety of roles and especially professional roles arising from the data, although it became apparent that concentrating on roles, would limit the analysis to the data collected in the focused interview phase. In addition, there was an imbalance in that the collected data was partly based on

intentional discussion on roles and partly on assumptions rather than experiences or knowledge. The second theme observed was the concept of librarianship, expressed both implicitly and explicitly in the data. Again, it was uncertain if this perspective would produce answers to the research questions. Once more, the texts were reread through the lenses of both themes – roles and librarianship – which finally revealed that the data material mainly spoke about the informants themselves in relation to others, ‘them’ or ‘us’.

Meaning units

The next stage of analysis involved segmentation of the significant parts in the data. Computer-assisted data analysis software, NVivo, would have been an excellent tool at this stage, but its application was not possible because Finnish was used in the interviews. The way informants spoke Finnish could be transcribed to text but would not be suited for the data analysis software. Therefore, the segments related to the research questions were identified without using any computer-assisted data analysis tools.

The identified segments, meaning units, were large enough to ensure that the meaning was not fragmented and context was included in the text. Meaning units are significant statements in which the meaning is the statement itself or the meaning can enlighten the phenomenon under study. According to Kvale (2008, 107), the meaning units determined by the researcher must be picked from the data in their original form used by the informant. Some meaning units identified from the data contained just a few words while others were several lines long. The authentic meaning units were shortened and compressed to a simple format, thereby condensing the meaning of the unit into a few words or a short sentence without losing the original meaning of the statement. In order to understand the meanings, I had to frequently return to the data material at this stage. The expressions and language used in the material are

straightforward and complex at the same time. The original data contains a multitude of occasions where the informants seek the right words and, for example, notice they are using a wrong personal pronoun and change it in the middle of the sentence. Therefore, there was a need to check who was who or who were the people the informants were speaking about, but, in addition, because the participants changed their views during the discussion. The following step included the coding of the condensed meaning units and the grouping of those that indicated a similar meaning.

Descriptive framework with categories and themes

The analysis does not follow a linear route from point A to point B, but it is a twisting procedure during which the researcher interprets the material and follows certain lines towards the results. The meaning is found in the material although it is not always explicitly expressed and the researcher should have patience to grapple with the text and find the significant indicators. However, there is no single way of performing the analysis and the material can be categorised in many ways. In order to understand the material and to see the overall picture, I construed a framework in the form of an Excel worksheet where different units were arranged in tables. Then these tables were organised and reorganised to form sensible and logical entities of the themes, categories, and sub-categories. From the descriptive framework process, a table sheet was drawn for each theme.

Table 4. Grouping the material

Theme	‘I’ grouping	‘We’ grouping	‘They’ grouping
Subtheme	Individual’s experiences, views, and relationships to phenomena, other people, context etc. <i>I am; I do; I have</i>	Individual's impression regarding <i>our</i> experiences, views and relations to phenomena, other people, context etc. <i>We are; We do; We have</i>	Individual's impression regarding <i>their</i> expressions, views and relations to phenomena, other people, context etc. <i>They are; They do; They have</i>
An example of Finnish language	<i>When am I good enough?</i>	<i>Common challenge for us</i>	<i>They set the level</i>

Table 4 outlines how the material was categorised and grouped. Identified themes and their subthemes are presented in the first column. In the next three columns the material of themes and subthemes is divided under three groups: The first column introduces the *I-group*, the second column the *We-group* and the third column the *They-group*. Without a doubt, informants were the ones who presented the arguments and views during the interviews. However, they did not present views only of themselves such as *I am an immigrant* but often the statements described situations or reflected attitudes of someone else. According to participants, others labelled them as, for instance, *they say I am an immigrant*.

One more perspective is ‘we’, which proposes membership and inclusion among other people. As Janne Tienari et al. (2005, 111–122) maintain, research interviews produce texts of “us and others”. This stage of the study was demanding but while elaborating the material, understanding and knowledge of the phenomenon increased. However, it was insufficient to work only with the short statements; it was necessary to check the variety of issues from all materials, original transcribed texts, meaning units, condensed meaning units and coded units. Through this process, the themes and

subthemes were validated and grouped. The themes and sub-themes were not organised without conscious decision because the aim was to perceive the intended meaning of themes before was able to arrange and interpret the material. By returning to the theoretical background of the study that I was able to organise a framework that worked with the material. Especially the social identity theories enabled me to assign material to themes, sub-themes and groups. Lastly, as mentioned, each sub-theme was approached through three views extended my comprehension of the phenomenon under study. Through such arrangement, the descriptive framework became more valid and these three angles enabled me one to interpret the material while more conscious of the meanings of the content.

5.5 Validity and reliability

Transparency is a quality indicator of the research process, whereas credibility is approached through the validation of findings. Validity issues do not concern the choice of methods used but how the methods are applied and their capacity to generate relevant results and information of the phenomenon under study. Validity is involved in the research process as a whole (Kvale, 2008) and connected to the questions of credibility, trustworthiness and plausibility, especially in the phases of data collection and interpretation. The main theme of this study – construction of professional identity of LIS students with an immigrant background – was examined by interviewing informants and collecting their views and experiences. As stated by Rapley (2004, 19), “there is no *ideal* interview” but each interview situation is different and there are a number of variables connected to the sessions. For this study, the confidential interplay between the interviewer and interviewees was a crucial element: the safer and more comfortable the informants feel, the more willing they are to share their thoughts and experiences during the interviews. Rapley (2004, 23)

is of the opinion that interviewers should be able to read the situations, concentrate on the interviewees, ask questions and show reactions that are relevant in the context. Before starting this research project, I did not personally know any people with an immigrant background living in Finland, so I was rather unsure whether I would succeed in collecting relevant data; or how I should arrange the interviews so that the informants could speak without feeling inhibited. I was also unsure if participants would be able to express their feelings and views in Finnish, which was not their native language, and if I would be able to interpret their responses correctly.

For interview methods to generate relevant data concerning the phenomenon under study, the questions posed to the informants should be understandable and transparent. Colin Lankshear and Michele Knobel (2004, 183) encourage researchers to pilot and test their questions in order to make sure that they are understandable and will produce relevant data. The life story narrative interviews were held in the early phase of the research process. The intention of this first data collection phase was not only to collect data but also to test the feasibility of the interview method with the informants. The life story narration phase was not a pilot in the sense that the interview questions would have been tested. Narrations, however, served as a kind of pilot because they produced information about the interview method and its usability in the context of this study. If the life story interviews had failed and there had been misunderstandings or lack of mutual understanding and confidence between the interviewer and interviewees, it would have been necessary to change the research method. However, the interviewees and interviewer understood one another. Through the first data collection phase, interviews were made confidential and comfortable, so that it was easy to continue towards focused interviews and the second data collection phase. All data collection phases

were documented and, in particular, the whole process was made transparent to the informants who were informed of all the details pertaining to the study.

The interpretation of the results was approached from different perspectives but with a holistic view on the data. For the purpose of identifying the main themes and subthemes, I read through the entire material several times and different classification approaches were tested. The interpretation respected the material and proceeded from details to the overall picture. The informants had the opportunity to read the transcribed interviews and to suggest corrections and changes or even remove some of their statements. At a research seminar in which the findings and results of the study were presented, the audience advised me to conduct a follow-up study and validate the findings. The third interview phase, thus, was more of a validation process than data collection. During the discussion-type interviews with the four informants, and the results were presented and informants were encouraged to ask questions, give comments or even question the relevance of the results.

Reliability refers to matters pertaining to the trustworthiness and consistency of research findings (Kvale, 2008, 122). Kvale (2008, 124) indicates that if, for example, informants with an immigrant background change their statements during the interview it does not necessarily signify an invalid or unreliable interview technique but, rather, it may testify the sensitivity of the interview technique to capture multidimensional social attitudes. In the context of this study, matters of consistency included the question of language and the diverse backgrounds of the informants. Regarding language skills, the problem was that Finnish is the native language of the researcher but a second or third language for the informants. In order to receive not just short replies but more elaborate answers, it was necessary to use open-ended questions with the idea of getting the informants to share their views and experiences extensively in their own words. With this approach, there is always

a risk that informants may start to associate freely and lose focus so that the data would turn out to be too varied for the same item. However, a strict guidance in the interview situations might have ruined the intensity of the discussions and limited the interviewees, so I preferred the role of an active listener. By clarifying questions, however, it was possible to get the discussion back to the original course if informants seem to wander a bit.

During the life story narrative interviews, I simply asked the informants to tell me their life story in their own words. Although their narratives were unique and personal, they were interpretable because the life trajectories or the verbalised steps of their lives were similar or closely related. In the focused interviews, in turn, the general structure was similar and the main themes were presented to the informants in the same order. However, the more detailed questions were not necessarily presented in the same order or verbalised in the same way in every session. The focused interviews followed the line of discussion the informants had taken rather than the order of the prepared questions. In the third phase, the follow-up interviews were shorter discussion-type situations.

The life story narrative interviews helped me, not only to get to know the informants, but also to gain confidence to proceed in my research. Eventually, the narratives assisted to clarify and conceptualize the meaning of ‘immigrant background’ in order to explore the development of social identity of people with an immigrant background within the library professional community.

5.6 Ethical considerations

5.6.1 Research ethical codes

Research ethics can be considered as the ethical code of scientists and researchers, enabling them to work on research questions, produce information and knowledge and conduct transparent, reliable and valid research processes

from the planning phase to result dissemination (Shamoo & Resnik, 2009; Resnik, 2015). The choice of research methods and collection of data are significant phases in research; these early-stage decisions require not only capability to choose the appropriate methods but also take into account ethical considerations from the perspective of integrity.

The Finnish National Board on Research Integrity TENK emphasises that the process of consent is primary and through that process research can fulfil the autonomy and confidentiality principles in practice (TENK, 2019, 51). In practical terms, this means that participants are asked to give their consent to attend to the research and their agreement shall be based on the understanding of the research project. Therefore, participants should be informed clearly not only about the process but also how their private information is collected, used, stored and disseminated, as well as about their right to withdraw their consent. Confidentiality, however, is a complex issue and, to avoid and minimise the risks of misunderstanding, the consent should be based on a common understanding between participants and researchers. Issues connected to power, persons, culture, language or position, for instance, may influence the consent (TENK, 2019, 51–52). Profound understanding about ethical codes and carefulness in terms of consent are important when the participants of the research are individuals in a vulnerable position (Data Management Guidelines). Rastas (2005, 83) underscores the importance of the consent process especially in cases where the informants and researcher have different backgrounds. Cultural differences might affect the results so that the informants are uncertain about the intention of the research and thus give their consent based on assumptions rather than understanding (Rastas, 2005, 83).

In the context of research, considerations of justice are based on wider community-level negotiations as research communities operate within public environments, such as societies. The research community must define fair and

non-discriminatory ways to act and consider how to approach these values in research settings. (Hughes et al., 2010, 121–142.) The emphasis in research is on doing good and not harm. This is a multidimensional issue that forces research communities to discuss if there are any situations when causing harm of any kind to individuals or groups can be handled. In research, doing good is approached through the production of new knowledge and understanding a variety of issues. (Hughes et al., 2010, 14.)

Resnik (2015) indicates that the ethical norms promote the achieving of the aims of research by knowledge, truthfulness, minimising and preventing errors of any kind during the process. Therefore, ethics should not be considered as a formality that is shortly verbalised in the research reports. Rather, research ethics should be seen as an opportunity to convince research communities, collaborators, stakeholders and other audiences that the research process promotes reliable, valid and responsible research (See TENK, 2012). Resnik (2015) highlights the importance of moral and social values, such as social responsibility and human rights, in research. Responsibility can be connected with the question of power, which may be more or less visible, depending on the research setting and the relationship between the researcher and informants. Responsibly conducted research (RCR) underlines not only the researchers' attitudes but also their behaviour, and urges to ensure that everything is conducted in a fair, accurate and consistent manner (TENK, 2012).

5.6.2 Ethical reflection of the study

In the context of this study, ethical reflection is essential and there are several perspectives why it is important to follow the ethical norms. First, the participants of the study, the informants, are people with an immigrant background whose position in the society may be vulnerable. Second, the language used in the research is not the native language of the informants.

Third, there is the question of power because the researcher is a native Finnish person who also serves as the teacher of the informants. Fourth, the study focuses on a particular profession and it should be able to report understandable and truthful findings and constructive solutions. Fifth, the study produces information and knowledge for educational institutions as well as for larger audience and, accordingly, it should comply with social responsibility requirements.

In this research, several different interviews were conducted to ensure mutual understanding between the researcher and informants, and to promote transparency and integrity. The objective of the first autobiographical narration was to create a picture of the informants: Who are they? What is their background? What is the level of their Finnish language? An initial discussion was also arranged to ensure that the informants understood the intention and context of the research, thereby minimising the risk of discrimination. The second data collection phase, the semi-structured interviews, aimed at collecting data necessary for obtaining answers to the research questions. The follow-up interviews were conducted as the last step, with the aims of validating the findings and providing the informants with an opportunity to comment, and agree or disagree with the findings.

In the consent phase, participants were informed, in several ways, not only about the procedures, objectives and settings of the study but also about the ethical aspects, such as integrity, confidentiality, data protection and anonymity. First, they were introduced to the research project in a common discussion session. Second, they were given a written description of the intention and methodology of the study. Third, every interview session started with a discussion about the intention of the research and confirmation of the voluntary participation of the informant. During both the common and individual discussions, it was stressed that the participation in research

interviews was not part of the curriculum or learning process, the participation was voluntary, and the participants could not receive any advantages in their studies through their participation. The role of the teacher is to support learning and the question of power should not be included in teaching. For me, the role of the teacher-researcher was challenging and some effort was required to find appropriate ways to act in each situation. In the first interviews, for instance, the atmosphere was quite formal and more conventional than relaxed and flexible. However, the willingness and openness of the informants helped me to find suitable ways to operate and develop in the roles of a researcher and teacher.

Resnik (2015) argues that researchers should pay attention to social responsibility and avoid causing harm to individuals or communities. In scientific communication, honesty refers to truthful reporting so that there is no risk of getting wrong impressions. Research must be accountable to ensure that the relevant stakeholders, for example, working life and educational institutions, are able to apply the knowledge produced by research. In short, scientific research should be able to present truthful findings and constructive solutions.

This study concerns the profession of librarianship and the aim is to promote the profession and provide library professionals with knowledge that they can apply in practice.

6 Inclusion in the library professional community

Chapter 6 presents the results of the analysis of the data. The following presentation is structured around the main components emerging through the discourse analysis, with a focus on the inclusive/exclusive experiences and the

library professional continuum. The process of social comparison between the out-group (immigrant background LIS students) and the in-group (native Finnish LIS professionals) is discussed in terms of LIS education, language skills, group belonging, and library professional roles and duties. Section 6.1 describes the LIS qualification training, curriculum, and career motives. In Section 6.2, language settings are discussed with an emphasis on the informants' experiences. Section 6.3 presents aspects pertaining to group relations and encounters. Section 6.4 deals with the results concerning the professional roles and duties within the evolving library work environment. Finally, the outcomes of the follow-up interviews conducted in March 2019 are presented in Section 6.5.

6.1 LIS qualification training programme

The library qualification training programme (60 ECTS) was intended for those immigrants who had a previously earned higher education degree (see Aaltonen, 2010). At the time the education was implemented, a university degree together with university level LIS studies was the formal requirement for librarian vacancies, as stated in the Library Act (904/1998). The curriculum was particularly planned for immigrants who are not native Finnish speakers and, thus, one goal of the curriculum was to strengthen the students' oral and written skills in Finnish. The language of instruction was Finnish and the teachers were native Finns. Another focal theme of the curriculum was the multicultural library. By using active teaching and learning methods, the students were encouraged not only to listen to lectures but also to communicate with library professionals. The lectures and interactive teaching sessions were arranged in Turku every second week. Most of the students arrived from the

Helsinki region and, although they faced some challenges in arranging their studies, all informants were highly motivated and participated actively in meetings.

The contents of the curriculum overlapped with the LIS trainings previously provided by Turku UAS. However, within the framework of the Open Zone project, there were some differences in the curriculum as compared to the other LIS trainings. Multiculturalism with a community approach was an overarching theme in the project, so all course modules had a link to the multicultural library and the promotion of inclusion in society. In addition, one course concentrated on the Finnish culture, thus enabling the students to approach ‘Finnishness’ in terms of literature and popular culture. The studies did not include any specific Finnish language courses but rather, in order to improve the Finnish communication skills of the participants, Finnish was used as the main language in the courses, assignments and seminars and other occasions, such as visits to libraries and other organisations. Further, the theoretical studies and selection of LIS literature were mainly based on research papers written in Finnish.

Altogether 11 experts were involved as visiting instructors, some of them gave short presentations of their field of expertise and some organised workshops or other activities. The curriculum included 10 course modules, which were implemented as multiform education with lectures, face-to-face meetings, independent study assignments and group work. Contact teaching was offered during two- or three-day sessions every second week. Each course was worth 5 ECTS credits, except for the internship and development project module, which totalled 15 credits. The content of the curriculum was as follows:

Learning skills and professional growth – 5 ECTS

Communication and interaction – 5 ECTS

Cultural circle – 5 ECTS
Libraries in a society – 5 ECTS
Information organisation – 5 ECTS
Information search – 5 ECTS
Collection management – 5 ECTS
Community-led work methods – 5 ECTS
Multicultural work communities – 5 ECTS
Internship and development project – 15 ECTS

As the internship and development project were combined into a single module, the students were provided with more freedom to perform them in a way that best supported their individual orientation. Those students who worked in a library during their studies preferred a development project in the form of a compact empirical study, with the framework, context, methods and results reported and presented at a seminar. Whereas those students who did not have any previous library work experience would rather conduct 8-week internships mainly in public libraries. They were required to report on their internship, which included limited empirical projects. The course focusing on multicultural work communities was implemented jointly with native LIS degree students and, in addition, a group of library professionals participated in the course.

6.1.1 Library career motives

The informants had varying backgrounds at the start of their LIS qualification studies. Kaya, Saskia and Tare had a degree in LIS from their countries of origin and also previous or current work experience in library professional duties, either in Finland or elsewhere. Anna had no formal LIS qualification or work experience from her country of origin, but she had worked in a public

library in Finland for some years. Julia, Lin, Mariko and Rafiq were newcomers in the library field, and for them, this LIS qualification training was the first step towards a library career. While the informants are here collectively referred to as LIS students or library students, some of them were actually in a dual role, being both students and professionals.

