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POWER/KNOWLEDGE: THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF AN AUTHOR

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This article reports the findings of a study examining the social/discursive construction of an author (Brenda Dervin) by an international community of researchers (information behavior researchers). A crucial conceptual starting point for the study was Michel Foucault's work on the discursive construction of power/knowledge. The study represents one attempt to develop a discourse analytic approach to the study of information behavior. The researcher carried out semistructured qualitative interviews, based in part on Dervin's "Life-Line" and "Time-Line" techniques, with fifteen information behavior researchers from eight universities in five countries in Europe and North America. The study's findings provide a case study in how discourse operates at the microsociological level. It provides examples of how community members engage with, accept, and contest both new and established "truth statements" and discursive practices. They demonstrate that both participants' formal and informal information behaviors are the product of discursive power/knowledge relations.

This article reports the findings of a study examining the social/discursive construction of an author (Brenda Dervin) by an international community of researchers (information behavior researchers). A crucial conceptual starting point for the study was Michel Foucault's work on the discursive construction of power/knowledge. The study represents one attempt to develop a discourse analytic approach to the study of information behavior.

Discourse Analysis in Information Behavior Research

Although Bernd Frohmann [1] and Garry Radford [2] had taken aspects of librarianship and LIS as the objects of Foucauldian discourse analysis

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slightly earlier, discourse analysis as an approach to examining information behavior seems to have first come to prominence at the first Information Seeking in Context conference at the University of Tampere, Finland, in 1996. There Sanna Talja [3] presented a groundbreaking paper critiquing the prevailing focus in information research on "Information Man" and outlining an alternative discourse analytic construction of information users and information behavior. At the same conference, Kimmo Tuominen and Reijo Savolainen [4] introduced a discourse analytic research methodology to an information behavior audience. Since then—as this special issue demonstrates—discourse analytic approaches and techniques to information behavior research have been adopted, adapted, and developed by researchers on three continents (e.g., Talja [3, 5]; Michael Olsson [6, 7]; Pamela McKenzie [8]; and Lisa Given [9]).

Emergence of Social Approaches

The development of discourse analytic approaches to information behavior research is part of a broader trend away from a narrow focus on cognition toward a more social orientation: "Approaches to studying information behaviour that focus on social context emerged slowly during the early 1990s and are becoming more prominent. . . . Social approaches were developed to address information behaviour phenomena that lie outside the realm of cognitive frameworks" [10, p. 54]. These social approaches to the study of information behavior have included phenomenological and phenomenographic work by, for example, Tom Wilson [11] and Louise Limberg [12] and social network analysis research as undertaken by, for example, Caroline Haythornthwaite [13], Kirsty Williamson [14], and Diane Sonnenwald [15].

Even more pertinently, the last decade has seen the emergence of social constructivist approaches to information behavior research, including Elfreda Chatman's "life in the round" [16]; the more recent developments of Dervin's Sense-Making [17]; and Savolainen's [18] use of Pierre Bourdieu's "Mastery of Life." These approaches consider social context not only as a factor influencing the individual information user's cognitive processes but as the primary focus of theoretical attention.

A Broad Church

Yet while discourse analytic information behavior researchers have much in common—such as a focus on the role and nature of language and a social constructionist epistemological standpoint—they encompass a diverse range of theoretical and methodological approaches and influences and draw on work in a variety of other disciplines, including linguistics, social psychology, sociology, history, literary criticism, education, and com-

munication. This has inevitably—and quite properly—led to a diversity of research foci and interests, as the present issue amply demonstrates.

My own approach has been most strongly influenced by the writings of the French historian and philosopher Michel Foucault. The focus, intent, and terminology of Foucauldian discourse analysis are somewhat different from those of other approaches represented in this volume. As some of Foucault's concepts were central to my study, a brief overview of some of the key features of Foucault's theory of discourse follows.

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

Michel Foucault [19–23] has been described as "the central figure in the most noteworthy flowering of oppositional intellectual life in the twentieth century West" (Radford [24, p. 416]). He is widely acknowledged as a key influence in the development of discourse analytic perspectives in a wide variety of fields, from history and sociology to gender studies and literary criticism.

