

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL IDENTITY AND ROLE
PERFORMANCE AMONG ACADEMIC LIBRARIANS

by

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DEDICATION

To my parents, Harold and Marion Johnson, who raised me to believe in the equality of all people, instilled in me a love of learning, and nurtured a curiosity and appreciation of diversity in all its manifestations through their actions and words;

To my husband, Stuart, and son Ryan, for supporting me through this very long process. Your love, support, and good humor have always been appreciated!

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

By virtually all accounts, the twenty-first century will belong to those who can find and use information strategically to their individual, and societal benefit. For college and university students, having access to librarian faculty who can guide them through increasingly complex information environments, and teach them critical thinking skills relating to the use of information is a lifelong learning skill. Stronger information literacy skills have been linked to increased academic success (Ory & Braskamp, 1988; Whitmire, 1998). For discipline-based, tenure-track faculty, having unimpeded access to an array of previous and emerging scholarship is imperative to developing and disseminating new scholarship, and ultimately attaining promotion and/or tenure (Gould, 1988; Mills-Wisneski, 2005).

Despite what we know about the importance of having access to fully staffed and funded libraries (Lance et al., 2005), and access to information technology, many students still arrive at their universities with a legacy of the pervasive “digital divide” impeding their abilities to thrive in very competitive circumstances (Carvin, 2006; Huang & Russell, 2006; Yu, 2006). For many students coming from underresourced urban and rural school districts, university libraries present a confusing and overwhelming array of resources never experienced before (Mellon, 1986; Onwuegbuzie et al., 2004).

Linking many positive learning outcomes with a multicultural climate, Hurtado et al.(1999) wrote, “Research suggests that an institution’s ability to provide a comfortable

environment for learning and socializing is a key factor in facilitating the intellectual and social development of all students” (p. 1). Many scholars have linked the active presence of diverse faculty, students, and staff with creating excellence in learning and providing that comfortable climate (Duderstadt, 2004; Hurtado et al., 1999; Milem, 2000), but as Adkins (2004), former Dean of the School of Library and Information Sciences at Rutgers University, writes, “The importance of minority faculty members in predominantly white [sic] institutions cannot be overemphasized, but the lack of faculty diversity is a problem, crossing disciplines” (p. 151).

This dissertation research examined the contributions of a range of these diverse faculty members. Specifically, I examined the relationship between social identity (ies) of academic librarian faculty, and the ways in which they enact their various work roles. This first chapter of the dissertation introduces the study, provides brief background information on academic librarianship, outlines the problem statement, describes social identity parameters for the study, and articulates the significance of the problem and the relevance of the study.

Background of the Study

Coined “the Age of Information,” (McLuhan, 1964, p. 64), or “the Post-Industrial Society” (Bell, 1973), today’s information-rich world favors those who are highly educated and “information literate” (Association of College & Research Libraries [ACRL], 2000) over those whose skills and jobs sufficed during the industrial age. The concept of information literacy, developed by the ACRL in 1989, states that, “information literacy is a set of abilities requiring individuals to ‘recognize when

information is needed and have the ability to locate, evaluate, and use effectively the needed information”” (ACRL, 2000). With the advent of the Internet, information is available to the masses in ways never imagined before. However, with the volume of information proliferating at a rate of doubling every three years (Gregorian, 2002), “the greatest challenge facing us today is how to organize information into structured knowledge...to assimilate it, to find meaning in it and assure its survival” (Gregorian, 2002).

In this changing and challenging information landscape, where information literacy and information organization is of vital importance to a thriving and competitive society as well as to individual success, the role of librarians, particularly academic librarians, who are charged with developing collections and services for scholars and postsecondary students, becomes ever more important to academic and societal success. With this growing importance comes the disturbing evidence that a majority of undergraduates tested at multiple universities do not possess the most basic of information literacy skills such as understanding the difference between using Google on the open Web, and searching a research library catalog for resources (Burkhardt, 2007; Coupe, 1993; Maughan, 2001). Clearly, the role of the faculty (including academic librarians on most campuses) in helping to develop our students’ potential is vital to their success (Adkins & Espinal, 2004; Astin, 1993).

At the same time that information literacy attainment is becoming vital within ever-more complex information landscapes, an intersecting phenomenon of increasing multiculturalism is occurring within the student and overall populations of the United States (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2005). Yet a corresponding

increase in faculty diversity on most Carnegie classified Research Universities (very high activity) campuses is not occurring (NCES, 2003; 2004; 2005). More specifically, within the librarian faculty, those who are responsible for developing library services and collections to support the discipline-based and interdisciplinary teaching and research on our campuses, a lack of diversity is a serious issue (Alire, 2001; Josey & Abdullahi, 2002; Winston, 1998). Increasing multiculturalism within the United States, within the student population, and increasing globalism all point to the need for a racially diverse librarian faculty to teach and collect knowledge for increasingly diverse campus communities (Adkins & Hussey, 2005; Alire, 2001; Alire & Stielow, 1995; Winston, 2001).

Though there are plentiful studies in the higher education and library literatures on both multiculturalism and changing librarian roles separately, there exists very little literature on the intersection of librarian roles and the impact that diverse librarians have on library services, collections, and users. In this study, I examined the intersection of diversity within academic library faculty, and the ways in which social identities affect the performance of roles relating to services and collections offered to campus constituents.

The Roles of Librarians within the Academy

Academic librarians fill many roles on most campuses nationwide. On many ARL campuses, they hold tenure-track faculty status, and work with the same expectations for promotion as the discipline-based faculty. On other campuses, they are considered staff, and have no expectations for knowledge generation as do the faculty. Yet on other campuses, a hybrid of the two systems exist, with librarians holding non-tenure track

faculty status, whereby they participate in faculty governance, teaching and publishing, but their promotion system is not solely tied to publishing and semester-long courses. No matter which system is in place, all academic librarians are expected to fulfill multiple roles (Westbrook, 2000).

Academic librarian faculty have a unique set of professional values that differentiate them from the discipline-based faculty. They place the free or fair exchange of new knowledge over the prestige of publishing in select journals or publishers.. The democratization of information is a core value within librarianship, and has guided academic librarians to serve as advocates for revamped intellectual property policy, and the mass digitization of collections. Spiraling prices on journals and many books has also led academic librarians to venture into the publishing business as many scholarly presses are being forced out of their original publishing niches. Examples such as the Scholarly Publishing Office at the University of Michigan, and the widespread adoption of institutional repositories are but a few examples of the attempts of academic librarians to make scholarly information accessible to all.

As information literacy becomes increasingly important to students and faculty success, and to lifelong learning, the role of librarians as information providers and educators gains in importance to the academic enterprise (ACRL, 2000). As Major Owens, the only librarian in the House of Representatives stated, "Information literacy is needed to guarantee the survival of democratic institutions. All men are created equal but voters with information resources are in a position to make more intelligent decisions than citizens who are information illiterates" (ACRL, 2003).

Within a context of ever-changing technology, user expectations, organizational structures, and service delivery models, it is important to examine these shared roles and values, and examine how underrepresented academic librarians view their contributions with regard to these responsibilities and their role in assisting others to develop vital information literacy skills.

Lynn Westbrook (2000), a professor of Library Science at University of Texas at Austin developed a conceptual model of the traditional roles that academic librarians have typically fulfilled. In this model, Westbrook overlays how emerging technologies have altered the everyday work of librarians, but not the underlying roles. These nine roles encompass the following domains: ***Producing***, where librarians produce information products such as pathfinders, bibliographies, catalogs, web resources, and the like; ***Selecting***, where librarians acquire or gain access to a subset of available materials; ***Identifying***, where librarians seek out materials based on selection criteria and informed decision-making to produce a collection on a broad range of disciplines for their users; ***Retrieving***, where librarians set up physical and virtual access systems for library users to access the library holdings; ***Storing***, where librarians develop physical and virtual methods to house collections of materials of all formats; ***Organizing***, where librarians provide access to materials of all formats via subject, keyword, full text, and classification numbers in order to organize vast amounts of objects and data; ***Preserving***, where librarians insure access to knowledge already produced for future generations; ***Managing***, where librarians administer collections and services over time to meet changing scholars' needs; and ***Using***, where librarians assist scholars access and manipulate information to meet their individual needs. Each of these roles will serve as a

guide for my interview protocol as I attempt to understand the ways in which social identity(ies) influence the enactment of these work domains.

Problem Statement

In a so-called “post affirmative action era,” when many programs and efforts to increase the racial and gender diversity of students, staff and faculty on campuses across the nation are threatened, yet the importance of faculty diversity has been recognized in virtually every sector of the academy, it is imperative to have a clearer understanding of the ways in which social identity has an impact on role enactment of academic librarians to provide services and collections for diverse campus communities. In order to gain a clearer understanding of social identity on role performance, much more research is needed about the ways in which minority and majority members of the campus community contribute to institutional and student success.

In this study, I have reviewed and analyzed the relevant higher education, library, sociology and organizational psychology literatures relating the impacts of diverse faculty, Social Identity Theory, and diversity within academic libraries in order to lend insight to these questions, to assist with developing interview protocol, and to develop a theoretical model for studying the potential impacts of diverse librarians’ contributions on their campus communities.

Using Westbrook’s (2000) framework for role domains, Milem’s (2001) model for diverse faculty impact, I have examined the relationship between academic librarians’ social identities and their role performance.

I used in-depth interviews to glean data to understand how librarians’ social identities have had an impact on the services and collections they provide through the

campus library. I examined their use of campus and other social networks in their work, and their use of affective as well as cognitive methods and strategies for working with their campus constituents. I especially probed for the relationship between social identity and the increasing role of information technology in the provision of services and collections.

Professional Significance

Why is the relationship between social identity and role performance important to the provision of collections and services to diverse campus communities? According to Hurtado et al. (1999), “By 2010, students of color will make up 24 percent of the population 18 and under...achieving diversity and educational equity will remain one of higher education’s primary goals as we move into the next millennium” (p.1). A legacy of our society’s digital divide and racial segregation, many of these students arrive on our campuses under-prepared and seeking guidance and comfort from similar others (Lesage, et al., 2002; Willie & McCord, 1972). In order to be responsive to campus-wide diversity initiatives, campus demographics, diverse user needs, expanding curricular areas, multi-linguistic and multicultural needs, academic librarians must be culturally competent and interculturally experienced (Alire, 2001; Hall, 2006b; Winston, 2001).

In spite of years of diverse faculty recruitment efforts, faculty diversity is still distinctly lacking at most four-year colleges and universities (Humphreys, 1998; NCES, 2003; 2004). The increasing diversity within the U.S. population, the growing need for college educated adults in an information-based and global economy, what we already know about positive outcomes of faculty diversity (discussed in Chapter 2), along with racial disparities in college-going and college graduation rates all point to the importance

of maintaining a diverse faculty as part of an overall positive climate for diversity (Alger & Carrasco, 1997; Dooley, 2003; Hurtado et al.1999).

Despite what we know, hypothesize, and profess about the importance of maintaining a diverse faculty, the academy faces severe challenges in recruiting and retaining discipline-based and librarian faculty of color (Alger & Carrasco, 1997; Association of Research Libraries [ARL], 2006; Dooley, 2003). As Abraham and Jacobs (1999) bluntly write, “The number of minority faculty members in America is appalling” (p. 2). Faculty of color comprise just over fourteen percent of the overall faculty; approximately five percent are Black, three percent are Hispanic, six percent are Asian/Asian American, and one half of one percent are Native American (Antonio, 2003; NCES, 2003). These statistics however, hide the extraordinarily low numbers of faculty of color at research institutions where the vast majority of students of color now receive their education (Antonio, 2003; Hu-DeHart, 2000; NCES, 2003). Within the 122 top ranked Association of Research Libraries (ARL) campuses, the percentage of librarian faculty of color remains stagnant at 13 percent, increasing just two percentage points within the last ten years (ARL, 2006).

The recurring discussion of the role of faculty diversity within the academy, and recent and continuing challenges to affirmative action practices in Texas, California, Washington, Michigan, and other states, prompt some to question whether faculty diversity is still a worthwhile goal. Aguirre (2000) believes that because modest gains have been made, and women faculty and faculty of color have a modest presence within some parts of campuses, many feel the work of affirmative action is finished.

Yet despite what some see as a “Retreat from Race” (Tagaki, 1992), “many higher education faculty members and administrators are deeply concerned that abandonment of race-sensitive admissions and hiring, at a time when most minority groups continue to be underrepresented in higher education, will severely limit campus diversity and will undermine the learning environment for all students” (American Council on Education [ACE], 2000, p. 2).

It is unfortunate from what we know about the benefits of diverse faculty (to be discussed at length in Chapter 2), that in the world of academic librarianship, there exists a critical and growing shortage of professionally trained information scientists of color (ARL, 2006; Hall, 2006a). Librarians of color have always been underrepresented in library and information science (de la Pena McCook, 2000; Josey & Abdullahi, 2002). However, due to a confluence of circumstances over the last decade, the profession finds itself increasingly White at the very time our nation, and many of our campuses, are becoming increasing racially diverse (Hall, 2006a; de la Pena McCook, 2000; Winston, 1999). Academic libraries have struggled over the last thirty years to diversify their librarian faculty, yet much like the faculty-at-large, library faculty remain 87 percent White (ARL, 2006).

There are several factors at work pushing this trend, including an alarming number of librarians becoming eligible for retirement. As of 2000, approximately 52,000 of 186,000 academic librarians in the United States were 55 or older (Kyrillidou & Young, 2005). Projecting further out, researchers have estimated that “58 percent of professional librarians will reach the age of 65 between 2005 and 2019” (American Library Association [ALA], 2005).

Another reason for the growing lack of racial diversity can be found in a distinct lack of career ladders for those who would like to advance in the profession. According to Tracy Hall (2006b), former Diversity Officer for the ALA,

There is growing evidence of higher than average attrition among ethnic minorities in the profession due to limited opportunities for professional mobility and access to positions of leadership. Rather than tangibly multiplying the numbers of librarians of color, existing minority recruitment programs have simply provided for the replacement of retirees and those leaving the profession prematurely (p. 16).

But these reasons alone cannot explain the disproportionate percentages of librarians of color who have left the profession over the last decade: while White librarians retired or otherwise left the profession at the rate of 4.6 percent, African American librarians attrition rate was 26.6 percent, Native Americans, 22 percent, and Asian Americans 10 percent (Hall, 2006a). Only Hispanic librarians increased (three percent), a fact that can be attributed in large part to a recruitment program run out of the University of Arizona called Knowledge River (Berry, 2002).

While the aforementioned retirement projections pose many challenges to the profession, it is important to examine the coming mass turnover of academic library leadership as both a wake-up call, and an opportunity for change. Will the next generation of academic librarians simply reflect the current demographics of the profession, or does the profession have the collective will and ability to make lasting and significant change?

In order to change, it is necessary to study what is already known about the importance of diversity within faculty and professional ranks within the academy, and to build on that existing knowledge. This examination and analysis of the relationship between social identity and academic librarian role performance provides a clearer

understanding of how diversity in ARL settings relates to library robustness (Page, 2007) and continued relevance (Adkins & Espinal, 2004). At a time when some have prematurely given up on, or actively fought the promise of affirmative action, understanding the ways in which diverse identities tangibly affect academic library services and collections constitutes an important contribution to the literature.

Parameters of this Dissertation

One of the key issues researchers of diversity face is how inclusive to be in their definition of diversity. For the purposes of this research, and because of the sheer volume of literature related to faculty diversity and faculty-student interaction, I have chosen to limit this discussion in ways that are meaningful to existing scholarship (or lack thereof). Research is an iterative process, and this dissertation builds on previous research on diverse faculty impacts.

Overwhelmingly, race and gender characteristics remain two of the most significant ways in which researchers and scholars conceptualize and study diverse faculty. Perhaps due to the way existing data sets are structured, and the salience of race/ethnicity and gender to continuing discrimination and inequity in academia, these are the characteristics of a diverse faculty that have been studied the most. For these reasons, race and gender has received the most attention in this research, but age and generation was also an important social identity to many of the participants, and thus, was included in the analysis.

Within this literature, much of the existing scholarship refers to racially diverse faculty at predominately White, public research institutions (I will use “PWIs” from this point forward). There are very few studies on the impact of diverse faculty set within

small liberal arts colleges, community colleges, or even historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs). Therefore, I used existing demographic data from the ARL (the top ranked 122 institutions across the country), all of which are located on PWI campuses. I used this data to determine where pockets of diverse librarian faculty exist, and to visit select institutions that allowed me to interview the largest numbers of participants. Because of the nature of ARL locations, the institutions I chose necessarily involved visiting PWIs.

Dissertation Structure

The dissertation includes seven chapters. Chapter One, an introductory chapter, outlines the societal and higher education context for the study, as well as outlining the problem statement and professional significance. Chapter Two provides an in-depth literature review of relevant bodies of literature in library science, higher education, sociology, and organizational psychology. The review includes topics of social identity theory and role performance, race, gender and age/generation in academic librarianship, and diverse faculty impacts on individuals and institutions. Chapter Three discusses the methodology used to accomplish this study, along with limitations of the study. I describe the in-depth interviews, the population and sample, and analysis techniques that comprised the body of the study. Chapters Four through Six present the findings of the study including: Chapter Four, age/generation-based findings; Chapter Five, gender findings, and Chapter Six, race/ethnicity findings. Chapter Seven contains a summary of the study's findings, a theoretical framework for integrating the findings into the existing literature, and the implications of this research for scholars and practitioners.

Several appendices are also included in the dissertation. Appendix I includes the timeline for the completion of each step of the study. Appendix II includes the ways in which each body of literature contributes to the literature review in Chapter Two. Appendix III provides the interview guide, with each section informed by, and linked to previous literature. And Appendix IV provides the demographic survey given to each of the participants. Together, the interviews, demographic data, and follow-up focus session with academic librarians provided a robust set of data from which to analyze and find meaning to answer the study's guiding questions.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter two provides a review and synthesis of relevant theoretical and empirical literature from a number of disciplines. Before conducting original research on the relationship between social identity and role performance of diverse librarian faculty on collections, services, and library users, it is necessary to understand how diversity has been defined within the higher education setting, how the salience of social identities has been related to various faculty impacts, and to review diversity literature specific to academic library settings. This involved reviewing several broader yet pertinent bodies of literature, including higher education, library and information science, organizational psychology, and sociology scholarship. Appendix II illustrates how each body of literature contributes to this review.

This chapter is divided into four sections:

In the first section, I frame the study by using Critical Race Theory (CRT) to understand the history and traditions of academic libraries. I also discuss the relevance of Social Identity Theory (SID) for this study, along with literature on the salience of social identity on role performance and work identity. The tenets of SID inform the assumptions, design, methodology chosen, and underlying conceptual model for this study, and also inform several previous conceptual models upon which I am building (Hurtado et al., 1999; Milem, Chang & Antonio, 2005; Page, 2007). Finally, I use Role Theory (RT) to examine typical roles and responsibilities within ARL libraries.

In the second section, I review the literature on definition and conceptualization of “diversity,” from both the broad higher education perspective, and more narrowly from the library literature. I also examine how these conceptualizations and definitions have changed over time. The lack of a clearly articulated and universally understood definition of diversity within higher education (and our larger society) has made diversity research a challenge and has led me to be explicit about which social identity characteristics to include in the demographic survey given to each participant.

In the third section, I review and analyze the literature on the role performance and impacts of diverse faculty. This includes scholars’ conceptualizations and theories when applicable, and I note gaps in the literature on this increasingly important area of higher education research. First I review what scholars have found about individual and/or student impacts (i.e.: multicultural competency, critical thinking skills, role modeling, and mentoring), and then I review the range of institutional impacts (i.e. pedagogical diversity, expanded curricular offerings, societal relevance, and quality/robustness, etc.). Finally, I review impacts that are unique to the academic library setting (i.e. responsive collections and services, and recruitment to the profession) and have helped inform the interview protocol.

In the fourth section, I provide a literature-based conceptual model that builds on previous theories, measures, and findings used by researchers and scholars. It is based on the Input-Environment-Output model that is used by many higher education researchers (Astin, 1970a, 1970b; Nettles & Millett, 2006; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1976, 1977, 1978; Whitmire, 1998; 1999; 2001; 2003), but is also informed by the ecological models used more recently, which attempt to explain how individuals and their institutional contexts

influence one another (Dey & Hurtado, 1995; Gurin, Dey & Hurtado, 2002). Within the existing literature, there is a distinct lack of an overarching framework for this topic.

Therefore I attempt to provide a conceptual and theoretical frame into which these bodies of literature can be organized, and related to academic library settings.

Theoretical and Conceptual Underpinnings

Several theories help to frame the organizational context (Association of Research Libraries [ARL] libraries), individual behaviors, and typical roles within ARL settings for my study. Critical Race Theory (CRT), Social Identity Theory (SID), and Role Theory (RT) inform this study by providing a means to interpret a host of phenomena within academic libraries. CRT, with its commitment to social justice and recognition of “the centrality and intersectionality of race and racism” (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001, p. 2), is one way to explain the history and traditions important to the way academic libraries organize materials for their campus constituents. CRT also addresses the academic library cultural and social norms, as well as academic librarian demographic legacy (ARL, 2006; Smith-Maddox & Solorzano, 2002; Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). SID provides a way to understand and interpret the salience of race, ethnicity, and gender among academic librarians in order to understand the differences and similarities in how they approach their professional role responsibilities (Alexander-Snow & Johnson, 1998; Alire, 2001; Brickson, 2000; Burke & Reitzes, 1981; Randel, 2002). RT provides a common way to examine the typical roles and responsibilities within ARL libraries in order to structure interview protocol and solicit input for the analysis (Biddle, 2000; Westbrook, 2000).

Critical Race Theory

CRT states that a dominant paradigm or ideology has long-defined cultural institutions, including educational institutions, and that this paradigm usually places people of color at the bottom of the social order, whereby their contributions, epistemologies, heuristics and perspectives are not acknowledged or accepted as valid, or at least not on par with the dominant paradigm (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001; Thomas, 1993). In academic libraries, CRT can be used to interpret why collections and services often lack depth and breadth in areas related to diversity, why collections are classified and organized in schemas (such as the Library of Congress Classification Schedules, which assign call numbers to like-subject books and journals) that are outdated and sometimes derogatory toward the experiences, identities, and realities of many people of color (Berman, 1992; Bethel, 1994; Downing, 2005).

The European, middle class, heterosexual norm is perhaps best illustrated by the Library of Congress (LOC) classification scheme (LCC) used by most academic libraries today. The LCC system was originally developed in the late nineteenth century to organize and arrange the book collections of the LOC. The LCC “divides all knowledge into twenty-one basic classes, each identified by a single letter of the alphabet” (LOC, 2007a) or further subdivided by two or more letters. Most academic libraries adopted LCC in the early twentieth century, a time when a western European normative experience was unquestioned. Today, LCC is the most widely used classification scheme internationally (LOC, 2007a). Examples of people and experiences outside of the western European norm were classified in ways that are now seen as derogatory or demeaning, but the LCC system remains in place, though changing slowly (Berman, 1992; Bethel, 1994, Downing, 2005). For example, materials about interracial marriage are placed in

the HQ1031 area that is sandwiched between “Inbreeding” and ”Marriage of Degenerates and Defectives” (LOC, 2007b). The language of subject headings (the vocabulary attached to books and other resources so that they can be found when one is searching on a topic) is also often outdated and is considered derogatory by many people of color (Bethel, 1994; Berman, 1992). There are examples in the library literature of cataloging librarians who have worked for decades to rid the LOC of descriptive subject headings such as “Yellow Peril” to describe materials related to Chinese Americans and “Savages” to describe materials on Native Americans (Downing, 2005).

CRT can also be used to explain the structural or compositional diversity (or lack thereof) within most academic libraries (ARL, 2006; Hall, 2006a). Librarians of color remain underrepresented within the librarian ranks, particularly among academic library administrators. According to the ARL (2007), between 1985-86 and 2005-2006, the percentage of minority librarians increased from 10 percent to 13 percent and library directors/deans increased from two percent to five percent. In comparison, the U.S. Census Bureau reported that minorities comprised approximately 30 percent of the U.S. population (Hipps, 2006). This slow growth in minority librarians mirrors the slow progress in the composition of the faculty at large (NCES, 2005).

Extended to gender, CRT can also be used to interpret the continuing under representation of women in library administration. Historically, academic libraries, particularly the largest and most prestigious academic library workforces (ARL libraries) have been dominated by women, but led by men (Kaufman, 1993). “In 1991, although 80 percent of the library work force consisted of women, 80 percent of all management positions were held by men (Kaufman, 1993, p. 109). The process of becoming a

librarian (whereby most library schools lack diverse curricula and diverse faculty) along with the “chilly climate” (Sandler, et al., 1996) at many research libraries, are cited in the library literature as being challenges to recruiting and retaining minority librarians (Hall, 1988; Hall, 2006a). Summing up this trend in academic libraries, Echavarria (1995) wrote,

A lack of cultural diversity among librarians has been an area of concern well documented in the professional literature. There are relatively few librarians...who are members of underrepresented minority groups. Among academic librarians it is even lower. Libraries are traditionally institutions frequented by the middle and upper middle class white sector of the American population and this is reflected in the ethnic composition of librarians (p. 266).