Some of the informants had been interested in librarianship for a while but they had been unsure how to enter the career or where to study. Julia, who had been ‘crazy about libraries’ ever since her childhood, was encouraged to go for the career of her dreams and apply to the education. All of the informants had noticed the training announcements themselves, and they highlighted the importance of the LIS training programme being specifically designed for immigrants and also that this was clearly articulated in the announcement. Most informants thought that their opportunities to study successfully among native Finnish students would have been minimal, whereas a few of them were quite sure that studying in the same group with Finnish students would have been impossible for them. In general, interactive learning requires active use of language, and the informants assumed that it would be unequal if some students in the group have fluent language skills while the level of skills is much lower for others.

Kaya, Tare and Saskia wanted to continue their LIS careers in Finland and they had scanned the opportunities for LIS studies offered by the educational institutions in Finland. Some years earlier Tare had applied to the university to study for a Bachelor’s degree in LIS but she had not passed the entrance exams, which emphasised Finnish skills in reading, writing and speaking. Saskia had intended to apply to the MLIS programme but did not do so because she thought that the programme was meant for native Finnish speakers. Kaya had participated in further education organised by the LIS department of a university.

Although the motives to apply to LIS education are multiple, there are two reasons that clearly separate the informants from the other students of the group. First, the informants wanted to receive a formal LIS qualification to gain better opportunities for employment and, particularly, for working in library professional duties in Finland. Second, the informants emphasised that they had applied to this LIS qualification training programme because it was clearly intended for those immigrants who already had a higher education degree. Tare, for instance, explained that she applied to the training programme because it provided an opportunity to study together with other immigrants. Among native Finnish students, she could have fallen outside of the group and her voice would have disappeared. Mariko assumed that if she had been the only immigrant student in a group of native Finnish students, she probably would have experienced exclusion.

6.1.2 LIS qualification aspects

An opportunity to acquire a formal qualification in librarianship inspired the informants, although some of them already had the required level of LIS education. Kaya, for example, emphasised that she is a library professional because she has a Master's degree in LIS studies (MLIS) and she has a long library career. Kaya had worked in different libraries in professional positions that involved power and responsibility. According to her, the MLIS degree and work experience from her country of origin were not recognised in the Finnish labour market but instead, employment in a library professional occupation in Finland requires that the relevant skills and knowledge are received from Finland, for example, LIS degree from a Finnish university and work experience from Finnish libraries. This is in line with the study of Kyhä (2011), which shows that working life often expects this kind of Finnishness from immigrant background people.

During her LIS qualification studies, Anna worked at a public library in the position of a library assistant, and according to her, her duties and occupational title did not correlate because she often had to perform tasks that required profound LIS professional knowledge. She assumed that a formal qualification could open her new opportunities and she could obtain a better professional position. At the time of the LIS qualification training programme, the legislation defined the formal qualification requirements for library professionals working in public libraries. Rafiq emphasised that a clearly defined qualification is important to him and, actually, it was the main reason for him to start the LIS studies. In general, working life qualifications were somewhat unclear for the informants and Rafiq claimed that, in some fields, the qualifications are abstract descriptions rather than explicit requirements. Rafiq had been teaching his native language at schools in Finland for many years and he experienced that, in the field of education, the formal qualifications and requirements are unclear.

²... tosi ongelma tämä opettajan pätevyys ja luulen, että jos minä voin olla pätevä kirjastoalalla se on tosi tärkeä asia. / – Rafiq

² The quotes in Finnish are from the transcribed interviews and in line with the informants' own expressions. Since the informants are not native Finnish speakers, linguistic errors in their quotes have been corrected ensuring, however, that the content is not changed. For example, if an informant has sought a correct expression, word or grammatical form, the term or word that is uttered last is usually included in the quote. Typically, nearly all informants repeated specific words, often conjunctions, but such repeats are not included in the quotes. False starts, repetitive phrases or fillers, such as ugh, um, or mm or other nonverbal sounds, are not included in the quotes.

³... a real problem is this teacher qualification and I think that if I can be qualified in the library field it's a really important thing. / – Rafiq

Saskia had a solid background in librarianship and she found that public libraries in Finland are different from those in her country of origin. Saskia was sure that this library training is a unique opportunity for her and she hoped that the qualification would provide a new start for her career and she could return to the library profession. When she moved to Finland, Saskia was not able to enter working life for family reasons, but she had worked for some months in a public library before the LIS qualification training started. Tare also had a background in librarianship and she found that she needed new skills, particularly for customer service. According to her, Finnish library users have different demands for service as people in her native country. Julia had a clear motive to start a new career: her original profession requires perfect language skills and therefore she could not continue her career in Finland. Julia assumed that her Finnish skills are good but far from being perfect. However, she hoped that one day she will be able to use Finnish fluently and return to her previous professional field.

6.1.3 Curriculum considerations

Reflections on the curriculum

The curriculum discourse can be divided into two main parts: content and pedagogy. Those informants who were newcomers in the LIS field had some difficulties in understanding the content of studies, whereas those who had previous LIS experience understood the course descriptions and easily related their content with working life practices. They found that curriculum presented new topics along with more traditional LIS subjects, such as information

³ Google Translate was used to translate the Finnish quotes into English, and the translations were checked to ensure that they correspond to the Finnish quotes.

seeking. Lin was rather confused of the content of the LIS education and, based on the curriculum, the librarianship skills and knowledge were unclear for her. She argued that, instead of a clear professional profile, the curriculum provided a perception of an all-inclusive profession. However, she was optimistic and interpreted the curriculum to have the emphasis on practical skills rather than on theoretical knowledge. Anna, in turn, noted that the curriculum is clear for her because she already worked in a public library, but she understood that the newcomers in the field may find the content ambiguous and unclear. During the studies, the students discussed the curriculum several times and evaluated the validity of their plans. In particular, they wanted to know to what extent this curriculum corresponds to the curricula of LIS studies intended for native Finnish students. Moreover, they raised a question about the qualification: Does the LIS qualification training for immigrant background students provide similar competencies as the other LIS studies?

Multicultural emphasis

Already before starting the LIS studies, all informants had noticed that multiculturalism and the multicultural library were emphasised in the curriculum. Despite some uncertainty of the relevance of the topic, the informants saw clearly that the curriculum was constructed specifically for *us*, for immigrant background people.

Mun mielestä se [opetussuunnitelma] aika hyvä, se on aika tiiviisti se niinku priorisoi sen mikä on meille maahanmuuttajataustaisille opiskelijoille, ja sit tässä niinku huomaa että tässä on semmonen monikulttuurisuusteema aika vahvasti esille ja se on jopa aika selkeä, että teeman ympärille on rakennettu sisältö. / – Tare

I think it [curriculum] is pretty good, it's pretty compact and it like prioritises what is for us students with immigrant backgrounds, and you

like notice that there is a multicultural theme that is quite strong and it's quite clear, that content has been built around the theme. / – Tare

In fact, before their LIS studies, the informants were unaware that librarianship provides specialisation opportunities and, therefore, they were surprised of the special focus on the multicultural library dimension. During the studies, however, some participants were slightly frustrated with the theme of multiculturalism piercing nearly all courses and being examined so extensively. Lin said that, at the beginning of the studies, she could not understand the emphasis on multiculturalism but after the eight-week internship in a public library, her view changed and she recommended that all native Finnish LIS students should focus on multicultural issues in their compulsory studies. According to Lin, the LIS professional community in the library where she worked was not prepared to meet an intern and future colleague who is not a native Finn. Librarians seem to connect the question of multiculturalism with library users rather than with the LIS professional community. Lin argued that the work community did not see any challenges in providing multicultural library services but thought that they are competent to serve minority populations.

... työyhteisössä siellä työssä tämä monikulttuurinen käsitys on ihan hajallaan ... että täällä sitten ajatellaan, että monikulttuurinen se vaatii sitten sitä että pystytään palvelemaan sitten enemmän muista maista tulleita ihmisiä, mutta se ei tarkoittanut että työyhteisökin vaatisi enemmän sitä erilaisia näkökulmia tai kulttuuria ... / – Lin

... in the work community, at work, this multicultural concept is all scattered... it is thought that multiculturalism requires that one is able to serve people coming from other countries, but it did not mean that the work community would require more different perspectives or culture... / – Lin

Although the informants were mainly satisfied with their LIS studies, they criticised the narrow and even stereotypical professional role assigned for them. Mariko argued that the emphasis on multicultural library work might actually limit their employment opportunities, especially for those who are quite uninterested in multiculturalism. The informants thought that the multicultural dimension in the curriculum was good, but they claimed that the programme was communicated to library communities from a limited perspective. For example, during their internships, the informants noticed that the work community did not necessarily understand that they were able and willing to work in duties other than those related with multiculturalism as well. The students were inspired and ready to start their library career but also slightly reserved about their abilities. Tare compared her situation to a driver who has recently received a driving licence.

... ehkä semmoseen autoilijaan, kun olen just käynyt autokoulun ja päässyt tentit läpi ja saanut ajokortin, mutta en vielä lähtenyt oikeaan liikenteeseen ja en tiedä syynä voi olla se, että mä pelkään että ei uskalla lähteä ajamaan tai sitten mulla ei ole autoa, että en pääse helposti ajamaan, että tällainen niin kun ehkä niin kun minä olen sellasessa asemassa ... ehkä. / – Tare

... perhaps to a motorist that has just been in a driving school and passed the exams and got a driving licence, but I have not yet started to drive in traffic, and I don't know why, but may be the fact that I'm afraid or that I don't dare to drive, or that I don't have a car so that I cannot easily drive, that perhaps that I'm in that position ... maybe. / – Tare

Teaching and learning methods

Pedagogically, the LIS qualification training programme was based on active and collaborative teaching and learning methods. According to the informants, their previous university studies had contained mainly traditional lectures and theoretical literature and their learning was evaluated through written exams.

Anna described that, because of her previous studies where students were not encouraged to present their own opinions, she had difficulties to participate in common discussions.

... miten minä ennen opiskelin ja sitten tämä. Siellä vain istuttiin ja kuunneltiin ja sitten itse niin kun kirjoja luettiin ja menttiin tenttiin ja suoritettiin ja jotain semmoista, että ei mitään semmoista, että mitä itse voisi ja mitä mieltä, ja oli vaikea täällä niin kuin sellaista aloittaa, omia mielipiteitä ja mitä sinä ajattelet, koska meillä annettiin aina päähän se ja se näin näin näin, mutta täällä piti ajatella itse. / – Anna

... how I studied before and then this. It was just sitting and listening and then you read books and you went to exams and you passed and something like that, and nothing like you could do yourself and what you thought, so it was like hard to start here, your own opinions and what you think, because we were always given to our heads this and that, and like that that that, but here I had to think myself. / – Anna

The LIS qualification programme was the first time when the informants were studying at a university of applied sciences. At the beginning of the studies, they did not fully understand what the difference is between the universities of applied sciences and academic universities. Furthermore, the active teaching and learning methods used in the programme were new for the participants and they had no previous experience of collaborative pedagogy. Close collaboration with working life is typical for the universities of applied sciences and all courses in the LIS qualification training included both theoretical studies and practical assignments, which the participants found unexpected. During the contact sessions, the students concentrated on sharing their learning and orientating in new topics. Each course included learning tasks, which were mainly group work. For example, students interviewed library professionals and users, and made observations concerning the library collections and use of venues from a variety of perspectives. They produced

reports and presentations on their findings and shared the results with the other students. In addition, they mapped immigrant background groups and studied their everyday life. The aim was to recognise the information needs of immigrant communities and how libraries could meet these needs.

Niitä esimerkkejä kun on kaikkennäköisiä ollut, et no esimerkiksi tää working together projekti oli ja mitä mä oon nähnyt et mun mielestä se on tosi tärkeä, et nimenomaan sä meet sen asiakkaan luo ja koitat tutustua siihen asiakkaaseen tai asiakasryhmään... / – Kaya

These examples, it has been all kinds, well for example this ‘working together’ project and what I have seen, I think that it is really important, that particularly you go to the customer and you try to get to know that customer or group of customers... / – Kaya

One main objective of the studies was to enable the students to network with working life, which was implemented through internship, in particular. Furthermore, during the studies, the LIS students visited a variety of libraries and other organisations, they met library professionals, and they were encouraged to participate in several events. For example, all students participated in a literature seminar that focused on the representation of immigrants in children’s books. According to the informants, the active, communicative and collaborative way of learning was good and the interaction enriched the topics.

Et ryhmätyöskentelystä mä tykkäsin paljon sit mä tykkäsin että meille annettiin paljon materiaalia ja sitten niistä keskusteltiin ja sieltä tuli kysymyksiä, voi olla että jos olisi ollut paljon tällaista luentotapaista et powerpoint, niin se ei olisi antanut niin paljon, et koska täälläkin sä jouduit lukemaan, sä jouduit keskittymään siihen tekstiin ja sitten oli ryhmässä myöhemmin ne keskustelut, joo musta oli tosi hyvä. / – Saskia

I did like a lot the group work, I liked the fact that we were given a lot of material and then discussed and there came up questions, it may be that if there had been a lot of such lectures, powerpoints, it would not have given so much, because here you had to read, you had to concentrate on that text and then there were those discussions later in the group, yes I think it was really good. / – Saskia

At the beginning of the studies, the students had some challenges with group work but, after a while, working together became easy and the informants stated that they enjoyed working in teams. The informants were mostly inspired by the active learning methods but not all of them were convinced that it is convenient to interview people during their work and ask them to devote their time to students. Tare maintains that she was rather anxious and embarrassed to interview people at libraries for her study tasks.

... että mennään niinku ihmisten luo kirjastoon kyselemään haastattelemaan. Sitä en ollut aikaisemmin paljon tehnyt ja se aina niinku jotenkin se toi sellaista raskasta tunnetta ja mä pelkäsin kuinka ihmiset viittivät käyttää omaa aikaa ja vastata tällöisiin kysymyksiin ja pelkäsin ja huolestutti aina. / – Tare

... that we go like to people in the library to ask to interview. That I hadn't done much before, and it always somehow brought such a heavy feeling and I was afraid how people were willing to use their time and answer such questions, and I was afraid and worried always. / – Tare

Perception of library profession

The variety of library services, library user and non-user communities, information management tools and inclusive work methods were emphasised in studies, thus orientating students toward librarianship. Furthermore, library networks at the national and international level, different types of library institutions as well as organisational construction were approached during the

studies. Due to their LIS background, Kaya, Saskia and Tare were aware of the variety of skills and knowledge needed in the library work and thus, they were professionally far ahead of the others in the group. Anna was also able to link the studies with the library profession because she had been working in a public library for a few years. Although the students participated in the same courses, the analysis shows that learning was quite different between the newcomers and experienced professionals. Kaya, Saskia and Tare already knew the branch so their learning process can rather be described as professional growth.

... tää koulutus on antanut aika hyvät eväät. Kyllä. Mut sit et mun maailmankuva on muuttunut aika rajusta tän koulutuksen aikana myös niiden koulukavereiden takia. Et kyl mä oon aika kapeakatseinen. Et mä myönnän et aika paljon saa tehdä töitä sen eteen et missään mielessä tää koulutus ei ollut turha, ei ei. / – Kaya

... this education has given quite a good backbone. Yes. However, my worldview has changed a lot during the training, also because of the fellow students. That I'm quite small-minded, I admit, that I have to do quite a lot of work for that, in any sense this education was not useless, no no.

/ – Kaya

Although most informants highlighted their own, long and active use of libraries, the library professionalism cannot be compared with the role of a customer. Those whose library career started with the LIS qualification training explained that the studies opened them a new occupation and changed their relationship with libraries, from the role of a library user towards library professionalism. The change is reflected in their perception of librarians. Julia, for example, found that her previous understanding of librarianship was narrow, even stereotypical, and she had been unaware of the wide range of duties included in the library work.

Joo kyllä aika paljon. No millainen kuva kirjastoammattilaisista ihmisillä on yleensä ollut: no se on että kirjastoammattilainen istuu ja odottaa kun tulee asiakas ja sitten hän antaa kirjan tai vastaa kysymykseen. Ei taustatyöstä tiedä mitään. Ei voi kuvitellakaan että taustatyötä on niin paljon että aika ei riitä mihinkään. Opiskelun aikana ja harjoittelun aikana sain ihan erilaisia kokemuksia mitä voisi olla kirjastoammatti. Oli todella mielenkiintoista ja todella monipuolista se on mitä kirjastoissa tehdään, sellaiset ihmiset. / – Julia

Yeah, pretty much. Well, what kind of image of library professionals people usually have had: well, the library professional sits and waits that a customer comes and then gives a book or answers a question. You know nothing about the background work, you can't imagine that there is so much background work that time is not at all enough. During my studies and during my internship, I got quite different experiences, what a library profession could be. It was really interesting and really versatile what libraries do, such people. / – Julia

Lin presented an almost identical description of librarians as Julia, but they both noted that, during the LIS studies, their views changed and their current understanding of library professionalism is almost opposite to their previous perceptions of librarians. Actually, the informants emphasised that their understanding expanded not only for the library profession but also for the concept of libraries. They saw that libraries do not differ so much from other sectors in society. Mariko, for example, found that libraries are quite similar to companies, where marketing, development and current trends are important.

... kirjasto musta tuntuu että kirjasto on vähän kuin yritys, ihan sama kun muut yritykset ja se perustetaan markkinoidaan, miten kirjasto tarjoaa ja myös nykyään se liittyy ihan hyvin maailman vaihtoon esimerkiksi sosiaaliseen mediaan, tietotekniikkaan ja sähköiseen asiaan, sitä en mä kuvitellut ennen kun mä aloitin koulutusta ... / – Mariko

... library I think, that the library is a bit like a business, just like other companies and it is established, marketed, how the library offers, and nowadays it is well connected to the world change, for example, social media, information technology and digital matters, this I didn't think before I started the training ... / – Mariko

6.1.4 Summary of the LIS qualification discussion

Although the informants indicated several motives to participate in the LIS qualification education, they first of all wanted to be employed in Finland and aimed at library professional occupations. Kaya, Saskia and Tare wanted to update their skills to meet the requirements of the Finnish library field and to receive a formal LIS qualification from a Finnish higher education institution. They argued that the Finnish working life requires Finnish certificates and the degrees earned abroad are ignored. Anna had been working in the public library for some years and she wanted to have a permanent position instead of temporary contracts. She wished that the formal qualification would help her to reach the goal. In general, a clearly articulated formal qualification in librarianship motivated the students. Anna, Saskia and Tare categorically stated that they would not have applied to the LIS qualification training if it had been open for native Finnish students as well. The other students were not so strict about this aspect but they suggested that there should have been more interaction with other library students during the studies.