Foucauldian discourse analysis can be seen as part of the "linguistic turn" that is a common feature of many discourse analytic approaches. However, discourse analysis in Foucault's sense was not focused on the microanalysis of conversations, as in structural linguistics but, rather, on the social construction of the specialized language of groups (discourse communities). Although "discourse" has been broadly equated with the concept of a discipline [25], its application has not been solely confined to scholarly fields. Foucault's theories have also been successfully applied to the study of a wide range of professional fields, such as accountancy [26], and even leisure pursuits, such as music [5].

Discourses do not necessarily equate with common institutional "labels" or "boundaries," such as "economics" or "medieval history." While some academic or professional disciplines may be dominated at a given time by a particular discourse, others may include a number of distinct discourses: for example, Frohmann [27] argued that information science "talk" was made up of a number of competing discourses.

In the Foucauldian conception, discourse is seen as a complex network of relationships between individuals, texts, ideas, and institutions, with each "node" having an impact, to varying degrees, on other nodes, and on the dynamics of the discourse as a whole. While discourse can all too easily be conceptualized as an abstract, theoretical construction, Foucault emphasized that any discourse is inextricably tied to its particular sociohistorical context and cannot be studied or understood if divorced from this context. "For Foucault there is . . . no universal understanding that is beyond history and society" [28, p. 4].

Foucault argues that a discourse community will not accept that a given statement is true in a random or ad hoc way. Rather, its members will have a set of conventions or "discursive rules"—either formal or implicit but widely recognized within the community—by which a "truth statement" can be evaluated and validated or repudiated. These "discursive rules" not only shape the form that a valid truth statement can take in that discourse but also, more fundamentally, they dictate what can be said in the context of that discourse.

This conceptual framework has important implications for information behavior research. It constructs social context, and established social practices in particular, as central to understanding a person's sense-making processes. For example, a researcher will not regard the results of a qualitative research study as "good" if the rules of his or her particular discourse regard qualitative data as "imprecise." Equally, an information user can only evaluate a concept—whether it be the theory of relativity, anomalous states of knowledge, or the offside rule in soccer—if there is an existing discursive context for discussing such concepts with which they are familiar.

In the discourse analytic approach then, knowledge/truth is neither based on a perceived correspondence with an "objective" reality, as in positivist approaches, nor is it wholly subjective, as in existentialist philosophy. Rather, it is intersubjective—a product of the shared meanings, conventions, and social practices operating within and between discourses and to which an individual's sense-making processes are inextricably linked.

A related concept is that of the "archive" [20]. Foucault emphasizes that members of a discourse community are connected not only by a shared engagement with a collection of texts but also by a set of interpretations of these texts that the members of the community share. The set of common "truth statements" held by a particular discourse community are known as the "archive." For example, Thomas Kuhn's work on paradigms is interpreted differently by, and has had a different influence in, the discourses of information science from those of the history of science. A single text, the Bible being a useful example, may have hundreds of different "identities" for different discourse communities, each of them legitimate in their own discursive context.

Pouvoir/Savoir—Power/Knowledge

Dervin [29, 17] and Frohmann [1] have both criticized existing information behavior research for largely ignoring issues of power and power relations. Foucault, by contrast, constructed the relationship between knowledge and power as central to his conceptual framework. Indeed, he constructed knowledge and power not as separate entities but as conjoined products of the same social processes—power/knowledge (*pouvoir/savoir*): "We should admit . . . that power produces knowledge (and not simply

by encouraging it because it serves power or by applying it because it is useful); that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" [21, p. 27].

In Foucault's conception, discourses are never static. Rather, the ongoing relations between people, institutions, and texts generate regimes of both meaning and authority (power/knowledge) simultaneously. In this view, the creation and dissemination of "texts," the "weighting" of one "text" more than another, involves a series of dynamic power relations. These relations are constantly reinventing and reaffirming themselves through the process of applying the discursive rules to examine new "texts" and to reexamine existing ones: "There is a battle 'for truth' or at least 'around truth'—it being understood once again that by truth I do not mean 'the ensemble of truths which are to be discovered and accepted' but rather 'the ensemble of rules according to which the true and the false are separated and specific effects of power attached to the true'" [28, p. 418].

Thus, in contrast to earlier Marxian models that constructed power as something to be "held" and "imposed," Foucault constructed power/knowledge as the product of an inductive process: "Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything but because it comes from everywhere. . . . Power comes from below; that is there is no binary and all encompassing opposition between ruler and ruled at the root of power relations . . . no such duality extending from the top down" [23, pp. 93–94].

