

HOW PUBLIC LIBRARIES RESPOND TO CRISES INVOLVING PATRONS
EXPERIENCING HOMELESSNESS: MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES OF THE ROLE
OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY SOCIAL WORKER

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DEDICATION

This manuscript is dedicated to my husband and best friend of 25 years, Chris. You made this dream possible. From all the hours you spent without me while I was in my “cave,” to co-parenting, to assuring me I was up to the task, to making gourmet meals, and washing mountains of dishes, you have unwaveringly and unquestionably stood beside me along this journey. In many ways, this PhD is yours too. You have taught me far more than I will ever learn in school. You have helped me be a better human. The world hasn’t seen the last of us yet. You are my hero. This is to you, *Mr. Dr. Mary Provence*.

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Mary Anita Provence

HOW PUBLIC LIBRARIES RESPOND TO CRISES INVOLVING PATRONS
EXPERIENCING HOMELESSNESS: MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES OF THE ROLE
OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY SOCIAL WORKER

Due to a shortage of affordable housing, gaps in social welfare infrastructure, and the criminalization of homelessness, public libraries find themselves providing daytime shelter to patrons experiencing homelessness. Their needs and crises have created demands on staff and security that exceed their training and role. Sometimes police are involved, exposing patrons to possible arrest. To fill this knowledge and service gap, libraries have begun hiring social workers. Early research on the broad role of social workers suggests they are changing how libraries respond to crises with patrons experiencing homelessness in four keyways: by providing an option to calling 911; influencing code of conduct implementation, serving patrons, and equipping staff. However, no study has given an in-depth explanation of how social workers are changing libraries' responses to crises with patrons experiencing homelessness.

The purpose of this study is to explain how the role of the social worker influences how libraries respond when patrons experiencing homelessness are in crises. Considered through lenses of role theory, social cognitive theory, and the humanization framework, this embedded multiple-case study of three U.S. urban libraries collected 91 surveys and conducted 46 Zoom interviews. It includes the perspectives of 107 participants across six roles: patrons experiencing homelessness, social workers, front-facing staff, security, location managers, and CEOs.

The social workers' influence was perceived to reduce behavior incidents, exclusions, and arrests around three themes: (1) being an option, with subthemes of in-house referrals and de-escalation; (2) running interference, with subthemes of low barrier access and barrier-busting services; and (3) buffering, with subthemes of equipping, influencing code of conduct implementation, and advocating and being present during security and police interactions. Three models of library social work and their impact on the social worker's role of de-escalation were identified and described: The Sign Up and Summon Model, the Outreach and Summon Model, and the Social Work Center Model. In addition, a commingled rival was found: the impact of the Black Lives Matter movement. The implications of the findings include recommendations for structuring library social work practice to reduce exclusions and arrests of patrons experiencing homelessness.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FFS = Front-Facing Staff

Sec. = Security and Library Police (where applicable)

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Background of the Problem

Marginalized patrons with complex needs frequent public libraries¹. Their needs are extensive and include: substance abuse disorders, mental health concerns, poverty, immigration-related needs, food, housing, and medical care (Wahler et al., 2019). While not all marginalized patrons are unhoused, many are. Patrons experiencing homelessness are drawn to the library for daytime shelter, socialization, computers, free Wi-Fi, bathrooms, information, respite, and a sense of normalcy (Anderson et al., 2012; Hodgetts et al., 2008; Muggleton & Ruthven, 2012; Provence, 2018).

While people experiencing homelessness are not new to libraries, the deinstitutionalization of state mental health hospitals that began in the 1960's increased the number of persons experiencing homelessness seeking refuge in libraries (Cart, 1992; Torrey et al., 2009; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019). However, the needs of these patrons often exceed the training and role of library staff, especially when they are in crises (Anderson et al., 2012; Williams, 2016; Williams & Ogden, 2020; Wray, 2009). Public libraries have responded in multiple ways to try and address the needs of marginalized patrons. Some responses have included hosting or co-locating social service providers at the library, hiring formally homeless patrons to provide peer support, conducting outreach to homeless shelters, partnering with health service providers, hosting social work interns, and even employing their own full or part-time social workers (Hines, 2015; Kelley et al., 2017; Pima County Public Library, n.d.; Provence, 2018; Shen, 2002; Skinner, 2016; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019).

¹ Unless otherwise specified, the word “library” will refer to public libraries in this manuscript.

In 2009, in response to the needs of patrons experiencing homelessness, San Francisco Public Library became the first public library to create a full-time social work position; however, the position is filled by a Licensed Marriage and Family Therapist (Provence, 2018; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019). Since 2009, the trend of hiring social workers in the library has emerged, primarily in the U.S. and Canada, and has largely been motivated by a desire to respond to the needs of patrons experiencing homelessness (Tranin Blank, 2014; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019). The exact number of public library systems who have a full-time social worker is unknown. As of August 22, 2020, the Whole Person Librarianship website (<https://wholepersonlibrarianship.com/>), a hub for public library social workers, had record of 40 U.S. public library systems in 22 states and Washington D. C. that had one or more full-time social workers (Zettervall, n.d.). By February 2, 2023, that number had increased to 56 U.S. public library systems in 26 states (Zettervall, n.d.). Early research has identified that public library social workers are often helpful during patron crises, sometimes handling issues that previously would have evoked a call to security or the police (Provence, 2020; Schweizer, 2018; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019). Having social workers respond in crises that do not present an imminent danger to the public provides a relationship-based preventative approach that promotes the well-being of marginalized patrons rather than risk unnecessary traumatization (Provence, 2020; Schweizer, 2018).

Importance to Social Work

With the current movement against police brutality toward African Americans specifically, and marginalized populations generally, the issue of how crises are responded to in public libraries could not be timelier. Both social work and librarianship

have a significant relationship to social justice. The National Association of Social Workers' (NASW) Code of Ethics (2017) mandates social workers to confront social injustice. The American Library Association's (ALA) Hunger, Homelessness, and Poverty Task Force (2005) has cautioned against libraries participating in the criminalization of the poor. Furthermore, the ALA (2012) Library Services for the Poor policy calls libraries to use various strategies and resources to empower those experiencing poverty to fully engage in our society. While social workers are called upon to address social problems and fight for social justice at micro, mezzo, and macro levels, librarians are primarily focused on "informational justice" in regard to patrons being "seekers, sources, and subjects of information" (Mathieson, 2015, p. 204). Gorham et al. (2016) espouse that while indeed libraries are at the forefront of ensuring justice through information access, they should also begin to apply the label of social justice to work libraries already do in response to community needs such as workforce development, social services, and emergency response.

As an emerging nontraditional practice area, library social work is also of interest to the social work profession for new opportunities for research, interdisciplinary collaboration, and flexibility to meet client needs (Provence, 2020; Schweizer, 2018). Library social work is ripe for intervention and outcome research studies to inform the development of library social work curricula and best practices. Emerging research has revealed that library social workers, who are likely the first to hold a social work position in their library, are in need of startup tools for library social work practice including simple outcome measurement tools (Provence, 2020).

Library social work provides the profession with fresh opportunities for interdisciplinary collaboration. These partnerships with libraries can include needs assessments, program evaluations, practicum units, co-location of services, outreach services, and office hours at the library (Provence, 2018; Schweizer, 2018; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019). Social workers can provide staff trainings, patron workshops, and work together with libraries to build community partnerships to tackle social issues (Schweizer, 2018; Wahler et al., 2019; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019). To encourage interdisciplinary education and understanding, schools of social work and library science can collaborate to offer joint courses or follow the lead of Dominican University and the University of Michigan by offering dual master's degrees (Barrows, 2014; Dominican University, n.d.; Provence, 2020; University of Michigan, n.d.; Wahler et al., 2019; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019).

Social work and librarianship are also a “good fit” for collaboration due to their similar history (Schweizer, 2018, p. 161). While libraries have existed since ancient times, librarianship as a profession formalized at about the same time as social work with the founding of the ALA in 1876, followed by the formation of the first U. S. Charity Organization Society in 1877 (Battles, 2003; Garrison, 1979; Suppes & Wells, 2013; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019). Inspired by the settlement movement between 1890 to 1914, larger urban libraries broadened their scope to “concentrate upon social work with children and the urban poor” blurring the line between librarianship and social work (Garrison, 1979, p. 206).

Social work and librarianship are also suitable for collaboration due to their overall compatible frameworks of values and ethics (Schweizer, 2018; Zettervall &

Nienow, 2019). Social workers are guided by the NASW's Values and Ethics (2017), and librarians are directed by the ALA's Library Bill of Rights and Code of Ethics (ALA, 2006, 2017). While both professions are committed to service above self-interest and confidentiality of patrons and clients, perhaps the strongest ties are their various versions of commitments to access and self-determination. Librarians are committed to intellectual freedom that respects the right of all people "to both seek and receive information from all points of view without restriction" (Jones, 2015, p. 3). Social workers likewise are committed to promoting client access to resources, services, and information and to supporting the "socially responsible self-determination" of clients (NASW, 2017, para. 4). Both social workers and librarians have a long history of a commitment to social justice (ALA, 2013; NASW, 2017). In 2021, a little over a year after George Floyd was murdered in 2020, the American Library Association Council voted unanimously to add a ninth component to the ALA Ethics specifically committing to social and racial justice:

We affirm the inherent dignity and rights of every person. We work to recognize and dismantle systemic and individual biases; to confront inequity and oppression; to enhance diversity and inclusion; and to advance racial and social justice in our libraries, communities, profession, and associations through awareness, advocacy, education, collaboration, services, and allocation of resources and spaces (ALA, 2021, para. 5).

Around the same time, the NASW issued a public and detailed apology for racist practices in social work along with a plan of action to address and renew the commitment to anti-racist social work practices (NASW, 2021).

Finally, the nontraditional setting of a public library for social work practice offers more freedom for social workers to practice in a grassroots manner by connecting with a variety of informal and formal resources to meet client needs (Provence, 2020). Both Provence (2020) and Schweizer (2018) found that the democratic setting of public

libraries provides social workers flexibility. Unlike most social service settings, libraries do not have eligibility criteria. Library social workers can serve anyone, at no charge, who walks through the library door and desires to engage (Provence, 2020; Schweizer, 2018). Library social workers do not have productivity quotas, session time limits, or billing procedures (Provence, 2020). They are free to spend time building relationships with marginalized patrons who may be wary of social service providers (Provence, 2020; Schweizer, 2018).

Statement of the Problem

Definition and Demographics of Homelessness in the U.S.

For the purposes of this discussion, a person experiencing homelessness is defined as “a person who lacks a fixed, regular, and adequate nighttime residence” (de Sousa et al., 2022, p. 6). This definition encompasses persons who are living in shelters or transitional housing and those who are leaving a jail, hospital, or other institution where they have lived for less than 90 days and who were living in a shelter or place unfit for human habitation immediately prior to entering the facility (U.S. Department of Housing Urban Development [HUD], n.d.). According to the 2022 annual Point-In-Time (PIT) Count²—conducted annually on a single night under HUD’s oversight—582,462 people were experiencing homelessness, though these numbers may be somewhat deflated due to data collection issues due to the pandemic (de Sousa et al., 2022). Of these, about 60% were in shelters and transitional housing, and the remaining 40% were living outside in

² While the PIT count is often used to report the number of people experiencing homelessness, the count is considered by some to be inaccurately low because it misses people who are staying on private property or those afraid to be found, including undocumented immigrants or children (Agans et al., 2014; Trawver & Aguiniga, 2016). In addition, the PIT Count is a one-night count versus an annual total. To illustrate, the 2017 PIT Count for Marion County, Indiana was 1,783, but the local Homeless Management Information System indicated that during all of 2017, there were 14,696 people who experienced homelessness (Coalition for Homelessness Intervention and Prevention, n.d.; Teal & Littlepage, 2017).

cars, abandoned buildings, camps, parks, and other areas not meant for humans to live (de Sousa et al., 2022). While some people experience situational and episodic homelessness (Nooe & Patterson, 2010), others are chronically homeless; as defined by HUD, a chronically homeless individual is a person:

with a disability who has been continuously homeless for one year or more or has experienced at least four episodes of homelessness in the last three years where the combined length of time homeless in those occasions is at least 12 months (de Sousa et al., 2022, p. 6).

In 2022, 127,768 people in the PIT Count were chronically homeless; and of these, two-thirds were living without shelter (de Sousa et al., 2022).

Of the 582,462 people in the 2022 PIT Count, 61% were male, 38% were female and about 1% were gender non-conforming, transgender, or questioning (de Sousa et al., 2022). While 76% were over 24 years old; 7% were 18-24, and 17% were children (de Sousa et al., 2022). About 7% of the total were veterans (de Sousa et al., 2022). Half of the total count (50%) identified as White, though compared to their representation in the general population (62%), Whites were underrepresented [Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 2023; de Sousa et al., 2022].

However, those who identified as Black, African American, or African, who make up 12% of the U.S. population, were overrepresented in the 2022 PIT Count at 37% (de Sousa et al., 2022). Narrowing it to major cities, the disparity was even worse with the percentage of Black, African American, or Africans making up 42% of those experiencing homelessness (de Sousa et al., 2022). In 2022, there were there were 5% less people who identified as Black, African American, or Africans who were experiencing homelessness during the one-night count, compared to 2020 (de Sousa et al., 2022).

Contributing Factors of Homelessness

This disproportionate representation of Black persons experiencing homelessness is a result of structural and institutional racism that has blocked fair access to housing, medical care, education, and employment while perpetuating the mass incarceration of Black people (Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority, 2018; Vitale, 2017). Multiple structural factors contribute to homelessness including: economic downturns, the lack of a living wage, discrimination (based on race, gender identity, or sexual orientation), poverty, health care costs, gentrification, and a 7.4 million unit shortfall of affordable housing (Aurand et al., 2022; Cart, 1992; Forge et al., 2018; Glasmeier, 2019; Glynn et al., 2018; Henry et al., 2018; Nooe & Patterson, 2010).

These structural factors interplay with a wide variety of individual risk factors of homelessness including domestic violence, sexual abuse, health problems, mental illness, substance abuse, education level, and veteran status (Nooe & Patterson, 2010). Two of these will be discussed more in depth since they have particular relevance to libraries: mental illness and substance abuse. It is with caution that the sometimes co-existing conditions of serious mental illness and/or substance abuse will be discussed, mindful that while these issues impact some people experiencing homelessness, by no means do they impact all.

Nooe and Patterson's (2010) review of multiple studies estimate that up to a third of those experiencing homelessness are also experiencing a serious mental illness (SMI)³.

³ According to the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA), a SMI is limited to adults who, within the last 12 months is experiencing "a diagnosable mental, behavior, or emotional disorder that causes serious functional impairment that subsequently interferes with or limits one or more major life activities" (SAMHSA, n.d., para. 3).

The prevalence of substance use is substantially higher in adults experiencing homelessness than in the general population; and while addiction can increase the risk of becoming homelessness, being homeless can also exacerbate existing substance use disorders (SUD) or contribute to developing one (National Coalition for the Homeless, 2017; Nooe & Patterson, 2010). Sometimes, people experiencing homelessness have a dual diagnosis of a mental illness and a SUD (Nooe & Patterson, 2010).

Due to varying study results, it is unclear just how many people experiencing homelessness are suffering from mental illnesses and/or SUD. A study of 219 U.S. Midwestern adults experiencing homelessness who were using shelters or soup kitchens found that 34.7% ($n = 76$) had a mental illness, 76.7% ($n = 168$) abused or were dependent on drugs and/or alcohol, and 27.1% ($n = 59$) were dually diagnosed (Toro et al., 2014). An examination of the electronic medical records from the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) during a one-year time period between fall 2012-fall 2013 with a much larger sample ($n = 35,897$) showed that of the 31,863 sheltered veterans, 8% had a SUD; 18.6% had an SMI; 18.9% had a dual-diagnosis of SUD and SMI; and 54.6% had no diagnosed SMI or SUD (Byrne et al., 2016). Of the 4,034 unsheltered veterans, 9.8% had a SUD only; 15.1% had a SMI only; 18.4% had both SUD and SMI while 56.7% had no diagnosed SMI or SUD (Byrne et al., 2016). While the numbers vary on just how many people experiencing homelessness suffer from a SUD and/or SMI, it is clear that having a SUD and/or SMI makes it even more difficult for people experiencing homelessness to overcome the structural barriers they face.

Living Outside and the Criminalization of Homelessness

The structural causes of homelessness, especially the shortage of affordable housing and the lack of a living wage, along with a shortage of transitional and shelter beds, have left persons experiencing homelessness sometimes no other option than to live outside [Mitchell, 1997; National Homelessness Law Center (NHLC), 2019; Vitale, 2017]. In 2022, the U.S. had 418,642 beds for persons currently experiencing homelessness; using the PIT Count total of 582,462 persons, this equates to a shortage of 163,820 beds on any given night (de Sousa et al., 2022). During the pandemic, many shelters had to reduce capacity to allow for social distancing in an attempt to mitigate the spread of the virus. Though there was a 3% decrease in major cities of the number of people experiencing homelessness between 2020 and 2022, there was a 6% increase in the number of people living outside accompanied by a 9% drop in those who were in shelters (de Sousa et al., 2022).

Even those who can obtain a shelter bed have to abide by policies that may force them to leave during daytime hours (Giesler, 2017; Wilkins Jordan, 2014). In addition, social service centers where people experiencing homelessness can go during the daytime are in short supply (Giesler, 2017; Wilkins Jordan, 2014). Attempting to go to other public places often results in stigma or other barriers (Urada et al., 2022).

Making matters more dire, municipalities are increasingly criminalizing eating, sitting, standing, sleeping, and washing in public spaces, limiting the places people experiencing homelessness can exist (Anderson, 2015; NHLC, 2019; Toolis & Hammack, 2015). Between 2006-2019, 187 U.S. cities had a substantial increase in municipal codes that criminally or civilly punish behaviors necessary to sustain human

life: 72% of the 187 cities had at least one statute restricting public camping; 37% prohibit camping citywide, which is a 92% increase in citywide prohibitions since 2006 (NHLC, 2019). In some cases, these laws against camping are so broad, they outlaw any sleeping in public spaces, even without a tent; sometimes they even ban private citizens or organizations from letting people camp on their property (NHLC, 2019). In addition to the no camping laws, 51% of cities have at least one law against public sleeping; while 21% prohibit public sleeping city-wide which is a 50% increase in 13 years (NHLC, 2019). To make matters worse, 55% of cities have at least one law banning lying or sitting in public spaces which is a 78% increase (NHLC, 2019). Other laws restrict sleeping in cars (50% of cities), begging (83%), “loitering, loafing, and/or vagrancy” (35%), and storing belongings in public (55%) (NHLC, 2019, p. 123). Nine percent of cities restrict sharing food with those who are experiencing homelessness (NHLC, 2019). Additionally, in a three-year ethnographic project from 2014-2017 in San Francisco, Herring (2019) found that police officers, responding to complaints about people experiencing homelessness, often issued citations or move-along orders. These move-along orders kept people experiencing homelessness in a state of flux and at risk of confiscation of their personal belongings—such as vital medications and identification records—making it more difficult to get and maintain work, connect with services, and obtain housing (Herring, 2019).

These laws that criminalize homelessness make the likelihood of being arrested 11 times higher for people who are unhoused than their housed counterparts (NHLC, 2019). Sometimes people are fined rather than arrested; however, unpaid fines or failed court appearances can lead to arrest warrants (NHLC, 2019; Vitale, 2017). Sometimes

people are sent to jail for up to six months for one violation (NHLC, 2019). The criminalization of homelessness exacerbates mass incarceration and disproportionately impacts people of color (NHLC, 2019). Misdemeanor or felony convictions can bar people from benefits, jobs, services, and housing, making it more likely they will remain unhoused (NHLC, 2019).

Study Purpose and Research Question

The purpose of the current study was to explain how the role of the social worker influences how libraries respond when patrons experiencing homelessness are in crises.

The following research question guided this study: *How does the role of the public library social worker influence how public libraries (including library staff, security, and/or library police) respond to crises with library patrons experiencing homelessness?*

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

Public Libraries as Shelters and Librarians as Social Workers?

With few places to sit or lie down, it is logical that persons experiencing homelessness are finding a seat at the public library. For those with or without emergency nighttime shelter, the public library has become a daytime shelter (Cart, 1992; Cathcart, 2008; Giesler, 2017; Williams, 2016). In fact, libraries have been called “defacto daytime shelters” (Torrey et al., 2009, p. 45) and “makeshift shelters” (Giesler, 2017, p. 194).

Besides using the library for shelter, patrons experiencing homelessness also access the library for temperature-controlled space, free Wi-Fi, computers, outlets to charge cell phones, water, and bathrooms (Adams & Krtalić, 2022; Anderson et al., 2012; Provence, 2018; Urada et al., 2022). Public libraries also provide a space for people experiencing homelessness to blend in, feel safe, have a place to belong (Hodgetts et al., 2008), to relax, cope, escape from stress, connect with others over social media, and use information to build confidence (Adams & Krtalić, 2022; Muggleton & Ruthven, 2012). In addition, patrons experiencing homelessness access a variety of print and internet media and have a wide variety of information needs (Adams & Krtalić, 2022; Muggleton & Ruthven, 2012). The information needs of the urban poor are often urgent and require immediate answers, otherwise the patron might leave and not come back, potentially resulting in adverse consequences (Turner & Gorichanaz, 2018). At a large U.S. Midwestern urban library, patrons experiencing homelessness ($n = 212$) reported their top five needs as housing/unsafe housing (38.5%), financial (34.3%), transportation (32.9%), clothing (28.6%), and job training (23.5%) (Provence et al., 2020).

Library staff are encountering patrons in need of food, clothing, emergency shelter, housing, childcare, employment, legal aid, health care, health insurance, transportation, mental health care, safety from domestic violence and child abuse, and substance abuse treatment (Luo et al., 2012; Morgan et al., 2016; Urada et al., 2022; Wahler et al., 2019; Westbrook, 2015). Just as libraries get compared to shelters, librarians are often compared to social workers (O’Neill, 2017) and have been called “defacto social workers” (Cathcart, 2008, p. 89). However, many emphasize that librarians and social workers are not the same (Cronin, 2002; Westbrook, 2015; Wilkins Jordan, 2014; Williams, 2016; Wong, 2009; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019).

Responding to Patron Crises in the Library

As library staff are confronted with patron needs that are more suited for social workers, library staff frequently encounter patrons in crises (Urada et al., 2022). Williams and Ogden (2020) study of 22 urban public librarians via five focus groups sought to discover the knowledge and perspectives librarians used to determine how to respond to patrons experiencing crisis. The researchers defined “patron in crisis” as “individuals having a crisis of some kind—for example, people experiencing homelessness or at risk of homelessness, people with symptoms of serious mental illnesses, and/or people who appear to be suffering from substance-use disorders or withdrawal” (Williams & Ogden, 2020, p. 2). They found that the librarians desired pertinent and regular training to develop the knowledge to help patrons in crisis, specifically training on communication, de-escalating patrons experiencing mental health crises, and first aid training. Furthermore, librarians in the study acknowledged that sometimes they did not know how to handle a crisis and had to seek to connect the patron to an outside service that might be

able to help. However, sometimes the librarians reported they were “expected to respond and do something” even when they did not know what to do and lacked the needed “experience or expertise;” in these cases the librarians had to depend on their own judgement to figure out what to do (Williams & Ogden, 2020, p. 5). While many helpful attitudes were identified, sometimes librarians were frustrated and stressed when they perceived they were “acting like a social worker” instead of a librarian (Williams & Ogden, 2020, p. 7).

This stress of library staff from encountering crises they were not prepared for was also found during a study at the San Diego Central Library that was trying to ascertain what role a social worker could play there (Urada et al., 2022). Crises at this library were centered around homelessness, mental health, sex trafficking, and the opioid addiction and were occurring daily. Staff found themselves, like those in William and Ogden’s (2020) study, “blindly reaching in the dark” to try and assist patrons in crisis (Urada et al., 2022, p. 7). At a least one patron a day was excluded from the library, and police were used frequently for crisis intervention (Urada et al., 2022).

Library staff also encounter patrons who are overdosing or experiencing serious mental illness (Ford, 2017; Pressley, 2017; Urada et al., 2022). Even as people experiencing homelessness are disproportionately impacted by substance use, libraries are being heavily impacted by the opioid crisis. Patrons are entering under the influence, using drugs, dealing drugs, and even overdosing while at the library (Real & Bogel, 2019; Urada et al., 2022). Librarians feel the strain of trying to determine who is asleep from being on the street at night and who might be unconscious from a drug overdose;

increasingly, library staff are being trained to administer Narcan to reverse drug overdoses (Real & Bogel, 2019).

Libraries are also still managing the impacts of the deinstitutionalization movement that started in the 1960's that virtually emptied public psychiatric hospitals without adequate aftercare plans, resulting in many becoming homeless; in addition, many new persons experiencing a serious mental illness have never been hospitalized and remain in the community (Torrey et al., 2009). In a study by Torrey et al. (2009), librarians were [provided a definition of] "serious psychiatric disorders" as: "individuals who appear to be talking to themselves (hearing voices) and/or behaving or talking in a very strange manner" (p. 46). Of the 119 librarians, 61% reported that patrons who appeared to have a serious psychiatric disorder often took an inordinate amount of staff resources; 92% reported that such patrons impacted library use or disturbed other patrons; and 28% reported that individuals who presented as having a serious psychiatric disorder had assaulted library staff (Torrey et al., 2009).

Problem Patrons

Mental illness, substance use, and other psychosocial needs of patrons have created demands on library staff that go beyond their training and role (Anderson et al., 2012; Gross et al., 2022; Pressley, 2017; Provence et al., 2020; Urada et al., 2022; Wahler et al., 2019; Williams, 2016; Wray, 2009). While trying to meet the needs of the few patrons who take a disproportionate amount of time, library staff have to balance maintaining order and safety, appeasing housed patrons, *and* trying to ensure equal information access to all (Mars, 2012; Provence, 2018; Torrey et al., 2009; Winkelstein, 2019; Wong, 2009). Encountering such complex needs for which they are often not

trained, library staff may sometimes view patrons experiencing homelessness as problem patrons (Barrows, 2014; Cronin, 2002; Hersberger, 2005; Redfern, 2002; Winkelstein, 2019) though many have compassion and empathy (Williams & Ogden, 2020). Due to the stigma often associated with homelessness, patrons who visibly appear to be experiencing homelessness may be perceived as a threat to some library staff and housed patrons due to assumptions that they might be using substances, have mental health problems, smell, be lazy, or dangerous (Goffman, 1963; Winkelstein, 2019; Wong, 2009).

Policies

Some libraries have created policies that disproportionately impact patrons experiencing homelessness including prohibiting sleeping, large items, sleeping rolls, or washing (Bardoff, 2015; Blood, 2022; Mars, 2012; Provence, 2018; Winkelstein, 2019). A review of seven U.S. public libraries code of conduct policies found that all seven had policies that, depending on the seriousness and cooperation of the patron, could result in arrest and prosecution when allowed by law (Provence, 2018). The decision to call the police is often left to library staff discretion (Oliver, 2020). Both Winkelstein (2019) and Giesler (2017) found that library policies were meant to apply to all patrons equally, but Winkelstein (2019) found that while the codes of conduct were meant to create safety and consistency of treatment, not all patrons were the same. Patrons had different needs and their perception of the rules impacted how they felt at the library (Winkelstein, 2019). Giesler (2017) found that library staff found themselves implementing codes unequally, often with more leniency towards patrons experiencing homelessness out of compassion or fear of a dangerous encounter. While it would be incorrect to assume patrons are

dangerous based on their housing status or because they have a mental health condition, there are patrons who have committed acts of violence in and outside public libraries, including killing library staff, making it understandable that library staff may have safety concerns (Clark, 2019; McEntyre, 2020; Messina, 2015; Oliver, 2020). Library staff have reported feeling uncomfortable or afraid during patron crises, causing some to feel stressed and having difficulty maintaining good attitudes about patrons in crisis; for others feeling uncomfortable or afraid have made it more likely they would call security or police (Williams & Ogden, 2020). Oliver (2020), a former DC librarian, questions the role that race plays in the decision to call the police within a profession that is predominately White, observing that her African American colleagues rarely saw the need to call for the police.

Significance of the Problem

Reliance on Security and Police in the Library

Many libraries hire security guards, retired officers, or full-time armed police officers to patrol their library while others call for the police (Albrecht, 2016; Oliver, 2020; Schwartz, 2020). The Washington DC Public Library even has their own police force (Farberov, 2022; NBC Washington Staff, 2022)⁴. Albrecht's (2016) training, *How to respond to a security incident in your library*, promotes near-daily police visitation to the library, requests of regular and extra patrols, "hangout" spots for police, and staff programming the police dispatch number into their cell phones (slide 9). This mobilization of the police by calls generated from the library could be considered a form

⁴ On August 4, 2022, Jesse Porter, a retired police officer serving as a trainer, shot and killed Maurica Manyan, a library police officer, during a training being held inside the library as he demonstrated how fast a gun could be drawn and fired. He was charged with involuntary manslaughter (Farberov, 2022; NBC Washington Staff, 2022).

of “third-party policing” (Herring, 2019, p. 771) in which organizations, businesses, or even individuals act as a form of social control (Desmond & Valdez, 2012; Garland, 2002).

B. Robinson (2019) identified three responses to security and policing in public and academic libraries in the U.S. and Canada: “the liability framework,” “the security consultant framework,” and “the first amendment framework” (para.7). The liability framework promotes the practice of security and library staff to watch particular patron types (including those experiencing homelessness) who are viewed as more prone to suspect behavior, strengthening stereotypes of marginalized populations without considering the adverse effects they cause these communities (B. Robinson, 2019). Next, the security consultant framework relies heavily on the approaches taught in two ALA published texts: *Library Security* (Albrecht, 2015) and *The Black Belt Librarian* (Graham, 2012), written by a former police officer and a former security director respectively. B. Robinson (2019) critiques both frameworks as advocating for increased police presence at the library and promoting an approach incongruent with the goal of creating welcoming spaces for all patrons.

The third and final framework B. Robinson (2019) distinguished is the First Amendment framework which is built on the case of *Kreimer v. Bureau of Police for the Town of Morristown* (1992). Mr. Kreimer, a person experiencing homelessness, sued multiple city employees, including but not limited to, library staff and police officers, after being put out of the library on multiple occasions. Mr. Kreimer reported using the library for reading and sitting, while the library maintained that he disrupted both staff and other patrons by staring, following others, and having body odor. Kreimer won in the

District Court which found that the library's rules were vague, overreaching, and violated his right to access information; however, the library appealed, and the U.S. Court of Appeals both affirmed the protection of the right of citizens to access information in a library, but also recognized that libraries have the right to remove patrons for code of conduct violation if those policies are nondiscriminatory and follow the First Amendment (Barber, 2012; *Kreimer v. Bureau of Police for the Town of Morristown*, 1992). Using this framework, library and information science scholars recognize the need to balance the rights of one with the rights of the majority and are cognizant of patrons' right to sue (B. Robinson, 2019).

B. Robinson (2019) challenged the notion of libraries relying on security and policing without consideration of the potentially negative impacts for people experiencing homelessness as well as other marginalized populations. Given that African Americans, veterans, and persons with mental illness are all disproportionately represented in the population of persons experiencing homelessness —and are more likely to be victims of police brutality— the matter of when police should be called by library staff is one that requires careful consideration (Carbado, 2017; CIA, 2023; DeGue et al., 2016; Fargo et al., 2012; Henry et al., 2020; Nooe & Patterson, 2010; B. Robinson, 2019).

In the community, people experiencing homelessness are often a target of complaints from those who are housed, especially in gentrifying areas, and thus have increased interactions with police which can result in frequent unpaid citations that turn into warrants (Herring, 2019; T. Robinson, 2019; Vitale, 2010, 2017). Herring (2019) has identified this as “complaint-orientated policing” (p. 773). This style of policing exposes

people experiencing homelessness to frequent move along orders and loss of their belongings that hinders their attempts to get and maintain a job, connect with services, obtain housing, and often destroys camps and pushes people into more secluded areas increasing their vulnerability to victimization and the weather (Herring, 2019; Vitale, 2017). A similar phenomenon to complaint-orientated policing has been identified at the public library in which housed patrons will complain to library staff about unhoused patrons, resulting in library staff feeling pressured to act; sometimes this results in 911 calls being made for police (Provence, 2018; Williams & Ogden, 2020; Wong, 2009).

Complaint-orientated policing frustrates police—who like librarians—do not wish to be social workers (Friedman, 2020; Herring, 2019; Lane, 2019; Williams & Ogden, 2020). During the late nineteenth century, police in some larger cities tried to maintain public order by having people experiencing homelessness sleep on the basement floors of police stations (Vitale, 2017). However, under the current “warrior cop” philosophy of policing which emphasizes “honor, duty, resolve, and the willingness to engage in righteous violence,” (Stoughton, 2016, p. 632), helping those experiencing mental health issues and/or homelessness is not seen as a valid or desired role of most police officers, nor is it a substantial part of their training (Chabria, 2020; Friedman, 2020; Reaves, 2016)

U.S. police basic training academies ($n = 644$) from 2011-2013 had an average of 840 hours of training, of which an average of 168 hours covered the use of force, firearms, and self-defense, while an average of 10 hours covered mental illness (Reaves, 2016). Specifically, trainees received an average of 21 hours learning use of force which Reaves (2016) indicates might include de-escalation training. While calls are being made for increased de-escalation training for police, only 29 states require it (Stockton, 2021).

A systematic review of de-escalation trainings across disciplines found none in the field of criminology, hence the impact of de-escalation trainings in policing has been relatively unknown (Engel et al., 2020). However, a modified randomized control trial by Engel et al. in 2022, found that the use of de-escalation training with 1,049 police officers at the Louisville Metro Police Department resulted in a 28% reduction in use of force and a 26% decrease in injuries to citizens.

While police are trained to fight crime and to use force, most officers spend the vast majority of their time on non-felonious issues (Friedman, 2020). During the first half of 2020 in ten primarily large U.S. urban police agencies, only 1% of the calls for service were for aggravated assault, robbery, rape, and homicide (Asher & Horitz, 2020). During multiple ride-alongs with a San Francisco Police Department homeless unit, Herring (2019) observed that the officers were not able to clear their queue of homeless complaints even one time. Between 2013 and 2017— when the percentage of people experiencing homelessness in San Francisco who lived outside increased by less than one percent— Herring (2019) found that the dispatching of police from 911 calls due to “homeless complaints” rose by 72% and that complaints regarding homelessness to the non-emergency 311 rose by 781% (p. 778). Police routinely are called upon to act as the primary agency interacting with those who are without homes, which is not a good fit for their role or the tools they have at their disposal (Vitale, 2017). As declared in Karma’s (2020) title, “We train police to be warriors, and send them out to be social workers.”

Sending an officer, who is both armed and trained in force, into a situation more suited for a social worker, can have harmful, even lethal consequences, as exemplified in the killing of Rayshard Brooks, a man who was sleeping in his car in a drive-through in

Atlanta, Georgia (Friedman, 2020; Karma 2020; Library Freedom Project, 2020). People experiencing homelessness often sleep in public libraries. This is one of many circumstances library staff and security regularly face that could precipitate a call to 911 if efforts to wake them prove unsuccessful. While having an armed officer present might make some people feel safer, given the violence that some police officers have exercised in disproportionate amounts towards marginalized populations, it causes many to feel unsafe (Balzer, 2020; B. Robinson, 2019; Schwartz, 2020). Indeed, some librarians have expressed angst about when to call the police due to fear of racist policing practices (Williams & Ogden, 2020) or have advised others to only call in the direst of emergencies in order to protect Black patrons (Dapier & Knox, 2020). Sometimes minor situations are escalated by the presence of an armed officer (Karma, 2020) in what has been identified as the weapons effect that suggests that aggression increases in the presence of a weapon (Berkowitz & LaPage, 1967). In 2015, Kevin Allen, an African American, entered a New Jersey public library; police recognized him as wanted for a probation violation and followed him (Yuhas & Thrasher, 2015). Two officers confronted him on the third floor of the library where he threatened to kill them with a utility knife; the police fired nine shots and killed Mr. Allen (Attrino, 2019; Yuhas & Thrasher, 2015).

Many voices in librarianship are recognizing that reliance on police and security may not be the best answer to problems in the library. Balzer (2020), while acknowledging a librarian who stated that police in her community have a “knack for de-escalation,” highlights the measures that some libraries are taking, including the hiring of social workers, to reduce their dependency on law enforcement (para. 23). Schwartz (2020) calls for libraries to extremely reduce their dependency on the police by creatively

rebuilding library infrastructure, including the possibility of social workers, to promote a safe experience for all library patrons. Oliver (2020)—a former librarian who describes an overwhelmingly White work force of librarians who, in her experience, are primarily the ones calling the police—acknowledges that the police presence in the library decreased the number of times she was verbally or sexually harassed by a patron. However, Oliver (2020) calls for the underlying causes of crime to be addressed through the reallocation of security dollars to create a support system including social workers, mental health crisis staff, and de-escalation training with hopes that some of the current library police who are skilled in relationships and de-escalation might be retrained and rehired in the new supportive positions.

However, perhaps the most revolutionary position comes from the Library Freedom Project (2020) and the Abolitionist Library Association (n.d.), who are calling for libraries to remove police from libraries. The Freedom Project (2020) lists a number of recommendations to fill the void left by police including forming community partnerships to address patron needs, hiring peer navigators, training staff on de-escalation, and hiring social workers. However, they warn that social workers have also historically propagated structural injustices and emphasize that any social workers hired must have a “racial justice lens” (Library Freedom Project, 2020, para. 13). This critique of social workers is echoed by seven social work scholars and two educational scholars (Jacobs et al., 2020) as they decry the White supremacist legacy and history of social workers collaborating with police in “carceral social work” that interacts with marginalized populations in “coercive and punitive” ways in the fields of health and mental health, child welfare, schools, and domestic violence (p. 3). They call for a

reimagining of social work practice, providing descriptions of social work interventions that explicitly eschew interactions with the police (Jacobs et al., 2020). On the other hand, B. Robinson (2019) calls libraries to reevaluate, rather than discard, their relationship with the police while also calling for additional research of interprofessional partnerships as options to policing and security in libraries.

Library social work *is* an example of interprofessional collaboration that early research suggests is reducing the reliance on the police to handle crises at the library (Provence, 2020; Schweizer, 2018; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019). While helping those experiencing homelessness, mental illness, and/or substance use disorders is not the expertise, nor desired role, of most library staff, security, and police officers, it *is* the expertise and role of the social worker. Emerging student research is beginning to show that the role of the public library social worker is reducing the reliance on policing and security for crises that do not pose an imminent safety threat and provides a relationship-based preventative approach that promotes the well-being of marginalized patrons (Provence, 2020; Schweizer, 2018).

Studies of Public Library Social Work Practice

According to emerging research in the U.S. and Canada, public library social workers are beginning to change the way libraries respond to crises with patrons experiencing homelessness in four key ways (Provence, 2020; Schweizer, 2018; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019):

1. Social workers provide an option to calling 911.
2. Social workers influence how patron codes of conduct policies are implemented.

3. Social workers provide services to patrons experiencing homelessness.
4. Through training, modeling, and coaching, social workers equip library staff to work with patrons experiencing homelessness.

All four are reiterated in the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (2017) Guidelines for Library Services to People Experiencing Homelessness (2017) which indicates that library social workers help deescalate incidents resulting in less police calls, connect patrons to services, provide direct training and modeling to staff (including how to deescalate, practice self-care, and implement trauma-informed services), and examine how policies and procedures impact marginalized populations.

While the psychosocial needs of patrons that go beyond the training and role of library staff are well documented in the research literature (Anderson et al., 2012; Gross et al., 2022; Pressley, 2017; Provence et al., 2020; Urada et al., 2022; Wahler et al., 2019; Williams, 2016; Wray, 2009), research on library social work began slow but is now increasing. The earliest study was a program evaluation in 2012 of the Social Workers in the Library (SWITL) program, a volunteer model of library social work (Luo et al., 2012). The San Jose State University School of Social Work, the San Jose Public Library, and the local chapter of the NASW piloted the SWITL program in the fall of 2009. Beginning on a once-a-month basis, and later increasing to twice a month, NASW volunteers contributed two hours to meet with library patrons to provide twenty-minute consultations with the main objective “to seek ways to increase access to information regarding local social service programs” (Luo et al., 2012, p. 74). At the time of the evaluation, 116 patrons had received in-person consultations. Forty-one self-administered anonymous surveys were completed, achieving a 35.3% response rate. Two statistical

outcomes were reported: the helpfulness of the services ($M = 3.74$, $SD = .59$) on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*very unhelpful*) to 4 (*very helpful*) and the professionalism of the social worker ($M = 4.68$, $SD = .79$) on a Likert scale of 1 (*low*) to 5 (*high*) (Luo et al., 2012). Patrons suggested that the program could be improved by allowing longer consultations times.

Three additional outcome studies have been published in the last two years (Garner et al., 2020; Hill & Tamminen, 2020; Marino & Harmon, 2019). In 2019, a study was completed at the Philadelphia Free Library studying an interprofessional model between social work, library science, and nursing (Mariano & Harmon, 2019). A full-time social worker and full-time nurse were embedded in the library, working closely with library staff to connect library patrons to free or low-cost healthcare. Both internal referrals to the team members as well as to external resources were made. While an emphasis was placed on health-related referrals, others were made for basic needs such as shelter, housing, and food. Limited participant ($n = 358$) characteristics were reported including housing instability ($n = 93$, 26%), immigrant status ($n = 7$, 2%), and uninsured status ($n = 125$, 35%) (Mariano & Harmon, 2019). Of the 358 participants, under half ($n = 193$, 44%) were referred to another in-house team member ($n = 20$, 6%), to an outside resource only ($n = 158$, 44%), or both ($n = 15$, 4%). Of the 158 participants referred externally only, 90 (57%) referrals were completed. Persons experiencing homelessness or housing instability had a completion rate of 87%, while the patrons with stable housing had a completion rate of 19% (Mariano & Harmon, 2019). This author conducted a chi-square analysis and found that those who were experiencing homelessness or unstable

housing were significantly more likely to complete external referrals than those with stable housing (87% versus 19%, $\chi^2 = 31.26$, $p \leq .005$).

Another program evaluation was Hill and Tamminen's (2020) mixed-methods case study of the Innovative Solutions to Homelessness project at the Mississauga Central Library in Canada. Through an extensive community partnership, a social worker was hired (the Homelessness Prevention Outreach Worker) and an Open Window Hub was placed at the Central library to provide drop-in style services to people experiencing homelessness. An online survey captured the views of 93 library employees including 11 security staff. Of these 93 staff, 12 participated in focus groups. In addition, the social worker was interviewed. The role of the social worker combined with the Hub were perceived to be working to help patrons obtain housing. The staff survey found that those employees who had received training on homelessness felt significantly more knowledgeable, comfortable, and skilled when helping patrons experiencing homelessness than those staff who had not been trained (Hill & Tamminen, 2020). Some staff were uncertain how to help patrons experiencing homelessness and struggled with deciding when to call for security (Hill & Tamminen, 2020).

The fourth and most recent outcome study reported on the outcomes of the first public library social worker in Australia, at City of Melbourne Libraries (Garner et al., 2020). Initially they did a four-month pilot with a homeless outreach worker (not a social worker) who worked directly with patrons and had a heavy emphasis on supporting and training staff. Subsequently, the outreach worker was position was discontinued, and a social worker from a local housing organization was hired. An unreported number of staff interviews were conducted. The outreach workers and the social workers case notes were

used but the analysis was not described. Three surveys were conducted of staff regarding the training and support they received from the outreach worker and later the social worker: a pre-survey prior to the trainings with the outreach worker, post survey after trainings with the outreach worker, and a final survey with staff in January 2020. Staff reported that having a social worker alleviated stress by knowing that if a situation arose that was more than they could handle, they knew a trained social worker was there to respond. Furthermore, they reported that a more positive environment with less concerning patron behaviors was created by the library social worker. Library staff reported a slight increase and then decrease in their understanding of the complexities that people experiencing homelessness face: pre pilot $n = 86$, $M=5.9$; post pilot, $n = 70$, $M = 6.8$; January 2020, $n = 80$, $M = 6.4$ (Garner et al., 2020). Staff reported a slight increase in their confidence at knowing how to appropriately respond to patrons who were behaving inappropriately: pre pilot $n = 86$, $M=5.8$; post pilot, $n = 70$, $M = 6.0$; January 2020, $n = 80$, $M = 6.2$ (Garner et al., 2020). No statistical analysis was done to test for significance. The social worker's direct interventions with patrons experiencing homelessness or at risk of homelessness were presented in the form of three short case study vignettes that showed the extensive advocacy and brokering the social worker did to help people experiencing homelessness to connect with needed resources. A most notable take away from this study was that the newly implanted social worker relied on the pre-existing relationships the staff had with patrons as a bridge for building trust (Garner et al., 2020).

Zettervall and Nienow's (2019) book, *Whole person librarianship*, a handbook primarily for library staff, examines the spectrum of social service partnerships that are

present in public libraries including office hours, interns, part-time social workers, and full-time social workers. Their research was conducted in 2016. The book contains six case studies, two of whom were degreed social workers. Their work was also informed by a survey ($n = 381$) of which 340 were librarians and 41 self-identified as social workers; however, of these social workers only 15 worked in a library and only 12 were full-time in the library (personal communication, M. Nienow, June 22, 2020). They also identified that library social work consists of a range of micro, mezzo, and macro functions including helping handle some crises that previously may have been handled by security or police (Zettervall & Nienow, 2019).

Two emerging student researchers, Provence (2020) in the U.S. and Schweizer (2018) in Canada have also begun to examine public library social work. Both exploratory studies demonstrated how social workers are addressing the psychosocial needs of marginalized patrons by working directly with patrons and equipping library staff. Furthermore, both studies demonstrate that social workers provide an option to calling 911 during patron crises and are influencing how code of conduct policies are implemented. Provence's (2020) pilot study examined the role of the public library social worker broadly and specifically to patrons experiencing homelessness. Schweizer's (2018) master's thesis examined why Canadian libraries are motivated to hire social workers and identified various practice models primarily based on who employed or paid for the social worker.

Both Provence (2020) and Schweizer (2018) conducted a multiple case study, heavily influenced by Yin's (2009, 2018) case study methodology. Provence's case was the role of the public library social worker and was limited to those with a social work

degree whose primary practice location was a public U.S. library and who served at least some patrons experiencing homelessness. Schweizer's (2018) cases were urban Canadian libraries who had at least one social worker involved through either direct employment or partnership. Schweizer (2018) conducted semi-structured interviews of public library social workers, library staff, and municipal staff combined with document analysis. Provence (2020) did semi-structured interviews supplemented with a short demographic survey with five master of social work practitioners employed full-time within a U.S. public library (four urban and one suburban).

Schweizer's (2018) embedded mixed method design included an online quantitative and qualitative survey of 78 library staff across Canada. While only 44 completed the survey, the author included partial data from the incomplete surveys. Schweizer (2018) divided the sample into three groups according to whether they had a social worker in their library: Group 1 ($n = 6$, 10.71%) answered in the affirmative, Group 2 ($n = 5$, 8.93%) indicated their library planned to hire a social worker, and Group 3 ($n = 45$, 80.36%) had not and did not intend to hire a social worker. Key findings from Schweizer's (2018) survey were that Canadian libraries were motivated to include social workers to provide direct support to marginalized patrons and to support, train, and assist staff. Group 1, who had social workers already, reported that the existing library social workers were supporting them by helping with "challenging behaviors" and developing solutions with security to handle crises (Schweizer, 2018, p. 82). All three groups perceived that social workers had a needed skillset that could serve patrons and also train, support, and assist staff as they worked with marginalized library patrons. One respondent indicated that social workers could model "behavior and engagement

practices for staff” (Schweizer, 2018, p. 77). Specifically, library staff recognized that social workers were able to promote inclusion of patrons at risk of expulsion and to de-escalate volatile situations (Schweizer, 2018).

Evidence that social workers were engaging in micro, mezzo, and macro practice were found in both studies. On the micro level, social workers were using a grassroots approach to meet patron psychosocial needs (Provence, 2020). Notably they were reaching marginalized patrons not served by other social workers (Provence, 2020). The library provided freedom to serve all patrons without meeting eligibility criteria, billing for service, or meeting productivity quotas which enhanced the ability of social workers to build relationships over time (Provence, 2020; Schweizer, 2018). Library staff expressed relief and reduced anxiety knowing there was a social worker to support patrons with complex needs (Schweizer, 2018).

On the mezzo level, social workers were having an organizational level impact. Social workers perceived that as a result of coaching and training on topics such as trauma-informed care and homelessness, they were changing the way library codes of conduct were implemented, reducing the likelihood that staff would call 911 or expel patrons experiencing homelessness (Provence, 2020). Canadian library staff reported the benefits of having a social worker included an increased sense of support and an increased ability to respond to marginalized patrons (Schweizer, 2018). In all four cases, libraries were seeking system level change by adding the social work position into the organizational structure. Social workers were seen as helping the library system create more inclusive and preventative policies and practices; and they were also perceived to use a relationship-driven approach that promoted patron well-being that could, in some

cases, prevent the need for police and paramedic response, thereby better using municipal resources (Schweizer, 2018).

At a macro level, social workers were sitting on community boards (Provence, 2020) and liaising with community resources on behalf of patrons (Provence, 2020; Schweizer, 2018). Social workers were acting as “community connectors” using a wraparound approach to fill gaps in the social service infrastructure (Schweizer, 2018, p. 162). This finding was supported by Richter et al. (2019) who conducted two focus groups of marginalized patrons at the Edmonton Public Library, a library in Schweizer’s study. Outreach workers (social workers) were found to play a key role in connecting marginalized patrons to services (Edmonton Public Library, n.d.; Richter et al., 2019).

Lloyd’s (2020) first person account of working as a library social worker at Georgetown Public Library (GPL) in Texas also described working at micro, mezzo, and macro levels including direct client work, training and coaching of library staff, and connecting with the community at large. Through the social worker’s training and coaching, staff at GPL have become more confident in helping patrons. Lloyd (2020) described the library as a protective factor to disenfranchised patrons: the building itself provides basic necessities such as temperature control and water while library staff build supportive relationships with patrons.

Giesler’s (2021) ethnographic study of three U.S. public libraries who had social workers examines the perceptions of both the social worker and their library counterparts regarding their role in the library. The three sites were a small city library and two central branches of two large urban library systems. Giesler spent two days at each library, shadowing the social workers, and conducting focus groups and 13 individual interviews.

Participants included three social workers, a wide variety of staff (including two security staff), and administrators. There were 25 total participants across sites. The themes were grouped into two main themes, the “expectations and duties of the role,” – from both the staff and the social workers, and “challenges related to the role (Giesler, 2021, p. 408). The duties of social workers were perceived to be: equipping staff (including security) to work with “challenging patrons,” (p. 408), providing in-depth community resource information for staff and patrons, directing patrons to existing library resources, and working towards mezzo level change in the library (Giesler, 2021). Challenges identified included privacy concerns of social worker/patron meetings due to space constraints, a lack of guidance for when to refer a patron to the social worker, the isolation of social workers practicing without onsite supervision by a social worker, and the disconnect between the actual job duties as compared with expectations of the funding agency (Giesler, 2021).

Gaps in the Literature

While the need for public library social workers is well documented (Kelley et al., 2017; Wahler et al., 2019; Williams, 2016), research on library social work is still in its infancy. Four program evaluations that involve library social workers have been published. The two U.S. studies examined a volunteer social worker program at the library (Luo et al., 2012) and a nurse, social worker, and library collaboration (Marino & Harmon, 2019). Hill and Tamminen (2020) conducted an evaluation of a Canadian library’s program that included a social worker and a service hub for patrons experiencing homelessness. Garner et al., 2020 provided an evaluation of the first Australian public library social worker.

Four studies have looked at library social work on a broader scale (Giesler, 2021; Provence, 2020; Schweizer, 2018; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019). Schweizer (2018) was limited to Canada and put forth a range of models of social services in the library that included but were not limited to the full-time social worker model. Likewise, Zettervall and Nienow (2019), took an expansive view of the range of social service options that a public library can engage to serve patrons with a variety of needs. While it was focused on the United States, only two of the six case studies were focused on the full-time social work model. Giesler (2021) focused strictly on the social work model, though full-time or part-time was not specified; his study did not state if the participant social workers were involved in crisis intervention or de-escalation, though at least one was trying to influence the security team to be more “compassionate” in their approach; another social worker got the library to hire a retired police officer in a security role which reduced the calls to police (p. 410).

Mentions have been made in Schweizer (2018), Provence (2020), and Zettervall and Nienow (2019) that social workers are handling situations that have previously been handled by security or police as well as that they are modeling and training library staff about topics such as Trauma Informed Care, homelessness, and mental health. However, each of these studies were much broader in scope and not specifically focused on explaining how full-time social workers are impacting how libraries respond to crises with patrons experiencing homelessness. Provence (2020) only included the perspective of the social worker, and though Schweizer (2018) and Zettervall and Nienow (2019) included the views of library staff, neither included the view of security, library police, or patrons experiencing homelessness. Hill and Tamminen (2020) suggest library staff who

are trained about homelessness have higher levels of “knowledge, comfort, and skills” in interacting with persons experiencing homelessness, but they do not differentiate whether that training was received from the library social worker (p. 484). Williams and Ogden (2020) call for research on how “knowledge, skills, and attitudes” combine to impact how librarians develop as professionals in the context of handling patron crises (p. 13).

B. Robinson (2019) calls for research on how interprofessional collaborations serve as options to policing and security in libraries. None of these prior studies focused specifically how social workers change how libraries respond to crises involving library patrons experiencing homelessness or on the de-escalation role of the social worker. This study will endeavor to fill these gaps by examining multiple perspectives to explain how social workers are influencing the way libraries (including front-facing library staff, security, and library police) are responding to crises involving patrons experiencing homelessness.

Theoretical Lens

Theories that can aid in understanding the role that library social workers play in changing how libraries respond to patrons experiencing homelessness when they are in crises are social cognitive theory, role theory, and humanization theory. Each theory’s brief history, major contributors, and key tenants will be reviewed. A critical analysis of how each theory is useful to understanding the current topic will follow.

Social Cognitive Theory

Social cognitive theory is an outgrowth of Albert Bandura’s (1971) social learning theory. Bandura surpassed traditional learning theories that described behavior as being a product of strictly the environment or strictly personal factors (Bandura, 1971).

Bandura (1971) proposed that learning can occur without requiring a personal stimulus response sequence but instead could occur through observing modeled behaviors and observing the model's resulting consequences or rewards. Social learning theory further emphasized that humans have the ability to think about their reactions to environmental stimuli, the ability to develop self-regulation, and the ability to impact their environment (Bandura, 1971).

Social learning theory was integral to Bandura's later social cognitive theory. The foundation of social cognitive theory is the concept of "triadic reciprocal causation" in which the person, the environment, and behavior patterns interact and influence each other in both directions (Bandura, 1999, p. 23). Bandura rejected the either/or dichotomy of behavior being shaped by the environment or being shaped by internal factors; instead, Bandura sought to understand how the internal processes of the mind, the emotions, biological effects, behavior patterns, and the environment interacted to create behavior (Bandura, 1999). He purported that humans have agency which allows them to participate in "agentic transactions" whereby they are both "producers as well as products of social systems" (Bandura, 1999, p. 24).

Bandura (1977) also presented the concept of self-efficacy which became a key construct of social cognitive theory. Self-efficacy is a person's own belief that they can successfully perform a task to achieve a particular outcome (Bandura, 1977). General self-efficacy (the belief that one can perform in diverse circumstances) and specific self-efficacy—also called task-specific self-efficacy—have been differentiated (Gist & Mitchell, 1992; Rooney & Osipow, 1992; Schwarzer et al., 1997; Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1995).

Bandura (1977) demonstrated the predictive value of self-efficacy for successful task performance and identified four ways to create efficacy: mastery experiences, “social modeling,” “social persuasion,” and physical and emotional states (Bandura, 1997, p. 6). The first, mastery experiences, is the process of having experiences of success at a task as well as learning from and overcoming failures (Bandura, 1997). Social modeling is the process of observing and learning from people similar to oneself (Bandura, 1997). The third way to create efficacy is through social persuasion by models who lead people into believing they can achieve the task and create and structure the environment towards success rather than failure (Bandura 1977, 1997). Finally, physical and emotional signals provide information about one’s capabilities; a sense of fear or stress lessens self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977). However, models can demonstrate coping skills to reduce fear and stress signals by showing effective methods to handle an intimidating task or situation (Bandura 1977).