Library field newcomers found that their image of librarianship had been quite traditional but the LIS studies changed their perception. The curriculum highlighted the concept of multicultural library and the informants stated that the emphasis on the theme had both positive and negative sides. For them, the multicultural perspective was a new way of approaching librarianship, and they agreed that it is significant in modern working life. They suggested that

multiculturalism should be included in the curricula of other degree programmes where students might need support in understanding multicultural professional communities. The informants actually thought that their fellow students contributed to their understanding of multiculturalism because, while studying together, they discussed a variety of issues, which enabled them to understand each other, other native cultures and multiculturalism in Finland. Although they indicated that multiculturalism was a relevant topic, they were anxious about the validity of their LIS education. Will their skills and knowledge be as comprehensive as the competencies of other library students? Moreover, the informants claimed that their LIS education included significant skills and methods needed in library professional duties but these were not communicated clearly to working life and, thus, they were unable to show their full potential during their internships.

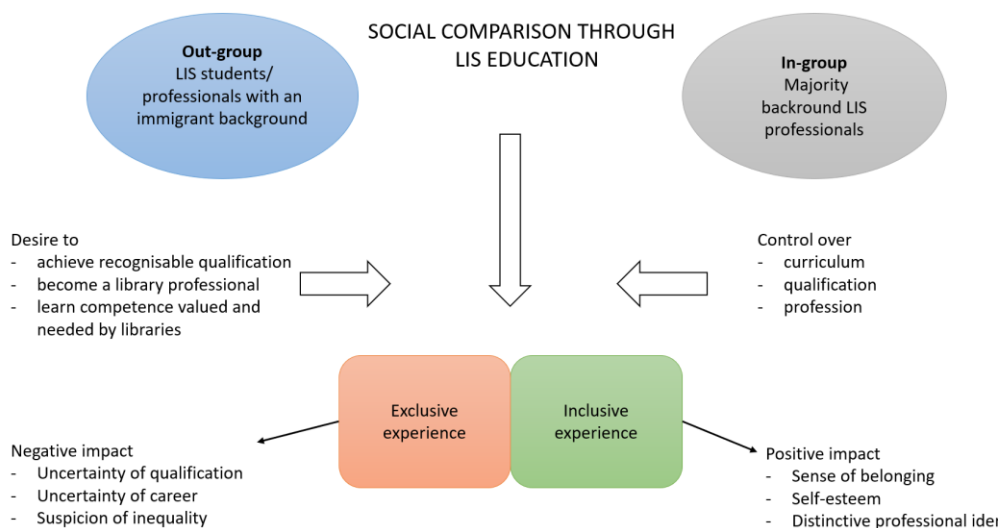


Figure 5. Social comparison through LIS education

Figure 5 describes the social identity formation from the perspective of social comparison through LIS professional education. The out-group

members are the informants, who compare themselves with the in-group members through competence and qualification. According to their experiences, the in-group has authority and control over the curriculum and qualification and through these over the LIS profession. The out-group members have a desire to achieve required LIS qualification, the status of competent library professional. Social identity construction and particularly the social comparison phase offer tools to concretise the above discussion. The LIS qualification training programme provides the in-group and out-group setting necessary for the comparison. In this context, the out-group members are the immigrant background LIS students who have the desire to earn a clearly-defined and recognised qualification, and to advance in library professional duties. Moreover, they want to receive competencies that are equal and comparable with those of the other LIS students. The out-group members propose that the LIS curricula should be openly discussed from multiple perspectives rather than highlighting some particular characteristics. The in-group members are the native Finnish LIS professionals who have the authority to decide on the curricula in terms of their content and methods and, thus, control over the formal LIS professional qualification and profession. If the desires of the out-group members are heard, accepted or shared, it will result in an experience of inclusion. This experience has a positive impact that supports the sense of belonging, self-esteem and professional identity building. In the opposite situation, if the out-group members' desires are ignored by the in-group controlling the curriculum, qualification and profession, the result is an experience of exclusion. Exclusive experiences generate uncertainty and distrust in the out-group members. The more the out-group members' needs are heard and promoted by the in-group members, the more the out-group members experience inclusion and belonging to the in-group. This experience

of belonging enables them to construct a distinctive professional identity in relation with other community members.

6.2 Language settings

Discourse on language questions is multidimensional, and the informants often returned to the language issues, both explicitly and implicitly. They indicated that language is, above all, a tool for communication, and it is used and needed for interaction. According to the analysis, language is also viewed as an instrument to determine one's position among others. Finnish language skills and communicating in Finnish dominated the language discourse but, in addition, the informants referred to their native languages and interaction with their compatriots. The discussion about native languages was, however, rather limited and, instead, the informants categorised languages into *their language* and *our language*. The personal pronoun *they* refers to the others and particularly to those whose language use differs from the way the informant uses language. The personal pronoun *we* is more complicated in the context of languages. The pronoun *we* or the expression *our language* do not necessarily refer to those who share the same native language. Rather, the informants say *our language* in those cases when they refer to immigrants in Finland who share similar language experiences and communication situations.

The informants were not born in Finland, but they have immigrated to Finland as adults. All informants have challenges with the Finnish language, but the degree of challenge varies. Some had studied and learned Finnish before they settled in Finland, whereas others started from scratch after they moved to the country. Furthermore, some informants had been residents in Finland for many years, or even decades, and they had used the Finnish language actively in working life before they started the LIS studies. While

Julia had lived in Finland for only 16 months before she started the LIS qualification education.

6.2.1 Formal and informal settings

When talking about the years when they lived in their native countries, the informants refer to language use without any stress. Language proficiency was not an issue; for example, Julia simply states that she learned English at school, Anna mentions that she used the local language with her grandmother, and Kaya indicates that she used Russian on a weekly basis in the library where she worked. Language issues emerged when the informants left their native countries and moved to Finland where the majority of people use Finnish and the informants' native languages are foreign languages. In their new surroundings, the informants acknowledged the need for a new communication tool in order to manage their everyday life and to continue their studies or work career. In Finland, the national languages are Finnish and Swedish, but since the informants are mainly in contact with the Finnish speaking population and environments, the emphasis here is on their proficiency in Finnish rather than Swedish. According to the informants, Finnish language is difficult to learn and the learning process has been anything but simple: they describe it as a long and complicated continuum where the goal seems to move farther all the time. The informants confronted language challenges in Finland within the contexts of LIS studies and work but they agreed that, in the library profession, good and versatile language skills are an asset.

... et kielitaito pitäisi kirjastoammattilaisella on hyvä sen pitäisi olla melko monipuolinen, et mitä monipuolisempi kielitaito [...], sitä helpompi sun on olla myös asiakaspalvelussa. / – Kaya

... that the language proficiency of a library professional is good, it should be quite versatile [...], the more versatile your language skills, the easier it is to be in customer service too. / – Kaya

Throughout the interviews, the informants clearly state that they are not native Finnish language users and Finnish is the language of others; it is *their* language. According to the informants, acceptance within the library work and professional community depends, above all, on language skills. The question is not about language skills in general but particularly about the ability of an individual to communicate in Finnish with the other library professionals, who mainly are native Finns. Without Finnish proficiency, an individual is unable to achieve an equal status within the library professional community. Moreover, particularly in formal professional settings, such as meetings, outsider experiences are frequent because the informants are unable to participate in discussion conducted in Finnish at a fast rate. The informants know that their Finnish skills are far from perfect and people participating in the meetings are aware that they need help with language, but still, the colleagues do not support the informants or pay attention to their anxiety. The Finnish speaking colleagues do not invite the informants to take part in conversation by posing questions, asking if they can follow the discussion, or providing them help with language issues. Quite the opposite, the informants experienced isolation from the others during rapid conversation in Finnish.

... että ei pysty sitten seuraamaan tai ei pysty seuraamaan esimerkiksi keskustelun kulkuja. Minä vain istuin siellä palaverissa. Että en pystynyt ollenkaan sitten tekemään joitain kommentteja ... / – Lin

... that one is unable to follow or not able to follow for example the conversation. I just sat there in the meeting. So that I couldn't make any comments at all ... / – Lin

Although the formal meetings may be stressful and the informants are often left aside, it seems that in the work community or among the team members, there is always someone who supports and helps the informants so that they manage the tasks and learn professional practices. These working life guides are important for the informants when working or completing an internship in the library. Interaction between the guides and informants mainly focuses on practical issues and concrete questions that arise from everyday work. According to the informants, the contrast between professional settings and other occasions is evident. Language codes seem to change and, for example, during coffee breaks or social gatherings, the informants are invited to discussion and their Finnish proficiency is not an issue. Informal settings are important for the informants, and they enjoy that they are involved and accepted in conversation.

... minusta tuntui että minut otetaan sinne yhteisöön, että minä pystyin sitten esimerkiksi vaihtamaan mielipidettä ruokatauolla ... / – Lin

... I felt like being taken into the community so I could, for example, change ideas during lunch breaks ... / – Lin

.... [juhlassa] et mä tunsin et mä kuulun siihen porukkaan, et se oli jotenkin tosi mukava kokea tämmönen, et mä oon niin kun tasavertainen, et mä oon saman henkisten ihmisten kanssa, me puhutaan samaa kieltä, samoista asioista... / – Kaya

... [in a party] I thought that I belong to that group, that it was somehow very nice to experience it, as if you were equal, with similarly thinking people, we speak the same language, about the same things... / – Kaya

6.2.2 Linguistic in-group and out-groups

The informants found that inclusion is a complex process during which newcomers should not remain quiet and just wait for signals from the professional community members. Instead, newcomers should be eager to participate in discussions and events, share their everyday life with colleagues and pay attention to their colleagues. Kaya argues that one's position within the community is not the outcome of professional achievements or competencies but the fundamental premise for acceptance still seems to be language skills.

... et mua päästettiin tonne sisälle. Et aika vaikea päästä jos ei ole [suomen] kielitaito ja se vaatii siltä ihmiseltä myös jotakin. Et sä itte olet valmis avaamaan tälle yhteisölle itteä ja ottaa vastaan sen avun mitä ne tarjoo jos ne tarjoo ... / – Kaya

... that I was allowed to get inside, it's quite hard getting in if you don't have [Finnish] language skills and it also requires something from you that you are ready to open up yourself to this community and receive the help they provide if they offer... / – Kaya

The informants experienced that, based on language skills, there are the groups of *us* and *them*. This grouping resonates with the concept of in-group and out-groups of the social identity theory (Tajfel 1978, 61–62; Tajfel, 1982), as discussed in Chapter 3.2.2. From the perspective of an individual, the in-group is the community in which one belongs, whereas the others form out-groups in which the individual is not a member. Furthermore, the discussion of groupings can be linked to the question of power because some groups have more powerful positions than others, and the groups also tend to be hierarchical. Often, the members of the stronger groups want to control others' access to the group and, at the same time, the members of the group pursue higher or influential positions.

Linguistic out-group

The language group *us* here refers to immigrants who provide complex and flexible language compositions. According to the informants, the majority population view immigrant background people as one linguistic group, the members of which are recognisable because their oral Finnish differs from the spoken language of native speakers. Clearly, the informants are not satisfied with this generalisation, and they emphasise that the population thus gathered under the immigrant umbrella is actually multilingual. They agree that it is a fact that they are not native Finnish speakers and they have different accents. What they have in common is that they share similar experiences in terms of Finnish language. As anyone learning new languages, also the informants have had challenges, in both oral and written Finnish, and they have encountered difficulties in understanding spoken Finnish. The informants clearly indicate that immigrants form a diversified linguistic group, but the native majority often refer to them as one group: the non-Finnish speakers. According to Reicher and Hopkins (2013, 5), simple categorisations like this may result in stereotypical groupings.

Rather than explicitly, the informants implicitly include themselves in a group or groups whose native language is not Finnish and who are linguistic minorities in Finland. The informants do not experience participation in all minority-language populations, but they more willingly include themselves in immigrant background populations. As Lin says, the immigrant population is diverse and the only thing that unites them is the fact that they have moved to the same country in which they have started to learn a new language.

... me olemme samalla tasolla kaikki maahanmuuttajat ja me tulemme samaan maahan. Meillä kaikilla on oma työkokemus ja elämäkokemus, mutta kielitaso oli melkein sama, ... / – Lin

... we immigrants are all on the same level and we come to the same country. We all have our own work experience and life experience, but the language level was almost the same ... / – Lin

Elusive language proficiency

Language requirements are an issue for the informants, who see that native Finnish speakers have set the standards and levels for the oral and written language skills. The informants do not know whether the language requirements in library work environments are official, that is, if the skills level for employees is regulated or defined by authorities or library management. Instead of clearly set levels of language proficiency, the informants encountered different approaches, varying not only from library to library but also between departments, individuals and situations. The informants were often confused or even lost when they tried to understand the requirements for the Finnish proficiency in working life. They constantly returned to the question: When is my proficiency in Finnish language sufficient for library work and LIS professional community?

The informants were well aware of the importance of language skills in professional environments and especially in customer service organisations, such as in libraries. They are sceptical about equal treatment in recruitment procedures, which may emphasise competence and ability to work in certain tasks but, finally, other aspects than professional skills and knowledge may weigh more. In addition to the formal qualification, other requirements, such as Finnish and Swedish skills, are probably significant but the informants were unsure about how to show their competence. Rafiq argued that the background of an applicant is one relevant criterion and particularly so if the candidate is an immigrant. According to him, the immigrant background may cause a negative impact and reduce opportunities to be employed in the library field.

... se ei riipu että minä osaan hoitaa asiat, se vaatii myös jotain muuta ehkä esimerkiksi suomen kielen taso joskus vaaditaan ruotsin kielen taso ja työntekijän tausta on tosi tärkeä, onko hän maahanmuuttaja tai ei oo maahanmuuttaja tällaiset kaikki on vaatimuksia joka voi estää, vaikka esimerkiksi minulla on nyt kirjastoalan ammattitutkinto, ... / – Rafiq

... it doesn't depend on how I can handle things, it also requires something else maybe, for example, the Finnish language level and sometimes Swedish language level, and the background of the employee is really important, whether he is an immigrant or not an immigrant, such requirements can prevent me, even though for example I have now a professional qualification in the library field, ... / – Rafiq

En tiedä mikä se on yleiskielen taso. Viisi? Tai en tiedä, en ehkä pääse työskentelemään kirjastoon tai jotakin, se tarkoittaa että vaatimus riippuu myös monesta eri asioista. / – Rafiq

I do not know what is a standard language level. Five? Or I don't know, I may not be able to work in a library or something, it means that the requirement also depends on many different things. / – Rafiq

Experiences of discrimination

The informants implicitly indicate and concretely describe that, during their LIS studies, they had unpleasant experiences that might meet the criteria for discrimination. In the analysis, discourses concerning these experiences are included in the category of language and communication, because in most of the cases, the situations include dialogue, the language is the key element, or the circumstances are verbal to some extent. However, the focus is on the prejudiced treatment and experiences of the informants. These experiences of mistreatment and bias have influenced strongly the informants although they

want to calm the situation, like Mariko did by saying that maybe she did not understand the situation correctly. The informants are exact but reserved when they describe these experiences. Furthermore, they were annoyed and confused to find out that native Finns do not see that majority and minority people may encounter unequal treatment differently. Majority people seem to define all the people under the same category, and they do not acknowledge that the circumstances of immigrants are very different in comparison with the majority population. According to one informant, native Finns highlight that in working life not only immigrants but also ageing employees face discrimination. Mor Barak (2017, 114) describes a situation where a trainer emphasised that all participants of the education are diverse. The trainer refers to participants' salient characteristics, such as gender or ethnicity, and compares them to hairstyle and clothing. The intention of the trainer was probably to express empathy for ethnic minority participants in the class, but the problem in this kind of categorisation is that small things, such as style, are presented parallel to the elementary elements of a human being.

... keskustellaan just siitä syrjinnästä ja se ei oo pelkästään maahanmuuttaja tai kielen kieleen liittyvää ja myös sen työyhteisöön mikä on vaan teidän [suomalaisten] mielestä syrjintää esimerkiksi iältään ammatiltaan tai titteliltään ... / – Mariko

... discussing about the discrimination and it is not only immigrants or language, but in working community that in your [Finnish natives] opinion discrimination is for example by age profession or status... / – Mariko

The immigrant background LIS students communicated actively together and the group served as a platform for the students to share information and experiences. According to the informants, the relationships between the students were close, and they met each other both during and outside the studies. They shared with each other not only the pleasant events of life but

also personal matters and difficult incidents. During their studies, the informants learned that some students of the group experienced racism in their everyday life whereas some students said that they have not faced any discrimination in Finland. In general, the informants were aware that discrimination focuses on some immigrant groups more than the others. Mariko was shocked when she realised how close open discrimination was to her and that her friend had been the target of violence because of his background.

... tuli mieleen syrjinnästä aihetta koska tähän mennessä mulle ole tullut yhtään semmosta juttua, en mä tiedä onks sen takia että mä oon [kansalainen] tai en mä tiedä mutta muut kansalaisuudet ois tai on saanut semmonen kokemusta niin se on mulle tosi, miten sanotaan, vähän järkyttyny ... / – Mariko

... came to mind because of the fact that so far I have not faced anything of that kind, I do not know why, because I'm [citizen] or I do not know, but other nationalities have got any experience so it is true to me how to say a little shocked... / – Mariko

Experiences of discrimination are extremely unpleasant no matter what the setting is. According to the interview material, the informants acknowledge that discrimination can be hidden or open, visible or audible. First, the informants think that discrimination might be incorporated in the working life requirements so that some demands are communicated unclearly or even hidden instead of being presented transparently. The immigrant background informants argue that, although they had the required qualifications, there are other issues why they were not recruited. They suggest that one reason might lie in their background. Second, the informants found that the majority population seem to belittle discrimination encountered by the immigrant background population in working life. The majority tends to generalise by

saying that discrimination is not only a concern of the immigrant population but all population groups have similar experiences. In certain occasions, the majority seems to ignore people's backgrounds while in other situations the background of an individual is a crucial factor. The third type of discrimination comes out in discussions between the immigrant background LIS students. During the studies, the informants observed that all members within their group are not similarly treated, but some of them encounter discrimination and even hostility because of their background nationality. Finally, the informants confronted a variety of situations at work some of which are such that they are uncertain if they involve discrimination.

... niin vähän tuntuu että tää on suomalaisuusjuttu, ne keskustelee vaan keskenään ja yhtäkkiä kun mä menin sinne samaan paikkaan niin ne lopetti keskustelua en mä tiedä miksi. No musta ei tuntunu miltään, mut jotkut vois ajatella, et se vois olla syrjintää ... / – Mariko

... so it feels little like this is a Finnishness thing, they talk with each other, and suddenly when I went there to the same place they stopped talking I don't know why. Well I didn't feel anything but somebody might think that it could be discrimination ... / – Mariko

Language skills and customer service

Roughly half of the population in Finland are library users, so customer service is a significant duty in public libraries. The informants argue that library professional communities in Finland are one-sided because librarians share a similar linguistic, cultural and educational background. However, in library work, versatile language skills are needed and they are an advantage, especially in the customer service. The informants experienced that they had challenges in terms of Finnish proficiency in encounters with both native Finnish colleagues and library users. Tare argues that library users notice her foreign accent and assumes that Finnish native library users regard this as an issue.