If a discourse community holds a given statement to be "true," this acceptance imbues it with a certain power in the context of that discourse. This power will also, to a degree, flow on to the author as an "authoritative speaker." Looking at information in terms of power relations is something we all do in everyday speech, when we say that a book or article is "authoritative" or that a particular university has a "strong reputation" in a particular field.

Death of the Author

The Foucauldian discourse analytic approach also calls for a reconceptualization of the relationship between the author, the text, and the reader. Foucault, in his essay "What Is an Author?" [28, pp. 101–20], echoed Roland Barthes [30] in talking of the "death of the author"—a phrase that has become a standard slogan of postmodernism.

In the information transfer model [31], authors, texts, and readers are constructed as separate entities. Texts are the vehicles by which "chunks" of information are transferred from the author to the reader. In this model, authors are seen as the creators of information and readers as passive recipients.

Foucault argues instead that readers, individually and collectively, are actively involved in the construction of meaning: that meaning making is a complex sociolinguistic process involving the reader, the text, and their social context. This has strong implications for the construction of the relationship between authors, texts and readers:

So why does Foucault say the author is "dead"? It's his way of saying that the author is decentered, shown to be only a part of the structure, a subject position, and not the center. In the humanist view . . . authors were the source and origin of texts . . . and were also thus beyond texts—hence authors were "centers." . . . By declaring the death of the author, Foucault is "deconstructing" the idea that the author is the origin of something original, and replacing it with the idea that the "author" is the product or function of writing, of the text. [32]

This theory then has two key features: first, that the meaning ("knowledge," "truth") of a work is not something governed or determined by the author but, rather, is a social construct created (and constantly re-created) by the reader/s at a particular point in space and time; second, authors, as the originators of a body of work, are themselves the products of social construction within and between discourses.

In this conception, published texts have no single absolute meaning or truth, but only a socially constructed and located "truth" or "truths." Nor is this "truth" something that can be predetermined by the author. Rather, the established social practices and conventions within a community and the interactions of its members determine the meaning, significance, and authority of a work in the context of that particular community. This means that the meaning/knowledge-claims/truth of any work are constantly being questioned, reexamined, and reinterpreted. For example, each time a member of a research community evaluates, critiques, cites, or reinterprets a work, or draws parallels between one work and another in his or her own publications, teaching, or research practices, he or she is contributing to the ongoing interpretation of the work's meaning.

Nor need the meaning that a community draws from a work necessarily have any relation to the author's original intended meaning—hence "death of the author." Rather, the meaning/significance of a work is determined by a particular community (which may or may not include the author) and will reflect the concerns, beliefs, and sociopolitical context of that community. Thus works may be seen as having many different meanings and containing widely different "truths" by different communities, and this process can continue for centuries, even millennia, after the death of the author: for example, the ongoing use of the works of Aristotle or Sun Tzu in contemporary fields as diverse as philosophy, strategic studies, and marketing.

An extreme example of the potential divergence between authorial intent and modern interpretation would be the 1850 photographic study of African-born slaves in the American South by Louis Agassiz. Agassiz's intent was to demonstrate that Africans were a separate, less "evolved" species than whites, an absurd and repugnant theory to most modern sensibilities. Nonetheless, modern anthropologists and historians of slavery and the cultural origins of African Americans find his study an invaluable resource [33].

Similarly, just as a community may be divorced in time from a work's original author, communities may reinterpret works from other disciplines to suit their own interests and concerns. A good example of this in the context of contemporary information science is the work of Kuhn. Kuhn is quite widely cited in the literature of information science, generally as the originator of the notion of "paradigm." Yet the way in which "paradigm" is used/constructed by information scientists differs quite markedly from that of Kuhn himself. Indeed, its use by Dervin and others to describe information science directly contradicts Kuhn's proscription that paradigms occur only in the "hard" sciences, the social sciences being "innately pre-paradigmatic" [34]. An author-centric approach would lead us to regard such use of Kuhn's work as "wrong"; the discourse analytic perspective would see this as the inevitable consequence of a community reinterpreting Kuhn's work in the context of their own interests and concerns.

This is also a good example of how the dynamics of communities can lead to the social construction not only of individual works but also of authors themselves. In the context of a particular discourse, an author is not primarily a living, breathing human being (after all, they may be long dead) but, rather, a social construct derived from the community's interpretation of the significance (truth) of their body of work. Thus Kuhn as an author-construct in information science may well be a very different figure, with a very different significance, from Kuhn as an author-construct in the sociology of knowledge or the history of science.