Starr (1988) posited “Racism—institutionalized, subtle, taught and absorbed from birth, in conscious and unconscious ways—is still a problem prevailing among libraries and librarians” (p. 184).

Social Identity Theory

SID has several important components that are relevant to this research. Unlike CRT, which is most concerned with systems and institutions, SID provides a lens into individual cognition and behavior; it is a model of the co-influences of individual identity within social structures (Hogg, Terry & White, 1995). Abrams and Hogg (1990) spelled out several components that are central to the understanding of SID. These include: social identity as series of overlapping categories of group membership (individuals often have concurrent, multiple salient identities), social identity being most salient when group representation is integrated into individual or personal self-concept; some groups having more “resources, power, status and prestige” (Abrams & Hogg, 1990, p. 4); and more powerful groups seeking to maintain the status quo in order to keep their power. According to Abrams and Hogg, “Social identity theory assigns a central role to the

process of categorization which partitions the world into comprehensible units” (p. 2). Further, Ashforth & Mael (1989) link SID to organizational identity. They distinguish between aligning ones’ self with a group and “acceptance of those values and attitudes” associated with the group (p. 22). The relationship between SID and organizational behavior includes “searches for meaning, connectedness, empowerment, and immortality...to the extent the organization, as a social category, is seen to embody or even reify characteristics perceived to be prototypical of its members, it may well fulfill such motives for the individual” (p. 2). The individual’s social identity may be derived not only from the organization, but also from his or her work group, department, union, lunch group, age cohort, fast-track group, and so on” (Ashforth and Mael, p., 22). Still other researchers have investigated the “goodness of fit” of identity with environment to account for the contextual salience of different social identities (Burke, 2006; Stryker, 1987).

Within the academic library literature, there is a body of scholarship regarding the particular salience of librarians’ racial identities to the following areas: working toward social justice (de la Pena-McCook, 2000; Josey & Abdullahi, 2002; Patterson, 2000; St. Lifer & Nelson, 1997); academic library leadership (Alire, 2001; Williams, 1999; Winston, 1998); delivery of collections and services (Adkins & Espinal, 2004; Balderrama, 2000; Gandhi, 2000; Weissinger, 2006), and recruitment to the profession (Alire, 2001; Gandhi, 2000; Goss 2003; Holmes, 1992).

Sandra Rios Balderrama (2000), the first Diversity Officer of the American Library Association, explained how social identity can impact librarian behavior,

What makes us distinctive individually is what brings our greatest strength to the forefront and what impacts the design of programs, collections and

systems. Sometimes we cannot teach diversity, enforce diversity, or “convince” diversity. We can only live it, be it, become it...Heritage, culture, family, schools, and society all play a role in determining how we decide to fit in, to succeed, or not. (p. 209).

Outside of race, however, there is very little in the library literature about the salience of social identities to role performance, and very little using SID as a conceptual framework for empirical investigation. Therefore, it is necessary to turn to the social science and psychology literature regarding applications of SID to the workplace.

Much of the literature on SID and role performance is found in the applied behavioral sciences. Unfortunately, what is there mainly has relied on linear models of identity development (Foote, 1951; Stryker, 1994; Wells, 1978), has studied one particular social identity in isolation (Rosenberg, 1979; Stryker, 1968, 1994, 2000), or does not take into account the difference between historically marginalized/underrepresented groups and those who hold European American identity (Burke, 1980; Burke & Reitzes, 1981; Burke & Tully, 1977; Stryker, 1980).

In the 1990s, a variety of social scientists began exploring the role of overlapping identities, and differing outcomes based on historically marginalized groups (Alexander-Snow & Johnson, 1998; Hardiman & Jackson, 1997; Steele, 1997). Jackson and Hardiman's (1997) seminal agent/target social identity framework not only introduced the ways in which multiple identities overlap and intersect one another, it also provided theoretical explanations for differing outcomes based on group privilege and power dynamics.

In this study, I have used Jackson and Hardiman's (1997) theoretical work to analyze why some academic librarians experience and draw from the salience of their

various social identities, and others do not in the same setting, performing the same roles. According to Hardiman and Jackson's model, identities fall into one of two categories: persons who have agent or target identities. Briefly, *agent identities* have the social power to define reality and set cultural and organizational "norms." Those with agent identities are typically from dominant social groups privileged by birth or acquisition. Knowingly or unknowingly, they exploit and reap benefits from target groups and they are sometimes unaware of membership in dominant group due to existing privilege and cultural/societal norms. Ironically, membership in a dominant group allows such persons to be seen as individuals apart from their group membership. *Target identities*, on the other hand, hold membership in current and/or historically oppressed groups, are seen as without individual identities apart from the group, are often stereotyped because of lack of inter-group interaction, and are frequently labeled as outside societal or organizational "norms."

Figure 2.1 illustrates Jackson and Hardiman's framework for the social identities that were relevant to this study's participants. The agent/target framework explains that within each individual, many social identities overlap, and that people who hold target, or oppressed identities will feel the salience of those identities more acutely.

Figure 2.1. Agent/Target Social Identities in ARL Libraries

	Agent Identities	Target Identities
Race/Ethnicity	White/Caucasian	People of Color
Gender	Male	Female
Age	33-57	<33 and >57
Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual	LGBT
Socio-Economic Status	Upper Middle class	Lower/Middle class

Adapted from Hardiman and Jackson (1997)

Agent identities, on the other hand, are viewed within organizations, as being the social “norm.” Because these identities are not questioned or seen as “different,” they therefore may not be felt to the same degree, if at all, as target identities. It is interesting and important to note that within a single individual, both target and agent identities may be held simultaneously, if, for instance, a Hispanic male librarian experiences his non-White identity as a target identity, but experiences his male identity as an agent.

Another important part of the broader literature on SID is the work on solo status, or, as Sekaquaptewa, Waldman and Thompson (2007) have defined it, “being the only member of one’s social category present in a group” (p. 321). Many of the librarian participants in this study experience solo status in their work settings, and as many researchers have found, there are differential effects of solo status depending on whether one is a member of a low-status group (women and people of color), or a high-status group (White men) (Sekaquaptewa & Thompson 2002; Sekaquaptewa, Waldman & Thompson, 2007). Researchers have shown in the field as well as in controlled laboratory settings that when one is the only member of a particular social group, they may feel “overly scrutinized, negatively stereotyped, and judged more harshly” (Sekaquaptewa, Waldman & Thompson, 2007, p. 321) than their peers (Inzlicht & Ben-Zeev, 2000; Kanter, 1977; Pollak & Niemann, 1998; Sekaquaptewa & Thompson, 2002, 2003; Sekaquaptewa, Waldman & Thompson, 2007)

Role Theory

Role Theory is concerned with “the tendency for human behaviors to form characteristic patterns that may be predicted if one knows the social context in which

those behaviors appear” (Biddle, 2000). Westbrook (2000) wrote about the typical roles of academic librarians and the nature of how the *enactment* of those roles have changed over time with the use of technology, but not the underlying roles themselves. The difficulty with RT as it is primarily conceptualized in the sociology and organizational psychology literature is that race and gender are rarely taken into account with the exception of a small minority of researchers (Burke & Reitzes, 1981; Stryker, 1968; Stryker & Burke, 2000). Therefore, I will use the combination of CRT, SID, and RT to provide lenses with which to place institutional context (ARL libraries), individual experiences and actions, and their particular blends of roles and responsibilities within their institutions.

Definitions of Diversity

Higher education researchers and scholars have defined diversity in a variety of ways throughout the past several decades. In reviewing the literature on educational diversity, it is readily apparent that “there are multiple perspectives and varying definitions in this area, which make a single integrated presentation problematic” (Shapiro, Sewell & DuCette, 2001, p. 1). It is safe to generalize that most scholars use the term “diversity” to mean “groups who have been historically marginalized in American education or for whom American schools have not, and are not, functioning very well” (Shapiro, Sewell & DuCette, p. 2).

A temporal quality can be observed in the way diversity has been defined in the literature. Over the past forty years, diversity has referred to an expanding list of human characteristics that have an impact on experiences and perceptions. Most recently, the definition of diversity has been expanded to include not only the structural diversity

previously examined, but also diversity-related initiatives and interactions among groups on campus (Hurtado et al., 1999; Milem, Chang & Anotonio, 2005; Milem & Hakuta, 2000).

In the 1960s and early '70s, diversity was discussed mainly in terms of Black and White race and socioeconomic status (SES) (Allen, Epps & Haniff, 1991; Fleming, 1984; Josey, 1970; Moore & Wagstaff, 1974). In the 1970s, higher education scholars began to integrate gender (women) into their conceptual models and analyses, along with limited attention to age (Pascarella, 1979, 1980; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1977, 1978, 1979). During the 1980s and early 1990s, diversity broadened to include sexual orientation and physical ability (Gough & Greenblatt, 1990; James & Matson, 1990; Perin, 1990).

In the 1990s to the present, a much more expansive understanding of diversity includes the many characteristics that make an individual unique, including, but not limited to race/ethnicity, age/generation, physical ability, religion, gender, sexual orientation, veteran status, size, language, and others (Duderstadt, 1995; Shapiro, Sewell & DuCette, 2001). Although many scholars have included long lists of diverse factors in their definitions of diversity (Banks & Banks, 2004; Grant & Sleeter, 1988; Cushner, 1992), in the higher education and library science literature, the vast majority of researchers and scholars concentrate on the group characteristics of diverse faculty that carry continued consequences in terms of discriminatory behaviors and issues of equity; namely, race and/or ethnicity and gender.

Why do so many scholars concentrate on gender, race and age characteristics within the larger definition of diversity? It is mostly a reflection of the iterative nature of research. These are the characteristics that are tracked for federal and state reporting

purposes, and thus are readily available to researchers. Also, as Adrianna Kezar (2000), editor of the ASHE-ERIC series for 2000, stated, “An examination of the academic workplace for women and minority faculty becomes imperative if one considers that demographic predictions suggest that the U.S. workforce will become increasingly diverse in the 21st century. The two populations most likely to determine diversity in the workplace in the 21st century are women and minorities” (p. v).

Echoing this sentiment in the library literature is Lorna Peterson (1999), professor of Information and Library Studies at SUNY Buffalo, who wrote,

Multicultural diversity as a political definition concerns racial groups who have experienced legal and institutionalized economic, social and political oppression and are therefore marginalized in the majority society. This definition abhors statements that blend racial, physical ability, sexual orientation and other characteristics as all equal in the experience of injustice (p. 24).

While not every researcher agrees with emphasizing this narrow range of characteristics (Jones, 1999), it is clear that many scholars place special emphasis on race and gender in higher education research, with age/generation increasingly being examined with the increase in GenX and GenYers entering and impacting our workplaces.

Previous Conceptualizations of Age and Generation in the Workplace

Scholars have conceptualized the meaning of age and generation many various ways. Age has been conceptualized as an individual or interpersonal concept (Irwin, 1998; Martin Conley, 2005), while generation has been conceptualized as a sociological concept (Manheim, 1970; McLester, 2007; McMullin, et al., 2007).

Conceptualizations of Generations

Beginning with Mannheim's (1952) classic "The Problem of Generations," generations were once conceptualized to represent a "unique type of social location based on the dynamic interplay between being born in a particular year and the socio-political events that occur throughout the life course of the birth cohort" (McMullin, et al., p. 300). Using this definition as a basis, many cultural commentators have coined one phrase or another to describe these various generational cohorts.

"The specific nature of a new generation can be defined by the way cultural heritage and tradition is adopted, rejected or reinterpreted" (Kubicek & Wagner, 2002, p. 294) This, along with the idea of technological generations (Dobbins, 2005; McMullin, et al., 2007), may explain some of the generational/age related stress we experience in academic librarianship. Idea of "digital natives" versus those from earlier generations who have adapted to technology.

Rather than traditional age-based generations such as GenX, Baby Boomers, GenY, etc., McMullin et al. (2007) and Robat (2006) use technological-based generations to examine cultural exclusion and differences in the workplace. They group generations around the concept of what was happening technologically during the coming of age years of the workers including generations of "Pre-ATARI Generation," born before 1955, the "Console Generation," born between 1964-1973, the "Internet Generation," born after 1978. "Generational identification" (McMullin, et al., 2007, p.313).

"Immersion in technological innovation offers a type of generational affinity. In the case of IT workers, cohesion of generations is bolstered by the further homogeneity of those exposed to gaming and computing technology during key coming of age years"

(McMullin, et al., 2007, p.313). “The common view held among (IT workers) is that technological skill and capacity for innovation are linked to youthful exposure to computing technology. Hence, those who came to IT later in life and generations who missed ‘growing up’ with certain technologies, are at a disadvantage” (McMullin, et al., 2007, p.313). “According to Eyerman and Turner (1998), generational cohorts sometimes” keep material resources and cultural capital within their own generations, placing others from other generations at a disadvantage. “Generational theorizing on age-based inequities has often focused on labour market disadvantage faced by younger generations. Yet our data show that mechanisms of closure may be used to exclude older generational groups...shared views about generational advantage and disadvantage in relation to computing have a bearing on work relations and conceptualizations of ‘older’ and ‘younger’ IT workers that disadvantage older workers” (McMullin, et al., 2007, p.313). “Developments in computer technology, which have both productive and cultural components, provide a basis for generational formulation and identity and whether generational discourse is invoked to create cultures of difference in the workplace” (McMullin, et al., 2007, p.298). “The common view held among study participants is that technological skill and capacity for innovation are linked to youthful exposure to computing technology...hence, those who came to IT later in life and generations who missed ‘growing up’ with certain technologies, are at a disadvantage” (McMullin, et al., 2007, p. 313).

Figure 2.2 illustrates the many ways that generations have been grouped in the literature and/or popular culture.

Figure 2.2 Terms and Phrases Used in Generation Literature

Digital Native/Digital Immigrant (McLester, 2007)
Baby Boomer (Howe & Strauss, 1991)
GenX (Howe & Strauss, 1991)
GenY (Howe & Strauss, 1991)
Pre-ATARI Generation (Robat, 2006)
ATARI Generation (Robat, 2006)
Console Generation (Robat, 2006)
Windows Generation (Robat, 2006)
Internet Generation (Robat, 2006)
Tweener (Howe & Strauss, 1991)
Millenials (Howe & Strauss, 1991)
Entrenched Workforce/Emerging Workforce (Wieck, 2003)

Other conceptualizations have built on Manheim to include the application of generational opposition within the workplace setting (Gusfield, 1957), concepts of social capital acquired through the life course (de Janasz & Forret, 2008), linking generations through exposure to popular culture within cohorts (Roberson, 2003), power and ability to control access to cultural capital (Eyerman & Turner, 1998; Turner, 1998), and technological developments (Carr & Devries, 1999; Kubicek & Wagner, 2002; McMullin, et. al, 2007; Robat, 2006). Each of these conceptualizations of generations build on Mannheim's base, and each were expressed by one or more of the participants in this study.

Conceptualizations of Age

Age, in contrast to generations, is usually conceptualized as an individual or interpersonally based phenomenon (Roberson, 2003). Age in the library workplace has been examined in relation to demographic trends rather than in a qualitative manner (Wilder, 1995, 2003; McLester, 2007).

According to sociologists and gerontologists who examine aging in the workplace, “youth concepts of work formed during the Industrial Revolution fostered the ideas that work by older adults is either unnecessary or undesirable” (Morris & Venkathesh, 2000; Roberson, 2003). With the lifting of mandatory retirement ages in most sectors of the workforce, including higher education, and thus academic libraries, it is not uncommon to have librarians that span six decades working side by side within a single library department.

Defining the concept of age is a complex issue that can be approached from many lenses including “chronological age, social roles in age, functional age, and subjective age, cosmetic age, biological age, psychological age, social age, and economic age” (Roberson, 2003). Each of these lenses may render a different “age” for any one person, however, the findings of this and other studies suggest that chronological age and appearance/perception of age are usually the lenses by which library users, colleagues and society-at-large judge one another (Coulter, 2006; Roberson, 2003).

When examining age on the macro level, “age cannot be known or understood without the symbolic interaction of the issues of age” of the individual and what it means to them, and the context of the society, or in this case, the profession. Macro level effects such as age stratification within librarianship, cohort influence and socialization norms within ARLs, and social power and cultural capital of those at the reigns of ARL libraries are all relevant issues that are integral when discussing the dynamics of age and generation in ARL libraries (Roberson, 2003; Wilder, 1995, 2003).

Within popular culture, librarianship has often held a stereotype of that of an older, spinsterish White woman. In the last several years, as the profession has adopted

and driven changes in technology, including harnessing the power of social networking, web2.0, NextGen catalogs, etc., and images of younger, hip, urban professionals who are casting aside the dowdy label and driving the profession in a new and exciting direction have emerged (Jesella, 2007). These profession-based stereotypes are driven, in part, by our societal attitude toward aging (Roberson, 2003). Stereotypes such as older persons being dependent, absent-minded, afraid or unable to adopt technology, etc. reflect little understanding of older adults today (McMullin, et all, 2007; Roberson, 2003). Faculty surveys have shown that given proper support, older faculty adopt new technologies at similar rates as younger faculty (Carr & Devries, 1999).

Diverse Faculty and Role Performance

Whereas there is an abundance of higher education literature on the impacts of *faculty in general*, there is much less empirical literature on the impacts of *diverse* and *librarian* faculty in particular. Here, I review this body of empirical and conceptual literature on role performance and impacts according to those that are conceptualized as primarily impacting institutions, and those that primarily impact individuals.

Institutional Impacts

The literature points to benefits accrued by institutions that have committed to diversifying their faculty ranks. President Emeritus James Duderstadt (2004) stated,

At [the University of] Michigan we remain convinced that our university's capacity to serve our society, our nation, and the world successfully...would depend in large part on our ability to achieve and sustain a campus community recognized for its racial, cultural, and ethnic diversity. Indeed, our diversity has been a cornerstone of our efforts to achieve excellence in teaching, research and service (n.p.).

Smith and Wolf-Wendel (2005) concur, “the issue of diversity in the faculty and staff assumes direct as well as indirect importance for campus efforts.” (p. 50).

While there is very little library-specific literature on this topic, K-12 and higher education scholars have studied and conceptualized the institutional impacts of diverse faculty to include: the use of expanded pedagogies, particularly those that promote active learning (Milem, 2000, 2001; Darling-Hammond et al., 1996); the broadening of the curriculum to more fully reflect emerging populations both in area studies (Black Studies, Latino Studies, etc.) and integrating diverse perspectives into traditional curricular areas (Antonio, 2002; Hurtado, et al., 1999; Milem, 2000, 2001; Willie & McCord, 1972), improved campus climate (Hurtado et al., 1999; Milem, Chang & Antonio, 2005; Willie & McCord, 1972); wider research, scholarship, and publication focus (Hurtado et al., 1999; Milem, 2000, 2001; Milem, Chang & Antonio, 2005;); improved quality and robustness of the institution (Duderstadt, 2004; Hong & Page, 2004; Page, 2007); greater adherence to a democratic mission (Duderstadt, 2004; Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado et al., 1999); and improved societal relevance (Duderstadt, 2004; Adkins & Espinal, 2004). Though many of these impacts overlap and co-occur within the literature, two stand out as the most fully explored, and deserve a more thorough treatment in this review: expanded curricular offerings and the increased use of alternative pedagogies.

It is interesting to note that while many of these scholars have linked a diverse faculty to these many institutional outcomes, virtually none of them examine exactly how and why the work of diversity of faculty creates these beneficial outcomes. In other words, the literature does not examine the exact mechanisms that diverse faculty use to affect these valuable contributions.

Expanded Curricular Offerings

Scholarship about expanded curricula reflects the changing theories and purposes of classroom experiences in higher education. The literature in this area centers around two ways diverse faculty have broadened the curriculum: first, by developing whole new disciplinary areas such as Women's Studies, Black Studies, Latin American Studies, among others (Sears and Marshall, 2000), and second, by integrating multicultural and critical perspectives into the teachings of the traditional disciplines (Chliwniak, 1997; Hurtado et al., 1999; Sears & Marshall, 2000).

Sears and Marshall (2000) wrote, “Curricularists’ thinking is evolving from a focus on curriculum as a phenomenon of schooling to curriculum as a more pervasive social and cultural phenomenon” (p. 211). Although they do not explicitly attribute this trend to broad diversification of the faculty, they specifically link it to the new generation of “post-millennial” scholars. They argue that older curricularists held a positivist view that the curriculum should present a unified body of knowledge, whereas the younger generation of faculty are more interested in creating “new niches in curriculum studies” that center around identity, politics, economics, and culture (p. 211).

In his 2002 comparison study of the scholarship of faculty of color and White faculty, Antonio notes that diverse faculty are “essential for higher education because they...are supportive of minority-related and other areas of non-traditional areas of scholarship” (p. 583). His groundbreaking work examined the ways in which faculty of color incorporate culture and advocacy into their scholarship and teaching, and how that work influences students’ affective and democratic outcomes.

Milem (2000, 2001) quantified “the relationship between the race and gender of faculty members and the three missions of the university: research, teaching and service.

He wrote, “I found that women faculty and faculty of color differ from their colleagues in ways that advance their institutions’ missions” (2000, p. 28). Explaining the salience of social identity on their work he wrote,

The scholarly interests of these faculty members [women faculty and faculty of color] lead them to incorporate readings in their courses that represent the experiences of women and people of color in society. The readings expose some of their students to new perspectives and allow others to see aspects of their own experience included in the curriculum. The importance of this practice cannot be understated (2000, p. 28).

Smith and Wolf-Wendel (2005) concur. Their work focused on the “capacity of institutions to educate and involve increasingly diverse student populations” (p. ix). Basing their work on a model that examines access and success, climate and intergroup relations, and education and scholarship, they concluded,

Diversification of the faculty and staff is likely to contribute to what is taught, how it is taught, and what is important to learn, contributions that are vital to the institution. Faculty trained in traditional pedagogy and in traditional methodologies often find it difficult to fundamentally change courses and curricula. Diversification of the faculty and staff make it easier, because the likelihood is greater for the introduction of different perspectives (p. 50-52).

In their book, *Making a Difference: University Students of Color Speak Out*, Lesage et al. (2002) use in-depth narratives of twelve minority students regarding their college experiences. Their reactions to the curriculum, and the diversity of professors who taught them are reflective of an earlier study by Willie and McCord (1972). One Chicana student stated, “All the other classes I’ve taken present only a Euro American point of view. Classes like Chicano literature or Chicanos in U.S. society offer our point of view” (p. 65). An Asian American student added, “The curriculum merely reflects a specific cultural perspective, so multiple perspectives should be integrated into the curriculum even at the university level” (p. 66). An African American student wrote, “It’s an

incredible feeling to have an African American teacher telling the class about things you know about and teaching you things you didn't know before but understand because you both live the same spectrum" (Lesage et al., 2002, p. 72).

While Willie and McCord (1972) and Lesage et al. (2002) provide valuable insight into the students' perspective on ethnic studies, they are less clear about the effects of including multiple perspectives into traditional areas of the curriculum. Their interpretations, and the student voices in these two studies, echo one another even though they occurred 30 years apart. They are clear: diverse faculty teaching multicultural content matters.

Finally, it is important to note that many scholars have acknowledged the importance of not essentializing social identities within minority faculty (Edwards & Fisher, 2003; Kanter, 1993; Lesage et al., 2001). Making assumptions about what faculty want to teach based on race, ethnicity, or gender leads to tokenism and undue demands for service (Allen, 1998; Edwards & Fisher, 2003). Thus, while women or faculty of color may be more likely to introduce new areas of study, new perspectives, or even challenge canonical assumptions, it is not appropriate to assume that all women or minority faculty will do so.

Use of Non-Traditional Pedagogical Methods

Traditional classroom-based pedagogies that stress lecturing and little student participation within a classroom setting are clearly waning in popularity as research illuminates the benefits of cooperative and active learning strategies (Love & Love, 1995). Alternative pedagogies are now employed by some faculty to help a wider range of students to get the most from their learning experiences (Chliwniak, 1997; Milem,

2000). Boomers, Gen-Xers, and millennial students, as well as returning students who juggle jobs and family with their schooling, are demanding more active learning on campus, and via the Internet (Cornell, 1999; Brownstein, 2000; Murray, 1997; Oblinger, 2003). As we learn more about the benefits of integrating the cognitive, social, cultural, and emotional aspects of learning, more nontraditional pedagogical methods emerge, including collaborative rather than competitive methods of learning and teaching, incorporating a multiplicity of viewpoints in readings and discussions, and techniques and philosophies that acknowledge and encourage affective as well as cognitive growth (Hurtado et al., 1999; TuSmith & Reddy, 2002). These non-traditional pedagogies promote “holistic learning” (Love & Love, 1995) and “culturally relevant” methods (Darling-Hammond et al., 1996) to reach increasingly diverse students.