Learning through modeling is not just a process of copying someone else’s behavior; rather, “abstract modeling” is the process of observers distilling the rules underlying a particular behavior that can be applied to different situations that use the same rules (Bandura, 1999, p. 25). Modeling is particularly useful in organizational work environments through “guided mastery modeling” (Bandura, 1988, p. 276). Complex skills are taught by breaking them down into steps that teach general guidelines that can be applied across different situations; Bandura describes this being done through observing models on videotape (Bandura, 1988). Subsequent to watching the video, participants need to be able to practice the new skills in a simulated environment in which they receive constructive feedback and experience some measure of success

(Bandura, 1988). To increase the likelihood that people actually transfer their learning into action in the workplace, the final step is to assign trainees to handle a selected problem and then discuss both their successes and difficulties (Bandura, 1988). However, self-efficacy is a determinant of whether or not a person will adopt the behavior learned through modeling (Bandura, 1999). Self-efficacy also plays a key role in motivation, thought patterns, and whether one perseveres through obstacles or gives up (Bandura, 1999). Self-efficacious people believe they can handle threatening situations and are not anxious about them (Bandura, 1999). Self-efficacy's predictive value is well established in vocational choice and work performance (Gist & Mitchell, 1992; Hackett, 1995; Stajkovic & Luthans, 1998).

The constructs of self-efficacy and modeling are useful to understanding the role of the public library social worker as related to the role of library staff, security, and library police. Library staff are being confronted with psychosocial needs of marginalized patrons that are not consistent with the education and training of a librarian (Anderson et al., 2012; Urada et al., 2022; Williams, 2016; Wray, 2009). Addressing psychosocial needs is not included in the ALA's core competencies of librarianship for persons graduating with a master's degree of library and information studies (ALA, 2008). With a lack of training and education needed to develop the skills necessary to address psychosocial needs, competency is likely not obtained, and hence self-efficacy to respond to the psychosocial needs of marginalized patrons, especially those experiencing homelessness, would likely be low (Bandura, 1988; Schweizer, 2018). Library social workers are often training library staff to better understand the psychosocial needs of their patrons thereby possibly increasing their self-efficacy (Provence, 2020). Lloyd's

(2020) account of library social work indicates that through the coaching and training of the social worker, staff are feeling more capable of being able to handle the needs of marginalized patrons.

Since the presence of psychosocial needs among library patrons is well documented (Provence et al., 2020; Wahler et al., 2019), it can be assumed that just like library staff are encountering patrons with psychosocial needs, so too are library security guards and library police. As noted previously, police training on mental health is limited, likely limiting officers' self-efficacy in assisting patrons with psychosocial needs (Reaves, 2016). As of 2016, 29 states had state statutes mandating the training of unarmed security guards (21 without) and 36 states require armed guards to be trained (14 without); however, a systematic review of these mandates did not indicate that any of the training curriculum was focused on homelessness, mental health, or the like (Klein et al., 2019). It would therefore seem likely that self-efficacy in addressing psychosocial needs would also likely be low in both armed and unarmed security guards. Provence (2020) found that library social workers are helping to equip security guards to better understand psychosocial needs of patrons.

Studies regarding increasing the self-efficacy of library staff regarding working with marginalized patrons are scarce. Dalston and Turner (2011) studied 192 staff from 27 U.S. public libraries who took an online course entitled *Managing Difficult Patrons with Confidence* (see Appendix A for differing levels of online training and course objectives). The term difficult patron was not defined. Researchers reported that after completion, 90% of library staff had an increase in specific self-efficacy of course objectives; however, three months later, the number of staff who retained this increase in

specific self-efficacy dropped to 66%. At three months post, 25% of participants felt even less confident in dealing with difficult patron issues than prior to the training. Those staff who dropped in specific self-efficacy expressed that dealing with difficult patrons was emotionally taxing, necessitated complex skills, and required the clear support of administration (Dalston & Turner, 2011).

Another study that measured self-efficacy consisted of two cohorts with a total of 33 library staff at one urban library system (Morgan et al., 2018). Trainers implemented an in-person case-based curriculum to equip staff to “recognize, engage, and refer marginalized patrons” to appropriate services (Morgan et al., 2018, p. 362). The curriculum was divided into four training sessions: mental health and substance abuse, homelessness, immigration, and trauma. The curriculum developers sought to incorporate Bandura’s (1977) sources of self-efficacy by promoting the mastery of the material through case studies, vicarious modeling (participant sharing of successful patron encounters), verbal persuasion (encouragement), and reducing stress (emphasizing social support for staff) (Morgan et al., 2018). Pre and post-test surveys were used as proxy measures of task-specific self-efficacy. Researchers reported increased self-efficacy in all four topic areas (see Appendix B for construct measurement).

Preliminary evidence of each of Bandura’s (1977) four ways to increase self-efficacy have surfaced in the emerging library social work research:

1. Modeling: social workers reported modeling how to work with marginalized patrons in real time as well as through formal trainings (Provence, 2020).

Canadian libraries were motivated in part to hire social workers so they could provide training to library staff to increase staff confidence and competence;

and library staff reported a gain in their capability to respond to the needs of marginalized patrons (Schweizer, 2018).

2. Mastery experiences: social workers were regularly providing consultation to staff and security to help them have more successful interactions with marginalized patrons (Provence, 2020; Schweizer, 2018).
3. Social persuasion: social workers reported listening to staff process their feelings and encouraging them in the process of learning how to respond to marginalized patrons (Provence, 2020; Schweizer, 2018).
4. Physical/emotional signals: Social workers reported teaching staff about self-care and trauma to help handle the stress related to working with marginalized patrons (Provence, 2020). Schweizer (2018) found that staff were “supporting staff through emotional burdens” (p. 102).

In addition to understanding the concepts of modeling and self-efficacy, role theory provides an additional lens through which to understand the topic.

Role Theory

Role theory is useful to help understand how public library staff, security, library police, and social workers respond to patrons experiencing homelessness in crises, as well how the role of the social worker could be used as an alternative for security and policing for some crises. Role theory began as a theater reference in which an actor (ego) played their part with a script (expectations) and interacted with others (alters) who also had their own parts and scripts (Biddle, 1986; Parsons, 1951). A role is simply “a cluster of behaviors and attitudes that are thought to belong together, so that an individual is viewed as acting consistently when performing the various components of a single role

and inconsistently when failing to do so” (Turner, 2002, p. 233). The behaviors of caring for psychosocial needs are not typically a part of library staff education and training which may help explain the frequency with which library scholars emphasize some variation of the refrain, *we are not social workers* (ALA 2008; Cronon, 2002; Urada et al., 2022; Westbrook, 2015; Wilkins Jordan, 2014; Williams, 2016; Wong, 2009). In addition, police officers are not trained to be social workers, nor do they desire to play the role of one (Friedman, 2020; Herring, 2019; Lane, 2019).

Many have contributed to role theory. At a collective or structural level, Linton (1936) emphasized the linkage between status and roles (Turner, 2002). Defining a status as a “collection of rights and duties,” Linton (1936) went on to identify a role as a “dynamic aspect of a status” (pp. 113-114). When an individual implements the rights and duties of a status, that individual is enacting a role (Linton, 1936). Merton (1957) pointed out that Linton (1936) made a one-to-one connection between a particular status and a particular role. Merton (1957) took issue with this and alternatively proposed that each status had multiple roles—a role-set, which Merton defined as the “complement of role-relationships in which persons are involved by virtue of occupying a particular social status” (p. 110). For example, a person who holds the status of librarian may have a role-set that includes a diverse array of role-relationships with persons in the roles of patrons, other librarians or assistants, administration, security, police, housekeeping, agency providers, and municipal employees. Both Merton and Linton’s theories are considered structural in nature and emphasize that people who play a role are guided by internal and/or external expectations and are critiqued by themselves and others according to how well they adhere to the expectations (Turner, 2002).

However, interactionist role theory may better explain the process of *how* position roles in organizations can change (Turner, 2002). As role holders change, they impact their alters, requiring their alters to change (Turner, 2002). In the public library scenario, patrons experiencing homelessness have fallen through the gaps of a faltering social welfare infrastructure. As this population has experienced change and brought increasing psychosocial needs to the library, it has impacted their alters – the library staff.

According to interactionist role theory, “abrupt or radical changes in roles undermine predictability and provoke anxiety” (Turner, 2002, p. 235). Indeed, library staff have expressed angst over this changing role they are untrained to meet (Morgan et al., 2016; Wilkins Jordan, 2014; Williams, 2016). Complaint-orientated policing has put demands on police officers to respond to quality-of-life complaints regarding people experiencing homelessness, causing officers to often fill a role that would be better suited to social workers (Friedman, 2020; Herring, 2019; Karma, 2020; Reaves, 2016).

As library staff have sought to respond to the increasing psychosocial needs of marginalized patrons without the needed education and training, they have experienced role strain. (Wilkins Jordan, 2014; Williams, 2016). Role strain was defined by Goode (1960) as “the felt difficulty in fulfilling role obligations” (p. 483). Librarians are trained in information excellence, communication, and interacting effectively with diverse patron groups around the utilization of information, but they not trained in navigating the complex psychosocial needs of patrons experiencing homelessness and other marginalized patrons (ALA, 2008). This knowledge gap contributes to library staff role strain.

Role strain can also be caused by intrarole conflict—the conflicting needs of different alters in one’s role-set (Goode, 1960; Merton, 1957; Turner, 2002). Differing expectations of different members of the role-set prevent the status holder from being able to fulfill all the expectations, causing role strain (Biddle, 1986; Goode, 1960; Kahn et al., 1964; Parsons, 1951; Turner, 2002). Library staff often have to navigate the conflicting needs and expectations of unhoused and housed patrons while trying to maintain the democratic space of the public library (Provence, 2018; Wong, 2009). For instance, library staff may recognize the need for patrons experiencing homelessness to rest but also have to manage the complaints of other patrons disturbed by snoring. Library staff experience stress related to crises and trying to determine when or if they should call the police (Williams & Ogden, 2020). Competing demands for time also contribute to intrarole conflict (Turner, 2002). Trying to meet the complex psychosocial needs of a person having a mental health crisis can take an inordinate amount of time and detract from a library staff completing other tasks or helping other patrons (Torrey et al., 2009).

Role strain can also be caused by role ambiguity—a lack of clarity about what is “expected, appropriate, or effective behavior” (Harrison, 1980, p. 32). Library staff often face complex situations or crises involving marginalized patrons that they are uncertain how to deal with (Dalston & Turner, 2011; Urada et al., 2022; Williams & Ogden, 2020). In a qualitative study of the responses to homelessness of 47 library staff at nine semi-urban or urban libraries, Giesler (2017) discovered that participants were uncertain about their role in applying code of conduct policies to deal with problem behaviors.

There are multiple ways that library staff have tried to decrease role strain. Giesler (2017) found that library staff created informal advocate roles to assist patrons experiencing homelessness in “under the radar” means (p. 201). In addition, to deal with the role ambiguity about applying the codes of conduct, some staff resorted to leniency to try and prevent dangerous encounters or to reduce stress on patrons experiencing homelessness (Giesler, 2017). Conversely, Winkelstein (2019) found that LGBTQ+ youth in Canada perceived that library staff were enforcing patron codes of conduct disparately to keep them out of the library. Goode (1960) calls this way of dealing with role strain “barriers against intrusion” to prevent “others from initiating, or even continuing, role relationships” (p. 487). Another way to deal with role strain, according to Goode (1960), is to quit the job in which the stressful role relationships exist. Oliver (2019) describes how the stress of working as a public librarian in Washington, DC resulted in symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder and ultimately prompted the decision to quit after nine months of trying to be “a social worker, a first responder, an advocate for the underserved, and a human with very thick skin” (para. 8).

Finally, and most relative to this discussion, to reduce role strain on library staff, some libraries are reallocating the task of working with marginalized patrons to social workers (Goode, 1960; Provence, 2020; Schweizer, 2018; Turner, 2002). Not only are social workers bearing some of the strain by engaging directly with patrons, but social workers are also assisting library staff during crisis situations. Social workers are also equipping library staff to interact with patrons experiencing homelessness and other marginalized patrons (Provence, 2020; Schweizer, 2018; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019). Social workers are conducting formal trainings on topics like homelessness and trauma-

informed care which helps library staff to be more responsive to patron needs as they implement patron codes of conduct (Provence, 2020). Furthermore, social workers are modeling interactions with patrons in front of staff and individually coaching and supporting staff to interact with marginalized patrons (Provence, 2020; Schweizer, 2018; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019). Library staff have reported increased feelings of support, greater capacity for tending to the needs of marginalized patrons, and relief knowing the social worker is available for patrons with complex needs (Schweizer, 2018).

Standing in the gap of a faltering social welfare infrastructure, library staff have experienced role change. Because patron psychosocial needs often exceed their traditional training and role, they are having difficulty meeting this new role and consequently are experiencing role strain. This role strain is further exacerbated by the conflicting needs of housed and unhoused patrons, competing demands for time, and role ambiguity about how to handle crises posed by the psychosocial needs of patrons experiencing homelessness. Sometimes this has resulted in a reliance on the roles of security and/or police, though they are also often not prepared for this role (Klein et al., 2019; Reaves, 2016). Over the past 10 years, some of these roles are beginning to be reallocated to social workers who are bearing some of the library staff role strain by working directly with patrons, intervening during a crisis, and influencing how patron codes of conduct are implemented. In addition, social workers are equipping library staff to work with patrons experiencing homelessness and other marginalized patrons which may be helping library staff and security increase their self-efficacy in working with marginalized patrons and thereby possibly reducing library staff role strain (Provence, 2020; Schweizer, 2018; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019).

Humanization Framework

Finally, the humanization framework (Todres et al., 2009) is key to understanding how attitudes of social workers, library staff, security, and library police impact how they treat patrons experiencing homelessness generally and specifically when they are in crises. Williams and Ogden (2020) point out the importance of understanding how attitudes impact how librarians handle crises situations. Given that patrons experiencing homelessness are often seeking safety at the library (Hodgetts et al., 2008; Winkelstein, 2019) and may already feel wary around security and police (B. Robinson, 2019), the attitudes of library security and police are also important to understand. The humanization framework (see Table 1), originally proposed for qualitative research in health care, has eight dimensions that each can be applied to the attitudes of social workers, library staff, security, and library police have about patrons experiencing homelessness in general and during a crisis (Todres et al., 2009). See Table 1.

Table 1. *Humanization Framework*

Forms of Humanization	Forms of Dehumanization
Insiderness	Objectification
Agency	Passivity
Uniqueness	Homogenization
Togetherness	Isolation
Sense-making	Loss of meaning
Personal journey	Loss of personal journey
Sense of place	Dislocation
Embodiment	Reductionist Body

(Todres et al., 2009, p. 70)

Each dimension can be compared to a continuum with an opposite word on each end, one word representing the humanizing pole, and the other word representing the dehumanizing pole (see Table 1). Insiderness refers to a person's own sense of self and their own experience, while objectification fails to recognize this sense and instead treats the human before them as an object (Todres et al., 2009). Agency recognizes each

person's ability to act and decide versus passivity which suggests others should be acted upon. Uniqueness references that each person is an individual, while homogenization lumps people in a group where individuality is not recognized and honored. Togetherness and isolation recognize the importance of belonging and being with others, while isolation means one does not experience belongingness. When a person is able to make sense out of life, they can narrate their own story; without meaning, a person may feel as if their life does not matter. Personal journeys that are both connected to the familiar but not stagnant and continuing to move forward provides an experience of continuity, however, trauma or other life events, such as the loss of home, unexpectedly rip away the familiar and can make one feel lost. Very relevant to homelessness is the physical loss of having one's own space to call their own; with criminalization and the constant push from place to place, people experiencing homelessness are literally dislocated (Herring, 2019; Todres et al., 2009; Provence, 2020). A view of the person as embodied in the whole of the body and life experience contrasts with reducing a person to their symptoms without consideration of the whole body and context of their life (Todres et al., 2009). This is consistent with the person in environment perspective of social work that not only looks at the individual but at that person in their whole social context (Zettervall & Nienow, 2019).

Since the humanization framework was proposed in 2009, Hemingway (2012) applied it in public health, while Provence's (2020) pilot study used the first seven dimensions of the humanization framework to understand how five public library social workers were equipping library staff to "move towards humanizing interactions with patrons experiencing homelessness" (p. 1). From the perspective of the social workers,

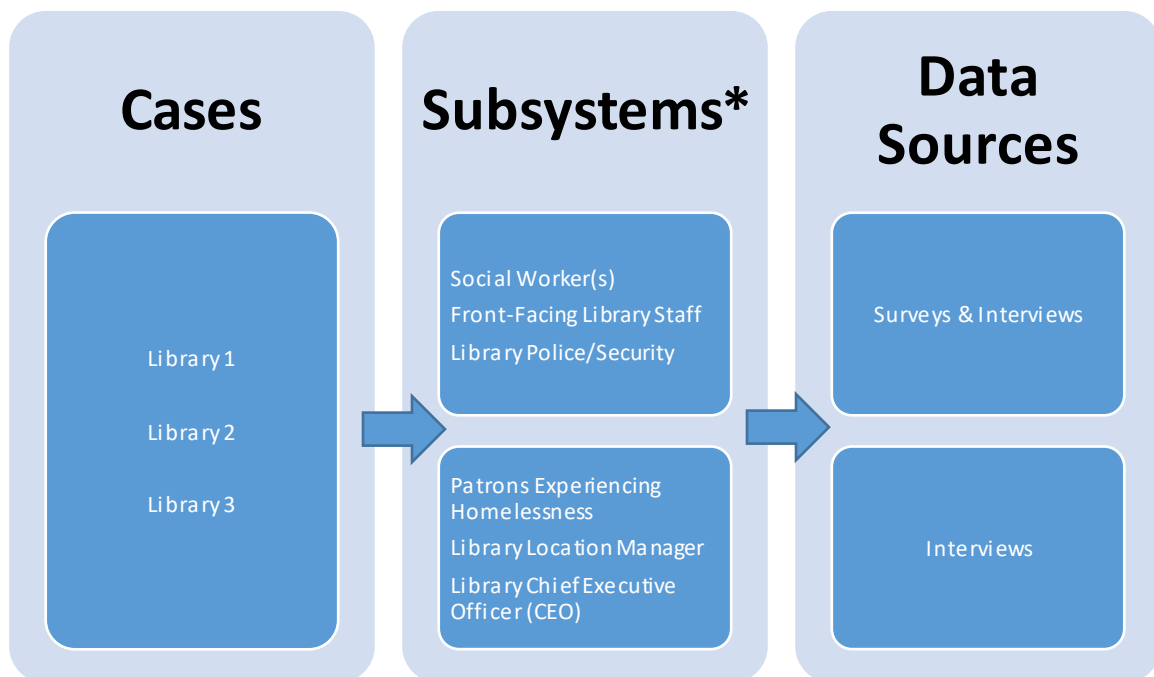
their actions were influencing other library staff to move further along each continuum to the forms of humanization. For example, social workers trained library staff about the nuances of homelessness which emphasizes each person's uniqueness rather than homogenizing them with the label "homeless" (Provence, 2020). For further examples of how each of the dimensions were applied, refer to Provence, 2020. For the purposes of this study, the humanization framework will be used to situate the attitudes and actions of the library staff, security, library police, and social workers towards patrons experiencing homelessness generally and in crises specifically.

CHAPTER III: METHODS

Research Design and Rationale

An explanatory, embedded-multiple case study design, primarily using Yin (2018) as a guide was selected. The flexible nature of case study allowed for both in-depth qualitative inquiry and the analysis of quantitative data, both through surveys and interviews, to explain how social workers are influencing how libraries respond to crises with patrons experiencing homelessness (Yin, 2018). Yin's model allowed the researcher to use theory and propositions to guide the inquiry. An embedded-multiple case study provided the perspective of multiple roles within three urban library locations from different regions across the U.S. This was similar to a design by Claude et al. (2019) that had two universities as their cases and four types of staff interviewed at each university; their design graphic inspired Figure 1.

Figure 1. *Explanatory Embedded-Multiple Case Study Design*



*Units of Analysis at Each Library

This case study was similar in design to Hill and Tamminen's (2020) mixed methods case study that evaluated a program called Innovative Solutions to Homelessness that included a homeless prevention outreach worker (library social worker), staff training on how to help patrons experiencing homelessness, and a drop-in style hub at the library. While their study was a single case study design of one library system with multiple branches, and this one was a multiple-case study, the methods were similar. Using an online instrument, Hill and Tamminen (2020) surveyed both library staff and library security across nine branches ($n = 93$). They conducted three focus group interviews in which front-facing library staff and library police participated ($n = 13$) and an interview of the library social worker. The present study used three different online surveys modified for the role of the participant (i.e., social worker, librarian, library police/security) and individual Zoom interviews rather than focus groups. In addition to the social worker, front-facing library staff, and library police/security, this study included the perspectives of patrons experiencing homelessness, location managers, and CEO's.

This study built off this researcher's exploratory pilot study from a doctoral level course in which five U.S. public library social workers were surveyed and interviewed about their overall role as well as a narrower focus on their role related to patrons experiencing homelessness (Provence, 2020). The pilot study's survey and interview guide were developed in the fall of 2018 with expert review of the interview guide provided by Dr. Mary Nienow (2019), the social work researcher who co-authored *Whole Person Librarianship*. For the pilot study, the survey and the interview guide were pilot tested in January 2019 prior to data collection in the spring of 2019.

The survey from the pilot study was used as a starting point for the social worker survey for this study, with 13 questions—primarily related to demographics, job setting, qualifications, and months employed—reused. (For the social worker survey, refer to Appendix C.) Information learned from the pilot study about the frequent lack of clinical supervision, the types of trainings social workers conduct, and their role were used to form new multiple-choice questions for this study covering: frequency of clinical supervision, how they get help in the absence of clinical supervision, role functions, if they train, topics they train on, and the types of staff they train. In addition, the pilot study showed that the status of a library as a stand-alone organization or as a part of city government impacted the role of the social worker, therefore a multiple-choice question was added to find out their library’s status. Finally, a new question was added, “Who provides security at your library?” The response options covering armed or unarmed security guards or police officers were informed by Oliver (2020).

The surveys for the front-facing library staff and library police/security were also influenced by the pilot study. Five survey questions covering age, race, gender, job title, and length of time employed were reused from the pilot study’s social worker survey. Information learned from the pilot study interviews about the multiple ways that social workers assist library staff and security was used to create the response options to, “What type of assistance did you seek from the social worker?” The pilot study yielded multiple training topics that social workers train staff on; these were used to form the response options to “What trainings have you attended that were taught by the library social worker?” To explore a rival theory that staff may have received training elsewhere that might impact how they respond to patrons in crisis, a new question was created to ask,

“Where else have you obtained knowledge about working with patrons experiencing homelessness who are in crisis?” The response options were influenced by both the pilot study interviews and the current literature review. Additional questions were also formed to answer the research question and will be explored more in the data sources section.

This study’s instruments went through a refinement process: all instruments were reviewed by each member of the research committee. Expert consultants each reviewed the instruments that were under their expertise. These reviews resulted in adding four questions to the front-facing library staff survey: “Are you authorized to call 911 for public police?;” “If it is not your role to call 911, how do you decide when to request an authorized person to call 911?;” “Are you authorized to call a non-emergency number (such as police dispatch, a non-emergency number, or an officer’s cell phone)?;” and, “How do you decide when to call for public police using a non-emergency number (such as police dispatch, a non-emergency number, or an officer’s cell phone)?” In addition, a question was added to both the library staff and security/police surveys: “What changes have you noticed since having a social worker on staff?” Also, in both of these two surveys a response option of “a professional conference presentation or workshop” was added to the question: “Have you obtained knowledge about working with patrons experiencing homelessness who are in crises from any of the following sources? Mark all responses that apply.” Across both the front-facing library staff and police/security surveys, response options related to frequency were anchored for reliability. In addition, the interview guides were modified to include a probe to find out if front-facing library staff and police/security have been influenced on how to work with persons experiencing homelessness by professional conferences and training. In addition, two questions were

added to both the front-facing library staff and security/police interview guides: “What is it like for you to have a social worker on staff?” and “Please describe how, if at all, having a social worker has affected your role.” In the CEO/Location Manager interview language of “crisis” was changed to “crisis incident” for clarity and two additional questions were added: “What changes have you noticed since having a social worker on staff?” and “Do you have a patron code of conduct?”

Further refinements were made when entered into Qualtrics including rewording some questions for clarity or grammar and adding two additional questions to the social work survey regarding the number of hours worked at the library location and the number of other social workers also working at that location. To mirror gauging the education of the both the social workers and front-facing library staff, a multiple-choice question regarding education was added to the police/security survey. Also at this stage, a duplicative question on both the front-facing library staff and police/security surveys was deleted about if they had used the social worker’s services.

In February 2021, the researcher did pilot surveys and interviews as follows. The front-facing library staff survey and interview guide were piloted with Mahasin Ameen, librarian, and expert consultant. The social worker survey and interview guide were piloted with a full-time urban public library social worker. Finally, the interview guide for patrons was piloted with Maurice Young, homeless advocate, and expert consultant, who is since deceased.

The pilot surveys and interviews resulted in changes. The social work survey question about role tasks of the social worker had four new tasks added (completing Coordinated Entry Assessments, grant proposal writing, program development, and

program evaluation). One question regarding the social worker's prior experience with persons experiencing homelessness was deleted from the social work interview guide as it made the interview too long and seemed less germane to the research question. A few minor revisions in the interview guides for the front-facing library staff, library police/security, and patrons were made for clarity.

Philosophical Assumptions

Pragmatism was used as the underlying philosophy of this inquiry. While often used in mixed methods due to its flexibility and practicality, pragmatism's use as a philosophy has often been overlooked; and, in fact, it can be used as an underpinning in both qualitative and quantitative inquiries (Morgan, 2014). Pragmatism changes the conversation from ontology and epistemology to why we do research in a chosen way (Morgan, 2014). The emphasis is on the "consequences and meanings of an action or event in a social situation" (Denzin, 2012, p. 82). Because of the situated dependency and the constant changing of the world the research is in, relying on reasonings from our past experiences can be mistaken (Morgan, 2014). Dewey does not negate either the stance of post-positivists or constructivists—instead he embraces and considers them both valid by understanding that human experience is bounded by the nature of the world, but that our perception of our world is bounded by our own interpretation of our experiences (Morgan, 2014). Dewey emphasizes that we do not have the freedom to believe any theory about the world if we are concerned about the consequences of acting from those beliefs (Morgan, 2014). Furthermore, the process of a pragmatic inquiry is a series of decisions by the researcher which are contained in a specific context of history and

culture which also acknowledges that our beliefs and actions are shaped by our interactions with others (Dewey et al., 1996; Morgan, 2014).

Pragmatism also has a strong tie to social justice. Dewey was a contemporary and partner of Jane Addams and was integral to the founding of the both the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (Morgan, 2014). Dewey's most important value for his pragmatism was ensuring the researchers and communities got to choose their defining issues and pursue inquiry in ways that were meaningful from their own perspective; pragmatism therefore has a strong link with social justice inquiry (Morgan, 2014).

This study is not only concerned about social justice for persons experiencing homelessness, but also situated in a profoundly pivotal place in history: the Black Lives Matter movement and the COVID-19 pandemic. A large swath of our society is questioning and calling to account how police are interacting with Black lives specifically, and other marginalized populations generally. Many of those who were previously silent or unaware of such matters are now more open or even vocal about police brutality, while others maintain the status quo or are calling for increased funding of law enforcement. Several library staff are calling for social workers to be a part of the solution to what some perceive as too much reliance of law enforcement in libraries (Balzer, 2020; Library Freedom Project, 2020; B. Robinson, 2019; Oliver, 2020). The Abolitionist Library Association (n.d.) and the Library Freedom Project (2020) are calling for the removal of all police from libraries. In addition, the COVID-19 pandemic shut down many public libraries across the nation. These shutdowns dramatically impacted people experiencing homelessness as many rely on the library for basic

necessities of shelter, temperature-control, WIFI, bathrooms, and water (Lloyd, 2020). Finally, the attitudes and lived experiences that participants shared were influenced by their experiences of and attitudes towards both the pandemic and the Black Lives Matter movement. Most certainly, the purpose and design of this study were substantially influenced by these current social contexts.

Pragmatism was used by Bruce and Bloch (2013) to provide a framework of “community inquiry” for their case study of an urban agricultural project (p. 28). Drawing in part on Dewey’s pragmatism, they relied heavily on Brendel (2006), a psychiatrist who emphasized practicality and flexibility in treating human patients and who combined the thoughts of Dewey, Pierce, and James (Bruce & Bloch, 2013). Yin (2003) also emphasizes the flexibility of the case study to follow new leads, identify new cases, and adapt protocol when the unexpected happens, while maintaining the rigor of the inquiry. Therefore, these common themes of flexibility and practicality of pragmatism and case study methodology form a good fit for this study that was situated in the fluid and rapidly evolving social contexts of the COVID-19 pandemic and the Black Lives Matter movement.

Key Terms

Public library social worker, for this study, was defined as a full-time paid social worker whose primary work location is in a public library, who possesses at least one degree in social work [a Bachelor of Science in social work (BSW), a Master of Social Work (MSW), or a Doctor of Social Work (DSW)], with or without licensure, who is performing duties associated with the field of social work. Patrons experiencing homelessness was defined as public library patrons who lack a permanent address of their

own including those who are utilizing shelters or transitional housing (Public Health Service Act, 2018).

Library staff was defined as any front-facing library staff who interacts with the public on a regular basis and excluded library employees or contractors who work in a social work, security, location manager, or chief executive officer capacity. Security guard referred to any person, armed or unarmed, who works in a library through direct employment or through a private security firm whose role is to patrol the library. Library police included any officer, armed or unarmed, retired or active, who either is employed by or contracted by the library directly or indirectly to patrol the library. Location manager referred to the top-ranking staff at each location, excluding the chief executive officer. Chief Executive Officer (CEO) referred to the highest-ranking staff member of a library system.

For this study crisis was not defined. Herring (2019) notes that “homeless crises” are not just caused by an increase in homelessness but also are caused by a “crisis of complaints” (p. 771). It is notable that Williams and Ogden (2020) identify the state of experiencing homelessness as a crisis in and of itself. While a library staff may perceive this as a crisis, the patron experiencing homelessness, while obviously aware of their housing status, may or may not feel in a current state of crisis. That difference in perception may lead to a sense of urgency for a library staff, while not for the other. As a part of this study, each participant was allowed to use their own definition of crisis when answering the research questions.

Defining the Case and Guiding Proposition

A case for this study was the library bounded by the role of the library social worker as it pertains to influencing how libraries respond to crises with patrons experiencing homelessness [either directly (through their own work with individuals experiencing homelessness) or indirectly (through their influence on the response of others including front-facing library staff, security, and library police, or library policy)] (Yin, 2018). It should be noted that each case was a particular library location versus an entire library system.

In addition to limiting the scope of a case by creating boundaries around the case, Yin (2018) also described the importance of beginning a case study with theoretical propositions that guide the study and move the researcher towards the data collection that will answer the research question. The proposition that guided this study was: social workers are influencing how libraries respond to crises with patrons experiencing homelessness—both through the social worker’s direct interventions with patrons and the social worker’s influence on library staff, security, library police, and library policy—reducing libraries reliance on law enforcement, and providing a relationship-based approach that provides a safer experience for staff and patrons alike (Provence, 2020; Schweizer, 2018; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019). Three rival theories were also explored to see if they impacted the library’s reliance on law enforcement. First was the possible influence of Ryan Dowd (2018), author of *The Librarian’s Guide to Homelessness*, through both the book, a free webinar (Dowd, n.d.), and subscription-based training (Dowd, n.d.) that advocates using a call to police as the last resort. Another possible rival identified in advance was the influence of Albrecht’s (2016) training, *How to Respond to*

a Security Incident in Your Library which encourages increased reliance on law enforcement. The third rival identified in advance, which ultimately was found to be very prevalent in the data, was the influence of the Black Lives Matter movement.

Recruitment of Libraries

Yin (2018) differs from traditional qualitative inquiry in that sampling is not used (Farrugia, 2019). Instead, Yin uses replication logic rather than sampling logic for multiple case studies. Yin (2018) explains that each case must be chosen with care as they each are like multiple experiments in which “similar results (a literal replication) or contrasting results (a theoretical replication) [are] predicted explicitly at the outset of the investigation” (p. 61). This study used criterion sampling to narrow down the selection of potential cases, so that replication logic could be used to pick three cases that were likely to yield similar findings (Moser & Korstjens, 2018; Yin, 2018).

To be considered for participation in this study, libraries had to have a full-time social worker with at least one degree in social work whose main location of service provision was at the library and who also served patrons experiencing homelessness. The employer of the social worker was allowed to be the library, the municipality, or an outside agency. Licensure as a social worker was not required for participation. Libraries that only had people serving in a social work type role without any degree in social work were excluded.

A spreadsheet based on Zettervall’s (n.d.) map of library systems that have full-time social workers was created. While this source did not have every library social in the country included, it is the most comprehensive publicly available list. The 45 library systems that had full-time social workers at the time of recruitment were narrowed down

to exclude those whose locales have fewer than 100,000 people, which resulted in 23 remaining library systems. This criterion was chosen to focus on urban centers where the number of people experiencing homelessness is usually higher than in small rural areas. In addition, there was concern that, due to the minute number of libraries in small towns or rural areas that have social workers, it would be difficult to maintain the anonymity of the library location and consequently the participants. Additionally, due to COVID-19, library websites were monitored to exclude those libraries whose buildings remained closed to patrons; however, by the time recruitment began, 22 were open, or open on a limited basis. Of these 22, two were excluded that had a peer navigator program as this would add an additional role into the crisis scenario. The list was then narrowed down to two libraries in each of three geographical regions of the U.S. (South, Central, and West) while also trying to ensure racial minority representation amongst the social workers. Finally, the length of the library social work position was considered with a preference for those that have existed at least one year, to give the social worker a chance to make an impact. For each location, the central or main library location was pre-selected because main branches tend to be in the downtown area where often the most persons experiencing homelessness are.

Prior to recruitment, approval was obtained by the Indiana University Institutional Review Board and classified as exempt. Initial recruitment emails were sent to two libraries in December of 2021, but this did not yield much response. After consultation with Dr. Starnino, Chair, the researcher garnered the aid of John Helling, Indianapolis Public Library CEO (Interim) who provided a confidential email introduction to each of the six-library system's CEOs which went out on January 18, 2022 (see Appendix D).

The researcher followed-up via email and garnered the interest of four of the libraries – two in the Southern U.S., one in the Central U.S., and one in the Western U.S. The researcher met with a combination of management, CEO, and/or social workers via Zoom to conduct eligibility screens and discuss study details (Appendix E). Of the four libraries who were interested, three were eligible, with one screened out because they had a case manager instead of a degreed social worker. However, this resulted in two libraries in the same region and one region without representation. These three libraries were offered and accepted a spot in the study.

Data Sources

Data sources were Qualtrics surveys and recorded Zoom interviews. Qualtrics survey links were distributed via email, providing no financial barrier to distribution and collection. Given the financial barriers for travel to multiple libraries in the U.S. combined with the health risks of the COVID-19 pandemic, Zoom interviews were the most feasible, cost-effective, and safe option to interviewing participants. In a study regarding how both researchers ($n = 2$) and participants ($n = 16$) viewed the use of Zoom for interviewing in qualitative research, 69% indicated that Zoom was preferred over interviews by phone, through alternative videoconferencing methods, and in-person (Archibald et al., 2019). Recording to the cloud via Zoom was easily achieved by turning this feature on in settings and hitting the record button at the beginning of the interview (Zoom, n.d.-a). Cloud recordings were automatically encrypted with complicated passwords to ensure the utmost in security (Zoom, 2020).

Taken together, the surveys and the recorded Zoom interviews provided the data to answer the research question: *How does the role of the public library social worker*

influence how public libraries (including library staff, security, and/or library police) respond to crises with library patrons experiencing homelessness? The surveys consisted of mostly multiple-choice questions with a few qualitative questions each. The five interview guides for the social worker, library staff, library police/security, patrons experiencing homelessness, CEO, and library location manager also helped answer the research question by seeking out rich description of how they each viewed the social worker's role in regard to patrons experiencing homelessness in crisis.

Social Worker Data Collection Instruments

Social Work Survey

The social work survey took approximately 10 minutes to complete and consisted of 15 multiple-choice questions and 10 fill-in-the-blank questions. The survey collected data regarding their demographics, qualifications, their role, and their job setting. For example, regarding their role, a list of 27 possible job tasks such as de-escalation and case management were given and participants could mark all responses that applied, as well as add their own under "other." In addition, the social workers were asked if they lead trainings, and if yes, they were presented with a list of possible staff positions they train and a list of 10 training topics as well as the ability to name others. (This same list of training topics was presented in both the staff and library police/security surveys to find out if they had attended any trainings led by the social worker). Regarding job setting, questions included, "Who provides security at your library? Mark all responses that apply." They were provided eight options (including other) to select from.

Social Worker Interview Guide

A 14-question interview guide was used during the open-ended interviews of social workers (Appendix F). This interview guide was the most in depth as it sought out both the social worker's direct interventions with patrons experiencing homelessness as well as other ways they helped staff increase their ability to serve patrons experiencing homelessness and their role in handling crises. The social worker interview guide had similar questions to the staff and library police/security surveys regarding their view of what constitutes a crisis and when calling 911 is needed. Questions included: "Tell me about your role in addressing crises involving patrons experiencing homelessness at the library. Can you share an example?" and "Describe a circumstance at the library when you called 911 for the police. Under what circumstances do you think police are needed at the library?" In addition, it asked, "Have you gotten to influence the patron code of conduct, either in content or implementation? If so, how?" Using a pragmatic paradigm, as other themes became apparent from the respondent, these themes were explored. In addition, open-ended interviews allowed for participants to give their insights and opinions (Yin, 2018). The total interview time for social workers was about 60 minutes. From the survey and interview of the social worker at each library, a picture was gathered of their perception of not only their own role of helping patrons experiencing homelessness in crises directly but also through their interactions with the staff and library police/security.

Library Staff and Library Police/Security Data Collection Instruments

Library Staff and Library Police/Security Surveys

While specialized by role, these surveys were similar in length and content. Library staff completed a 32-question survey consisting of 15 multiple-choice, 7 fill-in-the-blank, and 10 open-ended questions (Appendix G). Library police/security completed a similar but slightly different 31 questions survey consisting of 15 multiple-choice, 7 fill-in-the-blank, and 9 open-ended questions (Appendix H). Both surveys helped answer the research question by asking a series of questions about their interactions with the social worker as well as finding out how they handled crises with patrons they knew or thought might be experiencing homelessness. Mostly multiple choice questions were used with 9-10 open-ended questions to minimize the coding needed while at the same time getting a more in depth understanding of the crises these personnel face, what situations make them feel unsafe, how they decide to call for police, and how, if at all, they feel having a library social worker has influenced how they respond to patrons experiencing homelessness in crises.

Both roles answered questions about their job title, length of employment, and if they have used assistance or trainings from the social worker as well as questions about the type of assistance they have sought from the social worker, training attended by the social worker, and if they have other knowledge sources of working with patrons experiencing homelessness in crisis. Both surveys also inquired how often patrons they knew or thought might be experiencing homelessness were in their library and how often they interacted with them. Both surveys also ask the frequency with which they have called for public police assistance with patrons experiencing homelessness. In addition,

both roles were asked “Are there situations in which you feel asking for public police assistance is beneficial” and “Are there times in which you feel asking for public police assistance poses risk?” For each, they could choose “Yes,” “No,” or “Not Sure.” They were then prompted to explain their choice in a text box.

The library police/security survey had four questions that were not on the library staff survey. These gathered information about the qualifications of the officer (security or police), education, employer (library or other entity such as the local police department or private security firm, and armed status (armed/unarmed and type of weapons). The library staff survey had four questions that were not on the library police/security survey. The first was: “How often have you had to call for either library security or library police for situations involving a patron you either knew that was or thought might be experiencing homelessness?” with seven anchored response options ranging from “Never” to “Daily (once a day or more).” The library staff were also asked about their authority to call 911 or if not their role, how did they decide when to request an authorized person to call 911, and their degrees. The next to last question of both the library staff survey and the library police/security survey asked if they would be interested in completing a Zoom interview. If they answered yes, they were asked for their name, phone number, and email address.

Library Staff and Library Police/Security Interview Guide

Two almost identical 8-question interview guides were used during the open-ended interviews of front-facing staff (Appendix I) and security (Appendix J). The slight variation was only to reference the role of library staff versus the role of the library police/security in the final question which asked, “What else do I need to understand

about patrons experiencing homelessness in crisis and how the library staff (or library police/security) responds?” The interviews gathered specific examples of times when the participant encountered a patron experiencing homelessness in crisis—both times when they thought it was handled well and those when they thought it was not handled well. As a probe, they were also asked, “What was the role, if any, of the social worker in this situation?” In addition, participants were asked “What or who has influenced how you work with patrons experiencing homelessness when they are in crisis?” This helped not only see if the social worker had played a role but also allowed for rival explanations to surface that might challenge the study’s proposition that social workers are influencing how libraries respond to patrons experiencing homelessness resulting in a decreased reliance on law enforcement (Yin, 2018). In addition, each participant was asked to describe the role of the social worker with patrons experiencing homelessness in crisis and asked how the social worker’s role intersects with their role and how they respond to patrons experiencing homelessness in crisis. Taken together, these questions gathered rich description that aided in understanding how social workers are influencing how libraries respond to patrons experiencing homelessness in crisis—both directly and indirectly.

Patron Interview Guide

A 12-question open-ended interview guide was used (Appendix K), including three demographic questions at the end to capture age, race, and gender. The conversations with patrons experiencing homelessness centered around their lived experience at the library and their interactions with the various roles in the library. Questions included: “Tell me about your experiences at the library;” “Tell me about your

interactions with the library social worker;” and “Tell me about your experiences with the security guards or library police.” “Did you visit the library before the social worker? What was it like? Is it any different now? If so, how?” The answers to these questions provided a deeper understanding of how the social worker provides direct intervention as well as how other staff and library police/security interact with patrons experiencing homelessness.

CEO and the Library Location Manager Interview Guide

A 16-question open-ended interview guide was used that included three demographic questions to capture age, race, and gender (Appendix L). These interviews took a mezzo approach seeking to understand the impetus for hiring the social worker, how crisis was defined in library policy, and the criteria for a crisis to be tracked. In addition, they were asked if the number of crisis incidents had stayed the same, increased, or decreased since having a social worker and prior to COVID-19. Furthermore, they were asked, “What or who has influenced how your front-facing library staff and library police/security handle crises with patrons experiencing homelessness?” and “What, if any, impact has the social worker had on the patron code of conduct itself and/or how it is implemented?” The CEO’s and location managers’ broader perspectives helped answer how the library social worker is impacting the library on a mezzo and policy level.

The method of seeking multiple perspectives about how the role of the social worker influences the way a library responds to patrons experiencing homelessness reflects a pragmatic approach. The surveys and interview guides sought to capture the interaction of the roles, the influences that the social worker may have on the other roles and library policy, and the library’s overall response to patrons experiencing

homelessness in crisis. Pragmatism acknowledges that each person's actions are influenced by others as well as the cultural and societal context they find themselves in (Dewey et al., 1996; Morgan, 2014). With this inquiry situated squarely during a global pandemic and the Black Lives Matter movement, the survey and interview questions were designed to draw out how participants actions may have been influenced by the social worker but also how they related to the larger social context.

Data Collection

Data collection was conducted between February 23, 2022, and May 27, 2022 with staggered start and end dates for each of the three library locations (cases). Data collection took 55 days for Case 1, 31 days for Case 2, and 57 days for Case 3. Each library's location (branch) manager distributed the front-facing staff and security Qualtrics surveys via email with an initial distribution and two reminder emails spaced about 1-2 weeks apart, depending on the manager's schedule. The researcher provided suggested email templates for each manager to personalize that contained unique Qualtrics survey links for each location and role (see Appendix E). As part of the front-facing staff and security surveys, participants were asked if they wanted to be interviewed. All those who indicated they would like to be interviewed were emailed by the researcher with a Calendly link to schedule their Zoom interviews. Calendly is a secure app that does not allow participants to see other participants' names and prevents double-booking (Calendly, n.d.). For those who did not schedule right away, up to two additional invitations to schedule were sent via email; three participants were contacted via text for a third communication. Once a participant had three contacts without scheduling, the researcher stopped contact. Calendly sent automated email reminders to

scheduled participants and gave participants the option to have reminder texts. Interviews were conducted by Zoom and recorded with permission. Zoom created transcripts.

Calendly sent automated thank you emails to each participant.

On two occasions, the researcher learned about a security personnel from other participant(s) who had either not participated in the survey or had done so but declined an interview. Because of the difficulty in getting security to participate at this library, the researcher asked the initial participant to solicit the security personnel to participate. This was successful in garnering one participant who then completed the survey and an interview. Another location initially had no security guard participation; the researcher contacted the leadership for assistance. The next day the guards were given staggered breaks to complete the survey which resulted in all but one guard participating.

Social workers were contacted via email by the researcher with both the survey link and a Calendly link to schedule their Zoom interviews, which were recorded with permission and auto transcribed by Zoom. Calendly sent automated reminder emails and participants had the option to also get text reminders. CEO's and branch managers were contacted via email with a study information sheet and with a Calendly link to schedule their Zoom interviews which were also recorded with their permission and auto transcribed. They too received Calendly reminders (See Appendix E).

For the patron interviews, the social workers contacted the researcher via text, email, or phone when they had a patron who they had screened to determine that they were experiencing homelessness, were a frequent visitor of the library, and not in a mental health crisis that might be exacerbated by an interview. Usually, the interviews were conducted within thirty minutes of the contact. Study information was reviewed

with the patron at the beginning of the interview to make sure they knew it was voluntary, could pass on any question, stop at any time, their name would not be shared, and they would receive a \$15 Subway gift card. Consent was gained for recording. The first patron interview was done over a phone call and recorded via Audacity and later transcribed. The remainder of the patron interviews were done using a Zoom video or audio call OR a phone call that the researcher recorded in Zoom by placing the phone on speaker near the computer with Zoom open. This was done so that Zoom could provide a transcript of the call. The researcher mailed \$15 Subway gift cards to each location's social worker. Two social workers (Cases 1 and 3) received the gift cards and were able to hand them directly to the patron after their interview. At Case 2, the first patron was interviewed prior to the gift cards being mailed. Because it was prior to the gift cards being mailed, the writer sent \$15 using a money transfer application of the participant's choosing. The remaining two gift cards were mailed to the social worker; however, they were returned to the researcher by the post office. The researcher subsequently sent the remaining two participants their \$15 Subway gift cards to their mailing addresses.

Data Analysis

There were 11 steps to the data analysis. Step 1 was taking interview notes. Steps 2-4 pertained to the survey data: cleaning the survey data, compiling descriptive statistics from the closed-ended questions, and coding and categorizing the open-ended questions. Steps 5-9 pertained to the interview data: checking transcripts for accuracy; answering the case study protocol questions in preliminary case analyses; coding the preliminary case analyses; conducting the cross-case analysis through summary themes and visual aids; and creating tables and drawings to move the analysis deeper. Step 10 was

explanation building: comparing and revising the proposition. Step 11 was the write-up when triangulation between the survey and interview findings took place.

Step 1: Interview Notes

Shortly after each interview, the researcher created a note reflecting on the interview including the demeanor of the participant, the content, possible themes, and comparisons to other interviews, and at times, the researcher's emotional response to the interview content.

Steps 2-5: Analyzing the Survey Data

Step 2: Cleaning the Survey Data

All surveys were downloaded from Qualtrics as .csv files which were then converted into Excel files. Initially all like surveys, regardless of case, were combined into one Excel file for cleaning. Cleaning involved identifying and deleting two duplicate surveys and deleting one survey that was so incomplete it had no meaningful data. During the cleaning process, codes were assigned to each survey question to condense the column widths and ensure conformity across cases. This resulted in one spreadsheet each for social workers, front-facing library staff, and security with each participant assigned to one of the three library cases. The spreadsheets were then broken down by case into separate Excel spreadsheets for each case and role, i.e., Case 1 social worker surveys, Case 2 front-facing staff surveys, and Case 3 security surveys.

Step 3: Compiling Descriptive Statistics from Closed-Ended Survey Questions

In this study, the survey data from each case remained separate from the other case's survey data. As Yin (2018) explains, aggregating the survey data across cases would result in two sets of evidence: the aggregated survey data and the three case

studies, thus resulting in a mixed method design rather than a replication design in which each case is comparable to a single experiment that is replicated. Each of the three cases' survey data was tabulated individually. Each case's survey data is displayed in separate columns alongside the other cases in tables throughout the manuscript; with the exception of overall participant totals by race and gender, the data is not aggregated. The narrative provides comparisons across the cases, but the data from each case was handled separately.

Using the answers to the closed-ended survey questions, various tables were made using the data shells laid out in the case study protocol to begin to answer the protocol questions. Descriptive statistics were prepared using Excel and a standard deviation calculator.

Step 4: Coding and Categorizing the Open-Ended Survey Data

All open-ended survey responses were printed. The answer to one question was handled at a time. Starting with the first case, the researcher coded each response phrase by phrase. Once these codes were created, the researcher combined like codes into categories. The researcher then repeated the same process with Cases 2 and 3. Once all three cases had been categorized, the researcher then did a cross-case analysis merging like categories in a reiterative fashion. Once the final categories were created, the researcher returned to the data of each case to calculate frequency of each category and created tables. While some of these tables did not make into the final manuscript or were pushed to the appendices, data from them was used to support and triangulate the themes from the qualitative interviews to answer the research question which will be explained further in Step 11.

Steps 5-9: Analyzing the Interviews

Step 5: Checking Interview Transcripts for Accuracy

The cloud recording feature of Zoom created an MP4 video file for each interview, except for one interview which was recorded with Audacity and subsequently transcribed using NVivo transcription. An audio transcript with timestamps in .vtt format was automatically generated by Zoom by selecting the audio transcript option in the advanced cloud recording settings. Using Microsoft Word, the transcript file was made NVivo compatible using the method described by the University of Otago, New Zealand in a short YouTube tutorial. [Rehabilitation Teaching and Research Unit (RTRU), 2018a]. The Zoom transcription service is reportedly 90% accurate under optimal conditions in which there is minimal background noise and participants speak clearly into their microphones (Dame, 2018; Zoom, n.d.-b). The researcher listened to the entirety of each recording using Express Scribe and checked and edited the transcripts for accuracy in Microsoft Word. The Microsoft word files were then saved into .txt files. The video files were uploaded into NVivo. In NVivo, the video files were edited to include the transcript file (RTRU, 2018b).

The patron Zoom transcripts had low accuracy for eight out of the nine patrons experiencing homelessness. For two of these transcripts, the researcher used NVivo transcription service; however, these transcripts also had low accuracy and required the researcher to re-transcribe most of the interviewee responses. For a third, the researcher listened to the recording and re-transcribed the interviewee responses. The researcher outsourced the remaining five transcriptions to Speechpad which uses live transcriptionists and guarantees 99% accuracy and uses encryption to keep files

confidential and secure (Speechpad, 2022a, 2022b). These files were also checked and edited against the video recording using Express Scribe by the researcher.

Step 6: Answering the Case Study Protocol Questions in Preliminary Case Analyses

The study analysis combined three strategies as outlined by Yin (2018): following the study's theoretical propositions, "examining plausible rival explanations" (p. 172), and working from the "ground up" (p. 169). The study analysis used both deductive (starting with the guiding proposition) and inductive (starting from the data) reasoning (Yin, 2018). Because it was an explanatory study seeking to explain how the role of the social worker influences the library's response to patrons experiencing homelessness when they are in crisis, deductive reasoning was needed. By starting with the case study research study protocol, the guiding proposition, and the rival theories, the data was searched for evidence of each reflecting a deductive process. However, the data was also searched for additional themes under each question in the case study protocol to look for themes not anticipated by the propositions, thus reflecting an inductive approach. Yin (2018) stresses that both types of reasoning are necessary to gradually compare and revise the initial proposition to provide a clear explanation. Specifically, the closed ended research questions relied heavily on the deductive approach which simply necessitates finding the quantitative data to answer the question (for example, "What are the qualifications of public library social workers?"), while the open-ended research questions relied heavily on the inductive approach. For example, "How do the different roles perceive when a call for police is necessary?" required the researcher to use inductive reasoning to extrapolate conclusions derived from multiple participant responses in a case as well as across cases.

Taking Yin's advice, the interview content was incorporated into the preliminary case analysis which was simply the Case Study Questions Protocol (see Appendix M). This recommendation came directly from Yin (2018) who explains that one way to begin analysis is by starting with a question from your protocol and search the data for evidence to answer it; he recommends repeating this process until all your key research questions have been answered. Using a deductive approach, the researcher went through each transcript line by line and searched for answers to the questions from the case study protocol. Some content helped answer multiple questions. Sometimes the researcher created a summary of interview excerpts, while many passages of text from the interviews were simply collapsed underneath the question, so that examples and quotations could easily be found. As this was done, the researcher also began to use memo writing within the preliminary case analysis as insights and reflection took place. Each case's interviews were handled separately, meaning all of Case 1's interviews were checked for accuracy, coded in NVivo, and then incorporated into the Case 1 preliminary case analysis prior to starting the next case. This helped keep the data from each case separate to do a separate case analysis prior to the cross-case analysis (Yin, 2018). Note that ultimately NVivo was not used for the analysis other than to be used for a few searches to locate quotations, but it did give the researcher more time immersed in the data, a part of analysis described by Rossman and Rallis (2017).

Step 7: Coding the Preliminary Case Analyses

Once each interview was incorporated within the relevant preliminary case analysis, both structural coding and more in-depth coding was done underneath each protocol question. This method of sorting the data underneath research questions

followed by a code that represents the overall content of the question is supported by Saldeña (2016) for qualitative studies containing multiple participants and semi-structured interview guides. The data was often coded in paragraphs or multi-paragraphs, similar to the technique used by Schweizer (2018) and described by Saldeña (2016) as “lumping” (p. 23), due to the unusually large amount of data and the desire to keep the integrity of the context of the data. However, for content that was particularly relative to the overall research question, more detailed coding was done, described shortly hereafter.

Given the flexibility that both the pragmatic paradigm and case study method allow to adjust, as previously discussed, the analysis technique varied somewhat from Case 1 to Cases 2 and 3. Case 1 was analyzed first and had much less data than the last two cases. Working with the protocol questions, extensive memo writing was employed to synthesize the responses of participants into categories and subcategories of codes. A code as defined by Saldeña (2016) was “most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assign a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute” for a section of the data (p. 4). The term category and subcategory were used to describe the coding groups that were formed when similar codes were grouped together with category being the top level, subcategory being the second level, and codes being the third level (Saldeña, 2016). At Case 1, the initial structural code became the category and then the memos were organized into subcategories with a memo describing the subcategory. Because of the fewer number of participants, the codes that eventually rose to the level of themes were easier to see and emerged as memo writing was done within the analysis. Themes as used in this research align with Rossman and Rallis’ (2017) definition that “A *theme* is a declarative phrase or sentence describing a process, a

connection, or an insight. Think of a theme as an abstraction that explains the pattern you see in or across categories” (p. 240).

However, an adjustment in coding came when the researcher encountered the massive amount of data at Cases 2 and Case 3. As the interviews’ content (either in paraphrase, summary, or direct quotes) was incorporated underneath each protocol question, it became evident that the analysis process had to be refined. Prior to coding, the preliminary analysis of Case 2 had approximately 60 single-spaced pages, while Case 3 had approximately 90 single-spaced pages. To get a handle on the volume of content, in addition to memo writing, descriptive and deductive coding were used, forming subcategories and codes underneath the original structural code which became the category for the question.

In addition to the deductive coding, three inductive coding strategies were used: *in vivo*, versus, and process or gerund coding. Yin (2018) allows these in case study as a “ground-up” coding process (p. 169). Charmaz (2014) describes “*in vivo*” codes as either exact words taken from the transcript or as the researcher’s “theoretical or substantive definition of what is happening in the data” (p. 190). An example of the *in vivo* code, “Leave them alone”, came from the following transcript passage from Casey, a social worker at Case 3, describing their advice to front-facing staff encountering patron behaviors they might not understand:

If a person is talking to themselves, but they're not being loud, they're not being, they're not saying curse words, that does not bother you at all. Like doesn't bother you, it doesn't bother us, leave them alone. They can talk to the computer, or the wall. If they're bothering no one, leave them alone.