Since, in the Foucauldian framework, knowledge and power are inextricably linked (the one inevitably generates the other), one needs to consider the role of the power and influence that become attached to author-constructs by particular communities and the impact of this power upon the behaviors/perceptions of members of that community. Author-constructs can therefore act as "Dead Germans" for a community (icons of the core "truths" of a discourse) or, as the contextual terrain shifts, as "Dead White Males" (symbols of what is "wrong" with the established order—the focus of resistance).

Origins of the Study—Foucault and Information Behavior

The ideas put forward in Foucault's writings on discourse analysis clearly offer valuable conceptual tools to information behavior researchers. They provide a new lens for examining the relationship between people and information, allowing us to move beyond the limitations of prevailing individually focused approaches.

At the same time, information behavior research offers the opportunity to look at Foucault's theories in a different light. Foucault's own work had a largely historical and macrosociological focus and was methodologically dependent on the analysis of documentary artifacts. Although Foucault's approach has been widely adopted to examine contemporary discourses and discourse communities, many of those who do so, such as Frohmann [1, 27] and Radford [2, 24], continue to depend on document-based methods of analysis.

Information behavior research, by contrast, is a field with a more micro-sociological focus. Furthermore, decades of information behavior research findings have demonstrated that while documents are undeniably important, they are only the tip of the information behavioral iceberg—they are surrounded and supported by a sea of informal information behavior. Thus the goal of my own study became not only to explore what new insights into information behavior Foucauldian discourse analysis could provide but also what new light an information behavioral focus might shed on a variety of Foucault's concepts, such as "death of the author" and the discursive construction of power/knowledge.

Research Question

In seeking to explore these concepts in an information behavior context, the present study needed to find a focus that would allow an examination of both formal and informal behavior as discursive action. Since this was to be the first study of its particular type, it was decided to focus it on a type of information user that has been extensively studied by both information behavior researchers and discourse analysts—the academic researcher. This study therefore set out to explore the question of how members of a scholarly community (information behavior researchers) construct the meaning/s and significance/s of an author whose work is prominent in their field (Brenda Dervin).

There were a number of reasons for the choice of this community and author. As well as the obvious advantage of researcher familiarity, the in-

formation behavior research community has long been characterized by a diversity of opinion: different theoretical, methodological, and even epistemological standpoints are evident in the literature of the field [10]. The study would examine the effect of this diversity on participants' information practices.

Focusing the study on Dervin and her work also brought advantages; Howard White and Katherine McCain's co-citation analysis identified Dervin as the author most central to their "information behaviorist" nexus. Further, Dervin has been widely recognized (e.g., 3, 35, 36, 37) as being central to the emergence of a "paradigmatic shift" in the study of information behavior.

Another important characteristic of Dervin was that she was a living author who actively engaged with the community to be studied. The study could therefore be able to examine the effect of informal contact with the author on participants' constructions of her work—to examine the effect of an active, living, breathing author on "death of the author."

Methodology

It was clear from the outset that the document-based approaches used by Foucault himself and adopted by Frohmann [1, 27] and Radford [2, 24] would not be appropriate for addressing the study's questions. Instead, the research adopted semistructured qualitative interviews as its primary method of data collection, based in part on the "Life-Line" and "Time-Line" techniques developed by Dervin and her collaborators [17, 38]. Talja has pointed out that Sense-Making's "epistemological and ontological basis closely corresponds to that of the discourse analytic viewpoint" [3, p. 71]. This can be seen, for example, in the fact that "*Sense-Making* . . . assumes information to be an in-flux creation of a power structure always subject to the forces of power both for its maintenance and its resistance and change" [17, p. 741].

Interviews were conducted with fifteen information behavior researchers from eight universities in five countries in Europe and North America. Participants were purposefully sampled based on analysis of their published work to reflect a range of experience levels and conceptual approaches. In addition, three participants were drawn from White and McCain's [39] list of the "most cited authors" in library and information science, while five participants were identified by the author as having long-term association with her. Participants described the events and relationships they regarded as significant in their relationship with the author and her work.

While clearly informed by Foucault's theories of discourse, the interview

analysis was carried out inductively based on the "constant comparison" approach of Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss [40]. Feedback from participants was sought throughout the analysis process via e-mail.