Past scholarship on the intersection of pedagogy and diversity often centers on the race, gender and age of *students*, but rarely on the diverse characteristics of the *faculty*. Important exceptions include the mulitple research studies by Jeffrey Milem and his collaborators (Milem, 2000; Milem, 2001; Milem & Hakuta, 2000; Milem & Astin, 1993), who disaggregate their studies on faculty activities related to diversity by race and gender. Milem (2001) found that Black, Hispanic, Native American, and White women faculty, when compared with White and Asian faculty, more often employ critical and nontraditional teaching methods to “most or all” of the courses they teach. For example, while overall only 14 percent of faculty included readings on race or ethnicity in all or most of their classes, 28.5 percent of African American faculty, 30.7 percent of Latino faculty, and 26.3 percent of Native American faculty did so. Milem & Wakai (1996) and Milem & Astin (1993) also showed that faculty from underrepresented groups “are more

likely to report using student-centered approaches to teaching and ‘active learning’ techniques such as class discussion” (1993, p. 235). These alternative pedagogies have been linked with improved student learning outcomes (Antonio, 2002; Milem, 2001; Milem & Hakuta, 2000; Sotello Viernes Turner, 2000), and “will promote relations and interactions across racial and ethnic groups” (Hurtado at al., 1999, p. 23).

Much of this work is based on case studies of single class experiences or self-narratives written by the instructors themselves (Hill, 2002; Leong, 2002; Padilla, 1997; Pimentel & Pimentel, 2002; TuSmith, 2002). Pimentel and Pimentel (2002) and Padilla are illustrative of this type of scholarship. They each write about their experiences co-teaching semester-long courses on race and ethnicity in the U.S. They describe the role of critical theory in the underpinnings of their methodologies, and describe the co-construction of the class syllabus with their students. They also describe the negotiations with students about assignments and the way evaluation is done. Pimental and Pimental (2002) wrote,

We believe not only that coalition pedagogy encourages students of color to be open and truthful about their beliefs and experiences but also that privileged white students are pushed to become more critical in the process. In our own freshman writing classes, we have implemented coalition pedagogy and have found positive results for all students involved (p. 123).

A major theme running throughout much of this literature is faculty of color and female faculty experiences with using collaborative pedagogies. “A sentiment existing among some scholars in higher education suggests that competition, which is among one of the fundamental values of our society and our higher education system is detrimental to many of our students, but particularly to students of color and women” (Hurtado et al., 1999, p. 22). Methods such as “grading on a curve and insisting on individual projects

rather than group efforts runs counter to the cultural traditions of many students of color and emphasizes the elite nature of higher education” (Hurtado et al., 1999, p. 22).

Many scholars delve into specific pedagogical methods in order to include active and critical learning along with those methods that promote and validate “communities of learning” (Hill, 2002), cooperation, collaboration and interdependence. Having the class co-construct the syllabus and assignments (Leong, 2002; Padilla, 1997) and having students engage in self and peer evaluations rather than grading solely by the instructor (Pimental & Pimental, 2002) are just two examples of the alternative pedagogies described in these works.

In a conceptual piece using critical race theory, Darling-Hammond et al.(1996) emphasizes the importance for teachers to be “consciously responsive to students’ cultural backgrounds and learning styles” (p. 6). This pedagogy, she maintains, “is considered crucial by many scholars and educators of color...understanding the culture precipitates a greater level of learning than had been developed under culturally insensitive conditions” (Darling-Hammond et al., 1996 p. 6). Darling-Hammond relates how teachers who build “learning communities” encourage relationships between students and teachers. Those teachers’ “classrooms were marked by social equality, egalitarianism, and mutuality stemming from a group, rather than an individual ethos. [The teachers used] interaction modes such as call-and-response and the use of familiar language patterns, and fostering a climate in which cooperation, acceptance, participation, and learning were stressed above competition” (p. 8).

Closely related to notions of community building and cooperative learning methods is the idea of “kinship or family as a metaphor for the classroom work of

African American teachers” (p. 8). Nieto (1994) and Shuhmann (1992) both noted this familial theme in the classrooms of Hispanic teachers they observed. Darling-Hammond et al. (1996) wrote, “the teacher is perceived as a parent, mentor, or godmother. They understand the benefits of creating a sense of intimacy and trust with their students that translates to a comfortable learning environment” (p. 9). The theme of teacher as learner in such situations is common in these narrative accounts of using non-traditional pedagogies.

Individual Impacts

A variety of individual benefits have also emerged from the empirical and conceptual literature. These include: improved retention and graduate rates (Bennett, 2004; Smith & Wolf-Wendel, 2005); greater satisfaction with the college/graduate school experience (Nettles & Millett, 2006); improved social and academic integration, including stronger mentoring, role modeling and professional/anticipatory socialization (Addis, 1996; Alire, 2001; Antonio, 2003; Irvine, 2003; Scisney-Matlock & Matlock, 2001; Weiher, 2000); increased likelihood of graduate school aspirations (Lesage, et al., 2002); improved multicultural competency (Dooley, 2003; Duderstadt, 2004; Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado et al., 1999; Ladson-Billings 1994); and improved academic performance (Antonio, 2002; Dee, 2001; Hesch, 1999; Milem & Hakuta, 2000; Sotello Vienes Turner, 2000). Some of these impacts are viewed as deriving directly from the active presence of minority faculty (multicultural competence and mentoring/role modeling), and some are secondary gains derived from the direct impacts (social/academic integration, career/graduate school aspirations).

Much has been written about the alienation of minority students, faculty, and librarians on primarily White campuses (Edwards & Fisher, 2003; Fleming, 1984; Hall, 1988; Hummel & Steele, 1996; Moore & Wagstaff, 1974; Nettles, 1991). For minority students, faculty of color may provide some amount of comfort and safety, along with role models and possible mentors (Gibbons, 1993; Lesage et al., 2002; Nettles, 1991). For White students, male and female, faculty of color and women faculty provide counters to a lifetime of often-negative media images, and differing cultural perspectives (Irvine, 2003). For other female faculty and faculty of color, women and minority colleagues provide a sense of community; and lessen the chance of isolation. Solo status and tokenism (Edwards & Fisher, 2003; Kanter, 1993; Sekaquaptewa & Thompson, 2003), and undue demands for service (Allen, 1998; Edwards & Fisher, 2003).

Enhanced Multicultural Competence

The impact of a diverse faculty on enhancing multicultural competence in students and faculty/staff is an emerging area of higher education literature, but one that has been written about for decades in the psychology and K-12 literature (Banks, 1988, Bowers & Flinders, 1990; Erikson, 1986; Graff, 1993; Mitchell, 1985). Researchers in this area use a variety of names for the concept of multicultural competence, including “cultural intelligence” (Earley & Mosakowski, 2004), “cultural competency” (Perloff et al., 2006), “CQ,” or “cultural quotient” (Earley & Mosakowski, 2004), among others. Multicultural competence has also been conceived of including a variety of different sub-skills, including critical and complex thinking, multiple perspective taking, reducing prejudice, and the ability to understand and bridge differences of race, ethnicity, culture,

and other group characteristics in order to work toward a common purpose (Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2001; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005a).

Building multicultural competence is one of the few areas of the literature that consistently addresses the impact of a diverse faculty on non-minority individuals (Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, et al., 1999; Hurtado, et al., 2002a; 2002b; Milem, 2000; Milem & Hakuta, 2000). Much of this literature is based on the theoretical underpinnings of intergroup contact theory put forth by Gordon Allport in the 1950s, and empirically tested by researchers such as Pettigrew and Tropp (2006). Contact theory centers on the phenomenon that with certain types of supportive out-group exposure, prejudice is reduced, and unity among diverse-others is increased. The trouble with models that center on contact theory is that they tend not to, in the words of Tanaka (2002) “examine the underlying cultures of an institution.” The exceptions to this criticism are Astin’s (1993) work examining the “diversity emphasis” of the institution, and work by Hurtado et al. (1999) and Milem, Chang and Antonio (2005) that conceptualizes campus diversity from an encompassing view of institutional climate (including historical legacy, structural diversity, psychological climate, behaviors, and organizational structures within the environment).

Many authors look beyond the college years for additional reasons to develop multicultural competency. This benefit is the student impact most often cited in the literature, but is mostly conceptual in nature. Hurtado et al. (1999) state, “attaining a diverse student body and hiring diverse faculty result in significantly more opportunities for all students to learn how to deal with others from different cultural backgrounds after college” (p. 10). According to Earley and Mosakowski (2004), “in a world where

crossing boundaries is routine, CQ [“cultural quotient,” or, multicultural competence] becomes a vitally important aptitude and skill, and not just for [business persons]” (p. 139). In our global and multicultural society, the ability to view a situation from many perspectives is becoming increasingly important to employers, governments, and civil societies (Alger & Carrasco, 1997; Campus Compact, 2006; Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2001). To this point, Hurtado (2001) writes,

We are facing a U.S. society that is increasingly diverse. In such a society, it is ever more important to provide all college and university students with the skills necessary for success in an increasingly complex world...This demographic shift suggests that the role of higher education will remain essential in training a work force that can both economically sustain communities and forge relationships across the diverse populations that make up American society (p. 187).

Linking multicultural competency to leadership ability, Hurtado et al. (2002) state, “for students to become leaders in an increasingly heterogeneous and complex society, they need to learn how to accept diversity, negotiate conflicts, and form coalitions with diverse individuals and groups” (p. 164). Within academic librarianship, Alire (2001) wrote, “relying on one’s cultural competencies provides leaders with extra resources, enriched insights, and lessons in confronting challenges” (p. 101).

Still another post-graduation application of multicultural competency can be found in its linkage to citizenship and democratic governing. After conducting a series of quantitative analyses using Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP) data from the University of Michigan as well as a national CIRP sample, Gurin et al. (2002) conclude that “to foster citizenship for a diverse democracy, educators must intentionally structure opportunities for students to leave the comfort of their homogenous peer group and build relationships across racially/ethnically diverse student communities on

campus” (p. 363). Bowen and Bok (1998) quantified some of these post-graduation democratic outcomes (leadership, civic engagement, employment choices, etc.) for diverse students, but did not specifically link their analyses to the impact of diverse faculty.

Astin’s (1993) empirical study links diverse faculty, multicultural competency, and post graduation outcomes. His longitudinal study used approximately 25,000 students at 217 four-year colleges and universities in the mid to late 1980s found that “the extent in which an institution emphasized and supported racial and multicultural diversity among faculty and students had a positive impact on an individual student’s commitment to promoting racial understanding. Similarly, the number of ethnic studies and women’s studies courses taken by an undergraduate student had a positive impact on his or her cultural awareness and commitment to promoting racial understanding” (p. 176).

An important distinction between multicultural competence building and many other impacts can be found in how this literature generally supports its benefits for *all* students, rather than just female or minority students (Milem, Chang, & Antonio, 1995; Milem, 2000; Dooley, 2003; Ewing, 1995; Gurin et al., 2002). Most scholars’ arguments center around the idea that multiple points of view are essential for building critical thinking skills and functioning in a diverse world (Duderstadt, 2004; Hurtado, 2001; Milem, 2001). On this point, virtually every higher education professional association has issued supportive statements. One such statement comes from the AACU, “Today’s students must learn, in every part of their educational experience, to live creatively with the multiplicity, ambiguity, and irreducible differences that are the defining conditions of the contemporary world” (AACU, 1985, p. xxii).

Dooley (2003) wrote specifically about the benefits of diverse faculty on multicultural competency for all students,

All students can benefit from having a diverse teaching pool. The recruitment of ethnically and culturally diverse teachers is not undertaken solely for the benefit of ethnically and culturally diverse students, but rather for the benefit of all students who must learn to function effectively in the pluralistic society in which we live (p. 268).

Diverse Faculty as Role Models and Mentors

Unlike other impacts, faculty role modeling and mentoring, and its impact on students' social integration are conceived as having consequences primarily for racially diverse students. Often the terms are used interchangeably, but sometimes they are used to mean very different activities with very different outcomes. Both mentoring and role modeling have been linked in the literature to career aspirations (Addis, 1996; Astin, 1993); the "politics of recognition" (Addis, 1996; Irvine, 2003; Weiher, 2000); and reduced social and academic isolation (Astin, 1993; Nettles, 1991, 2006; Verdugo, 1995; Wolf-Devine, 1997).

In the library literature, the role of mentoring is usually conceptualized as a means to recruit underrepresented students into the profession (Adkins & Espinal, 2004; Echavarria, 1995; Gollop, 1999), or to advance junior academic librarians into leadership ranks (Alire, 2001; Winston, 1998). Echavarria (1995) wrote about the important mentoring role that minority librarians play for students on their campuses, "Mentoring is a proactive method that can succeed in reaching students" (p. 67). Like many authors, she talks about the mentoring efforts for minority undergraduates and in relation to recruitment to the library profession. The library literature on mentoring/role modeling includes studies that have found how many librarians of color had librarian role models to

help them consider librarianship as a profession (Adkins & Hussey, 2005; Moen, 1988; Rodriguez, 1997). Just as in the higher education literature however, there is a paucity of empirical studies that link the work of diverse librarians to measurable student outcomes.

Scholars agree that it is largely minority faculty who mentor students of color (Alger & Carrasco, 1997; Alire, 2001; Ferber & Wong, 2002; Irvine, 2003; Verdugo, 1995). While the literature generally supports this point, some authors theorize that it is not because students benefit only from same-race mentors, but because faculty are prone to offering mentoring relationships to those students who remind them of their younger selves (Alger & Carrasco, 1997). Therefore, at PWIs, where faculty of color are underrepresented, students of color are less likely to receive critical mentoring (Alger & Carrasco, 1997; Lesage et al, 2002; Nettles & Millett, 2006), or faculty of color are likely to have heavy service obligations mentoring these students (Edwards & Fisher, 2003; Patterson, 2000).

Other scholars theorize that rather than suffering from a void of White mentors, minority faculty simply make better matches for mentoring students of color (Farrell & Jones, 1988; Irvine, 2003). Irvine (2003) wrote about the cultural differences between racial groups, and how similar-others are able to contextualize these differences more easily than diverse others.

The result of alienation on the part of students of color on PWI campuses can be seen in the attrition rates of African American students who have “five to eight times higher than the attrition rates of Whites students on the same campuses” (Bennett, 2004, p. 861). Thus, there is the perception “that under-service based on race justifies a racial solution” (Flores & Slocum, 1997, p. 91). In other words, the fact that students of color

and female students often have difficulty finding mentors at PWIs justifies diversifying the faculty to provide a greater range of social identity-based “similar-others” with which to receive mentoring.

Within the literature, a “similar-others” hypothesis is prominent (Echavarria, 2002; Farrell & Jones, 1988; Ferber & Wong, 2002; Verdugo, 1995). Verdugo (1995) writes about the special impact that Hispanic faculty have for Hispanic students,

In terms of Hispanic faculty, there is the sense that they can be used as role models not only because they are educators but because they are Hispanic educators. They are a group who have overcome numerous obstacles in acquiring an education and thus are not only exemplars of the benefits of an education but also transmitters of this highly esteemed cultural value...for Hispanic students, Hispanic role models can be very important (p. 678).

According to the conceptual literature, other important components of mentoring, involve career and academic guidance. To this point, Ferber and Wong (2002) conceived that mentoring/role modeling,

Offers support by openly sharing information and advising others about one's job and responsibilities....The establishment of mentoring networks specifically for people of color can help build a supportive environment for them, so that they wish to stay and participate in shaping the institution over the long term. This is important because a multicultural faculty and staff must be present to accommodate a multicultural student body...faculty of color especially take on the role of mentoring students of color (p. 178).

And Addis (1996) noted that not only do role models and mentors help socialize role aspirants into a new institution, they help role aspirants to see “the possibility of one of their members attaining a particular role [or job/career]” (p. 1409). He added, “given the dearth of minorities and women in certain professions, it might be necessary for aspiring minority and female role occupants to see minorities and women in those roles to reassure themselves that they can indeed occupy those roles” (p. 1410).

Lesage et al. (2002) used narrative diaries kept by their students over the course of a semester, and Willie and McCord (1972), used mixed methods, including large-scale in-depth interviews of hundreds of Black students at multiple institutions to examine the impact of diverse faculty as role models. Lesage, et al. (2002) and Willie and McCord (1972), although their studies occurred thirty years apart, both agree that faculty of color are instrumental in providing improved mentoring for students, but Lesage also shows the importance of role modeling in affecting graduate school aspirations among students of color.

Lesage et al. (2002) firmly root their work within critical race theory, and how social identity and lack of equity inform the college experiences of many students of color. The authors' use of "contextual analyses" of their students' experiences illustrate points relating to Critical Race Theory and Social Identity Theory. One Native American student participant in Lesage's study wrote,

I'm taking a class from the only Native American professor on this campus. It's a lot easier because I don't have to explain myself....When I talk to someone from my own background, I can get on with other things instead of having to step back and explain everything step by step form the beginning (p. 71).

Willie and McCord (1972) conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews of over 200 African American students at four institutions in the state of New York. Black faculty were perceived as "someone you can talk to," "a source of information," "someone really concerned" for their welfare, and "someone with whom you can identify" (p. 59). They found, "Not only do black students express an overwhelming need for black advisors, they also press for more black faculty" (p. 60).

Adkins and Hussey (2005) interviewed nineteen undergraduate and graduate students to determine their motivations for going to library school. “When we asked Latino librarians what influenced their entry into the field, several indicated that they had role models, mentors, and friends who advised them to pursue the degree” (p. 230).

While Adkins and Hussey confirm earlier research that having a role model is instrumental in recruiting to the library profession for students of color, they did not analyze the race/ethnicity or gender of the role models/mentors, although they argue the importance of having diverse librarians available to serve in these roles.

Two large-scale experimental studies were conducted on the effects of matching students to teacher races (Dee, 2001; Weiher, 2000). Both found that minority student achievement does improve when minority students have minority teachers. Dee wrote,

The prior literature offers at least two general explanations for why racial pairing of students and teachers might exert an important influence on student achievement...One class of explanations involves what could be called “passive” teacher effects. These effects are simply triggered by a teacher’s racial presence and not by explicit teacher behaviors...students may feel more comfortable and focused in the presence of an own-race teacher regardless of the teacher’s actual behavior. An alternative explanation...points to “active” teacher effects: race-specific patterns of behavior among teachers. In particular, it may be that in allocating class time, in interacting with students and in designing class materials, teachers are more oriented towards students who share their racial or ethnic background. (Dee, 2001, p. 8).

It is important to note that Dee tracked only Black and White students in her work, while Weiher (2000) also included Hispanic teachers and students.

Finally, Nettles and Millett’s (2006) study examined the influence of mentoring on doctoral students in five disciplinary areas: education, engineering, humanities, sciences and math, and social sciences. They undertook a massive survey at 20 of the largest doctoral-granting institutions, all ARL institutions. They

examined a series of outcomes based on student characteristics including age, race, SES, marital status, parenthood status, and many more. With regard to mentoring, the researchers used several independent measures including “has a mentor,” “student-faculty social interaction,” “adviser as mentor,” and “academic interactions with faculty” to regress against outcome variables of satisfaction, productivity, and degree completion. They found that African American students are significantly less likely to receive research assistantships (which may lead to mentoring), and they were significantly less likely to report faculty mentoring relationships.

It is important to include those scholars who hold different views of the importance of race in faculty-student mentoring relationships. Irvine (2003) criticizes those scholars who emphasize a racially diverse faculty based strictly on demographic imperatives and the positive symbols teachers of color provide. For them, “the justification for increasing the number of teachers of color is based on the belief that their value to the profession is simply their race and ethnicity” (Irvine, 2003, p. 52). Rather, she sees teachers of color as “essential because their teaching beliefs and instructional practices are related to the school achievement of students, primarily African American and Latino students, whose performance continues to lag behind that of their White and Asian counterparts” (Irvine, 2003, p. 53).

Still others believe that it will be a long time before there are enough faculty of color to mentor all the minority students who want to be mentored, therefore, White faculty, must take on the role of mentoring students of color (Gibbons; 1993; Scisney-Matlock & Matlock, 2001).

While the literature on faculty impacts is very much rooted in the education literature rather than the library literature, there are parallels between the roles of the discipline-based faculty and library faculty that make this literature transferable. Librarians are teachers through reference work, consultation, and web and classroom-based instruction. They are also knowledge creators via their own research and collection building. Despite these parallels, the fact remains that there is a distinct gap in the library literature about the ways in which librarian diversity influences role performance.

An Integrated Conceptual Framework for Role Performance and Impacts of Diverse Faculty

I now turn to the task of integrating these literatures with the purpose of suggesting a new and more robust conceptual model for the individual and institutional impacts of a diverse faculty. Bringing these literatures together within one conceptual frame is a complex but interesting challenge. I am aided in this task by key recurring and overlapping variables and themes within the faculty diversity literature.

As an overarching lens, social identity theory addresses the commitment to, and salience of, the various identities with which one identifies. (Good et al; 2000; Sidaneous, teal., 1999; Stryker, 1987; Twomey, 1995). An important reason for having diverse faculty throughout the disciplines is to forge bonds through diverse identity-related experiences and the relationship between those diverse identities and role performance. In their study using U.S. Census data, sociologists Farley and Allen (1989) found “race exerts profound influence over the lives of people in this society” (p. 3). Yamane (2001) writes, “not a single sphere of life is unaffected by racism and racial inequality, and the experience of racism transcends class boundaries” (p. x). Sharing culturally-based

experiences promotes safety and comfort for similar-others in environments where they find themselves in the minority (Irvine, 2003). SID provides an underlying logic that help to explain why all students can excel with the presence and guidance of a range of diverse faculty.

The New Conceptual Model

A new conceptual model must incorporate an ecological perspective of the impacts of diverse faculty (Dey and Hurtado, 1995). An ecological perspective illustrates the mutual influence of diverse faculty on institutional missions of teaching, research and service, on student outcomes and conversely, considers the impact of students and institutional factors on diverse faculty (Antonio, 2003). Just as diversifying the faculty has implications for institutional and student outcomes, diverse students have an impact on the institution with their level of satisfaction, retention rates, and demands for curricular offerings and activities (Antonio, 2003; Lesage et al., 2001).

Figure 2.3 illustrates the characteristics and impacts of students, faculty and institutions, along with the multi-directional impact of diverse faculty. Further, it builds on the still relevant work of Pascarella (1980), but infuses that model with diverse characteristics of students, faculty, and institutions common today (Milem, Chang & Antonio, 2005). My model includes a broader understanding of institutional factors that impact *and* are impacted by diverse faculty and students. Each characteristic and impact included in the model is based on works from Chang (2001b, 2005), Hurtado et al. (1999), Milem (2000), Milem and Hakuta (2000), and many others that have studied and theorized about faculty diversity.

The student characteristics are gathered from the works of Tinto (1993), who hypothesized, and others have empirically tested (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1977, 1978) that family background (SES, community structures, etc.), personal attributes (sex and race), skills and abilities (social and academic), and prior school experiences can shape the college experience. To those I have added age (Astin, 1993; Chlinwniak, 1997; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1978), marital status and academic major (Nettles & Millett, 2006).