Versus coding was used frequently to reflect the conflict occurring in the data (Saldeña, 2016). Two versus codes came from this interview excerpt with a paraprofessional, Marie, who worked alongside social workers at Case 3:

Tolerate sleep vs. call security

Challenging the code vs tow the line

You're not allowed to sleep in the library, and that's something that they tease us about because we have our own space, so if people are waiting to talk to one of us and they fall asleep, we don't call security because they're sleeping. I mean we let people sleep, which they're always, "That's against the rule"....

Process or gerund coding captures actions within a transcript and is more in depth than mere descriptive coding (Saldeña, 2016). This was useful to code processes within each case. One example was how different roles responded to patrons experiencing homelessness in crisis. Below is an example of a summary of a transcript passage being coded using both gerund and versus coding. This passage is from Levi, a front-facing staff at Case 2:

Including vs. Excluding (gerund and versus coding)

Listening for felt need (gerund coding)

Addressing felt need (gerund coding)

Levi described a situation that he had been alerted by more than one staff about a man talking very loudly with frequent use of the F--- word on a cell phone in the lobby. As Levi approached, he asked him what the issue was that needed resolution. Normally such a disruption would be a warning and an immediate day exclusion, but Levi chose to listen. He found out the man needed help getting a digital gift card downloaded. He offered to set him on a computer and help him provided he could use a quieter voice and stop using profanity. The man agreed. Levi helped him set up a Gmail account from which he was able to receive the gift card and then print it out. The man was pleased, expressed thanks, and then left the library.

Once Cases 2 and 3 were coded, the codes for each case were cut and pasted into a separate document for each case where an outline began to emerge. The structural code “Context” became a category and its subcodes were used to help write the introduction for each case, which was merely descriptive in nature. The codes that had to do with the role of the social worker and their impact were then copied into yet another document for Cases 2 and 3. Here these codes were organized into an outline form with categories and subcategories that helped identify the processes for accessing a social worker, the general role of the social worker, the role of the social worker in a crisis, the impact of the social worker on code of conduct implementation, the impact of the social worker on other roles, and the results of the social workers interventions. From here, themes began to emerge.

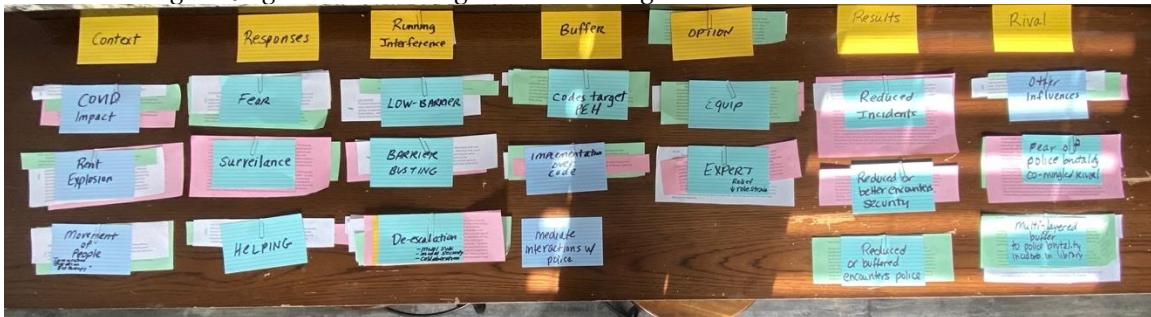
As an example, at Case 2, there were codes that captured the social worker’s role that revolved around the idea that the social worker provided a different option to responding to patrons experiencing homelessness in crisis. These codes included: helper vs authority; option to “tactical security response,” option to authority, option to exclusion, option to police, option to know what services there are, better able to request help from police, option to communicating with case managers, option to libraries approach, option to patrons fighting-she helps them calm down, and option to jail. These codes came from a variety of the protocol questions but were collapsed under the inductive theme of “social worker as option.”

Step 8: Conducting Cross-Case Analysis through Summary Themes and Visual Aids

For each case, the researcher then created a summary of themes with explanations of each theme. Each of the three cases themes were printed on different colors of paper to

differentiate which case they belonged to. These were cut out separately so they could be manipulated. The cross-case analysis was completed to compare for replication (Yin, 2018). Commonalities among themes were searched for and grouped together with an index card and paperclip. Some themes became subthemes to larger themes. In addition, there were times when a theme from one case was more thoroughly explored in the other two cases by returning to the case analyses and codes to discover the evidence of that theme within those cases. These were then added to the summary of themes for those cases; these were then printed out in a color-coded process and added to the paperclipped groupings. These groups were organized. See Picture 1.

Picture 1. Organizing Themes Using Color Coding



Three primary themes began to emerge that answered the research question: “How does the role of the public library social worker influence how public libraries (including library staff, security, and/or library police) respond to crises with library patrons experiencing homelessness:” social worker as option, social worker as buffer, and social worker as running interference. There was some overlap in the terms buffer and running interference. Multiple dictionary definitions were consulted, and the terms were defined. Another table (see Table 2) was made with a column for each theme where the dictionary definitions of each theme were recorded. Relevant subthemes and categories from each case (denoted by 1, 2, 3) were sorted out underneath each theme to

gain further clarity between the differentiation between each theme. These differences are explained in Chapter IV.

Table 2. Theme Definitions and Categories

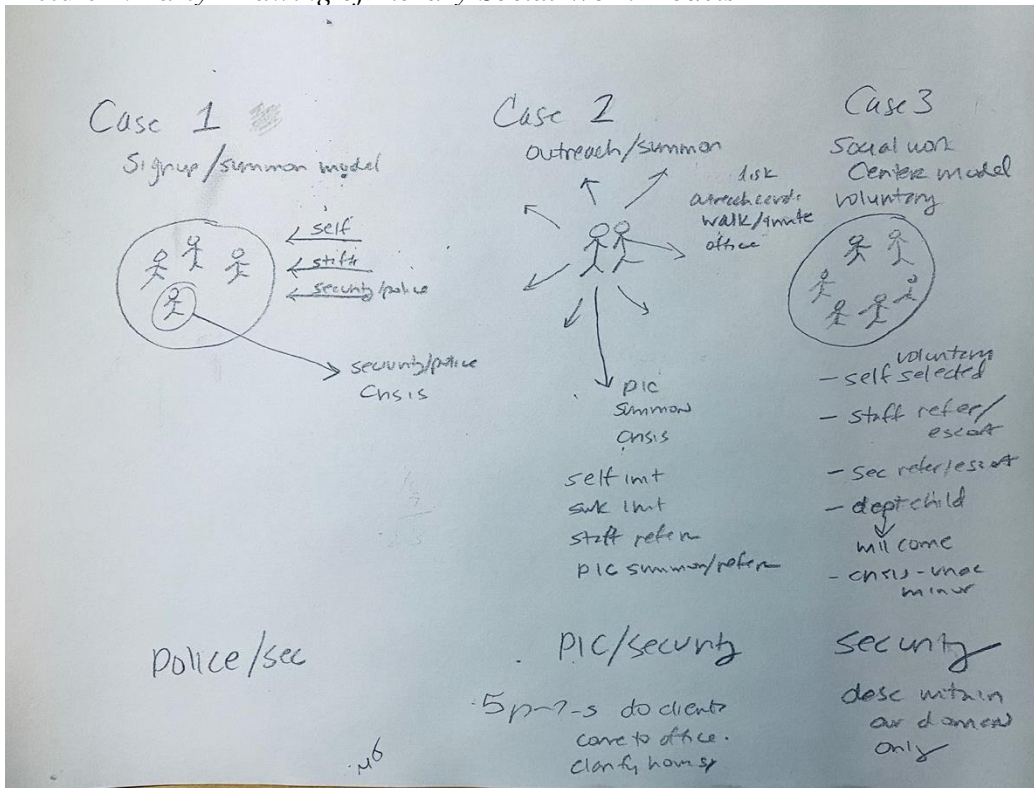
	Options	Running Interference	Buffering
Dictionary Definitions	n. “something that may be chosen, such as an alternative course of action.” (Merriam Webster, n.d.-a).	Run interference: “to deal with problems for someone as they happen.” (Cambridge, n.d.-c).	“Buffer v.: to lessen or moderate the impact of (something)” (Oxford Languages, n.d.).
Relevant Sub-Themes & Categories by Case	Option for referral (both FFS, security, & self): prevents escalations & exclusions: 1,2,3	Low barrier 1, 2, 3	Equipping: coaching 2-3 modeling 2-3, training (1-3) (provides relief & reduces role strain)
Relevant Sub-Themes & Categories by Case	Option for de-escalation (helper vs enforcer 1, 2), (advisor only, 3) Option to security Option to exclusion 1, 2, 3 Option to calling police, 1, 2 Option to arrest & jail: Mental health; 1, 2 (transport holds),3	Barrier busting services to address felt needs 1, 2, 3 [includes: navigating social services, jobs, basic needs (housing, shelter, food, clothing, medical), mental health intervention, provision of donated or grant-funded resources] Handling tough behaviors without security intervention: -I got this (1, 2, 3) -Quiet down: don’t attract security (2, 3) -Letting things slide: (1, 3) Just observe: (3)	Changing how code of conduct is implemented 1, 2, 3: Better attitudes Changing sleeping: 3 Input on appeals: 2,3 Working w/banned patrons: 1, 2, 3 (convinced sec to allow) Accommodation: 2
Relevant Sub-Themes & Categories by Case			Advocate/presence during interactions with police 1, 2, 3 What to ask for when calling for police: 2

Step 9: Creating Tables and Drawings to Move Analysis Deeper

Throughout the analysis, the researcher also used an analytic strategy that Yin (2018) describes as “to ‘play’ with your data” using tables or graphics (p. 167). As early as the interview process, it was evident that the three cases each had a very different model of social work practice that impacted the de-escalation role of the social worker that related to where the social worker was positioned in the library and how they were accessed. Going over the preliminary analysis for each case, the answers to the protocol

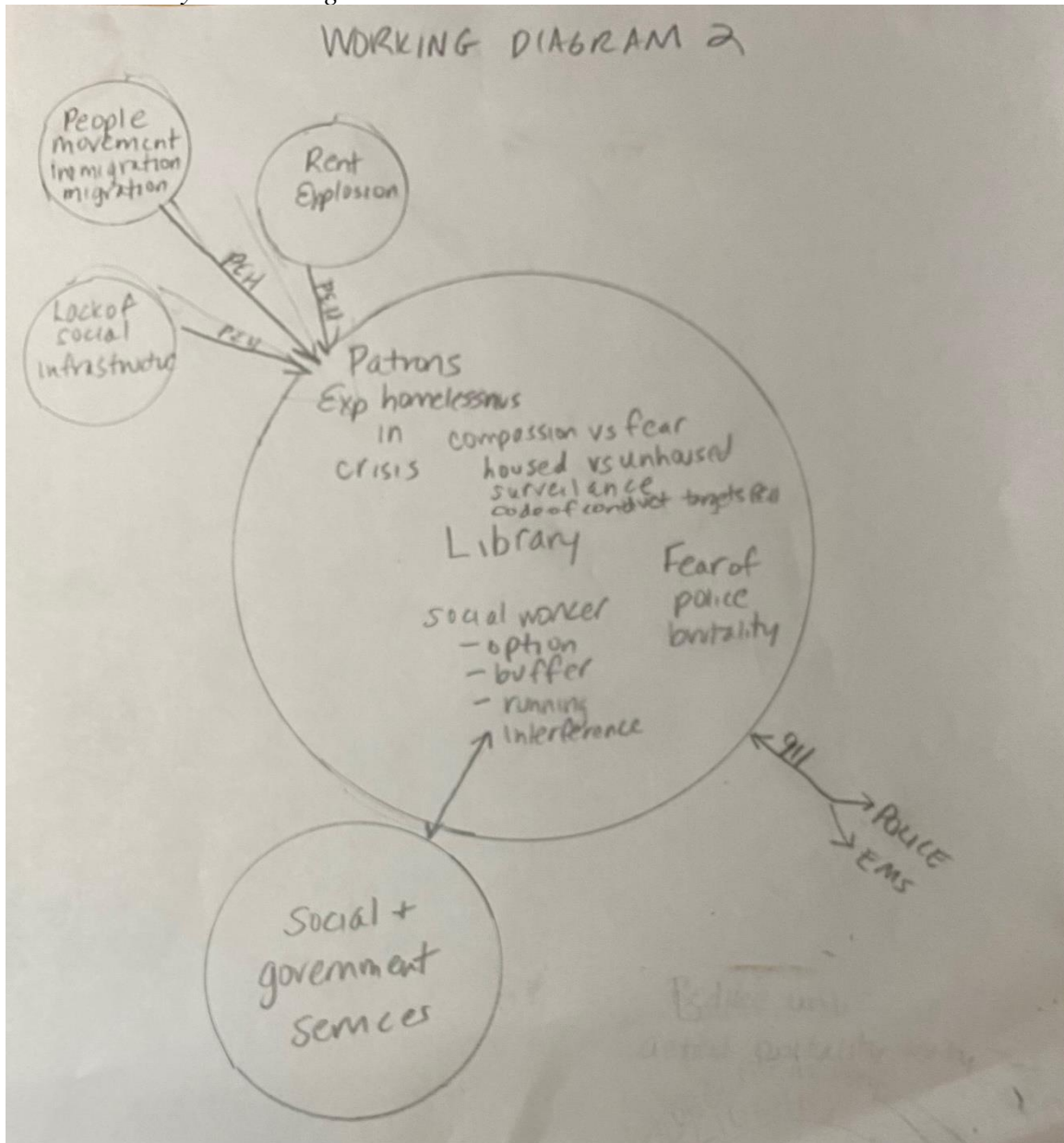
questions that were relative to these processes were scoured for the specific processes and additional follow up emails were sent to two of the social workers to gather more information about access and location. Originally these models were laid out in a pencil drawing (see Picture 2) and then refined several times eventually resulting in the models shared in Chapter IV.

Picture 2. Early Drawing of Library Social Work Models



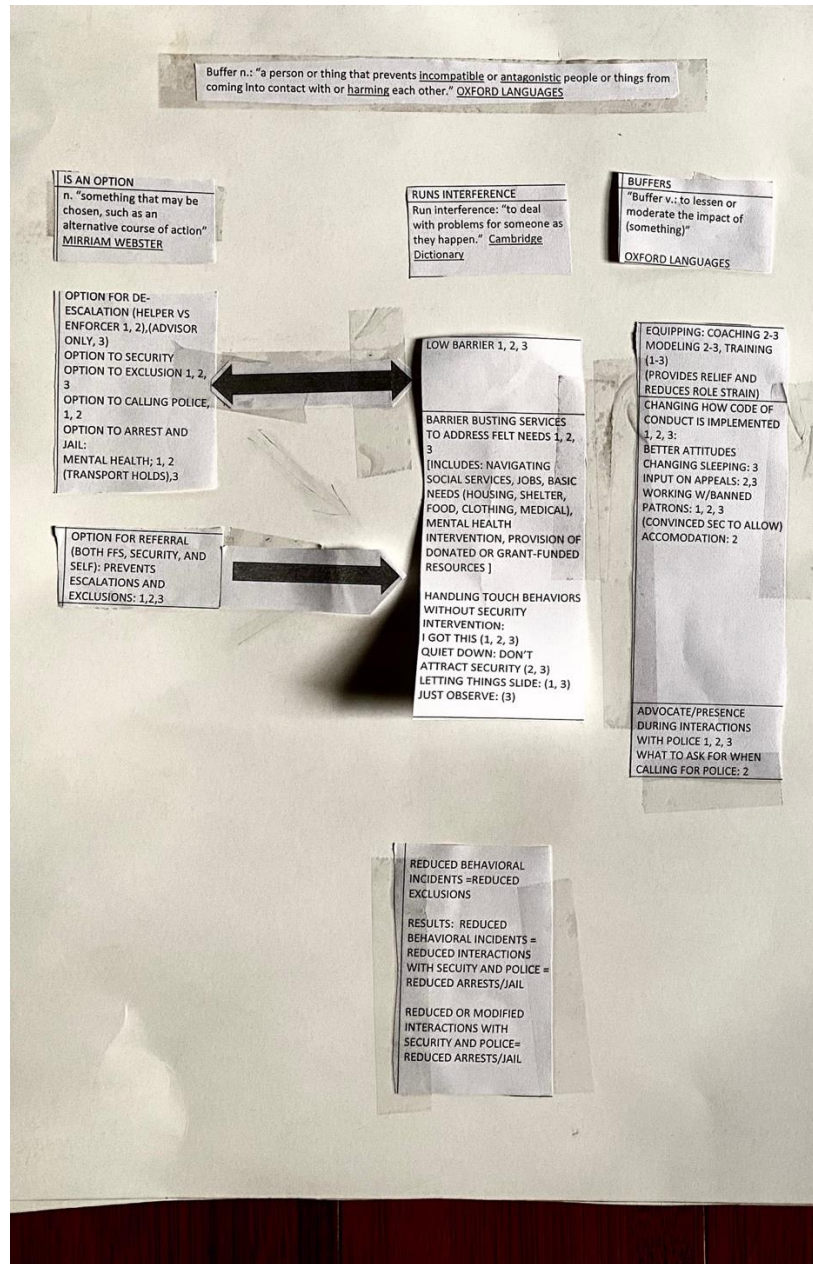
In addition, along the stages of analysis, drawings were created, some in the vein of a social work eco-map (Hartman, 1978) to help the researcher grapple with the overall processes and themes happening across the cases. See Picture 3.

Picture 3. Analysis Drawing



Picture 4 displays a theme board that moved the analysis deeper. It was used to sort and organize the subthemes within the themes. It aided in understanding the relationships between themes.

Picture 4. *Theme Board*



Step 10: Explanation building: Comparing and Revising the Propositions

Explanation building, a pattern matching technique, was used to compare the data in the first case against the guiding proposition, revising it as appropriate. The data from each subsequent case was compared resulting in further revisions to the initial proposition (Yin, 2018). The guiding proposition proposed at the outset of the study was: social

workers are influencing how libraries respond to crises with patrons experiencing homelessness—both through the social worker’s direct interventions with patrons and the social worker’s influence on library staff, security, and library police— reducing libraries reliance on police, and providing a relationship-based approach that provides a safer experience for staff and patrons alike (Provence, 2020; Schweizer, 2018; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019). With minor editing, this basic proposition was true at each case; however, a substantial commingled rival did emerge. Yin (2018) describes that real world rivals can include “commingled rivals” that along with the main intervention (the social worker) have resulted in the anticipated outcome (reduction of reliance on law enforcement) (p. 173). At the outset of the study, the researcher anticipated three possible rivals: trainings by Ryan Dowd, trainings by Stephen Albrecht, and the influence of the Black Lives Matter movement. Albrecht’s influence barely showed up in the data at any of the three cases. While there was some evidence that participants had been exposed to the Dowd training, it was ultimately the rival of the fear of police brutality, impacted by the Black Lives Matter movement and the 2020 killing of George Floyd by police that resounded through the data, especially at Cases 2 and 3, as an influence on less law enforcement reliance. Ultimately, the proposition remained almost the same, though explained with the influence of the rival theory.

Step 11: The Write Up and Triangulation

The final step was the write up when triangulation between the survey data and the themes that came from the interviews took place. Prior to steps 5-10, early drafts of this manuscript had around 30 data tables compiled from the survey that were created during steps 3-4. During step 11, these survey findings were used to set the context as

well as support and triangulate the themes that arose from the interview data. As the manuscript was edited, gradually the volume of tables was reduced to improve the flow of the narrative. Some tables were removed and saved in separate files to support future publications. Others were moved to the appendices. Though many of the tables were removed, the findings from them were incorporated into the narrative to triangulate between the survey and interview participants, thus strengthening trustworthiness.

Trustworthiness

Multiple strategies for trustworthiness were used. Yin (2018), in his effort to validate case study as a rigorous methodology, uses the same validation tests as quantitative research including construct validity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability. Following Yin's model and definitions of each, the following strategies were used:

Construct Validity

Yin (2018) defines construct validity as "identifying correct operational measures for the concepts being studied" (p. 42). Yin describes two tactics to achieve construct validity – using triangulation and key informant review of a draft report. Given the large number of key informants, this study used multiple sources of evidence (triangulation) to corroborate the data of the role of the public library social worker in influencing how libraries respond to crises with patrons experiencing homelessness (Yin, 2018). Sources included recorded Zoom interviews and surveys from multiple roles. The case study question protocol found in Appendix M provided a matrix of the case study questions with the eight survey and interview instruments to indicate which case study questions were answered by which instrument question. All questions had at least two different

roles that provided input to ensure triangulation. This triangulation took place in Step 11 of the data analysis.

To provide further construct validity, various content experts acted as consultants (see Table 3). They fielded questions throughout the research process. Prior to data collection, they reviewed surveys and interview guides, and some participated as interviewees to pilot the interview guides. After data collection, some helped provide insight on de-identified data samples, and reviewed and gave input on themes.

Table 3. Expert Consultants

Name	Role	Expertise
Mahasin Ameen	IUPUI social work librarian	Former public librarian
Mary Nienow, PhD	Assistant Professor/BSW Director St. Catherine University	Researcher-Library Social Work
Jackie Nytes	CEO Indianapolis Public Library	CEO (now former)
Maurice Young	Advocate	Homelessness (now deceased)

Internal Validity

Yin (2018) defines internal validity in the context of explanatory case studies as “seeking to establish a causal relationship, whereby certain conditions are believed to lead to other conditions, as distinguished from spurious relationships” (p. 42). Since this study was seeking an in-depth explanation of how social workers are influencing the way libraries are responding to crises involving patrons experiencing homelessness, it was imperative to consider “rival explanations” that might instead be a contributing factor to how libraries are responding to patrons experiencing homelessness in crises (Yin, 2018, p. 172). Yin (2018) explains that only “plausible” rivals that are the most “threatening” to the case study proposition should be examined (Yin, 2018, p. 172). These rivals were planned for in advance, as Yin advises, through questions embedded in the surveys and interviews to inquire about other influences and trainings that may have influenced how they respond to crises with patrons experiencing homelessness.

Three rivals were identified in advance: Ryan Dowd’s influence, Steve Albrecht’s influence, and the impact of the Black Lives Matter Movement. First was the possible influence of Ryan Dowd (2018), author of *The Librarian’s Guide to Homelessness*, through both the book, a free webinar, and a subscription-based training (Dowd, n.d.). Dowd (2018) advocates police only as a last resort. Another possible rival identified in advance was the influence of Albrecht’s (2016) training, *How to Respond to a Security Incident in Your Library* which advocates for increased use of police at libraries. The third rival identified in advance, which ultimately was found to be very prevalent in the data, was the influence of the Black Lives Matter movement.

In addition to examining rival explanations, explanation building, a pattern matching technique, was used. Explanation building compares the data in the first case against the proposition, revising the proposition as appropriate. The data from each subsequent case was compared resulting in further revisions to the initial proposition that resulted in an “analytical generalization” (Yin, 2018, p. 39) that can be used as a “working hypothesis” for future research (Cronbach, 1975, p. 125).

External Validity

Yin (2018) defines external validity as “showing whether and how a case study’s findings can be generalized” (p. 42). Case study methodology cannot be used to make “statistical generalization” from a sample to a population since sampling is not used (Yin, 2018, p. 37). Instead, replication logic was used in which each case is considered a complete study whose results were compared with the other cases through cross-case analysis. The findings that were replicated across multiple cases, helped form an

“analytical generalization” (Yin, 2018, p. 39) that has taken into consideration the differences between cases as much as the similarities (Cronbach, 1975).

Reliability

Yin (2018) defines reliability as “demonstrating that the operations of a study—such as its data collection procedures—can be repeated, with the same results” (p. 42).

Three strategies Yin reports can demonstrate reliability are using a case study protocol, developing a database, and keeping a “chain of evidence” (Yin, 2018, p. 43). For this study, a case study database was created using NVivo in which the video/audio files of the interviews, transcripts, and interview memos were cataloged (Yin, 2018). While this did provide a concise and organized data base; a duplicate and more extensive database was kept in computerized files including: Excel files of all survey data, mp4 video files of each interview, Microsoft Word files of all transcripts, and Microsoft Word files including preliminary case analyses, various stages of coding, pictures of drawings and themes, and memos. In sum, this created a “chain of evidence” in which the research report cites evidence in the database, the database contains the information of how and when the information was collected which is connected to the protocol procedures that are directly linked to the research question (Yin, 2018, p. 135). To ensure that the same process was followed in each case and that another researcher could replicate the process, a case study protocol was created using Yin’s guidance for content (Yin, 2018). The protocol included a study information sheet (Appendix N), recruitment and eligibility protocol (Appendix E), surveys (Appendices C, G, and H), interview guides (Appendices I-L), case study questions protocol (Appendix M) and data shells (Yin, 2018). As outlined above, a database and chain of evidence was used to create an audit trail that can

be followed by another researcher starting with either the initial research question and moving to the report or tracing backward from the report to the question (Yin, 2018).

The audit trail was checked by Dr. Vincent Starnino, Chair, on March 23, 2023.

Extraneous Factors

The COVID-19 pandemic impacted this study. At the time of proposal approval, many public libraries across the U.S. were closed to try to slow community spread of the virus. At the time of study implementation, some libraries that still had limited in-person services; but the three libraries selected were open to the public. Due to the crisis, the depth and breadth of patron needs expanded; persons experiencing homelessness were disproportionately impacted, and many became homeless for the first time. Also, at the time of proposal preparation, the country was in the midst of the Black Lives Matter movement protesting police brutality of Black people as well as other marginalized people. With the names of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and Jacob Blake fresh in our collective memories, some participants had strong concerns about and/or resistance to calling the police for assistance at the library.

Reflexivity

Thomas (2011) calls on Dewey's paradigm that warns of being overly accepting of thinking that stems from authority and tradition. While Dewey calls one to think for oneself, Thomas explains that Dewey also warned we should also be suspicious "of any line of reasoning (in others or in ourselves) that comes from strongly held opinion" and advises researchers to use "reflective thought" to continually challenge ourselves to look to the evidence to prove or disprove our thought process (Thomas, 2011, p. 199). To practice reflexivity, the researcher included thoughts, feelings, and perceptions after each

interview in memo form. Because of her professional background as a street outreach worker with persons experiencing homelessness as well as her personal relationships with persons currently or formally experiencing homelessness, as well as being a 27-year resident of a primarily African American community where she has had multiple observations of police, it was important to use reflexivity to differentiate between her personal feelings and the data. To mitigate this, she had in-depth reflective conversations with her committee chair, Dr. Vincent Starnino, and expert consultant, Mahasin Ameen, about her personal experiences in her community. She also engaged in memo writing and free writing.

Ethical Considerations and Human Subjects Review

Each Qualtrics survey had a study information sheet to inform participants of the purpose, risks, cost in time, benefits, and potential publication of the study (Appendix N). The Indiana University Institutional Review Board approved the research as exempt, Protocol # 010594. To protect patrons experiencing homelessness, the social workers were asked to screen participants for mental stability to minimize any risk of any unintended consequences from interview participation. Patrons experiencing homelessness were provided a \$15 gift card to help compensate for their time. This amount was large enough to show appreciation but not large enough to be coercive. Care was taken to protect confidentiality of participants. Identifying information was not asked on the surveys unless the participant indicated they wanted to be interviewed, at which time they were prompted for their name, phone number and email address. As participants signed up for interview times, Calendly kept participants identity private and the data encrypted (Calendly, n.d.). When conducting interviews via Zoom, security

measures were taken including sending out a unique link to each participant. The researcher conducted the interviews in a private home office to protect participant privacy. Participants completed their interviews from a space of their choice and protected their privacy as they deemed appropriate. Patrons experiencing homelessness were given the option to complete their interview via phone (routed through Zoom) in case they did not have computer access in a private space, and the social workers often assisted them getting set up for their interview but did not remain with them during the interview. Zoom cloud recordings were automatically encrypted and password protected (Zoom, n.d.-a). The researcher stored data on a personal MacBook Air that is only accessible via a password or the researcher's fingerprint. Files were also uploaded into iCloud which is encrypted both in transit and on their server (Apple, n.d.). Qualtrics was used for survey administration and storage. Transport Layer Security encryption is used by Qualtrics to protect data transmissions (Qualtrics, 2020). NVivo was used for data storage and cataloging; their products comply with General Data Protection Regulations (QSR International, n.d.).

Yin (2018) espouses that ideally the identities of the case and the participants should be revealed for ease of integrating the new case study information with prior information that the researcher has about that case and because it is easier for the researcher and critics alike to review the case. Despite his preference for disclosing participants, Yin does admit there are times when anonymity is needed. To get forthright information and protect all parties involved and especially patrons who are experiencing homelessness, anonymity was paramount for this study. This manuscript does not

identify any individual libraries or participants by name, and future publications will follow the same protocol.

CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS

Write Up: An Explanation and Introduction

As common in qualitative studies, this section is written in narrative fashion with some quantitative data from the surveys integrated, as allowed in case study (Yin, 2018). The survey data is not treated with the same in-depth interpretation as the interviews, but rather as a support to the interview findings; together they provide triangulation and strength to the interpretation. All participant names have been changed to pseudonyms and were generated using a name generator (Masterpiece Generator, n.d.). This interpretive narrative will include interview excerpts. These excerpts are actual, though filler words, such as “you know” and “like,” and duplicate words have been removed for ease of reading.

The writeup begins by situating the whole study within its historical context. Next an overview of participant demographics is provided followed by a visual graphic and narrative introduction to each case. This will be followed by an exploration of the front facing staff and security’s perception of crises and how this differs from social workers perceptions, and how often front-facing staff and security are handling crises with patrons experiencing homelessness. Next, a detailed description of the security response at each library will be explored including their use of patrolling and surveillance. Subsequently, the write-up will primarily use qualitative themes and narrative from the 46 interviews to answer the research question: *How does the role of the public library social worker influence how public libraries (including library staff, security, and/or library police) respond to crises with library patrons experiencing homelessness?* Next, the influence of the three rival theories—Dowd, Albrecht, and the Black Lives Matter movement— on the

libraries' reliance on law enforcement are examined. Finally, an analytical generalization—as specific to Yin's (2018) case study method—will be proposed.

Context: Unprecedented Time in History

All phases of this study (planning, data collection, and data analysis) took place within the larger societal contexts of the COVID-19 pandemic and the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement. As the deadliness of the pandemic was only beginning to unfold in March of 2020, most public libraries, including these three, closed to the public, often for months, and transitioned to serving the public through online and curbside services (Public Library Association, 2020). Over time, libraries began to open on a limited basis with various protection measures in place. By the time of the data collection in early 2022, most libraries with social workers, including the libraries chosen for this study, were back open for in-person services (confirmed by regular checking of their websites and tracked on a spreadsheet.) As this write up is being prepared, the U.S. COVID-19 deaths reported to the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) is over 1 million (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, n.d.).

During this deadly time of the pandemic, libraries were also grappling with the deadliness of police brutality, especially its disproportionate impact on African Americans. With each publicized and often videotaped murder of Black men, women, and children by police, the BLM Movement had been growing since a White man, George Zimmerman, was acquitted for shooting an African American teen named Trayvon Martin (Howard University Law Library, 2018). However, the movement reached a crescendo when George Floyd, an African American man, was murdered on May 25, 2020 by a White Minneapolis police officer, Derek Chauvin, while three other

officers watched. (Department of Justice, 2022; Marcelo, 2022). Sustained protests that often lasted for months erupted in as many as 140 cities across the United States and around the world (Taylor, 2021; Westerman, 2020). In 2020 and 2021 combined, police in the United States killed 529 Black people (Mapping Police Violence, n.d.). It was in this deadly context of COVID-19 and police brutality, that each of the three libraries were immersed when data collection began on February 23, 2022.

Participant Demographics

Six broad roles were the sub-units of analysis at three libraries: patrons experiencing homelessness, the CEO, the location manager, front-facing staff, security (including library police or others in a security role), and social workers (including their interns and other non-social workers working alongside or under the social worker). Participants from each of the six roles were interviewed and the front-facing staff, security, and social workers were surveyed (see Table 4).

Table 4. *Number of Participants by Role and Data Source*

Role	Interviews			Surveys		
	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3
Patrons Exp. Homelessness	3	3	3	-	-	-
CEOs	1	1	1	-	-	-
Branch Managers	1	1	1	-	-	-
Front-Facing Staff	3	6	8	10	28	23
Security	1	3	1	4	4	12
Social Workers	1	1	3	1	1	3
Interns or non-social workers	3	0	1	2	0	3
Total	13	15	18	17	33	41

Note. The first three roles were not surveyed. Of the remaining roles that were surveyed, all but one interviewee completed a survey.

In total, 46 interviews were conducted, and 94 surveys were collected with one removed for incompleteness and two duplicates removed for a final survey total of 91. There was a total of 107 unique participants as follows: Case 1 had $n = 22$; Case 2 had $n = 38$; and Case 3 had $n = 47$. See Table 5 for survey response rate by case.

Table 5. *Survey Response Rate by Case and Role*

Role	Case 1			Case 2			Case 3		
	P	<i>n</i>	%	P	<i>n</i>	%	P	<i>n</i>	%
Front-Facing Staff	22	10	45	88	28	32	95	23	24
Security	5	4	80	7	4	57	13	12	92
Social Workers	1	1	100	1	1	100	3	3	100
Interns or non-social workers	3	2	67	1	0	0	4	3	75

Participant Race, Gender, and Age by Role

As shown in Table 6, across cases of those who reported their gender, participants were primarily women for all roles except security. For participants who shared their race, patrons experiencing homelessness, security roles, and social workers were predominately Black, while front-facing staff were mostly White. The mean age of each professional role was in the forties, while the patrons were slightly older with a mean age of 50. There were 5 full-time female social workers (four Black, one White; 1 BSW and 4 MSW's). While not initially planned for, all three of the libraries had additional persons working alongside or under their full-time social workers. Due to being guided by a pragmatic paradigm, the researcher flexed and invited them to participate to gain their valuable perspective. For additional information on front-facing staff job titles, education, length of employment, and job status, refer to Appendix O; for similar information on security participants, refer to Appendix P.

Table 6. Participant Gender, Race and Mean Age by Role

Role	Front-Facing Staff				Security				Social Work				CEO/Manager				Patrons				All Roles Total
	Case				Case				Case				Case								
	1	2	3	Total	1	2	3	Total	1	2	3	Total	1	2	3	Total	1	2	3	Total	
Gender																					
Female	4	7	14	25	1	1	4	6	4	1	6	11	1	2	2	5	1	0	3	4	51
Male	1	8	5	14	3	1	7	11	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	2 ^a	0	4	30
Other	0	1	1	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	4
PNA	1	4	1	6	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Missing	4	8	2	14	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
Total	10	28	23	61	4	4	12	20	4	1	6	11	2	2	2	6	3	3	3	9	107
Race																					
Black	0	1	2	3	0	0	10	10	3	0	4	7	0	0	0	0	3	1	3	7	27
White	2	13	16	31	1	4	1	6	1	1	2	4	2	2	2	6	0	2	0	2	49
Other	2	1	0	3	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
PNA	2	5	3	10	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
Missing	4	8	2	14	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
Total	10	28	23	61	4	4	12	20	4	1	6	11	2	2	2	6	3	3	3	9	107
Mean Age (Years)	48	43	44	45	48	44	55	49	31	52	43	42	47	52	45	48	57	33	60	50	47

^aAt Case 2, one patron was newly housed after a long period of homelessness, but still sometimes returned to the shelter.

Case Narrative Introductions

Now that participant demographics have been highlighted, the manuscript will turn to a narrative discussion of each case. Each case will begin with a graphic (Figures 2-4) that provides an overview of stakeholders identified by role and pseudonym nestled on the faded background of pictures taken at the Indianapolis Public Central Library, the researcher's home library (not a case location). In addition, the reader will notice that each graphic also has a Social Work Model named and their security model briefly described. Both the social work models and the security model will be described in depth later in the Findings section. Both are essential for understanding how the social workers influenced how libraries respond to crises as the social workers worked in collaboration with their respective security teams in different ways. However, it seemed prudent to include the models in each graphic as the Finding section will move fluidly between the cases and the reader may want to use them as a reference.

After each case graphic will follow a narrative discussion of that case. While each case will vary in exact headings, each narrative will situate the case within their own local context, as well as the Covid-19 pandemic, and the Black Lives Matter protests of 2020. In addition, the impact of a lack of affordable housing and migration and/or immigration as causes of homelessness in each city will be discussed. Additional details about each case will be shared as appropriate, and a brief overview of the social work program at each case will be provided.

Figure 2. Case 1 (n=22) Overview with Participant Pseudonyms

Case 1 n = 22

Social Work Model	Sign Up & Summon	Security Model	Unarmed security guards + 2 armed off-duty police officers during open hours. Led and augmented by library staff.
Social Work	Monique, BSW Alisa, Intern April, Intern Lennox, Intern	Security <small>There were 3 additional survey-only security participants.</small> <small>Off-duty police officers made up 50% of all 4 security participants.</small>	Aiden
Patrons	Ellis Rex Rocco	Front-Facing Staff <small>There were 7 additional survey-only FFS participants.</small> <small>Librarians made up 80% of all 10 FFS participants.</small>	Angeline Erica Nadine
		Manager	Hope
		CEO	Alan

Narrative Introduction to Case 1

An Epicenter of Need: Migration and Immigration

Case 1 was a large metropolitan library main branch in a diverse city of the U.S. Impacted by both migration and immigration, this library has a constant influx of newly arrived patrons experiencing homelessness. People experiencing homelessness migrate to their city seeking new opportunity and relief from the cold, while many immigrants arrive, often without any identification or housing. Described by Nadine, a librarian, “we are sort of at the epicenter of a lot of need, in our surrounding areas-between lower income housing, between several shelters, battered women shelters included. It ends up being an epicenter for a lot of folks to come.” She described their work as being on “the front lines.” The surveys indicated the near constant presence of patrons experiencing homelessness in the library.

Skyrocketing Rents

COVID-19 exasperated the city’s existing housing crisis with increased migration heightening demand and skyrocketing rents. Confused over the eviction moratorium and/or not using their government stimulus checks to pay rent, many housed people joined the ranks of the unhoused. Shelters were packed due to COVID-19 with a month-long waiting list, forcing some to live outside in tents, including on the streets near the library. Some were being arrested for living on the sidewalks. Many patrons experiencing homelessness lost family members due to COVID-19.

COVID-19 and Black Lives Matter Protests

This library was directly impacted by COVID-19 and the Black Lives Matter protests in 2020. COVID-19 forced this library to close for a period of about three

months (per library website which will not be cited due to confidentiality) at the beginning of the pandemic. However, according to one of the patrons experiencing homelessness that was interviewed, the library left their bathrooms open for the public. With the protests at their doorstep, the manager reported that this library had to shut down early some days during the height of the protests.

The Social Work Program

Case 1 houses a relatively young social work program. They began when a regional library entity offered a collaboration between libraries to help provide a LCSW (Licensed Clinical Social Worker) field instructor to the libraries. With 50-100 patrons experiencing homelessness waiting to get in each morning who did not usually engage in library programming, both the director and the branch manager seized the opportunity to add a social worker without hesitation. The case location was the first library in the region to get on board with the pilot program, so they had the field instructor full-time for the first year, along with intern coverage. The field instructors have changed often. As additional libraries began to participate in the program, the amount of time the LCSW was at Case 1 was reduced; however, the interns provided close to 40 hours a week coverage. By the fall of the second year, the county hired the first full-time library social worker, Monique, a BSW, to be on their payroll, and she exclusively serves the Central branch. The LCSW field instructor, who did not participate in the study, still comes in one day a week to do supervision of two MSW and one BSW intern, as well as provide patron services. The interns work three days a week under the task instruction of the full-time BSW. The interns estimated approximately 80% of the patrons seeking their

services each day are experiencing homelessness. Monique reported her team sees about 10-15 people a day four days a week.

Narrative Introduction to Case 2

No Place to Go but Central

Case 2 is the central branch in a large urban area that has experienced an exponential growth of visible homelessness. Though many of the city's social service resources are located near the library, the shelters close during the day and there are no day centers in the area. Many people experiencing homelessness have no place to go during the day but Central. While Central has had patrons experiencing homelessness for decades, the numbers have increased dramatically, with unhoused patrons outnumbering housed patrons. Some housed patrons have stopped coming to Central, whether it be to not being in the area due to remote work due to COVID-19 and/or avoiding the library because of their concerns about the large number of patrons experiencing homelessness. Central is committed to creating a space where everyone is welcome. The library specifically changed the name of the microfilm room to the "community room" where patrons, mostly those experiencing homelessness, spend their day hanging out and socializing (Tariq FFS). In addition, two floors are split into the "talking side" and the "quiet side;" this helps librarians to redirect patrons to the talking side who need to be able to talk on cell phones, converse with other patrons, talk or sing to themselves, or are having outbursts (Raja, FSS).

Figure 3. Case 2 (n=38) Overview with Participant Pseudonyms

Case 2: n = 38	
Social Work Model	Outreach & Summon
Social Work	Darcy, MSW
Patrons	Brian Derek Zane
Security Model	Unarmed contracted security guards Unarmed Persons In Charge (PIC)
Security	Ashton Eden Jamie There was an additional survey-only security participant. One (25%) of the security participants was a trained security guard.
Front-Facing	Levi Nana Raja Steve Tariq Terry There were 22 additional survey-only FFS participants. Customer service staff made up 43% of all 28 FFS; 29% were library assistants.
Manager	Robyn
CEO	Zoe

Priced Out of Housing

The social worker, Darcy, described an ever-increasing demand for housing in this popular city driving rents high and pricing out the poor. With the housing demand exceeding the supply, landlords can charge a lot and keep increasing rents. Affordable housing and rent subsidies are in short supply with long wait lists. In this city, the Section 8 (a federally funded rental subsidy program) wait list is seven years long; and Section 8 applications are only accepted two weeks out of the year. In the words of the social worker:

We're seeing an increasing number of people on the street, not just homeless in shelters, but homeless on the street and a lot of it just it comes down to income, disabilities. Social Security Disability benefits rarely increase anywhere near the level of the housing increase. If you're on Social Security, and you're getting \$700 a month, there's zero chance that you'll get housing, even in affordable housing, it's not possible.

Pressured and Voluntary Migration

Adding to the number of people in need of affordable housing are those who are migrating to the area, some who are pressured into coming and others who come seeking the services this city has to offer. The social worker labeled this pressured migration as “bus therapy” or “Greyhound therapy.” Bus therapy, as she described it, is when hospitals and social workers in rural areas of the state buy people experiencing homelessness a Greyhound bus ticket to this larger city where there are more services. The folks arrive with no plan and no place to go. Tariq, FFS, described how families from out of state come to this city known for helping people experiencing homelessness in hopes of getting help from the “meager things we do offer them as being better than where they came from” and explained that the city makes families with children a priority and will often pay for hotel stays.

COVID-19, Black Lives Matter Protests, SMI, and SUDs

Homelessness is very visible in this city with people camping on streets and sidewalks. COVID-19 caused already-strained shelters to reduce capacity to allow for social distancing. This further increased the number of people living outside; in addition, some people preferred to be outside, often to try and avoid the spread of COVID-19. Untreated mental health problems and widespread substance use disorders without enough treatment options have increased the number of people living on the street.

The prolonged Black Lives Matter protests resulted in even more people camping openly in the downtown business district. Tariq (FFS) described that entire blocks of businesses were boarded up due to windows being “smashed,” and two years later, many remain boarded. In what Terry (FFS) described as “utter chaos” and Tariq recounted as both peaceful protestors and violent demonstrators being gassed by police, many staff did not feel safe to come to work (Terry). The library—already shut down to the public due to COVID-19—shuttered even to staff during multiple days of protesting (Terry).

As businesses boarded up and essentially evacuated during the protests, people experiencing homelessness camped openly in the business district within a block of the library. Shopper and tourists avoided the area; businesses suffered, and gentrifiers were disturbed. Eden, Person in Charge (PIC), recounted: “after the protests and during the pandemic, people just immediately [began] calling the cops on them for existing in a space as a houseless person.” Eventually police began destroying camps (Jamie, PIC).

When Central opened after being closed for 1.5 years during COVID-19, front-facing staff Raja and library manager, Robyn, found out that some people experiencing homelessness had been outside almost the entire time as shelters had reduced capacity

and many other services in the area were made “to go” (Raja). Eventually, the library reopened providing relief to patrons.

Social Work Program as a Response to Behaviors and Crises

The CEO reports that they hired a social worker due to the behaviors that were occurring in the library due to mental health and addiction issues. While most patrons experiencing homelessness successfully and peacefully use the library—in FFS Tariq’s words, they “behave like angels”— the small subgroup in which homelessness, serious mental illness, and/or substance use disorders intersect, often have behavior issues in the library. Tariq went on to say that this small subset, “will go ballistic over nothing, or there’ll be angry at you before they’ve even started talking to you, or they’ll start a scene, or they’ll get violent.” It was very important to Zoe, the CEO to distinguish that not all unhoused persons cause behavior problems and that some housed persons have behavioral issues in the library. Both the CEO and the location manager acknowledged the intersectionality of people experiencing homelessness and mental health and/or substance use disorders.

This library’s CEO, Zoe, realized that having a social worker would be another “tool in our toolbox for managing our spaces in a really compassionate and constructive way” instead of a “transactional and very security focused” option which was comply or be put out. The location manager, Robyn, reported that they realized that patrons were asking for things that they had not been providing; they recognized that just giving a person a phone number to a resource was very different than having a social worker who could make a referral, set up appointments, provide bus passes to get to the appointment, and to get to the underlying issues a person was facing. She reflected that while librarians

are trained in the reference interview to figure out what a person is asking for, they realized that their training was not sufficient to meet the needs the patrons were presenting.

The social work position was originally created to focus on crisis response. The social worker, Darcy, who has an extensive history in crisis response, is paid for out of their library budget but it is a contracted position through a local behavioral health agency. They also have an additional crisis worker from the same agency, and while she is a mental health professional (confidential email March 9, 2022), she is not a social worker and chose not to participate in the study. Darcy spends most of her time at Central, but she is responsible to serve all other branches. This study is limited to her work at Central. The patron need at the library exceeds what the social worker and her partner can address. Without social work coverage for all hours the library is open and the social worker also tending to other branches, there is not enough social work to go around.

Figure 4. Case 3 (n =47) Overview with Participant Pseudonyms

Case 3: n = 47			
Social Work Model	Social Work Center	Security Model	Unarmed security guards Led by a former police officer Minimum of 4 during open hours
Social Work	Casey, MSW Kobi, MSW Marissa, MSW Marie, Assistant	Security	David
		<small>There were 11 additional survey-only security participants.</small>	
		<small>Trained security guards made up 50% of all 12 guards; 17% were police academy graduates.</small>	
Patrons	Clara Mya Paula	Front-Facing Staff	Arran Cruz Jadon Julie
		<small>There were 15 additional FFS survey-only participants.</small>	Max Nadia Riley Trinity
		<small>Librarians made up 43% of all 23 FFS.</small>	
		Manager	Aleesha
		CEO	Shelby

Narrative Introduction to Case 3

Meeting Community Needs Through Innovative Programming

Case 3 is also a Main library located in a downtown urban area. Their innovative and progressive programming helps meet community needs, including those of patrons experiencing homelessness who are almost always in the branch. They have a variety of specialty departments, including social work. Through interviews with staff from these various departments, it became evident that each of these spaces was used by people experiencing homelessness. For example, the Teens Department reported keeping snacks and bottled water available for kids who stay all day and occasionally a teen identifying as having nowhere to go. The Children's Department staff reported families experiencing homelessness visiting their space, often staying all day. The Film & Sound Department hosts movie screenings that are predominately attended by patrons experiencing homelessness. A former studio coordinator reported repairing and altering clothes and accessories for people experiencing homelessness.

Hiring a diverse talent pool to create this innovative programming to meet community needs has been deliberate and led by the CEO, Shelby, with support from the board and staff in her decade plus tenure. In her words, if "we're getting asked the same question over and over and over again, and we have to refer somebody or provide the answer, maybe we just need to provide the service." Social work was one such solution.

History of the Social Work Department

The initial need that the first social worker was hired to address several years ago was helping people sign up for health insurance. This pilot position was grant funded by a private foundation. Through this initial social work position, they discovered their

customers had multiple needs beyond healthcare, and the decision was made to expand the team. The second social worker hired took over the health focus, allowing the first social worker to expand services to meet other needs. At that time, the main demographic they were serving was female heads of households. Needs included help signing up for Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), applying for housing, and getting rental assistance. Since then, the social work department has expanded the services they offer and grown to seven staff: three full-time MSW's, one BSW intern, two non-degreed customer service specialists, and an office manager. All three MSW's participated as well as one of the auxiliary roles. While the social workers are stationed at Main and spend most of their time there, they do provide some services to all branches in the system. This study focuses on their work at Main.

Migration and Coerced Migration

This city and library experience the migration of people experiencing homelessness to their area, both voluntary and coerced. Because it is in a temperate climate, people experiencing homelessness migrate to the area seeking warmer temperatures. With these warmer temperatures come nearby tourist areas. The city is known for being more progressive and having more resources than the surrounding conservative areas. Specifically, Main is located near two shelters. Not wanting people experiencing homelessness to deter tourists, outlying areas tell people experiencing homelessness they will take them to a library that can help them find housing. They then provide transportation to people experiencing homelessness to within a block or so of the shelters and the Main library. Social worker, Casey, has been on the receiving end when they arrive at the library social work center and say, "We were told you could help us

solve homelessness, so here I am, and I'm homeless." This has led to difficult and angry interactions when they find out that the social workers do not have a quick fix for homelessness. One of the social workers, Casey, recounted being at the fast-food restaurant across the street from Main in which she overheard a person at the counter say, "I was told I should go to library to see the social worker because they can help me get housed. I just got off dropped off here. Where's the library?" Casey further explained that she thinks police officers may be a part of the process—rather than giving people experiencing homelessness a ticket for loitering or some other infraction, they may offer to help them get on a bus headed toward the library. In addition, Jadon, FFS, recounted that the county jail drops people off near the library and that the prisons provide bus tickets there as well. This flow of voluntary and coerced migration brings more and more people experiencing homelessness to the library social workers.

Lack of Affordable Housing

The new people arriving find that affordable housing is in short supply here too and is one of the main causes of homelessness in the area according to social workers Kobi and Casey. Gentrification that started on Main Street has spread. There is less and less affordable housing in the city as the poor are being pushed further and further out and away from the resources in the downtown area (Casey). According to Casey, there are no units on the market that are affordable with just a Supplemental Security Income (SSI) check, and there are no public listing of boarding houses or rooms for rent. For a low income, person living paycheck to paycheck, one crisis can lead to a downward spiral into homelessness (Kobi).

COVID-19

In March 2020, when COVID-19 virtually shut the country down, the authorities were urging people to wash their hands. Main had also shut down and the CEO, Shelby, wondered where people experiencing homelessness were going to wash their hands. Within a week, the library had porta potties and hand washing stations outside the library knowing that people experiencing homelessness would come as they would think that the library was open. The CEO, Shelby, stated: “and we didn't ask for permission, we just did it....and then about 10 months later, we got a fine from the city for having porta potties and handwashing stations illegally out in a public space.” The library refused to pay. The library remained closed for about six months during the initial months of the pandemic, serving the public through online services and curbside pickup. In the fall of 2020, they reopened on a limited basis to in-person visits. Upon reopening, they found an increase in patron stress, an increase in patrons sleeping, and an increase in escalations.

The social workers found that for many, COVID-19 was the downward spiral that led to first time homelessness, disproportionately impacting people of color (Kobi). Even though this team of social workers played a pivotal role during the pandemic by being a public access point for Emergency Rental Assistance Program funds according to the CEO, social worker, Kobi explained, “...that funding was not enough for the amount of impact, nor did it come fast enough.... and it was not administered fast enough.” She went on to say that their conservative state had attached a lot of strings to the money, despite being urged by the federal government not to do so. Kobi reports that even the stimulus checks and the rent moratorium did not prevent some people from losing their housing. Some tenants reasoned that the checks would not be enough to cover all their

rent, so eventually they would be kicked out anyway so they might as well use the funds to pay for other items. According to Kobi, others did not understand that the moratoriums – one by the federal government and one by the Centers for Disease Control— was not free rent and ended up with \$7,000-\$8,000 in back due rent. Others did not know about the moratorium, but just knew their landlords were not evicting them, or if they did know about it, they often did not realize they needed to fill out a form to receive the benefit of the moratorium. Even with the stimulus checks and the moratoriums, many became unhoused for the first time.

Black Lives Matter

While none of the participants discussed the protests specifically, according to online news reports (which will not be cited to protect confidentiality of the location), the protests did take place in this city as well. When Shelby, CEO, wanted to put “Black Lives Matter” on the side of the building, some staff protested out of fear of offending the local police and sheriffs. However, as discussed later in the findings, the Black Lives Matter movement had a major impact on the front-facing staff.

Perceptions of Crisis

This section will first explore the lack of organizational definitions of patron crises which led to each participant having their own idea of what constituted a crisis. Next, the frequency that front-facing staff and security were handling crises with patrons experiencing homelessness will be highlighted. Crisis examples encountered by front-facing staff and security will be identified and described including lack of basic necessities; violence and threats; patrons being victimized; mental health, medical, and substance use crises; and noncompliance, communication difficulties and strong

emotions. Finally, the social workers' perception of crises and how it differed from front-facing staff and security will be discussed.

Crisis was deliberately not defined for this study. To understand how the social workers were influencing how their library responded to crises with patrons experiencing homelessness, the meaning that the word crisis held for participants had to be investigated. It is also important to understand that while some crises were relatively mild, others could cause imminent harm to patrons and/or personnel. It is important to note that not all such incidents were caused by unhoused patrons. For some readers, the multiple examples of violence may be surprising as libraries are not typically associated with violence, but it is critical to understand the level of severity crises could reach to understand the libraries' responses to them.

No Organizational Definitions of Crisis

The word "crisis" as applied to a patron being in crisis was not defined in any of the three case's library policies, as evidenced by the interviews with the CEO's and the location managers. The perception of crisis rested either with the patron having the crisis and/or the person interacting with them. However, this discussion will focus on the perception of the employees rather than the patrons since the employees were the ones responding on behalf of the library to the crisis. Robyn, the location manager at Case 2, is a good reflection of how the words "patron in crisis" was used at all three cases:

We certainly say that a patron is in crisis or appears to be in crisis. Well, I think we say that, but for library staff, we probably shouldn't be saying that. I think we use a lot of terms that we aren't qualified to use. Without having a specific definition, we're all just kind of using our own experiences and trainings and whatnot to say like, "Oh, this is a crisis."

Frequency of Front-Facing Staff and Security of Handling a Crisis with Patrons Experiencing Homelessness

At all three cases, both the security and the front-facing staff indicated on the survey that they were handling crises with patrons experiencing homelessness. Security personnel handled crises with patrons they perceived to be experiencing homelessness more frequently than front-facing staff (see Appendix Q). Security was handling these crises usually several times a week at Cases 1 and 3, and virtually daily at Case 2. Front-facing staff's handling of crises with patrons perceived to be experiencing homelessness was the least at Case 3 (a few times a year). Handling crises was more frequent (about a few times a month) for the front-facing staff at Cases 1 and 2.

Front-Facing Staff and Security Perceptions of Crisis

The idea that each staff had different perceptions of crises was evident in the survey data. Front-facing staff and security were not asked to define a crisis, but they were asked to give examples via this question: "What are examples of crisis situations you have encountered at your library?" They were given a text box to answer. Participants seemed eager to share their experiences. Almost all answered the questions, often in great detail. The answers were analyzed phrase by phrase in a reiterative fashion and categorized as explained in Step 4 of the Data Analysis section. The frequency counts in Table 7 are of the number of examples of each crisis given. For example, if one participant gave three different examples of a violence and threats: threats to staff, patrons fighting, and smashing property, this would count as three different instances. While the data was able to be categorized, they ranged significantly in scope and severity. Narrative examples will be triangulated with the survey data.