... sitten vielä kielenkäytössä, siinäkin vielä näkyy, huomaa että en ole syntyperäinen suomen kielen puhuja tällaiset asiat varmasti tulee voimakkaammin esille asiakaspalvelutilanteessa kirjastotyössä ja en tiedä ehkä se vois vaikuttaa negatiivisesti, mutta en keksi miten se vois vaikuttaa positiivisesti ... / – Tare

... then the language, it still shows that I am not a native speaker of Finnish, such things will surely be more visible in a customer service situation in library work and I do not know maybe it could have a negative effect, but I cannot imagine how it could be positive ... / – Tare

In general, the informants enjoyed customer service duties, but they saw differences between various customer groups. Clearly, they enjoyed serving those library users who are not native Finnish speakers and were more relaxed with them. Kaya indicated that it was much easier for her to approach those customers who speak a foreign language. Often, the Finnish language skills of these *foreign* customers are not fluent, quite the opposite, but the informants understand them and identify their challenges and anxiety with the Finnish language because they themselves have had similar experiences. Although the informants have described the complexity of their relationship with the Finnish language, they argue that the language proficiency is their strength in library work and within the LIS professional community. They emphasise that they are competent to serve those customers whose Finnish skills are not fluent because they themselves are experts in weak Finnish. Therefore, the informants felt that they could encourage diverse immigrant communities to use libraries despite their low level of Finnish language. Often another language such as English, the modern lingua franca, is not an option because of missing or poor English skills or because they simply want to use and practice Finnish. The informants observed that often the majority-background LIS professionals are reserved when serving library customers who cannot

speak Finnish, Swedish or English. The work community had noticed that Kaya was competent and relaxed with immigrant background trainees.

... ja mä otin sit heidät [maahanmuuttajataustaiset harjoittelijat], myöhemmin sit moni [kollega] tuli sanomaan, et hän ei ymmärrä miten mä pystyin, et mä olin heidän kans niin vapaa. Ku olisko se tää suomalainen kirjastotäti tää se pitää sitä seinää edessään, / – Kaya

... and I picked them [immigrant background trainees] and later many [colleagues] came to say that they didn't understand how I managed it, that I was so free with them. Is it so that this Finnish library lady keeps a wall in front of them, / – Kaya

Native languages

The informants are rather modest about their native language proficiency and their native languages are not underlined in discussion. However, they propose that their native language proficiency could be their area of expertise and it could benefit the capacity building of the library field. The informants see that they could support Finnish LIS professional communities in establishing connections with the library branch in their countries of origin or with other countries in which their language skills are relevant. Not only the professional communities but also the library users could benefit from the linguistic diversity, for example, by engaging the informants to map the information needs of customers, evaluate collections and acquire materials. However, the language potential of the informants was not utilised in the work environment, and they were rarely asked to apply their skills in practice.

During her internship, Lin was asked to organise a small exhibition to present her native culture and literature. She was pleased and excited of the task, so she chose carefully both fiction and non-fiction literature to the exhibition. Next to cookery books, Lin set a visiting card of a restaurant. She thought it was a good idea to provide not only literary experiences but an

opportunity to find authentic tastes of her country of origin. A visiting card, however, is categorised as an advertisement, and commercial promotion is not allowed in public libraries in Finland. Lin was ashamed of her mistake and confused of the discussion caused by the visiting card of a restaurant which was not even near the library. Although Lin understood the general policies of commercial promotion, she was not convinced that the library rules actually prohibit the inclusion of objects like visiting cards in exhibitions. She was doubtful about the argument that then all restaurants would insist that they should be allowed to promote their services.

... kirjastonhenkilöstö sanoi mulle että en saanut laittaa sitä näyttelyyn pöydälle, koska se on kielletty enkä ajatellut muita, että jos kerran kun minä laitoin siis nimikortin sinne kiinalaisetkin voivat tulle sinne, miksi täällä vain mainostettiin [kansalaisuus] ravintoloita ... / – Lin

... library personnel told me that I couldn't put it on the table because it is forbidden.... and I did not think of others that if once I put a name card there the Chinese could come to why there were only [nationality] restaurants advertised here... / – Lin

6.2.3 Summary of the language discussion

The discourse on communication and language skills provides two groups: *us* and *them*. The first, *us*, refers here to the out-group in which the informants are members. The in-group, *them*, are the majority-background LIS professionals, who are mainly native Finnish speakers. The in-group emphasises the role and meaning of Finnish language in library professional duties and communication. The informants are not arguing against the demands, quite the opposite, they are willing to learn Finnish and achieve the level required in working life. The problem is that they are uncertain about what level of Finnish proficiency they should have and how they can achieve the required level. It

seems that the standards of Finnish language skills have not been discussed openly and the informants do not know where to set the target. The discourse does not show any signs that the informants would have been provided with support regarding their proficiency in Finnish and they were not encouraged to learn Finnish or to participate in language courses. Rather, it seems as if the informants were left alone to solve their issues with the Finnish language while the set goals are moving farther all the time. The informants had valid language certificates but they are never enough if you need to compete with natives in a recruitment situation. Uncertainty and hesitation describe their feelings towards Finnish proficiency and especially situations within the library professional work community.

According to the informants, the language repertoire of the in-group members was not particularly extensive and yet they were unwilling to draw advantage from the versatile language range of the informants. Rather than highlighting the informants' diverse language competence, the community remained silent as if the language proficiency of the informants would not upgrade the skills and knowledge of the entire work community. Language is a tool for excluding people but it is an inclusive instrument as well. The sense of equality in communication experiences would empower the informants and they were especially satisfied when receiving positive feedback from their colleagues. The informants were aware that they spoke Finnish with an accent, but they also maintained that it is their strength because of the increasing number of society newcomers who are not native Finns. The library could benefit from their ability to meet customers with limited Finnish skills.

Working life is a complex platform where various codes are applicable. Communication codes are not formal instructions or regulations but flexible customs that are applied differently in each situation. The invisible communication codes may be confusing for newcomers. According to the

informants, formal workplace meetings and informal work community parties are the opposite extremes in terms of communication. In the first mentioned, the immigrant background informants were easily left aside and provided with the role of the spectator. The discussions were conducted by speaking Finnish at a fast pace and the colleagues seemed to ignore the spectators. These were exclusive experiences and the informants were uncertain why they were invited in the first place and what their role at the meetings was. Lin describes that she felt sympathy with an Arabic speaking trainee who was like frozen and stared at the table throughout a meeting. Is this the meaning of the meetings or should they rather be communicative and inclusive experiences where all voices are heard? Completely different experiences are offered by the work community parties, where formal communication modes are not used, but the atmosphere is relaxed and inclusive. The informants felt happy after these occasions and thought that they are part of the community.

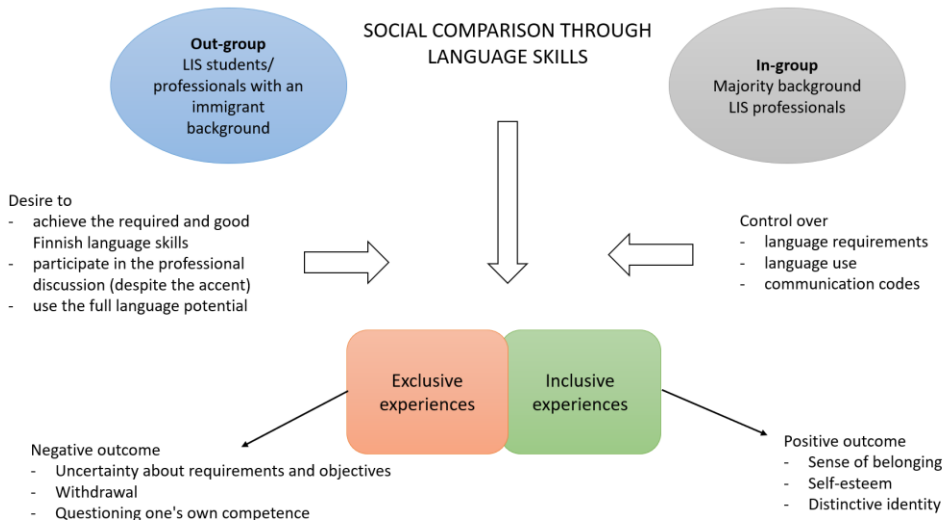


Figure 6. Social comparison through language skills

Figure 6 describes the social identity formation from the perspective of social comparison through language skills. The out-group members are the informants, who compare themselves with the in-group members through language skills. According to their experiences, the in-group has authority and control over language requirements, language use and communication codes. The out-group members have a desire to learn the Finnish language, to participate equally in professional discussions despite their weak Finnish skills, and to use their entire language range for the benefit of the work community.

If the in-group members ignore the desires of the out-group members, the experience is exclusive and the out-group members feel uncertainty. They are influenced by the negative experiences and think that they are bypassed and belittled within the work community. At its worst, the exclusive experience can isolate the out-group members from the community and increase their uncertainty of their own value for the profession. Whereas inclusive experiences have a positive impact, strengthen participation and support inclusion in the community. The out-group members experience empowerment when the in-group responds to their needs and desires. In terms of language skills, equal treatment and interaction are significant but, in addition, the informants desired clarity, support and mutual respect. Positive experiences increase self-esteem and the sense of belonging but they also support the development of distinctive professional identity. Based on the language discourse, the informants had both exclusive and inclusive experiences in the context of library work environment. As stated by Marilynn Brewer, ‘social identity derives from a fundamental tension between human needs for validation and similarity to others (on the one hand) and a countervailing need for uniqueness and individuation (on the other)’. (Brewer 1991, 477.)

6.3 Group relations: I and We – We and They

Many of the groups identified in the discourse analysis resonate with the concept of Communities of Practice discussed in Section 3.3.2. The identified groups are either formal, such as professional communities, or informal, such as friendships between the LIS students. This section focuses on the relations between the informants and the various groups. Relationships between informants are first seen as unclear, in other words, the discourse reflects uncertainty because of the setting has changed. Second, there are the group relations which the informants enjoy. Possible is that the relationship between a group and an informant is not stable but the experiences of belonging and not belonging alternate. The groups identified from discourses are as follows: native communities and compatriots, immigrant population, LIS student groups (both the immigrant background group and native Finnish students), and encounters with Finnish natives.

6.3.1 Native communities and compatriots

Many factors influence the relationships between the informants and other people, and the connections may change, for example, due to weakening ties. A good example of changing experiences of belonging is the relation between the informants and their native community in their country of origin. Based on the shared native language, these people are assumed to provide a community in which the informants experience belonging. The informants argued, however, that they are no longer fluent in their native language but their language proficiency has declined during the years they have lived in Finland. In some situations, the informants had noticed that they were unsure how to express themselves correctly in their native language. These observations made them anxious and sad and the weakening language skills may be a signal of relational changes. They experienced that they belong to

their native population, and yet they were aware that the link is not as firm as previously.

The informants were clearly confused of the growing gap and they questioned their close relation with their native country by indicating uncertainty about their national identity. They experienced being outsiders in each country, both within their native communities and among Finns. Those compatriots who lived in Finland were an exception: they formed a kind of peer group whose company the informants enjoyed. The informants indicated that they can relax with their native-language friends because there are no linguistic tensions and communication is straightforward. With this peer group, the informants are able to share and compare their experiences of Finland and Finns. The members of the native-language group help each other and share information how to manage everyday situations and bureaucracy. In addition, this group serves as a bridge and information channel to the informants' native countries.

Most of the informants visited their country of origin regularly, but the frequency varied. Some of them made visits several times a year, whereas others had seldom opportunities to travel. If the country of origin is far away, the journey requires careful scheduling, time and financial resources. The distance between Finland and the native country is not the only factor limiting visits. For example, Saskia stated that her closest family members lived in Finland and therefore she spent her holidays in Finland or in European holiday resorts rather than travelled to her native country. Although visits could be done easily, Saskia had visited her native country only once during the five years she had lived in Finland. For those informants who travelled frequently to their native countries, the visits were an ordinary way of spending holidays or weekends, rather than special occasions, and they did not pay any particular attention to the visits. Their relationships with their families and relatives in

the native country were straightforward, they still knew local people and met their friends often.

In contrast, those informants whose journeys to their native countries were special or rare occasions described their visits more closely. They notice changes that have happened in their old living environments and compare the current situation with the time they still lived in the country. They are observant about, for example, the ways people communicate, eat, dress or act. In addition, they emphasise changes that are visible at the level of entire society, such as economic growth, improved standard of living, growing use of IT tools, and better prospects of younger generations. Particularly those informants who visited only seldom their country of origin experienced that their connection with their original community was not as strong as it used to be. Although they belonged to the community, they felt that they were slowly moving to the outer circle. Mariko, for example, explained that she had to loosen her ties with her native culture, country and language.

.... tuntuu siltä että mä käyn siellä [synnyinmaassa] enkä mä tule takaisin, se on vähän kuin vierailut, vieraalta tuntuu nykyään. Ja se taas on nykysin muotoutunut mun mielessä, kun mä tulin takaisin [synnyinmaahan] tokana vuonna siitä lähtien kun mä tulin tänne opiskelemaan tai asumaan, ni vaikka melkein kaikki, joo melkein kaikki on tervetullut mun tuloa, mut silti kaikki tuntuu tai mun mielestä tuntuu kaikki vieraalta ja kun mä olin [synnyinmaassa] niin tuntuu koko ajan siltä et en mä enää et tää ei ole mun paikka ... / – Mariko

.... it feels like that I go there [in the native country] and I'm not back, it's a bit like visits, feels strange nowadays. And it has now formed in my mind that when I came back to [name of the native country] in the second year since I came here to study or live, so even though almost everyone, yeah almost all, welcome my return, but I still feel or I think everything feels

like strange and when I was in [name of the native country] I feel like all the time that no more, this is no more my place ... / – Mariko

The informants agree that their profession could be beneficial for their compatriots who live, study or are on a visit in Finland. The informants think that they are able to understand their particular information needs and enjoy being able to provide library services in their native language. Although the informants think that their library career could benefit their native communities living in Finland, they are not quite convinced that all their compatriots agree with them.

Nuori hän oli, olisko vähän yli 20-vuotias, näyttää kuin olisi kotoisin tämmöisestä kuin kauppiaiden perheestä, jossa ei arvosteta kirjoja tai tietoja, vaan enemmän rahaa. / – Lin

She was young, a little over 20 years old, looks like she was from a family like merchants who don't appreciate books or information, but more money. / – Lin

6.3.2 Immigrant population

The informants stated that they do not want to be called immigrants forever as if it were a lifelong status for a person. Rafiq posed a rhetorical question that he is curious to know if he will be an immigrant forever. Will there be a stage when an immigrant receives another position in society, another classification by authorities and another identification by the majority? The informants are by authorities included in the diverse immigrant population, and this categorisation is common in everyday life. Therefore, the informants assumed that as long as they live in Finland it might be impossible for them to gain another status, no matter what the official nationality in their passport is. Mariko had a strong feeling that she was a representative of the immigrant population in her work community.

... että mun tehtävä on se, että maahanmuuttajan edustajana, ei pelkästään [omana kansalaisena] ... / – Mariko

... that my task is to represent immigrants, not just [an individual citizen] ... / – Mariko

The informants did not deny the fact that they were not born in Finland or and that they had immigrated to Finland, but they did not understand why these things are underlined everywhere. They are not ashamed of their background, quite the opposite, they are proud of their roots, but they would like to be seen as individuals. One generalisation they have encountered is that all immigrants are multicultural experts. In the library field, at least, it seems that multiculturalism is easily connected with immigration and it is thought that immigration is a process that increases individuals' abilities not only to understand other immigrants but also their diverse background cultures. For example, Kaya states that she is an immigrant but would not characterise herself as a multicultural person.

... tää et mä oon itte maahanmuuttaja tai ulkomaalainen ei tarkoita sitä et mä oon monikulttuurinen ja mä ymmärrän muita ihmisiä ... / – Kaya

... that I'm an immigrant or foreigner does not mean that I am multicultural and I understand other people... / – Kaya

The experience of immigration may help individuals to understand other people who are in a similar situation and, through these lenses, they may have improved multicultural skills in terms of sensitivity towards others and otherness. However, this is not self-evident but there are several factors that influence the situation. The decision of migration is usually a personal or family matter, and the motives behind the decision vary. In the new environment, an individual may be willing to operate with other newcomers coming from diverse background cultures, but this is not always the case. For

one reason or another, interaction between other newcomers may remain limited. Rather than communicating with diverse background communities, newcomers may want to stay with their family or compatriots.

Interaction with culturally diverse groups improves the development of the multicultural competence. For example, the immigrant background students in the LIS qualification training programme formed a group that generated multicultural awareness among the participants. The group members had diverse language skills, background cultures and nationalities but as they interacted and studied together, they learned to know each other. Because of the common goal and shared interest in the library career, their understanding about multiculturalism increased. (See Section 2.1.3) The informants acknowledge that the LIS education strengthened their multicultural awareness and competence. However, rather than knowledge and skills at the individual level, they highlight the group dimension.

... se on minusta tosi tärkeä, että miten me [maahanmuuttajataustaiset opiskelijat] voimme rakentaa monikulttuurinen kirjasto. / – Rafiq

... it is really important to me that how we [immigrant background students] can build a multicultural library. / – Rafiq

6.3.3 The LIS student groups

The immigrant background LIS student group was important for the informants, who clearly indicated that they valued belonging to the group and enjoyed being part of the team. Kaya speculated that the education could have been different if native Finnish students were involved in the group. She argued that, among the immigrant background students, she was able to develop herself not only professionally but also personally.

... ja nää opiskelukaverit nää maahanmuuttajat, et mä sain heiltä paljon enemmän liittyen tähän koko omaan identiteettiin, et se on ihan selvä

fakta. Jos mä suomalaisen kanssa opiskellut et se olis ollut enemmän tällaista teoreettista ehkä, mut olisinko mä kehittyntä sillä tavalla kuin nyt tällä hetkellä? Pelkään et ei. / – Kaya

... and these study mates, these immigrants, I did get much more from them as relates to my entire identity, that is a clear fact. If I had studied with Finns, it would have been more of such a theoretical maybe, but would I have developed in the way it is now? I'm afraid no. / – Kaya

Although the cultural and linguistic backgrounds within the group were diverse, the informants argued that there could have been even more variety among the students. For example, Rafiq was disappointed that there were no Somali students although Somalis are one of the largest minority groups in Finland. In addition, the informants were surprised that there were no native Finnish students included in the education and also disappointed that they had only a few opportunities to encounters with Finnish LIS students. According to Mariko, they would have wanted to meet Finnish students and discuss with them.