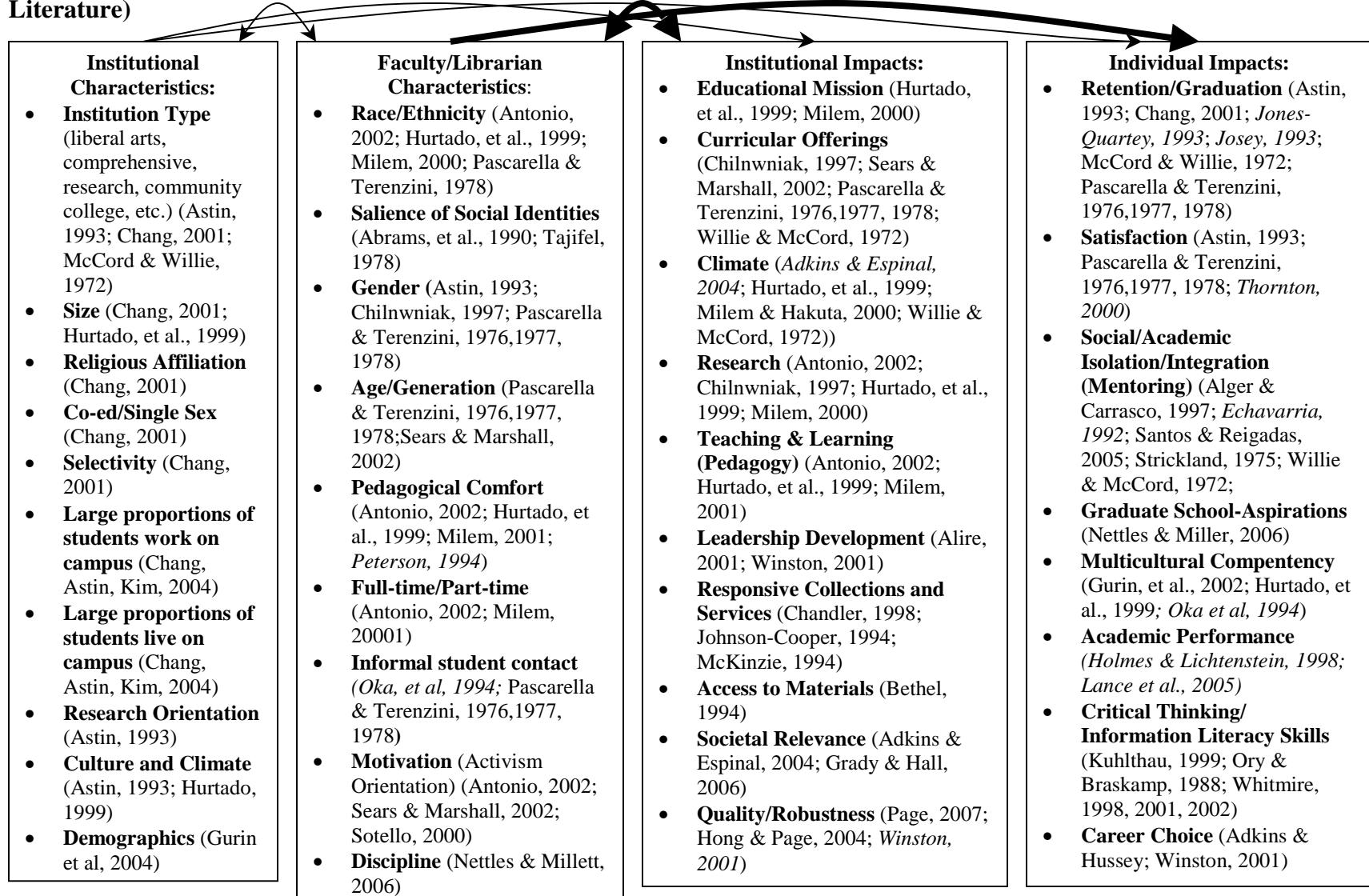
The faculty characteristics included in the model come from Milem (2000), Lesage et al. (2002), Darling-Hammond et al. (1996), Sears and Marshall (2000), Astin (1993), and Antonio (2002), who stress the importance of race, sex, generation, willingness to use non-traditional pedagogies, areas of research and teaching interest, motivation for being a faculty member, and affect toward student contact.

The institutional characteristics come from Pascarella (1980). I have added many other contextual factors including size (Chang, 2001b; Hurtado et al., 1999), religious affiliation and co-ed status (Chang, 2001b), where the majority of students live and work (Chang, Astin & Kim, 2004), faculty research versus teaching orientation (Astin, 1993; Milem, 2000), and institutional climate and/or culture (Astin, 1993; Hurtado et al., 1999; Milem, Chang & Antonio, 2005).

Finally, the multidirectional arrows describe relationships and impacts between these three groups of variables on student and institutional outcomes. It is important to note that multiple scholars have taken an ecological perspective of relationships and impacts (Antonio, 2002, 2003; Astin, 1993; Chang, 2001b; Hurtado, 2001; Hurtado et al., 1999; Milem, Chang & Antonio, 2005). Ultimately, this model reflects the importance of

CRT to the chosen institutional factors, and SID to the individual factors, and helped inform my interview protocol for the study.

FIGURE 2.3. Conceptual Framework for Impact of Diverse Faculty Model (Based on Higher Education and Library Literature)



CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Purpose of the Study

My conceptual framework for this study includes using Critical Race Theory (CRT) in order to situate the historical legacies of collections and services within Association of Research Libraries (ARL) settings, Role Theory (RT) to examine the typical roles that librarians are asked to perform on large research-oriented campuses, and Social Identity Theory (SID) to interpret individual experiences and actions within ARL libraries. This study examines the relationship between racial, gender, and other participant-driven salient identities among academic librarians and their role responsibilities and role performance on primarily White campuses (PWIs). I investigated how male and female academic librarians of different races, ethnicities and ages envision and fulfill their roles related to academic library collections, services and user constituents.

According to Hurtado et al. (1999), “Central to the conceptualization of a campus climate for diversity is the notion that students are educated in distinct racial contexts where learning and socializing occur” (p. 4). If this is true for students, might it also be true for faculty? In this study, I examined whether race, ethnicity and gender are salient in the ways that librarians approach their position responsibilities, working with the public, and managing their collections.

By analyzing how social identity relates to academic librarians' role responsibilities and performance, I gained a better understanding of how librarians view their work contributions, navigate their complex and "racially distinct contexts" within academe, and better understand the importance of diverse perspectives in serving and collaborating with a diverse campus constituency.

Research Design

For this study, I collected, analyzed and reported on interview data that I gathered from 24 academic librarians from three Association of Research Libraries (ARL) institutions. Librarians of color remain underrepresented in academe (ARL, 2006), therefore, a multi-institutional sample was necessary in order to create a participant sample large enough to do provide robust data. While there are 99 ARL institutions located in the United States, no single institution employs enough underrepresented librarians to produce sufficient data for analysis. The data gathered includes 12 in-depth, in-person interviews with underrepresented academic librarians of color (including the three of the four racial categories most commonly employed in higher education research: African American, Asian American and Hispanic—because there are less than two dozen Native American academic librarians in the entire country, I was unable to include Native American participants), and ten interviews with White librarians. I conducted the interviews on three ARL campuses with critical numbers of librarians of color, as reported by the ARL. On each campus, I interviewed three to five librarians of color, and three to four White librarians.

This study is guided by the following guiding and sub-questions:

What is the relationship between social identity(ies) and how academic librarians perform their various professional roles and responsibilities?

- Is role enactment influenced by racial and/or gendered experiences?
- Are some identities more salient than others, and how might salience affect the way academic librarians perform their multiple roles?
- Are there differences and/or similarities in role performance between individuals of similar identities?
- Do librarians' awareness and perceptions of the structural/curricular/research diversity within the institution, and within the library affect their responses to their provision of collection and services?
- How do librarians perceive their roles with regard to library or campus diversity initiatives?

Methods

Due to the nature of my questions, qualitative methods were the most appropriate to employ for this design. Qualitative methods lend themselves to the collection of sufficient data to explore and suggest why a particular phenomenon occurs. According to academic librarian researchers Adkins and Hussey (2005), qualitative methods may “be more appropriate for working with underrepresented populations because they have a story to tell about their choices that may not be the same as that of the dominant population, and that may not be revealed in survey responses” (p. 229).

Data Sources and Data Collection: Interviews

The use of multi-institutional, in-depth, in-person interviews allowed me to investigate role performance across an array of individuals within similar types of institutional settings. It also helped me to understand the ways in which social identity(ies) of some academic librarians may influence their approach to, and

perspective of their academic work responsibilities. I used purposive sampling from the contacts that I have made throughout my sixteen-year career within the American Library Association (ALA), the Association of College and Research Libraries (ACRL) and ARL. The ARL minority librarian community is small (Kryllidou, Young & Barber, 2008), therefore I started with my contacts and asked them to suggest names of other librarians in order to develop a large enough pool of participants for sufficient data. I sent an email invitation to 25 librarians of color and fifteen White librarians, asking them for their help in recruiting participants, and asking them to participate. Of those, 14 librarians of color, and ten White librarians responded. I visited the three ARL campuses between October and December of 2007.

Specifically, the interviews helped me to understand how, according to these participants, they envision their ability to contribute to, and impact their libraries' services, collections and users. I was able to determine whether differences and similarities exist among and between librarians in these ARL settings, and am able to add to the professional literature on how and why diversity among academic librarians is vital to the robustness of the mission of the academic library. Adkins and Hussey (2005) wrote,

Through interviews, participants are able to provide historical information from their personal and social points of view. Interviews provide an opportunity for open discussion where both the researcher and the interviewee can construct meanings together. This is an important step when trying to understand why an individual or a group has made certain decisions or taken specific actions. It illustrates history from unique points of view and provides rich data to help understand it (p. 230).

The interviews provided a robust amount of data that illuminates how a diverse range of academic librarians contribute to academic libraries' missions of service to diverse campus constituents.

Interview Content

Each interview provided three types of data for the final analysis. Context was important to understanding role enactment, therefore I asked each participant for his or her curriculum vitae before the interview. During the interview, I asked each participant to fill out a short background survey about his/her demographic status (age, length of service, race/ethnicity, etc. (See Appendix IV for more details). In this survey, I asked each participant to rank the salience of each identity at work on a scale of one to four. These questions are important for several reasons. First, the goal of ethnographic interviewing is to study the subject “in situ or ‘in place’” (Stage & Manning, 2003). Stage and Manning (2003) state, “the complexity of behavior and meaning making are closely intertwined within the social systems where individuals interact” (p. 36). Second, I used the demographic survey as a guide to ask probing follow-up questions of each participant about how identity salience presented in the workplace.

The bulk of each interview consisted of a series of semi-structured questions regarding participants' daily work lives. (See Appendix III for details.) These questions revolved around the performance of various roles for which academic librarians are typically responsible. Each question had several sub-probes I used if time and the direction of the conversation allowed.

Each interview took approximately 90-150 minutes. The protocol was designed to guide the discussion and keep the interview on track within the given time limits,

however, each interview was guided by the specific role mix of the participant, and whether (or how many) social identities were salient overall, or within specific roles.

There were multiple participants at each institution, therefore, I was able to conduct all the interviews in person, and to strengthen anonymity within a given ARL setting. In-person interviews allowed me to establish a richer rapport with the participants, and allowed for direct observation of non-verbal communication (Cresswell, 1994). After each interview I immediately reflected on how each interview went, non-verbal aspects of the interview, and my own reactions to the content and process through written field notes. These notes helped me to triangulate the participant data with my own perceptions and interpretations during the analysis stage of the study.

Typically, academic librarians have a variety of professional responsibilities. In each case, there are one or more areas within each of these responsibilities for which I probed for information on sense-making, role performance behaviors, and whether there were linkages between the participants' social identities and their role performance.

According to Westbrook (2000), the roles I thought might likely be represented include:

- **Teaching activities** – in-depth work at the reference desk, instruction in a classroom setting, and individual or small group consultations in their subject area. I was interested to know whether participant librarians used pedagogical methods that incorporate diverse learning styles such as cooperative learning, applying critical theory to material, co-construction of curricula with learners, etc. (Milem, 2001; Padilla, 1997)
- **Collection Development activities** – the work performed to build and maintain the library's collection in one or more subject areas/disciplines

includes contacting publishers, establishing automated plans that assist with materials purchasing by particular publishers or in certain narrowly defined subject areas, assessing the collection for gaps or outdated materials, collection weeding, use studies, preparation of pathfinders or subject bibliographies to assist users with accessing the collection. I listened for whether librarians actively seek out diversity within their collections regardless of whether their subject areas are explicitly related to diversity (Adkins & Espinal, 2004; Keough, 2002).

- **Liaison activities** – This includes outreach to specific campus or other constituents. This may include marketing the library's services and collections to departments and schools, ongoing electronic, written or verbal communication, visiting departments and individuals, participating in collaborative research or teaching, and other outreach activities. I paid special attention to the social networks the participants formed, and whether (or how) those networks enable them to perform their roles and responsibilities more efficiently or effectively (Downing et al., 1993).
- **Organizing/Cataloging/Access Provision activities** – those librarians who do not have direct public service responsibilities typically work in the technical services realm of the library. They are responsible for cataloging and classifying library materials to make them accessible to library users within the library catalog. They may produce or apply metadata such as subject descriptors and call numbers to individual items or whole collections, or they may produce digital content for the Internet. I was especially

interested to learn how they view their roles within the library with respect to access to materials for the public (Berman, 1992; Bethel, 1994).

- **Supervisory/Leadership activities** – librarians at all levels of the library organization typically have some supervisory responsibility, whether it is leading students, full-time support staff, or other librarians. I paid special attention to how underrepresented librarians view their roles with regard to mentoring, leading and following others, planning/envisioning futures, collaborating within and outside the library community (Alire, 2001; Winston, 2001).

During review of the curriculum vitae, and during the course of the interviews, it became apparent that the roles outlined above were not sufficient to describe the range of work of the librarians in my sample. To the roles above, I would add:

- **Library2.0 (delivery of services via the Internet)** – several of the participants had position responsibilities that centered on web development and systems design for their campus libraries. This work included collaborating with individuals and groups of librarians from across campus to provide library users with online services and functionality to enhance information retrieval and knowledge acquisition. I was most interested in knowing if these participants experienced their social identities in these emerging and growing areas within the academic library setting.
- **Administrative functions** – several participants had significant responsibilities for human resource type functions including new staff orientations, promotion and tenure processes, and organizational development. I was interested in

knowing if these participants perceived whether their social identities influenced work that touched virtually every other person in the library system.

In addition to the functional role-related parts of the interview, I also asked about their professional philosophies, including their views on service to others, their approach to working effectively in sometimes-hostile climates, and the importance of social networks to role performance. With these areas of content, I was able to better understand how some academic librarians approach their responsibilities, and what, if any impact their social identity has on their daily work lives and their longer term professional goals.

Population and Sample

According to the ARL (2008), there are 1,140 academic librarians of color within ARL libraries located in the United States¹. Due to the limited size of the overall population, it was essential to conduct interviews at multiple sites, as there is no one institution that employs enough minority librarians to provide sufficient participants for this study.

ARL libraries were my first choice for data collection due to the availability of collection and service data, statistics about librarians by race within those libraries, and my familiarity with the workings of these types of large research libraries. Even more importantly, ARL libraries (which closely overlap with Carnegie classified “Research Universities [very high research activity]”) are located on campuses where the greatest numbers of students of color are educated today (Antonio, 2003; Hu-DeHart, 2000; NCES, 2003). Because the provision of services (such as reference, instruction, and creating inclusive collections), particularly service provision to students of color was one

important sub-area of interest within this study, access to a diverse sample of ARL librarians was very important to this study.

The sample was purposive, in order to include the perspectives of underrepresented African American, Asian American, Hispanic/Latina/o, and also White librarians. In addition to race/ethnicity identity, gender and age/generation identities were found to be salient in the existing literature as well, and all these social groups needed to be represented in this sample in order to recruit enough racial diversity within the study's participants (Abram & Luther, 2004; Gordon, 2005). The value to having this variation of identities is to examine a "broad spectrum of experiences" within similar settings (Stage & Manning, 2003, p. 38). Purposive sampling, according to Patton (2002), "requires that the researcher identifies the method and rationale for selecting individuals prior to the interviews" (quoted in Stage & Manning, 2003, p. 38).

Because of my own social identity, and its salience to my librarian role performance, I have developed an extensive list of national colleagues throughout the ALA, ACRL and ARL. I was therefore able to receive a statistical record of the numbers of White librarians and librarians of color within each ARL library in order to know which campuses would have the greatest diversity and access to underrepresented librarians. Because of my contacts throughout these organizations, including the five ethnic caucuses of the ALA (Black Caucus of the American Library Association [BCALA], Reforma (an ethnic caucus for those who serve Spanish-speaking library users), the Chinese Librarians' Association [CALA], the Asian Pacific American Library Association [APALA], and the American Indian Library Association [AILA]), I was able to initiate contact on each campus with a trusted individual who then helped me recruit

librarians to my sample pool. I then used the snowball technique to build new relationships through existing ones (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002).

Finally, because academic librarians of color are so few in number, it was likely that I might be acquainted with some of the librarians in my sample. It was therefore extremely important for me to practice reflexivity throughout the data collection and analysis processes in order to address any previous assumptions about the participants' role performance, or the salience of their social identities. Keeping extensive field notes was very important in order to be disciplined, reflexive, and explicit about any assumptions I may have had. It was also very important to conduct member checks after the initial analysis of the data whenever I had questions about the meaning of a quote, or extracting pieces of quoted material. The focus session conducted at the annual ALA conference in 2008 also provided additional feedback on the initial analysis, and the theory building within this study. Specifically, the seven participants of the focus session, all from non-sample ARL libraries, listened and responded to the themes I pulled out of the data. Their feedback on the themes' resonance with their experiences in their settings helped triangulate and validate the initial themes emerging from the transcripts.

Participant Profiles

The twenty-four librarians included in the study each agreed to participate under the condition of anonymity. Therefore, I have created pseudonyms for each librarian, and profiles for each campus. In order to give voice to their stories, and to assist the reader with the narrative in chapters four, five and six, I have created profiles of each participant as follows:

Table 3. 1. Participant Profiles and Salient Identities

	Male/Female	Age/Generation	Salient/Very Salient Identity(ies) at Work
African American Librarians			
Andy	Male	Late forties	Race/ethnicity, gender, SES (class)
Jackie	Female	Late thirties	Race/ethnicity, gender
Lewis	Male	Middle thirties	Age, Race/ethnicity, gender
Nancy	Female	Early fifties	Race/ethnicity, age
Ralph	Male	Late fifties	Race/ethnicity, age
Rowena	Female	Early thirties	Race/ethnicity, age, gender, SES (class)
Sally	Female	Late thirties	Race/ethnicity, gender, SES (class)
Shevonda	Female	Mid forties	Race/ethnicity, SES (class)
Hispanic/Latino/a			
Rosario	Female	Mid forties	Race/ethnicity, gender
Diego	Male	Late forties	Race/ethnicity, gender, sexual Orientation
Rachel	Female	Mid thirties	Race/ethnicity, gender, SES (class)
Polly	Female	Late fifties	Race/ethnicity, language, nationality, gender
Asian American			
Leslie	Female	Middle thirties	Race, gender, age
White/Caucasian			
Susan	Female	Mid sixties	Race/ethnicity, gender
Michael	Male	Early sixties	Age, gender, race/ethnicity
Malory	Female	Early sixties	Age, gender
Edwina	Female	Early forties	Race/ethnicity, SES (class), communication/learning styles
Lucy	Female	Mid sixties	Age
Pamela	Female	Mid sixties	Age, race/ethnicity
Yvonne	Female	Late fifties	Age, Discipline
Charlene	Female	Early thirties	Gender, age
Thomas	Male	Early fifties	Age
Harriet	Male	Early thirties	Gender, age
Francesca	Female	Mid fifties	Gender, age

Sample Campus Profiles

Each of the three ARL campuses have many similarities (faculty composition, broad array of curricular offerings, student populations, size), and several unique differences (composition of racial minority populations, curricular specialties, and library collections). In each case, these three campuses were chosen for their relative strength of numbers of underrepresented librarians, and therefore, in some ways, they are atypical of ARLs as a whole. They each have made concerted efforts over many years to diversify their librarian faculty.

Campus One is a large research-intensive university in the southwestern United States. It is a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI), where Native Americans and Latino/as comprise the largest minority groups among the student population. Faculty are still largely White (77 percent) (NCES, 2006) and the faculty (including full time and part time tenure and non-tenure track) are still largely male (66 percent) (NCES, 2006). The campus has four minority cultural centers serving Asian American, African American, Hispanic and Native American students, who comprise 27 percent of the overall student population (NCES, 2006). The library on this campus has been actively engaged in diversity efforts including outreach to the cultural centers, organizational development training, and actively recruiting librarians of color for over a decade. The library has also made strides in diversifying their collections, mirroring the campus' curricular offerings in the interdisciplinary area of Latino/a Studies.

Campus Two is a large research-intensive university, which is located in the Midwestern United States. It is the flagship university in the state, and has been actively pursuing a diverse faculty and student body for several decades, using affirmative action in hiring and admissions. Despite these many efforts, Campus Two is still largely a White

institution; it's faculty is 60 percent White, and it's student body hovers at 60 percent White (NCES, 2006). Its largest success has been in recruiting Asian American students and faculty, who now comprise 12 percent of the faculty, and 12 percent of the student body (NCES, 2006). The library on this campus has been engaged with diversity efforts since the mid-1980s when it began a minority student retention program for undergraduate students, and began recruiting librarians of color in earnest. The library has several librarians dedicated to newer areas of the curriculum including African Studies and American Culture.

Campus Three is a large research-intensive university located in the northeastern United States. It offers a comprehensive mix of the hard and applied sciences, humanities, and social sciences, as well as a strong agricultural program. Campus Three has been quietly involved in diversity efforts for many years, but the library leads the way on campus in many respects with an active recruitment program, as well as many digitization efforts involving diverse materials by partnering with minority-serving institutions. Campus Three's faculty is 69 percent male, 79 percent White, and it's student body is 27 percent non-White (NCES, 2006).

Table 3.2 illustrates the racial and gender breakdown of the three sample campuses using statistics from the National Center for Education Statistics' Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS)

Table 3.2. Sample Campus Demographic Data

	White Students (all student including full/part time, undergraduate and graduate)	White Faculty (all including full/part time tenure and non-tenure track faculty)	Male Faculty (all including full/part time tenure and non-tenure track faculty)
Campus One	73 %	77 %	66 %
Campus Two	60 %	60 %	66 %
Campus Three	73 %	79 %	69 %

Source: NCES, 2006

The campuses' male to female faculty ratio is remarkably similar, and with the exception of Campus Two, which has been actively engaging in diversity recruitment for twice as long as Campus One and Three, the faculty and student racial diversity is very similar as well.

Validity

Researcher Perspective and Reflexivity

As is the case with any qualitative or quantitative research, I have approached this study with a personal perspective that is inherently value-laden. Hammersley (2000), a professor of education and social research wrote,

In the past it was generally taken for granted that the goal of social research was the production of objective knowledge, and that this required a commitment to value neutrality. In more recent times...these ideals have come to be challenged, and it is often argued that all research is inevitably political in its assumptions and effects (n.p. front matter).

While it is true that all research is neither value- nor perspective-free, it is important to situate oneself within their research context. Therefore, I wanted to be explicit about my perspectives on this particular project, and about the steps I took to

recognize and minimize my biases during the research design, data collection, and data analysis.

As an insider within the academic library profession, I am privy to the cultures, subcultures, and explicit and implicit nature of diversity issues within academic libraries. Holding insider status is both a blessing and a curse to researchers. While it allows you entrée to participants, research sites, and professional vocabularies and cultures, it can also lead to unrecognized assumptions based on professional status, or group membership (Gallagher, 2004). Therefore, it has always been my intention to approach this research with a strong critical and constructivist approach to designing instrumentation, and collecting and analyzing data. This means, the instrumentation, interviews, and resulting analyses reflect the belief that human beings construct knowledge and meaning from their vastly diverse experiences (Phillips, 1995; vonGlaserfeld, 1995). This is one reason why the interviews were semi-structured, in order to allow for follow-up questions, probing of areas that are unique to each participant, and to allow for clarification if and when I was unsure of participant meaning.

The critical and constructivist design reveals the need to be transparent about my belief that cultural diversity is important to higher education in general, and academic libraries in particular. Nonetheless, I took many steps to recognize and minimize my own inherent biases and assumptions so that alternative viewpoints and disconfirming evidence were recognized, understood, and given equal consideration and voice in the analysis and reporting of the results.

Qualitative Validity

There are several techniques for improving the validity of qualitative studies, and I employed a variety of crosschecks to improve the validity of this study. First, I had several groups of researchers who served as methodology consultants/grounders as I designed the research project. These groups included my three doctoral student colleagues, with whom I met monthly to discuss and receive/provide feedback on design and implementation of this research. As outsiders to the academic library world, they were instrumental to my thinking about issues such as interpretation of the data, and professional role performance. The second group of researchers who assisted me with differing perspectives is my dissertation committee. They provided importance guidance on the methodologies chosen, instrumentation, validity methods, and analytical techniques. Most of these faculty members are from outside the library world as well, and therefore had no insider knowledge about the ways in which socialization and processes occur within academic libraries. The committee member who is from within the academic library world assisted me in thinking about issues of fixing roles when academic libraries are changing at rapid rates, and ways to consider different perspectives within the profession. The third group includes three librarian colleagues who participated in the pilot interviews, and a focus group after the interviews were complete. They provided feedback on the interview protocol, interviewing techniques, possible avenues of analysis, as well as providing a soundboard for the initial analysis all lent valuable insights into both the data collection and analysis processes.

Another technique I used for improving validity included being very diligent in uncovering and giving voice to disconfirming evidence encountered during the data

collection and analysis process. It was necessary several times to develop on-the-fly probes during the interviews to explore any such perspectives, and develop flags during the coding process to insure such evidence was included in my results and analysis. Because of the nature of my research questions, I also needed to be reflexive in my examination and naming of my own perspectives as an academic librarian of color, especially one who is often misperceived by others as being White.

Additionally, I often triangulated my analysis and findings through the use of participant member checks. I shared the interview transcripts with each participant to insure that transcription errors did not occur, and to see if each participant had anything they wished to add to the data for analysis. I contacted several participants when something was not clear on the recording, or when I was unclear of meaning.