Table 7. Frequency of Crisis Examples Encountered at the Library by Case and Role

Role	Case 1			Case 2			Case 3		
	FFS	Sec.	Total	FFS	Sec.	Total	FFS	Sec.	Total
<i>n</i>	6	4	10	23	4	27	19	9	28
Crises Encountered									
Communication Difficulty	3	1	4	10	1	11	11	0	11
Lack of Basic Necessities	3	1	4	26	0	26	26	1	27
Medical Emergencies	4	1	5	9	1	10	9	3	12
Mental Health	5	3	8	19	6	25	7	4	11
Noncompliance	4	3	7	8	2	10	5	1	6
Staff Endangerment	0	0	0	7	0	7	1	1	2
Strong Emotions	2	0	2	18	0	18	1	3	4
Substance Use	1	2	3	10	1	11	11	0	11
Overdose	2	0	2	4	2	6	3	0	3
Victims in Need of Help	1	0	1	9	1	10	3	2	5
Violence and Threats	3	3	6	32	3	35	8	4	12
Other	0	0	0	6	0	6	2	1	3

Note: FFS = Front-facing staff. Sec. = Security

*Staff endangerment were mentions of threats or actions directly against staff; however, under the Violence and Threats categories were also threats or actions that may have endangered staff; however, staff were not specifically stated to be the target.

Lack of Basic Necessities

Security and front-facing staff at all three cases gave frequent examples of a lack of necessities as crises with combined totals across role of: Case 1, $n = 4$; Case 2, $n = 26$; Case 3, $n = 27$). A need for shelter/housing and food was reported at all three cases. This did not just impact adults; teens also were without shelter. Max, FFS in the teen department at Case 3, shared that a teen who had been hanging out all evening shared five minutes before closing that they had no place to stay; he gave another example of a teen who ran away from home due to their family not accepting their gender transition. Other basic needs that were reported in the surveys were a lack of clothing and hygiene access at Cases 2 and 3. As Julie, FFS, in the children’s department shared:

I had one woman with a child who clearly looked like a delayed development— very small for the age of the child, and the child had dirty clothes on, and the mom needed diapers. And we always have extra clothes in our department and diapers for parents like that, and this was pre COVID-19, so we were pretty active. We had a lot of customers, but you could tell that they were homeless, and so could other customers— just they were filthy, and anyway, so we tried to connect them with social work, but the mom as soon as she was on to us of trying to connect her

with some resources, she was out of there. She did not want it. She didn't want to be a part of it. I don't know what her history was, but we sent her with a lot of clothes that we had, and diapers that we had, and then she was on her way.

At Case 2, some front-facing staff indicated that people needed help filling out forms to access services or resources as a crisis; and at Case 3, the basic need category included a lack of transportation, poverty, and sleeping in the library.

Violence and Threats

Violence and threat examples were prevalent in the data with combined total frequency between front-facing staff and security of Case 1: $n = 6$, Case 2: $n = 35$, Case 3: $n = 12$. The examples given were quite serious at all three cases. At Case 1, violence and threat crises encountered were: an active shooter, threats, violence, and patron-to-patron fighting. Alan, CEO at Case 1, verified in his interview that there had been a shooting at the library. At Case 2, survey examples given were: weapons, stabbings, threats, violence unspecified, patrons assaulting patrons, patrons fighting patrons, patrons sexually harassing other patrons, and patrons sexually assaulting other patrons. Steve at Case 2 shared two recent violent events during his interview:

It was like a month ago, a patron stabbed another patron in the elevator, and a couple days after that, a patron was woken up because we have a no sleeping rule in our library, and [they] also didn't have their mask on, and so were asked to do that, and that combination of things, plus where or who they were, they became incredibly aggressive and violent, and like had a cinder block. They were throwing it at bookshelves and damaging materials.

At Case 3, the examples given were: active shooter nearby, bomb threat, general violence unspecified, patron-to-patron assault, and patrons fighting patrons.

Staff Endangerment

Not included in the violence and threat category were mentions of specific threats to or violence towards personnel. While certainly they were exposed to danger in some of the “Violence and Threats” examples, the participants did not specifically say they were targeted. In the staff endangerment category, participants shared specific incidents targeting either themselves or another front-facing staff or security member. At Case 1, where police officers were always on duty, none of the survey responses had a specific incident targeting personnel; however, in his interview, Aiden, the head of security reported he had been threatened. There were many examples in the survey of staff endangerment: “patrons stalking staff inside the library,” “patrons stalking staff outside the library,” patrons threatening staff, patrons fighting or assaulting a staff or security team member, and sexual harassment of staff by exposing themselves and masturbating while staring at the staff member. Jamie, PIC, gave a detailed account of being attacked by a patron experiencing homelessness:

Basically, they just were talking on the phone. I thought they were talking to me. I said, “What's up?” and then they started swearing at me and told me to “Go f--k myself.” I said, “Hey, unfortunately I’ve got to ask you to leave for the day now. They got up and they shoved me. I fell to the ground. The minute I got up they slugged me in the face five times, broke my nose for a third time.

At Case 3, only two examples of staff endangerment were given in the survey responses: almost being attacked for waking up a patron and being “physically aggressive to staff.” However, Marie, social work paraprofessional at Case 3, shared during her interview that she had been threatened by a patron.

Patrons Being Victimized

At both Cases 2 and 3, participants shared multiple examples of people being victimized, primarily outside the library, and then presenting at the library. The examples given at Case 2 were: victim of violence, victim of a crime, victim of theft, domestic violence, and victim of sexual assault. At Case 3, examples given were: victim of theft, domestic violence, and victim of sexual assault. David, security at Case 3, also shared during his interview how a woman who had been raped came to the library to get help. At Case 1, only one example was given—domestic violence. During her interview, Ellis explained how they helped get a domestic violence victim to the social worker:

So, someone came in specifically to talk to the social worker with their significant other who was abusing them, and then we had to get the social worker involved to like separate them, and then she had to stay with her all day like walk to her office to try to find her a shelter to go to.

Mental Health, Medical, Substance Use, and Overdose Crises

Mental health crises, medical emergencies, substance use issues, and overdoses were reported as crises at all three cases. Mental health crises were prevalent with combined front-facing staff and security total frequencies of (Case 1: $n = 8$; Case 2: $n = 25$, and Case 3: $n = 11$). At each case there were multiple descriptors of serious mental illness symptoms as well as general mentions of a “mental health crisis.” Suicidal patrons were reported at all three libraries including a suicide attempt at the library at Case 1 and Case 3. Substances were also of concern including reports of overdoses at each site. One example of a mental health and substance use issue turning into a behavior crisis was shared by Raja (FFS Case 2) during her interview. She described a patron experiencing homelessness who appeared to be under the influence and perhaps having a mental health issue. He was very upset and having outbursts. While the outbursts were okay because he

was on the talking side of the library, it became a crisis when he began to use his skateboard to impede the path of other patrons. He ended up with a week exclusion. Medical emergencies were also reported at all three cases. Examples included unconsciousness, diabetic comas, and death at Case 1; collapsing from exhaustion at Case 2; and falling over the railing at Case 3.

Noncompliance, Communication Difficulties, and Strong Emotions

Less serious forms of crises were identified in the surveys. These included the categories of noncompliance, communication difficulties, and strong emotions. A variety of noncompliant behaviors were described in the survey responses at each case with words such as “belligerent,” “aggressive,” “confrontational,” “disruptive,” and “uncooperative” being used.

Communication difficulties were identified as crises at all three locations. Yelling was reported frequently at each case. During her interview, Nana, FFS at Case 2 described feeling scared during patron crises because patrons “get *really* loud...yelling is *really, really* close to violence in my mind.” Even though she had learned yelling did not equate to violence, it still felt like a crisis. At Cases 2 and 3 several other types of communication problems were reported. At both Cases 2 and 3, difficulty communicating needs, swearing, and arguing were mentioned. At Case 2 there were single mentions of a person being “non communicative,” “denigration of others,” and “rants,” while at Case 3, other examples were a language barrier when trying to help someone find food as well as having no way to contact friends, family, and social service providers.

Finally, strong emotions were given as crises at each case, with the most examples at Case 2. At Case 1, the examples of strong emotions were agitation and

sadness. At Case 2, the examples given were severe distress, grief, “emotionally violent,” agitation, anger, impatience, fear, panic and “lack of empathy.” Case 3 participants reported severe distress as crises.

Summary of Front-Facing Staff and Security Perceptions of Crises

In summary, the examples of crises given by front-facing staff and security had differing levels of severity with the most severe that could cause imminent or immediate danger for others categorized as “violence and threats” and “staff endangerment.” Mental health crises, medical emergencies, substance use issues, and overdose all posed varying levels of danger from something relatively minor as a person experiencing symptoms of SMI to suicide attempts, or serious medical emergencies requiring immediate medical attention. The library was also a safe space for victims of violence ranging from theft to rape to come to report and get help. Less severe examples of crises included a lack of basic needs, noncompliance, and strong emotions.

Social Workers Perception of Crisis

During the interview process, social workers were asked, “What are examples of crisis situations you have encountered at your library?” and “Does your perception of a crisis differ from other staff?” The social workers had varied perceptions of what rose to the level of crisis. Monique, Kobe, and Marissa had more expansive views of what could be considered a crisis than Darcy and Casey. Monique considered urgent immediate needs a crisis, while Kobe and Marissa listed a number of resource-based needs as crises. For Casey at Case 3, even helping a suicidal patron access Emergency Medical Services was not enough to get her “blood pressure up,” so it did not rise to the level of crisis; however, helping a domestic violence victim plan an escape strategy before her abuser

returned to the library did. Darcy at Case 2 said that the only things that rose to the threshold of crisis was when a patron was “holdable”—suicidal, homicidal, or hearing voices.

While the social workers did not all agree on their definitions of what constituted a crisis and some of their answers mirrored situations that staff mentioned as crises, such as mental health crises and lack of basic resources, none of them saw strong feelings or yelling as crises, which many of the front-facing staff and even a few security did. This seemed to be due to a key difference in their training and roles. Social workers are trained to listen and help people process their emotions and know how to de-escalate. To staff, the anger and cursing felt directed at them and was more likely to feel like a crisis. Libraries have a history of being known as a quiet place; the front-facing staff seemed to realize that the quiet expectation was no longer a realistic expectation, but it still made many of them feel uncomfortable. To the social workers, it seemed like the reality of helping people in need.

A prime example was at Case 3 when social worker, Casey, described how in their social work center they allow strong emotion and language that would not be allowed elsewhere in the library:

There's a lot of things that we deal with in our office that we let slide that would not slide outside of our doors. ... We have a good amount of training professionally to handle a lot of things, and we let a lot of things slide that would not slide in the library, a lot of curse words, loud conversations. Things that happen that the library would not let slide that we understand that our clients have to be able to voice.

While front-facing staff would feel uncomfortable, perhaps even unsafe, in the presence of yelling and strong emotions, this social worker recounted feeling safe with an escalating patron. Casey recounted helping a patron who struggled with substances but

needed help calling Social Security. She knew the call might not have the outcome the patron hoped, so as a precaution she asked a security guard to observe from outside the center but instructed him not to intervene unless it got violent and motioned for him. Even when the client yelled, cursed, and grabbed a chair, she did not summon the guard to come in because she felt confident that due to her relationship with the patron, he would not hurt her.

Security Response

With the level of crises that were present, each library had deemed it necessary to have a security team. Understanding the security model and practices at each library provides context for understanding how the social workers collaborated with and influenced security, and often prevented the need for security to respond. Understanding security's response is also critical to contextualize each case's reliance on law enforcement and how the social workers helped to reduce that reliance. This section will briefly highlight how often front-facing staff were asking security for help with situations that involved patrons they perceived to be experiencing homelessness. Then the terms of patrolling and surveillance will be defined and explored as these practices were used to varying degrees at each case. Next, each case's security model and practices will be described. Finally, the perceptions that other roles held of the security team will be covered.

How Often Front-Facing Staff Requested Help from Security for Situations with Patrons Perceived to be Experiencing Homelessness

Front-facing staff sometimes handled these crises by asking for help from their respective security teams (see Appendix R). At Case 1, security involved both guards and

off-duty police officers. Case 2 had a combination of Persons in Charge and guards. At these two cases, front-facing staff reported requesting assistance the most averaging almost 1-3 times a month per staff member. At Case 3, where there was a team of guards, on average, front-facing staff each called them about 1-2 times a year.

The Use of Patrolling and Surveillance by Security Teams

Each of the three libraries had implemented security teams. Each of these teams worked closely with the social workers, though in different manners. Each of these teams were engaged in patrolling and/or surveillance. To patrol is defined as:

“(especially of soldiers or the police) to go around an area or a building to see if there is any trouble or danger” (Cambridge, n.d.-b.). Surveillance is defined as: “close watch kept over someone or something (as by a detective)” (Merriam-Webster, n.d.-b.). Case 1 had guards but was also the only case with armed police officers. This team engaged in significant surveillance and used language that paralleled policing such as “repeat offender,” “escalating,” and “criminal history.” Case 2 had recently discontinued the use of unsworn sheriff’s deputies who had a direct radio connection to police and replaced them with a contractual unarmed security team alongside their Person in Charge (PIC) team. Case 3 had their own security team that was led by a former police officer. A detailed description of each team follows to provide context for the later explanation of the social workers’ role in crises.

Security Models, Practices and Perceptions

Each case’s staffing model of security will be described. Then their practices will be discussed. Finally, how each team was perceived by other roles in the library will be explored. These factors are foundational to understanding how social workers influenced

the security's implementation of the code of conduct in response to patrons experiencing homelessness when they were in crises. It will also provide context to the rival theory discussion at the end of the Findings section.

Case 1: Security Model

The security team is led by a Library Assistant (Aiden) who explained that a year ago he was “pulled into a dark room” and told he was now in charge of overseeing the security team of security guards and off-duty police officers. The guards were unarmed but the officers were armed. The two officers who participated in this study both carried a gun and taser; one also carried a baton. One librarian explained in her survey that they “now employ two off-duty police officers, because the county police department deemed the library a hazardous two-man job.” This combined team patrolled the library, enforced the patron code of conduct, and engaged in surveillance. Case 1's library code of conduct is codified in county ordinance which means to break the code of conduct means to break local ordinance. According to the CEO, Alan, most people experiencing homelessness follow the rules, but there are some that have behavioral issues in the library that violate the code of conduct.

Case 1: Security Practices

To enforce the code of conduct, both security guards and two armed off-duty county police officers patrol during open hours at the library. There are also metal detectors. While some officers regularly work shifts at the library, many do not. Each morning any new police officers are shown around the library and are told their duties of patrolling and enforcing the patron code of conduct. The security guards have a security circle near the social work area. The guards and officers patrol includes frequent checks

on the social workers, especially if they hear the slightest raise of a voice. Together the security guards and police both patrol and enforce the code of conduct.

Significant violations of a code of conduct require an incident report to be written by the head of the team, Aiden, and stored in a database, the “incident management system” (CEO, Alan) that is accessible at all branches (Aiden). For example, a patron who is “being loud” and does not correct the behavior after being asked would likely have an incident report written up on them (Hope, location manager). Aiden described a “repeat offender” as someone that has been told the same ordinance twice or more, such as wearing their mask over their nose and mouth or keeping their belongings with them. Aiden went on to explain that this repeat violation would mean they would “need to escalate” which could mean another warning and being asked to leave for the remainder of the day. It also meant he would research the incident management system to check for the patron’s history:

We would start researching their history if we know them to see if they have any prior evictions, because depending on the escalation, they don't just get evicted for the day. If they've been evicted for the day before, it would be for like a week and then two weeks, and then it would get doubled essentially, so we'll start doing our due diligence on the individual. [And] ask around if anybody else has caught the attention of that individual...

In addition to researching incidents during an escalation, Aiden also reviewed the incident reports from the other branches each day as a part of surveillance. He would check to see if there were any repeat offenders in the library, notify the security team if there were any repeat offenders in the library or if there was anyone they should be watching for. According to the Alan, CEO, when a person signs up for a library card, they can voluntarily agree to having a picture taken; this picture is kept in the database

partly for identifying a person who has forgotten their identification, and partly for security reasons. These pictures and/or screenshots taken from security cameras are used to help keep people who have been banned out of the library (Alan and Aiden). Not only is the library incident management system searched, Aiden also does a “thorough criminal record check” for all patrons who have been banned from the library.

It is a staggering amount of repeat offenders, and frequently, violent. Knowing that, I insist on staff never handling a directive towards a patron without the back-up of trained officers. Not that we are not capable of enforcing our rules of conduct—it is an unfortunate personal safety measure we must enact due to the nature of our clientele.

In addition, the library staff area has what Aiden called the “wall of personalities” or “wall of shame” which are photographs of patrons who are not allowed in the library and if seen, the security team and/or police should be called. These are not only at Main, but most of the branches. Aiden explains that the Main’s wall of shame is “totally populated by people who have been evicted for more than a year, or they've been evicted permanently.”

Case 1: Perceptions About the Security Team

The social worker described the police and security guards showing patience with people experiencing homelessness who sometimes got defensive and verbally aggressive with them. Aiden, head of security, voiced empathy, and an understanding that many behavior issues in the library were due to mental health and past trauma and eagerly partnered with the social worker to get patrons directed her way. All three patrons experiencing homelessness (Rex, Ellis, and Rocco) had only positive comments regarding the guards and police who worked inside the library. All three reported the presence of the guards and the police made them feel safer. Rocco said he felt he was

treated as a “citizen” at the library and that he felt safe, “cause you've got a county police officer sitting right at that front desk and you gottem walkin’ all through the library.”

When asked how the team treated people experiencing homelessness, Rex, patron, reported that the police officers “don’t bother nobody” and intervene only:

when someone is coming here angry or loud, you understand, that's the only time they are trying to calm down or tell them to step out library for a few minutes and then come back in. But as far as them putting handcuffs on nobody and happen to take somebody to jail, I have never seen none of that.

Multiple people interviewed spoke with great affection for Pearl, a guard, who was known for her loving firmness. Rex, said that Pearl was a “little mother” to patrons experiencing homelessness, checking in on them each day. When Rex found out he was getting housing, Pearl was one of the first persons he told.

However, there were some frustrations with the police officers voiced by the social work interns. Lennox described the police officers as using a normal voice when responding to patrons who “misbehave” but then getting “mad” when a patron yells at them. She said the police officers “kick them out of the library.” Alisa, intern, was frustrated that the police officers would not allow patrons experiencing homelessness to sleep or to have their luggage in the library.

Case 2: Security Model

This library had recently transitioned from unsworn sheriff’s deputies in uniform to a contracted unarmed security team also in uniform. In addition, they had Persons in Charge who acted in security roles. While the deputies had been able to physically remove patrons from the library and had frequently called for police backup, the security guards and PICs were not allowed to touch patrons except in defense of self or others.

The removal of the deputies was made in part from the library's concern about how police in the library made marginalized communities feel and in part due to the sheriff no longer being able to provide the service. While the guards were considered to be the actual security team, the Person's in Charge took the lead on behavioral issues that occurred in the library and played a security role. Because only one guard completed a survey and zero guards did an interview, their role is less understood than the PICs.

There were 3 PIC Coordinators, who each spent 25-30 hours a week patrolling the library. All three were interviewed and surveyed. The coordinators were assisted by others who did "PIC shifts." Management positions were required to work about 10 hours of PIC shifts per week, while two front-facing staff volunteered to do 5-6 hours of PIC shifts each a week. Several management and staff members who did PIC shifts also participated, so an in-depth view of the PIC role was obtained.

Case 2: Security Practices

The PICs were the point person for any issue that arose during their shift regarding staffing, facilities, or patron behavior. The PICs usually played the lead role in behavioral matters, though guards also assisted. Ashton (PIC) described that "a PIC's role is to whenever possible help a patron to use the library successfully—help the patron to stay in the library, even though part of the PIC's role is to issue exclusions and ask patrons to leave." The lead PIC Coordinator also had the responsibility for logging all incidents in the system wide database that was accessible to staff system wide.

The PIC team had a relational approach to their work. As they patrolled, they would greet and check in with patrons. They would do "mini reference interviews"

(Ashton) to assess what patrons needed and connect them with the staff member that could assist them, which was often the social worker.

Getting patrons out of the building and off the property without the patron getting an exclusion or arrested was viewed as a win for this PIC team. Jamie (PIC) explained that the code of conduct required a “nuanced reading,” otherwise “you would be excluding patrons left and right.” As Jamie explained, if not done with nuance, the progressive nature of discipline could easily escalate into longer and longer exclusions:

If you're excluded for a day, one day, and then the next week, you do the same behavior, you're at a week, if you do the same behavior within a short amount of time, you're at a month, three months, etc.

While issuing exclusions was the role of PICs, this PIC team went out of their way to include a patron rather than exclude. Jamie recounted the story of a patron, who was already on an exclusion progression, who was in the bathroom making tangential expressions of wanting to hurt himself and others, though no specific threats were made that Jamie deemed a call to the crisis line to be necessary. Leveraging their relationship, Jamie quietly and calmly talked to the patron for 20 minutes and coaxed him out of the building without having to issue an exclusion:

I had a purpose to get this patron out of the building, because I also knew what the stakes were for that, and that they would more than likely be excluded, and then that would be it—they couldn't get access to any of our services. And so anyhow, long story short, they left, and I tried to suggest also like, ‘Maybe don't return today, seems like you're having a hard time with behavior, and I really want you to be able to come back tomorrow, so please, I'll see you here tomorrow.’

Having the patron out of the space without an exclusion or arrest meant the PICs had preserved the library space for other staff and patrons, but the PICs did not feel like they were adding harm to patrons experiencing homelessness by having

them arrested or removing their right to come back to a safe space where they could get daytime shelter and services.

Case 2: Perceptions About the Security Team

Jamie (PIC) finished the prior story with: “Okay, this is what I’m here to do, that’s my job. And again, that's not really what staff think my job is so, but that is in a nutshell, the best that I could probably do in this work.” All three of the PIC Coordinators perceived that some staff in the library were afraid and thought that the PIC’s should be excluding patrons more often. Eden, PIC, stated:

Often, because we'll get calls and people are like, “Why aren’t you doing anything?” and like, “there's nothing to do.” And I’ll explain it over and over and over again, but some folks don't feel like doing that, or sometimes I’m very busy and don't have the time to walk them through why it's okay for someone to sit there and just like tap their chest a bunch.

Steve, a front-facing staff, gave an example of how he felt appreciative of the PIC’s nuanced decision-making process, but that his coworker disapproved. Steve had been asked by a colleague why there was a “really big scooter...blocking half of the hallway.” Steve (FFS) went to see for himself and found the big scooter loaded with belongings. As protocol dictated in this library, he called the PIC. The PIC stated they were aware of the scooter but noted that it was up near the wall, that there was still space to walk, and that they had spoken with the patron to confirm that it was their “mobility device.” Steve reflected, “I felt like it was appropriate that that patron was able to be there, even though my colleague, I think didn’t.” Steve appreciated the fact that the PICs had balanced the need of the individual patron with the needs of other patrons and staff, while his colleague thought the PICs had been too lenient.

While none of the guards were interviewed, the patrons experiencing homelessness did express their views of the guards. Brian felt they treated him and other patrons experiencing homelessness well. Zane and Derek had more nuanced views of the guards. Zane thought most guards were “decent” but that sometimes there would be one that harassed people simply for eating or sitting. Derek felt treated well because he followed the rules, but knew that others, who did not follow the rules, had a different experience:

Yeah, there are certain people, they, like, they don't get the same treatment as I do because I'm a person that come in and do what I have to do and get the hell out of there. But some people are rude and have too many medication[s] or drug[s] or alcohol. So, they boot 'em out, and they treat 'em like nothing, you know, not like me. But they try to be respectful enough to kick them [out] the right way instead of being rude about it.

Case 3: Security Model

This team, known as “safety,” rather than security to indicate a less-adversarial role, was led by an African American female ex-police officer. Having been there for almost five years, she was credited with transforming the security team into a compassionate safety team, highly skilled in de-escalation who did not resort to putting their hands on patrons. One long term librarian (Jadon) who had witnessed the change in the team put it like this:

When I started at the library, mostly safety was ex state troopers and stuff, and now ... we have a guy from probation, pardon, and parole, people who have a lot of security experience, and more people who have customer service focused security experience [rather] than just people who want to give you a traffic ticket. ... and they do have a lot of skills of dealing with people's crises, besides just throwing people out or calling the cops.

Case 3: Security Practices

With no fewer than four people on duty at a time, this team patrolled the library vigilantly including having someone stationed at the entrance. Security was the first call for front-facing staff during code of conduct violations and escalations. There were frequent references to not even having to call them, because they were already there and would come for any noise or anything out of the ordinary. This library system also had an incident reporting system that was accessible by all staff at any location; however, the security team was not exclusively in charge of writing the reports. According to Shelby, CEO, staff were trained how to write their own reports.

While it is unknown if this library had surveillance cameras inside the library, there were cameras outside. According to the location manager, Aleesha, they used to check the overnight recordings to see if anyone had vandalized or been sleeping underneath the library's overhang. As she reflected on how hard it was to close the building and say goodbye to people with nowhere else to go, she described how they had reduced the monitoring of the camera recordings:

I think we've noticed that too in terms of at Main library, we stopped doing some things that were sort of, I don't wanna say targeting, but then we're kind of unnecessary.... We're closed overnight, but we have a very well-lit building. There's lots of lighting around. There's walls where you can lean up against with overhangs where it would be a nice place to be protected from the elements. And I think way back, we would check the cameras overnight to see people sleeping and who's vandalizing...and we've kind of stopped that. If it's not a vandalism incident or something, do we really care if somebody's propped up against the building that's well-lit and safe and known as a safe spot? So [we] try not to penalize people....Vandalism...that's a completely different situation though than someone just being nearby the building overnight, because they have nowhere else to go. So, anyway. We stopped.

Aleesha realized that having patrons sleeping near the building was “harmless,” so while the cameras still recorded, the recordings were not accessed unless there was evidence of vandalism. In this way, Main reduced their surveillance of people experiencing homelessness and gave them leniency to sleep outside their building.

According to Casey, the social worker, the safety team knew the patrons experiencing homelessness, often by name, bantering with them as the patrons would enter or leave for the day. Paula, patron, described having polite conversations with the guards as she entered and exited the library. Since the social work team did not work weekends, the safety team would answer patrons’ questions about local resources. During the week, the safety team frequently directed patrons to social work or even brought them up and introduced them. However, sometimes, they would meet the emotional need of the patron themselves rather than sending them up to the social workers as David, guard, recounted:

We’ve had one guy. He was just crying, but he was crying because he was just tired of being homeless. He was newly homeless, I think, less than a year, and just the gravity of where he is just came on him. So, I mean, situations like that, that’s just “Eh, you just want somebody to talk to? Go ahead. I’ll listen to you. You don’t have to go up there. Whatcha got goin’?”

Because of his relationships with patrons, David was able to monitor the “regulars” for signs of a “bad day.” David described how he would pull a patron aside and encourage them to take a walk to cool off rather than stay and get expelled. David understood that it was important to maintain the right of the patron experiencing homelessness to use the library “because I know this is the safe spot for a lot of ‘em— out the weather, just away from dangers, just away

from the police, getting arrested for just being homeless.” While David told everybody about the services the social workers provided, there were times patrons experiencing homelessness were angry and not willing to wait their turn to speak to a social worker and had to be “removed.”

Case 3: Perceptions About the Security Team

The safety team was described with admiration for their compassion and respect for their de-escalation skills by social workers and front-facing staff and with high praises for their friendliness by patrons. The social workers and front-facing staff had a high degree of confidence in their safety team to handle situations in an appropriate manner. The patrons interviewed reported the safety team as helpful, supportive, and friendly. In Mya’s words: “They are *so* friendly, they don’t judgmental [*sic*] us.”

Cross-Case Analysis: How Social Workers Influence How Libraries Respond to Crises with Patrons Experiencing Homelessness

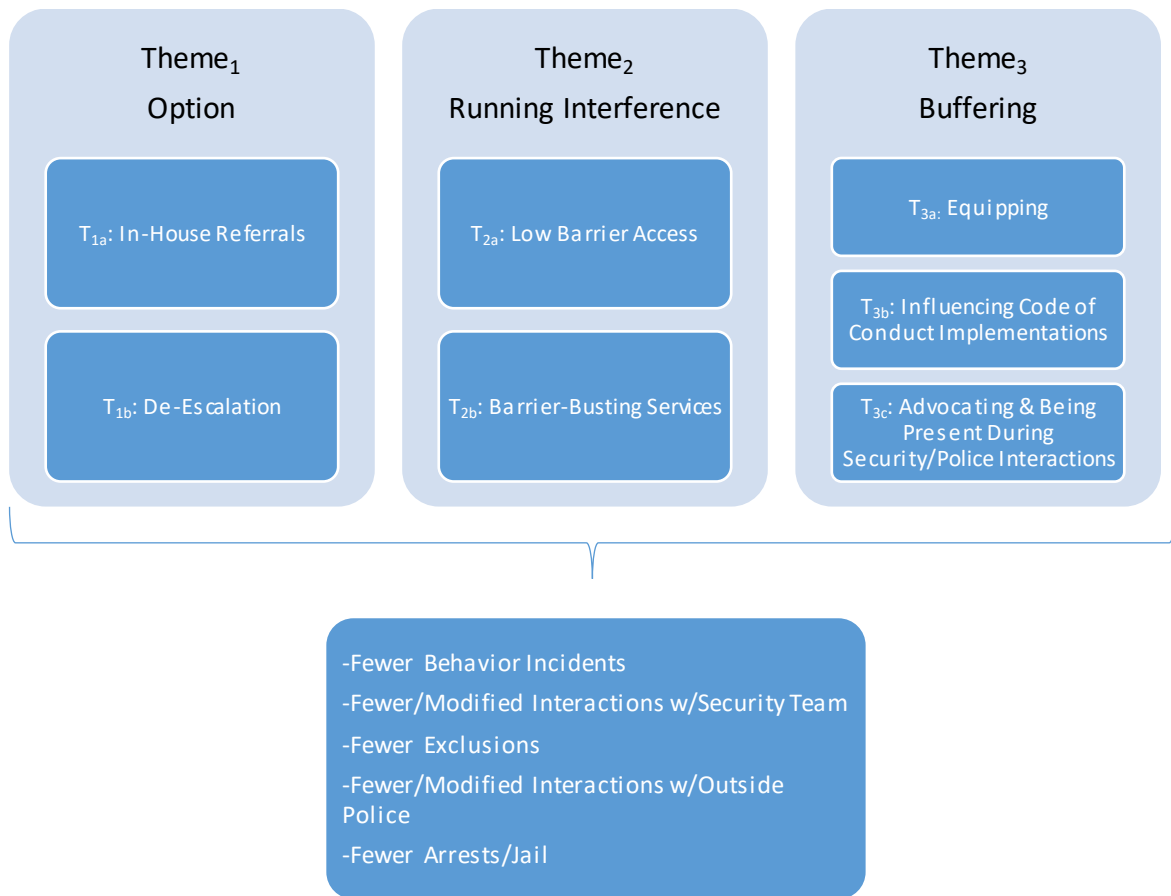
Now that the historical and case contexts have been presented and the perceptions of crisis and the security response is understood, the manuscript now turns to the role of the social worker within that context. These three themes explain *how* the social worker is influencing how libraries respond to crises with patrons experiencing homelessness. The three major themes, along with subthemes, are highlighted in Figure 5. The first major theme, “Option” (T1), has two subthemes: “in-house referrals” (T1a) and “de-escalation” (T1b). The second major theme, “Running interference” (T2), also has two subthemes: “low barrier access” (T2a) and “barrier-busting services” (T2b). The final major theme, “Buffering” (T3), has three subthemes: “equipping” (T3a), “influencing code of conduct implementation” (T3b), and “advocating and being present during

security and police interactions” (T3c). In the following in-depth analysis, each theme will be defined, and each sub-theme thoroughly explored. The perceived impact of each theme will be identified. It is important to note that participants reported the perception that each of the above-mentioned themes had the impact of fewer behavior incidents. Reduced behavior incidents led to the perception of fewer or modified interactions with security due to the presence of the social worker. Fewer or modified interactions with security had the perceived benefit of fewer exclusions, fewer interactions with police, and fewer arrests/jail for patrons experiencing homelessness (see Figure 5). As the impacts of each theme are explored by case, they will be supported with interview excerpts.

After the major themes are discussed, three models of library social work practice and their impact on the social worker’s role of de-escalation (T1b) will be identified and described (See Table 10). These were identified during the analysis that led to the three major themes. Where the social workers were located in the library and how they were accessed by patrons, security and front-facing staff was pivotal to understanding the social workers role in changing how the library responded to crises with patrons experiencing homelessness. While all the themes were involved in the formation of the model, the sub-theme of de-escalation (T1b) held particular importance because it was the intervention used once a crisis had begun to escalate. Escalations, if not handled with care and skill could lead to intensified security responses (such as short to long-term bans) or even police involvement, thus, the social worker’s role of de-escalation was pivotal to demonstrate how the social worker was reducing the libraries’ reliance on law enforcement.

After the major themes and models have been thoroughly examined, the manuscript will examine the rival theories. The three rival theories identified in advance were “the influence of Ryan Dowd,” “the influence of Steve Albrecht,” and “the impact of the Black Lives Matter movement.” Evidence from the surveys and the interviews will be combined in narrative format to draw conclusions about each rival theory.

Figure 5. Themes and Subthemes of How Social Workers Influence Libraries’ Response to Crises with Patrons Experiencing Homelessness with Perceived Impacts



Theme 1: Option

The word option is defined by Merriam Webster (n.d.-a) as “something that may be chosen, such as an alternative course of action.” This is a fitting description for the option that social workers provided for patrons experiencing homelessness and front-facing staff and security teams who engaged with them. There were two subthemes: “in-

house referrals” (T1a) and “de-escalation” (T1b). The option theme had the perceived impact of better outcomes for patrons experiencing homelessness with reports of fewer behavior incidents, fewer or modified interactions with security, fewer exclusions, and fewer arrests/jail. The interview support for these impacts will be integrated in this section. At the end, an additional impact for front-facing staff and security— relief— will be explored. A summary of Theme 1 will be provided.

T1a: In-House Referrals

In house-referrals were referrals to the social worker who was “in-house” versus referring them to an outside social service agency. These referrals could be made by any front-facing staff or security team member. Having the option to refer to a social worker in-house reassured staff that they were helping a patron versus just sending a patron away with a phone number that they might not have a phone to call or with an address they might never get to. Cruz, FFS, at Case 3 remembered what it was like before they had social workers.

So, you know, before we had social workers, if someone who is experiencing homelessness, or outside of just homelessness, experiencing any kind of personal trauma where they needed assistance with social services, I might be able to get them a phone number, but I really couldn't *know* that I was helping them. You know, truly know that that the work I was doing was actually helping alleviate whatever issue they had. Where now with the social workers, I have confidence that you need this service; I can send you directly upstairs, and even if they're not available, right now, you can make an appointment to help you look for housing, or get into a shelter, or I don't know, food stamps or whatever they actually needed ...

Having a real live person to send people to in the library felt much more like help than handing out phone numbers.

These referrals could also come from the patron themselves who accessed the social worker without any staff directing them to the social worker. Often self-referrals followed patron to patron word-of-mouth advertising as the library became known as the place where people experiencing homelessness could get help. Patron Rex at Case 1 was the perfect example of how patrons told others who could then present at the library to ask for help from the social worker. Rex had been working diligently with the social worker's help, had just found out he had been approved for housing, and was excited to spread the word:

I'm sending everybody to her. I say, "Go see Miss Monique in the library. If you're willing to do it, trust me, she's gonna help you 100%. But you got to stay consistent, you got to do what she asks you to do, and you'll get that same type of treatment. She's not gonna turn her back on you ..."

This word-of-mouth advertising also happened at Case 3 as social worker Casey reported that there had been "no need" for advertising as satisfied patrons told others.

Overwhelmingly, front-facing staff and security knew how to contact the social worker. Front-facing staff and security were asked the survey question "Do you know how to contact the library social worker?" At Case 1, 100% of front-facing staff ($n = 10$) and security/police ($n = 4$) answered "yes." At Case 2, 96.4% of front-facing staff ($n = 27$) and 100% of security ($n = 4$) likewise answered "yes." And finally, at Case 3, 100% of front-facing staff ($n = 23$) and 91.6% of security ($n = 11$) also knew how to contact the social workers. Both front-facing staff and security were asked, "What type of assistance have you receive from the social worker?" They were presented with a list of ten options to choose from, including an "other" category with the opportunity to provide details. They were also allowed to elaborate on how they collaborated with the social worker if

they chose that option. Appendix S provides a detailed view of the types of assistance participants reported receiving from the social worker. For each of the three cases, the type of assistance most received was referring “a patron in need of social work services to the social worker.” Combining front-facing staff and security, 78.6% ($n = 11$) of Case 1, 90.3% ($n = 28$) of Case 2, and 82.9% ($n = 29$) of Case 3 referred a patron in need to the social worker. Connecting a patron in crisis to the social worker and then stepping away was the second most received assistance at Case 1 ($n = 7$, 50%) and Case 2 ($n = 23$, 74.2%) and the third most received at Case 3 ($n = 18$, 51.4%). Working together with the social worker in the moment to help a patron in crisis also occurred at all three cases with combined front-facing staff and security teams totals of: Case 1 ($n = 2$, 14.3%), Case 2 ($n = 14$, 50%), and Case 3 ($n = 10$, 28.6%).

Simply referring a patron experiencing homelessness could help begin calming a patron when they found out they could get help and not be turned away. Max, FSS at Case 3, described how patrons show up in desperation at the library, sometimes not knowing what to even ask for, and then how their countenance changes when they find out there is a social worker at the library:

If the interview times are full, if the social work people are out that day—to even get a phone number that says, you can call this person and someone is dedicated to helping you specifically—like you see the face change, tone of voice changes, the posture changes ... because otherwise people don't know where to turn.

The in-house referral (T1a) was often the connection that began the next sub-theme of de-escalation (T1b) even before the patron got to the social worker. Levi, FFS at Case 2 who also worked PIC shifts, shared that “just an offer to connect them with a social worker usually de-escalates the situation significantly.” Following up to Levi’s

comment, the researcher inquired if being able to refer (T1a) the patron to the social worker affected the number of times they have to call for the security team or a police officer. He responded that it affected it “greatly” and estimated that “in like 90% of the cases the social worker is able to take care of the situation herself, without calling security.” Levi then recounted a story of a patron experiencing both homelessness and ongoing mental health issues who got angry and loud when he was unable to access his Social Security Administration account online using an access code. The patron became disruptive and began blaming library staff for “hacking into” and “stealing” his personal information. In his attempt to de-escalate the patron, Levi realized he could choose the security guard or choose the option of an in-house referral to a social worker:

I had two options, I could call for our security guard who would come and says [*sic*] that this patron has to leave for the day because he's been disruptive; or because we had a social worker inside, I asked the patron, “Will it work for you, if I asked a social worker to help out with this situation, and maybe call Social Security for you?” And he said, “yes,” and we called for her, she came into the room.

T1b: De-Escalation

In the example above, the referral of the front-facing staff working a PIC shift made the connection that initiated the next sub-theme: de-escalation. De-escalation provided options to security, exclusion, police, arrest, and jail.

As Levi's story continued:

She [social worker, Darcy] just has this very calm way of speaking with patrons, so she persuaded him to leave the room, and they relocated to the lobby. They sat on the bench at the lobby, and he explained to her what happened. She offered him to use her phone to call the Social Security office. So, then they relocated to the other part of the building that is even more secluded than the lobby, so even as he continued to have his loud outbursts, it didn't disrupt the library operation, and it wasn't impactful for other patrons. So that was one example how she was able to take care of a potentially volatile situation, and also, she was able to help the patron, and

instead of being kicked out of the library for the day, he was helped; and he was able to resolve his issue.

Had the social worker not been employed by the library, Levi, who was working a PIC shift, would have not had the option to choose to summon the social worker and instead would have called the security guard; and as he indicated, this would have likely led to an exclusion. So not only was the social worker an option to the security guard; her de-escalation skills were an option to exclusion. During de-escalation, Darcy tried to avoid police involvement, especially in mental health crises, because she felt it was a punitive approach that was not helpful to a person already in distress.

T1 Option Impact

In addition to the reported impact for patrons that have already been discussed, including the meeting of felt needs, and the perception of fewer bans, fewer or modified security interactions, and fewer arrests/jail, there was a benefit to front-facing staff and security of having the option of a social worker— relief. In fact, participants brought it up when not even asked. In the responses to the question, “How if at all, do you feel having a library social worker has impacted how you respond to a patron experiencing homelessness who is in crisis?” they often did not answer the question that was asked— instead sharing how the social worker had provided them some sort of relief or benefit. Across cases and the combined roles of front-facing staff and security, participants expressed relief. At Case 1, 40.0% ($n = 4$) of combined front-facing staff and security ($n = 10$) gave responses indicating relief. At Case 2, 19.2% ($n = 5$) out of the combined total of $n = 26$ were relieved; and at Case 3, 7.4% ($n = 2$) out of the combined total of $n = 27$ shared the feeling of relief. In the words of a security personnel at Case 1:

For me to say, “do you need any help?” and get blindsided by a question I know I have no qualifications or certainty has become an infrequent scenario. To the best of my own personal abilities, I would help but there is a degree of relief knowing someone in proximity has a direct response to the given crisis.

A front-facing staff at Case 1 echoed the sentiment: “MLIS staff is not trained to be MSW staff. It is like asking a dentist to perform brain surgery.” Other responses varied but included indications of reduced stress, saved time, feeling like the social worker had their back, and fewer confrontations with patrons.

Relief was also expressed several times in the interviews at Cases 1 and 3. (The interview participants at Case 2 indicated that the need of their city, and consequently their patrons, was larger than the social worker and her colleague could meet; however, as stated above, some relief was indicated by survey participants.) At Case 1, three librarians, Erica, Angelina, and Nadine found it a relief to have the social worker to send patrons to for things they did not have the time to do or were not allowed to do (such as handle personal information). Nadine explained:

We are not allowed to fill out any applications or documentation for someone. It's not legal for us to do that ... Especially when it's like, “Are you the person filling out this document, or is it someone else?” Well, this is not my job, and then it also, I mean frankly it sets a precedent, it's going to set a precedent for now everybody is going to get in line because *that* librarian will fill out the application for you. And that can't be.

Researcher: So, what do you do in that circumstance when you tell them, “No,” do you then send them to the social worker, or what happens?

Nadine: That's the beautiful part, now that there's a social worker, we can do that, before we were put in a very precarious situation.

Having the social worker provided relief and allowed them to return to their role of being a librarian.

At Case 3, Cruz, FFS, expressed relief by crediting the social worker with reducing staff burnout. She often thought about her “regulars” and if she had done enough to help, even in her off time, and felt much more confident that she was helping them by sending them to the social workers rather than sending them away with a phone number. Cruz was not the only staff that thought about their regulars in their off time. Max, FFS Case 3, slept better having social workers who had both the time and expertise to help with needs that were beyond his own role and expertise:

There's a relief in the sense of that mission creep does not then take over my job responsibilities. I am happy to help homeless individuals. I want to connect them to the resources they need. But it's also great that there is a full-time or two full-time now social work employees—that is their entire wheelhouse; that is their bread and butter. And they know all the most up to date information, and they can do appointments; and they can make plenty of time for it that I may not necessarily have on the spot: someone walks in the door, “Hey, I need to turn my entire life around.” I may not have that bandwidth every time that happens. ... And then, this ties back into that first response about the empowerment and the relief of it. It helps me sleep better at night, knowing there is a designated full-time professional who, as far as I know, doesn't have to lose sleep at night because they know whatever order of operations for all the different benefits and again, county, city, state, national groups that can help people who are in a really hard place.”

The social worker’s expertise reduced the role strain on staff who did not have the training or expertise, nor the time to develop it, about all the various social service and government agencies.

Nadia, FFS Case 3, also described that prior to having social workers, there was not much they could do to help which was emotionally “distressing” but that having the social workers provided them relief because “at least have a way to help people, and before that it was sort of a matter of our security staff dealing with whatever the problem was or calling the police.” While staff often desired to help patrons in crisis, they did not

always have the time or expertise to do so, which left them feeling concerned, overwhelmed, and pushed outside the bounds of their training and role. However, having the social workers as an option helped reduce this stress, provided relief, and allowed the front-facing staff to return to the boundaries of their own role without feeling the need to involve law enforcement.

While relief was expressed by multiple participants, there was a dissenting voice of a front-facing staff at Case 3. This staff described resentment at the limited hours that the social workers had and the impact on the nearby library staff who had to handle the patron's frustration and anger when they came to see the social workers and found them not there. The staff acknowledged that their own feelings were not towards the actual social work services, but rather that the social workers had modified hours compared to the front-facing staff.

T1 Option Summary

Social workers at each Case provided an option for patrons, front-facing staff, and security through two subthemes, "in-house referrals" (T1a) and "de-escalation" (T1b). As an option for "in-house referrals," front-facing staff and security could refer patrons in need to the social worker. Simply referring patrons could help calm them with the assurance someone was there to help. Front-facing staff and security could also connect them to the social worker and step away or work together to help a patron in crisis. Patrons could also self-refer, often hearing of the social worker from other patrons. Social workers were also an option for de-escalation. Perceived impact of de-escalation was reduced incidents (or a slower rise in incidents at Case 2), reduced or modified interactions with security, and reduced exclusions. At Case 2, the de-escalation role also

had the perceived impact of fewer calls to police, fewer acts of violence, fewer arrests, and less jail. The de-escalation role of the social worker at Case 1 with off-duty police officers had the reported impacts of reducing patrons being tased, arrested, or jailed. In addition to patron benefits, staff experienced the benefit of relief of having a social worker as an option who had the expertise and time to help patrons with needs that went beyond the staff's own role and expertise.

Theme 2: Running Interference

The second theme identified was “running interference.” To run interference is defined: “to deal with problems for someone as they happen” (Cambridge, n.d.-c). This theme had two subthemes: “low barrier access” (T2a) and “barrier-busting services” (T2b). Both subthemes have the word “barrier” which is defined as “something that prevents something else from happening or makes it more difficult” (Cambridge, n.d.-a). Each subtheme will be explained. Both subthemes enabled the social workers to run interference, or handle problems for patrons experiencing homelessness in real time. The impacts of Theme 2 will be highlighted, and a summary of Theme 2 will be provided.

T2a: Low Barrier Access

Running interference or being able to handle problems for patrons experiencing homelessness, was made possible by the first subtheme, low barrier access. Low barrier access was achieved by placing the social worker in the library, a place where patrons experiencing homelessness were already at. It was further achieved by no eligibility requirements, other than being a library patron and asking for or accepting service. Finally low barrier access was achieved by a relationship-based approach that made patrons experiencing homelessness feel comfortable accepting help.

Because so many people experiencing homelessness were naturally coming to each of these libraries for daytime shelter already, having the social worker at the library meant they did not have to walk, catch a bus, or otherwise find transportation to try to get services elsewhere. While they sometimes had to wait to see the social worker, they could wait in the comfort of the library.

While most social service agencies have eligibility requirements that may be barriers to people experiencing homelessness getting help, the library social workers had handled that problem of access by having only two basic requirements: to be a library patron and to ask for or accept service. To see a social worker, there were not any appointments to make (or a phone required to make the appointment), fees to pay, or insurance claims to file. A patron did not have to show an ID or a library card to see a social worker. They did not have to be income eligible or show proof of residence or proof of homelessness. Kobi, MSW at Case 3, put it succinctly:

We are one of the only places where there are not any parameters, any prerequisites to getting our assistance. If you are patron of this library, and you are patron of this library once you walk in the front door. If you come to us and ask us for assistance, we will assist.

This lack of eligibility requirements other than to be a library patron and ask for or accept services made library social work services low barrier.

The library social workers also operated on a relationship-based approach which further broke down the barriers, making it more likely that patrons experiencing homelessness would engage in social work services at the library. As Hope, location manager at Case 1, described, some patrons experiencing homelessness had been treated so rudely at government agencies by “social workers” (government workers versus social workers) that they had given up and remained on the street:

A lot of the folks here sort of flow through the cracks and don't get assistance, and they only have assistance now because they talk to our social worker here. And it's not like they don't know where to go to get help ... but they've had such ... bad experiences with social workers. They sort of experience, almost this mini-traumatic event having to go to these offices and deal with personnel who they feel are rude and not nice to them and belittling of them and that sort of thing, so we're finding that many of them were telling us that they are simply on the street, because they would rather not have to deal with any of the social workers [at], for example, the food stamp office, or finding wherever they had to go to get cash benefits, [social] security, or health benefits.

A key difference in why the patrons were accepting help at the library was the positive relationship they developed with the social worker. Hope went on to explain how the relationship with the social worker helped them feel that they had someone on their side. From within the context of the social worker-patron relationship, the patron experiencing homelessness felt comfortable asking for and accepting help. Brian, a patron with an extensive history of homelessness and mental health issues at Case 2, explained how Darcy, the library social worker, would make him laugh. He shared how when his mom and grandma had died, he sought out both the social worker and the PIC at the library stating, "I told them both and I cried real hard." Rex, patron at Case 1, explained how closely he and the social worker, Monique, had been working the last two months to take a series of steps to secure housing. His description embodied a two-way relationship of both parties working to overcome his barriers and often checking in with each other at the library:

I could be in the library one day and she can be walking to her office, and she'd be like, "Rex, did you get that paper? Rex, I need to see you tomorrow." And I'll be right there, I'll be right there.

Even with a large social work team at Case 3, patrons often had their favorite social worker with whom they had built a relationship. Casey, social worker, explained:

We all have what we call “our clients,” clients that come in and they’re like, “I only want to see Casey.” It doesn’t matter who’s here and what they’re doing, and if they have won the lottery, Casey is the one...

The relationships with the social workers were vital to having truly low barrier services, for without them, the patrons experiencing homelessness may have felt unvalued like they did at government agencies and declined to engage.

T2b: Barrier Busting Services

Just as low barrier access broke down the transportation, eligibility, and relational barriers to a patron engaging, the social worker’s barrier-busting services broke down barriers to a wide range of resources and services. The social work teams addressed the felt needs as expressed by the patrons, and there were few limits to the problems they could help with. They had no session time limits and often worked in real time with the patron to bust down barriers. They garnered donations and/or grant funds to supply tangible resources and helped navigate complex needs.

The social workers began with the felt needs that patrons expressed. Rather than having a menu of services that limited them to what they could do, which is common in specialized social service agencies, the social workers had a posture of “what do you need” and “what can I help you with?” Casey, social worker at Case 3 expounded:

It is really self-directed. ... A lot of times people come and say, “Well, what do you do here?” “Well, we do a lot here, what is it that you need? Let’s start there because that’s a shorter conversation than what we do here.’

In fact, Kobi, MSW at Case 3, described their social work center as a “one stop shop” where patrons could come and ask for help for just about anything, including applying for various programs. Patrons would start by explaining their barriers, and the social workers would offer barrier busting solutions:

“I don't have Wi fi. I don't have access to a computer.” “Well, I’ve got both,” but the documents had to be scanned in. So, you know, we helped in that role. There's something new every day. We help with getting Lifeline phones.... But people didn't know that you have to have certain things to get the free phone, so a lot of times we are the directors to “These are the steps you follow. These are the things you need to do.” A lot of times we're the completer of the application, because “I can't read well. I don't understand this application.” We read mail. We help with getting Medicaid. We help with getting Medicare. If you can name it, and somebody can come in here and ask for it, we do it on a daily basis.

Zane, patron at Case 2 had a long-term relationship with Darcy, the social worker, and detailed the variety of things she had helped them with including, finding resources, accessing a shelter, and helping them through mental health crises including getting to treatment without harming themselves. Zane ended by saying, “So she's pretty much there for anything,” reflecting the freedom that Darcy had to meet felt needs without a lot of constraints. For Brian, at Case 2, Darcy even helped him find his grandma’s obituary.

While social workers had to be mindful of how many people were waiting to see them, the social workers and interns at each location did not have pre-determined session time limits. The types of problems that patrons experiencing homelessness needed help with often involved time-consuming tasks such as making phone calls, filling out online applications, and scanning, faxing, or emailing documents. The social work teams would often make phone calls and fill out online applications with the patron present. Alisa intern at Case 1, explained that “sometimes you spend four hours with somebody; I mean that’s a really long time, but it takes that long sometimes....” Case 3 did not have time limits but did not spend as long as Case 1. Casey explained:

If you sit down, and you're like, “Hey, I just came here from [location redacted], and I don't know where to start and where to go,” then we're not going to be there for three hours trying to help you figure it out. We're going to just take you know little chunks of time to do what we need to do and make some progress over time, but we don't have, ... there's no limits.

I'm not saying you only have 30 minutes to try to get everything done now, if you need an hour and a half, we do an hour and a half.

Even with a smaller team at Case 2, the social worker did not have time limits and, according to FFS Levi, might spend two hours helping a patron in distress.

The social workers at all three cases would also garner donations to provide tangible resources such as hygiene kits, clothes, socks, or shoes that could help break down an immediate need—such as being barred from the library for being barefoot. The CEO, Zoe, at Case 2 explained how the social worker and her partner were great about getting donations, such as shoes, which allowed staff or security to include people rather than turn them away for being shoeless:

You know they're the people that make sure there are plenty of shoes to offer patrons. Now staff are like, "Oh!" instead of just telling people, they have to leave because they don't have shoes, we have this other option: we can offer them shoes, and then they can be in the library, and I think those sorts of really almost tactile things, help some people think differently about how they could respond.

The Case 3 social work team used grant funding to pay for a variety of items. While the programs were time-limited, they provided resources such as rental assistance, utility aid, bus tickets, and the fees to procure a state identification card. At one time they even had grant funding for a case management program that paid for first month's rent, deposit, groceries, and furnishings.

The social work teams at all three cases were skilled at running interference as they helped patrons bust through multiple complex needs. Patrons experiencing homelessness would usually have a web of interrelated barriers that had to be untangled as Marie, paraprofessional on the Case 3 social work team, lamented:

If you don't have an ID, you have to go to DMV [Department of Motor Vehicles] to get one, but you have to provide a birth certificate, a Social Security number, three pieces of mail, or whatever it is, so if you don't have an address, and you don't have mail, and you can't get your birth certificate sometimes without your ID. And the same with your Social Security card, so it's all very connected, if you don't have any of those things, then it's really hard to know where to start and, of course, you can't get a job if you don't have a Social Security card. Of course, if you don't have transportation, you can't get to that job. And if you're living on the street, then you don't have anywhere to get dressed or get ready for work.

But rather than being turned away for not having the identifying documents, the social work teams would bust down barriers to help them obtain Social Security cards, birth certificates, and state ID's. The Case 3 team would even meet patrons at the DMV to help them navigate the process and pay for the credential.

Once their identity documents were in hand, they could help patrons apply for and navigate government programs such SNAP, Social Security Disability, Social Security Supplemental Income, and Veteran Affairs Benefits. Kobi, MSW at Case 3, was tenacious about helping patrons solve problems with Social Security, like the crisis of missing checks. Kobi explained the Social Security Administration (SSA) had closed their offices during COVID-19 to the public. Calling SSA became close to impossible as sometimes their line would not ring, or the wait was extensive (sometimes over two hours). Sometimes after waiting for long periods, their phone would hang up before getting to talk to someone:

Social Security has been a main thing here recently, because our Social Security building just reopened on April 7, so clients that have been evicted, and they need, "I need my Social Security thing, I've got a chance at a job," but you can't walk into the Social Security building anymore, or they're losing, say, "I've lost my Direct Express Card," which is how they get their Social Security payments, but now and "I need to identify myself," and we send the identity by email, or we fax it over and Direct Express said, "I can't read it." We've enlarged it. We've lightened it. We've

darkened it. This is somebody who's living on the street, and this is their only source of income.

The Case 3 team was also one of the local access points to apply for Emergency Rental Assistance Programs during COVID-19 and had some other rental assistance funds. Oftentimes patrons would be months in arrears on their rent and the social worker would help the patron talk with the landlord to try and preserve the tenant landlord relationship to try to prevent homelessness.

The social workers also busted down the barriers to accessing healthcare and mental health care. At Case 1, Monique, BSW, helped coordinate visits with a medical clinic and collaborated with Rex's doctor as he described:

But she does know my medications, she does know my mental background, she's aware of all that. And my doctor have [*sic*] actually shared all my diagnoses and stuff with her. So, she has all that in a file, and my file in front of her, so she's pretty much up to date on what medicine I take, what diagnosis I have, everything like that.

At Case 2, the social worker would help people in mental health crisis access the emergency room or reconnect with their existing care team in the community. She would provide cab rides, reminders for appointments, and even make calls to their providers trying to get them in. Case 3 had a partnership with a virtual clinic that the social workers could get their patrons into. Patrons could meet with the doctor virtually in a private room at the library. For Mya, this helped avert a mental health crisis. She had recently been released from an inpatient mental health stay and was almost out of medication:

Thankfully I came here and didn't know that they had a doctor that would help me, and I got my medicine here. ... If I didn't get my other dose in two days ... I didn't get a chance to have a crisis. I was saved from the crisis.