... että olisi parempi jos me tutustutaan lisää suomalaisiin ryhmiin tai opiskelijoihin ja miten ne ajattelee maahanmuuttajista tai monikulttuurisista, semmonen yhteistyö olisi hyvä. / – Mariko

... that it would be better if we got to know more about Finnish groups or students and how they think about immigrants or multicultural, such co-operation would be good. / – Mariko

Some informants admitted that, at the beginning of the LIS studies, they had rather limited perspectives in terms of cultural diversity and multiculturalism. Nevertheless, studying in a culturally diverse student group opened their eyes. Anna and Saskia, for instance, had at first characterised some group members stereotypically and categorised them by gender and background culture. During the studies, however, they understood that the stereotypical thinking

was restrictive and did not correspond to reality. The LIS qualification programme was a platform for the preconceived attitudes to melt away.

... [kansallisuus ja sukupuoli] miten minä voin ajatella etukäteen että hän ei anna mitään naiselle tekemään pitää vain sanoa, että minä teen nyt! Ja no se kaikki, no se oli minun ajatus sellainen, että pitää käyttäytyä noin ja alusta asti otin sen asenteen että ja nyt huomasin, että hän oli vähän niin kuin mitä se on, ehkä minä en tekisi saman, jos se oli jostain Espanjasta tai mistä jostain Euroopan maasta, mutta huomasin, että hän ei ollut ollenkaan sitä mitä minä ajattelin että [kansallisuus ja sukupuoli] ...

/ – Anna

... [nationality and gender] how could I think in advance that he will not let a woman to do anything, just have to say that I'm doing! And all of it, well it was my idea of how to behave and from the beginning I took that attitude and now I noticed that he was a bit like what it is, maybe I wouldn't do the same if he was from Spain or from a European country, but I noticed that he was not at all what I thought that[nationality and gender] ...

/ – Anna

... mutta nyt mulla on toi kokemus, että yhdestä maasta ihmiset voi olla ihan erilaiset ei voi sanoa että kaikki suomalaiset on semmoisia, kaikki venäläiset on semmoisia, no samanlaisia ihmisiä. Vähän toi maailmankuva laajenee, ... / – Saskia

... but now I have the experience that people from one country can be quite different, can't say that all Finns are like that, all Russians are like that, well, similar people. The worldview is expanding a little, ... / – Saskia

6.3.4 Encounters with native Finns

It seems that the Finnish tend to underline the gap between themselves and newcomers. According to the informants, Finns often highlight the Finnish language and the Finnish culture and especially they want to make a difference between the Finnish culture and other cultures. Lin has lived in Finland for several years and she had learned Finnish language already before she moved to Finland. In addition, she had conducted research projects linked with the Finnish culture. Therefore, she was rather offended when she was rejected and considered ignorant.

... ja minä tarjosin silloin hänelle, kuule ota nyt kahvia ja hän sanoi mulle että joo suomalaisille kahviasia on pyhä asia että ei voi sitten ottaa ihan mitä tahansa [...] kahvia, minusta tuntui silloin todella pahalta. Että minä ajattelin silloin että ai, minä en siis tiedä suomalaisesta kulttuurista yhtään mitään ... / – Lin

... and then I offered him a coffee and he told me that for Finns coffee is a holy thing that one can't take just any [...] coffee, I felt really bad then. I thought then, okay, so I don't know anything about Finnish culture...
/ – Lin

The informants were eager to get to know Finns and culture and learn Finnish language. However, it seems that everyday life offers quite seldom opportunities for encounters to facilitate these aims. This can be linked with the idea of high-intensive and low-intensive meeting places as presented by Audunson (2005). Low-intensive meeting places, such as public libraries, support interaction between people and, in particular, they offer arenas for encountering otherness and pluralism in societies. Different groups in society do not share neighbourhoods and their everyday routes do not meet, but rather, different communities have a distance from one to another. The informants would like to have more occasions to meet Finns and introduce themselves.

... ja olisi todella hyvä että minä voisin tuoda oman näkökulman suomalaisille, että he voisivat myös tutustua minuun ulkomaalaisena, maahanmuuttajana, että se joskus heille voisi olla yllätys, että sitä voi ajatella eritavalla kun Suomessa ... / – Julia

... and it would be really good that I could bring my own perspective to the Finns that they could also get to know me as a foreigner, an immigrant, that it could sometimes be a surprise to them that it can be thought of differently than in Finland... / – Julia

6.3.5 Summary of group relations

According to the analysis, group relations are complex and the informants themselves were quite uncertain which communities they belong to or want to belong to or where they are accepted. Immigration is a factor that has a strong influence on individuals and, through immigration, newcomers in society receive an immigrant status, which is not easy to change. Furthermore, immigration influences the relationships between individuals and their native communities and these relations are no longer straightforward. The bond that had connected the informants with their native communities had been an invisible but essential part of their lives during the time they lived in their countries of origin. However, this relation started to weaken after they moved to Finland. Especially those informants who could only rarely visit their countries of origin experienced a kind of exclusion among their native communities. For example, they found that they are often like observers among their families and friends. It seems that the work communities in libraries were unaware of the complex relationships of the informants but, rather, they simply included informants in various groups instead of offering them opportunities to decide themselves. Whereas the informants considered that, because of their background, they had expertise that could benefit the library field. The

informants were willing to serve their compatriots and those speaking their native language in Finland and would like to offer them good library services in their own language, but they were uncertain if their efforts would be valued.

It seems that anyone who has immigrated to Finland is easily assumed to have multicultural expertise. The informants were uncertain if they were assigned multicultural duties because of their immigrant background or because of their LIS studies that focused on multicultural library work. They assumed that immigration played a key role although they did not fully accept the connection between immigration and multicultural competence. To some extent, immigration can improve understanding of otherness and marginalisation, but multiculturalism, including the theoretical knowledge and practical skills needed in work environments, is another issue. The informants emphasised that they learned the basics of multicultural library work through their LIS studies and, in addition, the LIS student group enhanced their learning and knowledge of the phenomenon.

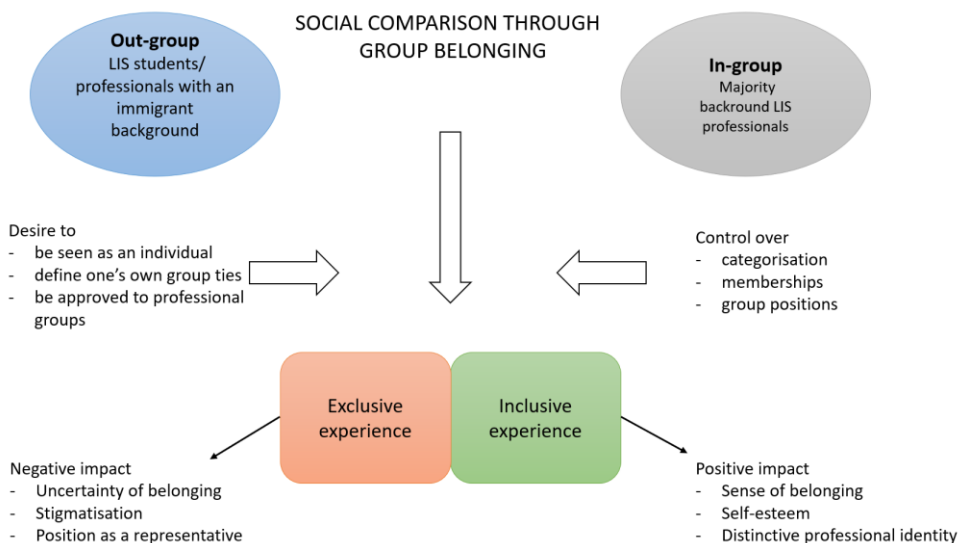


Figure 7. Social comparison through group belonging

Figure 7 describes social identity development through social comparison from the perspective of group belonging. The out-group members – the immigrant background LIS students – have a desire to be recognised, not as representatives of a category, but as individuals who are competent to work within the library professional community. The out-group members would like to choose the groups they belong to and not to be stigmatised and linked with a particular group for lifelong. Furthermore, they want to have equal opportunities to change from one group to another when they experience that the group does not fulfil their needs. The out-group members would like to belong to the professional groups as full members, but they see that the in-group members, the majority-background LIS professionals, have strong mutual ties and, for a person with a minority-background, it is difficult to be included in the team. The majority-background professionals of the in-group have control over the out-group and also power to categorise people within the work community. They rather assign the out-group members a specific group membership than offer them an opportunity to present their own views and desires. If the desires of the out-group members are heard and they are reflected on by the in-group, the outcome is empowering for the out-group. The sense of belonging and self-esteem grows and a positive impact is seen on the growing consciousness of professional identity. If the desires of the out-group members are ignored by the in-group, the experience is exclusive. Negative experiences increase uncertainty of participation and isolate the out-group members into representative roles instead of enabling them to actively decide on their position as part of the work community groups.

6.4 Professional roles and tasks

The informants were quite surprised to see how easily people can change their occupations and workplaces in Finland. This differs from what they were used

to in their native countries where people mainly have long work careers within the same organisation. The informants assumed that expertise is accrued during the long work career in the same place, whereas in Finland, competence is achieved differently. The informants emphasised that Finnish public libraries are excellent, modern and digitalized centres for meeting, reading, learning and working, and there is an active library user population.

6.4.1 Evolving library work

The informants were aware that Finnish libraries and library services are developing continuously and, therefore, library professionals should educate themselves all the time. However, the informants were unsure about who decides of the development policies in libraries, how the new services are implemented in practice and how professionals gain new skills. They supposed that workplaces provide professional training for employees and, thus, they were not worried about their future development but thought that they will learn the required competence together with their colleagues. The informants understood that they have better competencies to work in some duties whereas some other tasks require more training. They acknowledged that they have challenges with IT and social media because the platforms are mainly in Finnish and usually require excellent literacy skills. They agreed that, because the library field progresses continuously, the limited resources might cause problems. For example, Mariko indicates that libraries have difficulties in managing and adopting the variety of new tools, products or service models. She suggested that it would be more effective if one team specialises in a particular innovation and produces manuals or training for those who need it. She found that disseminating new concepts to all libraries has not been effective. One concrete example would be the informants' expertise on their

native cultures and their desire to share their knowledge for the benefit of those librarians who are interested in learning about different cultures and languages.

Although the informants emphasised that books and reading are important, they indicated that libraries should not only concentrate on the collections but, in addition, they should be open to various ideas and reflect the society. Tare emphasised that public libraries are owned by the people, and library professionals should not forget the duties of libraries to promote democracy and welcome all community members to use libraries. Lin continued that it is good that libraries today operate in places like shopping centres, making them more reachable for busy people. Saskia, in turn, highlighted educational aspects, stating that libraries should not concentrate on passive borrowing services, but rather, operate as active learning centres for communities. Rafiq summed up that the library should be like society in a small scale, and invited library communities to define what their common understanding about Finland and Finnishness is and if these concepts could include newcomers.

... kirjasto on pieni yhteiskunta, mutta myös kirjastossa siellä on kaikki yhteiskuntaan liittyvää asioita, uskontojen asioita, kulttuuriasioista, kirjallisuusasioita, se tarkoittaa että kirjasto on myös pieni yhteiskunta mitä tarkoittaa suomalaisuus, mitä tarkoittaa maahanmuuttajuus, ja ehkä me olemme sopineet kaikkia asioita ja tämä liittyy suoraan yhteiskuntaan, minkälainen tai kuka tai mikä on Suomen yhteiskunta, onko Suomen yhteiskunta vain suomalaisia, tai voi olla myös uusia suomalaisia mukana ja miten sitä heijastuu kirjastoon, kun puhutaan tällaista. / – Rafiq

... library is a small society, but in the library there are also issues of the society, religion, cultural affairs, literature, that is, the library is also a small society... what does Finnishness mean, what does immigration mean, and maybe we have agreed on all things and this is directly related to society, what kind of or who or what is the Finnish society, is Finnish

society only the Finns, or can there be newcomers involved and how is it reflected in the library when talking like that. / – Rafiq

Kyllä usein sanotaan selkeästi, että kirjasto näyttää että heijastuu hyvin, mutta ei ole vielä sama kuin oikea yhteiskunta. Esimerkiksi [kaupungissa X] jos puhutaan [kaupungissa X] on lähes 10 prosenttia maahanmuuttajia, onko 10 prosenttia kirjastossa maahanmuuttajatyöntekijöitä tai onko 10 prosenttia kirjoja joka koskee maahanmuuttajia. / – Rafiq

Yes, it is often said clearly that the library seems to reflect well but is not yet the same as the real society. In [city X], for example, almost 10% of people in [city X] are immigrants, but in libraries, are 10% of employees immigrants, or 10% of books such as concern immigrants. / – Rafiq

6.4.2 Improving skills and knowledge

The informants have noticed that librarianship is a profession that rather stays in the background than at the forefront. According to them, although library professionals are not highly visible in the society, they are an active professional community that continuously develops library organisation and diversified services that benefit the library user communities. Clearly, the informants respect the competence and skills of Finnish library professionals. Saskia described that, in the research library where she completed her internship, one librarian was perfect in cataloguing. Saskia was impressed of this librarian's professionalism, not because she knew everything about cataloguing, but, on the contrary, because she was aware that she needed her colleagues and their advice to be able to manage her duties so well. Anna, in turn, presented another excellent library professional: in addition to being focused and serious with her work, this colleague was flexible and capable of working in a variety of duties. Mariko appreciated one of her colleagues

engaged in media education tasks that require excellent IT skills. For that purpose, she updated her knowledge regularly and devoted much of her spare time in upgrading her IT competence.

The informants did not claim that they would be better or more competent than other library professionals but they thought that their perspectives towards the profession might be different because of their background. They proposed that they could help to diversify the professional community and develop library services not only to meet immigrant populations but also by providing the library professional community with new perspectives. Julia argued that the fact that immigrant background professionals view matters in different ways should be seen as an opportunity.

Ehkä mä en sanoisi että suomalainen vaan perinteinen kirjastonhoitaja, juuri se että minulla on erilainen tausta, ei se että kirjastoammattilainen tai kirjastoalan koko tutkinto vaan muualta hankittu tutkinto, että katsoo kirjastoa eri näkökulmasta, ehkä se että olen eri maasta, katson asioita eritavalla ei samalla tavalla kuin suomalainen katsoisi. / – Julia

Maybe I would not say that Finnish but traditional librarian, exactly that I have a different background, not the library professional or full library degree but a degree from elsewhere so that one considers libraries from a different perspective, maybe it's that I'm from a different country, I look at things differently, not the same way as a Finn would look. / – Julia

6.4.3 Complex customer service

The informants indicated that library users are increasingly immigrants with diverse backgrounds. According to Julia, it is important that the library professional community listens not only to library users but also to the various communities that may be unaware of the opportunities that public libraries provide for them. These people, in particular, could benefit if libraries had

cultural and ethnic diversity within the library professional community. Experiencing, seeing and hearing cultural and ethnic diversity in librarianship could improve the accessibility of libraries, encourage people to start using libraries, and increase the accountability of libraries in culturally diverse communities. For example, Mariko had been working in customer service before entering the library field and she found that her native culture, with its inherent politeness, was a strength in customer service. She assumed she could be competent to serve a variety of customers and particularly immigrant background people because they might not be critical about her foreign accent in Finnish. Nevertheless, as Lin indicated, the majority of library users are native Finns and, therefore, all library professionals should know Finnish culture. Rafiq, in turn, argued that Finnish library customers might be a challenge for him. He would be more prepared for multicultural library duties and was unsure how he could successfully combine other demands to this approach.

Joo, se että minä olen maahanmuuttaja että monikulttuurinen kirjasto, joka on mulle pääasia jos minä haluan olla kirjastoalalla ammattilainen, että miten minä voin kehittää monikulttuurinen osasto ja jotakin tällaiset, ja siksi minulle haaste, miten minä voin olla kirjastoalan ammattilaisena suomalaisesta näkökulmasta myös. / – Rafiq

Yeah, it's that I'm an immigrant and multicultural library which is for me the main thing if I want to be professional in the library field that how I can develop a multicultural department and something like that, and that is for me the challenge, how can I be library professional from the Finnish point of view also. / – Rafiq

According to Kaya, some library users doubt the professionalism of a librarian if they notice that the librarian hesitates in questions concerning literature. This is an issue to which Mariko returned frequently: To what extent

should Finnish literature be known in library work? What level of literature knowledge is enough for a newcomer in the library branch? Kaya argued that library users have too high expectations for library professionals and she was uncertain if the profession is able to respond to the demands. In general, the informants saw that library users should be pleased because librarians in Finland focus on the needs of customers and these needs are the baseline for the service development. They emphasised that their strengths include customer service skills, communication skills, diverse language skills, and knowledge of their native cultures and literature. Besides, some of them had found that they are good in information retrieval, cataloguing and collection work.

... mä tein tän [oman kielisen] kokoelman eteen töitä, et se ihan konkreettisesti tuonut tuloksia tulee ihan mustaa valkoisella että tulee tulos, et mä oon tehnyt hyvän työn, jos pitää ihan konkreettisesti miettiä. Tai vaikka jos tää isoäiti joka tulee, oliko se maanantai, kun hän tuli, ja hän haluaa pojanpojalle kirjoja ostaa kaupasta, mutta ku hän tietää et poika pojanpoika ei ole kova lukija, että hän ei tykkää lukemisesta ja mä olen suositellut jotain kirjoja ja nyt ”olet sä kaikki lukenut!?” Juu, tuli ittellekkin et joo, mut mä tykkään lukea, mä otan nuortenkirjoja ja lastenkirjoja, ja mä olen tiennyt mikä voisi pojalle sopia minkä ikäselle, tai tyttöjen kirja, et sä aina koneelta saa sitä tietoa, et tää äiti tai isoäiti hän luotti minuun et silloin mä tunsin et mä pystyn hänelle antamaan tarjosin eri mahdollisuuksia ja hän oli tosi kiitollinen, et se on viimeinen, et mä konkreettisesti totesin, et mä oon ammattilainen, ... / – Kaya

... I worked on [native-language] collection so that I really reached results, it became clear black on white that there is a result, I did a good job if you really think about it. Like this grandmother, who comes, was it Monday, when she came, and she wants to buy books from the store for her grandson, but she knows the boy grandson is not hard reader, that he does

not like reading and I've recommended some books and now "have you read everything?" Yeah, I felt that yeah, but I like to read, I'll take young people's books and children's books, and I am aware of what the boy could like, at what age, or the girls' book, you'll not get information from the computer but this mother or grandmother she trusted me, that I felt than I could offer a variety of possibilities and she was really grateful, that finally, I concretely noticed than I'm a professional, ... / – Kaya

6.4.4 Need for multicultural expertise

The informants did not consider themselves as competent in multiculturalism simply because they have immigrated to Finland but their multicultural sensitivity had developed during the LIS qualification studies. They studied within a culturally diverse student group that advanced their understanding about multiculturalism and, in addition, the curriculum focused on multicultural library work. The informants highlighted that the LIS education had provided them with multicultural expertise, which they had applied to collection work and customer service at libraries. However, they said that their potential is not fully used, and assumed that libraries are unprepared to implement the complete concept of the multicultural library. The informants implied that multiculturalism is not an overarching principle of libraries but, rather, a duty conducted by one person or a small team. Although the informants would like to orientate to multicultural duties, they were uncertain what it would mean in practice. They thought that it might lead to a situation in which they work alone and isolated from other professional teams.