Finally, I only concluded the data collection when I had achieved saturation and/or sufficiency (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) of responses. When I repeatedly heard similar issues raised repetitively, despite variations in demographics or settings, and when I had sufficient data to provide comparisons and contrasts between variations, then I knew I was finished with data collection. For this reason, I did not know at the outset of the interviews, exactly how many I would conduct, however based on other studies, I suspected would be between 18-25 interviews (Pasque, 2007; Sule, 2008; Willie & McCord, 1972).

Human Subjects Review

In early September of 2007, I obtained permission to recruit human subjects from the University of Michigan's Institutional Review Board (IRB). According to the University of Michigan's IRB, it was unnecessary to obtain permission from any other

campus' institutional review boards. As required by the IRB, the data was kept completely confidential, and all responses were made anonymous. The research sites have not, and will not be identified in any publication that is subsequently written from this data. No individual or combination of characteristics that may identify participants have been reported. In any written analysis, including this dissertation, pseudonyms have and will be used to differentiate participants.

Each participant was asked to sign an informed consent form, with an additional clause granting consent for audio-recording each interview. The participants were reminded that his or her participation is entirely voluntary. (See the informed consent form in Appendix V.)

Treatment of Data and Analyses

The interviews were audio taped and transcribed verbatim. I conducted each interview myself, but had some of the audio files transcribed by a professional transcriptionist. I listened to each audiotape, and compared the transcribed files with the audio files for accuracy.

In order to analyze the transcripts, the Microsoft Word transcripts were converted into Rich Text Format, and then imported into AtlasTi for analysis. AtlasTi, a qualitative analysis software tool, assisted me with the examination of content within cases, and for themes among cases. Before I completed the content analyses, I sent each participant a copy of their transcript to reduce transcription error. There were two cases where the participant wished to make minor changes and additions to the data.

The process for analyzing the data included several steps. First I conducted a thematic analysis by employing axial coding to each interview transcript (Strauss &

Corbin, 1998). During this stage, I began grouping concepts, and comparing occurrences of codes between cases. This is an important first step toward theory building because it enables the researcher to identify patterns and variations in patterns found in the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Second, to reduce the data, I noted emergent themes, points of interest, and points of divergence to illuminate the guiding questions. Here I examined meaning making within cases, and similarities/differences and disconfirming evidence between and among cases (Denzin, 2004). I was looking for whether/how social identity has an impact on specific roles and behaviors from the participants' stories, perspectives and perceptions of their work lives.

Pilot Testing

Before conducting the interviews, I piloted the interview protocol with three librarian colleagues locally. They are librarians who have had both public and technical services responsibilities; therefore, I acquired both depth and breadth of feedback. In particular, I received valuable feedback on the overarching concepts behind the questions, wording of particular questions, probing techniques, the length and complexity of the interview, and the project as a whole. I also tested the coding and preliminary interpretation processes within this pilot data, including doing member checks with my colleagues to insure my interpretations were valid.

Limitations

As with any research design, this study has various limitations. First and foremost, the study employed deliberate design choices that give voice to a depth of information rather than a broad cross-section that can reliably be generalized to the entire

population. This study examined role performance within a particular sample of academic librarians, within a specific type of institutional setting (ARL/Carnegie classified Research Universities), and is not necessarily generalizable to the librarian populations at large. While the results are not generalizable, they are very much in keeping with the existing literature on social identity and role performance in the workplace (Alexander-Snow & Johnson, 1998; Berg, 2002; Hoffman & Oreopoulos, 2007; van Knippenberg, 2000; Tyler, et al., 2008). The value of qualitative methodology is found in the depth of information pertaining to the guiding question, and its ability to generate similar examinations on other campuses across the country.

Relating to the sample campuses, it is important to note that the three libraries in the study sample were chosen for their geographic diversity, and their relatively larger numbers of librarians of color. They are not typical of ARL libraries overall, in that they have each made a concerted effort to work on diversity issues in their settings for at least a decade, and have made considerable gains in the structural diversity of their librarian ranks.

Second, as a biracial woman who is usually misidentified by strangers as being White, there are inherent power differentials that carry over from our society that may have made it less comfortable for librarians of color to reveal fully their thoughts on issues related to race. I did my very best to set a comfortable interview experience with the participants (ask for introductions through mutual colleagues, reveal my own identity/experiences when helpful, etc.), but realize that some participants may have withheld relevant information during the data collection process.

Finally, this study did not measure student and faculty learning within the library context. Rather, it reveals the multiple perspectives on the contributions to the campus missions of research and learning from the perspectives of those librarians responsible for the development and delivery of critical education services (Kuhlthau, 1999). It will, however, help practitioners and researchers to understand and further explore the role of faculty diversity in providing robust library services and collections to increasingly diverse campus communities.

CHAPTER IV

AGE/GENERATION SALIENCE AND ROLE PERFORMANCE

“There is a problem in the workplace...it is a problem of values, ambitions, views, mind-sets, demographics, and generations in conflict.” (Zemke, Raines & Filpczak, 2000, p. 9)

The findings of this study are reported and discussed in the following three chapters. Chapter IV reveals the findings related to age/generation identity, Chapter V discusses the findings related to gender, and Chapter VI reports the findings related to race/ethnicity. Each chapter begins with a succinct revisiting of relevant literature on social identity in the workplace, in higher education, and in libraries, followed by several themes relating to the original research question.

While the findings chapters are separated by the type of social identity (gender, race/ethnicity, and age/generation), it is important to note that most of the participants referenced their overlapping social identities, and the interplay of those intertwining identities to their perceptions of experiences in their work roles. For example, several of the women experienced their gender identity in concert with their age identity when relating experiences within particular roles. Some of the librarians of color told of the overlap between their race and age, and how difficult it was to separate the two. In these cases, I have included this phenomenon in the analysis, and discussed the overlap in an integrated manner. It was very difficult to choose which chapter to put some of these examples, but nonetheless, to avoid cumbersome chapters, I made decisions based on the transcripts and in some cases, follow-up with the participants.

Each chapter uses Hardiman and Jackson's (1997) social identity framework to separate identities into "agent" and "target" identities in order to explain why some participants felt a particular identity salient, while others did not. Hardiman and Jackson assert that target identities are those who lack power and social capital within an organization or society, and are seen mainly as members of their lower status group rather than as individuals. Agents, on the other hand, have power and privilege (even if they do not consciously own or use it), and therefore are seen as individuals rather than merely group members. This helps to explain why most of the White librarians did not find their racial or ethnic identities salient in their work roles, while each of the underrepresented librarians did.

Age/generation Identity Salience

Although age/generation was not a characteristic I intended to concentrate at the outset of the study, it was important for the participants to define salient social identities for themselves. In doing so, it very quickly became clear that age/generation was salient for almost everyone in the study (22 of the 24 participants in the sample). The findings related to age and generation salience were among the most compelling and surprising results.

Foreshadowing the results of this study related to age and generation salience, Christian, Porter and Moffitt's (2000) literature review on diversity in the workplace pointed to similar findings across multiple studies related to the salience of age and length of tenure, as well as race/ethnicity and gender among adult workers in a variety of industries, including education. Perhaps then, it should not have been a surprise that age/generation/tenure length was indeed salient for almost all of this study's participants.

It is important to note that in the psychology and higher education literature, age and generation are treated as two very different constructs. Age is treated primarily as an individual trait that has social constructions attached to it (Roberson, 1998), while generation is treated more as a sociological construct that involves peer groups based on birth cohorts (Manheim, 1970; McMullin, Duerden Comeau & Jovic, 2007). Unless otherwise noted, I have combined these constructs in my analysis, however, because each of the participants talked about age and generation interchangeably.

The ARL Context for Age and Generation Identity Salience

“Librarians are unusually old and aging rapidly.” (Wilder, 2003)

There are multiple ways in which age and generational differences present themselves in Association of Research Libraries (ARL) today. These differences are related to the general demographics of the workforce, including an alarming number of librarians becoming eligible for retirement, and the relative lack of young librarians, and generational differences in the adaptation and use of increasingly ubiquitous technology within these most elite of academic library institutions

In 2000, approximately 52,000 of 186,000 academic librarians in the United States were 55 or older (Kyrilladou & Young, 2005). Projecting into the future, researchers have estimated that “58 percent of all professional librarians will reach the age of 65 between 2005 and 2019 (IMLS, 2000). Conversely, in a relatively recent study, only four percent of all academic librarians were under 30 years of age (Steffen, et al., 2004), while an older study of just ARL librarians revealed that librarians under age 35 accounted for ten percent of all ARL librarians (Wilder, 1995). The under-representation of younger people in the ARL distribution is explained in part by the low rates of hiring

in the last decade (due to constrained resources), “exacerbated by the relative lack of mobility of experienced ARL librarians that reduces the number of vacancies available for young people” (Wilder, 2003, p. 26).

Because of the unusual demographics in the field of academic librarianship, it is especially unfortunate that there is no empirically-based library literature on topics relating to age and generation in libraries and its impact on the profession. Rather, there is a body of non-empirical articles dealing with Gen-Y library users and Gen-X librarians (Dempsey, 2007; Essinger, 2006; Mathews, 2006; Singer Gordon, 2005, 2006a, 2006b), and demographic research reporting on the aging workforce (Wilder, 1995a, 1995b, 2003). Missing from the literature entirely are empirical examinations of generational issues and conflicts, or analyses of whether age and generation influence approaches to services and collections.

The issues of skewed demographics and the rapid integration of technology into the services, collections and processes of academic librarianship were very much present and on ARL librarians’ minds as I spoke with them about age and identity salience. One of the most striking things about the findings related to age and generation is that generational differences are very real and salient for both older librarians (60s and older) and younger librarians (20s and 30s) alike, but not as salient for mid-career librarians (40s and 50s). How and why age salience reveals itself in the workplace is very different for both the youngest and the oldest age groups.

Results: Age/Generation Identity Salience

Dealing with an array of complexities related to generational differences in the workplace is one of the most pressing issues for leaders of diverse organizations

(McMullin, Duerden Comeau & Jovic, 2007; Roberson, 2003; Zemke, Raines, Filpczak, 2000). Issues such as succession planning, retirement bubbles, aging workforces, generational conflict among workers, technology adoption, and identifying and dealing with social and societal constructions of youth and the aged are all salient issues in the academy today (McMullin, Duerden Comeau & Jovic, 2007; Wilder, 2003; Zemke, Raines, Filpczak, 2000), and were reflected in the stories told by the participants.

Several themes emerged among the participants with regard to age/generation identity salience and role performance. First, the participants most often discussed the specific roles of reference and instruction, within broader position responsibilities. All of the older librarians, and some of the mid-career librarians talked about the need to remain relevant and connect with undergraduate students, and even some graduate students and younger faculty, especially when engaging in reference and instruction activities.

Second, the oldest and youngest librarians especially felt the pain of generational conflict in their libraries and even within their departments or units. All the younger librarians felt they were disrespected, and their expertise was discounted. They also felt that their older library colleagues and library patrons did not take them seriously.

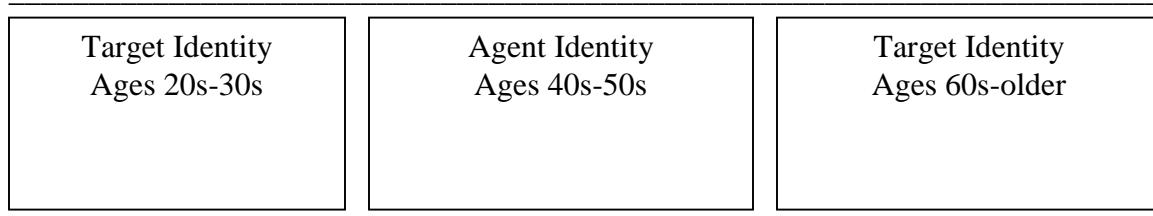
Third, both older and younger librarians noted that technology sometimes functioned as a wedge between the different age groups of the library staff. Older librarians felt they were passed up for opportunities because they were labeled “Luddites,” and younger librarians sometimes felt that the bureaucracy hindered the action they wished to take with regard to technology.

Fourth, several of the older librarians were thinking about age very seriously due to the closeness of their own retirements. Many of them expressed genuine bewilderment

at the fact that they were so close to the end of their careers. Two of the four retirement-aged librarians talked about how impending retirement altered their priorities in their work roles.

With Hardiman and Jackson's (1997) Agent/Target Identity framework in mind, the findings of this study suggest that in these highly competitive ARL libraries, the extremes of the possible age ranges are the target identities (the twenties to thirties, and the 60s and older). The years in between these two target ranges, the forties through the fifties, represents the agent identity range where opportunities are plentiful, even for non-administrative librarians. Librarians in this mid-range are perceived to have social capital and power or potential power, and colleagues and library users take them seriously and acknowledge their expertise and authority. Figure 4.1 illustrates these target/agent ranges.

Figure 4.1. ARL Target/Agent Age Groupings



As stated above, 22 of the 24 librarian participants felt the salience of their age “strongly” or “very strongly” in at least one of their work roles, and in their relationships with their colleagues at the library. Andy, one of the two participants who did not raise age salience at all in the interview or the follow-up, and did not mark age identity as being salient on the demographic survey, was within the agent age range (thirties to forties), but felt the salience of his target race and agent gender identities. Leslie, the

other participant who did not find age a salient identity, also fell in the agent age range, and like Andy, felt the salience of race and gender more so than age. This corroborates the general assertion of Hardiman and Jackson that target identities are more salient than agent identities.

Finding 1: Age/Generation Salience within Particular Roles

“Sometimes because I’m finally—particularly having a son in college—I’m finally kind of feeling a greater awareness of being old enough to be the parent of these people that [sic] I’m teaching. And while that’s been true for a while, I’m perhaps more aware of the age difference now—that there’s a definite generation between us and so there’s a gap that I have to bridge.”

(Quote from Nancy on feeling age identity saliency while teaching.)

“It’s probably typical of anyone my age, but the undergraduates all just look impossibly young to me. I can’t, I used to be able to, I could say, ‘well, that’s probably a freshman. That’s probably a senior’. And now they all look like middle school kids to me!” (Quote from Malory on the salience of age at the reference desk.)

Of the 22 librarians who found age/generation identity salient in their work, 18 found it most salient when engaging in particular roles—reference and instruction—within their broader responsibilities. It was interesting to find that those with an agent identity found their age to be salient only when working across generations with library users, but not internally with their library colleagues, whereas those in the target identity range found their age identity to be salient across the board.

Harriet, a librarian in one of the specialized libraries on her campus is in her early 30s. Her youthful appearance and demeanor cause many people to mistake her for someone in her twenties. When asked about how she experiences the salience of her

(relatively) young age at the reference desk, she reflected on the divide she sometimes feels when working with much older and much younger library users, and how that surprised her. She responded,

Well it's interesting, because they say in the next five to ten years, something like 80% of the faculty will be retiring. So it's been interesting to me that most of the people that come in here are older White gentlemen. And they have a very different idea of who I should be and how I should act. I feel that with the younger people that come in, too. Because, it's something—it's unspoken—it's felt. And so both with age and with gender, it's something that's palpable. And that has taken me by surprise a bit. Because I take pride in being able to relate to some aspect of shared experiences with most people. And it's not always been the case [when working with older faculty and younger undergraduate students]. And sometimes it makes the situation easier, and sometimes it makes it a lot more difficult. Because of different perceptions and attitudes [between people my age, and younger students and retirement-age faculty].

When asked whether being a younger librarian is an advantage at the reference desk, she responded,

It makes it easier, I would say, when it's the younger faculty that are coming in [to the library]. And their past experiences, and their recent education, their social context has been very different. Their lives have been very different than say, the older faculty. Which, I mean, it really did surprise me. And I never really have thought of myself—when I relate to people—I usually don't think about age, or gender. I just think I'm with this person, and I'm contributing whatever I can, or relating to them. Whereas here [in this library], I have felt much more of a line in the sand, kind of a thing.

Harriett's area of the library is one that experiences very little turnover, and jobs are very hard to come by. She is the only younger librarian in her area, and thus, she experiences a lack of peer support within her unit. Thompson and Sekaquaptew (2002) have examined the special detrimental effects that solo status has on women and racial minorities, but no one has examined solo status based on age or generational affinity. Nonetheless, the lack of racial and gender peer groups in a work setting is well documented, and I posit, may be applied to age as well.

Nancy, a middle-aged African American librarian, who has been in the profession since her late 20s, reflected that there are particular roles when she especially feels the salience of the age and generation divide with students,

So I can't say there's a pattern that's connected to a time flow or rhythm of the seasons, but going into a classroom, almost always brings it on[brings the salience of age to the forefront in her mind]. Being at the desk and working with a young person too. Occasionally I might say to myself, "Wow, we're so far apart in age, and we don't have some key points of reference in common."

Nancy refers to the salience of age through the common phenomenon of social comparison (Suls, 1986). Social comparison occurs when one's own social identity becomes salient in comparison to that of another who is from a different social identity group (Sidaneous, et.al., 1999; Stryker, 1987). In Nancy's case, the lack of cultural reference points in common with younger students, most often triggered in the course of assisting a younger library user with a reference interaction or illustrating a point in a library class pushes the salience of the divide in age to the forefront of her consciousness. Social comparison is a process that is involuntary, and often subconscious (Suls, 1986). It helps to explain why humans form peer groups with similar others (Keefer, 1993; Twomey, 1995), and why we experience stress when we experience solo status (Thompson & Sekaquaptewa, 2002).

Similar to Nancy, Francesca is an experienced social sciences librarian. She reflected on which of her social identities she felt most strongly, and almost immediately expressed that age held the most salience. She also felt age salience most strongly when working with younger library users at the reference desk. She said,

Definitely the age factor, and that's because I get asked about things that I don't know about! [Cultural references] (*laughs*) I feel kind of ignorant, and yet it's interesting because I can have the same experience in other subjects, and feel like it's okay that I don't know it. But when it comes to age-related

kinds of things, I feel like there's almost like a stigma, that, "oh, you don't know about these particular TV shows, or you don't know about these particular musicians." So there it is. I think that it's—well—I'm sure a lot of that is in my head, but there's the feeling of, "because you don't know these things, therefore you might not be able to help me." So that concerns me because then I feel like the person might not be paying as much attention to what I'm trying to tell them. And so that's why age can be a big concern.

Francesca also talked about how she feels the salience of age acutely when she engages in instructional activities, especially when she is teaching undergraduates who make references to music, television shows, and other popular culture references with one another in her classes. She recounted,

For instance, if I'm teaching a bunch of undergraduates, and perhaps the person who's teaching that class, is a younger person, then I probably feel my age more. And I'd become more aware of that [age/generation differences]. I guess what I'm trying to say is, it's not so much because of who those people are, as because some of what goes on in the class that brings that [age] to the forefront. So that if I'm teaching a group of undergraduates and they're acting like undergraduates—texting, doing email—then I feel my age more.

Both Nancy and Francesca commented on the lack of common cultural references with younger library users, and how they fear that such a lack of social knowledge creates a divide between themselves and their library patrons. Underlying both their comments is a fear of becoming irrelevant or disregarded by their student users—a fear that is often reflected in the library literature and blogsphere (Aiken, 2007; Colley, 2007; Romaine, 2004). It is a sentiment that is echoed in Thomas' remarks.

Thomas, who falls within the agent age range (roughly middle-age or mid-career), is one of the few male librarians in his library. He talked about how it is difficult to be effective with younger library users in the classroom and at the reference desk if you don't pay close attention to the differences in learning preferences and cultural references across generations mentioned by Nancy and Francesca. Unlike them, however, he was

very confident in his ability to bridge the age and generation gap with sound pedagogical methods. He commented,

Age makes a big difference on the service side of what I do. I mean it makes a big difference in how effective I am with working with my clients [undergraduate students]... If I can't deliver service in a meaningful way that makes some sense to my customers, then I can't do good service. So, I've done a lot of teaching for [older adults] too, and there's definitely a difference, you know? You certainly pitch things differently to grown ups than to kids, right? You need to be able to wear both hats, though, if you're going to serve both constituencies. But it's what we were talking about before—it's instruction and pedagogy and how you try to reach them [undergraduate students]. ...That's the kind of thing I'm thinking of when I think about my age.

Speaking to this concept of generational affinity based on cultural references, Nancy reflected, "I have to be conscious of—there's the references that I make, things that I'm aware of, things that I know, and things that I've experienced, are going to be very, very different from them. So I have to, I feel like I do have to be aware of that in teaching." Thomas referred to the same phenomenon when he said, "I've got to be very deliberate in my choice of examples and how I teach if I want to be successful in reaching them [undergraduate students]."

Both Nancy and Thomas talked about the struggle to keep abreast of current popular culture to be effective teachers and to be able to help undergraduates at the reference desk, but that they did not want to be seen as part of the undergraduate students' world. Thomas said, "It would be ridiculous to try to talk like them or ape their language. It's more like I try to keep up with Facebook, and things that are relevant to me as a service provider, but I'm not going to listen to their music or dress like them."

When trying to understand the difference in Thomas' confidence, and Nancy and Francesca's fear of failing to bridge the age/generation gap, perhaps the overlay of

Francesca's target gender identity, and Nancy's target race identity may provide some insight. Thomas falls into the agent group along all three of the social identities analyzed in this study. He is a White, mid-career male, and enjoys a great deal of privilege by belonging to those groups (Hardiman & Jackson, 1997). Both Nancy and Francesca belong to two of the three target identity groups, albeit different groups (both are female, but Francesca is White and in her late 50s, whereas Nancy is African American, but in her late 40s).

Malory, a White librarian who is close to retirement, spoke very passionately about the importance of having a variety of ages of librarians working at the reference desk. She said,

I've noticed that [age] makes a difference at the [reference] desk—sometimes undergraduates want to go to somebody with gray hair, or sometimes not. And I think that different students are attracted to different things. Some people may want their grandmother, so they're happy [to ask me for help]. It's real interesting to me, because we have students working at the desk as well. And the whole idea was that students would want to ask [reference questions of] other students who were more their age. In the focus groups, one of the things we were hearing is that students were telling us is, if they don't get good help there one time, then they won't go back. But over and over they said, "It's just staffed by students." And so...well...maybe...there are times when they want a friendly face; someone that looks their age, but maybe there's times where they want a face that looks older and like they know more what they're doing. I thought that was *real* interesting...So I strongly believe that even today's wired, connected, electronic, gadgety student body still wants human connections—they still like people! I think that they like that human touch. I think they like working with each other in collaboration, and, I think they still like all ages of people too.

It is interesting to note that Malory was not dismissing the need for peer interaction at the reference desk, but rather, that she was advocating for a variety of ages and experience levels so that library users can chose with whom they wish to interact.

She and Edwina were the only participants who identified the value and pleasure in working across generations in their narratives.

When asked about identity salience in particular roles, Yvonne, whose age places her in the older target age range (60s and older), reflected that age/generation identity was most salient for her in the classroom. In particular, she felt the salience of age/generation when her students seemed to be uncomfortable with the age gap. She explained,

In the classroom, I think that age/generation is a factor. I think it's present, at least for some of the kids. And then I do think about it...yes, I do. For other kids it seems not to matter. They take me as I am. Yeah. I think for some of them it was a factor initially, and maybe for some of them it probably still is. They seem a bit awkward with me sometimes. When they feel it, I feel it too. But there are things I try to do to put them at ease—like make jokes about it [age], and some respond, but for some of them, it still is a factor [a gap]. I try to not let it bother me, but I do notice it.

Yvonne echoed the earlier words of Thomas, as both referred to the undergraduates they teach as “kids,” even though they are legally considered adults. While Yvonne is in her 60s, and therefore much older than Thomas, they both appear to be using social comparisons to differentiate between themselves and their much younger students. While Yvonne talked about how the students personally react to her age in the classroom, Thomas talked about generational attributes as they apply to learning styles, rather than personal connection with his learners.

When asking about whether there were any advantages to their age, both Charlene, a young librarian, and Francesca, a more mature librarian both felt there were. Charlene remarked that while working at the reference desk, she felt her young age and appearance actually makes her appear more approachable to some students,

I do think that those things [age identity] are important, in relation to reference work. I almost think that looking like I could be the same age or status [student status] is a positive thing. I don't think I look the same age as an undergrad. I really don't. The wrinkles are coming. They're starting! [laughs] But when I was a grad student [one year ago], working with reference a lot, I felt like it was actually beneficial to look more...maybe more approachable. Like I'm not this stodgy librarian who's going to make you feel bad because you don't know how to search the catalog. So I feel like maybe [my young age] helps me be a little more approachable.

Francesca, too, clearly believed there were advantages to her age with respect to her role at the reference desk. She remarked,

I feel like in a lot of ways having the long-term perspective—having been here through many academic calendar years—is very valuable. It certainly provides a different perspective when you're seeing people who are caught up in their work—the immediacy of where they are in their college careers, and how it feels to them. You can see they think they're very unique in where they are, and that they will never get past (*laughs*) the point that they're at...you know? You see these poor people doing their final paper, and they're going nuts, and it's like the whole world depends on what they're going to do on this one paper—I do a lot of soothing and reassuring at the reference desk. So having that kind of perspective is good.