Each of the social work teams helped their patrons address their mental and health issues by connecting or reconnecting them to care.

T2 Running Interference Impact

Many patrons were so pleased with the ease of access and quality of the barrier-busting social work services, they spread the word to others experiencing homelessness. Patrons were getting access to shelters, government benefit programs, healthcare, mental health care, and some were getting housed. Mya, patron at Case 2, who met frequently with the social worker, took advantage of these low barrier services, and reported that she actually received more help from the library than at the shelter.

In addition, running interference reportedly helped reduce incidents in the library which led to fewer calls to police and arrests. At Case 2, Eden, PIC, made a direct connection between the barrier-busting services and relationship of the social worker to patrons experiencing homelessness to reduced crises and fewer calls to police:

Eden: I think she cuts off a lot of situations before they start, just by being here and helping people who feel like they can't be helped, get into a shelter, or get on the process, or get some shoes, or just little things like that. Sometimes I'll see people just come by and just talk to her, because people don't—they don't get that a lot when you're living alone on the street during a pandemic. That personal interaction piece is missing, so I think, just like it cuts them in half from the get, cuz she's there like diverting at the start. ...

Researcher: I wanted to circle back, you said that Darcy cuts it in half, did you mean the number of crises or the number of calls to the police?

Eden: I think both.

At Case 3, there were different perceptions on the impact of the social work team's barrier-busting efforts. It was clear that the social workers were meeting a wide variety of needs and seemed open to almost any request. When people's needs were met,

they may have been less likely to act out to the point of security or law enforcement being needed. Casey, MSW, reported that there were fewer incidents when social work is open than when they are closed; however, she did not think the social workers reduced calls to the police since the library so rarely calls police, and the CEO, Shelby, agreed. Nadia, a FFS who had worked there for almost 30 years, recounted that prior to having social workers who could help, security or the police were more likely to be called on patrons experiencing homelessness. Casey's perception of fewer incidents when social worker was open than closed, combined with Nadia's perception that the security and police were being called less could indicate that the social workers were also helping to reduce calls to police. Since fewer incidents were coming to the attention of security, who had the primary responsibility of deciding if and when to call police, it seems logical that calls to police were being reduced.

At Case 1, Hope, the location manager, and the head of security, Aiden, were both emphatic that the relationship and services the social worker provided had decreased the number of behavior incidents in the library. The manager felt that it changed the perception of the library in the mind of patrons experiencing homelessness as a government policing arm to a place that cared about them and provided a tangible service via the social worker. Aiden thought that the social work services being accessible in a place they always go provided the "incentive to behave" so they could use the services rather than face eviction from the library. Hope linked the relationships the social worker formed with the patrons directly to a decrease in fights, incidents, and arrests:

One of the first changes I noticed and my team noticed right away was less behaviors, meaning less fights and incident reports and police having to arrest people and that sort of thing, and I of course attribute that to our patrons making a relationship and a rapport with the social workers and

also, realizing that here at the library and the social workers are actually on their team and an entity here to serve them, so to speak, so I think they were finally viewing the library as instead of a government entity out to get them like a police or something else. Instead, an entity to help them.

Hope had even compared the number of incident reports from January-February of years prior to 2020 with 2020, she saw a significant decrease in the number of incidents. (She stopped at February because in March of 2020 they closed for the pandemic.) Hope further reported that staff had also told her that they noticed that patrons were “less upset with staff” and more likely to control their anger when interacting with staff.

T2 Running Interference Summary

Running interference or handling the problems of patrons experiencing homelessness in real time played itself out in two subthemes, “low barrier access” (T2a) and “barrier busting services” (T2b). Social workers at each case were providing low barrier access for patrons experiencing homelessness by being in the library, having no eligibility requirements beyond being a patron and asking for or accepting help, and building relationships with patrons. Each team was also busting down the barriers to complex needs by meeting felt needs without a prescribed limited menu of services, working in real time without session time limits, providing tangible resources, and helping navigate the complex world of social services, government programs, healthcare, and housing. Perhaps Alisa, intern at Case 1, summed it up best, “They come in and whatever they need, we just figure out how to get it done.”

Theme 3: Buffering

The third theme related to how social workers influence how libraries respond to patrons experiencing homelessness in crisis is buffering. To buffer (verb) is defined as

“to lessen or moderate the impact of (something)” (Oxford Languages, n.d.). Another definition of buffering, from the world of the internet is:

Buffering involves pre-loading data into a certain area of memory known as a “buffer,” so the data can be accessed more quickly when one of the computer’s processing units—such as a GPU for video games or other forms of graphics, or a CPU for general computer processing—needs the data (Williams, n.d.).

Both definitions seem appropriate depending on the subtheme. This theme has three subthemes: “equipping” (T3a), “influencing code of conduct implementation” (T3b), and “advocating and being present during security and/or police interactions” (T3c). In each of these subthemes, the social worker modified how other roles interacted with patrons experiencing homelessness.

T3a: Equipping

Social workers across cases helped equip the staff to work with patrons experiencing homelessness. In doing so they were buffering or “pre-loading data” (Williams, n.d.) for future use in crisis situations. This subtheme was supported by both the interviews and survey data. Equipping happened through training, modeling, and coaching, as well as providing resource information for staff.

The overall theme of being more equipped to respond was present at Cases 2 and 3 within the survey data in response to the open-ended question, “How if at all, do you feel having a library social worker has impacted how you respond to a patron experiencing homelessness who is in crisis?” At Case 2, of the combined ($n = 26$) front-facing staff and security, 26.9% ($n = 7$) gave text responses that the social worker helped equip them to respond to patrons experiencing homelessness in crisis; and at Case 3, 33.3% ($n = 9$) of the combined ($n = 27$) front-facing staff and security participants

responded in kind. Their responses included references to feeling more confident from watching the social worker model interactions, getting advice (coaching) from the social worker on how to handle situations, using social work provided resources, and general statements of feeling more equipped. In the words of a Case 3 librarian, “It [the influence of the social worker] has equipped me with clarity, a plan of action, and greater confidence that I could connect them to useful resources.” By equipping front-facing staff and security to be better prepared, the social worker influenced, or buffered, some of the interactions between patrons experiencing homelessness in crisis and front-facing staff and security.

One way social workers equipped was through training other roles in the library. Of the participant social workers, all social workers at Cases 2 and 3 indicated on the survey that they trained. Training was explained to include:” a formal training, a presentation during staff meeting, or a digital presentation prepared by the social worker and distributed to staff and/or library police/security.” While the Case 1 BSW (Monique) had not begun training, prior LCSW field instructors who had been employed by the regional entity had trained library staff. Across Cases 2 and 3, all the social workers trained librarians, librarian assistants or similar role, and security. The social workers at Case 3 varied in the roles they each trained, but between them they also trained computer or other lab personnel, administrative staff, executive staff, and board members. Notably none of the social workers trained housekeeping staff.

The social workers who indicated they trained were asked, “In your role as a library social worker at the library location under study, what topics have you trained on? Mark all responses that apply.” They were then provided ten training topics as well as the

opportunity to write-in additional training topics. Of the four social workers who trained, the one topic that all four had in common was de-escalation. The Case 2 social worker taught on four topics; between the three Case 3 social workers, all ten topics were trained (See Table 8).

Table 8. Training Topics Taught by Social Workers

Topic	Case 2	Case 3		
	MSW	MSW	MSW	MSW
Crisis intervention		x	x	x
Coping skills		x	x	x
De-escalation	x	x	x	x
Homelessness	x	x	x	
Local resources		x	x	
Mental health	x		x	x
Relationship building				x
Self-care			x	x
Substance use			x	x
Trauma Informed Care	x	x	x	

Note: Case 1 social worker did not train.

The front-facing staff and security were presented the same list of 10 training topics, along with the same explanation of a training the social workers received and asked which trainings they had attended that were taught by the library social worker. They were also offered an opportunity to write in additional trainings. For results, see Table 9.

Table 9. *Frequency of Social Worker Trainings Received by Front-Facing Staff and Security*

Role/Total	Case 1			Case 2			Case 3		
	FFS	Sec.	Total	FFS	Sec.	Total	FFS	Sec.	Total
<i>n</i>	10	4	15	28	4	32	23	12	35
Topic									
Crisis intervention	2	1	3	2	0	2	4	6	10
Coping skills	2	1	3	3	0	3	1	2	3
De-escalation	2	2	4	8	1	9	10	3	13
Homelessness	5	2	7	5	0	5	9	3	12
Local resources	3	1	4	4	0	4	5	0	5
Mental health	3	1	4	1	1	2	9	4	13
Relationship building	2	2	4	0	0	0	1	3	4
Self-care	1	2	3	3	0	3	5	2	7
Substance use	1	1	2	2	0	2	3	1	4
Trauma Informed Care	7	2	9	8	0	8	3	3	6
Other	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
None	3	2	5	17	2	19	4	5	9

Note: FFS stands for Front-Facing Staff. Sec. stands for Security. While the BSW social worker at Case 1 did not train, the past MSW field instructors had trained; thus, participants reported receiving training from the social worker.

While Case 1’s BSW social worker did not train, prior field instructors (LCSW’s) who the regional library entity provided to the library did; thus 64.3% ($n = 9$) of the combined front-facing staff and security participants reported receiving training by the social worker. Only Case 1’s security team had police officers; the two participating officers reported they had not received training from the social worker. At Case 1, the two trainings with the highest combined frequency between roles were trauma-informed care ($n = 9$, 64.3%) and homelessness ($n = 7$, 50%). At Case 2, the two trainings with the highest combined frequency between roles were de-escalation ($n = 9$, 28.2%), and trauma-informed care ($n = 8$, 25%). Combining front-facing staff and security at Case 3, the two trainings that tied for the most were de-escalation ($n = 13$, 37.1%), and mental health ($n = 13$, 37.1%), with homelessness ($n = 12$, 34.3%) in second place.

Case 2’s social worker reported that she had trained on four of the 10 topics (de-escalation, homelessness, mental health, and trauma-informed care.) During the interviews with Darcy and Ashton (PIC), it was made known that a three-hour training

that covered several of these topics was done in collaboration between the social worker and the PIC Coordinator. Front-facing staff and security personnel reported that they had received training from the social worker on six additional topics: crisis intervention, coping skills, local resources, self-care, and substance use. Possible explanations for these differences may include that the participants learned about the additional topics within one of the trainings the social worker reported. For example, they may have learned about crisis intervention within the de-escalation training or about local resources within the homelessness training. Another possibility is that additional trainings were taught by the social worker's non-participant colleague who had the same type of role but did not have a social work degree.

In addition to formal trainings, the social workers also coached staff how to intervene with patrons and modeled patron interactions. Both survey data and interviews provided evidence of coaching and modeling. Specifically, the responses to the question, "What type of assistance did you receive from the social worker? Mark all that apply" provided data on coaching and modeling. Front-facing staff and security were given a list of nine specific types of assistance, along with the opportunity to select "none," and to write in additional types of assistance. The multiple-choice answer that indicated modeling was "I watched the library social worker model how to handle a patron situation." The multiple-choice answer that indicated coaching was "I received coaching of how to help a particular patron or patron population" (See Appendix S).

At Case 1, there was scant evidence in the interviews of the social worker coaching or modeling; however, there was some evidence in the survey responses. During the interviews, Angelina was the only front-facing staff that alluded to being

coached by the social worker, reporting that the social worker helped her to know where to refer patrons to and was “always handy to bounce things by.” Of the combined front-facing staff and security, 14.3% ($n = 2$) indicated they had received coaching from the social worker, and 21.4% ($n = 3$) indicated they had seen the social worker model how to handle a patron situation (Appendix S).

At Case 2, Robyn, manager, shared that the social worker provided coaching to staff so that they were more equipped to provide support to patrons and to know how to do so in a trauma-informed way. However, coaching was only slightly present in the survey data with only 6.5% ($n = 2$) of the combined front-facing staff and security responding that they had received coaching from the social worker (see Appendix S).

However, more participants reported the social worker had modeled how to handle patron situations with 29% ($n = 9$) of the combined front-facing staff and security team reporting they had “watched the library social worker model how to handle a patron situation.”

This coincided with Darcy’s interview. She described that when she is summoned to de-escalate a patron in crisis, the staff member will either assist or stay nearby to assure that the situation is resolved. This allowed staff to observe her modeling the intervention.

Nana, FFS at Case 2, confirmed that staff were using strategies learned from the social worker as she shared a story of a woman screaming and crying in the bathroom for several hours and refusing to come out. She recounted that the “three or four people [were] just trying to talk her down. ... [and] were using all the things that they learned from the social worker.”

Because Case 3 social workers primarily functioned in their own area, their opportunities for coaching and modeling were limited. In addition, some

staff were quick to hand off patrons to the social workers and did not stay to observe; however, modeling was built into training. Even with little day-to-day opportunity to coach and model, 14.3% ($n = 5$) of the combined front-facing staff and security participants indicated they had received coaching and 22.3% ($n = 8$) had observed the social workers modeling (Appendix S). Casey shared that sometimes the social workers provide consultation regarding mental health related behavior; they would coach the staff to let people alone if they were not violating the code of conduct and to, “Be helpful, non-judgmental. Do not discriminate.” Casey indicated a desire to model but found that staff members usually preferred to hand patrons off to her rather than stay and observe:

When possible, when I can get them to stay, I will try to include them in the conversation But most of the times, they are like, “Here's the social worker, have fun,” and I don't know how to change that culture. I think a lot of libraries, I'm sure you've heard, when you find out you got social workers coming into the library, they go “Great, this is a lot of my problem; I'm going to go do the thing that I was hired to do, and this thing I'm passing off to somebody else.”

While Casey perceived staff members wanted to get back to their more traditional role, she did have coaching and modeling built into the trainings that she co-taught with the head of the safety team. Casey gave an example that she uses in trainings when a patron had been released from the hospital and had a CD with images on it from the hospital. The patron had come in and told the staff that he had “300 people in his body;” the news did not believe him; and he needed the proof on the CD printed out to take to the news. Casey coached and modeled to the staff to not get sidetracked by the unusual comments and instead focus on the request: finding a computer that could accept a CD and could

print out the information. She modeled taking the patron to the staff person that could assist with that and explained that the patron needed help printing from the CD.

The social workers at Case 2 and Case 3 provided resource lists that were available to staff to assist patrons in need. These helped staff to feel more confident in helping patrons themselves, especially if the social workers were not available. While Lennox, intern at Case 1, reported updating the resource list, it is unknown if she shared it with staff. However, one Case 1 front-facing staff reported she had been able to provide homeless verification letters to patrons after being provided a template from the social worker. Responses to the same multiple-choice question about the types of assistance received from the social worker indicated that 35.7% ($n = 5$) of the combined front-facing staff and security participants at Case 1 responded that they had received “information about community resources” from the social worker (Appendix S).

At Case 2, 58.1% ($n = 18$) of combined front-facing staff and security members had received community resource information from the social worker (Appendix S). Nana (FFS) at Case 2 stated that the social worker and her colleague had provided staff with multiple resource guides to help patrons in need and were available to answer questions. Nana felt empowered to help instead of turning someone away. She could either help herself or refer the patron to the social worker. Nana told how she had been equipped by the social worker with a crisis line number and helped a patron experiencing homelessness in dire need:

I had somebody who was a regular. I knew him, he was in crisis—had burned both of his feet. And he had gone to the hospital and been released, but the pain was really bad, and he was suicidal, and he came up to the desk, and he's like, “I just, I can't.” I would not have known before we had our social worker. I didn't know about [the] crisis line, and so I was able to call the crisis line, get him on the phone with them and they did end up

calling the police. ... And we got the guy help, and it went really well, but without those other influences, I wouldn't have known what to do.

Because the social workers could not always be there, it was critical that other staff members were equipped with resource guides to help patrons in crisis.

The resource guides could go beyond just a list of resources. The social workers at Case 3 added prompts to the guides to help a front-facing staff have more information on how to navigate the resources. Cruz gave an example of using such a guide to help a patron get into a shelter when the social workers were not immediately available. She used a spreadsheet prepared by the social work team that had not only a list of shelters, but their admission requirements and who to call. Aleesha, the manager at Case 3, confirmed how helpful the in-depth resource guides were to front-facing staff faced with urgent patron questions:

They've [the social workers] created resources for our public service teams beyond what they do, so a cheat sheet of emergency resources. That was one of the very first things Casey put together, like if somebody comes in and they need food, here are your first places to go, to call these places first. If it's housing, call these places first, so that public service staff feels empowered to help people in that moment and try to get 'em what they need.

These interview accounts were supported by the survey data. At Case 3, 65.7% ($n = 23$) of combined front-facing staff and security responded that they had received “information about community resources” from the social worker (Appendix S).

The number of front-facing staff far exceeded the social workers, as did the number of patrons experiencing homelessness. The social workers were not only fewer in number, but they were not there during all operational hours of the library. When they were there, often times there was a wait-time to see them, especially at Cases 1 and 3 who had sign-up sheets. Therefore, it was imperative for front-facing staff and security to

be equipped with strategies and resources to assist a patron in crisis. Having a more equipped team increased the likelihood that patrons experiencing homelessness could get more than a phone number in a crisis. The prior example Cruz (FFS, Case 3) gave of helping a patron who was in such agony from burns that he was suicidal was directly attributed to having knowledge of the crisis line from the social worker and may have saved his life.

The social workers equipped staff to improve their ability to work with patrons experiencing homelessness in crisis. Through training, modeling, coaching, and providing resource information, social workers not only provided strategies and resources for helping, but they also helped buffer interactions between staff, security, and patrons to ones that could more likely produce better outcomes for patrons. While the social workers could help many patrons, they could not help nearly all, so having equipped front-facing staff and security teams were imperative for helping to meet the needs of patrons in crisis.

T3b: Influencing Code of Conduct Implementation

Social workers are trained to influence policy decisions. While the social workers had not had the opportunity to change their library's code of conduct, which were embedded in the institutional systems and hierarchical structures, they had been successful to varying degrees in changing how they were implemented. In doing so, social workers were buffering the impact of the code of conduct on patrons experiencing homelessness. There was evidence at each case that portions of the codes of conduct disproportionately impacted those patrons who were experiencing homelessness, and to varying degrees this upset some of the participants. The social workers at Cases 2 and 3

had worked actively to help change the implementation of their code of conduct. At Case 1, the current social worker had less impact on implementation, but her predecessor reportedly had some impact. Before describing the social worker impact, the authorizing agent of each code as well as specific rules that participants felt were disproportionately impacting patrons experiencing homelessness will be identified and explored, using both the codes of conduct and the voices of participants. Understanding how some participants perceived the codes disproportionately impacted patrons experiencing homelessness will help situate the social worker's role in influencing the code of conduct implementation.

Each code of conduct had a different authorizing origin. Per CEO, Alan, Case 1's code of conduct was codified in county ordinance which meant breaking a rule of the library was breaking a county ordinance. Case 2's library was part of the county, and though many facilities in the county had almost identical codes of conduct as the library, the CEO, Zoe, said the library code of conduct was not part of county code. On the library website (not cited for protection of the library's location), it did say that the library did have the right to have people leave or exclude them was authorized by a County Executive Rule. Shelby, CEO at Case 3 stated the library's code of conduct was board approved. It was not a part of county or city orders.

Interview participants discussed the codes of conduct and sometimes mentioned rules they thought were disproportionately impacting patrons experiencing homelessness. Each code of conduct that was in operation at the time of the data collection was screen captured from each library's website and saved in NVivo. To protect the identity of each Case, the library websites will not be cited or referenced. From a review and comparison

of each code of conduct, Case 2 had a rule that a person could only bring in enough items that could be carried in one trip and could fit underneath a table or chair without upsetting other patrons. Case 3 limited patrons to two bags (within a defined size); it also expressly prohibited suitcases and bedrolls.

Each Case also had a different warning and exclusion structure. Case 1 operated on a level system. A level one offense could result in exclusion for the day if not corrected; however, additional violations of level ones could be bumped up to level 2 offenses. Loitering, sleeping, bathing, disturbing odor, and a lack of enough clothes or shoes were all level one offenses. A level two offense brought a weeklong exclusion. Level three offenses (which were “physically threatening behavior”) invoked at least a one-year exclusion. At Case 2, sleeping, or the appearance of sleep, as well as inappropriate use of the bathroom could range from being asked to leave (after up to two warnings) for the day or up to six months. Odor or too many bags were exclusion until corrected; so, if a person went out and came back in without the item or with a shirt on, they could visit the library. At Case 3, any of the four rules discussed could result in being asked to exit the library; refusal to leave could result in police being called. In addition, it stated that those who were “repeat violators” could be banned from the library. At all cases if a patron continued to violate the rules, then the exclusions could get longer and longer. (Information and quotes from this paragraph are from the library websites, which again, for confidentiality reasons, are not being cited. They are retained in the case study data base for audit trail purposes.)

Across cases, one or more participants expressed disapproval for the no sleeping rule in their interview. Case 1 had the least amount, with only one participant, Alisa, social work intern, expressing disapproval of the enforcement of no sleeping on patrons:

The only time I get upset is when they [off-duty police officers working at library] tell people “You can't sleep there, you can't do this,” and I was thinking maybe they have like a boss breathing over them where they just have to go over and say something, or they're going to get reprimanded. Because who cares if he's like laying over there ... give the dude a break. He's not messing with anyone. He's probably tired, and it's hot; so, I try to think like well, maybe they just have a boss, that is on them.

Alisa, as an intern, seemed to feel comfortable speaking freely, so it is possible that other staff had concerns and did not voice them during their interview. This was also the only case that had police officers as a part of their security team at the time of the data collection. Their CEO, Alan, indicated that their code of conduct was not in need of revision, and that to do so would be very involved and require the local legislative body to act.

However, multiple staff at Cases 2 and 3 expressed their displeasure with rules they thought were unjustly targeting patrons experiencing homelessness. The no sleeping rule seemed to be the rule that was the most disapproved of, and in particular, how the enforcement of the no sleeping rule could be triggering to the climbing of the progressive discipline ladder. At Case 2, an equity review of the rules had been done. According to Steve, FFS, the no sleeping rule had been voted on by staff as the most “unfair,” “punishing,” and not “trauma-informed” rule. Tariq, FFS, was also frustrated with the no sleeping rule, realizing that being able to sleep is the “one thing” that patrons experiencing homelessness really want to do. Even though the PICs are “polite” and “apologetic” when waking patrons, Tariq hated that they had to wake patrons up and tell

them that if they cannot stay awake, they would have to leave for the day. Steve (FFS) explained how difficult it could be to wake a patron up and how awkward it made him feel:

I almost always feel really uncomfortable with that when either I have to wake up a patron or a PIC wakes up a patron, just because it's logistically really difficult and trying, because you've tried to say, "Hello, excuse me," and nothing happens, you know knock on the table, "excuse me," nothing happens, it's like, "Okay, now what do we do, do we touch them, do we shake their chair?"

Casey (MSW, Case 3), an ardent opponent to the no sleeping rule, understood the precariousness of waking up a patron who may have Post Traumatic Stress Disorder or is just exhausted from sleeping outside:

You can't just wake 'em up. You don't know what they're dreaming about, what's going on, and their response may not be what you want it to be, because they didn't get to wake up to an alarm and a warm bed . . .

Indeed, being woken up did lead to unwanted reactions from startled patrons. Jamie, PIC at Case 2), shared an experience when trying to be gentle waking up a sleeping patron who was experiencing homelessness. Despite the gentle approach, the patron jumped up and began cursing, threatening patrons, and screaming; the patron grabbed a block or brick and began smashing tables, shelves, and books. In what became a highly escalated and long-drawn-out episode of trying to get him to leave the library grounds during which he shoved other patrons, the patron eventually received a three-year exclusion. A month later the patron returned and apologized explaining he had been off his medication and appealed the ban. Jadon, FFS at Case 3, also shared a similar story how being woken up could immediately escalate a patron and result in the progressive discipline ladder being rapidly climbed to a permanent ban from the library in one incident:

What happens is you never go back down in a discipline level, so if we catch you sleeping which, in actual practice, we [say], “Please wake up dude. Take a walk, whatever. You can’t be sleepin.” And you get thrown out of the library for sleeping, then you get seven days, and then, if it happens again, you get 30 days, and then even if you were just doing things that didn't hurt anybody else, you can get thrown out of the library forever. It works like that in one event, so if I wake you up—this wasn't actually me, this was a colleague—because you're sleeping and say, “Hey man, you can't sleep in the library, whatever you gotta do, if you want to take a walk, whatever.” Often, then you started an escalation process, and it was somebody who I knew before. It was my coworker [name redacted] who talked to him. That guy was obviously super sensitive about authority and being told what to do, so he got thrown out permanently, eventually this escalation of this thing just by originally sleeping a couple weeks ago. So, he woke up, and he [patron] was like, “Look asshole,” and OK, so now that's 30 days, and then, on the way out of there, then there was hate speech, and then threats of violence. It went from 180 to forever, so he’s never back in the library.

Jadon did not feel such an escalation from sleeping to permanent ban was an isolated incident:

But it happens a lot with our homeless customers that sleeping turns into something more, or there's a bag policy which is completely stupid, but, you know, it starts with being told that, “You can't have that in there,” and then before you know it, you're kicked out permanently, because of something that like should we have really even been policing this at the start?

Enforcing the no sleeping rule was not the only rule that brought angst to patrons and staff alike. At Case 2, Tariq’s (FFS) stomach got tight whenever he had to enforce the odor rule. Tariq told a heart-wrenching story about having to enforce the odor rule when several other patrons complained about the odor of a man experiencing homelessness. He expected the man to get angry or take offense, but instead the man “was dejected and humiliated, and he slunk out of the library beaten down by this interaction.” Tariq described that this “really touched my heart to see how hurt his

feelings were. I wish I hadn't had to do that." Steve (FFS) was also frustrated by the rule against bathing as an:

existential sort of stressor ... seeing the need and like we have these restrooms. We have this running water. And these people have this need, but trying to figure out what role the library can play for them, and should play, and is able to safely and effectively play, yeah, it's a challenge for sure.

The bag policy at Case 3 was also a source of angst for both Arran and Jadon and was one of the rules they thought targeted those experiencing homelessness. Likewise at Case 2, the CEO, Zoe, without success, had multiple meetings around town, including a nearby parking garage, in hopes of finding a place where patrons experiencing homelessness could store their belongings. Besides the code of conduct, Tariq shared a time a supervisor told him he could not give a patron experiencing homelessness his coat. This happened within close time proximity to the freezing to death of another patron on a day when the library was closed due to cold. While this incident had happened four years earlier, Tariq was still very upset that he had not given the man his coat.

While they recognized certain rules were disproportionately impacting patrons experiencing homelessness, both Arran and Jadon (Case 3) did not blame the safety team for having to enforce the rules. Arran noted that the safety team tried to enforce them with compassion, and Jadon recognized that the library was bearing the fallout of the lack of an adequate community social service infrastructure. Jadon felt that these rules criminalized homelessness within the library and explained if a banned patron kept trying to return before the ban was up, they might have a "trespass order" put on them. Arran pointed out that even with a compassionate safety team, the code of conduct made it easy to find a reason to put a patron out:

There's certain rules that we have that really don't apply to that many people, like, you can't fall asleep in the library, or you can't bring too many bags in the library. There's only a certain kind of person, that is even going to want to do those things really. ... the rules are set up in such a way that we know that if somebody is starting to cause trouble ... it's not that difficult to find a reason to get rid of [them].

The CEO, Shelby, of Case 3 explained that they tried really hard to be equitable in rule enforcement:

The rules apply to everybody equally, so we try really hard to make sure that if it's something we would say to a young White college student, that we would enforce the same rule where someone who may appear to be experiencing homelessness.

However, Case 3's CEO went on to explain that when they had examined the data for the prior nine months, they found that it was mostly Black males who received extended bans from the library. This led the library to review and make changes to their progressive discipline procedure (which was due to be trialed the summer of 2022). Zoe, Case 2's CEO, shared they were also finishing up an equity review of their code of conduct to see which rules might be unfair to vulnerable populations with the understanding that some of the rules might lead to retraumatizing vulnerable patrons.

In general, the patrons experiencing homelessness who were interviewed, saw following the rules as a necessary part of being allowed in the library. Given that the social workers were asked to identify patrons who were able to participate without it being detrimental to their mental health, the patrons selected may have not been adversely impacted by the code of conduct as some of the patrons the staff and security told stories about. Only one of the patrons experiencing homelessness, Zane at Case 2, shared that they had received and served a yearlong exclusion for getting into a "shouting match" in the library. Zane did not seem upset about the four rules the staff struggled

with, but they did note that occasionally a very picky guard would “just sit there and harass you saying, “Oh, you're not allowed to eat, you're not allowed to sit here, you're not allowed to do this, you're not allowed to do that.”” At Case 3, Clara, a patron experiencing homelessness, seemed to appreciate that the library had changed the environment to be less conducive to sleeping as she thought patrons experiencing homelessness needed to be involved in productive activities:

And now that they've made the changes inside the library to where they can't be laying all on the chair and falling all asleep, they have really stepped up, the library now has changed all of that. There is no place for you to lay and go to sleep. When you come in here, you either go and grab a book, sit somewhere quietly and read it, or get on the computer and...you know, because we are homeless, we need to be doing one or two things, looking for a job or looking for the tools to help us, you know, get a job like Social Security card, food stamps or SNAP or, you know, just having to do with our finances if we're on SSI [Supplemental Security Income] or Social Security or retirement.

The social workers varied in their impact on the implementation on the code of conduct. Case 1's current social worker had not impacted implementation of the code of conduct. However, Monique, credited her predecessor for helping staff be more “gentle” and “understanding” in how to implement the code of conduct with patrons experiencing homelessness. However, the other social workers at Cases 2 and 3 had more direct impact.

At Case 2, the manager, Robyn, reported that while the policies had not changed, having the social worker had changed how they “look at rules and how we look at what successful [*sic*] using the library means.” Darcy, MSW, agreed and described how rule enforcement used to be rigid resulting in exclusions due to mental health symptoms. Patrons suffering from these symptoms would not understand the length of the exclusion or have trouble tracking time and would return too soon, resulting in an exclusion

extension for trespassing. This cycle would repeat itself over and over with an ever-moving target end date until a patron might be banned for one to two years, all stemming from an initial mental health symptom, such as talking to themselves in the library. Darcy said staff were “stuck” enforcing and extending the bans with patrons who were not able to understand the exclusion. This was frustrating and time-consuming for staff. Darcy worked with the library to adopt a different way of handling these situations. Now they have the option of alerting Darcy to a patron that seems like they might be experiencing a mental health issue and letting her assess the situation to see if an allowance for the behavior can be made. Darcy described it as a “disability allowance” such as allowing a person who talks to themselves to sit in an area where talking will not disturb other patrons. The allowance is written out and explained to the patron as an alternative to exclusion.

They'll actually write it out, and they'll explain to the person, “You have this allowance due to your disability,” so it's kind of like ADA [Americans with Disabilities Act] in a sense, like a disability allowance. Based on that, we're making this different arrangement for this person instead of excluding them, so that's that feels like a success on my part I feel like, 'cause that's a big change. That was not happening when I came, so there's more of an awareness going on.”

Casey, social worker at Case 3, also had an impact on buffering the code of conduct. Casey sat on the executive committee of the library and was a part of the team that reviewed and updated the progressive discipline procedure. She felt her biggest impact was on how the no sleeping rule will be implemented in the future. The new progressive discipline policy will make no sleeping a “correct or leave,” which will mean the most a person would be banned for is the day, even if they repeatedly break the rule every day.

She explained that both CEO, Shelby, and she had pushed to get rid of the no sleeping policy totally but were unsuccessful.

The social workers at all cases were also buffering the impact of the exclusions or bans by still providing social work services to some degree, depending on the case. At Case 1, the social worker would serve temporarily banned patrons over email or phone; however, she did not provide services to permanently banned patrons. At Case 2, Darcy gave input on exclusion appeals and sometimes asked to meet with an excluded patron to discuss the behavior expectations to return to the library. According to Eden (PIC), people who have been excluded for a mental health crisis sometimes come back and ask for Darcy and are allowed to see her and then exit the library. The social workers at Case 3 convinced their safety team to let them serve banned patrons. When a banned patron comes to the library to see the social worker, the safety officer will either escort them to the social workers and wait for them to escort them back down, or the security officer will have the social worker come down to meet the patron.

In summary, each case had a code of conduct that had rules that some participants thought unfairly impacted patrons experiencing homelessness. While their strategies varied, the social workers at Cases 2 and 3 were involved in mitigating the impact of the code of conduct on patrons experiencing homelessness, while at Case 1 the impact of a former social worker was still having impact. All social workers served some banned patrons to varying degrees and thus mitigated the impact of the bans.

T3c: Advocating and Being Present During Security and Police Interactions

The social workers at each library had some level of presence during interactions with their own in-house security teams and police. The frequency and circumstances in

which this happened varied by the model of library social work practice that was used as well as the model of security at each case. The social worker's presence during these interactions helped buffer the actions of authority figures towards the patrons experiencing homelessness.

At Case 1, two off-duty police officers were always on duty as a part of the safety team. As highlighted in "option" (T1), the social worker was often summoned by the safety team to help "de-escalate" (T1b) patrons in crisis. In addition to the de-escalation role, the social worker's role as a non-authority figure, who was also a professional, helped buffer the interactions between patrons and security team members, including police. In the words of the head of safety, Aiden:

Because at this point, I'm taking the role of an authority figure, there may be some animosity towards me especially with the police officer, whereas the social worker always tends to have, usually, not always the case, usually tends to have a more benevolent role to the position, so we ask them to intervene and it's like, "Look we're not trying to be the bad guys. Look, we'll talk to a good guy over here."

At Case 2, where there were not police on duty at the library, Darcy, the social worker shared a story of calming a scared man when a police officer showed up. They had found a man passed out and non-responsive laying across the sidewalk outside the library. They decided to call for medical help. While waiting for the ambulance, the man woke up enough and they found out he was intoxicated, had a bad hip, and had fallen. The call to 911 for an ambulance prompted a police officer to stop by and see if he was needed. The man got mad and seemed afraid of the police, saying "Don't talk to me. I don't want a police." Darcy intervened and said, "You know the officer is just here to help us. We're just all here, trying to make sure you're okay." And then, he's (the fallen man) like, "ok, ok, fine,

fine, fine.” Her assurance perhaps prevented an escalation that might have resulted in arrest. In addition, Darcy suspected that her mere presence seemed to buffer situations with police to go well rather than result in police brutality. She had a long history of crisis work, even prior to her history at the library, in which she had police interactions:

And the thing I’ve heard people say when I say, “I’ve never encountered it [inappropriate police behavior], and I work with police a lot” is that “You’re there, and so of course, they’re not going to do that in front of you. Of course, they’re going to be on their best behavior with known professionals nearby who know police. And you have supervisors; you know the sergeants. They’re not going to cross that line, and so they’re going to go out of their way to be really good in front of us, in a sense.” And I see that, I mean that makes sense why I wouldn’t see it in my work, even if happens at other times when nobody, no professional, is watching, so that could be a reason why. I mean I’m just aware of like that difference that my presence may have been making.

At Case 3, Marissa, MSW, reported that she directly intervened to buffer police behavior with a young woman experiencing homelessness who was the victim of a crime. The woman was scared and came to Marissa seeking help to make a police report. When the researcher asked how the interaction went, Marissa responded:

She didn’t seem to appear comfortable. I wasn’t comfortable, because I felt he [the police officer] wasn’t treating her like a victim, that he was treating her almost like she was a perpetrator. He was very, not derogatory, but he just came, and he was like, “Somebody call the police?” And it’s like, “Yeah, you know, we have this situation,”—which I know we gave to dispatch, which I know he was informed of what the call was in nature. He didn’t pull out his notepad or anything, and so I was like, “Well are you going to take notes? Are you gonna write this down?” or you know, “How are you going to really make your report?” So, I’m glad I was with her ... depending on the situation, sometimes we let them go and speak to the officers on their own. Just because of the sensitive nature of the topic, they may or may not want us to go with them. But I’m glad, in this instance, I stayed with her, ‘cause I think if I hadn’t stayed with her, he wouldn’t have taken it seriously. He wouldn’t have made an accurate report. And yeah, I

just felt like he was treating her like, “Why did you even call the police? This happened the other day.” It was an awful interaction.

Marissa’s advocacy convinced the police officer to take the report on behalf of this already traumatized patron. Sometimes at Case 3, Casey, MSW even advocated to their own security team to not issue a week-long exclusion to a patron and instead to overlook a minor breach of the code of conduct.

Social workers, who are helpers, helped buffer the role of security and police, who have enforcement roles. While social workers could not guarantee that an interaction between patrons experiencing homelessness and security or police would go well, they could positively influence the situation. This could happen through assuring the patron, de-escalating (T1b) the patron, advocating for better service from the police or more lenient treatment from security, and by simply being present as an observer who was known to be a professional that had contacts within the police department.

T3 Buffering Impact

Social workers buffered interactions between the other roles and patrons experiencing homelessness by equipping them to better serve them. Patrons were more likely to have needs met than being turned away or having security or the police summoned. The social workers also buffered the impact of the code of conduct on patrons experiencing homelessness at each library. A past social worker at Case 1 who had done training was credited by the current social worker, Monique, with helping the staff be more “gentle” and “understanding” as they implemented the code of conduct. Darcy at Case 2 had brought about a disability allowance process for patrons struggling with mental health symptoms which decreased exclusions. She also gave input on exclusion appeals. Casey at Case 3 had been instrumental in reviewing and updating the

progressive discipline policy that was going to trial a change to the no sleeping rule into a “correct and leave” offense that would only result in a one-day exclusion rather than climb the progressive discipline policy to long exclusions. All three social workers were present during some interactions with security and police, buffering their response. All three social work teams provided some level of service to some banned patrons. The function of buffering allowed more patrons experiencing homelessness to stay in the library rather than be excluded or arrested and helped modify some security and policing interactions. For those who were excluded, buffering also allowed some patrons to still get social work services during their exclusion.

T3 Buffering Summary

Buffering, the third theme, encapsulated how social workers were influencing, or modifying, how other roles within the library were interacting with patrons experiencing homelessness when in crisis. The three subthemes were: “equipping” (T3a), “influencing code of conduct implementation,” (T3b), and “advocating and being present during security and/or police interactions” (T3c). For the first subtheme, social workers across cases helped equip staff and security to work with patrons experiencing homelessness during crisis situations resulting in patrons being more likely to get needs met. Social workers helped equip through training, modeling, coaching, and providing information on community resources. The second subtheme, influencing the code of conduct implementation, meant social workers buffered the impact of policies that some participants thought targeted patrons experiencing homelessness. Their strategies varied by case but included serving some banned patrons, influencing progressive discipline, and creating a “disability allowance.” The last sub-theme, advocating and being present

during security and police interactions, explained how social workers to varying degrees were modifying some interactions between patrons experiencing homelessness and security and police. This varied by case and certainly the social workers were not present for all such interactions; however, when a social worker was present, there seemed to be positive impact. This could happen through calming the patron, advocating for better service from the police or less exclusion time from security, and by simply being present as a professional eyewitness to interactions with police officers. Through equipping, influencing the code of conduct implementation, and advocating and being present during security/police interactions, social workers were buffering how other roles interacted with patrons experiencing homelessness when they were in crisis.

Three Models of Library Social Work and the Impact on De-escalation Role

As the interviews progressed, it became clear that each library had some variation in their library social work practice, especially around their de-escalation (T1b) role. Accessing the option (T1) of the social worker for de-escalation presented differently in each case. Through talking with not only the social workers, but the other roles that accessed them, three models began to emerge. Staying close to the data, the researcher began by making an early drawing of the models (see Picture 2). Using the answers to the protocol questions in each preliminary case analysis, especially: “What is the role of the social worker in relationship to crises involving patrons experiencing homelessness?” and revisiting interview transcripts for clarity as needed, the researcher found how the social workers at each case were accessed, where they were positioned, and how this impacted their de-escalation role. When needed, the researcher emailed the social workers to get

clarifying or additional information. From this information, the models became clear, and a table was created to summarize each model (Table 10).

The social workers at each case had similar tasks, and all agreed that de-escalation was a role task (see Appendix T). However, where they were located within the library and how they were accessed by patrons, staff, and security were quite different. Each social worker's unique collaboration with their security team was also key to understanding the social worker's role of de-escalation since security was often on the scene of a behavioral incident prior to the social worker—unless the incident was occurring within the social work area. In addition, each social worker's professional experiences and their view of their role in crises impacted how each of these social workers saw their de-escalation role. These differences in access, location, the collaboration between social work and security, and the social worker's experience and personal view became integral for the understanding of the social worker's role in de-escalation of crises at each case. Because of the de-escalation role, patrons were perceived to be less likely to interact with security and police, be excluded, arrested, or jailed. For a summary of the three models of library social work and their impact of the social worker's de-escalation role, please refer to Table 10.

Table 10. *Three Models of Library Social Work and Impact on De-escalation Role*

Case/Model	Staffing	Where Social Worker is Positioned	How Social Worker (SW) is Accessed	De-escalation Role
Case 1: Signup & Summon Model	1 FT BSW, 2 MSW interns, 1 BSW intern, 1 PT MSW field supervisor who also sees patrons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Large open room on 1st floor with 4 desks for social workers/interns to meet with patrons • Located near security desk • BSW goes to location of crisis in the library 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Post sign up-sheet two hours prior • Schedule return appointments • BSW summoned by security, off-duty police, or branch manager to assist in crises 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BSW has primary de-escalation role throughout library • Addresses felt needs • Leverages existing patron relationships • Helps coordinate with police & crisis mobile team in cases of severe mental health crises.
Case 2: Outreach & Summon Model	1 FT MSW & 1 FT licensed mental health professional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Walks through library & passes out cards to introduce herself & offer her services; helps on the spot if requested • Spends part of day at desk with a window at the front of the library • Will go to the location of a crisis in the library • Has a private office in staff area, does not use for patron meetings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Patron can walk up to any desk & ask for SW. Staff call PIC who summons SW • Staff can identify a patron in distress. Staff calls PIC who summons SW • Patron can walk up to window • Staff can escort patron to SW at window • Patron may be approached by SW throughout library • PIC can summon SW for crises 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Primary de-escalation role throughout library in low to moderate crises that have not escalated to violence • Addresses felt needs • Leverages existing patron relationships • Assesses mental health • May order transport hold to a hospital for evaluation
Case 3: Social Work Center (SWC) Model	3 FT MSW's 1 BSW intern, 2 FT para- professionals, 1 office manager	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SWC on 3rd floor • 3 offices for patron meetings • Large room with phone & computer for patrons • Occasionally assist in the children's department with families in need • Emphasis on patrons coming into SWC vs. SW going out to patrons • Sometimes come out to consult with staff or security 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sign-up sheet in SWC • Patron participation must be voluntary • Will not approach a patron who has not asked for SW's help • With patron consent, patron may be escorted by staff or security to SWC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • De-escalates crises in SWC only • Rare exceptions for unaccompanied child • Leverages existing patron relationships • Addresses felt needs • Assesses for suicidality & determines if Emergency Medical Services (EMS) are needed • Sometimes consults with staff/security during a mental health crisis but will not approach a patron who has not asked for SW's help

Each of three models will be described in narrative fashion by case. First, the staffing, position of the social worker in the library, and how the social worker is accessed is described, along with the social worker's prior experience and view of their de-escalation role. Next, a detailed look at how the de-escalation role was impacted by these factors will take place. While headings may vary slightly due to differences in their de-escalation role, there were similarities across models including the strategies of addressing felt needs and leveraging existing patron relationships during de-escalation. Each model had some variation of de-escalating mental health crises which will be described. The social workers' collaboration with security will be integrated throughout the description. The impact of de-escalation with each model will be described, and a summary of each model will be provided.

Case 1: Signup and Summon Model

Staffing, Position, and Access

Case 1's model was identified as the "Signup and Summon Model." Case 1 had a staff of six: one full-time BSW, one part-time MSW field supervisor (non-participant), and three social work interns. The BSW social worker, Monique, viewed herself as a skilled de-escalator and had prior crisis intervention experience. The social work team was located on the first floor of the library near the security desk. The social work team had an open space with four desks spaced far apart to meet with patrons, most of whom (estimated at 80%) were experiencing homelessness. The social work team would post a sign-up sheet two hours prior to their availability to meet with patrons. Patrons who had learned about the social worker, whether from word-of-mouth from other patrons or from a referral from a front-facing staff or security, could sign up to meet with the social

worker. In addition, established social work clients often had pre-scheduled return appointments.

While meeting with patrons, the social worker and interns often de-escalated patrons without the assistance of security or the off-duty police officers working in the library. However, the guards and police officers frequently made rounds to check on the social work team. With the security desk nearby, the guards or police would come if they heard a disturbance; however, these situations were rare, and the guards and police primarily monitored the situation and let the social workers handle it. However, if the disruptive behavior continued, the guards or police would intervene by removing the patron if needed. It seemed rare, if ever, for the social work team to purposely summon the guards or police for de-escalation.

De-escalation in the Signup and Summon Model

Conversely, security (including the off-duty police officers), and library manager would summon the BSW social worker, Monique, to de-escalate patrons elsewhere in the library. During these incidents, Monique, as a professional helper (instead of enforcer) was able to de-escalate by addressing felt needs and leveraging any existing relationship she had with the patron. In addition, she was also able to address mental health crises in collaboration with the off-duty officers.

Addressing Felt Needs. The BSW social worker, Monique, explained how people experiencing homelessness can sometimes get upset when interacting with police officers due to the often-antagonistic nature of the relationship between police and people experiencing homelessness. Consequently, the officers often called her to assist:

Monique: You know a lot of them [people experiencing homelessness] have bad history with police officer[s]. I think the first action is to put up

the defense[s] and get aggressive. ... I noticed that they [guards/police] have a lot of patience dealing with the patron[s]. Their goal is to kind of calm them down and go over the guidelines for the library, the policies. And then, what I noticed lately is that they'll probably call me to talk to them to de-escalate what's going on.

Researcher: The police officer will get in contact with you?

Monique: Yeah, or the manager will call me to try to de-escalate it or the police officer will approach me, "Can you please to speak to this individual and see what they need?"

Monique's helper role as a social worker—instead of an enforcer role like security guards or police— put her in the position to be more effective at de-escalation. She could engage with the patron, assess what their unmet needs were, and begin meeting those needs.

Leveraging Existing Patron Relationships. During the de-escalation process, Monique would leverage her existing relationships with patrons. The head of the security team at Case 1, Aiden, shared an example of asking the social worker for help with a man with "really bad schizophrenia" and described him having eight or nine personalities, each expressing themselves with various needs. The man was non-responsive to security, but Monique had a relationship with him and was able to help him calm down. The patron did have to leave the library to take a walk because he had caused a "commotion," but he was not banned or arrested which would have been likely without the social worker's intervention:

Researcher: So, she helped him to leave without further incident?

Aiden: In any other situation, this individual could have easily been arrested. His jail background was bad, criminal background, I mean, it was extensive, and a lot of it has to do with failure to abide by the police ordinance. And he would have easily been either [inaudible] or tased, sent to jail. And it would just not fix the situation; it would have made the situation worse, I would say. So, like the last thing we want is to make those guys' day worse.

Mental Health. The social worker and police worked collaboratively to coordinate the response to severe mental health crises. The social worker had the role of listening to and calming the patron. She and the off-duty police officer would work with the local crisis mobile team to get the patron assessed and transported to treatment, as needed.

De-escalation in the Signup and Summon Model Impact. In the prior example, having the social worker as a collaborator and an option (T1) for de-escalation (T1a) allowed the security team to restore order to the library without escalating the situation. Instead, the social worker helped calm him down; and while he still had to leave for at least long enough to take a walk, he was not banned, tased, arrested, or sent to jail.

Sign Up and Summon Model Summary

The Sign Up and Summon Model combined patrons accessing the social work team through signing up to meet with them (or having a return appointment scheduled) and security, police, and the manager summoning the social worker elsewhere in the library. In both the social work area and the broader library, the social worker de-escalated patrons. The social worker addressed felt needs and leveraged existing patron relationships to calm patrons down. De-escalating patrons within the social work area helped reduce interactions with library security and police; de-escalating patrons by summons to elsewhere in the library helped reduce patrons being banned, tased, arrested, or jailed.

Case 2: Outreach and Summon Model

Staffing, Position, and Access

Case 2's model of library social work was identified as the "Outreach and Summon Model." This case had a much smaller team of only one full-time MSW (Darcy) and one full-time licensed mental health professional. The mental health professional did not participate in the study; and while this manuscript focuses on the role of the social worker, their roles were reportedly the same. In interview excerpts, when participants refer to this colleague, the pseudonym "Rosa" will be used. Both Darcy and Rosa were employees of a behavioral health agency. The library provided an office for the social worker in a private staff area where patrons were not allowed. Darcy had an extensive professional history of crisis intervention and de-escalation and viewed de-escalation as a key part of her role.

The social worker does outreach throughout the library. She initiates contact with patrons throughout the library, introducing herself with a small card that explains her services. Sometimes this leads to an immediate request for help and sometimes they will ask for her later. She also spends two to three hours at the front of the library at a storefront-type window where patrons can walk up, or front-facing staff or PIC can escort them over.

Front-facing staff can summon the social worker via the PIC for any patron whether the patron asks for the social worker, or the staff perceives the patron is in distress. The PIC streamlines the calls so that multiple staff are not calling for the social worker at once. This is a quick process with the social worker arriving usually within 3-4

minutes as Tariq, FFS, described: “So, then I just asked the patron to wait there for a minute, and sure enough our social worker comes trottin’ up to the rescue.”

De-escalation in the Outreach and Summon Model

The PICs, who were the first call for most situations in the library, often summoned the social worker to the location of a patron in crisis throughout the library. Sometimes the social worker would notice a de-escalation in progress and come nearby without intervening just in case the staff person would need her. The social worker had a primary de-escalation role in low to moderate crises that had not escalated to violence. She leveraged existing patron relationships, addressed felt needs, assessed mental health, and ordered transport holds in acute mental health crises.

The PICs would summon the social worker for crises that involved mental health, resource needs, and non-aggressive refusals to leave the library. They would not call her for a violent patron. According to Ashton, PIC, they also would not call her for “rule application.” These interactions were sometimes a joint effort between the PIC and the social worker, while other times the patron would be handed off by the PIC to the social worker. Just offering social work services sometimes improved the interaction between the PIC and the patron and began to de-escalate the situation.

Leveraging Existing Patron Relationships. Because the social worker (Darcy) knew many of the patrons, both through her library work and also from her extensive history of crisis work in the community, she was able to leverage those relationships in a time of crisis. According to Eden, PIC, “a lot of our stuff can get de-escalated because she knows them already.” Not only does the social worker have the relationships, but Darcy also has knowledge that comes from that history such as mental health history or

who their community case manager is. These aspects gave her key pieces of information to navigate the conversation with the patron during the de-escalation.

Addressing Felt Needs. Because the social worker already knew many of the patrons, she was more easily able to identify and meet felt needs and connect (or reconnect) them with community resources. Sometimes the crisis was de-escalated by providing a resource, such as socks or shoes. Other times, Darcy helped them navigate a social service problem that had them stressed out and upset. Sometimes it was reconnecting a patron back to their mental health care team in the community. As Ashton, PIC, expressed, the PICs can give the patron a name of an agency to go to, but the social worker could take action to help the patron get their needs addressed:

Ashton: A patron could come despondent, in need, and we could certainly say, “Oh well, there's [agency name redacted] and that's where you can get some clean clothing, and you can get an ID if you need it, and here's where ... you know we have a book of resources. ... If you think about the patron interaction as a circle, hopefully you start here, and you end up completing that whole circle with the patron. You come full circle, but with patrons experiencing extreme need, whether it's mental health resources or more tangible resources, we could only go half circle, so having Darcy and Rosa there completes the circle, it helps the patron walk out or stay in, having gotten some resolution, having taken some very measurable steps.

Researcher: Okay, to lead to positive outcomes for them?

Ashton: Yeah, and it could be, you know it could be a very transitory positive outcome, like oh, “I got a bed in the shelter tonight,” or it could be long term, like “Oh, I’m connected to this healthcare resource now that I had no idea how to get connected to ... ”

Mental Health. When a patron was having a severe mental health crisis in the library, the social worker would complete a risk assessment and write a transport hold if needed. Darcy was “hold-certified.” This meant she could write a transport hold for the

ambulance to take the patron to the emergency room where they were required to stay long enough to be evaluated to see if a 72-hour hospital admission was needed.

De-escalation in the Outreach and Summon Model Impact. The social worker helped change the nature of the PIC and patron interaction. The PICs were the first one summoned to a scene of a crisis. While the PIC team was highly skilled and compassionate, they often thought the patrons' needs could be better met by the social worker and would summon her. Having the social worker there with them could change the nature of the interaction with patrons experiencing homelessness, many of whom were scared, to one that could help begin to establish trust between the patron and the PIC. Jamie, PIC, explained how the social worker was used for de-escalation:

It's a great de-escalation tool, where, obviously, if the patron hasn't moved into the zone where they're actually excluded from all library services, it's something really nice as part of the things that I might use to try to decompress a situation, if it seems relevant of course, I'm not just tossing it out, willy nilly. But in a nutshell, many of our regular patrons who are experiencing homelessness or peripheral housing or whatever you want to call it, extreme poverty, they're terrified most of the time, and they're coming in here. We have to gain that their trust—the idea that we can just assume their trust is completely misplaced, and I think unfortunately that is kind of a viewpoint, like “Shouldn't they be so lucky that we're here and we're doing this, etc.” And offering Darcy or Rosa's services ... really helps me establish, extend, and sort of maintain my relationship with our regular patrons— and not always the regular ones— but it really is just invaluable to my work. ... My job would be exponentially harder if we did not have them on site.

The CEO suspected that because of the work of the social worker and her partner, the rise in the number of incidents was less than it would have been without them.

According to Zoe, CEO, and the Central manager, Robyn, the number of crisis incidents had gone up since the social worker has been at the library; however, they thought this increase reflected the heightened increase in addictions, mental health, and homelessness

in the community. The CEO further speculated that the social worker and her partner had reduced 911 calls from the library. When the social worker was asked, “Do you think that, because of you and your role that there's less need to call the police,” she responded:

Yeah, yeah, that I would say, people have definitely said there's less need. I've talked to police officers who were like, “We used to get called all the time to library, now we don't, what's happened?” And I'm like, “Well I don't know, what's the timeframe?” They're like, “Well, a few years ago.” And I'm like “Well, that's when I started.” ... and staff will even comment that “we used to call police a lot more,” so it does seem like yeah that's definitely lessened.

Eden, also credited Darcy for reducing arrests by being able to write transport holds:

She's often able to put a hold on someone, so that they have to be held for 72 hours, if they are a danger to us or—there's a bunch of things I don't know because I'm not a social worker—but she's able to put some sort of hold on them, so that they don't just go to prison. They don't go to jail, and they go to a place where hopefully they can get help in those three days and moved into a different system, something that might click.

Derek, a patron, asserted firsthand that Darcy helps de-escalate him when he has a conflict, so he does not fight, get arrested, and go to jail:

I'll take whatever she told me to do, and I try to avoid the person or ... She's really good about it ... she tells you, “Back off and blah, blah, blah,” so it doesn't escalate to fighting one-on-one, instead of bloody and going to jail and all that. ... Darcy made a lot of difference for being here, a caseworker, I mean she does everything she can to calm the person down. So, you know, it doesn't elevate, like stabbing somebody or doing something stupid ...

Derek perceived that the social worker's de-escalation role was actually reducing violence and arrests.

Outreach and Summon Model Summary

Case 2's Outreach and Summon Model had a strong de-escalation role for the social worker who frequently moved around the building doing outreach with patrons,

being on hand to assist other's de-escalation efforts if needed and responding to PICs' summons for her assistance in crisis. She used strategies of addressing felt needs, leveraging existing patron relationships, and writing transport holds for mental health crises. Her de-escalation interventions were perceived to have resulted in reports of modified interactions with PICs, a slower rise in crisis incidents, fewer calls to police, fewer acts of violence, fewer arrests, and less jail.