The appreciation by compatriots was not a topic in the interviews, but the informants had thought about it. For instance, Julia explained that librarianship is not valued in her native country but, in spite of that, she was satisfied with her career choice. Moreover, she emphasised that the profession is significant for her, and she wanted to have a career in a branch that reflects her personal

values. Anna had worked in a public library in Finland before the LIS qualification studies, and after graduation, she was offered a permanent position. She was relieved of the news and particularly so because she had had issues with her previous profession, and she was unsure of her career prospects. She argued that it is not important for her what others think of her profession but continued that, instead of congratulating her for her profession, her compatriots celebrated her permanent vacancy. Similarly, Mariko explained that her friends were happy for her workplace whereas her spouse was slightly sceptical of her career choice because in his mind librarianship is not a dynamic or innovative profession. Most of all, Kaya, Saskia and Tare were satisfied that they had received a formal library qualification from a Finnish higher education institution. They agreed that, as professionals, they might support the library use of their compatriots in Finland, but only if they are recruited to duties that enable them to serve their compatriots. Rafiq, in turn, emphasised the link between the library collections and staff members.

... ja kyllä olen huomannut että kyllä kirjasto täältä [kaupungista X] puuttuu tällaiset henkilöt, joilla on sama tausta kuin kirjoilla. / – Rafiq

... and yes I've noticed that yes library here in [city X] is missing such persons who have same background as the books. / – Rafiq

6.4.5 Summary of professional roles and duties

Although the informants argued that, in Finland, LIS professionals share similar education and that the librarianship would benefit from diversity in terms of educational and cultural background, they indicated that they appreciate the competence of library professionals. The informants acknowledged that constant updating of skills and knowledge is required in library occupations and, through this, libraries are able to apply innovations and provide up-to-date services to the community. Public libraries in Finland

are very alike across the country and each library seems to offer rather similar services, but the informants thought that libraries have different needs in terms of professional competence because their user populations are different. The informants suggested that, instead of using the limited resources to educate all library professionals to meet the needs of immigrant population, their group could serve as messengers who build bridges between libraries and immigrant communities in Finland.

Because of their immigrant background, the informants could bring new perspectives to the library profession. Their experiences, including childhood and adolescence within their native culture and language areas, the diverse school and university backgrounds, previous careers abroad and immigration to Finland, could be utilised to improve library services and the image of librarians. They did not deny the fact that, to some extent, their experiences of immigration have improved their understanding of otherness, which is the feeling many immigrants share, but still they emphasised that their multicultural expertise and proficiency are based on the LIS qualification education. Libraries are characterised as human service organisations providing services to an increasingly fragmented population. The informants with immigrant background suggested that their inclusion in the library professional community could be an advantage, not only to the professional community, but also to the culturally diversified population of library users.

The informants did not hide that they lack certain skills and knowledge and have a limited understanding about many professional practices. For example, knowledge of literature may be a challenge for the informants. It seems that library users assume that all library professionals are literature experts and especially that they have profound knowledge of the Finnish literature. The informants found this confusing and they presented that this could rather be the duty of native Finnish librarians. Nevertheless, the informants were ready

to start their library career after graduating with the LIS qualification and they were positive that they will acquire the missing skills and knowledge in practical work. The informants were mainly satisfied with their career choice and proposed that their work role could include elements such as improving the relations of their compatriots with libraries; however, they were uncertain if it is a realistic goal.

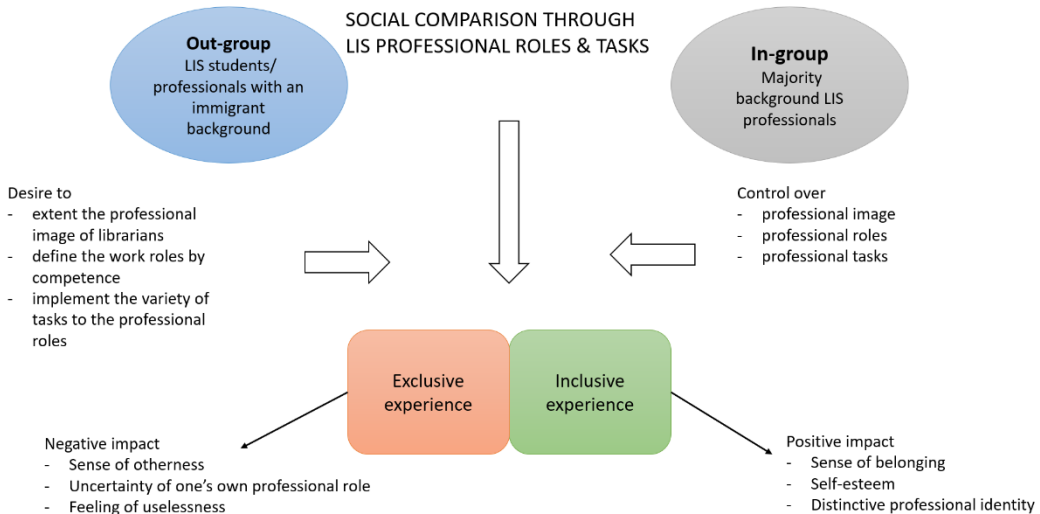


Figure 8. Social comparison through LIS professional roles and tasks

Figure 8 describes the social comparison and identity building through LIS professional roles and tasks. The out-group members – the immigrant background LIS students – are seeking membership within the in-group and professional community. They have the desire to expand the perception of librarianship with their background-related factors, combined with the competencies they have gained through the LIS education. They do not want to work in isolation, but they see that the multicultural perspective should be an overarching approach in libraries and the work community should jointly pursue toward a shared objective. According to the analysis, the in-group

members – the native Finnish library professionals – have control over the library professional image, roles and tasks. If the in-group authority is inflexible and the group does not send positive signals as response to the desires presented by the out-group members, the result is an exclusive experience for the members of the out-group. That, in turn, has a negative impact and increases the sense of otherness, the uncertainty about one's professional role and feeling of uselessness. Whereas inclusive experiences have positive impacts and foster the sense of belonging, self-esteem and distinctive professional identity.

6.5 Eight years after education

The follow-up study was conducted in March 2019, eight years after the completion of the LIS qualification programme. Four of the eight informants, Julia, Kaya, Lin and Mariko, participated in the follow-up interviews, which were more like professional discussions, reflections and self-reflections than research interviews as described in textbooks.

6.5.1 Career after the LIS studies

After working at the same public library continuously for 12 years, including the period of LIS qualification studies, Kaya now served as the head of a small library unit. She was quite satisfied with her career and thought that the work community in her unit is good and the atmosphere supportive. After the LIS qualification studies, Lin was employed as a substitute in a public library continuously for two years and, after that, she was offered shorter contracts. She had applied to several open library vacancies but was never invited to job interviews. Lin was not only disappointed and frustrated but also confused because she felt that she was not accepted in the library professional community and experienced that her competence was worthless. She did not

know why she was left outside as her competence had never been questioned by colleagues, management or customers. Finally, because she was unable to earn her living with short and irregular work periods in libraries, she decided to change direction. She returned to her earlier career, which is linked with her native language.

To some extent, Mariko's library career is similar to Lin's story. After the LIS qualification studies, Mariko had worked in library professional duties for nearly six years but still she was unable to get a permanent position. However, she argued that she was not disappointed when her last library contract ended. She was rather tired of library work and had already applied to study in another field. During her new studies, she still worked in libraries as a part-timer and her most recent work placement was in January 2019. Mariko now thought that her library career was over and she was more inspired about the new occupation. Julia, in turn, had some difficulties in finding her first library position after the LIS qualification studies. However, she was an active jobseeker and, in 2012, was employed at a library, where she continued to work until she finally got a permanent position. Nevertheless, in 2018, she decided to continue studying but not in the library field. Although her new education could be suitable for the library field, she was uncertain about returning to the library work after graduation with a new degree.

6.5.2 Promotion opportunities

All of the four follow-up interviewees agreed with the research findings presented above in Chapter 6. According to Kaya, nothing had changed, and the findings reflected not only the situation eight years earlier but also the current circumstances. She argued that library professionals were still mainly native Finns and no change had taken place in her work community in that respect. According to their experiences, the interviewees considered that

librarianship might even be less multicultural than it was during the time of their LIS qualification studies at Turku UAS. They implied that immigrants work in libraries for short periods on a temporary basis, whereas the permanent librarian positions are occupied by native Finns. The question is not only about education or other formal requirements but, according to Julia, native Finns are better aware of working life practices, and they know where and how to receive information of open positions. Julia explained that when she signed her work contract, she was informed that after a while she could be appointed to a librarian position. Years passed, and she was never contacted, invited to apply to open positions or proposed any promotion. She experienced that she was tied to the same position. She did not know how to advance her career and decided to move on to a new field through education.

... kun mä sain työsopimuksen niin sanottiin että ollaan yhteydessä ja sanottiin että katotaan niin sä saat kirjastonhoitajan paikan mutta mitään ei kuulunut ja mä en halunnut vaatia suomalaiset tietävät sisäisiä sääntöjä ja sisäisiä liikkumisia joita suomalaisia tietävät ja käyttävät ja ehkä se voisi olla miksi mä en päässyt eteenpäin mut lokeroitiin ja mä en tiennyt miten liikkua, siksi mä lähdin eteenpäin. / – Julia

... when I got the contract so it was said that we are in contact and I was told that we'll see you receive a librarian position but nothing happened and I didn't want to demand, the Finns know about internal rules and internal movements that the Finns know and use and maybe it could be why I couldn't get forward, I was categorised and I didn't know how to move, so I went forward. / – Julia

A new aspect is the management level that was not brought up in the earlier interviews conducted during the LIS qualification studies. Now, all four interviewees referred to the management of libraries, and they highlighted that the progress and development of library services are in the hands of the directors who are native Finns. Kaya stated shortly: "Päätösvalta on

suomalaisilla.” “The decision power is in the hands of Finns.” Julia maintained that libraries should change along with the society and that changes do happen but mainly at the strategy level without practical implementation. She proposed that one factor could be the lacking leadership competence in the library field in general. Julia invited libraries to engage in value debates and particularly to reflect on making decisions on behalf of other people.

Kyllä päätösvalta näkyy koska ihmisillä on tietyt arvot jos he eivät ole kokemusta olla toisenlainen se on eri asia kuin jos kokouksissa olis maahanmuuttaja kuin abortti josta miehet päättävä miten miehet ja vaikka kuinka niin se on miehen näkökulma ja voi auttaa jos ne suomalaiset ovat joskus itse maahanmuuttaja mutta jos on koko elämän asunut samassa maassa niin ei ymmärrä näkökulmaa mikä maahanmuuttajilla on ...

/ – Julia

Yes, decision-making is visible because people have certain values and if they have no experience to be dissimilar it's a different thing than having an immigrant in meetings, like an abortion of which men decide like men and how it's a perspective of a man and it can help if the Finns are sometimes immigrants themselves but if you live all your life in the same country then you don't understand the perspective that immigrants have ... / – Julia

6.5.3 Language skills

The interviewees argued that the language requirements were similar to those nearly a decade earlier. Again, they observed the contradiction between strategies and practice since official strategies emphasise the variety of language skills needed in library profession but, in practice, only three languages are required for employment: Finnish, Swedish and English. According to Mariko, everyday communication at work was more relaxed as compared to the time when she started her career. All four interviewees

proposed that because they are not native Finnish speakers and they have a foreign accent their promotion opportunities are limited.

Se [suomen kielen vaatimus] ei ole erityisesti vaihtunut, se on sama kuin se oli ja on nyt. Strategioissa on eri teksti on erityisen vaikea päästä maahanmuuttajana jos on korostusta puheessa ja on koulutus muualta, jos on vaikka kuinka osaava ihminen. / – Julia

It [Finnish language requirement] hasn't changed much, it's the same as it was and is now. The strategies have a different text, it is especially difficult for immigrants to get in if there is an accent in speech and education from elsewhere, even if the person is very competent. / – Julia

Kaya claimed that her workplace had never offered her support in language skills, but Mariko and Lin had an opportunity to participate in Finnish courses. Their Finnish language proficiency or foreign accent not the only linguistic obstacles they had encountered but the Swedish requirements were also mentioned by all interviewees. Kaya believed that she had reached the top of her career and had no opportunities to proceed any higher in the library hierarchy. She saw that the main barrier was her Swedish proficiency that was not good. The interviewees did not argue against the Swedish requirements but, rather, they indicated that as an existing fact. While Julia enjoyed having duties that were connected with her native language, the others assumed that their native languages were not valued by the library professional community. Lin and Mariko had talked about the influence of the extensive immigration from the Middle East: maybe Finnish libraries are willing to employ those who are able to speak Arabic or other languages spoken in the Middle East rather than the less used foreign languages in Finland.

6.5.4 Multicultural library

According to the interviewees, the multicultural library is not as relevant a topic in the library field as it was in the early 2010s. Kaya said that she did not even know the current situation of multicultural services in the organisation in which she works. Mariko agreed with Kaya and continued that multiculturalism is not discussed among library professionals and multicultural teams are not any more as visible in libraries as they were when she started her career. The question is not about the principle of multiculturalism being scaled up across the library organisation but, rather, multiculturalism has disappeared from the agenda of libraries and it has no domain in the field. The interviewees experienced that the LIS qualification programme had provided them a good start for the library career but, in fact, their potential was unrecognised in libraries. All four, Julia, Kaya, Lin and Mariko, said that the significance of their multicultural competence had melted away during the years. They experienced that, in public libraries, competence requirements had changed and turned from multiculturalism towards other topics.

... silloin kun me aloitettiin niin enemmän oli monikulttuurisuutta ja kansainvälisiä asioita arvostettiin, mutta nykyisin suomalaisuus ja muiden ammattitaito, medialukutaito ja musiikkiosaamista semmoista arvostetaan että semmosta muutosta on mutta kansallisuutta ei pidetä niin tärkeänä. Nykyään ainakin mun vanhalta kollegalta, että nykyään ei pidetä kirjastoalan ammattilaisuutta tärkeänä vaan vaikka pajatoiminta jotain muuta kuin kirjallisuutta arvostetaan / – Mariko

... when we started, it was more multicultural and international affairs that were appreciated, but nowadays Finnishness and the professionalism of others, media literacy and music competence are valued and that is a change, but nationality is not considered so important. Today, at least from my old colleague, it is not considered important today to be a professional

in the library sector, but workshops or something other than literature is appreciated. / – Mariko

6.5.5 Group dimensions

The interviewees appeared to encounter the issue of group belonging in their everyday library work. Kaya explained that she had responsibilities and a certain amount of freedom in her work, for example, she could decide on small development projects for her team. Still, she found that she was not included in the decision-making bodies of the organisation or any other teams with influence. She felt as being outside of the library professional community although she defined that she is a member of the community. The others, Julia, Lin and Mariko, experienced inclusion among their work colleagues rather than within librarianship in general. All four informants had good relationships with their colleagues and enjoyed working with them, but none of them was fully satisfied with their roles in the library. After graduation, they had the ambition to promote library services for immigrants, to benefit the library professional community with their cultural and linguistic competence, to proceed to international duties, and to define their own roles within the work community. Eight years after finishing their qualification studies, their desires were not fulfilled.

Representativeness is still an issue. As mentioned previously, Julia decided to take a break and was on a study leave from her library occupation. She had experienced that she was mainly a representative of her native language population, and she did not see any opportunities to advance to other duties in library work. After the LIS qualification studies, Lin used to emphasise her immigrant background within the work community and, at first, she was invited to various meetings and other events to represent immigrant perspectives. However, she found the representative role inconvenient and, thus, she stopped talking about her background, and soon she noticed that she

was no longer invited to the meetings. According to the interviewees, libraries operate in more complex societies than previously and library users are increasingly diverse. They underline that while their colleagues have fully approved them in the work communities, library users may still be surprised to see an immigrant working in library professional duties.

6.5.6 Future considerations

At the time of the follow-up interviews, Julia, Kaya, Lin and Mariko agree that, in Finland, the public libraries are excellent, they are capable of serving people exhaustively and librarians are competent and active in developing services in order to meet the needs of the wide range of user populations. Kaya has no doubts about her career choice, which she had decided long before she immigrated to Finland. She wants to continue in the library field and is quite satisfied with her occupational duties although, after working many years in the same position, she would appreciate new challenges. Julia may possibly leave the library field after completing her current studies in another field. Although she sees that she could utilise her new skills and knowledge in the library context, she hesitates to return to library work as she was not fully satisfied with her position.

Mariko has decided to leave librarianship. She says that she has used all her creativity, and she does not want to innovate all the time. Mariko experiences that the demand for continuous social innovation is extremely stressful in library work. She was afraid that if she does not constantly produce new ideas or develop new social events, she would not be employed again with new contracts. Lin has also left the library field. She wanted to be included in the library professional community and to create a career in librarianship but, for one reason or another, her hopes never came true. The gap between *us* and *them* is audible in her story.

7 Discussion

According to a number of studies, the library profession has challenges in attracting and recruiting people with culturally diverse backgrounds, such as immigrants, to the field (e.g., McCook, 1997; Adkins & Hussey, 2005; Kim & Sin, 2008; Hussey, 2009; Jaeger et al., 2010; Love, 2010; Pho & Masland, 2014; ALA, 2016). This study aimed at contributing to the understanding of the construction of professional identity among people with an immigrant background who desire to enter the profession of librarianship. Particularly, the study aimed at identifying the significant factors at the early stage of the career, mainly during the professional qualification training and education.