Findings

The study's findings are organized into three sections. "Interactions and Relationships" describes the social contacts, events, and relationships involved in participants' construction of the author; "The Role of Existing Constructions" deals with the role of their existing knowledge and understandings; and "Accepted and Contested Constructions" demonstrates how they drew on their existing constructions of the field, their informant, and the academy in order to accept or contest the constructions of the author conveyed to them.

Interactions and Relationships

Participants' constructions of the author and her work were based on a wide-ranging engagement with both people and texts. These encounters, however, were far more likely to arise from conversations with their colleagues or academic mentors, their attendance at a conference or workshop, or other social activities associated with their role as an information behavior researcher rather than as the result of purposeful searching or a desire to meet a recognized "information need."

Initial interactions.—For example, thirteen participants' initial contact with the author's work involved interaction with another person—in twelve of them that person was also associated with the same department. Six participants, who were all students at the time, were introduced to the author's work by a lecturer—"we had a lecture . . . about information needs and seeking and he used Dervin and Nilan's paper."

Similarly, seven already established researchers reported that their introduction came through another member of their department—a colleague (five participants) or a research student (two). These participants emphasized the informal and interactive nature of their discussions, talking about how they occurred "over quite a long time . . . many months" and contextualizing them in terms of their established working relationship with their colleagues: "And we worked together, she worked with me and that's where we did some stuff together." By contrast, only two participants described their initial contact with the author's work as arising from purposeful literature searching.

Participants often explicitly linked their relationships with people and texts to one another. For example, six of the eight participants who read

an author text as part of their initial contact describe their interactions with another person as an important influence on their reading of the text: "I was pleased to have at the time a colleague say to me 'Look, focus upon pages 11 to 16, that's where the nuts and bolts is.'"

Subsequent interactions and relationships.—Participants' accounts of their subsequent significant events and relationships also largely focus on non-purposive "social" interactions. However, while participants may not have instigated such encounters as part of an information search, equally they did not regard them as unexpected or surprising. Rather, they saw them as a normal part of the working life of an active researcher in the field: that part of their role was to be involved in such information-sharing events, both formal and informal.

Again, their accounts drew attention to the importance of personal communication. For example, participants' discussion of the value of conferences emphasized their importance as venues for informal discussions with colleagues from other universities, including the author herself: "She and I met at a . . . conference . . . and talked for a while about our work."

One unexpected finding was that every participant described some form of personal contact with the author—either in the form of informal contact or through attending a conference or workshop given by the author. This may relate to a phenomenon articulated by three participants: that information behavior research is a field characterized by researchers' knowing one another personally: "We're a small field, relatively speaking, compared to communication, for example. We all know each other, we all talk to each other, we all go to the same conferences. And perhaps this is why there is not much negative citation; we don't want to give too much criticism to each other."

Eight participants described themselves as having an ongoing relationship with the author. Seven of the eight regarded this relationship as a significant influence on their interpretation of her work. All eight emphasized that some of their most important interactions with the author took place during informal, social meetings: "We were staying at the same hotel and went out . . . and we talked about what was going on, but it was quite informal. . . . So we talked a lot about Sense-Making and her work and my work."

The importance of interpersonal communication for participants' constructions of the author is not to imply that formal information sources were unimportant. "Author texts" featured in fourteen participants' accounts, while nonauthor texts played a role in seven participants' accounts. "She told me about this new Dervin article and said I should read it"; "See, this was one thing that I've been carrying around. I got that from Brenda and I've used it at various times." Again, however, participants' interactions

with "author texts" were commonly mediated by their interpersonal communication with their colleagues, collaborators, mentors, and the author herself.

Participants frequently described the significant influences on their constructions in terms of long-term relationships—with other people and with the written work of authors. Rather than referring to a series of isolated encounters with information sources, participants spoke of the ongoing nature of their relationships. Each individual encounter (whether with a person or a text) built on the participant's previous experience, enriching his or her constructions of both the author and the informants.

A number of participants emphasized the importance of the level of trust and mutual understanding, developed over a long working relationship: "Well naturally because I knew her so well—we were colleagues, had worked together for a long time. So not only did I respect her opinion a great deal, . . . there was a kind of shorthand between us. We didn't have to go into every detail. . . . If she said something was important or I should read that, then obviously I would listen."