Case 3: Social Work Center Model

Staffing, Position, and Access

Case 3's model of library practice was identified by the social workers at the site as the "Social Work Center." The center was located on the third floor with three private offices and a large room where patrons could wait, use the phone, and use the computer. The center was staffed with a large team of seven: three full-time MSW's, two full-time paraprofessionals, one BSW intern, and one office manager. The three social workers were highly trained and skilled in de-escalation and often used these skills within the social work center. They were also able to assess and intervene in mental health crises within the center, though they did not view mental health as their expertise and did not view their role as mental health crisis responders to other locations in the library. Specifically, the emphasis was on the patron coming into the center versus them going out. (There was some exception made for families in the children's department; sometimes the social worker would go to the Children's Department to see a family who had consented to their services.) All social work services were rendered on a voluntary basis and would not be forced on anyone. The team would not approach a patron who had not asked for their help. In the words of Casey, MSW:

We don't do say anything that's outreach. We try do a very self-selective, so if a client wants to come see us, they are welcome to come see us. If a staff person sees a customer with a need within the library as a whole, then we tell them, "You can tell them that we're here, and they have the opportunity to come see us;" but, we're never going to come out and say, "Hey, Simon told me that you like you need some help." So, you know, we don't do that. That feels very discriminatory, and so we don't do that. So, our engagement has always been, "Come in," and so a lot of word of mouth, we do not do any advertisement, there has been no need.

While participation did have to be voluntary, front-facing staff and security told patrons in need about the services, and with their consent, sometimes even escorted patrons to the social work center. The center functioned on a walk-in basis with a sign-up sheet. As Kobi, MSW, described, "one minute it's nobody, and then the next minute we've got people waiting in the office, and out in the center, and outside the center."

The social work team did make exception to their "come-in" policy for unaccompanied children and occasionally would be asked by security to come to the aid of a child in crisis, but these were very rare. In addition, the social workers would occasionally be called out to consult during a mental health crisis, but only in an advisory role to the staff or security about how to interact or to give recommendations on whether EMS, the crisis response team, or police should be called. They also made it clear that mental health was not their area of expertise and maintained their policy of not approaching a patron who had not asked for them.

De-escalation in the Social Work Center Model

This team's de-escalation role took place inside the Social Work Center, rather than the library at large. Like the other two models, during their de-escalation role, they leveraged their existing patron relationships, addressed felt needs, and handled mental health crises. They did make rare exceptions to their come-in versus go-out policy for an

unaccompanied child in crisis, and occasionally provided consultation (but not intervention) to staff and security during a mental health crisis.

Addressing Felt Needs. The social workers at Case 3 had extensive prior experience and knowledge of government benefits, health insurance, and community resources that allowed them to address the felt needs of patrons. Sometimes just listening to stressed out patrons helped to calm them down (Marie, paraprofessional). Marissa, MSW, felt the social workers addressing felt needs kept some patrons from resorting “to some other measures” which might not be constructive.

Leveraging Existing Patron Relationships. Casey, MSW, told the story of a patron who was struggling with substance use and needed to call a government agency. She suspected the call might not result in the outcome he was hoping for, so she asked a security guard to stand outside the office as an observer. The call did not go well, and the patron ended up cursing out the government worker. After hanging up, he was still angry, cursing, and even grabbed a chair. Casey was able to leverage her relationship to de-escalate the situation and indicated to the security guard: “I’m fine. I feel very confident, he is not going to hurt me. I can’t promise that. I’m not putting that past him, but I feel very confident that he and I have a good relationship, so just chill out.”

Mental Health. The social workers did not see mental health as their area of expertise. However, they were skilled in assessing when a patron’s mental health was serious enough to require outside intervention. In these situations, the social workers would often access EMS.

De-escalation in The Social Work Center Model Impact. Because the social workers were skilled in de-escalation within their center, they reduced the times that patrons would require the attention of the safety team: According to Kobi, MSW:

We don't want anyone not to be able to partake in the services that we have, so we are all I think very well trained and use very well our skills in de-escalation, and not having it go there, and I think our clients also really appreciate the service that we provide, so our office does not have, fortunately, a lot of issue. They are few and far in-between and [of] us having to have somebody removed ...

Reducing interactions with the safety team also meant that patrons would not be excluded from the library.

The Social Work Center Model Summary

In summary, Case 3's Social Work Center Model had a de-escalation role for the social workers, but this de-escalation role, with some rare exceptions, was limited to the social work center. The social work center served patrons on a walk-in voluntary basis; no patron was approached who had not requested their services. The social workers did not view it as their role or expertise to do mental health de-escalations elsewhere in the library. The social workers were adept at de-escalating patrons in crisis within the center by leveraging their relationships with patrons, meeting felt needs, and assessing mental health crises. Because the social workers were usually handling the de-escalations without asking for security to help, this reduced interactions with security and the potential exclusion from the library.

Summary of Three Models of Library Social Work and Impact on De-escalation Role

Each case had a different model of library social work that varied in staffing, positioning of the social worker within the library, and how the social worker was

accessed. These differences, along with the social workers' past experience and their perceptions of their role, impacted their de-escalation role. Across models, there were similarities in de-escalation strategies: addressing felt needs, leveraging patron relationships, and some variation of addressing mental health crises. Case 1 had a "Sign-up and Summon Model." The social worker not only de-escalated patrons within the social work area but was also summoned by security (including off-duty police) to de-escalate patrons throughout the library. Case 1's model had the perceived impact of reduced and modified interactions with security and police, and it had the perceived impact of fewer bans, arrests, jail, and tasing. Case 2 had an "Outreach and Summon Model" that involved social worker-initiated interactions and de-escalation throughout the library. PICs summoned the social worker to the location of the patron in crises. The Outreach and Summon Model resulted in the perceived impact of modified interactions with PICs, a slower rise in crisis incidents, fewer calls to police, fewer acts of violence, fewer arrests, and less jail. Case 3 had a "Social Work Center Model." This model focused on having patrons coming into the center versus the social workers going out. The social work de-escalation role was limited to the center except in rare exceptions for unaccompanied children. Occasionally, they come out to provide consultation to staff or security without approaching the patron in crisis. De-escalation within the Social Work Center model had the perceived impact of fewer interactions with the safety team which meant the patron had less risk of being banned from the library.

Rival Theories

At the outset of the study, a guiding proposition was identified, along with three potential rival theories. The guiding proposition was: social workers are influencing how

libraries respond to crises with patrons experiencing homelessness—both through the social worker’s direct interventions with patrons and the social worker’s influence on library staff, security, library police, and library policy—reducing libraries reliance on law enforcement, and providing a relationship-based approach that provides a safer experience for staff and patrons alike (Provence, 2020; Schweizer, 2018; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019). The three rivals that might have impacted the reliance on law enforcement that were identified at the outset of the study were: “Ryan Dowd’s influence,” “Steve Albrecht’s influence,” and the “Impact of the Black Lives Matter movement.” First was the possible influence of Ryan Dowd (2018), author of *The Librarian’s Guide to Homelessness*, through both the book, a free webinar (Dowd, n.d.), and subscription-based training (Dowd, n.d.). Dowd (2018) teaches that police should be called on a patron experiencing homelessness as a last resort under two circumstances: for a refusal to leave in which all other approaches to get the patron to leave have failed or when “the situation is dangerous or out of control” (p. 142). Another possible rival identified in advance was the influence of Albrecht’s (2016) training, *How to Respond to a Security Incident in Your Library* which advocates for increased reliance on police by libraries. The third rival, identified in advance, was the impact of the Black Lives Matter movement. This impact translated into the fear of police brutality, which was ultimately found to be prevalent in the data. Questions were embedded within the surveys and interview guides to check for these rivals. Each of these rivals will be examined using the survey and interview data.

Examination of Ryan Dowd’s Influence and Steve Albrecht’s Influence

The first two rivals, “Steve Albrecht’s influence” and “Ryan Dowd’s influence,” were embedded in the multiple-choice options of a survey question. All front-facing staff and security were asked, “Have you obtained knowledge about working with patrons experiencing homelessness who are in crises from any of the following sources?” They were provided 10 choices to select from (refer to Appendix U). Three of Ryan Dowd’s (2018) resources were listed as options: *The Librarian’s Guide to Homelessness*, webinar or online training also called Librarian’s Guide to Homelessness (Dowd, n.d.), and another online training, Homelessness 201 – Advanced Understanding of Individuals Experiencing Homelessness (Dowd, n.d.). The second rival theory, Steve Albrecht’s (2016): How to Respond to a Security Incident in Your Library was also a multiple-choice option. An “other” category provided the opportunity to list out other sources of knowledge. From the other responses, three additional categories were created: other trainings (not at the library), experience from working at the library, and other work experience. Also in the other responses was Ryan Dowd’s Newsletter. To calculate how many front-facing staff and security reported the influence of Ryan Dowd, the three initial Dowd options plus the write-in of the Ryan Dowd Newsletter were combined to give the number of participants in each role and case that were influenced by Dowd. For the purposes of the rival examination, only the Dowd and Albrecht responses will be discussed here.

Few participants reported exposure to Steve Albrecht’s (2016) training: How to Respond to a Security Incident in Your Library (See Appendix U). Combined by front-facing staff and security, the totals were fewer than 10% at each case. Only one guard at

Case 1 and one at Case 2 had been exposed to Albrecht's trainings. Given such little exposure to Albrecht's training, it was not deemed a rival threat to the guiding proposition.

Participants at each case had been influenced by Ryan Dowd's trainings with the combined totals across both front-facing staff and security as follows: Case 1 ($n = 9$, 75%); Case 2 ($n = 14$, 51.9%); and Case 3 ($n = 6$, 18.2%) (See Appendix U). The security teams were usually the ones making the decision to call police. Looking just at the security team participants who had engaged any of the Dowd trainings, the numbers were as follows: Case 1 ($n = 2$, 50%); Case 2 ($n = 3$, 75%); and Case 3 ($n = 1$, 8.3%). Given just the survey data, the Dowd (2018) influence does seem a possible rival at Cases 1 and 2 given that he advocates for police to be called only as a last resort. However, when digging deeper into the interview participants, the influence of Dowd was not as prevalent.

During the interviews, the CEO's and Manager were asked an open-ended question: "What or who has influenced how your front-facing library staff and library police/security handle crises with patrons experiencing homelessness?" Front-facing staff and security were asked a similar question "What or who has influenced how you work with patrons experiencing homelessness when they are in crises?" If the Dowd materials were a rival, these questions gave participants the opportunity to bring it up. Whether Dowd was a rival will be considered at each case individually.

At Case 1, three participants—two front-facing staff and the head of security—brought up Dowd in their interviews. The head of security, Aiden, gave credit to Dowd for encouraging him to use empathy, but did not go into further detail on Dowd's

influence. Angelina gave credit to both the social worker and the Dowd materials as encouraging less reliance on law enforcement. Nadine shared that Dowd had helped “humanize” patrons experiencing homelessness. During the aftermath of George Floyd’s murder, a system-wide committee she was a member of had begun discussing how to de-escalate situations versus quickly moving to call the police. Nadine indicated that the Dowd training had been a part of these discussions and how not to jump to calling police just because a staff member was feeling afraid.

When the pandemic hit and then when the catalyst of George Floyd’s murder [happened], I think we had more conversations about de-escalation, where we were already having conversations about social workers and their need, and the uptake of drug overdoses— just different things that were happening in public libraries nationwide and what we were experiencing in our own branches. ... we did the Ryan Dowd tutorial talking about people experiencing homelessness, and how to manage the circumstances and when do we bring a police officer in, and I think there’s a lot of fear and whether that’s rooted in past trauma or ignorance or wherever that that fear is coming from, I think it’s been just a dialogue. How do we not rush to call the police officer because somebody suddenly yelled, and we don’t know what’s going on, but somebody just yelled, and it was right in front of me, and I was like “Are you okay, Sir?” You know, one of those things, because we’re afraid. Because we’re afraid of something that could happen.

Given that the Dowd trainings had impacted the head of security to be more empathetic and 75% of combined front-facing staff and security had been influenced by the Dowd trainings, it seems reasonable that Ryan Dowd’s influence was a possible rival threat at Case 1.

At Case 2, only two front-facing staff brought up Ryan Dowd’s work in their interviews. Nana shared that the entire staff had the option to access Dowd’s work on Niche Academy (a training website), though only 47.8% ($n = 11$) of front-facing staff responded on the survey that they had participated in his trainings. Nana personally had

completed all of Dowd's training and found them "really helpful." When asked if it promoted reliance on police, she responded:

Probably less. We haven't been an organization that relies heavily on law enforcement, and we've been doing a lot of other work in racial equity, so again, so many of these changes are happening simultaneously, it is hard to say that it's just one influence.

Levi agreed that the training encouraged less reliance on police, but also indicated, like Nana that their organization did not heavily rely on police, stating it "reinforced that calling the police is our last resort when we don't have anything else left at all." Levi somewhat minimized the impact of the training stating that there were aspects of Dowd's training that were "extremely controversial." In fact, Levi had been warned by other staff not to take the training very seriously:

I was advised by our fellow library staff to kind of take it with a grain of salt and still watch it because it can be helpful, but to understand that Mr. Dowd is not a licensed specialist, and he's just a guy who runs a homeless shelter, so I was watching the training, keeping in mind that he is just a guy who runs a shelter in Illinois.

When asked what his concerns were, Levi outlined that the training "labeled" and made assumptions about people based on income. Given that only two front-facing staff and zero security team members mentioned Dowd in their interviews and that there were concerns about the training (with just under half watching trainings that were accessible to front-facing staff), it did not seem that Dowd was a serious rival at Case 2.

At Case 3, none of the interview participants mentioned Dowd's training in response to what influenced their work with patrons experiencing homelessness in crisis. As stated previously, only 18.2% ($n = 6$) of front-facing staff and security indicated on the survey that they had been exposed to the Dowd materials. Only one out of 12 security

team participants had seen the materials. Given that security usually made the decision whether to call police at Case 3 and no one mentioned it in their interviews, Dowd was determined not to be a rival at Case 3.

In summary, Steve Albrecht's influence was not deemed a rival at any of the cases. Ryan Dowd's influence was deemed a possible rival threat only at Case 1. Given its possible rival threat only at Case 1, especially considering the lack of influence it had at Case 2, even with exposure, Dowd was not deemed a credible rival in the cross-case analysis.

Examination of the Black Lives Matter Movement's Impact

The third anticipated rival was the "Black Lives Matter movement impact" on the participants view of calling the police to the library. It was anticipated that because of the highly publicized killings of Black people by police, the protests, and the conversations that it had sparked, that participants were likely impacted in some way regarding how they felt about calling the police. The participants who were impacted by the Black Lives Matter movement were afraid of police brutality. There were two specific questions among the front-facing staff and security survey questions to begin to ascertain how they viewed calling the police to the library which will be reviewed momentarily. Social workers were asked a similar question during their interviews. Only the CEO's and branch managers were specifically asked about police brutality and how that impacted their libraries' response to crises. However, participants brought up their fear of police brutality throughout the data, even without being asked. The survey data and the interview transcripts will be used to examine this third rival. After the introduction of the

survey questions that provided insight to understanding how front-facing staff and security viewed calling the police, each Case's evidence will be examined separately.

Front-facing staff and library security were asked two questions about their perception of the benefit and risks of requesting public police assistance: "Are there situations in which you feel asking for public police assistance is beneficial?" and "Are there times in which you feel asking for public police assistance poses risks?" For each of these questions, the response choices were, "Yes," "No", or "Unsure." Because these questions were closer to the end of the survey, there were multiple missing responses of front-facing staff across cases. (See Appendix V for front-facing staff responses and Appendix W for Security responses.) Participants had a chance to explain their reasoning behind their answers to the questions regarding the benefits (Appendix X) and risks (Appendix Y) of calling for public police to come to the library. These text answers were analyzed for categories as explained in Step 4 of the Analysis section and counted by participant. Each case's survey results will be discussed individually and integrated with narrative from the interviews.

Case 1: Examination of the Impact of the Black Lives Matter Movement

Both front-facing staff and security (including off-duty police) participants reported calling for the public police a few times a month (See Appendix Z). Indeed, most of the participants thought calling for the police could be beneficial, 60% ($n = 6$) of front-facing staff and 100% ($n = 4$) of security participants (including two police officers) thought there were situations in which requesting the police to come was beneficial (Appendices V and W). This was the only case in which police officers were stationed in the branch. Based on the interviews, it seemed very rare that any additional officers were

called to the library. While the research question was intended to indicate the summoning of police who were not already at the library to the library, it seems that participants likely understood it to mean to summon the police already working in the library. Their text responses explaining if they thought there were situations in which it would be beneficial to call police varied greatly with the highest being the “other category.” Of combined front-facing staff and security, 44% ($n = 4$) thought that police would be beneficial for situations involving substance use or overdose and 33% ($n = 3$) thought they would be beneficial when there were threats of violence, weapons, and actual violence (Appendix X). None of the Case 1 participants added any concerns about risk into their explanation to their answer to the first question about situations when calling the police is beneficial. Participants at Case 1 seemed to be fairly comfortable with the police since they were already there and were likely considered a normal part of the library staffing.

When asked directly if there were times in which calling for public police assistance would pose risks, 50% ($n = 2$) of Case 1 security participants and 10% ($n = 1$) of front-facing staffing answered “Yes” and 50% ($n = 2$) of security and 30% ($n = 3$) of front-facing staff answered “No” (See Appendices V and W). When explaining their answer of “Yes,” the front-facing staff indicated that police “may make the situation worse,” and the police officer indicated that they as officers only “become involved when the situation escalates.” The security member indicated that there are times the escalation sometimes caused by police presence was “an unfortunate work hazard but necessary” to protect the staff.

To get a deeper look at the influence of the Black Lives Matter movement at Case 1, the interviews and other open-ended survey questions were examined to find evidence of the influence of the Black Lives Matter movement. This library was in the midst of the protests in 2020, and according to the branch manager, had to close early on occasion. Two librarians, when asked in the survey about unsafe situations they had encountered in their library reported respectively “when we think the police will have to tase someone” and “when screaming matches and/or police Tazer [sic] events are happening in the lobby.” Nadine, FFS, who was a member of a system-wide committee, said the killing of George Floyd, along with the Dowd training, prompted more conversations about when to call police and placed an emphasis on de-escalating situations, if possible, without resorting to calling the police. She even identified understanding that just because a staff member is feeling afraid, that does not mean they should call the police because the source of the fear could be within the staff member themselves, due to “trauma or ignorance.”

Interestingly, the Black Lives Matter movement was reported to have impacted the police who were working at Case 1. According to both the branch manager, Hope, and the head of Security, Aiden, the Black Lives Matter movement had led to the police being more careful in their work at the library. When asked directly about the impact of the national conversation on police brutality and how it impacted her library’s response to crisis incidents, Hope observed a difference in the police officers who did shifts at the library:

They move slow to arrest someone ... making sure they have all their ducks in a row, that they're doing everything by the book. That is the main thing that I see. Now, the other thing that I see that goes along with that is that it takes a little longer, if someone's causing a disturbance, to get them

to leave the library. Because you know they're not just slapping handcuffs on somebody and getting them out of the way. There's more respect; there's more discussion; the conversation is happening with [the] patron regardless of what's going on. So, I noticed there's more on the part of the police officers to make sure that they're doing their job correctly ... they're making a concerted effort to make sure that they're talking and going through all of those things that they can do to de-escalate a situation before they actually take action such as putting on hand cuffs.

While Hope expressed that she was not sure if this was just her observation or if the police had been instructed to do things differently, Aiden, head of the security team (including the officers) knew the officers had been instructed to use de-escalation:

They have been told, because of the of the bad PR [public relations] that's going on with police officers recently, especially with the Black Lives Matters movement and police brutality, they have been actively been told to refrain from escalating situations to do as much de-escalation as possible; and it shows. Some of them will actively voice out their frustration at not being able to be like straightforward with their job, but nonetheless I see it as a win just because they will actually try to talk, even if it's in that split second the individual may be aggressive, they may be hostile towards the officer. But just the fact that they were able to get more than a few sentences in with each other, and not all hostility from each party, that establishes a relationship (inaudible), “Hey, remember you know we talked last time we talked and said this, you said you're going to do that.” And yeah, we've seen a lot less aggressive incidents, as a result. They do what they have to, but generally speaking, they do everything they can to avoid that.

Both the manager and the head of security saw the police as being more careful with patrons to avoid escalations as an impact of the Black Lives Matter movement. While the police officers may have not been “afraid of police brutality,” they seemed to want to avoid being accused of it.

Case 1 Summary of the Impact of the Black Lives Matter Movement. Case 1 was dependent on law enforcement as a regular part of their staffing. Overall, front-facing staff seemed comfortable with the police in the library because they were used to their presence and would summon them for assistance. The patrons, Ellis, Rocco, and

Rex reported feeling safe in the library in part due to the officers being there. However, this library was the only library in which actual police violence was reported—taser, which did cause two front-facing staff to feel unsafe. (It is not known if the taser was done to patrons experiencing homelessness.). The Black Lives Matter movement was reportedly impacting police behavior in the library to be less rushed and more careful to avoid any accusations of brutality. To some degree, it had also impacted conversations on a system-wide committee to be more careful about involving police.

Case 2: Examination of the Impact of the Black Lives Matter Movement

At Case 2, there was significant concerns about calling the police by both the front-facing staff and security. This library was also in the middle of the Black Lives Matter protests in 2020, and while they were already closed to public entry for COVID-19, they had to shut down to staff who were providing other library services. The impact of police brutality and the protests had left a marked impression on Case 2. While they did feel there were situations that calling the police was beneficial, most saw it as a last resort option. Of front-facing staff (see Appendix V), 35.7% ($n = 10$) thought there were situations in which it was beneficial to call police while 32.1% ($n = 9$) were “Unsure;” 75% ($n = 3$) of the security team said there were times calling the police was beneficial, while 25% ($n = 1$) said “No” (See Appendix W). When asked to explain their answers, both 73.3% ($n = 11$) of front-facing staff and 50% ($n = 2$) of security expressed that police were of benefit if there were threats of violence, weapons, or actual weapons (Appendix X). Even when explaining that sometimes police were needed, 26.7% ($n = 4$) of front-facing staff and 50% of security ($n = 2$) made sure to indicate that calling them was risky or the last resort. A front-facing staff at Case 2 explained:

In instances where a patron is armed and dangerous, I appreciate the police presence and find that it can sometimes help with deescalating the situation. That being said, for the most part I avoid police assistance because of how escalating and dangerous it is. Calling them is a last resort for me.

Case 2 security team members admitted that they do sometimes need police for help when someone is a danger to self or others or in need of psychiatric care. However, even one who admitted police are needed sometimes emphasized their resistance to calling the police: "...it is literally the last resort often, so we try to avoid it. Having police enter the library is traumatic for staff and patrons." Another security participant who had responded that there were *not* times police were beneficial expressed, "I've rarely seen effective humane considered responses from law enforcement. Many of our patrons don't trust police and their wariness/fear is well-justified."

The concerns about calling the police were even more poignant when Case 2 was asked, "Are there times in which you feel asking for public police assistance poses risks?" Half the front-facing staff ($n = 14$) and 75% ($n = 3$) of security answered "Yes," while only 7.14 % ($n = 2$) of front-facing staff and none of the security team answered "No" (See Appendices V and W). Of the 19 participants at Case 2 who offered explanations for their responses, 42.1% ($n = 8$) of combined front-facing staff and security indicated a concern that police might mistreat or be brutal toward someone (Appendix Y). These concerns were often for specific marginalized populations as portrayed in these four separate responses from front-facing staff:

Most circumstances when a person from a marginalized group (i.e., person experiencing homelessness, racialized person, etc.) is involved involving the police poses a significant risk to those individuals.

Almost always, especially for our patrons of color.

Most times I think it poses risks, both for myself and for our patrons. I grew up in a rough neighborhood. I've seen what cops on a power trip can do. Thanks, but no thanks.

Police sometimes feel they have a license to kill, or so it seems to me. Our local police department is supposed to have given their officers mental health crisis de-escalation training, but we've still experiences [*sic*] situations of the mentally ill facing police brutality and violence in recent years.

There were two front-facing staff who did not think there were risks to calling the police – one because they had never been in a situation where they had to make the decision to call and the other who bluntly stated: “I'd rather police interact with a junkie who has a knife than myself, I signed up to shelve books not be a social worker or cop.”

The security participants at Case 2, made up primarily of Persons in Charge (PICs), had grave concerns about calling the police. All three PICs agreed that there were times when calling the police posed risks. As one PIC stated: “The police have an endlessly long history of using excessive force and abandoning any kind of restorative thoughtful approach when responding to patrons of color as well as those experiencing houselessness and attendant issues.” Another PIC thought there were always risks associated with calling: “Every single time. We only call when the risk of the current situation outweigh[s] the risks of calling the police.”

Twenty-five percent ($n = 4$) of front-facing staff and 25% ($n = 1$) of security also pointed out that calling the police could escalate a patron; 25% ($n = 4$) of front-facing staff also expressed that police might escalate a situation (See Appendix Y). Two front-facing staff explained:

I think many populations are terrorized by the presence of police and bringing in armed officers to a situation where people are acting erratically or with big emotions feels like a recipe for bad things to happen.

Police can add volatility to a situation, rather than de-escalate it. There have been situations when a patron called police, but staff were addressing an incident and de-escalating the situation. When the police arrived, it made the situation much worse.

The hesitancy to call or involve police due to the fear of police brutality or the fear that the situation would escalate was evident in the interviews among various roles. The branch manager, Robyn, explained how their awareness of the potential for police brutality had made them more nuanced in their decision-making to call police:

We used to be very cut and dry ... “Okay, well this person is excluded and they're refusing to leave. We've tried what we can. They won't leave. Let's call the police and because now they're trespassing.” And now, it's more of a conversation, “Okay, well what's happening, are they going to hurt themselves? Are they going to hurt someone else? Are they causing damage? What's this level of disruption that they're causing while they're refusing to leave? And it may just be a “Okay, well this person is excluded, can't be here. We're not going to give them services but they're just sitting over there. Let's wait them out.” So really trying to figure out in the moment what the best course is and considering... the police still is [*sic*] our allies, but also, knowing that the impact on that patron and every patron in the library.

At Case 2, the PICs were usually involved in making the decision on when and if to call the police. While all three PIC Coordinators were careful in their decision-making about when to call the police, two candidly expressed their fear of the potential for police brutality. Both Jamie and Eden had witnessed mistreatment of people experiencing homelessness in the community by police and carried that concern with them in their decision-making at the library. Jamie had witnessed police destroying camps. Eden encountered police brutality when working at a shelter during the pandemic during the time the library was closed:

And we had a guy who was staying there, and he got beat up on the street, he got robbed and he's covered in blood and he's like, “Call the cops,” and I was like (deep breath/sigh) “okay”, and so the cops come, and he's clearly the one who's been victimized, and they shove him to the ground

and just start grabbing through his stuff and I'm—me and the nurse stayed there—and we're like, "Hey, we're here. He's the one who was assaulted. Stop. Don't do this." And they forced him on his knees as he's bleeding profusely and aren't taking him seriously, and they're like, "Well, what did you do to deserve to get robbed?" and wild stuff like that ... he didn't die, we were there to serve as witnesses, and I ended up answering most of the questions, because he froze up when the police started doing that to him. So, it's things like that, and then you know just how often you hear about Black men and women being murdered by police.

When asked how the fear of police brutality factored into her decision-making of whether to call the police or not, Eden simply stated, "100%." Jamie was concerned that Black patrons and patrons experiencing poverty or homelessness were more vulnerable to police violence: "I don't trust that the police will interact in these situations with forbearance and thoughtfulness and compassion and a lack of violence." While Jamie felt there were times calling for police was necessary, especially in cases of violence, all possible options were exhausted first: "That doesn't mean I will never call 911, but I would rather try to deal with it myself and even put myself in harm's way before contacting the police." Even after being assaulted by a patron experiencing homelessness, Jamie did not press charges because of the lack of benefit of them going through the criminal justice system. Jamie's observations of police over the years as a PIC was that there were only rare instances of "effective humane considered responses." Jamie remembered one interaction between a suicidal patron and an officer—"the way the officer spoke to that person, I just thought I could be ensuring their suicide here." The PICs' hesitance to call the police was also indicated by the survey data. When asked on the survey how often they called police for situations involving patrons experiencing homelessness, the security team (which included the three PICs), reported they rarely called (see Appendix Z).

Eden and Jamie were not alone in their concerns about the potential of police brutality at the library. Other front-facing staff worked PIC shifts, including those in management positions. Terry, who also worked PIC shifts, explained that the culture of not calling the police had spread throughout the Central branch, in part due to the social worker and the efforts of Raja (FFS) and Ashton (PIC). However, the Black Lives Matter movement was also changing the conversation at the library:

But the conversations about race and about police brutality and about White privilege and all of the ramifications of that, have all sort of really been very, very central to that sort of change. We ask ourselves very intentionally, “Why am I calling the police? What is the objective I’m trying to achieve? What are my biases that are impacting this decision, right?”

However, the murder of George Floyd spurred the change even more. The day after Floyd was murdered by police, during a system wide management meeting, a Black staff member confronted White staff about not checking in on their Black colleagues to see how they were doing. Her brave confrontation had impact and according to Terry, “really started moving the needle a lot” towards a culture of being more careful about involving police. Nana, a front-facing staff, who acknowledged the “mounting evidence of police violence,” explained how she had been nervous, out of concern for a patron experiencing homelessness, when interacting with a police officer. Even though the interaction went much better than Nana had expected, she reflected: “So I was a little nervous. I’m a middle-aged White lady. I don’t fear anything from the police. ... but I fear for the people that I serve.”

Case 2: Summary of the Impact of the Black Lives Matter Movement. The Blacks Lives Matter movement clearly had an impact on Case 2 with multiple front-facing staff and PICs candidly expressing their concerns of the potential for police

brutality in the library. Their concern impacted their decision-making on when and if to call police for assistance. Evidence from both the survey and the interviews strongly supported the presence of this rival at Case 2.

Case 3: Examination of the Impact of the Black Lives Matter Movement

At Case 3, 56.5% ($n = 13$) of front-facing staff and 83.3% ($n = 10$) of security perceived there were situations in which calling for police assistance was beneficial, while 17.4% ($n = 4$) of front-facing staff and 8.3% ($n = 1$) of security did not (Appendices V and W). Of the 18 front-facing staff who explained their answer, 33% ($n = 6$) thought police were of benefit when there were threats of violence, weapons, or violence; of the 8 security guards who explained their answer, 62.5% ($n = 5$) also indicated that police were beneficial for threats, weapons, or violence (Appendix X). While more than half of the front-facing staff thought there were times calling police was beneficial, Case 3's front-facing staff expressed confidence in their own security team (33%, $n = 6$), as well as social work team (11.1%, $n = 2$) to handle crises without always having to call the police. This front-facing staff trusted security and social workers more than police, especially when it came to patrons experiencing homelessness:

I think our security staff's training and our social work department's presence eliminates the need for us to call local police. I also don't feel assured that local police have training needed for assist[ing] people experiencing homelessness without resorting to violence.

When asked if there were times in which you feel asking for public police assistance poses risks, the front-facing staff participants 70% of whom were White had a lot of concern with 69.6% ($n = 16$) answering "Yes (Appendix V)." However, the security team, of whom 83% were Black, almost all (83.3%, $n = 10$) did not have concerns calling the police (Appendix W). (These differences will be explored

momentarily using the interview data to provide more understanding.) Of the 17 Case 3 front-facing staff who explained their answers to “Are there times in which you feel asking for public police assistance poses risks,” 41.2% ($n = 7$) indicated they thought police could escalate a situation and 47.1% ($n = 8$) expressed fear of possible police mistreatment or brutality (Appendix Y). A Case 3 librarian expressed her own concern about police mistreatment but also seemed to link these concerns to the security team’s rare use of police with patrons experiencing homelessness:

I’ve got eyes and I read the newspaper—I know there are plenty of times when involving the police is dangerous to people, that the reactions of cops can be biased, that the cops statistically treat people of color, trans people, and other individuals disproportionately worse. And most of the time our security team doesn’t call the cops unless they feel they really need to. They certainly don’t call them for general rulebreaking [*sic*] associated with experiencing homelessness and nobody would want them to.

There was further concern from front-facing staff at Case 3 about police violence without it being specified towards marginalized populations including a librarian who stated: “I cannot feel certain that a police officer who responds to a call will not resort to violence in order to mitigate a situation.” Another was concerned about both the impact on other patrons as well as the risk of someone being killed:

The introduction of armed force to an encounter, even if no firearms are used, can have a chilling effect on people not even involved in the encounter. That is in addition to the risk of deadly and/or carceral [*sic*] force.”

Another front-facing staff echoed: “Police sometimes feel they have a license to kill...”

This notable difference between the mostly White front-facing staff’s fear of involving the police for fear of police brutality and the mostly Black security team not seeing risks to calling the police was explored through the interviews to try and

understand the context of the guards' responses. The CEO reported that the library system maintained a positive relationship with both the sheriff's department and the local police department. While the CEO did not make a direct link between the national conversation on police brutality with their library's response to crises, she did report:

I would say what really changed the conversation was the fact that our sheriff and our police chief came out strong with Black Lives Matter. Now, five years ago, when I wanted to write Black Lives Matter on the side of our building my staff was like, "Oh, heck no you can't do that. You're going to offend every police and every sheriff there are." But now what's changed is that you've got the leaders within that profession saying, "There's a problem here."

Perhaps the library's positive relationship with local police and the police chief and sheriff acknowledging a problem in policing helped to make the guards feel more protected in contacting law enforcement for help when needed. In addition, the security team was led by a Black female former police officer who, according to the CEO, used to work for the sheriff's department and maintained relationships within the department. These contacts within law enforcement may also have given the team more confidence in calling police when needed. However, it was also very evident from multiple interviews that the security team rarely called the police, due in part to their high level of competence—which was repeatedly praised by participants—but perhaps was also due to an unspoken (at least in the survey data) desire in the guards to do all they could to de-escalate situations to prevent having to call the police, especially on patrons experiencing homelessness, who were often Black. Multiple participants emphasized how little the guards called the police. Julie, FFS, spoke on the matter:

The library hasn't said as a system, this is what we're doing [not calling police often]. I would say that many of our customers that are experiencing homelessness are often Black, and many of our security team are also Black; and they have good camaraderie, can communicate well

with our homeless population, so if there's any way that we could not involve the police, we won't.

When triangulating with the survey data, the guards were asked, “How often do you call (or make a request that someone else call) for public police assistance with patrons you either know are or think might be experiencing homelessness?” Participants could select from never, rarely (a few times a year), sometimes (a few times a month), often (several times a week), and frequently (daily). Values were assigned during coding from 1-5 ranging from 1 for never and 5 for frequently. The 12 guards at Case 3 reported a $M = 2.5$, $SD = .80$. This is somewhat more calls to the police than indicated by the interviews (see Appendix Z).

David, the only guard who agreed to be interviewed described a relationship-based approach to working with patrons experiencing homelessness in part to keep them at the library and away from the police:

I know, for me, I just try to at least establish— for the regulars— some kind of rapport, so I can tell all right, I know this person, and I can tell this is a bad day today, so it's like, “Hey, I know something's going on with Robert, so if you if you see Robert kind of like starting to get agitated, this is what's going on,” and I'll try to pull Robert to the side and be like “Ay, just take a walk. I don't know what you got going, but if you need to just get away, because I'd rather you walk away than be kicked out, and then you can't come back.” Because I know this is the safe spot for a lot of 'em— out the weather, just away from dangers, just away from the police, getting arrested for just being homeless. I mean it's safer for them, and just to make sure I know, all right, “I understand what you're going through.”

David actively worked to keep patrons experiencing homelessness from being banned from the library for the express purpose of them being able to access the library as a safe place away from police. However, when the researcher asked him if the national conversation on police brutality affected his decision-making on whether to call police,

David responded: “Nope. Because if I’m calling, they need to be called. I’m not worried about whatever the next, what might happen. If I’m calling them. I need them.” He went on to emphasize his desire to return home safe each night. This concern for the safety of both themselves and/or patrons due to threats, weapons, or violence was expressed by 62.5% ($n = 5$) of the eight guards who explained their answer to “are there situations in which you feel calling the police is beneficial.” In addition, 25% ($n = 2$) saw calling the police provided legal protection for themselves (Appendix X).

While the positive relationship of the library with the police, the head of security’s own status as a former police officer with relationships in the Sherriff’s department, and the local police chief and sheriff supporting the BLM’s movement may have increased the confidence the security team placed in police, it does not seem that a potential risk to Black lives from police went unacknowledged by security. Rather, this unarmed team was trying to handle what they could without calling police. David, a security guard, shared he was trying to keep library privileges intact so that patrons experiencing homelessness, many of whom were Black, could stay away from police. Kobi, MSW, acknowledged that the head of the security team, like her was an African American woman, and was quite aware of the risks of police brutality:

Our head of security used to be a police officer. She's also African American female, so you know, we have some shared experiences of course by race and some of the things that have happened in society, so I think there's always that that fear. ... So, I think just because we are who we are as African American women, we try to make sure we've got a hold on things prior, so that it doesn't go that route. You know, it's one thing in coming into a crazy situation versus coming into a situation that someone that has called you and needs your assistance has already been able to get under control.

While police were sometimes deemed necessary by the security team, it seemed like they did their best to get things under control before the police got there to try and prevent police escalations. However, this unarmed team also calculated the risk to Black lives (their own and of patrons) when there was a viable physical risk at the library and deemed it more beneficial to call armed police in these situations.

However, it was the very armament of police coming in that concerned FFS

Riley:

There is a militarization of [the] police force that that worries me that coming into a situation like a library seems antagonistic in a way that also I think it would not have the same perception as someone that is a known entity. For example, someone on our safety team that they're working with on a daily basis. I think I guess what I mean by that is, this patron that comes in every day knows Wes on the safety team, for example. They don't know this police officer that may be coming in to deal with them. In addition to that, it becomes this perceived escalation when this unknown police officer that they don't interact with on a daily basis, who is also carrying weapons, so it becomes this extreme sort of escalation.

Like others, Riley, had much more confidence that their unarmed security team could safely handle situations than an unknown and armed police officer who might escalate the situation. Max was concerned the police might shoot someone and for the unknown ripple effect that calling the police on a patron experiencing homelessness might have:

Would the police try to use, like they have a lot of options available to them, right? Does some sort of pepper spray or tasing come into effect if that person tries to attack the police? Do the police defend themselves with a firearm? And then something terrible happens. Do the police find cause— this is where we get to carceral [sic] force— do the police find cause to put this person in jail overnight or for a week? Or if they're a teenager, do they go to DJJ, Department of Juvenile Justice? Does something land on their record now that is now going to hobble their ability to get employment or to qualify for this or that benefits? Or is it going to affect their ability to get into a given shelter at some point in the future? Is there going to be a question that they have to check off, "Have you ever been detained by police in the past, whatever time period?" So that is just a question of you know, even if the police never actually hurt a

given person, does their involvement in and of itself start to close off avenues for them?

Max's concern included police brutality, but also included the long-term potential impact of having a record of arrest and/or conviction. Front-facing staff did not want to be the one who made the call that resulted in a patron getting shot by police, especially as a White person working in a library with many Black patrons as Jadon, FFS, expounded:

I don't wanna call the cops on somebody, and somebody gets shot, and it was my fault. I would prefer not to involve the police, if at all possible, living in modern America. Especially because, like I said, so many of the people who we're having security interactions with are African American. Personally, I would choose not to call the cops.

While the predominately White staff did not usually have to make the decision to call police, the predominately Black security team were usually the ones faced with the decision-making responsibility. Perhaps it was this very concern for the safety of Black lives that drove the head of the security team to make sure her team was both compassionate and expertly trained in de-escalation so that these calls were decreased.

Not only did the security team try to diminish police encounters, as expounded before, so did the social workers. Besides just being social workers, they were all African American women. Each expressed being very concerned about the risk to the lives of their patrons as well as their own when it came to interacting with police:

Kobi: I mean, as an African American woman with an African American husband and son and daughter, I mean that's always, unfortunately, that's my reality anytime, unfortunately when I'm in contact with the police.

Marissa: I have issues with calling the police, plus I know that. ... a lot of our clients, because they are experiencing homelessness, are really not treated respectfully. They already have a quote unquote "rap sheet" with the police, so the police already see them as a troublemaker per se. ... I really find that unless it's absolutely necessary, we really try to defuse the situation ourselves, and we really try not to get law enforcement involved,

because more times than not, it doesn't turn out well for the person that we're assisting.

Casey: I don't, we don't make that decision lightly, of making that phone call to police, because there is there's always a risk, including a risk to us, because you know my department [is] surprisingly 50/50 as far as you know, race, but when you have people of color, and you involve the police, you change that dynamic and wanting to be aware of that, and making sure that we're making the right call, and also for our clients. [Speaking to a hypothetical patron] “Hey, listen, it's one thing for us to call security and security to remove you, but if this keeps going, and the police end up having to get called. We're talking about a whole lot more than just not coming back into the library...”

Case 3 Summary of the Impact of the Black Lives Matter Movement. In

summary, the rival theory of the Impact of the Black Lives Matter movement was present at Case 3. On the initial outset, it appeared that only the predominately White front-facing staff and the Black social workers had concerns about calling police to the library.

However, with a deeper dive into the nuances of the interviews, it became evident that while the mostly Black security team did not report risks to calling the police, they worked hard to protect Black lives by being trained in de-escalation and armed with compassion so that calls to armed police were reduced.

Cross-Case Analysis: Impact of the Black Lives Matter Movement

The impact of the Black Lives Matter movement was present at all three libraries to varying degrees. Case 1 was reliant on law enforcement as it had incorporated off-duty police officers in their daily staffing of the library. For the most part, the front-facing staff seemed comfortable with the police presence, though two were afraid when police tased patrons and one librarian shared of conversations in a system-level committee about being more careful about involving police in part due to the murder of George Floyd. The police working the library had become more careful and slower in their interactions with

patrons to avoid accusations of brutality. However, at Cases 2 and 3, the Black Lives Matter Movement and the resulting fear of police brutality had made front-facing staff reluctant to involve police. While the PICs, who acted in a security role at Case 2, were open about their grave concerns of involving the police, the security team at Case 3 saw little risk to calling police. However, on a deeper exploration, it was discerned that this predominately Black security team was working hard to de-escalate situations on their own, reducing calls to law enforcement.

Analytical Generalization

At the outset of the study, a guiding proposition was proposed, and rival theories identified as guided by Yin (2018) (See Chapter III). As explained in Step 10 of the Analysis (see Chapter III), this guiding proposition was used in explanation building, a pattern matching technique, in which the data from Case 1 was compared to the proposition, making any needed revisions to the proposition (Yin, 2018). Subsequently each of the remaining cases were compared and revisions to the proposition was made (Yin, 2018). In addition, rival theories were examined, and the rival theory that emerged was incorporated (Yin, 2018). What resulted is called an “analytical generalization” which according to Yin (2018) is not meant to be the same a statistical generalization made from a quantitative study to a larger population (p. 38). It is also not a “conclusion” as the analytical generalization is specific to the local context in which the data was gathered (Cronbach, 1975, p. 125). Instead, the analytical generalization is at a conceptual level beyond any singular case that be used as a “working hypothesis” for future research that has taken into consideration the differences between cases as much as the similarities (Cronbach, 1975, p. 125; Yin, 2018). While the positive impact of this

study reflected in the analytical generalization that is about to be presented indicates using library social work to attempt to reduce law enforcement reliance and promote positive impacts for patrons experiencing homelessness is worth trying in other libraries, that library would need to conduct its own evaluation to see if the impact was similar. The library could not assume that the impact would be generalizable from this study (Cronbach, 1975).

After the thorough examination of both the initial proposition and the rival theories, an analytical generalization is proposed: Social workers are influencing how libraries respond to crises with patrons experiencing homelessness—both through the social worker’s direct interventions with patrons and the social worker’s influence on library staff, security, and how existing codes of conduct are implemented—reducing libraries’ reliance on law enforcement, and providing a relationship-based approach that provides a safer experience and better outcomes for patrons experiencing homelessness. However, the influence of the social worker in reducing reliance on law enforcement is commingled with the rival theory of the impact of the Black Lives Matter movement: the fear of police brutality. The fear of police brutality is reducing libraries’ desire to rely on law enforcement; however, having a social worker makes this desire actionable.

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

This chapter will integrate major findings and situate them in terms of the extant literature. It will weave findings through the lens of theory to gain a broader understanding beyond the three cases studied here. The goal of this discussion is to share lessons learned here with libraries who may want to develop a library social work practice that may reduce reliance on law enforcement and provide positive impacts for patrons experiencing homelessness.

First, an acknowledgement of the heroic role that many participants, across all roles, were playing will be offered. Next, the findings from this study will be integrated and added to the literature relevant to homelessness and crisis in libraries. Subsequently, the knowledge gained about the role tasks of library social workers and the models of library social work as they impact the social worker's de-escalation role will be incorporated and added to the existing literature on library social work practice. The discussion will then integrate the findings of the disproportionate impact of library policies on patrons experiencing homelessness with the literature on the criminalization of homelessness and pose strategies used by other libraries for consideration as libraries examine their own policies' impact on patrons. Next, the rival theory of the Black Lives Matter movement on libraries will be briefly made sense of in light of other broader societal impacts. Then the discussion will turn to understanding the major findings through role theory, the concept of self-efficacy from social cognitive theory, and through the humanization framework. In addition, suggestions for social work education to support the development of future library social workers and suggestions for libraries establishing a social work program will be made. Next, the limitations to the study will

be acknowledged and suggestions for future research will be proposed. Finally, the conclusion will be presented.

Many Heroes

While the findings centered on the social worker role and how it influences how libraries respond to patrons experiencing homelessness in crisis, the researcher wants to acknowledge that there were many other heroes in this study beside the social workers. Patron Rex was heroically overcoming barriers to housing and spreading the word amongst other people with homes to come see the social worker. Patron Mya had lost six loved ones to Covid and was still standing. Jamie, PIC, a fierce advocate for patrons experiencing homelessness, had suffered injury at the hands of a patron and refused to file charges. Security David took the time to provide a listening ear to a patron who was distraught and tired of being unhoused. Front-facing staff, Nana, helped save an unhoused and severely burned patron's life by calling the crisis line. Shelby, CEO, immediately got handwashing stations and porta potties for unhoused people to use when COVID-19 shut down the city. These are only some of the many compelling and moving stories shared by the participants that were far more than the expanse of this manuscript could hold.

Homelessness and Libraries

The structural factors that contribute to homelessness including the lack of a living wage, a 7.4-million-unit shortfall of affordable housing, discrimination, gentrification, economic downturns, and skyrocketing healthcare costs intertwined with the many individual risk factors of homelessness including health problems, mental illness, substance abuse, domestic violence, sexual abuse, veteran status, and education

level (Aurand et al., 2022; Cart, 1992; Forge et al., 2018; Glasmeier, 2019; Glynn et al., 2018; Henry et al., 2018; Nooe & Patterson, 2010). Without an adequate number of shelter beds (de Sousa et al., 2022), shelters that force people to leave during the day (Giesler, 2017; Wilkins Jordan, 2014), a lack of daytime social service centers where people experiencing homelessness can go (Giesler, 2017; Wilkins Jordan, 2014), and the increasing criminalization of homelessness (NHLC, 2019), people experiencing homelessness are coming to the library for shelter, temperature-control, bathrooms, water, and WIFI (Adams & Krtalić, 2022; Anderson et al., 2012; Lloyd, 2020; Urada et al., 2022). The findings of this study confirmed many of these structural and individual factors of homelessness. Across cases, homelessness was being driven by skyrocketing rents and a lack of affordable housing. Patrons shared individual stories of mental health and health problems exacerbating their situations. This study also highlighted the influence of migration (including voluntary, pressured, or coerced) and immigration on the consistent flow of unhoused persons to the cities where the libraries were located and thus to the libraries. As documented in the literature, many people experiencing homelessness were using these three libraries as a daytime shelter (Cart, 1992; Cathcart, 2008; Giesler, 2017; Lloyd, 2020; Torrey et al., 2009; Williams, 2016).

This study also gave a glimpse of the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and the resulting economic downturn on the already existing structural problems that each of the libraries were facing in their communities. As de Sousa et al. (2022) described in their nationwide PIT Count, the shelters where the libraries were located had to also reduce capacity to accommodate for social distancing, making it even harder to find a shelter bed. As the American Public Library Association (2020) reported, most public libraries

closed to the public, including these three. The study also gives a glimpse to the important work that some libraries did to try and meet the needs of patrons experiencing homelessness (putting handwashing stations and portable toilets in front of the library) and trying to prevent homelessness (social workers helping people apply for Emergency Rental Assistance Program funds), even though their doors were closed.

Patron Crises in the Library

The needs that vulnerable patrons, including those experiencing homelessness, present with at public libraries often exceed the training and role of library staff (Anderson et al., 2012; Gross et al., 2022; Pressley, 2017; Provence et al., 2020; Urada et al., 2022; Wahler et al., 2019; Williams, 2016; Wray, 2009). Often times these needs are perceived to be crises. Understanding the range and level of severity of crises is pivotal to understanding the library's security response and how social workers are sometimes able to prevent patrons from coming to the attention of security or are summoned by security to de-escalate a patron by helping meet the patron's felt needs.

The crises in Urada et al.'s (2022) study of the San Diego Library that included 49 unstably housed or unhoused patrons and 14 library staff revolved around homelessness, mental health, sex trafficking, and opioid addiction. Serious mental illness, drug use, being under the influence, drug dealing, and overdose are commonly reported crises in libraries (Ford, 2017; Pressley, 2017; Real & Bogel, 2019). Williams and Ogden's (2020) study of 22 urban public librarians via focus groups included in their definition of a crisis not only signs of an SMI or substance use/withdrawal, but also the state of being unhoused or at risk of being unhoused. People in crisis due to domestic violence come to libraries seeking help (Westbrook, 2015). This study did not define

crisis, but instead asked library staff to describe examples of crises. While substance use issues, overdoses, mental health issues including SMI, being unhoused or in need of shelter, and being a victim of domestic violence were also in the current findings, the participants had a much more expansive view of crises ranging from those that made staff feel uncomfortable to those that were severe and could cause imminent danger to others. Some of the participant perceptions of crises in this study were similar to the detailed examples described by Rodger and Erikson's (2021) qualitative survey of 121 Canadian library workers who shared what was "most challenging" about patron work. They included patrons who directed strong emotions at staff, were violent, or sexually inappropriate. Williams and Ogden's 2020 research of 22 librarians within various branches of a large U.S. urban library system without a reported social work program found that while none had been victims of physical assault, they did feel vulnerable. Most of the 22 librarians had been emotionally or verbally abused by patrons. This study found a notable difference in how front-facing staff and security experienced yelling and strong emotions versus the social workers. Many front-facing staff, and even some security, perceived that strong patron feelings and patrons yelling were crises similar to Williams and Ogden (2020) because it led to feelings of not being safe or being uncomfortable. However, social workers did not view strong emotions or yelling as a crisis as they were trained to deal with strong emotions and to de-escalate yelling patrons. This was directly linked to the training and role of social workers versus that of information professionals. This study also expanded on the types of victimizations that occurred off-site to people who then would go to the library for help. Like Westbrook (2015), victims of domestic violence would present, but also victims of theft, sexual assault, and rape. In addition,

this study offers detailed examples of threats and violence in libraries, both patron to patron, and patron to staff. These included situations that were as severe as an active shooter, stabbings, sexual assault, and weapons. They also included instances of staff endangerment in the form of threats, stalking (in and out of the library), assault, and sexual harassment.

Understanding the severity of crisis in U.S. urban libraries is also key to understanding what the role of the social worker is not —handling violence. Social workers are not trained to handle violence, nor is it a typical role task for a social worker. It became abundantly clear through these findings, there are crises for which a social worker cannot substitute for security or police. However, social workers are a good fit for handling crises related to strong emotions, yelling or other communication issues, basic needs, mental health crises, serious mental illness, substance use disorders, and even helping victims of crime who seek help at the library. Police are also often needed in the cases of victimization since patrons sometimes want help making a police report; however, the social workers would sometimes help function as advocates during this process (T3c).

Oftentimes patrons are perceived to be in crises by library staff, and in the absence of social workers, are unsure what to do and have to rely on their own judgement or “blindly reach in the dark” (Urada et al., 2022, p. 7; Williams & Ogden, 2020). The San Diego Public library, the site of Urada et al.’s (2022) study, did not have a social worker, though they did have social work interns doing research and outreach workers from a local agency to assist the unhoused or patrons struggling with mental health. Library staff would try to make referrals for patrons, only to find out that patrons were

denied assistance at the agencies due to a variety of barriers (Urada et al., 2022). In the present findings, social workers could carry out their own barrier-busting services (T2b) with low-barrier access (T2a) and in doing so navigated successful referrals on behalf of patrons. In Urada et al.'s (2022) study, even with the support of the outreach workers in the library, staff were still responding to crises with frequent calls to police and exclusions (Urada et al., 2022). In Williams and Ogden's (2020) study, librarians often did not know what to do in a crisis. Sometimes this resulted in calls to police, though some participants had hesitations to calling the police for fear of patron retaliation or concern about racist policing practices. However, the library staff and security in this study, including those who had concerns about calling the police, had the option (T1) of a social worker which meant they could often connect the patron in crisis to the social worker either directly or via the security team. They also were more equipped (T3a) to handle a patron crisis on their own when the social worker was unavailable. In the present study, the social workers were perceived to be reducing exclusions and reducing reliance on law enforcement.

The close up look of the attitudes of librarians by Williams and Ogden (2020) in a library without a social worker towards patrons in crises showed that they tried hard to treat people with fairness and compassion; however, they often felt anxious and unsure about how to handle crises for which they had not been trained. The participants in this study also demonstrated compassion; however, due to in-house referrals (T1a) and the equipping (T3a) roles of social workers, more participants in this study felt they could either refer the patron in crisis to the social worker, or, in the hours the social worker was

unavailable, handle some crises on their own. Rather than reporting anxiety, multiple participants expressed relief.

Library Social Work Practice, De-escalation, & Reducing Reliance on Police

This study confirmed and added to what is known about the role of the library social worker within the micro and mezzo domains of practice which is how role tasks of social workers are usually categorized in the literature (Giesler, 2021; Provence, 2020; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019). Micro roles of a social worker are thought of as direct interventions with patrons at an individual level (Zettervall & Nienow, 2019). This study confirmed that much of the day-to-day work of the social workers was on a micro level directly with patrons. However, equally important is the social worker's mezzo work, at the level of the institution or organization (Provence, 2020). This study provided a much more in-depth examination of this micro work, connecting the subthemes of "low barrier access" T2a, "barrier-busting services (T2b)," "de-escalation (T1b), and "advocating and being present during security/police interactions" (T3c)—which are all micro level interventions—to a mezzo level perceived impact of reduced reliance on law enforcement. Also at a mezzo level, it is well known in the literature that library and security staff often make referrals to the social worker (Mariano & Harmon, 2019; Schweizer, 2018; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019), and this study confirms this in-house referral (T1a) process. Garner et al. (2020) and Provence (2020) indicated that library social workers are equipping staff through trainings, modeling, and coaching, which was confirmed by this study. While Provence (2020) found that social workers were influencing the code of conduct implementation through training and coaching; this study added examples of influencing code of conduct implementation (T3b) including creating

a disability allowance in the library and providing services to patrons who have received a ban or exclusion from the library.

Up to this point, library social work models have primarily been identified and understood in terms of the structure of their employment such as full-time/part-time, volunteer and/or internships, who the employer is (library, municipality, or agency), and collaborations with outside partners (Baum et al., 2022; Luo et al., 2012; Schweizer, 2018; Soska & Navarro, 2020; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019). Training library staff in de-escalation and doing crisis intervention have been highlighted as part of some library social workers' role though the de-escalation role of the social worker has not been explored in depth (Baum et al., 2022; Giesler, 2021; Hill & Tamminen, 2020; Provence, 2020; Schweizer, 2018; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019). There are also descriptions of social workers doing outreach in the library (Garner et al., 2020; Giesler, 2021; Mariano & Harmon, 2019; Schweizer, 2018; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019) and a brief mention of a social worker being on call for de-escalation and crisis intervention (Zettervall & Nienow, 2019). This study provides the first in-depth look at the de-escalation role of the library social worker.