In summary, each of these librarians talked about how their age and generational perspective was salient in particular roles—engaging in reference and instruction work, both of which require extensive contact with the public. Many of the librarians felt particular salience when library users used cultural references that they were unfamiliar with, and they felt salience when working with undergraduate students.

Finding 2: Evidence of Generational Conflict with Library Colleagues

Unlike the generational discourse relating to specific roles, where the salience of age and generation were felt in relation to library users, participants' conversations regarding age and generations in conflict revolved around internal work relationships between and among library colleagues. Much has been written about the uneasy integration of GenXers into the aging faculty on campuses nationwide (Gappa, Ausin &

Trice, 2005; Mosley, 2002; Tapscott, 1998). Invoking generational discourse, Mosley (2002) writes about “a new type of librarian” who may need “retraining in traditional reference sources or cataloging procedures but who offers in return a high technology literacy level, individual flexibility, and multi-tasking expertise” (p.170). Wieck (2003), who conducted research about differences between generations in the academic environment, wrote, “Perhaps the biggest mismatch between the entrenched and the emerging workforces are in their approaches to accomplishing things. The emerging workforce learns by doing and hates becoming mired in the process” (p. 153).

Edwina, a White librarian in her late thirties, and therefore on the edge of the agent age range, precisely reflected these thoughts. It is important to note that although she marked age as being salient on the demographic survey, she attributed her loathing of “endless talk” to her ethnic background rather than her age affiliation when she emphatically stated,

I feel like my identities are salient the way in which I operationalize things. I think that once again, this speaks to my [ethnicity] in a way. I never thought of before—but it’s my race and my socio-economic class...And so there wasn’t a lot of intellectual debate around action in my family. There was just action. And my father made his own living, and for better or worse my dad is a big [ethnicity] and he doesn’t put up with a lot of bullshit. He doesn’t want to hear it. He doesn’t want to hear a lot of details. He’s a need to know person. I’ll give you an example. One year I came home from college and I really wanted to study art in France. And it was a big deal just to let me study art! And I had this whole big song or dance [argument] ready. And he was just like, “How much is it going to cost?” I was 20 or something. I felt all offended that he didn’t want to hear me out. And now I realize that he didn’t care if I went to France. I mean, he thought it was cool that I was going. He just wanted to know what it would take [cost]. And as I get older, I think that I have become more and more like him in the way that I don’t want endless talk—I think that excitement and momentum and confidence and the things that we need the most of in librarianship happen when people work together and through action. And I see that as something that comes out of my father...I think that’s really different than being in an academic background. I never thought about it in this way before, and I see people respond to my

ideas, so I don't think I'm going down the wrong road. I just think it's real different than most people [in the academy].

Edwina's narrative touches on the need for action arising from the combination of her relatively young age, her socioeconomic background, and her ethnicity, and how the intersectionality of these identities makes her feel separate from many of her library colleagues, who she views as being much more traditionally "academic" than herself. She continued,

And I think when we have diversity workshops I think, oh, I think it's bullshit. Because I don't want to have a workshop. I want to work with someone [who is different]. Does that make sense? Because my consciousness doesn't get raised by sitting in a room with someone. My consciousness is raised by interacting with someone, and going out and actually doing it.

Edwina doesn't want to sit in a room and passively learn about diversity, she wants to actively engage with diverse others. This need for hands-on action is exactly what Wieck (2003) found in his research of younger faculty with a variety of disciplinary backgrounds. Their preference for serendipitous change, and lack of concern about slower paced, process-oriented action can put them at odds with the older faculty. This disconnect, in connection with the lack of younger peers within ARL libraries, can lead to solo status effects, and disengagement of younger librarians in their libraries (Hall, 2006a, 2006b; Sekaquaptewa & Thompson, 2003). It is worth noting that Edwina has already left her ARL library for a smaller, but less process-oriented academic setting.

The idea that "generational wars" (Roberson, 2003) are occurring in the workplace has been written about extensively in the business and higher education literature, but little is known about this phenomenon in academic libraries. Generational conflict appears to be a salient issue in the minds of many of the participants in this study. Some of the participants felt stereotyped as the younger generation not wanting to "pay

their dues,” or as older “Luddites” not wanting to adopt newer technologies; both of which were contrary to their own self-perceptions. For younger librarians, breaking into the power structure of ARL libraries is not easy. Being taken seriously by older library patrons and colleagues can be a source of stress.

Andy, a young African American librarian, noted the difficulty fitting in and figuring out how things work when he first came to his campus. He remembered being thrown into the job as director of a campus library without any orientation or mentoring. He recalled,

I know when I came in, there was no, “okay, this is how you do it.” Or “this is what the previous person did,” or “you should join these committees.” It’s like they’re kind of operating on an assumption that you already know what you’re doing. That’s a pet peeve I have. It’s like this assumption that you’ll get it [how to do your job] without any real guidance—that you’ll just pick up on it. And I think a lot of that is the nature of the [academy]. I mean, I get it—that there’s stuff that you have to learn on your own. That I get. But there’s still...it’s interesting to me. You go to some of these selector’s [collection development] meetings, and then people start talking, and all of a sudden it’s—what you’ll see is really two people having a conversation with each other, because these are the two people that have been here the longest. They dominate the proceedings. And so it’s like everybody else is kind of outside, just like, “errrr...huh?” (*laughs*), You know, those who are new are kind of looking around all confused.

Charlene, a young librarian who is just one year out of library school, also felt a lack of understanding about the cultural norms of the library. She remembered her first group meeting, where she was the only young librarian in the room,

I didn’t know if I should say anything right away. I didn’t even know who all those people were! Or why we were at those meetings. It took me at least a half a year to learn when to jump in. I know I was hired to do my job, but it was a little intimidating with all the experience they had compared to me.

Andy and Charlene’s comments are in keeping with the research of Black and Leysen (2002), who examined issues of socialization for young librarians. They found

that “negative attitudes of other librarians” and “feelings of isolation within the library” were two of the most prominent problems experienced by young librarians (p.8). They also found that “many younger individuals felt discouraged, their input belittled because of their lack of experience” (p. 8). Finally, they found “respondents felt there was a bias against new librarians” (p. 8) on the part of librarians with longer tenures.

For some of the older participants, too, there were narratives of feeling disrespected by their colleagues. Their experiences reflected a sense of being pushed out of the way by younger librarians, experiences of being labeled “old school” by library administrators when it comes to technology and service provision, and a distinct lack of opportunities to be involved in new service initiatives.

Yvonne, a White librarian in her early 60s, made a particularly poignant comment on the age/generation divide. She talked about the window of opportunity that exists in academic libraries; one that mirrors the agent/target age ranges when she stated,

As I said, the age/generation thing has become more prominent at work...yeah. People say it's normal that after a certain age, you're going to be viewed as the older, if not necessarily, the senior people. But you observe who's being tapped for what [opportunities]. And you see a decided preference for what I think is a fairly small age window. I mean, they're given committee assignments, even positions. It's not to say that there aren't people outside that bracketed age group, but I think it's pretty clear. And it's not to say that everybody in that age group is selected, but the people who are selected over and over are usually in that age group bracket.

When asked what age range she referred to, she replied,

I would say it's from the late 20's to the late 40's. Or you could even say 30 to 50. That's not to say that others aren't selected. But given the age of our new librarians, which is usually the late 20's, up until the late 40's—they're going to be called on over and over and over. And you can watch it. I mean, people begin to fall off the radar and it's not, I think because they don't have anything more to contribute, or they don't have the energy, or the interest. It's that there's something else at work. It's a new bias. Or maybe it's an old bias that's playing itself out because I'm older now. But I don't remember it being

so prominent before... It's just—I watch—reading the (library's) newsletter, or hearing announcements, or seeing yet another committee, or another person given new responsibilities.

The idea that there are administrative or organizational forces at work separating people into conscious or unconscious generational or age-related groups was echoed by Malory, another older librarian who is retiring within the year. While she added gender to the mix, she very much emphasized age in her similar remarks. She said,

I was going to say I don't feel any sort of ageism, or that being a woman has handicapped me at all. But actually, I think that in some ways, this library has been set up with the new librarians and the older librarians [pitted against one another]. And it isn't so much older age as [it is] you were here longer, and the [administration] meets with the new librarians and invites them to socialize, and they talk about important stuff, which us older librarians are excluded from. And I think that sometimes [administration] almost tried to bait and put us at odds with each other. They say things like, "Well, you guys can do this because the older librarians wouldn't think about doing it." I mean, s/he sometimes makes these sorts of off-hand comments about it. And I do think that there are times when, if something is proposed by the library and, for example, they want to take librarians off the reference desk, and if we don't agree [it's the right action to take], it's like well, "You're old school." "You're not with the new thing." Or, "We should do this all [reference work] as Podcasts." It's like they [administration] think, "We don't need you," or something. And you're saying, "Well, I think students really still like that human interaction." And they respond, "Oh, no, no. You're old school." So I think that it's not me, so much, and it's really not even my age, but it's sort of like [administration thinks], "You've been around for a while and maybe you're not looking at things in this new world." And that's used, actually, a lot in this library, I think, to quiet people. To sort of make your voice not as [heard], so I don't think we're venerated—the older librarians..."

Both Yvonne and Malory expressed a distinct lack of respect for their individual experience and knowledge, but also a larger collective disrespect for librarians of their age and generation. While there are Black and Leysen (2002) and Mosley's (2002) studies that examine younger librarians' issues in the ARL setting, there is nothing in the library literature (popular or scholarly) on the experiences of older librarians. It is

difficult to know if Yvonne and Malory's experiences are more universal, but it is interesting to note that they are from two separate ARL campuses.

Pamela, another older librarian who is close to retirement and works in library administration, commented on her perception of the generational divide in her library, and how the great age difference may create lapses in corporate memory,

I do the new-employee orientations, so I'm very aware that I'm introducing a another whole generation to what we're doing here—that I was here before we even did things this way. And so I'm more aware because I'm working with people who are fairly young, which I love and find quite challenging. But I'm aware of that [passing on the corporate memory].

Pamela also talked about the perspective of being at the library for so many years that one sees ideas recycled. She ruminated further on the fact she is one of the few librarians today who knows the history of her library. She reflected on the newer librarians lack of institutional memory,

[With] most of my work, it's not that I'm 65, but that I've been here so long, and I know the history of this place. So I'll sit with the [library's administrative committee], and somebody will say—just like doing this [recent] restructuring—and somebody will say, "Well, we ought to do this." And I'll sit there and think, "oh, yeah, that's what we did in 1991 and we realized it was not the best way to do it, so we did it another way." But these people don't even know that. So that's where the age thing comes in, I think.

Mosley (2002) wrote about how image and roles have changed among generations of librarians. She wrote, "Generation X librarians are likely to have behavior patterns, personality quirks, and expectations that are misunderstood by senior staff and could be badly mishandled in the traditional hierarchical library setting" (p. 172). This idea was echoed in the words of Charlene, a young librarian who became quite emotional when talking about how her older colleagues misunderstand and discount the depth and breadth of her experience,

I wonder—when I started this job—I guess I was a little concerned if they [older librarians] were going to take me seriously. And sometimes, I've had a couple meetings where I was sort of new to the whole dictating the flow of a project—and I've kind of felt like people were attacking me a little? I got a little emotional. And I was very self-conscious of that. Just talking about it, my eyes are watering up, even though I'm not upset about it [jokingly]. It's just—the thought of people not taking me seriously kind of upset me during the meeting. And I don't know if that's a gender or an age thing. The age thing is kind of interesting because I'm 31, and I don't consider that young. I'm not fresh out of undergrad and grad. I have had semi-careers before this [jokingly]. And being new, or newish, to the library, I wonder if those things effect how seriously people take me.

Reflecting this same age/generation divide were the older librarians who expressed some hesitation in regard to their younger colleagues. Malory said,

I'm possibly equally or more aware of the age thing just in interacting with colleagues, because I have colleagues now, that I could be the parent of. And that's just weird to me. And I feel like, for one thing, I have to be sensitive not to make them feel like I'm putting them down, or referring to their age. In some ways, people can be very sensitive about their youth. And you feel like if I make a comment about it, you're saying something about their confidence level, or skills or whatever...I never had that awareness when I was young librarian—of my older colleagues being older, and being old enough to be my mom or whatever. But there had been less [pace of] change, I think? So I didn't come in thinking I was the young whipper-snapper who knew stuff. Whereas there are a number of people that I work with who have that attitude—that they're a young whipper-snapper. "I know things that you don't know," because I work with this technology all the time. I grew up with it—whatever. And so there's just a kind of different dynamic I think, than there was when I was coming up.

Both Pamela and Malory talked about interacting with younger librarians, and their desire to see them succeed. While Malory was careful and aware of not criticizing a younger librarian's lack of experience, Pamela actively worried about their lack of experience and corporate knowledge because of her human resource and organizational development roles.

Unlike most of the other discussions that were filled with angst about aging, or trepidation about working with much younger clients and colleagues, Edwina, who is on

the edge of the agent age range, expressed joy and satisfaction when working across generations. She said,

I always kind of had that layer of enjoying older and younger folks—I think this really comes from being Italian. I have a lot of respect for my elders, so as you saw with, [name of a retired librarian] yesterday, I immediately, love this whole, what I call, the “grand dames of the library.”—I became very close with them. And I think that definitely has to do with the fact that I’m Italian. That’s ingrained in me as an Italian American: you respect your elders. I mean, it takes a lot to talk back to an elder...On campus, I always tend to become like, really, really chummy with my older and younger faculty, because I really love talking to them, and I’m just really curious about what they do. Sometimes they’re my age or younger. I always tend to become very fond of them, and they become fond of me. Like the whole younger generations coming up. So I like that. I enjoy that. I’m very into multigenerational stuff.

Again Edwina attributes her fascination and enjoyment in working with and socializing with faculty of all ages to her ethnic upbringing, rather than her age and the privilege she enjoys from being in the middle years.

Michael was the single retirement-aged librarians to express only the pleasure and satisfaction that age brings when one can pass along skills and knowledge to the next generation of librarians. He remarked,

I have the opportunity, now in my current position, to help librarians get appointed to faculty committees if they’re willing to do that. More and more of them are, so I can sort of pass it on, so to speak—at least give younger librarians an opportunity to get involved in faculty governance and see if they like it well enough to pursue it.

Michael was quite reflective about the security and privilege he enjoys from being a White male administrative librarian on a White male-dominated campus. There were several instances where he referred to the obligation he felt to pass along his cultural capital—the knowledge and connections he has made over decades of working on his campus—to younger and minority librarians specifically.

The generational conflict experienced by both younger and older librarians within the three ARL settings in this study pointed to the need for library unit heads and senior administrators to be more deliberate in how they address issues of respect, equitable opportunities, and age differences in the workplace. The need for contextual job training, stronger orientation programs, and ongoing mentoring for the newer (and often younger) librarians was evident as well.

Finding 3: Generational Affinities Toward Technology and the Pace of Change

For academic libraries, which are complex organizations in their own right, layered on to age and generational issues is the mega-trend toward technological-based service delivery and the ever-increasing pace of change that comes with the adaptation of new technologies. The realities of becoming highly technology-based organizations raise issues related to “digital natives” and “digital immigrants” (McLester, 2007), which is framed as generational in nature (those who are younger are natives, while those who are older are immigrants) in the literature (Abram & Luther, 2004; Lancaster, 2003; Sheets, 2007).

McMullin, Duerden Comeau and Jovic (2007) conducted research on generational issues that are endemic in workplaces with highly skilled information technology workers and on the special challenges around age and generation in those work settings. Traditionally, sociologists such as Manheim (1970) have defined generations in terms of birth cohorts “sharing societal upheavals such as war or decolonization to explain issues of generational solidarity and identity affiliation” (p. 381). McMullin, Duerden Comeau and Jovic, however, base their concept of generations on technological developments to explain affiliations and “discourses of difference” by these technology-defined

generations. Because libraries, especially large academic libraries, are fast becoming highly technological organizations, McMullin, Duerden Comeau and Jovic's research holds special significance for examining the issues of age and generational identity salience in ARL libraries. They found that "IT [Information Technology] workers invoke generational discourse when discussing perceptions of differences in skill, innovation and adaptability in their work" (p. 313). The common view held among their study's participants was that "technological skill and capacity for innovation are linked to youthful exposure to computing technology. Hence, those who came to IT later in life, and generations who missed 'growing up' with certain technologies, are at a disadvantage" (p. 313).

Shevonda, a librarian in her early 30s commented on the pace of change, and the toll it takes as she gets older. During our interview, she even talked about the possibility of leaving the profession. She said,

I think one reason I think about age is, I feel like this has really become a young person's game. The technology alone is overwhelming—and I like that stuff! And I don't want to become one of those librarians people talk about [badly]. There are a couple of my colleagues who just recently retired at 65, but I don't think I can keep that pace up. I think if I stayed around that long, people will be saying, "Can you believe she's a librarian?" (*laughs*) I think I will have become that stereotype [of an older librarian who won't use technology].

Shevonda reflects an important point raised in the literature about technology and age. She voices the very real and negative association between older adults and Luddites who hate technology (which Malory referred to in Finding 2 of this chapter) (McLester, 2007; McMullin, Duerden Comeau & Jovic, 2007). Even though research on age and technology adoption has quantitatively debunked this myth (Carr & Devries, 1999), the connection between technology and youth remains a strong association in our culture;

strong enough to push Shevonda to consider leaving the profession (McLester, 2007; McMullin, Duerden Comeau & Jovic, 2007).

Charlene, also a young librarian who works in the area of library technology, talked about her frustration with the huge gap that exists between herself and her colleagues in relation to new technologies. She was very careful not to blame older librarians for her frustration, and she did not want to stereotype them as being technophobic. Nonetheless, her irritation was obvious. She talked about consulting with cross-functional teams, often the only young person in the room, and trying to explain possible new technical options for services, and not being sure if her colleagues were understanding what she was telling them.

It's just really hard to know if I'm being understood, unless they give you signals that they're understanding. I'll ask, "Does that make sense?" And I still get the sort of...blank looks. Ugh! I hate the blank looks! Every once in a while, there'll be a [colleague] who's nodding, "Yes." When I get the nod, I guess they get it. I have also gotten mixed responses from people. Some people are like, "That was really helpful. Thank you." And then others, I'll ask, "So how was that?" "Oh, it was 'okay.'" "Ok?" I don't know if I'm effective in this role—am I helping them? Not? Who knows?

Charlene's frustrations come from the combination of feeling solo status in her role within the library, and from being the only young person in her technical unit. She has no immediate network of peers that she can use as a sounding board. She also lacks the mentoring from an older individual who can help her negotiate the cultural and historical politics of the large library organization such as Edwina or Rosario have. According to the literature, this lack of support could put Charlene at risk for disengagement from her work setting (Hall, 2006; Thompson & Sekaquaptewa, 2002).

Malory talked about the dual tensions between younger and older librarians. It is important for older professionals to respect and not talk down to younger librarians

because of their lack of traditional reference, instruction, and collection development experience, however, resentment exists when the older generation feels disrespected by younger librarians when it comes to technology,

I try so hard not to draw attention to it [their youth]. I know some are really sensitive to it. On the other hand, some of them [younger librarians] think that because they're younger, they're smarter. They're more aware of technology, they know stuff that us 'old fogies' don't know. It's that tension I feel with colleagues who are of a different generation.

Malory reflected on both the age and generational nature of the way librarians of different cohorts view core librarian roles. While she sees the face-to-face interaction with library users at the reference desk as central to librarianship, her library is moving in the direction of pulling librarians off the traditional desk, and just using chat (Internet-based) reference modes. As she pointed out earlier (in Finding 2 of this chapter), when older librarians share their perspective on the continuing need for face-to-face interaction with library users, even undergraduates, they are dismissed as Luddites, rather than engaging in productive research to better understand library user needs. In this way, older librarians are silenced by the dismissal of their expertise and, because of the lack of numbers, younger voices are also silenced, creating even greater agency for the mid-career librarians (Roberson, et al., 2002; Sekaquaptewa & Thompson, 2002; Thompson & Sekaquaptewa, 2002). This type of mutual disrespect can lead to disengagement behaviors between groups in the work setting, and can reaffirm the negative stereotypes each group's members have of one another (Roberson, et al., 2002).

Sally, a young African American librarian who also works in a library technology unit, talks about the uneasy relationship she has with older librarians, who sometimes treat her like "hired help." Although she felt certain that social identity played a role in

this often repeated phenomenon (much like Charlene, whose age and gender identities were co-salient), Sally was uncertain whether her relationships could be explained by race or age, or whether it was the intersection of those two social identities that led to this treatment from her older colleagues. She recounted,

The particular times where it [age and race identities] really does stick out, and it's particularly salient to me is, first of all, in the group setting. Another big one related to technology is that there are pretty significant groups of librarians in this library who, [have difficulties with] technology. They came into librarianship earlier, and so technology is something they're learning to adopt. And there's this kind of automatic assumption that they can use me to learn. And often, I see a big difference in the way they'll approach me [as opposed to her fellow older, male technologists]. We [younger librarians] have a different kind of familiarity with technology, just because they didn't go through school with it...It's more—with other [library technologists] they'll say, "let me go befriend this person. Let me go make that connection, make a relationship, and then I'll learn from them..." But with me, it's more of a demand. "You owe me." You know? I had one person come to me for help. She wanted me to explain something, and she yelled, "No! Explain it to me in a way that I can understand!" Which, usually, if you're asking somebody for help, where you don't know what you're doing, and they do know, that's probably not the way you want to phrase it. But clearly someone thought that that was okay.

The intersectionality of race and age, layered on top of the highly charged role that technology plays in libraries today, placed Sally in the position of having solo status across all three identities of race, age and gender. She was operating in an all-White, all male, and all mid-career unit with little guidance and less support. Roberson, et al. (2002) explain disengagement not as a full-on withdrawal from the workplace, but as more subtle behaviors, such as the cessation of seeking feedback on performance, and openly discounting feedback from superiors. In Sally's case, she had already begun to disengage from her work environment. She had plans to avoid her library's annual performance merit evaluation, as well as the campus tenure and promotion process by actively pursuing other employment options.

From the comments both younger and older librarians made about technology and its adoption in the library, it is clear there is greater need to appreciate and understand the experiences librarians of all ages bring to the table. The frustration and promise that technology, and along with it the pace of change, bring to library services must be deliberately addressed with vigorous learning opportunities delivered in the manner that best suit the learners' needs. Opportunities to work across age and generation should be encouraged in order to provide equitable opportunities in growth areas of the library, and in order to take full advantage of the talent and energy that librarians of all ages bring to their work roles.

Finding 4: Length of Service and Retirement Issues

The issue of length of service or tenure, while not exactly the same as age and generation, is a related construct. Because the ARL librarian population as a whole has traditionally had limited mobility, many older librarians have also had long tenures at single institutions (Wilder, 2003). With such lengthy tenure, come thoughts of retirement.

Pamela addressed aging in the workplace in terms of retirement as well as length of service markers, and how others view her,

It's interesting that this notion of being 65 makes you more aware of being 'old.' (laughs) I don't think I felt old until suddenly I realized I was 65 and thought, "wow, that's one of those milestone birthdays," you know? I still feel 30 inside, but I'm 65! Or the more that society asks you to get a senior discount, you think, "oh, I'm a senior now. I get a discount?" So in the library, it's kind of not my actual age. It's more, I've been employed here longer than anyone else in this library, now that a couple people have retired or passed on. So I'm more aware of how the people I work with don't know the history that I know. Don't know what happened fifteen or thirty years ago.

Malory addressed both age and generation in her comments,

I'm thinking about age because I'm thinking about retiring pretty soon, and so that's sort of another issue. I also think about it [age] because most of the librarians I work with are, in some cases, younger. And in some cases, a *lot* younger. And sometimes I forget about it, but then I'm reminded...Or I'll say something, like that was from when I grew up, and they don't know any of the TV shows I watched, and so, and it's like, oh, wait! I could be your mother! That's so weird."

In both Pamela and Malory's cases, their awareness of their growing solo status, and the process of social comparison between themselves and their younger colleagues force age identity into greater salience in their everyday interactions.