The concept of social identity proposes that social interaction is the primary element of inclusion but the sense of belonging to the group is also an essential factor. The results of the analysis are presented in Chapter 6, and the main findings are summarised and discussed further in subsequent sections. First, I will turn to the research questions and reflect on the participants' inclusive and exclusive experiences within the context of LIS studies, practice and professional community. Second, there will be a discussion will on how students' views of public libraries and librarianship changed and developed during their LIS qualification studies and early career stages as professional newcomers. Third, three domains will be presented which are specified spheres of interaction. This section contributes to the broader purpose of the study, to increase understanding of how librarianship could promote the construction of social and professional identity and professional inclusion of LIS students with an immigrant background. At the start of the career, the domains are the spheres where professional identity begins to develop, and where the career continuum is evaluated. In that case, as librarianship aims seriously at the integration of people with an immigrant background into the profession, it

should pay attention to these three domains. According to the results, the domains of education, practice and professional community are significant, when an individual starts to build the work career. Attention should be paid in each domain, about how to support positive experiences which in turn produce a sense of belonging, strengthen self-esteem and distinctive identity. These in turn would improve newcomers' certainty of the career choice and its continuum.

7.1 Professional identity of immigrant background LIS students

The main theme which has guided the study has been the development of professional identity of LIS students with an immigrant background and their inclusion in the professional community. Further, the three questions the research aimed to answer were as follows:

1. How do students of Library and Information Studies, with an immigrant background, experience their participation in the library professional community?
2. What are the inclusive/exclusive experiences of students of Library and Information Studies, with an immigrant background, in the library professional context?
3. How do students of Library and Information Studies with an immigrant background, view their library professional continuum?

The study has utilised SIT, the Social Identity Theory of Tajfel and Turner (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1985) which is a suitable framework to study the construction of professional identity, which is a social construction (See e.g., Mor Barak & Cherin, 1998; Findler et al., 2007; Croxton, 2015). According to SIT, the construction of social identity is a process, influenced by a variety of groups and memberships.

The results of the study follow SIT, and in social settings as professional contexts, the acceptance and participation of groups are significant for informants, LIS students with an immigrant background. The studied LIS students were motivated about the library career and therefore they anxiously sought their place in the field but at the same time they were worried that after the efforts, they might not be accepted into the LIS professional community in Finland. Doubts about acceptance characterised the beginning of their careers.

According to SIT, social identity is developed through three phases: categorisation, identification and comparison (Tajfel, 1978), which were evident in the study. Further, the study communicated with the group division between in-group and out-groups of SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The in-group refers to 'us', which is the group one belongs to, whereas the outsiders are 'them' and categorised into out-groups. The 'us' and 'them' division of SIT provides a frame to examine power settings, which are characteristics of human groups (Brown, 2000). During the LIS studies, the student group *per se* was the group by which the students of the study categorised and identified themselves and from the view of the group members, they compared themselves with other groups. During the LIS training, students with an immigrant background were satisfied with the membership among their student group. Based on the experience of students with an immigrant background, the Finnish LIS professional community categorised the group as a multicultural immigrant group, which became a kind of status quo for group members and which defined their professional orientation, skills and knowledge from the start of their career. Social identification as such, which is proposed by others and not discussed with group members is linked with stereotypical perceptions (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Findings show that the simple identification done by others can cause, for example, uncertainty and a sense of inequality.

The study used the inclusion-exclusion continuum framework developed by Mor Barak (Mor Barak, 2009; Acquavita et al., 2009; Findler et al., 2007; Mor Barak et al., 2006; Mor Barak & Cherin, 1998) so that it was possible to recognise and examine experiences of exclusion/inclusion. The continuum is based on SIT and it is a frame in which employees' exclusion can be studied and it has been applied in research on ethnic minority people in the context of work organisations (Mor Barak, 2009). The study follows Mor Barak's model (2009) where exclusion depends on membership and interaction, stereotypical social identification, social comparison and authority, in-group favouritism and out-group discrimination (Mor Barak, 2008; see also Tajfel, 1978, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1985).

The strength of SIT is that it provides a framework to examine the construction of social identity in any context instead of focusing on a particular type of context, setting or group. In this study, SIT has supported examination and promoted understanding of the professional socialisation process and the construction of professional identity of people with an immigrant background who aim to enter the library professional career. According to SIT, the strong identification of an individual with a group is a positive outcome of the socialisation process, and a sign of the fact that a newcomer has adopted the values, norms and views of the group. Nevertheless, SIT does not contribute to understanding individual behaviour; neither does it explain how an individual finds the balance between own experiences and a strong group identification, in case such experiences do not fit in with the social group. Further, SIT proposes that the more coherent the group is and the less the differences between group members are, the stronger is the group as a social setting. SIT bypasses institutional or organisational contexts and presents a group in a vacuum. It seems that according to SIT, group membership is so valuable and remarkable for people that the values, norms and views of the

group guide the actions of people in the institutional surroundings. This suggests that SIT might require theoretical advancement and upgrading.

The results show that in the LIS field, LIS students with an immigrant background mainly did not experience inclusion with the majority of professionals with a background in LIS. They complained that they were not included in competence and qualification discussions, their language skills were not respected, they did not have equal access to a professional community, and their professional duties and positions were mainly categorical and not negotiable. According to the results, the majority of professionals with a background in LIS managed the professional community where immigrant students had limited opportunities to enter the community. Students were satisfied with the membership of the study group but they were annoyed that in Finland the LIS professional community categorised them as a multicultural immigrant group. This categorisation, which was proposed by others, became a kind of status quo, through which professional orientation, skills and knowledge were evaluated throughout the start of the students' career. In fact, experiences of the participation depended on whether the students were able to act in the proposed multicultural immigrant role. According to the results, however, chances to alter the proposed categorisation were very limited; and they were anchored to the category of a multicultural immigrant.

In this study, the question about library professional continuum refers to the future in the working life and particularly to the library career prospects of LIS students with an immigrant background. Professional prospects influence the development of professional identity, and prospects are also connected with the socialisation process during which an individual internalises professional values among other foundations of professions and institutions where professionals conduct their duties (Black & Leysen, 2002). During the library

education, the first step of the socialisation process, the informants noticed contradictions between words and deeds in librarianship and this influenced their commitment to the field. For example, they were convinced that increasing immigration and growing cultural diversity among the population have an impact on library services, and that libraries need professionals from ethnic minority communities. Along with professional newcomers, libraries could meet the requirements of a multicultural library (see IFLA, 2009) and increase diversity among librarianship. According to the results, these were not concretised at the practical level, and students encountered difficulties in finding workplaces from libraries, in the first place, but also in reaching permanent positions, promotions, and negotiations about their duties. This follows Ely and Thomas (2001) and Hewlin (2009) who confirm that the minority-background influences both career opportunities and inclusion into work. Black and Leysen (2002) have also remarked that socialisation might be complicated if the newcomer does not share similar background with others in organisations. Minerva's (2019) report shows that in Finland library professionals are mainly native Finns, and the students in the study admitted that this fact has an impact over librarianship. Although students value Finnish library institution, they realise that the library professional community is challenging because it is a homogeneous in-group which seems to have authority over the profession, and which tends to favour own group members. This is in line with the findings of Mor Barak (2009) who had the same view that workplace exclusion is a highly negative experience for an individual. The study shows that in the professional context, experiences of exclusion caused uncertainty, withdrawal, questioning, feelings of uselessness and a sense of otherness to LIS students with an immigrant background. Whereas inclusive experiences cultivated a positive sense of belonging and self-esteem which enable people to enjoy distinctive professional identity, which according to SIT

(Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel, 1982) is connected with the satisfaction membership. In that case, if people are unsatisfied with their professional identity, they start to seek membership in other groups. Therefore, because most LIS students, in the study, with an immigrant background were unable to experience full satisfactory professional identity in librarianship, and partly because of exclusive experiences, they decided to move to other social groupings.

At the end of their studies, the three students who had been recruited as librarians were optimistic about their career prospects and professional potential. Although they were offered short-term contracts, they were convinced that their status would change and they would be able to reach permanent positions in the near future. Finally, one of them signed a permanent contract but after a few years she discovered that she was not appreciated by the library management, and that she was not offered the career opportunities she had been promised at the time she was recruited. The other two had left the library field earlier. All three students found out that although libraries utilised them the professional community did not respect their potential and encourage them to integrate into librarianship. Their professional identities were therefore unable to complete. The findings of the study show that the development of professional identity of LIS students with an immigrant background depends on many factors which are linked. Behind the positive outcome, is a balance between the professional desire of an individual and the need of the professional community to control the professional practice.

7.2 Expanding the perception of (public) libraries

In relation to the perception of professional newcomers towards public libraries and library services, various stages can be identified that reflect their

previous concepts of public libraries as well as their expectations. The different stages of perception are illustrated in Figure 9.

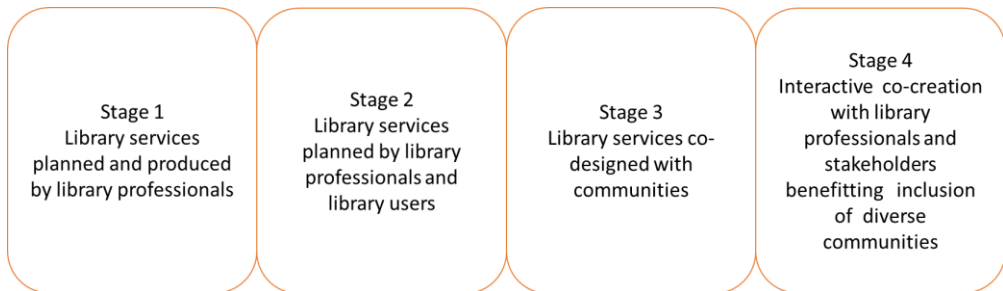


Figure 9. Perception of (public) libraries.

At Stage 1, that is the beginning of the LIS qualification education, students' perception of the public library is traditional, and libraries are seen as places for reading and studying, or as a collection of reading materials that provide literature for borrowers. The communication between libraries and library customers is limited and library users are described as receivers of library services. It may be argued that, to some extent, this resonates with the early history of public libraries and the cultural repertoire that was characteristic of Finnish public libraries in the 1950's and 1960's (Talja, 1998). It seems that the perception of professional newcomers about public library organisations reflects more their native countries than the concept of public libraries in Finland. Although they emphasised that they had been active library users during their stay in Finland, this had not sufficiently improved their understanding of how library services are being developed or what role library users play in the process.

At Stage 2, after the first semester of LIS qualification studies, the focus shifts and libraries are understood as organisations that aim to recognise the needs of library users and to develop services to meet these needs. Further, library services are supposed to be reviewed regularly in order to comprehend

their relevance. People's information behaviours change and continuous evaluation could be a useful tool for making the change visible. In Finland, public libraries are measured by statistics that offer comprehensive data on their use (Libraries.fi, 2019) and the long-term statistics show the trends in the use of the library. However, the professional newcomers learnt that library organisations do not execute their visions and any new ideas seem to be forgotten soon after they are introduced. Studies on the influence of libraries show that public libraries can improve communities during social change (Kerslake & Kinnel, 1997). Moreover, preparing for the future has become a significant issue at all levels of society and the fragmentation of communities may have a negative influence on communities (Foresight, 2013). In general, the process of developing public libraries remains distant and newcomers are uncertain who decides on future directions.

At Stage 3, after the second semester, the students' understanding of public libraries increased with the notion that some population groups could benefit from the public library services but they are not reached by libraries. The students had no former experience of this kind of action or service design thinking, so this was a demanding phase for them. This phase also proposed the social inclusion approach to characterise the professional identity of the newcomers, provided that they are able to continue their career and concentrate on working with the people in the margin. As professional candidates, they emphasised that libraries should use their capacity to reach people, communities and individuals who are at the risk of exclusion. This is in line with Fisher et al. (2004) who advised that libraries need to put an effort in reaching out for immigrant populations who are not familiar with public library services or experience, and that the concept of public library in the new environment is not similar to that in their native countries. Therefore, public

libraries should, in a concrete manner, show that they are safe environments and library employees are reliable professionals.

Stage 4 represents a perception established at the end of the studies. The value and objectives of public libraries are acknowledged, the difference between libraries and other operators in society is mitigated, and the libraries are examined through their similarities with other sectors rather than by their differences. Nevertheless, in order to follow the development of society, it is proposed that public libraries should increasingly interact with various operators both locally, nationally and globally. Although libraries are not viewed as social organisations, their role is seen to be supportive as they seek solutions that enable people to reach their goals. Particularly, the concept of social innovation is a suitable model for human service organisations, such as public libraries. Public libraries operate at the grassroots level and thus encounter the variety of challenges that people meet in their everyday life. This, in turn, provides opportunities to draw advantages of social innovations. (Mulgan, 2006; Phillips et al., 2008.) Grimm et al. (2013) adds that social innovation thinking aims at supporting communities and encouraging people to participate in innovation processes. According to Gorham and Bertot (2018), libraries are active in implementing social innovations in their projects and programmes that aim to foster social inclusion.

During their studies, the professional newcomers' perception of public libraries changed, extended to the mosaic culture repertoire presented by Talja (1998) and community orientation proposed by Sen (2014) and ultimately met the concept of a 'multicultural library' launched by IFLA (2009). Although libraries still largely serve the needs related to reading and learning, the more recent concepts of public libraries emphasise their multidimensional role in society. The diversified and fragmented demands of individuals and communities characterises 21st century public libraries.

7.3 Changing views of librarianship

Is all this needed for librarianship? What kind of a profession is it? This is what one of the students wondered when she read the curriculum of the LIS studies for the first time. This type of professional newcomers' perception of librarianship changed and developed during their LIS studies, and the transformation proceeded through four stages as illustrated in Figure 10.



Figure 10. Perception of librarianship.

At Stage 1, at the beginning of the LIS studies, the library professional newcomers had a limited perception of librarianship and saw those working in libraries as sole practitioners without the framework of the professional community. The occupational title used is ‘librarian’, and these sole librarians are seen as more oriented to books than to library users. The duties of the librarian are not understood by the students, who relate the skills and knowledge needed in the profession with literature rather than library and information science. However, the range of professional titles in the library field is actually broad, and their differences are quite unclear, as observed in the analysis conducted by the Finnish Library Association (Minerva, 2019). Furthermore, the titles do not always describe the work the people conduct in teams, as indicated by Hussey and Campbell-Meier (2016). This, in turn, may have contributed to the fact that the duties of library professionals remained somewhat distant and their tasks were connected with books and reading.

Recent studies indicate that libraries have shifted to using job titles that more precisely describe the duties conducted by the professionals instead of simply using the title 'librarian', which may cover various tasks and responsibilities (Grundvall, 2019).

At Stage 2, the students approach libraries as the work environments of professionals, whose competence is based on LIS education. Professional communities communicate with library customers in order to understand their information needs. However, the overall picture of the concept of librarianship is still unclear, which is in line with a study conducted in Sweden (Svensk biblioteksörening, 2008a). In general, although the professional community acknowledges that the library and information science provide the theoretical background for the profession, this fact may be unclear for the library audiences, as cautioned by Janson (2010). Library users may be unable to see the efforts of the library professionals behind the increasing use of libraries. According to Prins and Geir (1994), the emphasis is on the library institution and library organisations rather than on professionals who, in fact, develop and produce the library services.

At Stage 3, professional communities are viewed by the newcomers as organised teams within the practice, with each team having their defined roles. This view proposes that the teams are organised either to provide services for specific customer groups or to support other teams. For example, a cataloguing team provides services for the entire organisation.

Finally, at Stage 4, a more holistic approach to librarianship is introduced, which reminds us of the formal definition of librarianship (see Reitz, 2013). The library professional newcomers are aware of the fact that librarianship is an organised profession, particularly in terms of national and global associations. Librarianship provides a framework for the multidimensional professional community to interact and develop its common profession, which

is based on the continuous development of both theory and practice. This view accentuates the bond with society, which demands for the continuous development of library professionals, for example, in terms of legislation, thus indicating that public libraries are significant information service producers and advocates of social inclusion.

The development of professional identity also includes transition phases that occur between the stages discussed here. Between Stages 1 and 2, the students' views expanded to see the professional work community instead of sole librarians. The professional work community was identified as the social environment in which the professional newcomers compared their opportunities for inclusion. The competence of this community is primarily based on LIS studies, although a more diversified background education could provide a wider knowledge base for the library profession. At Stage 2, the professional newcomers were not concerned about their actual capabilities to work among library professionals, but the recognition of their qualification in the practical field. The shift from Stage 2 to Stage 3 signified a significant change; at this time, the professional newcomers mainly conducted their internship and many of them received their first library work experience. During this transition phase, libraries became familiar as organisations but the emphasis was on teams. The teams of library professionals were found to be quite independent units, within which various library duties are conducted.

Along with the advancing professional development, the view of the library profession became increasingly multidimensional and complex. The variety of professional aspects, including diverse user populations and implicit competence requirements, raised hesitation among the library professional newcomers. They were uncertain whether one single profession could satisfy all of the requirements. A questionnaire survey conducted among Finnish library professionals suggests that librarianship is undergoing a change and, in

particular, it seems to adopt elements from the pedagogical field (Minerva, 2019; Grundvall, 2019). The professional newcomers agreed with Grundvall (2019) who proposes that, in addition to the library and information studies, public libraries could benefit from recruiting persons with expertise in different fields.

The transition phase between Stages 3 and 4 involved a less challenging expansion of the view of librarianship. Despite the more holistic view and the acknowledgement of the interconnection between professional skills, knowledge, roles and duties, the understanding of leadership and library management was still missing. Continuing development was not seen as a strategic choice that would guide both libraries and professional communities, but rather, the local work teams were assumed to have authority in this regard. Such authorities decided whether to promote certain ideas or withdraw from further actions. In particular, this was the impression in terms of the multicultural library, and the newcomers realised that, if they wanted to advance in their career, they should be able to identify themselves with a work team rather than anything else. Within the framework provided by the team, they might be able to promote the multicultural library approach.