The Role of Existing Discursive Constructions

Participants' constructions of the author and her work did not occur in isolation. Rather, they were grounded in their relationship with the accepted authorities, theories, practices, and approaches of their field and other related disciplines. From these they derived their existing knowledge, beliefs, and understandings—that is, their "existing constructions." These constructions were the (discursive) lens through which participants "saw" the author and her work.

For example, eleven participants described their engagement with a particular conceptual framework/school of thought, such as "Social Constructivism" (four participants) or "Cognitivism" (two), as a significant influence, for example, "I had discovered social constructivism and discourse analysis. . . . And I was from the beginning finding her to be a social constructivist." Similarly, eleven participants reported ideas, approaches, and works by authors outside information studies as important influences on their constructions of both the author and the field, for example, "You need to understand that my orientation to her was as a linguist. . . . I am first and foremost a linguist."

Accepted and Contested Constructions

During these interactions, participants drew on their existing constructions (of their informant, of the field, and of the academy) to assess the validity of the constructions of the author conveyed to them. The analysis revealed three types of outcome: *accepted constructions* (seventy-three occurrences), in which the participants accepted the constructions of the author and

her work conveyed to them by their informing source, incorporating them into their own view; *contested constructions* (twenty-seven occurrences), in which they challenged the validity of the constructions conveyed to them; and *mixed constructions* (fifty-three occurrences), which included elements of both acceptance and contestation.

Accepted constructions.—Five of the six "student" participants accepted the constructions of the author conveyed to them in their first encounter. Their accounts emphasize their lack of existing constructions as an important factor: "When you're starting out everything's new and unfamiliar. . . . You know the lecturer knows more than you." As students, they were in a position in which they routinely had interpretations, not only of the author's work but of the literature of the field in general, conveyed to them by their informant/lecturer. Further, this relationship occurred in an institutional context—one whose established conventions of the lecturer/student relationship would act to reinforce their constructions of themselves as "inexperienced" and of their informants as more knowledgeable than themselves: "In that situation, you're not very likely to say to the professor 'No, you're wrong!' I wasn't anyway. . . . You accept that what they're telling you is right—it's their job!"

However, the majority of accepted constructions identified by the analysis demonstrate that it was not only neophyte researchers who accepted the interpretations of the author and her work conveyed to them: "I would say that probably any thought that I've had about Dervin has passed through Dan to me. The gold is, the discovery of the New World by the Portuguese, the gold traveled straight from Brazil to London via Lisbon. So I think that any gold of Dervin came directly through Dan."

Rather, most accepted constructions were the result of a critical evaluation, which drew on their existing constructions, leading them to see the meanings conveyed to them as "valid": "But maybe also one of the things that fascinated me [about the author's work], it was possible to use the ideas from other fields of social science, social psychology, sociology. . . . Possible to expand the horizon, not only the library view, that's very narrow. . . . And actually, I have studied sociology, . . . it's my second discipline, . . . so I could relate it to that."

An existing construction of their informant as knowledgeable/authoritative played a role in many more experienced researchers' accepted constructions. Long-term relationships with department colleagues (nine participants) and research collaborators (five participants) were considered important influences and were generally marked by accepted constructions. Some participants constructed their colleague as a more knowledgeable mentor, while others described more "equal," dialogic relationships as significant: "I suppose, we talked about that a lot when I was at Seth University with Harold. . . . He had that same problem, and I think

relevant to my research interests today." In doing so, participants found "common ground" between their own constructions of the field and those conveyed by the source, without either fully accepting or rejecting their knowledge claims. In this we can see evidence that the "battle for truth," the acceptance and contesting of constructions conveyed to participants, occurred not only at the level of individual texts, lectures, and conversations but also within participants' interpretation of these sources.

Conclusions

These findings have a range of implications for our understanding of information behavior and for future research in the field. They suggest that the discursive nature of meaning/(sense)-making and the relationship between meaning and authority (power/knowledge) are concepts that need to be integrated into our understanding of information behavior.