The whole idea of succession planning in academic libraries, and the retirement bubble within the profession, were weighing heavily on Michael's mind. From his perspective as a retirement-aged administrator, he shared,

I just turned sixty, so I'm thinking about age a lot. The university is, in general, looking at baby boomers who will start to wave goodbye and ride off into the sunset very soon. You're looking at a fairly massive potential turnover in the next decade. We have a cohort of early baby boomers and even one or two people that are beyond that by now, that can be expected to retire in the next three to five years. And we haven't done anything about it. But we've talked about what that means in terms of institutional memory and all that kind of thing. We had a period of time back in the '90's when we would—I am not aware whether this was a deliberate strategy or it just happened—but we had a lot of searches where we hired mid-career people. So even our new hires weren't feeding into a younger cohort. So, you don't want to discriminate against people by saying we're only going to hire somebody if they're under thirty or something like that. So the remedy is complicated. At any rate, the whole notion of the graying of our faculty—particularly library faculty—has occurred to many people in the library. There is a need to sort of figure out what they know, that we need to know, before they leave, so that they don't take it with them. And it's not, I mean, just how do I move this widget from here to there sort of thing. Part of it is who they know, and how do they know them? The relationships they have built. There are some difficulties there. For instance, I know the president and the provost but they aren't going to replace me with someone who will have that automatic connection. Somebody is going to have to start towards the bottom of that process and work their way up, and they may not be Associate Dean. They may just be a regular librarian like I was two years ago.

The comments of these three retirement-aged librarians reflect the worry expressed in the library literature, including the periodic demographic studies conducted by Stanley Wilder (1995, 2003), and the sociological study of Mosely and Kasper (2008). Mosley and Kasper wrote, “The current core of the profession is an aging one that will see many retirements through the next decade. The number of librarians in the Generation X age group, born approximately in 1961-1981, are significantly lower than that found in comparable professions” (p. 93). Pamela, Malory, and Michael each expressed the challenges that an aging workforce brings to them personally and organizationally to academic librarianship.

The particular issue of the retirement bubble was very much on the minds of the older and longer-tenured library faculty. Both administrative librarians (Pamela and Michael) and front-line librarians (Malory and Yvonne) feared that a lack of institutional memory and knowledge could hinder the library’s ability to acquire needed resources, and understand the history and actions that the library had already experienced. The perceived need to pass on the institutional history points to a greater need for intergenerational cooperation within and across work units.

Summary of Findings

The interviews in this study revealed the relevance of some of the ways in which individual librarians approach aging within their various roles in the ARL workplace, and how they perceive library administrators’, colleagues’, and library users’ reactions to their aging and youth within their various professional roles and settings. From the interviews I conducted, and the literature I reviewed, I found that individual, organizational, and societal ideas about aging and generational differences in approaches

to learning, technology, and society/culture, have ramifications for how academic librarians perform their work roles including instruction, reference, and outreach (McLester, 2007; Mosley, 2002; Roberson, 2003).

That librarians of all ages felt their age and/or generation identity most salient when engaging in two specific work roles: reference and instruction was the first of several themes that emerged with regard to age and generation identity salience. Younger librarians sometimes felt disrespected by older library users when engaging in reference and consultation roles, while older librarians felt their age/generation salience when engaging with younger students and faculty when doing both reference work and classroom teaching. Younger librarians felt their age was a benefit at the reference desk when working with undergraduate and younger graduate students. Older librarians felt their age was a benefit when dealing with students who were seeking in-depth knowledge, who were fraught with anxiety over specific assignments, and who might be looking for comfort in a parent figure. All the older librarians, and some of the mid-career librarians talked about the need to remain relevant and connected with younger undergraduate students, and younger graduate students and faculty, especially when engaging in reference and instruction roles. Some used humor, and some used ubiquitous technologies such as Facebook, podcasting, and Twitter to bridge the age gaps. Interestingly, age salience was not raised in relation to collection development roles, but rather only in those specific roles where librarians interacted with library users when providing reference and instruction services.

The distinct but seldom openly recognized generational divide that exists between ARL librarian colleagues is the second theme to emerge. All the young librarians in the

target age range (early twenties to mid-thirties) felt the salience of their age identities when interacting with older librarians and library users; and several felt disrespected and not taken seriously on a regular basis, reflecting the findings of the literature in other fields (Christian, Porter & Moffitt, 2000; McMullin, Duerden Comeau & Jovic, 2007; Roberson, 2003; Wieck, 2003). Many of the older librarians (mid-fifties and older) felt as though middle and upper library administrators either did nothing to alleviate the generational conflict, or actively made it worse. Older librarians felt that few work opportunities in new and emerging areas of library service were afforded to them because of their age. Unlike the generational divide between many librarians and library users, the generational divide between library colleagues is seldom discussed openly within academic libraries. Several of the study participants were clearly uncomfortable discussing the age divides between themselves and others, and commented on how they had not discussed it openly before the interview.

In addition, technology sometimes serves as a lever in the generational conflict within these sample ARL libraries. Older librarians expressed a lack of opportunities afforded to them related to emerging areas of the library, and younger librarians expressed some impatience with the slow-changing culture within their libraries.

Finally, several of the older librarians were thinking about age very seriously due to the closeness of their own retirements. Many of them expressed genuine bewilderment at the fact that they were so close to the end of their careers, and they were worried about succession planning within their own and other ARL libraries. They were aware that they possessed the corporate memory of their institution, and the lack of middle managers, or librarians with substantial length of service to replace them was a point of concern.

CHAPTER V

GENDER IDENTITY SALIENCE

“Librarianship is a feminized profession in which about 85 percent of the practitioners are women. Yet positions of power—faculty positions and directorships of large libraries—have traditionally been disproportionately male.” (Pawley, 2005)

In this chapter, I review and discuss the findings of this study related to gender identity salience and role performance. Although gender is a social identity that has been written about extensively in the literature on diversity in higher education, there is very little written in the library literature. Gender was salient for all 17 of the female participants, and four of the seven male participants.

In a professional context that is overwhelmingly female, one might expect that a salient female gender identity would be, in Hardiman and Jackson’s (1998) framework, an agent identity. Despite the fact that women comprise more than 80 percent of the overall librarian demographics, their ranks total 65 percent of the academic librarian population, as this area of librarianship is typically better paid, holds more prestige, and greater male presence (Pawley, 2005).

ARL campuses represent the largest and most prestigious of all academic institutions in North America, and these institutions continue to be very much male dominated in terms of leadership, tenured faculty, and culture (Humphreys, 1998; Kryllidou, Young & Barber, 2008; NCES, 2006, 2007). Overall, women outnumber men in the ARL context, but the gender dynamics are different in two important and powerful areas of library work –formal authority and expertise.

Power based on formal authority comes from positions such as deans and directorships of ARL libraries and mid-level administration over clusters of libraries, single libraries, or growing technology-related operations within the campus library system. Within these positions, men are significantly overrepresented (Kryllidou, Young & Barber, 2008; Pawley, 2005). They comprise about half of ARL deanships and 60 percent of director of technology-related regions of the library (heads of systems offices, digital production units, etc.).

Power based on expertise is associated with the recognition of being knowledgeable about an aspect of an organization that is consider crucial to operations or prestige. In libraries, this growth area is technology (system design, digital assets production and management, and digital service design). Power based on expertise is also rewarded through publication and tenure. In these areas, men typically fare better than women. Although women comprise 65 percent of academic librarians, they are less than half of authors published in academic library journals (Carle & Anthes, 1999; Hollis, 1999; Pawley, 2005; Voelck, 2003). While overall statistics for promotion and tenure are not kept for ARL libraries, at least one of the sample libraries kept their own statistics and found a pattern of women lagging behind men in tenure and promotion outcomes.

While there is little chance of experiencing solo status based on female social identity (unless a female librarian is a technologist or a senior administrator), equity of opportunity, pay, and influence between men and women in the ARL setting has yet to be reached (Kryllidou, Young & Barber, 2008; Pawley, 2005).

The gender inequity is most troublesome when considered within the context of the variety and omnipresence of technology in today's ARL libraries. Several authors

have written anecdotally about the overrepresentation of men in areas of the library that are technology oriented (Fialkoff, 2008; Ricigliano, 2003; Schneider, 2006; Tennant, 2006). Ricigliano (2003), however, has studied the skewed demographics from a sociological perspective, including how growing numbers of male librarians are changing the culture of academic libraries, as they become high technology institutions.

Constrained resources within the academic library world has meant a growth of systems design and management jobs as the more “traditional” librarian positions are declining. Publicly funded academic libraries typically receive the greatest portion of their revenues from their institution’s general fund, which is, in turn, dependent on ever-shrinking state appropriations. Over the ten-year period from 1991 to 2001, technology-related positions increased 12 percent whereas areas such as serials management were cut by 35 percent in the same time period (Ricigliano, 2003). In addition to the gender-related number and percentage imbalance, salaries in technology areas are inequitable as well. Between 2001 and 2002, male systems/technical position salaries rose on average 10 percent, while women’s salaries in the same job category rose only 6.8 percent (Terrell, 2002, p. 31).

Overall salaries are also discrepant between male and female academic librarians (Kryllidou, Young & Barber, 2008; Ricigliano, 2003). Female academic librarians earned 90 cents for every dollar males earned in 1991. Some improvement was seen in 2001, yet women still only earned 93 cents on the dollar in relation to male librarians (Ricigliano, 2003). As recently as 2001, “Men had higher average salaries in school, academic, and special libraries by 7.9 percent” (Terrell, 2002, p.31). It is troubling that

the persistent remaining gap of five to eight percent has not budged in the past 15 years (Kryllidou, Young & Barber, 2008; Pawley, 2006).

These continuing inequities were very much on the minds of many of the study's female participants and some of the male participants as they described past and present gender imbalances in their areas of the library. This was especially true when discussing their perceptions of gender-based differences in opportunities in particular roles such as administration, technology-related roles, and collection development, as well as different opportunities for service, promotion, and tenure.

Findings: Gender Identity Salience

While librarianship is a female dominated profession, the academies where ARL libraries are located are still very much male-dominated institutions. At each campus in the sample, the overall faculty, including tenure and non-tenure-track faculty, are close to 70 percent male, however, when one examines the tenure track faculty, the numbers of women drop from approximately 30 percent to 17 percent (NCES, 2007). This phenomenon is known as "the higher, the fewer" (White & White, 1973) because the higher up the academic ladder one travels, the fewer women are found. Thus women are dealing with "the higher, the fewer" in the micro context of the library, and the macro context of the whole university. Therefore, even though the libraries are female-dominated in terms of sheer numbers, women participants still experience their gender as a disadvantage, or a target identity because of the campus context, and the institutional legacies of gender inequality (Hardiman & Jackson, 1998; Pawley, 2006).

Of the many themes to emerge, the first is that both male and female participants felt the salience of their gender in specific roles, including library administration,

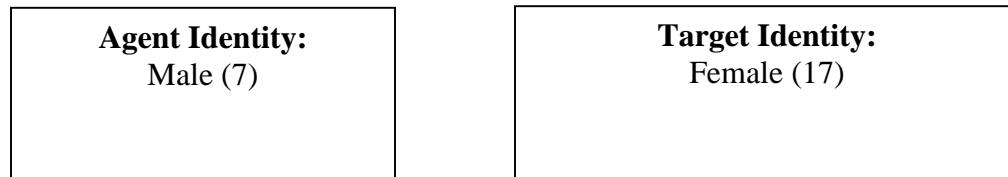
technology-related roles, collection development, and instruction. Women who work in areas of technology within the libraries (i.e. systems offices, Web service development, etc.) are very much in the numerical minority, and therefore felt their target identity status. They described how library colleagues outside their home units questioned their expertise, and how they were regularly passed over for opportunities in favor of their male colleagues within their units.

Gender salience was also particularly acute for older female librarians, even those who have reached the very top administrative positions. Individually, they had all experienced openly expressed sexism in their early careers and over the course of many decades. Their past (and present) experiences weighed heavily on their minds, even as they acknowledged the great progress that has been made in gender equality in recent years.

Third, most of the male participants in these ARL libraries felt no reverse sexism, with the important exception of one participant. In fact, several men acknowledged that their gender status actually gave them advantages in climbing the administrative ladder.

Finally, most of the female participants (16 of 17) felt there were gender-based differences between their access to opportunities related to professional service, promotion, tenure, and salaries and that of their male colleagues. Figure 5.1 therefore, represents Hardiman and Jackson's (1998) framework applied to gender identity in ARL libraries.

Figure 5.1. ARL Target/Agent Gender Groupings



Finding 1: Gender Salience and Specific Roles

There were several roles in particular where multiple female participants felt their gender salience, and one role where both men and women felt the salience of their gender. For the women, their gender salience was felt most prominently in administrative and technical roles, both being areas where solo status and the pressures to be a “model women” were common (Sekaquaptewa & Thompson, 2002; Thompson & Sekaquaptewa, 2002). Two of the three men with administrative roles felt the salience of their gender in that they thought their gender gave them a “leg up” over female librarians in first having received their positions, and in their subsequent interactions with their female supervisees. For them, the salience of their gender identities was related to the benefits they received in their libraries. Other participants talked about the salience of gender when engaging in teaching, collection development, and outreach/liaison work.

The role of the library-wide administrator, known on many campuses as library dean or director and assistant or associate dean/director is one role where several participants felt the salience of their gender. These senior administrative roles often include responsibility for library budgets, fundraising, organizational development, recruitment, resource allocation, and working with university administration. Both of the two female librarians in these senior administrative roles felt the salience of their gender

identity acutely. They were very aware of recent and historical demographics imbalances in the dean/directorships of ARL libraries, and had many stories about being “the first woman” to reach library leadership roles on their campuses. Both of these female librarians were also acutely aware of the male-dominated demographics of their campus administrations and faculty governance bodies, both of which they dealt with on a regular basis.

Susan, the senior library administrator on her campus, recounted in vivid detail the history of each and every campus president and dean/director for as long as she had been there, telling of often being the only woman at meetings of the campus deans. She recalled,

I mean, the Provost would raise the gender issue, and of course, everyone would look at me. He did some charts and some things, and cohort groups, and looked at the retention issues and so and so forth, but there wasn't any real concerted plan. And they then did this gender study, after MIT did the big study with women. They put together a group here that did the same thing. They met over a year and half. And they came out with kind of the standard recommendations. One of them was that each college have a gender committee. And we'd already had one for years and years and years. And then they asked the deans to do a survey of their school's climate and I think after that for most colleges, everything stopped [effort and progress on gender equity issues]. It didn't stop here in the library, but everything pretty much stopped in the colleges. And I think, they say, ten years ago, when we were being accredited, I was on the group that did a lot of numbers and stuff. And 25% were women. I think the numbers are a little higher now, but there's, it's not tremendous. And in terms of climate...I think there are major climate issues.

Susan's narratives of being the only female dean at the table echo the narratives on solo status found in previous studies (Roberson, et al., 2002; Sekaquaptewa & Thompson, 2002). One result of solo status, according to Sekaquaptewa and Thompson (2002), is a heightened awareness of the social identities of those in positions of power around you. Susan, the Dean of Libraries on her campus, talked extensively about the

various university presidents and provosts who served with her over the years. She noted that they were all men, and expressed both frustration and sadness that they demonstrated varying degrees of commitment (or lack thereof) to both racial and gender diversity.

About the current provost and her fellow deans, she lamented the lack of accountability in diversifying faculty ranks,

And there were some people, I mean like [name], who's the acting Provost right now, who was the Dean of the College of [name]. He put together some groups and really seemed to make a real effort, which you wouldn't have expected, because he's a good old boy from the south. But I think [he has] actually has tried. And the Dean of the College of [name] I think he has served on various programs and task forces and so on, and he has tried. But that's it. And there's not a whole lot of results to show for all this work. I mean, the Provost would raise this, and he did some charts and some things, and cohort groups, and looked at the retention issues and so and so forth—looking at numbers and raising awareness, but there wasn't any real concerted plan. I never saw any real teeth to it.

Pamela, an assistant university librarian, talked about the pressure for women administrators to conform to dress and behavior norms of men in the ARL setting. She talked about her own resistance to this pressure,

I also have always sort of embraced the part that I am a woman in an administrative group of people that are largely men. And I don't try to be a part of their world. I want to be a part of my world in this profession, and have that be ok. What I find remarkable is that I don't think, in the library world, I suffer any exclusion because of that. In the academic [campus] world, I believe I do. Among the campus administrators, I feel that exclusion. When I was Acting Director of the library, and would go to dean's meetings, in my Birkenstocks and slacks, which was less acceptable for a woman, I felt very much like I was not accepted in that group. But I decided to not dress up like the "power suit women." I understand that it challenges [social standards], and it's different for them [deans and provosts], and they don't know what it is that I'm trying to say [by wanting to be comfortable], and they have their own views of it. So, I just decided that's what I have to do to be comfortable and confident in my own shell.

Both women had narratives describing various forms of resistance to the pressure to conform to a male world (Sule, 2008). In Susan's case, she refused to be co-opted by

her male peers who were not held accountable for their lack of progress in hiring and retaining greater numbers of female faculty. In Pamela's case, she chose to dress and conduct herself in a manner counter to the male-dominated norms of administrators on her campus. In both cases, the women knew they would pay a price for their resistance, but they were able to negotiate a middle ground between being pressured into behaviors they opposed, and still retained some ability to get their jobs done. Sule (2008) found that women faculty often have to tread this middle path in order to remain successful in the academy, and to continue to have access to resources and opportunities.

It is notable that all three male librarians who had administrative responsibilities also felt their gender salience in their leadership roles. Andy, a young African American branch library director described how after getting the position, which he acknowledged he hadn't even applied for, there was some tension between him and the women who report to him. He attributed the tension to underlying gender, race and age issues. He remembered,

It's funny, when I first came here, [name]—great person. When we first came together, we were butting heads. And the reason why? She's a woman, and I'm a young, Black man. "He's coming and telling me what to do." But I think a bigger part of it with her was, she was so used to being on her own. Because there was not librarian here for almost 18 months before I came, and her and the other woman, they were running the place. And even from what I've heard, [previous librarian] wasn't around, even the last year of so when he was here. He was sick a lot, so he let them do whatever they wanted to do. So here I am, coming in, and "no—this is how we're going to do stuff." So, we joke about it all the time now. We have a lot of love and respect for each other. It never came to the point where "she goes or I go," (*laughs*) but it could have gone that way.

Andy openly acknowledged the role his gender played in his getting his job, and how this may have had an impact on his all-female staff. He was very introspective about how his network of male colleagues first made him aware of the position opening, hired

him, and then were available to help him through his difficulties with is female staff members. He said,

Actually, I had the benefit of knowing [previous librarian], and picking up the phone before I even applied for the position and said, “Okay, [name]. Why did you leave? Talk to me.” And one of the things he said was, “You have really good staff there.” And I took that to heart. So when I got the position, his words were always in the back of my mind—to try to understand the dynamics that I was getting myself into... *Got myself into!*

Andy’s network of support included having a pre-existing relationship with the librarian who previously held his position, and knowing his department chair and many of the teaching faculty from his graduate school experiences at his university. Contrasting Andy’s experience with those of Susan and Pamela, it is clear that the lack of a peer network on campus hampered the women in their early years, and resulting effects of solo status added a layer of complexity to their jobs that persists today. Otherwise simple decisions, like what to wear in order to be accepted with authority, cannot be taken for granted, and must be thought through on a daily basis (Peluchette, Karl & Rust, 2006; Rafaeli & Dutton, 1997).

Besides administration, another prominent role where gender is especially salient is in that of library technologist. As stated previously, females in the area of library technology are severely underrepresented. Of the two women in the sample whose entire roles centered around the innovative use of new technology, both conveyed narratives touched by solo status and pressures to be “model women” in a largely male world.

Regarding the issue of gender and technology in libraries, Roy Tennant (2006), the User Services Architect for the California Digital Library, wrote, “Recently I’ve had reason to reflect on a disturbing situation in digital library development. Looking around, I see mostly men...in a profession dominated by women, this disparity is even more

striking” (p. 28). He goes on to note that “we see this reflected in conference speakers, the authors of technical papers, and attendees at most technical conferences in our profession. We have a serious gender gap in technical librarianship, and it’s time to acknowledge and work on it” (p. 28).

According to University of Puget Sound's Lori Ricigliano, Associate Director for Information and Access Services, the link between masculinity and technology has created “subtle, yet significant changes in libraries.” (Ricigliano, 2003). She wrote, “There is a disproportionate number of men in technology-related jobs...This is the highest concentration of men across all job categories” (p. 6.)

Karen G. Schneider, a library consultant and avid blogger on library technology issues, raised the question of why the American Library Association, the oldest and largest of all library professional organizations, lacks women in technology-related areas. Within 24 hours, she had over three dozen comments posted by female librarians of all ages, all commenting on this same phenomenon, and their unease with entering the profession because of it. Jami, a library school student wrote,

I was at 2 out of 3 of these programs [at conference] and noticed the lack of female presence as well. This was my first ALA conference (I'm currently a student 'til December!), and I am definitely fired up to participate as soon as possible. Another program where I noticed this issue was at “Where They are and What are they Doing? Supporting the Independent User” — 2 men, 0 women...The programs are all about technology and social software and reaching and connecting with our users and the only folks talking about it are White men! I thought the presenters were excellent and extremely knowledgeable (I learned a ton!), but there were times that I found myself wanting to jump in with suggestions and opinions from a female perspective (Schneider, 2006).

Graceann, an older librarian, also wrote about the lack of women in technology, I truly believe that it really isn't that people are being sexist or stupid. They don't think about it. They don't think about getting columnists or speakers or

article writers that reflect the profession (still 80 percent female last I checked). If we make feminism a practice, like prayer, like meditation, we practice by choosing women. We practice by using female examples. We practice by making that decision.

On the topic of organizational culture and gender, Tennant (2006) wrote,

Groups of men interacting in the absence of women can be rude and even misogynistic. Add one woman to the mix and, often, little will change. It's only when the balance shifts more substantially that behaviors are likely to change significantly. Old habits are hard to break...We need to create welcoming, fostering, and supportive environments for our female colleagues (p. 28).

Charlene, a young White librarian was quite aware of her minority status in the male-dominated area of web development in academic libraries. She echoed Graceann's sentiments that there isn't outright sexist behavior in her department, but that no one (but her) seems to be thinking or talking about the fact that she is the only woman in the entire unit. She talked about her gender identity as it relates to her position within the library's technology area,

I was actually talking to another female co-worker about this, and how she has felt about the gender issue, because she's a bit older than me. I don't have any examples of somebody being overtly sexist, but it's...something I'm self conscious of, right?. So females are about a fourth of the population of like, any kind of techy department in the library as far as I can figure. So definitely, a minority compared to the rest of the library. I guess it's just something I pay attention to and I wonder, because all of the upper level managers in the techy department, they're all male. There aren't any women. And we only have one female, like, real programmer. She's a part time student, so she's not really even a full staff member. I guess I was a little concerned if they were going to take me seriously.So sometimes I'm very self-conscious about being a woman in this department.

Charlene's words alone do not reveal the hesitation and emotion she felt in talking about this issue—it was obvious that being the only woman in her unit was quite stressful for her, even though she is a confident and competent professional. She grew very animated when talking about particular projects she was working on, but very hesitant

and unsure when talking about her solo status. Her uncertainty about how seriously she would be taken by her male colleagues is a common worry for women in primarily male domains such as engineering, information technology, law, and police work (Eccles, 1994; Sekaquaptewa & Thompson, 2003).

Sally, a young African American librarian, talked about her struggles working alongside an Asian man in a technical unit within the library. This is an internal-focused department that helps public service units integrate new technology into their work processes and work roles. Sally described her daily struggles with trying to get her colleagues throughout the library to recognize and utilize her substantial technology skills. Our conversation follows,

Sally: Because I chose to go into an area that tends to be male dominated and white dominated, I knew it would be a bit of a struggle, but I had no idea when I started...I would describe what I do as a Business Analyst role. So my job is more to do with people who are doing collection development and reference and all those roles you described. As they're working with those roles, I then try to help them incorporate technology into their jobs. I help them to understand how technology works and how it can fit in to their workflow. I then help them map their business processes to our systems.

Karen: Interesting. So do people come to you? Or do you go to them? How does that work?

Sally: That's one of the things that's difficult. There's always that negotiation: who comes to whom? And because of our [work] structure here, there often aren't very clear roles, so there's a lot of room for people [to avoid coming to me], and I think this is definitely a gender and race issue. There's lot of room for people to kind of choose who they want to come to? And I see a definite pattern of who they choose to come to. Right now, there's only two of us librarians in this kind of role; myself, and an Asian gentleman. And there's a definite tendency to go to him first. A *very* strong tendency.

Sekaquaptewa and Thompson (2003), who have conducted many studies on the effects of solo status on the performance of women and men have found repeatedly that women who experience solo status within a group work setting consistently under-

perform compared to a control group. And women who experience solo status in primarily male areas, such as information technology, where there are cultural biases, stereotypes or expectations of women performing poorer face the double pressure of solo status and stereotype threat (Steele & Aronson, 1995; Sekaquaptewa & Thompson, 2003). In this case, Sally not only faced the gender and age solo status factors that Charlene faced, but she had race and the stereotypes associated with African Americans layered on top of those factors. In Sally's mind, all these factors together worked against her in her role of technologist.