7.4 Professional identity building domains

Socialisation, a significant part of building professional identity, started when the library professional newcomers began to orientate to the library branch and interact with the relevant actors in the field. As previously mentioned, their views of librarianship and libraries changed during the LIS studies, thus improving the newcomers' motivation to pursue a career in librarianship and participate in the LIS professional community. Inclusion, however, is a complex process and although the newcomers seek acceptance and group membership, they may not succeed in doing so. Although the library

newcomers with an immigrant background fulfil the formal requirements for a library professional and they feel that they manage the practice, they are unsure about achieving full membership within the professional community. The traditional professional socialisation thinking emphasised the role of the more experienced employees who initiated newcomers to the field. Currently, this role is given to the formal education, which has become a necessary requirement for a professional career, as indicated by Hussey and Campbell-Meier (2019). During their LIS studies, professional newcomers still have the status of students, which allows them to move between education, practice and professional community, as suggested by Sinikara (2007) and Hussey and Campbell-Meier (2019). Each of these spheres influences the development of professional identity and the newcomers pick elements from them, mainly choosing those that best correspond to their individual values. Inclusion is not a project-type activity that starts and ends within a defined timeframe. Rather, social inclusion is an ongoing interaction between an individual and community members and, thus, it is close to socialisation (Dubar, 2010). Construction of professional identity is a complex phenomenon and, as suggested by Pierson et al. (2019), it is included in several factors and phases during one's work career.

According to the findings of this study, the early stage of the library career provides three arenas for professional newcomers to interact and to seek boundaries and landscapes, which are among the central elements in the concept of CoP (Wenger, 1999). These three arenas are the domain of LIS education, the domain of practice, and the domain of professional community. Within these domains, the library professional newcomers build up their professional identity and seek their position among the in-group. The in-group members are recognised professionals who perform library professional duties, whereas professional newcomers constitute an out-group, which negotiates

about their inclusion and membership with the in-group members. In these negotiations, newcomers present their professional identity elements, such as formal education, skills and knowledge, professional values, and views of the profession. However, while the newcomers are immigrants, they consider their primary identity as a significant factor that should be respected when negotiating for membership. This is particularly so because they are in a minority position in the society and seek inclusion in an in-group whose members mainly come from the dominant population.

7.4.1 Domain of LIS education

The LIS education domain had three main elements: the group of students, the contents of the studies, and the pedagogical approach. These elements increasingly supported each other and enabled the group members to build both collegial and professional relations. Group dynamics was a significant aspect. According to the definition of Tajfel and Turner (1979), a social group is a gathering of those who share the idea of themselves as group members. During the LIS qualification education, the student group showed strong commitment and the membership left an imprint on the individual group members. Group cohesion derived from the common goal of achieving a formal qualification and proceeding to library professional duties, and confidence between the group members were established in mutual interaction during face-to-face meetings, through which friendship was created. An encouraging atmosphere prevailed within the student group, although some members felt that their better Finnish skills required them to take more responsibility of study tasks. The cultural diversity within the group was highly valued and, in fact, it was a strength that contributed to understanding multiculturalism, immigration, otherness and Finland. The group was willing to invite new members to the team, but they did disagree about the participation of native Finns. While some

thought that the presence of majority-background students might have a negative influence on their own learning, others anticipated that increased interaction with the Finnish LIS students might enhance mutual understanding between the groups. In summary, the student group was a key factor that improved inclusion in the LIS studies and enabled students to conduct their studies successfully.

According to the New South Wales library network (NSW, 2009), growing cultural diversity may become a challenge to librarianship unless the subject is included in the curriculum of the LIS studies. In general, the curriculum of the LIS qualification studies presented in this study followed the structure of the previously implemented LIS vocational training programmes, but this time, the concept of multicultural library was included as an overarching theme. The relevance of the theme was accepted by the students and the multicultural emphasis was mainly recognised as an interesting and significant area of expertise. However, it was quite unclear why this theme was included in the curriculum offered to culturally diverse group of students with an immigrant background instead of native Finnish students. In addition, the focus on a particular theme might actually limit the opportunities of employment, especially because the LIS programme was introduced to the working life with emphasis on multicultural skills and knowledge rather than the other LIS competence areas. Stereotypical categorisation was seen as a risk because providing people with an immigrant background with expertise in multiculturalism might encourage the working life representatives to evaluate their skills and knowledge from a narrow perspective. Stereotypical connotations have long been a challenge in librarianship, as many researchers have reported (Loesch, 2010; Peresie & Alexander, 2005; Potter, 2009). Harris (1992) and Gaines (2014) advise that librarianship should avoid categorising the relative importance of duties, characterising duties through people and

opine that a suitable position in the professional context could be determined by the cultural background of an individual. Kaatrakoski and Lahikainen (2016) see in library professional duties, people tend to cope with several identifications as long as these are linked to their skills and knowledge. Nevertheless, at the end of the LIS qualification studies, the professional newcomer group agreed that they would enjoy performing library duties in which they could apply their multicultural competence.

Active teaching and learning methods were a new experience for the students particularly at the beginning of the studies; here, they faced some challenges. Group work and interaction with library professionals, library users and non-users took some students out of their comfort zone but their commitment, motivation and working together encouraged them to move forward. Finnish was the language of education and it was used by the teaching staff, students and visiting lecturers. Within the domain of LIS education, Finnish proficiency was understood as a tool and some participants were more skilful to use and apply Finnish in practice. The importance of language in professional participation is emphasised in various studies, e.g., Dubar (2015), Hicks (2014), and Hicks and Schindel (2016). The ability to participate in professional communication is one sign of inclusion in the community.

In this study, the library professional candidates were highly motivated to start a LIS career in Finland, although the Finnish librarianship, LIS curriculum, and the University of Applied Sciences were mainly new concepts for them. The three-semester LIS education programme provided students with an immigrant background with an opportunity to receive a formal LIS qualification with the aim of being employed as professionals in the field, in Finland. The domain of LIS education was mainly regarded as an inclusive experience that produced positive impacts in terms of the sense of belonging, self-esteem and distinctive professional identity development. The students'

primary characteristics such as their native language and cultural and educational background, were strengths that inspired and improved the learning of the student community and enabled them to view public libraries from new perspectives. Nevertheless, exclusive experiences such as the uncertainty related to the qualification and career as well as suspicion of unequal comparison, influenced their professional inclusion and, thus, opportunities to construct a distinctive professional identity.

7.4.2 Domain of practice

In this study, the domain of practice is the public library, an establishment in which the competence of professionals in the field becomes visible in action. The domain of practice is a setting not only for professional communication among colleagues but for interaction between the professionals and library users. The practice domain is close to Wenger's (1999) concept of Communities of Practice (CoP), in which participants negotiate on their participation. Rather than being formal discussions, such negotiations refer to practical activities that are linked with library stakeholder communities because the library services are planned, designed and produced jointly with them in order to meet their needs. In terms of identity, practice serves as a platform in which personal identity and social identity meet.

Relations with colleagues and library user populations are built up in practice. At the start of their career, customer service duties triggered the professional newcomers' excitement and anxiety that was not found in their later career descriptions. One of the stress factors was the fact that native Finnish library users have stereotypical perceptions of library professionals. Professionals are assumed to be Finns who have profound knowledge of the Finnish language, culture and literature, and it seems that library users were unprepared to meet immigrants working as library professionals. This suggests

that library users connect library professionalism with the traditional roles of librarians, as identified by Ørom (1993) and Enström (1995). However, the current Finnish Public Libraries Act (1492/2016) provides library professionals with a wider range of tasks and responsibilities and, in fact, the new professionals with an immigrant background seem to readily identify themselves with the roles presented in the legislation. Nevertheless, Tuominen (1997) sees the library users tending to offer rather limited roles for librarians and, thus, library professionals may encounter difficulties when assuming more interactive positions in the communities. Sundin (2006) encourages libraries to seek new roles in society and communities, while Baruchson-Arbib and Bronstein (2001) propose that library professionals should diversify their professional competence in order to support communities and individuals in reaching their goals.

At the start of their career, the professional newcomers experienced the domain of practice as challenging, but relatively short interactions with library users helped them to gain professional confidence. Within the domain of practice, the need for multicultural competence in public libraries became concrete. The completed models, such as the IFLA (2009) guidelines for multicultural libraries, were regarded as a primary approach instead of the fragmented multicultural services existing in practice. The professional newcomers proposed that their membership should be based on multicultural expertise, and they were willing to present and share some elements of their primary identity for the benefit of the community. To some extent, they even considered that their difference from the majority of library professionals could benefit the LIS field. This view emphasises the paradox of identity; an individual's uniqueness only becomes visible among others (Dubar, 2015; Jenkins, 1996).

Professional newcomers were aware of the potential of libraries. As indicated by Fisher et al. (2004), the immigrant populations in societies benefit from accessible, free and accountable places, such as libraries. The ideal of concentrating on multicultural duties turned out to be difficult in practice because libraries only have a few people working in multicultural service tasks, and multiculturalism is not regarded as a significant aim for public libraries, as cautioned by Serola and Vakkari (2011). The domain of practice provided both inclusive and exclusive experiences. Mostly, the practice environment was found encouraging and working together with colleagues, and particularly with library users, was rewarding and inspiring.

7.4.3 Domain of professional community

The third domain in which professional identity is being developed in relation with other people is the library professional community. The members of the professional community are mainly majority-background people and, in this context, they are native Finns (Minerva, 2019). The domain of professional community focuses on communication and interaction between colleagues. Collegial relationship with the work community members is important in order to be able to work together, share knowledge, contribute to the organisation's goals and principles, and improve the community. Libraries are inherently human service institutions that should increasingly follow the development of societies. Nevertheless, one of the students, Rafiq, found that, despite this expectation, the professional community is not inviting people with an immigrant background to join the community. According to Black and Leysen (2002) and Downing (2009), minority-background people face difficulties in socialisation with groups that are homogeneous and have limited experience of cultural diversity among colleagues.

In general, library professionals were described as educated and committed professionals who are highly valued by professional newcomers with an immigrant background. On an individual level, professional newcomers had good relations with their colleagues and they enjoyed working together, whereas the professional community was found somewhat distant and authoritative. Such newcomers notice that the message they receive from the professional community is contradictory. On the one hand, there are signals that the profession needs newcomers for cultural diversity, but on the other hand, there are several challenges hindering the inclusion of immigrants in the library profession. For example, the LIS qualification education organised for those with an immigrant background in a Finnish institution of higher education, was understood as a clear message from the LIS profession that it is willing to invite and include society newcomers in the professional community.

Language proficiency is another aspect sending out a mixed message. The need for diverse languages is indicated in the strategies but, in practice, it is ignored. It also seems that no exceptions are made in recruitment but the demand for Finnish and Swedish proficiency is mandatory. Those who continued with their LIS career indicated that their stress regarding their Finnish skills had been alleviated over the years. However, they have not been able to progress in their career or receive better positions or permanent contracts, and their Finnish language skills are claimed to be the main obstacle. In general, the recruitment process seems to be unclear and the professional newcomers are uncertain how they should indicate their competence and personal values. Black and Leysen (2002) argue that the organisation's values are the basis for successful inclusion and they should be presented in the recruitment process.

Public libraries maintain that diversity, inclusion and collegiality are the main values in the field (IFLA, 2018; Ethical Principles of Library Work, 2011). However, these aspects did not meet the expectations of LIS students with an immigrant background, and who aimed to pursue a library profession and seek their place within the professional community. At the start of their career, the library professional candidates believed that they were given membership in groups in which they did not belong, and that they were made to hold the role of representatives of a particular category within the professional community. Thus, their professional duties were based on how the others defined them. As already alluded to, the concept of identity has two sides: perception of oneself and perception of others (Mead & Carreira da Silva, 2011). The professional newcomers found that, through categorisation and comparison with native Finnish LIS professionals, they had only limited opportunities to influence their work roles. Moreover, they were aware that they were not members of the in-group but rather they were only invited members in different out-groups. After several years in the field, they still faced challenges in understanding the codes prevailing in the field. Alongside the official strategies, values and norms, there are other lines that have not become clear. Uncertainty of the future and the need to constantly demonstrate their skills and knowledge are frustrating and exhausting for anyone. Rather than staying in a branch that is not willing to include them into the community, professionals with an immigrant background will choose to abandon librarianship.

8 Conclusions

In Chapter 7, the main findings of the study were discussed. According to the results of the study, the early stage of one's career is significant in terms of professional identity development. In order to be able to construct a distinctive professional identity, communication among education, practice and professional community is essential. Public libraries are unique organisations that are needed in multicultural communities and, accordingly, it is vital to improve cultural diversity and inclusion in library work communities. The challenge is that newcomers have limited opportunities to become full members within the professional community. As stated by Mor Barak (2008), in a group setting, people prefer similarity. Many indicators suggest that the inclusion of new members in the library professional community would influence the branch positively and promote public libraries, as one of the cornerstones of democracy. Librarianship professional identity and library organisations are linked, as emphasised by Suominen (2016), Jansson (2010) and Hansson (2010). The identity of the organisation is the collective perception and, thus, library professionals, library users as well as other stakeholders and actors in society have an impact on the identity of libraries. Current public library legislation in Finland proposes a variety of multidimensional tasks for public libraries but the question is whether these are truly included in the identity of library organisations.

8.1 Implications of the study

In accordance with the results of the study, building a professional identity as an out-group member is impossible; an enjoyable and distinctive professional identity requires that an individual be accepted into the in-group. If people are not accepted or unable to participate in the in-groups, they remain in out-

groups or they leave and seek membership in other groups. According to Mor Barak (2017), group membership is meaningful for individuals, and they seek social inclusion and avoid exclusion. Group belonging does not mean that people abandon their personal values and adopt the views of the community but, rather, a member of a professional group influences the community, and the group influences the member (Jenkins, 1996). The primary identity of an individual is not fully separate or equivalent to professional identity, but people have several overlapping identities, which are flexible and communicate with each other.

Wenger (1998) discusses the interdependence of learning and identity, and argues that when people have learned something they are not the same as before. Regarding the results of the study and how they should be understood in the context of LIS education, it is important to remember the following three considerations. First, professional identity is an individual construction although constructed in interrelation with a professional community. Second, as described in Section 3.3, the competence requirements in the LIS practice are extensive (Orme, 2008; Grundvall, 2019). Third, during their education, students should learn key concepts, practical skills and principal values which together enable career entrance (Weidman, 2001; Audunson, 2007; Jansson, 2010). For these reasons, one can never presume that LIS education could be tailored for every individual, so how to include society newcomers should be found elsewhere. In terms of the curriculum, the question is not only about the content but also about pedagogy and according to the results of this study, teaching methods are significant in terms of the learning outcome. By active pedagogical solutions, LIS education can improve not only the learning of the individual students, but also approach questions which might be sensitive yet important for society newcomers.

In the LIS professional context, the exclusive experiences of immigrant professional newcomers resulted in negative impacts that influenced not only the motivation but also the opportunities of newcomers to continue in the branch. Often, they discovered that their background education, culture and language skills were the main reasons preventing them from starting or continuing with their LIS career and fully join the LIS professional work communities in Finland. Because of exclusive experiences, people began to feel uncertain about their skills and knowledge, and they were even doubted about their LIS qualification education. In addition, they were treated differently in comparison with the in-group in terms of competence and otherness within the LIS professional context. However, positive experiences had an inclusive impact and increased the willingness of professional newcomers to join the community and motivated them to pursue their career. Positive experiences improved their sense of belonging, self-esteem, and distinctive professional identity development. Communities and societies have become increasingly diversified, and the heterogeneous backgrounds of the population characterise postmodern societies (Foresight, 2013). In general, this has influenced working life and work communities have increasingly followed the trend of improving diversity at workplaces. Librarianship should not be an exception.

Public libraries have a pivotal role in this study as they are regarded as significant practical platforms where the professional identity of LIS professionals is structured (e.g., Sundin & Johannisson, 2005; Wise, 2012; Hicks, 2014; Campbell-Meier & Hussey, 2019; Fraser-Arnott, 2019; Pierson et al., 2019). According to literature (e.g., Audunson, 2005; Audunson et al., 2011; Garmer, 2014; Sen, 2014; Vårheim, 2014; Pekola-Sjöblom, 2017; Gorham & Bertot, 2018; Audunson et al., 2019a, 2019b; Libraries.fi, 2019) and according to the findings of this study, public libraries are public spheres

where diverse library user communities enjoy themselves, study and meet. In addition, public libraries provide an arena for the occupational performance of librarianship and further it is a setting where professional and institutional values meet. In Finland, the public library is guided by the legislation which delineates extensive tasks for the institution. Moreover, the Finnish Public Library Act (1492/2016) shows that authorities consider public library institutions as remarkable actors in the society and capable of implementing the principles of the society in practice. Again, the fundamental principles of the public library institution are strong statements on behalf of democracy, equality and freedom (see Section 3.1.1 and 3.1.3) and the values of the library professionals (see Section 3.2.2) are aligned with institutional principles. However, it seems that the values are not in active use, and the institutional fundamental principles are utilised only when libraries need to prove their relevance to the public. However, the values could be a part of the active LIS professional toolkit so that values and principles are discussed, shared, and their impact is regularly evaluated by commonly agreed indicators. In fact, values could be instruments and the enablers of the LIS professional community to open the community for society newcomers and welcome them to librarianship.

8.2 Limitations of the study and future direction

This study has its limitations that should be acknowledged. Although in qualitative research, the number of participants is not a key issue, it should be mentioned that the number of informants in this study was eight. This is in accordance with Brinkman and Kvale (2018), who insist that the number of interviewees depends on the context. The multidimensional setting of this study and particularly the baseline with participants with an immigrant background supports the limited number of informants. However, to avoid too

limited material, the informants were interviewed twice, and in addition, follow-up interviews were conducted with four participants. Finally, the collected data was quite extensive. One clear disadvantage of the study is the timeline, with a span of over eight years between the first interviews and the follow-up interviews. However, the analysis of the follow-up interviews confirmed the findings of the first analysis and produced relevant dimensions for discussion.

In addition to methodological issues, some contextual limitations should be considered. Identity is a complex phenomenon, particularly in the context of professional identity; so, there are several concerns that should be considered. Primarily, there is the profession itself, librarianship, that has its specific historical trajectory, theoretical body of knowledge, duties to conduct, structures, ethical values and codes. All these are essential elements in terms of professional identity. How the professional communities share the views on these matters and how the organisations engage in ethical discussions are among the issues that should be examined further. We may assume that organisations such as public libraries probably apply several models to initiate newcomers into the values and ethical principles of the profession.

The profession, librarianship, plays a major part in this study and, thus, its current roles, development lines and manifestations in society and communities have been discussed. Professional education, practical environments and professional community are overlapping arenas but people in the field share their experiences. Each of these arenas has a variety of bodies, levels and contexts which, in turn, have linkages to other fields, professions and networks. People interact in these diverse settings and reconstruct themselves as professionals in relation to various surroundings. The construction of professional identity of professional newcomers with an immigrant identity has in this study been covered only from a limited

perspective, but professional contexts offer a number of perspectives for future research. In order to be able to eliminate any exclusive structures and practices in the branch, they first need to be identified. This study has recognised certain factors but further research is needed. In particular, good practices supporting the inclusion of library professionals with an immigrant background should be found and emphasised.

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