The Discursive Nature of Participants' Constructive Processes

The findings demonstrated that participants' constructions of the meaning/s and significance/s of the author and her work were inextricably linked to their relationship with their discursive environment: their relationships with and understandings of the literature; the accepted authorities, theories, practices, and approaches of their field and other related disciplines were the basis for their assessments of the meanings conveyed to them. In examining the constructions conveyed to them, participants did not simply ask, "What does this mean?" or even "What does this mean for me?" Rather, they asked, "What does this mean for me in terms of my understanding of and engagement with my field? My specialization/s and particular research interests? My philosophical and conceptual frameworks? My understanding of accepted practices in the field? How does this relate to what other 'authoritative speakers' have to say in relation to this topic?" In Foucault's terms, they engaged with the archive (a shared set of constructions of a body of authoritative texts) and various discursive rules (established sets of conventions and practices) in order to determine the meaning and authority of the constructions being conveyed to them.

This contrasts with the approach taken by a number of cognitivist researchers, such as Nicholas Belkin [41], who, while acknowledging the importance of social factors, conceptualized them as simply one of a range of factors influencing the individual information user's cognitive processes. The study's findings, by contrast, suggest that participants' cognitive processes are inextricably linked to their engagement with their discursive context.

Meaning and Authority—Power/Knowledge

Participants' analysis of the meanings conveyed to them involved more than determining their aboutness; an integral part of their constructive processes was assessing the credibility of the informants' messages. This determination of the message's authority formed the basis of participants' decisions either to accept or contest the meanings they conveyed. In other words, participants' constructive processes had two interdependent aspects, two sides of the same coin: the construction of meaning and the construction of authority.

Participants' accounts showed that they were very adept at making such meaning/authority judgments—to give detailed explanations of both their assessments of the knowledge claims of their informants and of the meaning and significance of the author and her work. Their abilities were very much consistent with Talja's conceptualization of "users as knowing subjects, as cultural experts" [3, p. 77].

An important aspect of participants' constructions of authority related to their construction of the authority of the informant, as opposed to the individual message or text. This related, in particular, to the importance of long-term relationships for participants' constructions of the author and her work. In dealing with a familiar source, participants' existing constructions of that informant played a key role in whether they accepted or rejected it. If an informant was already viewed as authoritative in a particular context, they were predisposed to accept their message, almost before hearing its content.

The study showed that participants' constructions of authority were also essentially "transportable" between the written and verbal forms. That is, if a participant regarded a researcher's published work as authoritative, he or she would also regard their informal communications as authoritative.

This was particularly notable in relation to participants' relationship with the author herself. Seven participants suggested that they regarded the author as having a unique authority when it came to constructing her own work, while three participants viewed the author as the "embodiment of Sense-Making"—that her authority to interpret her own work, because of her status as its originator, was stronger than anyone else's could be.

This would seem, at first glance, to be somewhat at odds with the post-modern concept of "death of the author," as articulated by Barthes and Foucault, which emphasizes the distinction between author-constructs (the disembodied authors of texts) and the author as person. While the findings are strongly supportive of the central precept of Barthes' and Foucault's theory—that meaning/significance is not determined by authors but constructed by readers—one product of these constructive processes, at least

for some participants, was a construction of the author as the most authoritative interpreter of her own work.

That certain members of a community are acknowledged as more knowledgeable, and their opinions particularly influential among other members of the community, has long been established. In an academic context, D. J. De Solla Price [42] developed the notion of the "invisible college," while Patrick Wilson [43] defined such power in terms of "cognitive authority." Chatman's theory of "life in the round" talked about "insiders," . . . people who use their greater understanding of the social norms to enhance their own social roles. By doing so, they establish standards for everyone else" [16, p. 212]. The present study provides further evidence for the ongoing importance of this phenomenon, arguing that it is central to the construction of shared "archives" of meaning/authority constructs.

The study found that participants' constructions of the author and her work drew on a complex array of existing power/knowledge structures, derived not only from information science but from a range of other disciplines as well. Whether accepting or rejecting an interpretation conveyed to them, it was important for participants to relate their constructions to the views of established authorities. This allowed them to "justify" their own constructions, both to themselves and other members of the academic community.

This benefit that a shared set of power/knowledge constructions offers to the members of a community is central to understanding participants' willing engagement with the established structures of meaning and authority operating within information behavior, information science, the social sciences, and the academy in general. The study suggests that these power/knowledge structures are not primarily imposed; rather, they are accepted. The inductive processes in which existing power structures, and the established social practices that create them, may impose limitations on the individual also bring tangible benefits. While established social practices might incline participants toward a particular decision, ultimately it was up to their own judgment (based on their previous knowledge and experience) to determine whether an informant was an "authoritative speaker" [28] in that particular context.