This study provides a significant contribution to the literature as it explores the de-escalation role of the social worker in-depth from the perception of six different roles across three cases. From this in-depth analysis, three models of library social work and how they impact the de-escalation role of the social worker were identified and described (See Table 10). These models are described in terms of how social workers are accessed and where social workers are positioned in the library. In addition, the strategies that each model used to de-escalate were identified. While de-escalation strategies had several

similarities, the de-escalation impact was either heightened or decreased depending on how the social worker was accessed and where they were positioned within the library. The social work model was also impacted by the mindset of the social worker towards their own role and level of expertise. While both BSW and MSW level social workers felt very comfortable doing de-escalation throughout their libraries and saw it as an integral part of their role, the MSWs at another library did not see this as their role, despite being skilled de-escalators within their designated area.

Understanding the de-escalation role of the social worker is critical for understanding how a social worker can change how libraries respond to patrons experiencing homelessness in crisis because de-escalation by the social worker provides an option to security and police. The three models of library social work practice identified in the findings are detailed and include staffing levels, how they are accessed by staff and patrons, where they are positioned in the library, and the de-escalation role. Of the three models, the Outreach and Summon model seemed to have the most de-escalation impact and consequential reduction on law enforcement interaction; however, this effect was undergirded by the security's team's own reluctance to call law enforcement due to their fear of police brutality. The Sign & Up and Summon model could likely have about the same impact as the first if implemented in a library without embedded police. At the library with this model, the police and the social worker worked closely together, so the de-escalation function of the social worker still reduced those situations that escalated to arrest, which by all reports seemed to be few. The Social Work Center model had a reduced role in de-escalation, though still a very important one. Their de-escalation role was limited to the Social Work Center and did contribute to

fewer patrons coming to the attention of security; however, there library's reliance on law enforcement was also reduced by the presence of a compassionate and de-escalation trained security team who did not often call police.

The early literature (Provence, 2020; Schweizer, 2018; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019) identified that social worker's micro work with patrons and mezzo influence on staff, security, and policy is reducing reliance on law enforcement creating a safer experience for staff and patrons. In addition, B. Robinson (2019) called for research on interprofessional partnerships as options to policing and security in libraries. While the libraries in the current study were not absent of security and one employed police officers, the social worker was an option to them, handling some situations before they even came to their attention, or being summoned by them to assist. A social worker can reduce a library's reliance on law enforcement by running interference (T2), acting as a buffer (T3), and being an option (T1). In doing so, the social worker may help reduce the number of escalations, de-escalate actual escalations, and reduce and or modify the interactions between patrons experiencing homelessness and security and police. This can result in fewer exclusions and arrests of patrons experiencing homelessness at public libraries. Instead, with the help of library social workers, patrons experiencing homelessness are accessing and overcoming barriers to life-sustaining resources including food, clothes, medical care, mental health care, jobs, shelter, and housing.

Until now, there has not been a study that has explored how social workers may be reducing reliance on law enforcement; nor has there been triangulated data to connect the social worker's role tasks to the perceived impacts of fewer behavior incidents, fewer interactions with security and police, and fewer arrests and less jail for patrons

experiencing homelessness. This study fills this important gap in the literature by providing triangulated data from interviews and surveys from six different stakeholder groups to support the argument that social workers are perceived to reduce libraries' reliance on law enforcement.

Criminalization of Homelessness and Codes of Conduct

Understanding the social worker's role of changing how libraries respond to patrons experiencing homelessness is directly connected to understanding the codes of conduct. Some library social workers actually get to help create or change policies (Zettervall & Nienow, 2019). However, the social workers in this study were influencing how the codes were implemented rather than changing the codes themselves. The American Library Association's Hunger, Homeless, and Policy Task Force has long posed the question if library policies, such as odor policies, are exacerbating the criminalization of those in poverty (Gehner, 2005). As discussed in Chapter 1, libraries often have policies that disproportionately impact people experiencing homelessness including prohibiting sleeping, washing, sleeping rolls, and large items (Bardoff, 2015; Blood, 2022; Mars, 2012; Provence, 2018; Winkelstein, 2019). In like fashion, participants in this study identified four rules that they thought disproportionately impacted patrons experiencing homelessness and caused them intrarole conflict (Goode, 1960): rules prohibiting sleeping, bathing, body odor, and limiting the quantity, size, or type of bags brought into the library. The rules against sleeping in the library are similar to the public sleeping bans in U.S. cities (NHLC, 2019). While libraries do not ban all baggage, they do set limits, which is much less problematic than city laws against storing belongings in public spaces, though still pose issues for some patrons experiencing

homelessness (NHLC, 2019). Similarly, Provence's (2018) review of library codes of conduct at seven U.S. urban libraries noted that violations of each of them could result in arrest. Across all cases, even though libraries resisted calling outside law enforcement, violations of codes of conduct could escalate and result in arrest.

Multiple scholars and librarians are questioning the role of security and/or policing in libraries and some are calling for a complete removal of police from libraries (Abolitionist Library Association, n.d.; Balzer, 2020; Library Freedom Project, 2020; Moreno, 2021; Oliver, 2020; B. Robinson, 2019; Schwartz, 2020). B. Robinson (2019) suggests more "judicious use" of security and police with careful consideration of how these decisions impact marginalized patrons. The present findings demonstrated how library security teams, in collaboration with the social worker for in-house referrals (T1a) and de-escalation (T2b) were able to redirect patrons to the social worker or summon the social worker to the patron in crisis, and in doing so, perceived that calls to outside police were reduced. Further, B. Robinson (2019) recommends that libraries retain oversight over security that operates within their buildings. All three libraries in this study had either direct (through being the employer) or indirect (through library employees supervising) oversight of their security teams. Gaps identified by B. Robinson (2019) include studies on the effectiveness of social workers in general and research on interprofessional partnerships as options to policing and security in libraries. The present findings begin to address these gaps by showing how the models of security interacted with the model of social work practice in each library, specifically around the social worker's role of de-escalation (T1b) and in-house referrals (T1a). While Moreno (2021) expressed concern that social services embedded in libraries is a form of carceral care and

questions the genuineness of claiming this interprofessional collaboration can reduce the use of the police in libraries, these findings provide triangulated evidence that participants perceived embedded social work as doing just that. This provides additional weight to the already existing literature that suggested that social workers were handling some crises that would have formally been handled by security or police (Zettervall & Nienow, 2019), and that social workers provided an option to calling 911 (Provence, 2020; Schweizer, 2018). The ability of the social worker to carry out their role depended on the interprofessional collaboration between social workers, security (and possibly police, depending on the security model), and front-facing staff. Provence's (2020) study gave social worker reports of being an option that staff or security could use rather than expelling a patron or calling the police. Without the interprofessional collaboration, the impacts in the current study would have been reduced. Both security and front-facing staff could use the option (T1) of the social worker through the in-house referral process (T1a) to steer patrons towards the social workers who were running interference (T2) with low barrier access (T2a) and barrier-busting services (T2b), oftentimes heading off problems before they escalated. Depending on the model, security could also summon the social worker for de-escalation. Social workers were working in agreement with security to provide services to patrons who had been banned. Without these collaborations, the social workers would not have been able to play the option (T1) role that was a major contributor to the reported impact of needing to call for police less or the buffering (T3) role that allowed them to be present and advocate during some security and policing interactions (T3c).

Vitale (2017) argues that even though people may consider that public laws are applied equally, that does not consider that those with less means are more likely to break them due to a lack of resources and are more likely to suffer legal consequences. Just like a person of less means is more likely to drive without insurance and suffer legal ramifications, so too is a person without a home more likely to fall asleep in a public library than a person with a home. While the libraries in this study tried to enforce code of conduct violations equally, housed people had fewer reasons to break them than the housed. As many participants in the study were aware of and trying to address, the rigidity or flexibility with which codes of conduct are enforced is paramount to the impact on patrons experiencing homelessness. However, some participants thought some of the rules, especially the no sleeping rule, should be done away with as they felt these rules unduly created barriers for patrons experiencing homelessness.

Williams and Ogden (2020) identified that sometimes the library as an institution created barriers to staff feeling able to help those in crises. While in Williams and Ogden's study, these barriers were more related to training and resources being hard to access, this study found that parts of the code of conduct created barriers to staff feeling like they could help patrons experiencing homelessness in crisis and in some cases made them feel like they were making things worse. Frequently cited as a rule of concern in the literature, the no sleeping rule was the rule that most upset some participants in this study (Bardoff, 2015; Blood, 2022; Mars, 2012; Provence, 2018). Sleeping could easily turn into multiple other rule violations when a tired or traumatized patron was awakened. Notably two of the libraries had undertaken reviews of how policies were impacting vulnerable patrons, and one was getting ready to trial a different progressive discipline

policy to reduce the negative impact of the no sleeping policy. These libraries cared and were trying to figure out how to maintain a safe public space and at the same time not contribute to the criminalization of homelessness. Use of bans and exclusions from certain areas, such as parks, are also used by some cities to give police the power to keep people experiencing homelessness out of public spaces for specified periods of time (Herbert & Beckett, 2010). Participants expressed that sometimes the nature of the progressive discipline policy could lead to a patron having a multi-year or permanent ban. While some behaviors in public spaces (including libraries), especially those involving violence, may warrant some type of long-term exclusion from those spaces, sleeping—when there are not enough shelters and affordable housing—should not be one of them.

The issue of whether library policies and practices exacerbate the criminalization of homelessness is one to ponder (Gehner, 2005). Both libraries and social workers have been called into account for our own carceral pasts and presents (Jacobs et al., 2020; Library Freedom Project, 2020; Moreno, 2021). Even the idea that social services help libraries reduce their reliance on police has been questioned as a guise for carceral surveillance of vulnerable populations (Moreno, 2021). Jacobs et al. (2020) defines carceral social work as practice with moralized populations in “coercive and punitive ways” and encourages the profession to redefine and recreate social work that avoids interacting with police (p. 3). While the five social workers in this study did try to avoid involving the police, they still had to occasionally interact with them but did so in ways that tried to minimize negative impacts on the patron by advocating and being present during these interactions (T3c).

Principle 9 of the ALA Code of Ethics calls the information science profession “to recognize and dismantle systemic and individual biases; to confront inequity and oppression; to enhance diversity and inclusion; and to advance racial and social justice” (ALA, 2021, para. 5). There are many examples that libraries can consider as they examine how to honor this principle and take steps to minimize their risk in participating in the criminalization of homelessness. First, libraries can seek input from patrons experiencing homelessness by conducting a needs assessment; this can be done even without a social worker by partnering with a nearby school of social work (Provence, 2018). They can also create advisory committees made up of patrons experiencing homelessness to give input on library policies (ALA, 2013). Some libraries have done away with sleeping bans and replaced them with a flexible rule that as long as you are not impeding someone else’s use of the library, there is no rule violation, allowing all but snoring patrons to rest without being awakened (Ruhlmann, 2014). Some academic libraries are providing napping pods designed for 20-minute naps (Smith, 2019). Perhaps there is a way to consider these for use in public libraries.

Blood (2022) recommends doing away with odor rules since they are subjective in nature. Libraries can reconsider the somewhat conflicting policies of banning odor and banning washing up and try to figure out other possible solutions. Library social workers or public health partners can help older patrons experiencing homelessness to get Medicare Advantage plans, sometimes with \$0 premiums, that often provide free memberships to gyms which almost always have shower facilities (Anthem, n.d.; Medicare, n.d.). Other possible solutions for odor and bathing issues are providing mobile showers through a partnership with LaveMae^x that provides training and funding to help

organizations provide mobile showers as San Francisco Public Library has done (LavaMae^x, n.d.; San Francisco Public Library, n.d.). The Philadelphia Free Library formed a community partnership to hire previously unhoused persons in supportive housing as bathroom attendants to maintain restrooms at the library since they were so frequently used by patrons experiencing homelessness (Leeder, 2010). Another idea is to work with local officials to see if city pool facilities could collaborate with a local social service agency to allow people who lack water to use the showers at designated times during non-operational hours.

Libraries are key community institutions with influential CEO's and board members. These leaders, social workers, and an advisory board of unhoused patrons can advocate for macro structural changes such as an increase in affordable housing, mental health care, and substance abuse treatment to begin alleviating some of the burden that has been placed on libraries (ALA, 2013). They can also encourage community collaborations and partnerships to open a drop-in center near the library that could offer a napping room, showers, food, storage, case management, and other services (ALA, 2013). Having these real solutions will not only address the underlying causes and symptoms of homelessness, but they will also provide places for library social workers to refer patrons experiencing homelessness to, which some areas lack (Provence, 2020; Vitale, 2017). Libraries can consider advocating for a Homeless Bill of Rights in their city or state to help reduce the criminalization of homelessness (Rankin, 2015; Ruhlmann, 2014).

Integrating the Rival Theory, The Impact of the Black Lives Matter Movement

The phenomenon of library staff having concerns of calling the police in the wake of the murder of George Floyd by police does not stand alone. Both White and Black neighborhoods significantly reduced their 911 calls to police in the weeks and months after Floyd's murder (Ang et al., 2021). However, the influence of the movement was prevalent long before Floyd's murder. In 2018, the Black Lives Matter movement began using Becky and Karen memes on social media denoting White women who use their privilege "to police, surveil, and regulate Black individuals in public spaces" via the #LivingWhileBlack hashtag (Williams, 2020, p. 2). Williams describes the use of this hashtag on social media as "restoring agency to Black communities" who through their use cause real consequences, such as job loss and ruined reputations, to White women who engaged in the White supremacist behaviors of calling the police on Black people for existing in public spaces and doing everyday activities such as grilling out in a park designed for this purpose (Williams, 2020, p. 11).

White, female, and middle-aged are the most prevalent demographics of U.S. librarians (69% female, 81% White, average age 48) (Zippia, The Career Expert, n.d.). These were also the most prevalent demographics of the front-facing library-staff participants (see Table 6). A Karen is described as being female, middle-aged, and often blonde (inferring White) (Urban Dictionary, n.d.). While no one in the study explicitly stated they were afraid of being accused of being a Becky or a Karen, the undertone seemed present. Given that 90% of U.S. population regularly use social media (Ruby, 2023), it is a relatively safe assumption that most of the participants had been exposed to the Becky and Karen memes and may have been influenced to call police less.

This is not to say that without the Karen and Becky memes that the participants would not have been fearful of calling police for situations at the library. Participants were truly concerned for the safety of their patrons, and in some cases, themselves, especially if they were a person of color. In 2022 alone, U.S. police killed 1,174 people; during 2013 through 2022, U.S. police killed an average of 1,113 human beings each year totaling 11,132 people (Mapping Police Violence, n.d.). The overwhelming evidence of police brutality that disproportionately impacts Black people at three times the rates of White people has been displayed to the world through bystander videos and police webcams (Mapping Police Violence, n.d.). Multiple Black Lives Matter protests occurred in the cities where all three libraries were located. At least two of the three libraries were in the midst of the protests, as likely were many downtown central libraries across the nation. Understanding the impact of the Black Lives Matter movement on many of the participants and how it made them fearful of police brutality intersected with understanding the option that social workers provided. Rather than being left with no option but the police, participants had the option (T1) of the social worker for in-house referrals (T1a) and de-escalation (T2b) rather than calling the police.

Williams and Ogden (2020) also indicated that some librarians had concerns about racist police practices and were careful about making decisions regarding when to call the police. Williams and Ogden (2020) called for research to “examine the impacts of policing and racism in supporting patrons in crisis in public libraries” (p. 13). The discovery of the Black Lives Matter rival did begin to address this gap. Because of the desire to avoid calling police due to police brutality that disproportionately affects people of color, the libraries in this study tried to avoid using the police to intervene with patrons

experiencing homelessness in crisis and instead frequently sought the option (T1) of the social worker through de-escalation (T1a) and in-house referrals (T1a). Similar to Gross and Latham's (2021) survey of six heads of libraries that had social workers who reported that behavioral incidents had decreased during the tenure of the social worker, the participants in this study perceived that having the option of the social worker had the perceived impact of fewer behavior incidents. Provence (2020) also reported that social workers were an option calling 911 and banning patrons. This study supports these earlier findings with the perceived impacts of fewer exclusions, fewer interactions with police, and fewer arrests due to the role of the social worker.

Integrating Findings and Theories

At the outset of the study, three theories were identified as lenses to examine the role of the social worker's influence on libraries' responses to patrons experiencing homelessness in crises. The theories were role theory, social cognitive theory, and the humanization framework. Relevant aspects of these theories will be discussed and integrated with the findings.

First, role theory will be applied starting with intra-role conflict related to the codes of conduct. The codes of conduct were meant to keep a modicum of decorum and safety at the library, but participants reported some of these rules disproportionately impacted patrons experiencing homelessness. This caused intra-role conflict for front-facing staff and security trying to manage the differing expectations, needs, and social norms of the alters in their role set —housed patrons, unhoused patrons, and the institution itself via the code of conduct (Biddle, 1986; Goode, 1960; Kahn et al., 1964; Merton, 1957; Parsons, 1951; Turner, 2002). When housed patrons complained about or

even refrained from coming to the library because of the presence of the unhoused, library participants experienced intra-role conflict. Most participants had empathy for the patrons experiencing homelessness, so having to enforce the rules that they felt unfairly targeted unhoused patrons and neglected their needs created intra-role conflict. The notable example Tariq gave was heart-wrenching. He received multiple complaints about the odor of a patron experiencing homelessness. Though he did not want to, and his stomach ached over it, Tariq asked the man to leave for the day in order to fulfill his role obligations (Goode, 1960) to the institution. In the same vein as Williams and Ogden (2020) describing institutional barriers to helping a patron in crisis, the library's competing policy of not allowing patrons to wash up in the bathroom blocked Tariq from even offering this as a choice. Tariq's intra-role conflict of wanting to give a patron his coat and being told he could not, still left him in turmoil four years after the incident. Tariq's desire to help a patron in this way reflected what Giesler (2017) referred to as "under the radar" means in which library staff colored outside the lines of their job description to try and assist unhoused patrons.

Role strain (Goode, 1960) was also caused by role ambiguity (Harrison, 1980) as the needs of patrons experiencing homelessness often went far beyond the bounds of the training and role of the participants as already noted in the literature (Wilkins Jordan, 2014; Williams, 2016). The participants in the study were no different, prior to the social worker, they had role strain from being asked to help in ways they did not have the training, expertise, or time to do. Having the social worker reduced, but did not eliminate, their role strain. As previously found in Canadian libraries (Schweizer, 2018), social workers in this study did provide relief by being an option (T1) to staff who were

experiencing role strain from being presented with needs that went beyond their training and role. Participants felt that having the option of in-house referrals (T1a) had much more value than handing a patron experiencing homelessness a phone number or address and allowed them to feel like they were actually helping patrons. As cautioned by Zettervall and Nienow (2019), exaggerated expectations of social workers that initially can bring relief could also lead to disappointment. While the social workers did provide some relief and reduced role strain, none of the social work teams had 100% coverage of all open hours at their branch.

This lack of constant social work coverage meant that front-facing staff and security had to still navigate patron needs and crises when the social workers were not there. This may have led to role ambiguity (Harrison, 1980) due to the requests being outside their training and role; however, similar to Provence (2020) and Zettervall and Nienow (2019), social workers sought to address this by equipping front-facing staff and security in topics like trauma-informed care, homelessness, and mental health (T3a). They also provided detailed resource guides (T3a). These trainings also helped changed the dynamic of how the codes of conduct were being implemented (T3b). A better equipped staff was a less stressed-out staff because they had a “plan of action” and “useful resources.” Buffering (T3) and running interference (T2) helped reduce the role strain resulting from the intra-role conflict about enforcing the codes of conduct. While none of the social workers had changed the codes of conduct as previously reported by Zettervall and Nienow (2019), they had changed how they were implemented, supporting the same finding by Provence (2020). By collecting shoe donations, social workers provided staff the opportunity to offer shoes rather than turning a shoeless patron away

(T2b). By being an option (T1) for in-house referrals (T1a), participants were able to be more flexible with some of the code of conduct issues by directing patrons to the social worker or calling the social worker to them. Mars (2012) cautioned that punitive action by libraries against persons with disabilities would be a violation of the American with Disabilities Act (1990). By educating front-facing staff about mental health, one social worker got them to refer patrons to her for assessment and a library only “disability allowance” rather than being excluded (T3b), adhering to the advice by Mars (2012).

All of Bandura’s (1977) four ways to increase self-efficacy—modeling, mastery experiences, social persuasion, and physical/emotional signals—were found within the reports of social workers of their role tasks (Appendix T), trainings taught (Table 8), and/or the participants reports of types of assistance and trainings received from the social workers (Appendix S and Table 9). Specifically, the role of equipping (T3a) was key to perceived increases in self-efficacy. The role of equipping through modeling, coaching, and training has been found by Provence (2020) and Garner et al. (2020) and was confirmed by these findings. Equipping (T3a) increased the self-efficacy of some front-facing staff and security participants so that they were better able to help patrons experiencing homelessness, especially when the social workers were not there. Social workers at all three cases were modeling interactions with how to handle patron situations. All five social workers were helping participants have mastery experiences by coaching them to work with marginalized patrons. All five social workers reported that they supported staff through encouragement (social persuasion) and a few participants reported receiving feedback on how they had handled a patron situation. Helping staff to manage their own stress of working with patrons (physical/emotional signals) was

indicated through trainings on self-care, trauma-informed care, and some participants indicating they got support to deal with work stress.

The Right Role for the Right Task

When a person in a given role is asked to do a task or meet a need that is beyond their training and job description, they experience role strain (Goode, 1960). The integration of the findings and theory hinges on the appropriate role fulfilling a task within their role. Expecting a person in one role to do the task of another role leads to role strain (Goode, 1960). If a social worker is asked to work the reference desk, they would lack the knowledge to do so. A librarian is needed. When a librarian is confronted with a patron in a mental health crisis, they can offer compassion and listen, but they are not trained to do suicide assessments, nor would they, due to a librarian's commitment to information privacy (ALA, 2017). A social worker is needed. If a police officer is asked to de-escalate a patron having a mental health crisis, even if they have de-escalation training, they bring lethal weapons with them that may end in disastrous consequences (Berkowitz & LaPage, 1967; Vitale, 2017). A social worker is needed. If a social worker is asked to break apart patrons in a fight, the social worker has no training in methods to physically restrain and is more likely to get hurt. A security guard is needed. If a social worker is asked to handle a bomb threat or an active shooter, everyone should run. Police officers are needed.

Mariano and Harmon (2019) researched the interprofessional collaboration between library science, nurses, and social workers within a public library to help patrons experiencing homelessness. If a librarian encountered a patron need for which they were not equipped, they would connect with the social worker and nurse. A different triad of

professions were collaborating in these findings —library science, security/police, and social workers. Across cases, the front-facing staff, security, and social workers were collaborating trying to make sure the right task was matched to the right role. Mariano and Harmon (2019) describe “‘warm’ transfers” (p. 174) whereby a librarian could connect a patron with the social worker or nurse by walking the patron to them or calling them on the phone. The current findings showed similar processes via the “in-house referrals” (T1a) and “de-escalation” (T1b) where other roles could connect a patron with social worker. Both Mariano and Harmon’s (2019) “‘warm’ transfers” (p. 174) and the current study’s “in-house referrals” (T1a) served the same function—to get the patron to the role that could handle the presenting need or task. While each case had its own nuances as described in the findings, in general, there was a similar division of role tasks across cases. Security often played the gatekeeper to the patron getting to the right role, for example, referring a patron experiencing homelessness to the social worker or summoning the social worker for a patron in crisis. Security also handled de-escalations (often with the help of the social worker), patrolling, surveillance (to varying degrees), rule enforcement, exclusions, and deciding when to call police (usually for serious threats, violence, or sometimes refusal of a patron to leave). Security also checked on the social workers to ensure their safety. Security tried to balance the safety needs of the staff and broad patron population with the needs of the individual patron they were interacting with. The police officers present at a single case generally handled escalations (sometimes requesting the social worker to help) and collaborated with the social worker to help patrons in severe mental health crisis to treatment. Front-facing staff handled information needs, reference interviews, programming, materials movement, collections

management, and a variety of other duties depending on status. Front-facing staff were often the first person to encounter a patron in a crisis. Depending on the nature and severity of the crisis, they would then decide whether to address the situation themselves, use the in-house referral (T1a) process, or summon security (who then sometimes summoned the social worker). Similar to the previous findings, social workers handled social service needs, resource needs, and mental health crises (Garner et al., 2020; Giesler, 2021; Provence, 2020; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019). Social workers in the current study handled complex patron needs that could take hours, days, or weeks to follow-up on. Social workers handled private patron information and filled out applications, which was not something front-facing staff were allowed to do due to privacy issues (ALA, 2017), nor did they have the time for such tasks. Social workers handled de-escalations that did not involve violence. This was the purview of security, and often, police. A key difference in the role of the social worker from security was while they might help a patron understand the rules, they were not the rule enforcers. The social workers also had a higher threshold for behavior issues, especially in the social work area, as they understood these behaviors in terms of trauma and unmet needs. They would try and de-escalate the patron before security took notice. This gave them the chance to meet patrons' needs rather than the patron being excluded. As a social worker, they had a different skill set than front-facing staff and security to address felt needs and de-escalate patrons in crisis. Regardless of role, all the skillsets of the three different professions were needed and complemented one another.

While Anderson et al.'s (2015) study of 59 library staff felt somewhat distant from patrons experiencing homelessness with 78% feeling "not close" and 20% feeling

“fairly close” (p. 184), the front-facing staff, security, and social workers described building and maintaining patron relationships. Front-facing staff and security had relationships with their “regulars,” and would listen to them share their needs or successes. Ninety-five percent of the library staff in Anderson et al.’s (2015) study were willing to refer patrons experiencing homelessness to resources. In this study, sometimes other roles besides social work would inform patrons about resources. For example, a security guard might tell a patron where public showers were, or a library staff could give resource names and numbers to patrons, or even check to see if a shelter had a bed open. Likewise, similar to social workers in Giesler’s (2021) study, a social worker might direct a patron with an information need to the right library department.

The Right Role for the Right Task is not Enough: Humanization is Needed

Just matching the right role (based on skillset) to the right task is not enough. The final theory, the humanization framework by Todres et al. (2009), is foundational to role tasks that involve human interactions. As a brief review from Chapter II, the humanization framework has eight pairs of words. One word in each pair recognizes the humanizing end of a continuum while the other end represents the dehumanizing end. The first pair has “insiderness” as the humanizing end which recognizes that each human has “a view of living life from the inside” (Todres et al., 2009, p. 70). The dehumanizing end is “objectification” (Todres et al., 2009, p. 70). It is this pair of the framework that this discussion will primarily focus on. Any person, regardless of role can have a “way of being” that objectifies another (Arbinger Institute, 2015, p. 81)⁵. Common ways of objectifying others include using people as “vehicles” to get what we want; viewing them

⁵The Arbinger Institute built on the foundation of Martin Buber’s seminal work *I and Thou*, 1923

as “obstacles” to get around or over; or treating them like they do not matter (“irrelevancies”) (Arbinger Institute, 2015, p. 236). Provence (2018) used this language to examine how objectification may occur in the library with patrons experiencing homelessness.

Using Todres et al. (2009) humanization framework, Provence (2020) found that social workers perceived themselves as helping other staff move further along the humanization continuum towards patrons experiencing homelessness. However, Provence (2020) was limited to the perception of the social worker. In this study, five additional roles were included. While there was some evidence that social workers were contributing to better attitudes toward patrons experiencing homelessness, what was striking in this study was that in most of the 46 interviews, participants’ care and concern for patrons experiencing homelessness shone through. Both through the stories of the professional roles and the patrons themselves, the researcher was repeatedly stunned by the stories of kindness and care that interview participants had shown toward patrons experiencing homelessness, who some affectionately referred to as “regulars,” demonstrating they felt that the patrons experiencing homelessness belonged in the library. The lengths to which participants had gone to serve and meet the needs of patrons experiencing homelessness was extraordinary. Many participants shared very individualized stories that recognized the uniqueness of each patron (Todres et al., 2009). Even in the survey data, almost every participant used person-first language, with only a couple of participants used language that lumped (homogenization) and stereotyped (objectification) patrons experiencing homelessness as oft-cited librarian Hersberger (2005) cautioned against (Todres et al., 2009). Despite having crises with patrons

experiencing homelessness that caused role strain and intra-role conflict, most participants were committed to and cared about the patrons experiencing homelessness. That is not to say they were all humanizing in every interaction and attitude. It was clear that they were each on their own journey of growth along the continuum of humanization.

Hersberger (2005) long ago called out the language and attitudes that some library staff exhibited towards unhoused patrons. While most of the interview participants in this study demonstrated mostly humanizing attitudes and language towards patrons experiencing homelessness, there were references to other staff (who were likely non-participants) who had less humanizing attitudes, and two survey participants who freely used dehumanizing language and expressed poor attitudes towards patrons experiencing homelessness. However, this is not to pick on library staff. Anyone in any role, including social workers, security, and police officers, can carry attitudes of objectification, even in a moment switching from what the Arbinger Institute (2015) describes as a “heart of peace” (seeing a person) to a “heart of war” (seeing an object) (p. 236). When we go to war in our hearts, we elicit conflict from the person before us (Arbinger Institute, 2015). While this is a challenging notion to consider for ourselves, it is perhaps easier to see it when it is done to us. In seeing this, we can then begin to consider how and when we might do it to others (Arbinger Institute, 2015; Provence, 2018).

Williams and Ogden (2020) identified a gap to explore “how knowledge, skills, and attitudes work together in the development of professionals” (p. 13). Each role in the library—whether it be social workers, front-facing staff, security, or even police—comes with a set of knowledge and skills defined by the given profession’s standard of training

in order to fulfill that role. When a role holder is asked to do a task for which they are not trained, they experience role strain (Goode, 1960), similar to the librarians in Williams and Ogden's (2020) study who felt vulnerable and not sure how to handle crises. As demonstrated in this study, the role strain of participants was reduced to some degree due to having the option (T1) of a social worker to reallocate the task to, as well as the social worker's equipping role, which helped library staff to increase their knowledge and skills to handle some of the crises when the social worker was unavailable. However, the third component that Williams and Ogden (2020) identify—attitudes—are more intrinsic to the individual holding the role, even though the ideal is that the role holder's attitudes would reflect that of the requisite ethics and values of their profession (ALA, 2006, 2017; International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1957; National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1976; NASW, 2017). As understood through the lens of humanization (Todres et al., 2009) and simplified through the language of the Arbinger Institute (2015), even the best laid strategies to help a patron in crisis (based in skills and knowledge) will falter and even escalate conflict if not done from a "heart of peace" for it is to the underlying way of being that people respond to (p. 236). The underlying objectification or stigmatization of another human being, known to be a common response in society to people experiencing homelessness, is the problem that must be solved before skill-based strategies will be successful (Arbinger Institute, 2015; Goffman, 1963; Tipler & Ruscher, 2014). In the simplest of terms, "good behavior is undercut by a poor way of being—every time" (Arbinger Institute, 2015, p. 236). All three components—knowledge, skills, and attitudes—are vital to successful responses to patrons experiencing homelessness in crisis.

Because library staff are often confronted with patron crises for which they are not trained and are beyond the scope of their role (Anderson et al., 2012; Gross et al., 2022; Pressley, 2017; Provence et al., 2020; Urada et al., 2022; Wahler et al., 2019; Williams, 2016; Wray, 2009) while also trying to balance the needs of other patrons, maintain order and safety, and try to ensure equal information access (Mars, 2012; Torrey et al., 2009; Winkelstein, 2019; Wong, 2009), it is easy to see why the literature has examples of some library staff viewing patrons experiencing homelessness as problem patrons (Barrows, 2014; Cronin, 2002; Hersberger, 2005; Redfern, 2002; Winkelstein, 2019). Seeing a person as a “problem” is one way of objectifying them and can elicit negative behaviors and attitudes from the patron (Arbinger Institute, 2015). Provence’s (2020) findings suggested that social workers were helping library staff to move towards humanizing attitudes through their training, modeling, and coaching. However, in this study, while there was some indication of the social workers influencing in this way, it was clear from the interviews that the humanizing attitudes of participants had developed over time through personal and professional experiences that usually had allowed them to interact and get to know people experiencing homelessness which helped them to see the patrons as people. The CEO’s and/or location managers also influenced the organization culture towards humanization by leading with warmth and welcomeness to patrons experiencing homelessness. Without the leadership modeling and expecting humanizing attitudes, it would have been a much more difficult path for social workers to influence staff in this way. Despite these influences, not everyone within the libraries seemed to be on the same journey towards humanization as interview participants indicated that there were other library staff with negative attitudes.

Suggestions for Social Work Education

Both Soska and Navarro (2020) and Wahler et al. (2019) have encouraged universities to explore collaborations between schools of social work and schools of library science including creating dual degree programs as Dominican University (n.d.) and the University of Michigan (n.d.) already have. Three additional recommendations are offered for schools of social work developing library social work courses or schools that are collaborating for joint MSW/MLIS degrees. First, the programs could offer a de-escalation and crisis intervention course to prepare students more adequately for working in library settings as these are not specifically outlined in the CWSE (2022) EPAS. The course should include crisis interventions specific to severe mental illness, mental health (including suicide assessments and safety planning), and de-escalation techniques. In addition, helping students move towards a humanizing way of being towards all people, but especially towards vulnerable populations, should be included to provide a foundation to successful de-escalation. Provence (2021) has put forth a pedagogy for incorporating the Arbinger's Institute's (2015) book, *The Anatomy of Peace: Resolving the Heart of Conflict* within a social work course to teach social work values and help students see their clients (or patrons) as people rather than as objects. Second, library social work courses should also include a course on homelessness that covers the causes of homelessness, the criminalization of homelessness, innovative solutions for homelessness, and intervention strategies across the micro, macro, and mezzo practice domains. Third, students would also benefit from practicums that teach them how to get identity documents including social security cards, birth certificates, and state identification, especially when a client presents with no forms of identification to start.

These practicums should also give students the opportunity to develop a thorough knowledge of local resources as well as a working knowledge of state and federal public assistance programs.

Suggestions for Libraries Establishing a Social Work Program

Zettervall and Nienow (2019) lay out detailed considerations for integrating various levels of social services within public libraries, including but not limited to full-time social workers. They share how some libraries start with social work interns to show the need before hiring a social worker. For libraries interested in this approach, Wahler et al.'s (2023) lays out very detailed instructions of how to partner with a university to host social work interns in the library. Zettervall and Nienow (2019) also describe how some libraries begin with a pilot program with temporary funding before committing to a long-term position; however, this can be difficult on the community if the services are discontinued. They also provide a detailed list of the pros and cons to various hosting strategies of integrating a social worker including the library hiring the social worker directly; the social worker working for an outside agency; the social worker working for the local government; or the social worker working for a regional library system (Zettervall & Nienow, 2019). They also discuss a variety of funding strategies including grants, government funds, and using existing library positions. The social workers in this study were all paid for from the library budgets, even though one was employed through a local agency. Perhaps the most important key to finding the funding for a social worker is the desire to meet community needs and finding the right skillset to meet those needs as one of the CEOs in the study emphasized; to her, it was not a matter of money, but a matter of priorities.

This study does not duplicate the work of Zettervall and Nienow (2019) but rather adds a deeper look into the full-time social worker model. Rather than describing social work models strictly in terms of the employment status, these findings identified and described three models of library social work and directly connected them to the role of de-escalation. Baum et al.'s (2022) interviews with six branch managers who had social workers in their libraries indicated that at least two of the libraries were using social workers for crisis intervention. The models from this study can provide a guide for libraries to understand the potential implications of how they set their program up with the results that they want to achieve. Key to these models is where the social worker is positioned in the library and how they are accessed. Giesler (2021) and Baum et al. (2022) discuss privacy concerns for social workers who do not have private space to meet with patrons and are using more of an outreach approach on the floor of the library. Mariano and Harmon (2019) describe a combination approach of having some conversations with patrons out on the floor while having more private conversations in a staff office. While these privacy concerns have been found in the literature, none of the participants at the library that used the Outreach & Summon model expressed this as a concern. While libraries might be tempted to make decisions on the location of the social worker on practical considerations of available space (or the lack thereof), perhaps the more important decision-making factor should be the desired de-escalation role. Social workers who are confined to a defined space and not summoned will not have the same de-escalation role as a social worker who is already on the floor through outreach and/or is summoned for crisis intervention and de-escalation. Social workers do need an office

both for meetings and for a variety of follow-up tasks, but this does not mean they have to be limited to that space.

Another consideration in establishing a social work program where de-escalation is part of the role is finding the right social worker for the job. Not all social workers have the same level of crisis intervention and de-escalation skills and experience. The Council on Social Work Education (CSWE, 2022) does not specifically require de-escalation skills to be taught as a part of the Master's or Bachelor's curriculum, though some students may learn these skills in the classroom or in field experiences. If this is a need at the library, then hiring a social worker that already has de-escalation and crisis intervention experience is highly recommended. In the current study, the BSW as well as the MSWs were skilled in de-escalation and crisis intervention. In addition, finding a social worker that is skilled in barrier-busting skills such as case management, advocacy, and an in-depth knowledge of the social service systems at the local, state, and federal level are needed regardless which of the three models are used. The barrier-busting skills are needed as a companion to the de-escalation role since a key part of de-escalation is being able to meet felt needs. Making these skills a clear expectation in job advertisements and job descriptions will also help attract the right candidate(s). Recruiting a professor of social work to help a library screen and interview applicants would be helpful in selecting the ideal candidate(s).

The interprofessional collaboration between library professionals and social service professionals has been outlined by Moxley and Abbas (2016) to benefit both roles and vulnerable patrons producing cumulative impacts greater than one profession could create alone. The library professional who collaborates with an onsite social worker is

able to focus on their role as an information professional while also assisting the social worker with accessing information; in addition, the library professional can increase their knowledge of working with vulnerable patrons by learning from the social worker (Moxley & Abbas, 2016). However, if a library wants to successfully integrate a social worker, it is paramount that there is also the expectation the social worker and the security team also have an interprofessional collaboration. This is not to say that social workers are co-opted into surveillance functions at the library as Moreno (2021) warns. The social workers in this study were all working to reduce patron interactions with security, mitigate their interactions with security and police, and reduce arrests of patrons experiencing homelessness. But the interprofessional collaboration of the social worker and security is what allowed the social worker to influence the security teams and were an integral part of why social workers were perceived to reduce the library's reliance on law enforcement. The summon function of the Signup and Summon Model and the Outreach and Summon model are of particular value to this collaboration because it gave the security team quick access to the social worker for patrons in crisis. The social workers also had influence on the security teams through training (and sometimes collaborating with the head security officer to train). This helped security teams to learn trauma-informed approaches. Because of the developed relationships and mutual respect between security and social work, they were each able to better fulfill their own roles and make sure there was the right role for the right task as previously addressed.

Some libraires have chosen to augment social workers with paraprofessional roles such as peer navigators as San Francisco Public Library has done (Zettervall & Nienow, 2019). This could be one solution to the lack of 100% social work coverage that resulted

in security and front-facing staff having to respond to needs that were better suited for the social worker. While the equipping function of the social worker did help mitigate this lapse in coverage, new library programs may want to consider how to provide coverage during all open hours, and augment with paraprofessional roles.

To help staff across roles move towards humanizing vulnerable populations, this researcher recommends using the resources of the Arbinger Institute. This could be as simple and cost-effective as having a social worker or a library staff known for their humanizing approach facilitate a book club using one of their books, such as *The Outward Mindset* (Arbinger Institute, 2016) which is designed with organizations in mind. This book would be exceptional for use not only with library staff, but also security and police officers, as it highlights the transformation of the Kansas City Police Department SWAT (Special Weapons And Tactics) team that cost the city millions in lawsuits to a team that operated with an outward mindset of seeing people instead of objects and became more effective at pulling illegal weapons and drugs off the street while becoming complaint-free for at least six years. The Arbinger Institute also offers a variety of books, free resources, trainings, and workshops (including onsite) that can help libraries, social workers, and security teams increasingly move towards a mindset of humanization. These resources can be accessed through the Arbinger website (<https://arbinger.com/>).

Limitations and Next Steps

Due to it being a doctoral dissertation, this study was necessarily limited to one researcher. However, this was balanced by this researcher spending months pouring over the data and becoming immersed. It was through this immersion that the depth of analysis

was made possible. The narrative data from 46 interviews precluded line by line coding. Should the study be replicated, a team of several researchers could be assembled that could code line by line and compare their coding and reach agreement on themes. However, the single researcher aspect was mitigated by close communication with the committee chair and consultation with other committee members and expert consultants. Researcher bias is an acknowledged reality of qualitative research (Chenail, 2011). Given the researcher's past experience as an outreach worker with people experiencing homelessness and frequent observations of policing in her own urban community, this researcher is not without personal opinions on the matters researched. To mitigate this, the researcher practiced reflexivity through in-depth conversations about her own positionality and personal experiences with her committee chair, Dr. Vincent Starnino, and expert consultant, Mahasin Ameen. Reflexivity was also practiced through memo writing and free writing.

This study was also limited to U.S. urban libraries and situated during the timeframe of the COVID-19 pandemic and the height of the Black Lives Matter movement after the murder of George Floyd. For these reasons, it may have limited application to rural and suburban libraries and libraries abroad. Due to being self-funded by the researcher and due to the pandemic, no site visits were conducted which could have aided in the interpretation of the results. Additional research to understand the similarities and differences between the role of urban, suburban, and rural social workers are needed.

Almost all the participants displayed very positive views about library social workers. Perhaps there were others with different viewpoints that opted not to participate.

In addition, except for a few survey respondents, participants seemed to be open-hearted towards patrons experiencing homelessness. Some interview participants also alluded to other library staff who had more negative feelings towards patrons experiencing homelessness; however, none of these negative viewpoints came out during any of the interviews. Had those with negative feelings towards patrons experiencing homelessness participated in the interviews, there may have been a different viewpoint regarding the rival theory of the impact of the Black Lives Matter movement as well as the role of the social worker. Future research could do extended site visits and attempt to garner participation from those that may have negative feelings about the integration of a social worker into library spaces.

In this study, patron participants were also positive about the library social workers. While having the social workers recruit participants may have led to selection bias since they may have approached patrons with whom they have a positive relationship, it was vital to have the input of patrons experiencing homelessness to assess how social workers were influencing how libraries respond to them when they are in crisis. Furthermore, it was necessary to have the social worker's expertise in assessing mental health to minimize the risk of including a patron participant that might be harmed through an interview process. Therefore, the selection bias is acknowledged as a necessary limitation to the study to include the voice of the patrons, consistent with the pragmatic paradigm that emphasizes understanding the human experience (Morgan, 2014). This is also consistent with the argument Provence (2018) made that library planning needs to include the input of patrons experiencing homelessness.

This study focused on libraries with full-time social workers which is still the exception rather than the norm across public libraries. These were also social work programs that were well-established. With an eligibility preference given to those libraries whose social work program had been in existence of a year or more, this study did not include libraries whose attempts at social work integration had been unsuccessful. The social work programs in this study were well accepted in their respective libraries which in large part reflected the culture of the organization as steered by library leadership over many years. These libraries had also done ground work to lay the foundation for a social worker. In one case, the library had established a librarian position dedicated to homelessness well in advance of the hiring of the first social worker. Another library had laid the foundation for success prior to the social worker's integration at the branch by having the social worker do a series of trainings about the role of a social worker, the benefits they could provide, and trauma-informed care. This helped form realistic expectations of the social worker's role (Lloyd, 2020; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019).

While the libraries in this study had successfully integrated a social worker, there may have been attempts at integration that have been unsuccessful. A comparison study between those libraries who have had success at integrating social work to those who have not would help clarify those factors that are necessary for the successful integration of social workers in libraries. Future studies could examine specific organizational culture, leadership characteristics, and community-based factors that help contribute to the successful integration of a social worker. Community-based factors could include the prevalence of services for people experiencing homelessness and the local attitudes

towards provision of social services to them. Lloyd (2020) has been forthright about the challenges of practicing library social work in a community setting in which there are few community resources for patrons experiencing homelessness and attitudes that view social service provision as a “hand-out” (p. 55). In addition, future studies should include organizational culture. These could include library staff’s perceptions about the role of the library to meet patron’s psychosocial needs and who should provide these services (Wahler et al., 2019). In addition, they should include the characteristics and views of library leadership about the library’s responsibility and/or role in meeting needs of vulnerable patrons and their attitudes towards the integration of social work (Gross & Latham, 2021; Baum et al, 2022). Based these studies, a readiness assessment could be proposed to help libraries to determine if a library social worker might be a good fit, or if not, steps they could take to become ready, or even to suggest alternative recommendations. This could help prevent premature and unsuccessful placements of social workers in libraries.

Similar to studying organizational factors, the specific characteristics of individual social workers could also be examined. A future study could identify the skills, characteristics, attitudes, and experiences that contribute to the likelihood of a social worker who is likely to be successful at integrating into a library. This could help develop a screening tool that could be used by libraries during the social work hiring process.

This study’s claims that social workers were reducing behavior incidents, exclusions, and arrests were based on qualitative interviews rather than an analysis of incident reports, police reports, or 911 calls. To confirm these findings, an in-depth

analysis of incident reports both before the hiring of a social worker and after would be informative. Police reports to the location of the library before and after a social worker could also be examined for both quantity and content. The timeline between before and after should be a minimum of a year to give the social worker enough time to have established the program and begin making an impact. The research would also need to be designed to detect other rival theories that might be impacting the number of incidents and calls to police. In this study, the social workers seemed to be increasing the self-efficacy of some participants regarding helping patrons experiencing homelessness; however, this was based on interviews rather than a quantitative measurement of self-efficacy. Future studies could use a quantitative measurement of self-efficacy for working with marginalized patrons as Dalston and Turner (2011) did.

This study identified three different models of library social work and their relationship to the de-escalation role of the social worker. The models of social work presented here clearly described the roles of social work and security in addressing patron crises but did not clearly identify the role of the librarian. While the research question focused on the role of the social worker during crisis, it is also important to understand the role of the librarian. Librarians who specialize in social services have significant roles as “information navigators,” “information advocates,” and “interprofessional information liaisons” that are foundational for interprofessional collaboration as well as the support of vulnerable patrons (Moxley & Abbas, 2016, pp. 318-321). In their role as information navigator, librarians help vulnerable patrons access information to meet their needs (Moxley & Abbas, 2016). As information advocates, librarians advocate for and are creators of databases around common patron needs so that others within the library

can access the database on behalf of patrons in need (Moxley & Abbas, 2016). In their role of interprofessional information liaisons, they not only help patrons access information about community services, they help local social service professionals access research on best practices to improve their services to vulnerable populations (Moxley & Abbas, 2016). Future research could enhance the models presented here by fully identifying and integrating the role of the librarian.

These three models of library social work are a significant contribution because they explain how the location of the social worker and how the social worker is accessed by patrons, staff, and security impacts their de-escalation role. Furthermore, the findings explained how the mindset and prior experience of the social workers also impacted their de-escalation role. This knowledge can contribute to better outcomes for patrons experiencing homelessness because of the perceived impact these models had of meeting felt needs and reducing exclusions and arrests. These are not the only models of library social work. Other models need to be identified and studied to examine how these models impact their de-escalation function and whether they have similar perceived impacts. Further research needs to help determine which models are most useful in different types of libraries and if the perceived impacts would also apply if libraries had a different staffing model.

Conclusion

Persons experiencing homelessness have more frequent interactions with law enforcement than housed persons (Vitale, 2017) and increasingly are being criminalized in public spaces (NHLC, 2019) and lacking anywhere else to be, turn to libraries.

With library social work increasingly spreading across the United States and other countries, largely in part as a response to patrons experiencing homelessness (Zettervall, n.d.; Zettervall & Nienow, 2019), this study offers evidence that not only are social workers providing direct assistance to patrons experiencing homelessness, but they are also changing the nature of how libraries respond to these patrons when they are in crisis and are perceived to be reducing the libraries reliance on law enforcement. The findings presented here are the result of an in-depth analysis of three U.S. urban libraries and included the voices of 107 unique participants representing six different roles: patrons experiencing homelessness, security, front-facing library staff, social workers, location managers, and CEOs. With the triangulation of 46 interviews and 91 surveys, this study offers qualitative evidence that social workers are not only meeting the felt complex needs of patrons experiencing homelessness, but they are also perceived to be reducing behavioral incidents in the library, reducing and modifying interactions with security and police, and reducing arrests of patrons experiencing homelessness at the library. The impact of the Black Lives Matter movement has also made libraries reconsider their relationship with law enforcement and, in some cases, made them want to call police less. Library social workers make this desire to rely less on law enforcement achievable. The development of a library social work program as an interprofessional collaboration within public libraries is a humanizing response to homelessness that is perceived to minimize bans and arrests and increase access to food, clothing, identification, Social Security, healthcare, shelter, employment, and housing.

APPENDICES

Appendix A. Four Levels and Objectives of Online Training

Four Levels and Objectives of Online Training (Dalston & Turner, 2011)

Level 1: This test group used a strictly online training approach without any communication tools within the curriculum and without any workplace integration.

Level 2: This second group had an online facilitator that led asynchronous discussions, introduced lessons, and contacted students using course communication tools to ensure course progression. Students could use the communication tools to communicate with the facilitator and other participants.

Level 3: The third group had the same online training as the first two groups but did not have any online facilitator or communication tools. Instead, this group had a training coordinator within their library who hosted lunch time discussions on the training topics.

Level 4: The final group included the online facilitator, the within course communication tools, and the onsite training coordinator (Dalston & Turner, 2011).

The specific self-efficacy measurement was based on the following course objectives:

- Apply communication techniques to manage difficult patron/customer situations.
- Apply coping techniques to maintain composure in stressful patron situations.
- Determine when the patron cannot be satisfied and to whom and how to communicate the unresolved situation.
- Decide when to call for security or the police.
- Assist with reviewing, revising, and/or creating library policies to address patron conduct (Dalston & Turner, 2011, p. 20)

Appendix B. Proxy Measurement of Task-Specific Self-Efficacy

Proxy Measurement of Task-Specific Self-Efficacy for Morgan et al. (2018)

Before and after each of the four training sessions, participants were surveyed and asked to rate their confidence, comfort, and preparedness to respond to the patron presented in that sessions case example. They could rate their confidence, comfort, and preparedness to assist this patron on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 10 (*very*). These surveys were intended to serve as a proxy measurement for task-specific self-efficacy with the particular type of marginalized patron that was discussed in the case example.

Researchers reported the mean change for confidence, comfort, and preparedness. All comparisons were statistically significant at the $p < .001$, except dealing with suicidal ideations or an acute psychotic crisis which were significant at the $p < .05$ level (Morgan et al., 2018).

Appendix C. Social Workers Survey

(Qualtrics link will be sent via email.)

For the purpose of this study, persons experiencing homelessness are defined as persons who lack a permanent address of their own including those who are utilizing shelters or transitional housing (Public Health Service Act, 2018).

1. What is your job title? _____
2. How many months have you been employed in your current position? _____
3. On average, how many hours do you work per week in this position? _____
4. On average, how many hours a week do you work in this library location (the library location designated as the case for this study?) _____
5. Is your employer (the entity that issues your paycheck): Choose the best response.
 - a. The public library
 - b. The local government
 - c. A public agency
 - d. A private agency
 - e. Other _____
6. Is the public library system where you are located part of the local government?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Not sure
7. What is the current source(s) of funding for your position? Mark as many as apply.
 - a. Library budget from taxpayer funds
 - b. A grant to the library (not taxpayer funds)
 - c. A grant to an agency (not to the library)
 - d. A combination of (describe): _____
 - e. Other _____
8. Do you have a job description in your current role at the public library?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Not sure
9. How many branches do you serve? _____
10. Were you the first person to hold a social work position in your library system?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Not sure
11. If you are not the first social worker in your library system, what year was the first social worker hired?

12. How many other social workers are employed in a social work role in your library system? Choose the best response.
 - a. 0
 - b. 1
 - c. 2

- d. 3
 - e. 4
 - f. Other _____
13. For the library location that is the case for this study, how many other social workers are there?
- a. 0
 - b. 1
 - c. 2
 - d. 3
 - e. 4
 - f. Other _____
14. Which of the following degrees do you hold? Mark as many as apply.
- a. Bachelor of Social Work
 - b. Master of Social Work
 - c. Doctorate of Social Work
 - d. List additional degrees _____
15. What, if any, licensures do you currently hold? Please write out in full. For example, "Licensed Clinical Social Worker."
16. On average how often do you receive clinical supervision from another social worker? Choose the best response.
- a. Less than 1 time a month (skip to Q 16)
 - b. 1 time per month (skip to Q 16)
 - c. 2 time per month
 - d. 3 time per month
 - e. 4 time per month
 - f. More than 4 times per month
 - g. I do not receive clinical supervision (skip to Q 16)
 - h. Other _____
17. If you do not have clinical supervision at least twice per month, what do you do when you need help about a social work-related question? Mark all responses that apply.
- a. Seek support from other public library social worker(s)
 - b. Seek support from college professors
 - c. Seek support from friends who are social workers
 - d. Seek support from former colleagues or supervisors
 - e. Seek answers in the academic literature
 - f. Post a question on the Whole Person Librarianship listserv
 - g. Talk to my librarian administrator
 - h. Do the best I can
 - i. Other _____
18. As a part of your current position, do you lead trainings? ((Trainings include a formal training, a presentation during staff meeting, or a digital presentation prepared by the social worker and distributed to staff and/or library police/security.)
- a. Yes
 - b. No (If no skip to Q 21)
19. Who do you train? Mark all responses that apply.
- a. Librarians

- b. Librarian assistants or similar role
- c. Personnel who run computer or other labs
- d. Security
- e. Library police
- f. Housekeeping staff
- g. Administrative staff
- h. Executive staff
- i. Board members
- j. Other _____

20. In your role as a library social worker at the library location under study, what topics have you trained on? Mark all responses that apply.

- a. Trauma-Informed Care
- b. Crisis intervention
- c. Mental health
- d. Substance use
- e. Homelessness
- f. Local resources
- g. De-escalation
- h. Relationship building
- i. Self-care
- j. Coping skills to lessen anxiety in stressful situations at the library
- k. Other, please specify: _____

21. Which of the following is a part of your role at the library? Mark all responses that apply.

- a. Coordinating outside service providers to come into the library
- b. Coordinating outside trainers/speakers to train staff and/or security
- c. Coordinating outside trainers/speakers to train patrons
- d. Developing connections with community resources
- e. Completing Coordinated Entry Assessments
- f. Sitting on government committees or task forces
- g. Sitting on non-government community committees or task forces
- h. Grant proposal writing
- i. Program development
- j. Program evaluation
- k. Case management
- l. Client advocacy
- m. Legislative advocacy
- n. Referrals
- o. Crisis intervention
- p. De-escalation
- q. Counseling
- r. Diagnosis of mental illness
- s. Modeling how to intervene with marginalized patrons
- t. Coaching others how to work with marginalized patrons
- u. Supporting staff and/or security through encouragement
- v. Giving input on patron code of conduct or similar policies
- w. Collaborating with library police/security
- x. Helping determine when a banned patron can return
- y. Supervising social work interns
- z. Supervising other social workers
- aa. Street outreach near library

Other _____

22. Who provides security at your library? Mark all responses that apply.
- a) Armed security guard(s)
 - b) Unarmed security guards(s)
 - c) Armed library police (police who are employed to work in the library)
 - d) Unarmed library police (police who are employed to work in the library)
 - e) Armed police who make regular stops at the library, but are not hired by the library
 - f) Armed police who come only when called
 - g) No one
 - h) Other _____
23. How old are you?
- a) _____
 - b) Prefer not to answer
24. What is your race?
- a. _____
 - b. Prefer not to answer
25. What is your gender? Choose the best response.
- a. _____
 - b. Prefer not to answer

Thank you for sharing your time, expertise, and experience to this important area of research!

Appendix D. Letter of Introduction to Library CEOs

I am writing as a fellow public library administrator to introduce you to the work of Mary Provence (cc-ed here). Mary was a driving force of a partnership between the Indianapolis Public Library and the IUPUI School of Social Work, the goal of which was to assess and document the needs of our patrons that could be met by a social worker. Our partnership was extremely successful, resulting in published findings, a successful effort to hire an on-staff social worker, and national media attention. On a personal level, Mary is a seasoned licensed clinical social worker who has experience across micro and macro settings, including as a street social worker with youth experiencing homelessness. Mary is also a life-long lover of libraries and patron of our downtown Central library.

Mary is looking to expand her impact by continuing this with her doctoral dissertation, the title of which will be: How Public Libraries Respond to Crises Involving Patrons Experiencing Homelessness: Multiple Perspectives of the Role of the Public Library Social Worker. The purpose of the study is to explain how the role of the social worker influences how libraries respond when patrons experiencing homelessness are in crises. The study will take place in early 2022. Three urban library locations with a full-time social worker will be selected to participate.

After a careful selection process, Mary has identified your central library as an ideal case for the study. The results of the research will be used for Mary's dissertation. No library names, locations, or participant names will be identified in any publications.

I strongly recommend working with Mary. Her work was extremely impactful for us in Indianapolis, and our service to our patrons is demonstrably better as a result. She can be reached with questions at XXXXXX@iupui.edu or XXX-XXX-XXXX. Mary will be contacting you via email and/or phone in the next few days to gauge your interest in participation in this exciting area of research.

I am happy to answer any follow-up questions you might have!

Best,

John Helling
Chief Executive Officer (interim)
The Indianapolis Public Library (www.indypl.org)
(he/him/his)
Library Services Center
2450 North Meridian Street
Indianapolis, IN 46206-0211
(XXX)-XXX-XXXX

Appendix E. Recruitment and Eligibility Protocol

Recruitment of Participants:

The study will be advertised by direct email and/or phone solicitation to libraries with full-time U.S. public library social workers who are employed at urban (100,000+) library systems who are open to the public, even if services are limited due to COVID-19-19. The following script will serve as a guide for initial approach via email and/or phone calls to the library CEO's and social workers:

Dear [insert names of CEO],

I am writing to follow-up on the email introduction sent by John Helling, CEO of the Indianapolis Public Library. I am a PhD Candidate at the Indiana University School of Social Work. I would like to discuss including your central library to be a part of a multiple-case study examining how library social workers are influencing how libraries respond to crises with patrons experiencing homelessness. This study builds on my prior published work exploring the role of the public library social worker as it relates to homelessness.

Three U.S. library systems in urban areas (over 100,000) that have full-time degreed public library social workers will be selected to participate. For each library selected, the case study will involve digital surveys as well as about 12 Zoom videoconferencing interviews with persons who hold different roles within the library. Library locations and participant identities will not be revealed in any publications. The research has been approved by the Indiana University Institutional Review Board.

Would you please meet with me for 30 minutes to discuss your library's possible participation? I am available during any of the following timeframes for a phone or Zoom call:

February 2 - 10 am - 4 pm

February 3: 10 am - 2 pm

February 8: 10 am - 2 pm

February 9: 10 am - 4 pm

I can also be reached at XXXXXXX@iupui.edu or XXX-XXX-XXXX.

Thank you for your consideration. I look forward to speaking with you.

Mary Provence, MSW, LCSW, PhD Candidate

Indiana University School of Social Work

902 West New York Street

Indianapolis, Indiana 46202

Following up with CEO's and social workers(s):

With each interested party, This researcher will follow-up by phone or email. This researcher will explain the study, answer questions, and arrange for additional consultation as necessary to arrange the study details. This researcher will confirm eligibility as follows:

Confirming eligibility (phone script):

<p>Before we go further, can you please answer the following eligibility screen?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Does your social worker possess a degree in social work?<ol style="list-style-type: none">a. Yes (If yes, inquire if BSW, MSW, or DSW).b. No (If no, thank them for their interest but indicate they are not eligible for the study.)2. Does the social worker work 30 or more hours per week in a public library social work role?<ol style="list-style-type: none">a. Yesb. No (If no, thank them for their interest but indicate they are not eligible for the study.)3. Is the public library their primary location of practice for this role?<ol style="list-style-type: none">a. Yesb. No (If no, thank them for their interest but indicate they are not eligible for the study.)4. Does the social worker serve any patrons experiencing homelessness? [defined as public library patrons who lack a permanent address of their own including those who are utilizing shelters or transitional housing (Public Health Service Act, 2018)]<ol style="list-style-type: none">a. Yesb. No (If no, thank them for their interest but indicate they are not eligible for the study.)5. Does your library have a public nursing or peer navigator type program?<ol style="list-style-type: none">a. Yes (If yes, thank them for their interest but indicate they are not eligible for the study)b. No6. How many years has there been a full-time library social worker position within your library system?7. Which location does the social worker spend most of their time?8. Is the location you just named, also a location with a significant number of patrons experiencing homelessness?

Cover Emails for surveys of library staff, security, and library police

Dear front-facing library staff or library police/security,

You are invited to participate in a survey for the study: **How Public Libraries Respond to Crises Involving Patrons Experiencing Homelessness: Multiple Perspectives of the Role of the Public Library Social Worker**. I am seeking to understand how library social workers are influencing how libraries respond to crises with patrons experiencing homelessness. I am interested in learning about your experience in handling crises and how your role does or does not interface with the library social worker during times of crises with patrons experiencing homelessness. The survey will take between 10-15 minutes of your time.

Your identity and your library's name and location will not be revealed in any publications that result from this study. As you open the survey, please read the study information sheet to learn more about the study's purpose and expectations.

Thank you for the contribution of your time and expertise.

If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to email or call.

Mary Provence, MSW, LCSW, PhD Candidate
Indiana University School of Social Work
902 West New York Street, ES 4138
Indianapolis, Indiana, 46202
XXX-XXX-XXXX
XXXXXXX@iupui.edu

(Two similar reminder emails will be sent at one-week intervals with a deadline for completion.)

Initial email to interview participants for scheduling (except patrons)

Dear [Insert Name],

Thank you so much for agreeing to participate in a Zoom videoconferencing interview for the study: **How Public Libraries Respond to Crises Involving Patrons Experiencing Homelessness: Multiple Perspectives of the Role of the Public Library Social Worker**.

Please schedule your interview time at a time convenient for you.

I look forward to your personal experience and expertise! If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to email or call me!

Mary Provence, MSW, LCSW, PhD Candidate
Indiana University School of Social Work
902 West New York Street, ES 4138
Indianapolis, Indiana, 46202
XXX-XXX-XXXX
XXXXXXX@iupui.edu

Initial recruitment email to patron participants

Dear Library Patron,

Hi! I am a researcher from Indiana University School of Social Work. I am seeking to understand how library social workers are influencing how libraries respond to crises with patrons experiencing homelessness.

I would like to learn about your experiences at the [insert library name] by interviewing you. We can talk either over Zoom videoconferencing or a phone call. It will take between 30-60 minutes of your time. With your permission, I will record the interview. I will not share your name or the name of the library or its location in any publication about this study. To compensate you for your time, you will receive a \$15 gift card.

Click here to learn more and to schedule your interview at a time convenient for you: [\[insert Calendly link\]](#)

Please call or email me if you have any questions. I look forward to learning from you!

Mary Provence, MSW, LCSW, PhD Candidate
Indiana University School of Social Work
902 West New York Street, ES 4138
Indianapolis, Indiana, 46202
XXX-XXX-XXXX
XXXXXXX@iupui.edu

Automatic reminder email to interview participants with calendly.com⁶

Hi {{invitee_full_name}},

This is a friendly reminder that your {{event_name}} with {{my_name}} is at {{event_time}} on {{event_date}}.
{{location}}
{{event_description}}

If you have any questions, feel free to email or call me!

Thank you so much for your willingness to share your experiences with me. I look forward to learning from you.

Mary Provence, MSW, LCSW, PhD Candidate
Indiana University School of Social Work
902 West New York Street, ES 4138
Indianapolis, Indiana, 46202
XXX-XXX-XXXX
XXXXXXX@iupui.edu

⁶ Reminder emails will be generated at 24 hours and one hour prior to interview times.

Automatic reminder emails to social work participants ⁷

Hi {{invitee_full_name}},

This is a friendly reminder that your {{event_name}} with {{my_name}} is at {{event_time}} on {{event_date}}. {{location}}
{{event_description}}

Prior to your interview, please review the study information sheet and 10-minute survey {insert link}.

If you have any questions, feel free to email or call me!

Thank you so much for your willingness to share your experiences with me. I look forward to learning from you.

Mary Provence, MSW, LCSW, PhD Candidate
Indiana University School of Social Work
902 West New York Street, ES 4138
Indianapolis, Indiana, 46202
XXX-XXX-XXXX
XXXXXXX@iupui.edu

Automatic thank you email to interview participants from calandly.com⁸

Hi {{invitee_full_name}},

Thank you so much for your time and expertise that you shared with me today.

If you have any questions, feel free to email or call me.

Mary Provence, MSW, LCSW, PhD Candidate
Indiana University School of Social Work
902 West New York Street, ES 4138
Indianapolis, Indiana, 46202
XXX-XXX-XXXX
XXXXXXX@iupui.edu

⁷ Reminder emails will be generated at 48 hours, 24 hours, and one hour to interview time.

⁸ Thank you email will be generated one hour after the completed interview.

Appendix F. Social Worker Interview Guide

For the purpose of this study, persons experiencing homelessness are defined as persons who lack a permanent address of their own including those who are utilizing shelters or transitional housing (Public Health Service Act, 2018).

- 1) What are the causes of homelessness in your area?
- 2) How has COVID-19-19 impacted persons experiencing homelessness that visit your library?
- 3) Tell me about how you engage and assist patrons experiencing homelessness.
- 4) In your survey, you reported that you train staff. Besides formal trainings, describe the ways, if any, that you help staff increase their ability to serve patrons experiencing homelessness when they are in crisis?
- 5) Have you gotten to influence the patron code of conduct, either in content or implementation? If so, how?
- 6) What are examples of crisis situations you have encountered at your library?
- 7) Tell me about your role in addressing crises involving patrons experiencing homelessness at the library. Can you share an example?
- 8) Does your perception of a crisis differ from other staff? If so, how?
- 9) When there is a crisis involving patrons experiencing homelessness, how do library staff respond?
- 10) Describe a circumstance at the library when you called 911 for the police or are aware of a library staff member calling 911 for the police. Under what circumstances do you think police are needed at the library?
- 11) How, if at all, do you perceive your role has impacted the frequency of security or library police having to be involved during a crisis? The frequency of outside police?
- 12) How do patrons experiencing homelessness respond to the security guards or library police? To outside police officers? Can you tell me about a time when it well? Can you tell me about a time when did not go well?
- 13) How do you view calling for police assistance (clarify if outside police or if they have an internal police officers)?
 - a. Probes: Do you see any risks associated with calling them? Are there any situations where you find it helpful to call them?
- 14) Is there anything else you would like to share?

Appendix G. Front-Facing Library Staff Survey

For the purpose of this study, persons experiencing homelessness are defined as persons who lack a permanent address of their own including those who are utilizing shelters or transitional housing (Public Health Service Act, 2018).

1. What is your job title? _____
2. What degree(s) do you have? Mark as many as apply.
 - a. BS in Library and Information Science
 - b. BS in Library Science
 - c. MLS
 - d. MLIS
 - e. Other: _____
 - f. None
3. How many months have you been employed within this library location? _____
4. On average, how many hours per week do you work at this library location? _____
5. Do you know how to contact the library social worker?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
6. What trainings have you attended that were taught by the library social worker? (Trainings include a formal training, a presentation during staff meeting, or a digital presentation prepared by the social worker and distributed to staff and/or library police/security.) Mark all responses that apply.
 - a. Trauma-Informed care
 - b. Crisis intervention
 - c. Mental health
 - d. Substance use
 - e. Homelessness
 - f. Local resources
 - g. De-escalation
 - h. Relationship building
 - i. Self-care
 - j. Coping skills
 - k. Other, please specify: _____
 - l. None
7. What type of assistance have you received from the social worker? Mark all responses that apply.
 - a. I referred a patron in need of social work services to the social worker.
 - b. I got information about community resources.
 - c. The social worker worked with me in the moment to help a patron in crisis.
 - d. I connected a patron in crisis to the social worker and then I stepped away.
 - e. I received coaching of how to help a particular patron or patron population.
 - f. I watched the library social worker model how to handle a patron situation.
 - g. I received feedback on how I handled a patron situation.

- h. I received support to deal with work stress.
 - i. I collaborated with the social worker, please explain: _____
 - j. Other, please explain _____
 - k. None
8. What changes have you noticed since having a social worker on staff?
9. Have you obtained knowledge about working with patrons experiencing homelessness who are in crises from any of the following sources? Mark all responses that apply.
- a. Book by Ryan Dowd: The Librarian's Guide to Homelessness
 - b. Ryan Dowd's webinar or online training: Librarian's Guide to Homelessness (also found on Niche Academy)
 - c. Ryan Dowd's: Homelessness 201: Advanced Understanding of Individuals Experiencing Homelessness
 - d. A training conducted by local police
 - e. A professional conference presentation or workshop
 - f. Steve Albrecht's: How to Respond to a Security Incident in Your Library
 - g. An in-house training by someone other than the library social worker(s)
 - h. Personal experience with homelessness (self, family member, friend)
 - i. I have volunteered with a group or organization (other than the library) that assists people experiencing homelessness.
 - j. Other (please list)
 - k. None
10. How often do you have patrons who *are or that you think might be* experiencing homelessness in your library branch? Choose the best response.
- a. Never
 - b. Rarely (A few times a year)
 - c. Sometimes (A few times a month)
 - d. Often (Several times a week)
 - e. Frequently (Daily but not all day)
 - f. Almost always (At almost all times)
11. How often do you interact with patrons who *are or that you think might be* experiencing homelessness in your library branch? Choose the best response.
- a. Never
 - b. Rarely (A few times a year)
 - c. Occasionally (A few times a month)
 - d. A moderate amount (Several times a week)
 - e. A great deal (Almost daily)
12. What are examples of crisis situations you have encountered at your library?
13. How often have you handled a crisis with a patron you either *knew was or thought might be* experiencing homelessness? Choose the best response.
- a. Never
 - b. Almost never (Less than once a year)
 - c. Rarely (1-2 times a year)
 - d. Occasionally (A few times a year)
 - e. A moderate amount (1-3 times a month)

- f. Frequently (once or more per week, but less than daily)
 - g. Daily (once a day or more)
14. How often have you had to call for either library security or library police for situations involving a patron you either knew was or thought might be experiencing homelessness? Choose the best response.
- a. Never
 - b. Almost never (Less than once a year)
 - c. Rarely (1-2 times a year)
 - d. Occasionally (A few times a year)
 - e. A moderate amount (1-3 times a month)
 - f. Frequently (once or more per week, but less than daily)
 - g. Daily (once a day or more)
15. How, if at all, do you feel having a library social worker has impacted how you respond to a patron experiencing homelessness who is in crisis?
16. How often do you call (or make a request that someone else call) for public police assistance with patrons you either know are or think might be experiencing homelessness? Choose the best response.
- a. Never
 - b. Rarely (A few times a year)
 - c. Sometimes (A few times a month)
 - d. Often (Several times a week)
 - e. Frequently (Daily)
17. Are you authorized to call 911 for public police? If yes, go to 18; If no go to 19.
18. How do you decide when to call 911 for public police?
19. If it is not your role to call 911, how do you decide when to request an authorized person to call 911?
20. Are you authorized to call a non-emergency number (such as police dispatch, a non-emergency number, or an officer's cell phone)? If yes, go to 21. If not go to 22.
21. How do you decide when to call for public police using a non-emergency number (such as police dispatch, a non-emergency number, or an officer's cell phone)?
22. Are there situations in which you feel asking for public police assistance is beneficial?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Not sure
23. Please explain:
24. Are there times in which you feel asking for public police assistance poses risks?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Not sure

25. Please explain
26. In this job, how often do you feel unsafe? Choose the best response. (If a, skip to 22)
- a. Never
 - b. Rarely
 - c. Occasionally
 - d. A moderate amount
 - e. A great deal
27. In this job, in what type of situations have you felt unsafe?
28. How old are you?
- a) _____
 - b) Prefer not to answer
29. What is your race?
- a. _____
 - b. Prefer not to answer
30. What is your gender?
- a. _____
 - b. Prefer not to answer
31. If there anything else you would like to share, please enter it here.
32. A few staff will be selected for in-depth interviews, would you be interested in completing a 30-60 minute interview via Zoom videoconferencing with the researcher? (If participant selects yes, they will be prompted for name, email address, and phone number.)
- a. Yes
 - b. No

Thank you for sharing your time, expertise, and experience to this important area of research!

Appendix H. Security Survey

For the purpose of this study, persons experiencing homelessness are defined as persons who lack a permanent address of their own including those who are utilizing shelters or transitional housing (Public Health Service Act, 2018).

1. What is your job title? _____
2. How many months have you been employed within this library location? _____
3. On average, how many hours per week do you work at this library location? _____
4. For this job, who is your employer? Choose the best response.
 - a. The library
 - b. A security firm contracted by the library
 - c. The police department
 - d. Other: _____
5. Even if you carry a different title for this job, are you a police officer?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
6. Do you know how to contact the library social worker?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
7. What trainings have you attended that were taught by the library social worker? (Trainings include a formal training, a presentation during staff meeting, or a digital presentation prepared by the social worker and distributed to staff and/or library police/security.). Mark all that apply.
 - a. Trauma-informed care
 - b. Mental health
 - c. Substance use
 - d. Homelessness
 - e. Local resources
 - f. Crisis intervention
 - g. De-escalation
 - h. Relationship building
 - i. Self-care
 - j. Coping skills
 - k. Other, please specify: _____
 - l. None
8. What type of assistance did you receive from the social worker? Mark all that apply.
 - a. I referred a patron in need of social work services to the social worker.
 - b. I got information about community resources.
 - c. The social worker worked with me in the moment to help a patron in crisis.
 - d. I connected a patron in crisis to the social worker and then I stepped away.
 - e. I received coaching of how to help a particular patron or patron population.
 - f. I watched the library social worker model how to handle a patron situation.
 - g. I received feedback on how I handled a patron situation.

- h. I received support to deal with work stress.
 - i. I collaborated with the social worker, please explain: _____
 - j. Other, please explain _____
 - k. None
9. What changes have you noticed since having a social worker on staff?
10. Have you obtained knowledge about working with patrons experiencing homelessness who are in crises from any of the following sources? Mark all that apply.
- c. Book by Ryan Dowd: The Librarian's Guide to Homelessness
 - d. Ryan Dowd's webinar or online training: Librarian's Guide to Homelessness (also found on Niche Academy)
 - e. Ryan Dowd's: Homelessness 201: Advanced Understanding of Individuals Experiencing Homelessness
 - f. A training conducted by local police
 - g. A professional conference presentation or workshop
 - a. Steve Albrecht's: How to respond to a security incident in your library
 - b. An in-house training by someone other than the library social worker(s)
 - c. Personal experience with homelessness (self, family member, friend)
 - d. I have volunteered with a group or organization (other than the library) that assists people experiencing homelessness.
 - e. Other (please list)
 - f. None
11. How often do you have patrons who *are or that you think might be* experiencing homelessness in your library branch? Choose the best response.
- a. Never
 - b. Rarely (A few times a year)
 - c. Sometimes (A few times a month)
 - d. Often (Several times a week)
 - e. Frequently (Daily but not all day)
 - f. Almost always (At almost all times)
12. How often do you interact patrons who *are or that you think might be* experiencing homelessness in your library branch? Choose the best response.
- a. Never
 - b. Rarely (A few times a year)
 - c. Occasionally (A few times a month)
 - d. A moderate amount (Several times a week)
 - e. A great deal (Almost daily)
13. What are examples of crisis situations you have encountered at this library location?
14. How often have you handled a crisis with a patron you either knew was or thought might be experiencing homelessness? Choose the best response.
- a. Never
 - b. Almost never (Less than once a year)
 - c. Rarely (1-2 times a year)
 - d. Occasionally (A few times a year)
 - e. A moderate amount (1-3 times a month)
 - f. Frequently (once or more per week, but less than daily)

- g. Daily (once a day or more)
15. How, if at all, do you feel having a library social worker has impacted how you respond to a patron experiencing homelessness who is in crisis?
 16. How often do you call for public police assistance with patrons you either know are or think might be experiencing homelessness? Choose the best response.
 - a. Never
 - b. Rarely (A few times a year)
 - c. Sometimes (A few times a month)
 - d. Often (Several times a week)
 - e. Frequently (Daily)
 17. How do you decide when to call 911 for public police?
 18. How do you decide when to call for public police using a non-emergency number (such as police dispatch, a non-emergency number, or an officer's cell phone)?
 19. Are there situations in which you feel asking for public police assistance is beneficial?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Not sure
 20. Please explain
 21. Are there times in which you feel asking for public police assistance poses risks?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Not sure
 22. Please explain
 23. In this job, how often do you feel unsafe? Choose the best response. (If a. skip to question 24)
 - a. Never
 - b. Rarely
 - c. Occasionally
 - d. A moderate amount
 - e. A great deal
 24. In this job, in what types of situations have you felt unsafe?
 25. What weapons do you carry while working at the library? Mark all that apply.
 - a. Mace or pepper spray
 - b. Taser
 - c. Gun
 - d. Baton
 - e. Other, please list _____
 - f. None
 26. What is your education? Mark as many as apply.
 - a. Less than high school

- b. High school graduate
- c. Security guard training
- d. Police academy graduate
- e. Some college
- f. 2-year degree-please list
- g. 4-year degree – please list
- h. Doctorate – please list

27. How old are you?

- a. _____
- b. Prefer not to answer

28. What is your race?

- a. _____
- b. Prefer not to answer

29. What is your gender?

- a. _____
- b. Prefer not to answer

30. If there is anything else you would like to share, please enter it here.

31. Two to three security or library police officers will be selected for in-depth interviews, would you be interested in completing a 30-60 minute interview via Zoom videoconferencing with the researcher? (If participant selects yes, they will be prompted for name, phone number, and email address.)

- a. Yes
- b. No

Thank you for sharing your time, expertise, and experience to this important area of research!

Appendix I. Front-Facing Library Staff Interview Guide

For the purpose of this study, persons experiencing homelessness are defined as persons who lack a permanent address of their own including those who are utilizing shelters or transitional housing (Public Health Service Act, 2018).

1. What is it like for you to have a social worker on staff?
2. What or who has influenced how you work with patrons experiencing homelessness when they are in crises?
 - a. Probes: What professional development, experience, workshops, or trainings have influenced how you work with patrons experiencing homelessness when they are in crisis? How effective do you think they were? Did they encourage you to rely more, about the same, or less on law enforcement?
3. In thinking of these crises with patrons you either knew or thought might be experiencing homelessness, think of a crisis that you thought was handled well. Describe the situation including your thoughts and feelings, how you responded, and the outcome.
 - a. Probe: What was the role, if any, of the social worker in this situation?
4. Next, also thinking of these crises with patrons you either knew or thought might be experiencing homelessness, think of a crisis that you thought was not handled well. Describe the situation including your thoughts and feelings, how you responded, and the outcome.
 - a. Probe: What was the role, if any, of the social worker in this situation?
5. Tell me about the role of the social worker with patrons experiencing homelessness in crises.
6. How, if at all, does the role of the social worker connect with your role and how you respond to patrons experiencing homelessness in crisis?
7. Please describe how, if at all, having a social worker has affected your role?
8. What else do I need to understand about patrons experiencing homelessness in crisis and how library staff respond?

Appendix J. Security Interview Guide

For the purpose of this study, persons experiencing homelessness are defined as persons who lack a permanent address of their own including those who are utilizing shelters or transitional housing (Public Health Service Act, 2018).

1. What is it like for you to have a social worker on staff?
2. What or who has influenced how you work with patrons experiencing homelessness when they are in crises?
 - a. Probes: What professional development, experience, workshops, or trainings have influenced how you work with patrons experiencing homelessness when they are in crisis? How effective do you think they were? Did they encourage you to rely more, about the same, or less on outside law enforcement?
3. In thinking of these crises with patrons you either knew or thought might be experiencing homelessness, think of a crisis that you thought was handled well. Describe the situation including your thoughts and feelings, how you responded, and the outcome.
 - a. Probe: What was the role, if any, of the social worker in this situation?
4. Next, also thinking of these crises with patrons you either knew or thought might be experiencing homelessness, think of a crisis that you thought was not handled well. Describe the situation including your thoughts and feelings, how you responded, and the outcome.
 - a. Probe: What was the role, if any, of the social worker in this situation?
5. Tell me about the role of the social worker with patrons experiencing homelessness in crises.
6. How, if at all, does the role of the social worker connect with your role and how you respond to patrons experiencing homelessness in crisis?
7. Please describe how, if at all, having a social worker has affected your role?
8. What else do I need to understand about patrons experiencing homelessness in crisis and how library police/security respond?

Appendix K. Patron Interview Guide

For the purpose of this study, persons experiencing homelessness are defined as persons who lack a permanent address of their own including those who are utilizing shelters or transitional housing (Public Health Service Act, 2018).

1. How often do you visit the public library? for how long?
 - a. Prior to COVID-19, how often did you visit the public library? For how long?
2. What do you do while you are the library?
3. Tell me about your experiences at the _____ library.
 - a. Could you start by sharing a positive experience you have had?
 - b. Next, could you tell me about a challenging experience you have had?
 - i. How are you treated at the library?
 - ii. Do you feel safe at the library?
4. Tell me about your interactions with the library social worker.
 - a. What types of needs has the social worker helped you with?
 - b. Have they ever helped you during a time of crisis? Tell me about that.
5. Tell me about your experiences with the security guards or library police.
6. Can you describe your observations of how the security guards or library police interact with patrons experiencing homelessness?
7. Have you ever had an encounter with city police at the library? What was that experience like for you? If not, have you seen patrons who are experiencing homelessness have encounters with police? What did you observe?
8. Did you visit the library before there was a social worker? What was it like? Is it any different now? If so, how?
9. Without giving a specific location, please identify your usual sleeping arrangement over the past week (couch-surfing, shelter, transitional housing, bus, subway, vehicle, tent, park, abandoned structure, etc.).
10. How old are you?
 - a. _____
 - b. Prefer not to answer
11. What is your race?
 - a. _____
 - b. Prefer not to answer
12. What is your gender?
 - a. _____
 - b. Prefer not to answer

Appendix L. CEO and Library Location Manager Interview Guide

For the purpose of this study, persons experiencing homelessness are defined as persons who lack a permanent address of their own including those who are utilizing shelters or transitional housing (Public Health Service Act, 2018).

1. What was the impetus for hiring a social worker in your library?
2. When was the first social worker hired in this location?
3. How do patrons experiencing homelessness impact your library?
4. What changes have you noticed since having a social worker on staff?
5. How does library policy define a crisis incident?
6. Do all such crisis incidents get recorded? If not, what is the criteria for it to be recorded?
7. Since your social worker has been in place, did your number of crisis incidents gone down, stayed the same, or increased? How, if at all, has COVID-19 impacted the number of crisis incidents?
8. Does the library track the number of times 911 is called? Since having a social worker, has that number stayed the same, increased, or decreased? How, if at all, has COVID-19 impacted the number of 911 calls?
9. What or who has influenced how your front-facing library staff and library police/security handle crises with patrons experiencing homelessness?
10. Has the social worker had any impact on your decision making in regard to how the library responds to crises in general and to patrons experiencing homelessness in crises in particular?
 - a. Has your library's status as either a stand-alone entity or part of local government affected your nimbleness to respond to recommendations made by the social worker?
11. How, if at all, has the national conversation around police brutality affected your library's response to crisis incidents?
12. Do you have a patron code of conduct? What, if any, impact has the social worker had on the patron code of conduct itself and/or how it is implemented?
13. What else do you want me to understand?
14. How old are you?
 - a) _____
 - b) Prefer not to answer
15. What is your race?
 - a. _____
 - b. Prefer not to answer
16. What is your gender?
 - a. _____
 - b. Prefer not to answer

Appendix M. Case Study Questions Protocol

Case Study Questions	Social Worker		Front-Facing Library Staff		Security		PEH	CEO
	S	I	S	I	S	I	I	I
1. What are the participant demographics?	23-25		2, 28-30		26-29		9-10,12	14-16
2. What are job titles, length of employment, & hours worked per week (social workers, library staff, library police/security)?	1-3		1, 3, 4		1-5			
3. What are the settings & conditions of the social work role?	3-11, 12-13 16-17							1-2
4. What are the qualifications of public library social workers?	14-15							
6. What are the causes of homelessness in the area? How has COVID-19-19 impacted persons experiencing homelessness that visit your library?		1-2					1	
7. How often do patrons experiencing homelessness come to the library? What do they use the library for? How often do library staff & library police/ security interact with them?			10-11		11-12		1-2, 5	3
8. What is role of the social worker (broadly)?	1, 21							1, 4
9. How do library social workers engage & assist patrons experiencing homelessness?		3		5		5	4	
10. Who do social workers train? What topics do they train on?	18-20		6		7			
11. Besides formal training, how else do social workers help staff better serve patrons experiencing homelessness?	21s 21t	4		1		1		
12. What types of assistance do library staff & library police/security request from the social worker? How do library police/security collaborate with the social worker?			5, 6		6, 8			
13. How does the social worker impact the role of library staff & library police/security with patrons experiencing homelessness?			15	1, 6	15	1, 6,7		
14. What impact do social workers have on library policy & implementation?	21v	5						12
15. Who provides security at the library? Are they armed? What weapons do they carry?	22				1-5, 25			

Case Study Questions	Social Worker		Front-Facing Library Staff		Security		PEH	CEO
	S	I	S	I	S	I	I	I
16. How does each role define a crisis?		6, 8	12		13			5-6
17. Do library staff & library security/police feel safe at work? If not, what makes them feel unsafe?			26-27		23-24			
18. What is the role of the social worker in relationship to crises involving patrons experiencing homelessness?		7	7-8	3-6	9, 15	3-6	4	9-10
19. How do other roles in the library respond to patrons experiencing homelessness when they are in crisis? How has the social worker influenced how they respond?		20-21	13-16	3-4,6	14-16	3-7	3-7	9, 10
20. What other influences may be contributing to how other roles respond when patrons experiencing homelessness are in crisis?			9	2	10	2		9
21. How do the different roles perceive when a call for police is necessary? How, if at all, have concerns about police brutality impacted how the different roles view calling the police?		10,13	16-25		16-22			11
22. How do patrons experiencing homelessness experience interactions with security guards, library police, & police? How are they treated at the library? Do they feel safe?		12		3-4		3-4	3, 5-7	9-10
23. How has the role of the social worker impacted the frequency of security or library police having to be involved during a crisis? The frequency of outside police?		11		5		5	4,8	7, 8

Key: PEH= Patron Experiencing Homelessness, S = Survey, I = Interview

Appendix N. Study Information Sheet

Note: The study information sheet will appear in Qualtrics before survey access is granted. Each role had their own study information sheet with different “What will happen in this study” sections. These sections have been collapsed here into one section for the purpose of brevity.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY STUDY INFORMATION SHEET STATEMENT FOR RESEARCH

How Public Libraries Respond to Crises Involving Patrons Experiencing Homelessness: Multiple Perspectives of the Role of the Public Library Social Worker

Protocol 10594

ABOUT THIS RESEARCH

You are being asked to participate in a research study. Scientists do research to answer important questions which might help change or improve the way we do things in the future.

This consent form will give you information about the study to help you decide whether you want to participate. Please read this form, and ask any questions you have, before agreeing to be in the study.

TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY IS VOLUNTARY

You may choose not to take part in the study or may choose to leave the study at any time. Deciding not to participate, or deciding to leave the study later, will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are entitled and will not affect your relationship with the Indiana University School of Social Work.

WHY IS THIS STUDY BEING DONE?

The purpose of this study is to explain how the role of the social worker influences how the library responds when patrons experiencing homelessness are in crises.

The study is being conducted by Mary Provence, MSW, LCSW, PhD Candidate under the supervision of Vincent Starnino, PhD of the Indiana University School of Social Work.

HOW MANY PEOPLE WILL TAKE PART?

I am soliciting participants from three U.S. public libraries that are located in large urban areas (100,000+). Of an estimated 140 front facing staff, security guards/library police, and social workers at three libraries, it is expected that 60 will agree to participate by completing a survey. Across three libraries, it is expected that about 36 people will be interviewed.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN DURING THE STUDY?

If you agree to be in the study, you will do the following things depending on your role at the library:

Social Workers: You will complete an online survey that will take about 10 minutes. You will complete an approximately 60-minute interview over Zoom video conferencing which will be recorded. You will identify 3 patrons experiencing homelessness who are willing and able to safely participate in the study, facilitate their study information sheet process, and if needed, help them access a study room in the library for participation. Once completed, unless the patron chooses to receive a digital card, you will give the participant a \$15 gift card incentive. The card will be provided in advance by the researcher. This coordination will take approximately 3 hours of your time.

Patrons: You will complete an approximately 30-60 minute interview over Zoom video conferencing which will be recorded.

Front-Facing Library Staff: You will complete an online survey that takes about 15 minutes. Three front facing library staff per library will be interviewed via Zoom video conferencing. Should you volunteer and be selected to be interviewed, the interview will be recorded and last approximately 30-60 minutes.

Library Security, and Library Police: You will complete a survey that takes about 15 minutes. Three security or library police per library will be interviewed via Zoom video conferencing. Should you volunteer and be selected to be interviewed, the interview will be recorded and last approximately 30-60 minutes.

CEO and Library Location Manager: You will complete an approximately 30-60 minute interview over Zoom video conferencing that will be recorded. You or your designee will distribute the two survey links (one to front facing staff and one to library police/security) via email OR you agree to provide the researcher with an email list of your front-facing library staff and library police/security. The initial email distribution of the survey links will be followed up by two additional email reminders at one-week intervals.

WHAT ARE THE RISKS OF TAKING PART IN THE STUDY?

While participating in the study, the risks, side effects, and/or discomforts include:

Study risks may include a loss of confidentiality. To protect your confidentiality, all audio, video, and data files related to this study will be stored using a password protected computer, secure software, and secure cloud storage. The name and location of your library will not be revealed.

WHAT ARE THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS OF TAKING PART IN THE STUDY?

You will not receive any benefit from taking part in this study, but you will play an important role in informing the fields of library science and social work about how the role of the social worker influences how libraries respond when patrons experiencing homelessness are in crisis.

HOW WILL MY INFORMATION BE PROTECTED?

Efforts will be made to keep your personal information confidential. We cannot guarantee absolute confidentiality. Your personal information may be disclosed if required by law. No

information which could reasonably identify you will be shared in publications about this study. Any digital files you share with me will be used for analysis and will not be published. A password protected computer, secure cloud storage, and secure software will be used. A confidential transcription service may be used.

Organizations that may inspect and/or copy your research records for quality assurance and data analysis include Dr. Vincent Starnino, supervising principal investigator, the Indiana University Institutional Review Board, or its designees, and (as allowed by law) state or federal agencies, specifically the Office for Human Research Protections (OHRP).

WILL I BE PAID FOR PARTICIPATION?

No compensation will be offered to library or security/law enforcement employees/contractors. Patrons will be provided a \$15 gift card for their participation.

WHO SHOULD I CALL WITH QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS?

For questions about the study, contact the researcher, Mary Provence, at XXX-XXX-XXXX or XXXXXX@iupui.edu or supervising Principal Investigator, Dr. Vincent Starnino at XXXXXX@iupui.edu@iupui.edu.

For questions about your rights as a research participant, to discuss problems, complaints, or concerns about a research study, or to obtain information or to offer input, please contact the IU Human Subjects Office at 800-696-2949 or at irb@iu.edu.

CAN I WITHDRAW FROM THE STUDY?

If you decide to participate in this study, you can change your mind and decide to leave the study at any time in the future. The study team will help you withdraw from the study safely. If you decide to withdraw, simply email Mary Provence at XXXXXX@iupui.edu.

Your participation may be terminated by the investigator without regard to your consent in the following circumstances: if you do not complete the interview.

PARTICIPANT'S CONSENT

In consideration of all of the above, I give my consent to participate in this research study.

Appendix O. Front-Facing Staff Characteristics

	Surveys			Total
	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	
a. Job Titles				
Administrator	0	5	0	5
Customer Service	0	12	3	15
Librarian	8	2	10	20
Library Assistant	0	8	4	12
Supervisor/Manager	1	0	6	7
Other	1	1	0	2
Total	10	28	23	61
b. Highest Education Level				
BSLIS	1	0	0	1
MLS/MLIS/MSLIS	8	7	14	29
Other Bachelors	1	13	5	19
Other Masters	0	2	2	4
Associates	0	1	0	1
Phd	0	0	1	1
No College Degree	0	5	1	6
Total	10	28	23	61
c. Length of Employment				
≤60 months	7	19	7	33
61-120 months	0	4	8	12
121-180 months	0	1	2	3
181-240 months	2	1	4	7
241-300 months	0	1	1	2
301-360 months	0	1	1	2
>361 months	1	1	0	2
Total	10	28	23	61
d. Job status at Branch				
Part-time (<30 hours)	0	4	1	5
Full-time (30+ hours)	10	24	22	56
Total	10	28	23	61

Appendix P. Security Characteristics

	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	Total
a. Job Title				
Security officer/Safety Associate	0	1	8	9
Person In Charge	0	3	0	3
Manager or Supervisor	0	0	4	4
Police Officer	2	0	0	2
Library attendant/assistant	2	0	0	2
Total	4	4	12	20
b. Employer				
Library	2	3	12	17
Police Department	2	0	0	2
Security Firm	0	1	0	1
Total	4	4	12	20
b. Highest Education Level				
High School Graduate	0	0	2	2
Some College	3	1	6	10
Associates	1	0	1	2
Bachelors	0	2	2	4
Masters	0	1	1	2
Total	4	4	12	20
c. Training				
Security Guard	1	1	6	8
Police Academy Graduate	1	0	2	3
Total	2	1	8	11
c. Armed				
Yes	2	0	0	2
No	2	4	12	18
Total	4	4	12	20
d. Length of Employment at Branch				
≤60 months	2	2	8	12
61-120 months	1	1	2	4
121-180 months	0	0	0	0
181-240 months	0	1	2	3
241-300 months	0	0	0	0
301-360 months	0	0	0	0
>361 months	1	0	0	1
Total	4	4	12	20
e. Job Status at Branch				
Part-time (7.5-20 hours)	2	0	3	5
Full-time (37.5-40 hours)	2	4	9	15
Total	4	4	12	20

Appendix Q. How Often Front-Facing Staff and Security Handle a Crisis with Patrons Experiencing Homelessness?

Role	Case 1				Case 2				Case 3			
	FFS		Sec.		FFS		Sec.		FFS		Sec.	
	<i>n</i> = 7		<i>n</i> = 4		<i>n</i> = 23		<i>n</i> = 4		<i>n</i> = 21		<i>n</i> = 12	
Question	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
How often have you handled a crisis with a patron you either <i>knew</i> was or thought might be experiencing homelessness?	5.0	1.15	5.5	1.73	4.70	1.64	6.5	.58	3.76	1.34	5.33	1.67

Note: FFS = Front-facing staff. Sec. = Security. Responses rated on a scale of 1 (never), 2 (almost never, less than once a year), 3 (rarely, 1-2 times a year), 4 (occasionally, a few times a year), 5 (a moderate amount, 1-3 times a month), 6 (frequently, once or more per week, but less than daily), and 7 (daily, once a day or more).

Appendix R. How Often Front-Facing Staff Request Security for Situations with Patrons Experiencing Homelessness?

Question	Case 1		Case 2		Case 3	
	<i>n</i> = 7		<i>n</i> = 21		<i>n</i> = 21	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
How often have you had to call for either library security or library police for situations involving a patron you either knew was or thought might be experiencing homelessness?	4.86	2.04	4.76	1.64	3.48	1.44

Note: FFS = Front-facing staff. Sec. = Security. At Case 1, security included off-duty police officers working at the library. Responses rated on a scale of 1 (never), 2 (almost never, less than once a year), 3 (rarely, 1-2 times a year), 4 (occasionally, a few times a year), 5 (a moderate amount, 1-3 times a month), 6 (frequently, once or more per week, but less than daily), and 7 (daily, once a day or more).

Appendix S. Frequency of Types of Assistance Received from the Social Worker by Front-Facing Staff and Security

Types of Assistance	Role/Total <i>n</i>	Case 1			Case 2			Case 3		
		FFS	Sec.	Total	FFS	Sec.	Total	FFS	Sec.	Total
		10	4	14	27	4	31	23	12	35
I referred a patron in need of social work services to the social worker.		8	3	11	24	4	28	22	7	29
I got information about community resources.		5	0	5	15	3	18	17	6	23
The social worker worked with me in the moment to help a patron in crisis.		2	0	2	10	4	14	4	6	10
I connected a patron in crisis to the social worker and then I stepped away.		6	1	7	19	4	23	11	7	18
I received coaching of how to help a particular patron or patron population.		2	0	2	1	1	5	5	0	5
I watched the library social worker model how to handle a patron situation.		2	1	3	8	1	9	5	3	8
I received feedback on how I handled a patron situation.		0	0	0	2	1	3	1	0	1
I received support to deal with work stress.		0	0	0	3	0	3	1	0	1
I collaborated with the social worker.		0	0	0	2	2	4	1	1	2
Other		1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
None		0	1	1	3	0	3	1	4	5

Note: FFS stands for Front-Facing Staff. Sec. stands for Security/Police.

Appendix T. Role Tasks of Social Workers

Tasks	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3		
	BSW	MSW	MSW	MSW	MSW
a. Micro					
Case management		X	X	X	X
Coordinated Entry Assessments	X	X	X	X	X
Client advocacy		X	X	X	X
Counseling		X	X		
Crisis intervention	X	X	X	X	X
De-escalation	X	X	X	X	X
Referrals	X	X	X	X	X
Street outreach near library		X			
b. Mezzo					
Coaching staff to work with marginalized patrons	X	X	X	X	X
Collaborating with library security	X	X	X	X	
Coordinating service providers to come to library	X		X	X	X
Coordinating outside trainers/speakers to train staff				X	X
Coordinating outside trainers/speakers to train patrons				X	
Helping determine when banned patron can return				X	
Input on code of conduct or similar policies		X		X	
Modeling intervention with marginalized patrons		X	X		X
Program development	X		X	X	X
Program evaluation			X	X	
Supporting staff through encouragement	X	X	X	X	X
Supervising other social workers				X	
Supervising social work interns	X		X	X	X
c. Macro					
Developing connections with community resources	X	X	X	X	X
Grant proposal writing				X	X
Sitting on government committees or task forces				X	X
Sitting on non-government community committees or task forces			X	X	X

Appendix U. Sources of Knowledge about Working with Patrons Experiencing Homelessness in Crisis

Source of Knowledge	Role/Total <i>n</i>	Case 1			Case 2			Case 3		
		FFS	Sec.	Total	FFS	Sec.	Total	FFS	Sec.	Total
		8	4	12	23	4	27	21	12	33
Ryan Dowd: Book, trainings, and newsletters		7	2	9	11	3	14	5	1	6
Steve Albrecht's: How to Respond to a Security Incident in Your Library		0	1	1	1	1	2	3	0	3
A training conducted by local police		2	1	3	0	1	1	1	0	1
A professional conference presentation or workshop		3	0	3	5	2	7	8	2	10
An in-house training by someone other than the library social worker(s)		3	1	4	14	2	16	9	4	13
Personal experience with homelessness (self, family member, friend)		2	0	2	4	2	6	6	1	7
I have volunteered with a group or organization (other than the library) that assists people experiencing homelessness.		1	0	1	5	2	7	3	2	5
None		0	0	0	3	0	3	7	6	13
Other trainings (not at the library) ^a		0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0
Experience from working at the library		1	1	2	1	2	3	1	0	1
Other work experience		0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0

Note: FFS stands for Front-Facing Staff. Sec. stands for Security/Police. ^aThe last three options were created from write-in responses under "other."

Appendix V. Perceptions of Front-Facing Staff of Asking for Public Police Assistance

	Case 1		Case 2		Case 3	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
a. Are there situations in which you feel asking for public police assistance is beneficial?						
Yes	6	60.00	10	35.70	13	56.52
No	0	0.00	1	3.57	4	17.39
Unsure	0	0.00	9	32.14	4	17.39
Missing	4	40.00	8	28.57	2	8.70
Total	10	100.00	28	99.98 ^a	23	100.00
b. Are there times in which you feel asking for public police assistance poses risks?						
Yes	1	10.00	14	50.00	16	69.57
No	3	30.00	2	7.14	2	8.70
Unsure	2	20.00	4	14.29	3	13.04
Missing	4	40.00	8	28.57	2	8.70
Total	10	100.00	28	100.00	23	100.01 ^a

^aDue to rounding, total is not exactly 100.

Appendix W. Perceptions of Security of Asking for Public Police Assistance

	Case 1		Case 2		Case 3	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
a. Are there situations in which you feel asking for public police assistance is beneficial?						
Yes	4	100.00	3	75.00	10	83.33
No	0	0.00	1	25.00	1	8.33
Unsure	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	8.33
Total	4	100.00	4	100.00	12	99.99 ^a
b. Are there times in which you feel asking for public police assistance poses risks?						
Yes	2	50.00	3	75.00	0	0.00
No	2	50.00	0	0.00	10	83.33
Unsure	0	0.00	1	25.00	2	16.67
Total	4	100.00	4	100.00	12	100.00

^aDue to rounding, total is not exactly 100%.

Appendix X. Perceptions by Role of Benefits of Summoning Public Police

Role	Case 1			Case 2			Case 3		
	FFS	Sec.	Total	FFS	Sec.	Total	FFS	Sec.	Total
<i>n</i>	5	4	9	15	4	19	18	8	26
Police are of benefit when:									
Excluded patron refuses to leave	1	0	1	2	1	3	3	0	3
Mental health emergencies	1	0	1	1	1	2	0	0	0
Patron is uncooperative	1	2	3	1	0	1	0	0	0
Patron poses danger to self	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	1	3
Situation exceeds ability of security team	1	0	1	2	0	2	2	2	4
Substance use or overdose	2	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Threats of violence, weapons, violence	2	1	3	11	2	13	6	5	11
To protect staff legally	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Other	3	2	5	3	0	3	3	0	3
Police are often not needed because:									
I have not needed to call	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Our security team can handle	0	0	0	2	0	2	6	0	6
Our social work team can handle	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Calling police is risky/rarely beneficial/or the last resort	0	0	0	4	2	6	4	0	4

Note: FFS stands for front-facing staff. Sec. means security and/or library police. Public police means local police that are not already on duty at the library that can be summoned by calling 911 or in the case of police officers on duty at the library, by using their radio.

Appendix Y. Perceptions by Role of Risks of Summoning Public Police

Role	Case 1			Case 2			Case 3		
	FFS	Sec.	Total	FFS	Sec.	Total	FFS	Sec.	Total
<i>n</i>	4	2	6	16	3	19	17	1	3
I have never needed to call.	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	2
Other	2	0	2	1	2	3	1	1	2
Patrons escalate more when police are called	1	0	1	4	1	5	0	0	0
Police are not always needed. Our staff and/or security team can handle.	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	1
Police might escalate the situation.	1	1	2	4	0	4	7	0	7
Police might not be well-trained.	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
Potential of police mistreatment and/or police brutality	0	0	0	6	2	8	8	0	8
Presence of police make patrons and/or staff afraid.	0	0	0	3	0	3	1	0	1
Police are sometimes needed	1	2	3	2	0	2	0	0	0

Note: FFS stands for front-facing staff. Sec. means security.

Appendix Z. Frequency of Calling for Public Police for Assistance with Patrons

Perceived to be Experiencing Homelessness

Role	Case 1				Case 2				Case 3			
	FFS		Sec.		FFS		Sec.		FFS		Sec.	
	<i>n</i> = 6		<i>n</i> = 4		<i>n</i> = 21		<i>n</i> = 4		<i>n</i> = 21		<i>n</i> = 12	
Question	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
How often do you call (or make a request that someone else call) for public police assistance with patrons you either know are or think might be experiencing homelessness	3.33	1.21	3.00	1.41	1.81	.98	2.25	.5	1.52	.68	2.50	.80

Note: FFS = Front-facing staff. Sec. = Security. Responses rated on a scale of 1 (never), 2 (rarely, a few times a year), 3 (sometimes, a few times a month), 4 (often, several times a week to 5 (frequently, daily).

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Mary Anita Provence

EDUCATION:

GRADUATE

Indiana University	PhD	2023
Indiana University	MSW	1995

UNDERGRADUATE

Taylor University	BSW	1992
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APPOINTMENTS:

ACADEMIC

Indiana University School of SWK	Adjunct Faculty	2019-2021
Indiana University School of SWK	Research Assistant	2017-2019
Indiana University School of SWK	Adjunct Faculty	2013-2017
Indiana University School of SWK	Research Assistant	1994-1995

LICENSURE, CERTIFICATION, SPECIALTY BOARD STATUS

LCSW	1999 - Present
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HONORS AND AWARDS:

<u>Award Name</u>	<u>Granted By</u>	<u>Date Awarded</u>
Outstanding MSW Graduate Award	IU SWK Alumni Assoc	May 1995
Dr. Janneth Dunigan Memorial Award for Scholarship	IU School of SWK	May 1995
Social Work Departmental Achievement Award	Taylor University	May 1992

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

<u>Course/Workshop Title</u>	<u>Provider</u>	<u>Date</u>
Creating & Using Rubrics Effectively	IUPUI Center for Teaching and Learning	June 2019
Using Measurable Learning Outcomes to Guide Course Design	IUPUI Center for Teaching and Learning	June 2019
Active Aggressor-Shooter	IUPUI Human Resources	July 2018
Advanced Scientific Writing	IUPUI Office of Faculty Affairs & Prof Dev	December 2017
Associate Faculty Teaching Forum	IUPUI Center for Teaching and Learning	August 2014
Associate Faculty Teaching Forum	IUPUI Center for Teaching and Learning	August 2013
Anatomy of Peace	Arbinger Institute	July 2009

MENTORING:

Taylor University	Field Supervisor for 1 student	2004
IU School of Social Work	Field Instructor for 3 students	2001-2004

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT:

Developed Master Syllabus for S600: Critical Perspectives of Homelessness Policy & Practice (2018)

RESEARCH/CREATIVE ACTIVITY:**GRANTS/FELLOWSHIPS IN RESEARCH****RESEARCH GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS**

<u>Project</u>	<u>Role</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Date</u>
Indiana Public Library Needs Assessments and Practicum Planning-IU Center for Social Health and Wellbeing (Principal Investigator- EA Wahler)	Co-Investigator	\$10,000	2020-2021
IUSSW/Indianapolis Public Library Partnership: Study of an MSW Student Field Unit to Address Patrons' Psychosocial Needs. IU Center for Social Health and Wellbeing (Principal Investigator – EA Wahler)	Research Assistant	\$10,000	2019

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS**UNIVERSITY**

<u>Title</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Date</u>
A response to homelessness: The emerging role of the public library social worker (poster) (Provence, M.)	IU School of Social Work PhD Symposium	May 2019
Resilient adults: Does summer camp help kids impacted by community gunfire when they grow up? (poster) (Miller, K. & Provence, M.)	IU School of Social Work PhD Symposium	April 2018

REGIONAL

<u>Title</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Date</u>
Social workers in the library – An update (Oral presentation) (Williams, M., Helling, J., Wahler, E.A., & Provence, M.)	Indiana Library Federation Annual Conf; Indianapolis, IN	Nov 2019
Data Reuse for Meeting Community Needs in Public Libraries (Copeland, A., Yoon, A. & Provence, M.)	Library Research Seminar, Univ. of South Carolina	Oct 2019

Social workers in the library. (Williams, M., Helling, J., Wahler, E. A., & Provence, M.)	Indiana Library Federation Annual Conf., Indianapolis, IN	Nov 2018
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NATIONAL

<u>Title</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Date</u>
Social work/public library partnerships: Patron needs addressed by MSW students (Virtual presentation) (Wahler, E. A., Provence, M. , & Johnson, C. J.)	Council on Social Work Education APM, Online	Nov 2020
Library/social work collaborations for promoting inclusion of persons experiencing homelessness (virtual presentation) (Provence, M. , & Wahler, E. A.)	Council on Social Work Education APM, Online	Nov 2020
Psychosocial needs of public library patrons: Implications for Library/Social Work Program Partnerships (oral presentation) (Wahler, E. A. & Provence, M.)	Council on Social Work Education APM, Denver, CO	Oct 2019
Predictors of self-efficacy for participants of a capacity-building group intervention for individuals living in poverty (poster) (Wahler, E. A., & Provence, M.)	Society for Social Work and Research 23 rd Annual Conference, San Francisco, CA	Jan 2019
Social work values transfer: Modeling and teaching a way of being (poster) (Provence, M.)	Council on Social Work Education APM, Orlando, FL	Nov 2018

SERVICE:

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE:

LOCAL

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Inclusive Dates</u>
Pendleton Correctional	Inside Out participant/ volunteer	2019
Pathway to Recovery	Group facilitator	2018
Wishard Volunteer Advocates	Legal guardian for senior	2010-2013
Gleaners Food Bank	Food deliverer to seniors	2004-2011
Rebuilding the Wall, Inc.	Board member	2001-2005

PEER REVIEWER:

<i>Library Quarterly</i>	2022
<i>Families in Society</i>	2021
<i>Advances in Social Work</i>	2020

PUBLICATIONS:

RESEARCH/CREATIVE ACTIVITY

Refereed

Provence, M. A. (2018). From nuisances to neighbors: Inclusion of patrons experiencing homelessness through library and social work partnerships. *Advances in Social Work, 18*(4), 1053-1067. <https://doi.org/10.18060/22321>.

Provence, M. A. (2020). Encouraging the humanization of patrons experiencing homelessness: A case study of the role of the U.S. public library social worker. *Library Quarterly, 90*(4), 431-446. <https://doi.org/10.1086/710258>

Provence, M. A. (2021). Using *Anatomy of Peace* to empower students to incorporate social work values. *Journal of Baccalaureate Social Work, 21*(1), 91-102. <https://doi.org/10.18084/1084-7219.26.1.91>

Provence, M. A., Wahler, E. A., Helling, J., & Williams, M. A. (2020). Self-reported psychosocial needs of public library patrons: Comparisons based on housing status. *Public Library Quarterly, 40*(3), 244-257. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01616846.2020.1730738>

Wahler, E. A., **Provence, M. A.,** Helling, J., & Williams, M. A. (2019). The changing role of libraries: How social workers can help. *Families in Society, 101*(1), 34-43. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1044389419850707>

Wahler, E. A., **Provence, M. A.,** Johnson, S., Helling, J., & Williams, M. A. (2021). Library patrons' psychosocial needs: Perceptions of need and reasons for accessing social work services. *Social Work, 66*(4), 297-305. <https://doi.org/10.1093/Sw/Swab032>

RESEARCH/REPORT

Wahler, E. A., & **Provence, M.** (2018). A needs assessment of IPL patrons: Results from staff survey. Indianapolis, IN: Indianapolis Public Library.

PRACTICE EXPERIENCE

Therapist (Contractual), Therapy Source, 2011-Present

Individual counseling (virtual)	Member of case conference team
Collaboration with parents and teachers	Student Advocacy

Co-Founder, Rebuilding the Wall, Inc., 2001-Present

(RTW has downsized; *duties are very limited.)

Program development	Case management with seniors
Social justice education & public speaking	Relationship & support with women in prostitution & addiction cycles
Crisis intervention	*27-year neighborhood resident
Volunteer screening & management	Grant writing (awards up to \$224 K)
Youth outreach coordinator	

*Bookkeeping/administrative duties
Foundation relationships

Grant reporting
Curriculum development

Therapist (Contractual), Gydo Therapy & Wellness Strategies (formally IHR) 2015
Individual therapy with adults

Child Welfare Trainer (sub-contractor) State Office of Family & Children, 1999-2006 Subcontracted through J-R Carlson & Associates, Inc.

Trained: "Impact of culture and diversity in child welfare services"
Developed & trained: "Working with adolescents" curriculum

Social Worker, Jireh Sports, 2002-2004

Case management
Crisis intervention

Clinical Services Director, Outreach Inc. 1998-2001

Street outreach to unhoused youth
Case management
Crisis intervention
Established social service component
Wrote volunteer handbook

HOPE Coordinator, John H. Boner Community Center, 1997-1998 (Partnership with Harshman Middle School for students at risk of expulsion)

Program development
Grant writing & evaluation
Group counseling at IPS School
Staff training & supervision

Therapist in Therapeutic Foster Care Department, Pleasant Run, Inc., 1995-1997

Individual, group & family therapy
Case management & crisis intervention
Parenting assessments
Liaison to Department of Families & Children
Liaison to schools
Court advocacy in juvenile justice system

Child Advocate (Intern) Children's Coalition 1994-1995

Monitored legislation
Testified at Indiana General Assembly
Prepared legislative updates
Staffed Public Policy Committee

Indianapolis Public Housing Agency/iNET 1994-1995

Site Supervisor (summer 94) and Program Director (Summer 95)

Program development
Youth supervisor
Trained staff
Curriculum development

Group Home Staff, Wheeler Mission Ministries Girls Residence, 1993

Daily care of adolescent girls
Developed state approved menus