This is consistent with Foucault's view of the essentially inductive nature of the power/knowledge relationship. Such a conception of participants' power relations helps us to understand why the behavior of such a relatively socially advantaged group (cosmopolitan, intelligent, well educated, and financially comfortable) should nonetheless be so tied to established power/knowledge structures.

It was clear, however, that neither participants' positions in relation to existing power/knowledge structures nor the structures themselves were fixed. Participants, for example, described how some of their "contested"

interactions led them to revise their existing view of the author and, in some cases, of the nature and aboutness of research in the field. Similarly, participants were able to talk knowledgeably about how opinions of the author and her work, and consequently her authority, among information behavior researchers had changed and developed over time.

This illustrates the dynamic nature of power/knowledge constructions among participants and the information behavior community as a whole. Authority and meaning were not fixed but negotiated. The validity of a given knowledge claim was not assessed via reference to a Popperesque objective "reality" but, rather, was determined by participants, individually and collectively, using established social practices—methods of critical analysis and comparison acquired through their previous experience, both as information behavior researchers and in other academic disciplines.

The findings showed that participants did, on occasion, "contest" an informant's authority to interpret the meaning and significance of the author and her work. In this, they parallel Foucault's construction of discourse as a "battle for truth." Participants' ability to engage in and resolve such situations suggests that among the knowledge and skills their experience equipped them with were methods for "managing" disagreement: accepted social practices by which members of a community could articulate divergent subject positions and negotiate a new shared understanding.

The study's findings therefore provide a case study in how discourse operates at the microsociological level. It provides examples of how community members engage with, accept, and contest both new and established "truth statements" and discursive practices. They demonstrate that participants' informal interactions with their colleagues and mentors are just as much the product of discursive power/knowledge relations as their engagement with the published literature. Indeed, they begin to indicate some of the ways in which the broad macrosociological discursive trends examined by scholars in the Foucauldian tradition are built on the bedrock of the shared discursive practices and beliefs of individual discourse community members.

Implications for Future Research

The study's findings and conclusions have both built on existing understandings within information behavior research and challenged aspects of existing conceptual frameworks. In consequence, it has a range of implications for future research.

The findings in relation to the interrelationship between the construction of meaning and the construction of authority are closely related to Foucault's discursive construction of power/knowledge. Foucault's notion that power in this context is essentially inductive, in particular, offers a close parallel with the study's analysis of participants' experiences. Dervin

[29] has suggested that information behavior researchers have tended to ignore the question of the role of power relations on information behavior. The present study would suggest that Foucault's theories offer some useful insights in exploring this issue.

The study found that only a relatively small number of the events that participants described as significant were the result of purposive information seeking. Yet as Catherine Sheldrick Ross [44] and Tom Wilson [32] have pointed out, the majority of information behavior research continues to focus on this type of behavior. The findings support the view that non-purposeful information behavior is an area that warrants significant future attention from information behavior researchers.

Talja [3] and Heidi Julien [45] have argued for a new way of looking at users—one focused on their expertise rather than the gaps in their knowledge. The present study suggests that such an approach can lead to new insights into the nature of information behavior.

One of the study's key findings was the importance of ongoing relationships—with informants, with the author and her work, with conceptual frameworks—for participants' constructive processes. That participants' constructive processes were so intimately connected to their previous knowledge and experiences (their existing constructions) suggests that Dervin and Michael Nilan's [46] call for a less atomistic approach to studying information behavior needs to be taken further: rather than conceiving of information behavior as being driven by the desire to satisfy discrete information needs, any information interaction or encounter should be seen as one chapter in an individual's ongoing engagement with, and construction of, their lifeworld.

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THE COVER DESIGN¹

Lest anyone have the misconception that the world of libraries and bibliophily is solely one of purpose and sobriety, recall the dictum "don't believe everything you read in a book." Throughout history and across continents, writers have created imaginary books, imaginary authors, and imaginary libraries. Miguel de Cervantes created a fictitious library of genuine books for his quixotic don. Herman Melville, in *Mardi* (New York, 1849), listed forty-eight fabricated works to be found in Oh-Oh's collection. Thomas Hood decorated the walls of the Duke of Devonshire's

1. The author would like to thank the Houghton Library's Department of Modern Books and Manuscripts for permission to publish the image found on the cover of the *First Annual Report of the Vancouver Bookshop* (Vancouver: Sun, 1944?).

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