Sally went on to elaborate more on the subtle ways that she is excluded from the all-male network within her technical services unit,

Sally: And I also see the [difference in treatment of my male colleague] very much come out in the language that people use...In really subtle ways which are hard to address and deal with. [For example] on one occasion, we were having a meeting—talking about a big management project. And a couple people in the room who were both on the technical team, kept saying things like, “Well, let’s talk about what work needs to be done. What is the Technical Team doing?” And then would ask separately, “Well, what is Sally doing?” And I think they didn’t even, I’m not sure they got that that was the message they were sending—as if I were not part of the team! And on other occasions, the same people would constantly say things like, “Well technical people like ‘so-and-so’, or non-technical people,” and refer to *me*. And like, well, *I’m* on the Technical Team! So how did I get to be non-technical, but everybody else on the team is technical? But sometimes I think people don’t even hear that they’re saying that, or what message of exclusion they’re sending. Even down to things like the use of pronouns. The same people constantly say “we”, “us”, referring to the group, and then “you” when they refer to me. And so it’s like, *we’re* a group and *you’re* “the other.”

Here Sally refers to the ongoing, but subtle use of language and other forms of omission (such as not including her in on shared technology tips and fixes), that over time, send a message of exclusion. These often unconscious messages are labeled in the psychology literature as “micro-aggressions,” and are common in workplaces where

women and minorities hold solo status (Solorzano, Ceja & Yosso, 2000; Sue, et al., 2007).

For Harriet, teaching was a role where gender was especially salient, particularly when she had the opportunity to show some of the library's special collections relating to women's history. She became very animated when talking about these collections and the opportunities she has had to share them with female undergraduate students, faculty, and community members. In fact, she hoped she could further develop the collections in areas of women's history at some point in her career. She shared,

If it's a literary group, or a history class, or they want to use a specific collection in the library, like the collections on abolition, or women's suffrage, I get to tailor it to the group. There are some amazing treasures here, and I love the reactions we get [to seeing the treasures]! Especially the women, because it's a part of our history, and we aren't taught it very often.

While Harriet loved to show the many wonderful treasures found within the library's collections generally to all her library users, she specifically mentioned the fulfillment she experienced in working with the materials relating to women, and sharing them with younger female students.

Polly, a Latina middle manager felt gender salience most acutely when engaging in her collection management role within her ARL library, and when engaging with other collection managers nationally at conferences. She talked about the gender imbalance in areas of collection administration, and the seemingly constant resistance to put women in charge of large collection budgets within ARL libraries. She described the situation,

I try to remain active in my initial specialty, and that was collection development. When I joined the professional association through [the Association of College and Research Libraries] in particular, I realized that it was not a female-friendly place. And I was not really welcome—I got a cold shoulder. I noticed a very strong preference for having males on the committees. It was an area where I saw the percentage of women [in academic

libraries], female to males, reversed. It was men running the committees, and men as heads of collections. To me, it was because collection developers usually also handle money—a lot of money in ARLs. So then I realized that that was the reason why. And I didn't know that they themselves feel like it's more...I don't know... *important work?* They think collection management work is more important than reference or cataloging. You know? And I never was aware of that before becoming a collection administrator. I realize that, of course now. It was like they [the men] were saying “go back to your service job. That's where you belong.”

Polly described the same sorts of exclusionary behaviors that bothered Sally and Charlene such as conversations stopped when she entered the room. To her, it was obvious that the men in the group had communicated previous to the committee meetings, but no one had notified her about agenda items or other points of order, and her input was routinely ignored unless she insisted on being heard. These are same sorts of micro-aggressions that Sally described. In Polly's experience, she was stereotyped as a good fit for public service, but was not seen as authority on matters involving large sums of money for collection purposes.

Diego, a librarian who has several targeted social identities intersecting with his agent gender identity, is the head of one of the branch libraries within his ARL setting. He felt the salience of being male in a female-dominated library system in almost every role he performed, but most acutely in the intersection of his administrative role, which requires him to be in the library during part of each day, and his heavy outreach activities, which necessitate a flexible work schedule so that he can meet with students, faculty, and the public in the evenings. He talked about how he is held to a different standard than his female colleagues,

There's two women in particular that are in [library name] that are just, oh, they're horrible to work with. And then [name] who's head of [a group of librarians]—she works four days a week. She comes and goes as she pleases, but I was coming in late for a while, because I was doing a ton of outreach [in

the evenings] and I got called on the carpet. Now I have to post my schedule and I have to let people know where the hell I am. I've got those kinds of message that I have to put up with. Because these people over here are jealous that I have flexibility. I work my butt off doing that [very time-consuming weekly outreach effort], but I have to cover my ass. I mean, my female colleagues say, "Oh, Diego's not here. Where is he? He must be slacking off somewhere." But she [female colleague] can come and go and take two hour-long lunches and still leave after only seven hours. It pisses me off, because there's this hierarchy of privilege that. some people have access to. Way more privilege than I have. That's for sure. It really gets to me sometimes.

It is important to note that Diego is the only male and only Mexican American librarian in his library as well as his administrative cluster of libraries, and that he felt targeted for differential treatment because of his dual solo status. He perceived that his White female colleagues stereotyping him as a "lazy Mexican," because of their concern that he was "slacking off" whenever he was out of the office, while at the same time, his female colleagues seemed to come and go as they pleased.

Diego also suspected that, in addition to his gender and race/ethnicity, his physical presence (large size) was threatening to some of his female colleagues. He sensed that some of his female colleagues seemed uncomfortable being in close proximity to him. This led to many uncomfortable situations within their small divisional library. American culture is replete with threatening images and media stereotypes regarding men of color, beginning with D.W. Griffith's Birth of a Nation, continuing with the Willy Horton ads in the 1980s, to the current images of prisons bursting with young Hispanic and African American men (Entman & Rojecki, 2001; Entman & Rojecki 2001).

In addition, Diego is one of only three librarians (Shevonda and Edwina were the other two) in the sample who spoke of the salience of his socioeconomic background (Shevonda and Edwina were the other two). Sometimes he didn't understand the

entrenched academic culture with which his colleagues identified instinctively. He said, “If I have a problem with someone, I let them know to their face—I’m not rude, but these people around here will go behind your back and smile to your face.” This type of hidden or assumed cultural knowledge was referenced by both Edwina and Shevonda as well. Shevonda referred to herself as being “a little more of the rainbow than people bargained for,” because she, like Diego, was occasionally cast as being angry or emotional when she was simply disagreeing with her co-workers. She noted that she could disagree with her “please pass the bread and butter” voice, but it would still get back to her that she had raised her voice and swung her head to and fro. These differences in communication styles are closely intertwined with cultural norms, and can be related to socio-economics, race, nationality, and any number of cultural identities (Kochman, 1981; Monaghan, et al., 2007).

Diego felt strongly that the intersection of his identities works in concert against him, in the eyes of his female colleagues, and that he is held to a very different standard than his White, female colleagues by their White female boss. It is likely that Diego’s solo status, something that none of the other men of color in this sample had to deal with, was a strong influence for him. The instances he described of being bullied by groups of women, being excluded from the power structure of decision making and resource sharing, and being held to a higher standard than several of his female colleagues, are all hallmarks of the intersection of solo status and microaggressions in the workplace (Sekaquaptewa & Thompson, 2003; Sue, et al., 2007).

Finding 2: Long Shadows of the Past: Influences of Sexism in ARL Libraries

“Male librarians, who are a minority in the profession, often occupy the highest level of decision-making, administrative positions in larger public

libraries and in large, academic libraries, where salaries are often higher and the opportunities for visibility and prestige are often greater... ” (Voelck, 2003)

Several of the women participants experienced overt sexism in their early careers. The legacy of those experiences was still very much in the forefront of their minds making them alert to inequitable treatment in the workplace today. In response, they tried to use their negative experiences to remind themselves that it takes effort to create welcoming and respectful work environments.

Yvonne reminisced about how she originally had wanted to obtain a Ph.D. (in the 1970s) before she decided on a master in library science. She matter-of-factly related her experiences with open sexist treatment in the academy.

I really wanted to teach at the college level but that required a Ph.D., and I really didn't have the money. Scholarships were very hard to come by, especially if you were a woman. I was taking a course here for my master's degree, and the professor was very candid. The class had a lot of women in it, and somebody started to ask him about career counseling. “What about getting a Ph.D.?” He was very candid and he said, “I can tell you that it's very difficult for a woman to get a professional faculty appointment.” He said, “If you're married, they look at, well, ‘when are you going to have kids’, and where is your attention going to be? And if you're not married, the question is, what's wrong with you?” So that was a deciding point for me. And so, at that point, I decided, no, I couldn't. I just couldn't. In [that] day and age, I mean, it was *real* [gender inequity and sexism]. Now you would never hear anybody saying that...but who knows? Maybe they still *think* it. I had been encouraged all along by professors that I had the talent. But you could watch the evidence because at that point, here in the Department, I don't think there was a single female faculty member...I think where the difference [gender discrimination] came was in, when they made their selection—whether it was for scholarships or TA's, or faculty appointments, or promotions.

The differences in access to resources back when she was younger make Yvonne very sensitive to assisting the female graduate students in the sciences now. She persuades them to meet with specific faculty members in the department who offer

encouragement, and have access to resources specifically for women in the sciences. She utilizes her professional and personal campus network to assist these younger women, partly because they remind her of herself those many years ago. This form of identity-based mentoring is well-documented in the literature, and is linked to the need for a diverse faculty (Milem & Astin, 1993; Milem & Hakuta, 2000; Nettles, 2006; Scisney-Matlock & Matlock, 2001). Without a diverse faculty, women and minority students have fewer chances to receive this type of mentoring and socialization (Scisney-Matlock & Matlock, 2001; Nettles, 2006).

Turning her attention to how sexism was manifested in the academic library at the time, Yvonne said,

I think that attitude certainly applied in the libraries. Back then, if you looked at who were the worker bees and who were the administrators, you would have found, early on, quite an imbalance for a profession whose numerical count was what? Seventy-five percent women? If you looked at who the administrators were, you would see a reversal. [It was] just assumed [that men would be library deans and directors]. *Of course* that's how it would be. So that has changed, somewhat. I mean, watching over the years, you could see that the men didn't have to be as talented as the women. They just didn't. If they were ambitious—and ambition was something which was a positive for a male, and it was not necessarily a positive for a female.

Because of these experiences within the library, Yvonne is also very sensitive to younger librarians just starting their careers. She encourages them to be active professionally, and connects them with opportunities to be involved in committee work within the library and nationally at conferences. Although Yvonne is a front-line librarian with no supervisory responsibilities, she sees this mentoring role as integral to her work.

Susan provided other examples of how past experiences with gender discrimination can shape current practice. She had no doubt that she wanted to become a librarian early on in her adult life. After a stint overseas doing volunteer work with the

government, she began looking for librarian jobs at the campus where her husband was pursuing his Ph.D. She was offered a position over the telephone, but the librarian reneged after finding out she was pregnant. She remembered,

So imagine my surprise a month later when a [male] colleague of mine said that he'd just been over to interview and he'd been offered my job! So I called [the library] and the head of the library had found out that I was pregnant and decided that it wouldn't be "appropriate" for me to come to work there. And we needed the money so badly. I had also applied to [name] University and, like, that very day I went into labor, they called me and said that their government documents position was open. They asked, "would I come interview?" And so I said, "Sure". And then I had to call the next day and sort of explain I was indisposed. But I would be there and arrange it in two days. So I went from the hospital to the *next day* to interview at [University name]. And they hired me that day. That started my career in academic librarianship. They believed I could juggle my family and a job in the library, and I've never forgotten that.

When I asked Susan whether she felt those early experiences informed her current practices, she made reference to the position and power she holds as a senior administrator within the library. She replied and offered examples,

Absolutely! When you are a target like that...you understand what it feels like to be treated unfairly...I try to use those experiences because [now] I have some power to make decisions and give opportunities to others. That's *so* important to my thinking. [For example], I am probably the most vocal member of the Deans group on campus. And I see these issues as being related—race, gender, sexual orientation. We can't be successful if we aren't diverse ourselves. I have stepped in on many searches over the years and told people "you need to redo your pool." It makes me very popular [joking] with the library faculty. But I know it's the right thing to do. I bring in trainers to sensitize the staff, and we have a climate survey we do every year to see how we're doing. ...These are just a few things I have done...

And Yvonne, who sees her most prominent roles as instructional librarian replied,

In a way it has influenced my actions [when instructing] to some extent. I mean, it's not like I think about it every day, but I remember what it was like to have the talent, but not be recognized [for scholarship and jobs]. I do my best to mentor my students [semester-long classes that she teaches]—and encourage them, because today they [the female students] can do anything,

but sometimes they need encouragement and need to know how to navigate this place.

Neither Susan nor Yvonne seemed bitter about their earlier ill treatment. They were both very proud of their careers and very pleased, albeit somewhat wary of the advances that have been made in academia and in libraries since they began. While Susan's senior administrator status allows her to influence many more far-ranging issues within her campus and ARL libraries than Yvonne, who is a front-line instruction librarian, both women have used their past experiences to assist women within their given spheres of influence.

These early experiences with sexism in the academic library setting left a clear and lasting impression on both of these older librarians. As Wyn, Acker and Richards (2000) found in their study of older academic women, their commitment to feminist principles such as helping other women succeed and working to change the culture of the academy was cemented in their early career experiences, and continues to be relevant to the intersection of their social identity and work roles today.

Finding 3: Gender Salience and Service, Professional Development and Promotion

For some of the female and one male participants, gender in the workplace was sometimes not correlated to engagement in particular work roles, but rather, related to their choices of professional service, and their perceptions of access to professional developmental opportunities. They felt gender salience with respect to the opportunities they chose, or created for themselves within their libraries, on their campuses, and in their national or international professional communities.

Many of the female participants (10 of 17) served on professional groups that were expressly in place to track women's issues in the academy. Some participants (12

of 17) formed informal or social networking groups of professional women within the academy, and almost all (16 of 17) gravitated toward other women for mentorship and coaching.

Additionally, some of the women in the sample (7 of 17) felt their gender salience after perceiving inequalities between themselves and their male colleagues when it came to access to resources and opportunities that were not expressly for women. Male and female participants raised the issues of inequality in applying for and receiving jobs, as well as receiving promotion and tenure.

Shevonda, a young African American librarian who works in the male-dominated sciences, originally did not think that her gender was an issue, even though she acknowledged the gender imbalance in her chosen sub-field. But once she began describing her social network on campus, she remarked at how she did not consciously seek out other women, but she seemed to gravitate toward them nonetheless. She also remarked on how her male library colleagues, and even some of her female colleagues, have commented on her service choices (sometimes belittling her choices). Our conversation follows,

Shevonda: Well, this year I was selected as the Vice President for the [women's faculty association on campus—at the behest of the current president]. Yeah! You work hard in that position! Then the next year you become the President. But my biggest job right now is to plan the Board of Regents luncheon with the women faculty. So lately, that's taken up a lot of my time. And as a part of that group, I'm facilitating these discussions of salary equity [between male and female faculty] with the President [of the university] and his administration. So that's a lot of work—a lot of research. Some people [colleagues in the library] say, "that's service, you should do that on your own time or after work." But it's *all* work to me. Just because it's a women's group doesn't mean it's not "real work." You see what I mean? No one complains about the sciences committees I'm on.

Karen: So the president knew you from other contacts?

Shevonda: Yes. From social contacts. There's a group of women faculty, and, well, there's a couple of groups [that she has joined]. One group we have is...for women with natural hair. Even though I'm straightening it these days? So through my contacts with the natural hair group I met the current president, and they didn't kick me out even though I'm straightening right now!

Karen: *(laughs)*

Shevonda: So there's that group, and there's another group that I joined. Well it's a informal group of women in the sciences, but a lot of us came at the same time and so we were all on the tenure track, and so we kind of bonded that way. Like before each term we used to go away to a spa and pamper ourselves for a day and talk about university life and, so it was in that context that we bonded and helped one another make it through the tenure process. So that led to me meeting the president. And she was having a hard time getting somebody to run [for vice president]. And so a couple of margaritas later...
(laughs)

Karen: All of a sudden you're up for election! *(laughs)*

Shevonda: Exactly! *(laughs)*

Studies from many disciplines have shown that women faculty feel opportunities for mentoring are lacking in comparison with the opportunities for male faculty (Foster & Seevers, 2003; Kenty, 1997; Quinlan, 1999; Riger, et al., 1997). However, Shevonda's intertwined network of social and professional, formal and informal contacts is illustrative of the way many women on ARL campuses navigate their mostly male environments (Quinlan, 1999).

Edwina also talked about seeking out peer support among her professional colleagues, and how that has led to friendships across campus with a network of supportive women. She said,

As I think back, I realize I have always sort of fallen into groups of women, and they have often been women with alternative identities, like punk rockers, women of color, all ages. And I think I have created a community for myself—both for work and for support...I also gravitate to women mentors—the “grand dames.” And I like to hang out with our library students as well. You know, my network is really eclectic, and I need that.

Francesca, an older librarian who has worked in a variety of library settings over the past 30 years, talked about the salience of her gender identity as she compared her situation to male librarians who have moved from support-staff status to librarian/faculty status. She noted,

I'm quite aware of how even when [name] was President [of the university], when he did the study of the situation for women at the university, and the pay scale and their positions, that it [equal pay and representational numbers] was still sadly lacking in equity. I don't think that situation has changed all that much at this point. I think it's still an ongoing problem in many cases, and is a problem that I, myself, have encountered in terms of when I went from being a paraprofessional to a librarian, for instance. They looked at what [rank they thought I belonged in] and they looked at my salary and compared it to other people. I was given the standard line, of, "Oh, we can't give you more than this because that wouldn't fit in with what everybody else has." And yet, not all that long after I got my position, someone else went from a paraprofessional, to a professional position, and was a male, and his supervisor was male, and he ended up with a much higher salary level and rank than I ended up with. And I applied for at least six jobs before I got this one, and he was invited to apply for the one job. So I know that's a continuing problem and so, yes, I've very aware of those things within my work life.

Francesca refers to the inequity she observed between herself and a male colleague in similar circumstances, especially his access more resources within the library because of his male library director . Such inequity is another common theme in the literature on gender issues within the faculty. Many possible explanations for pay and representational inequalities are typically explored, including women's childcare responsibilities, being left out of male-dominated social networks on campuses, and dual standards and opportunity structures (Foster & Seevers, 2003; Fox & Ferri, 1992; Riger, et al., 1997; Smart, 1991; Bentley & Blackburn, 1992).

Rosario also had stories of how men within her two ARL libraries were given preferential treatment when hiring and promoting. She remembered,

I've seen it before—at my last library. There is a definite double standard [in terms of expectations for men and women] in these libraries. What's that saying? 'Be twice as good to be seen as half as good?' I've seen it—lived it. It's ok not to distinguish yourself in any way if you're a man, but if you're a woman you have to be accomplished in the whole thing [your job, service, publishing].

Francesca also noted the lack of female perspective within the campus administration, and how that has affected the way she experiences her own gender salience. She said,

The gender thing, I find that that comes into play sometimes at the administrative level. Because many of the administrators—even in the library—the top administrators, have often been male. And I think that that gives them a [narrow] perspective and so I feel that that's not always good. And, that's despite the fact that the president of the university is now a female. The majority of the time that I've been at the university it has not been a female, and most of the people under the president have not been female. And so I think there's been a major perspective that's lacking, and also because, when you have such a narrow perspective, there are certain things that are valued in terms of service, publishing and tenure, and others that are not. That makes me more aware of it [the inequalities between men and women on this campus], and what is “acceptable” work, and not.

In many instances, participants could not separate their two social identities, especially the intersections of race and gender, and age and gender, when telling stories and talking about motivations as previous quotes have demonstrated (see Diego's point regarding race, gender, and size, and Charlene's quote about age and gender (in Chapter 4). Shevonda further illustrates this point with regard to her service choices. She said,

I have that interaction [between race and gender]. Being a woman in the sciences and an African American woman on a White campus can be tough. Sometimes it's hard to know which direction to follow, so sometimes I'm into it [participate in the women's faculty group and her women in science group], or I don't do either, or at least I try not to. Most times I just work with my faculty and they treat me like a person who can help them—not a Black woman—like they do in the library.

Diego was the only male participant who suffered negative consequences for being “more of the rainbow” (Shevonda’s way of referring to the intersection of targeted identities). He was certain that the intersection of his race, and large size worked in concert with his gender to disadvantage him in his particular setting. He talked about how he used to get bullied by a group of White women who held both power and privilege within his library, and how after many years of such treatment he now stands up to their bullying. He also said that the consequences of doing so have been significant in terms of being denied the same opportunities as his White female colleagues. He talked about the evolution of his mindset in approaching these colleagues,

I’m not afraid. After all these years, I’m not afraid of anybody in this environment. So I’ll speak my mind if I feel compelled to, and I’ll stand up to whoever tries to bully me...But I’ve had to learn how to project a sense of confidence and strength over time. It hasn’t been easy. But I have. And there have been some negative consequences. I’m never appointed to any committees any more; and they blocked me from promotion—that kind of thing. So it has its price, sticking up for yourself, and being who you are.

Sule (2008) and others have documented the price that some women and people of color pay on PWI campuses when they refuse to assimilate to the dominant culture (Jaeger & Thornton, 2006; Milem & Chang, 2005; Padilla, 1997; Wyn, Acker, Richards, 2000). For disciplinary faculty, the socialization process begins while they are earning their Ph.D. (Kearns, Gardiner & Marshall, 2008; Padilla, 1997; Sule, 2008; Tysick & Babb, 2006). For most librarian faculty, the Masters is the terminal degree, and therefore their socialization process is largely dependent on their immediate colleagues and supervisors. If the new librarian is placed in a solo status situation, as was the case with Diego, unless everyone involved possesses strong cultural competencies, there are few opportunities for socialization (Nettles & Millett, 2006).

Sally is another participant who wondered about the intersection of her identities. She said,

It's hard to know, and it especially makes me wonder at [promotion and tenure] times, which is worse of a disadvantage [gender or race]? I've seen so many talented women of color leave before or after the tenure review. Either they don't want to go through it, or they are rejected by it. It seems like there is a different bar [for women of color] for tenure.

The tendency of women to gravitate to other women for support and mentoring was sometimes not a conscious choice. Several of the participants had to think about their social and professional networks to realize that most of the people in that network were women. Others were quite aware of, and deliberate about choosing women as mentors and friends. Most women were frank about the continuing inequities they perceived between women and men in the academy, whether it was promotion and tenure outcomes, job-seeking, or the segregation of men in certain areas of the library. Of the men, only Diego perceived his gender as a disadvantage during the promotion process, whereas several of the women saw promotion and tenure as a deck stacked against them. They saw different standards for women for performance and promotion.

Finding 4: Men's Perceptions of Male Advantage

"I think it's a gender thing, because I think males are afraid to talk about issues of gender." (Quote from Andy about male librarians and gender salience.)

The last gender-related theme to emerge from the data is that of the perception by three of the seven male librarians that their gender has given them certain advantages over their female colleagues when job and other opportunities have arisen. This was a surprising finding, as many of the women perceived preferential treatment of men in their

library settings, but they were not aware that the men knew or believed that they may have received benefits because of their gender, or because they were connected into the “good old boys network” (as Susan referred to the combination social and professional networks that men have on campus and in the community). As Yvonne said, “they [men] just didn’t have to be as talented [as women] to get leadership positions.” And Francesca remarked about the difference in her treatment from her male colleague’s when they both rose from support staff to faculty positions.

Michael, a late-career, White administrative librarian, was one of the men who voiced his perception of male advantage. He described an annual analyses he had done over the years, which showed repeatedly that men in the library are, in fact, promoted at greater rates than female librarians. Michael was the only male librarian who viewed his gender as a benefit, who talked about using his position of power to assist female librarians in his system. Specifically, he is working with women who are nearing tenure to help prepare them to be successful. He was personally mentoring several women at the time, including helping them to construct their promotion dossiers, and linking them with opportunities on campus for networking and publication.

Of the other three male participants, Diego felt his gender was a disadvantage (although he felt it was the intersection of his race/ethnicity, physical size and gender that disadvantaged him), and Thomas and Ralph, felt no salience of their gender identity at all. Thomas belongs to the agent categories for age, race, and gender, and has not been affected by solo status. Ralph, who more closely feels the salience of his target race identity in his work roles, and is not the sole African American or male in his library or in the disciplinary departments with which he liaisons, felt gender was not salient.

Andy, a young African American librarian, was one of several male librarians who candidly commented on the perceived benefits of being male in the academic library setting. He told me about a leadership development program he attended ten years ago,

We were the first class in '98 to go to [a minority leadership institute] for that training. And I was the only male among all these women...And it wasn't lost on me, that in 2002, that I was the first one to become a director of a library. I mean, small as it [is], but still, I'm the director of the library. So that wasn't lost on me [because of my gender]. And I think since then, you look at that pool of people that came through that 1998 institute, and many of them are really successful...And I think part of it's my gender, but the other part of it was my connection here with X university. Because I didn't even really apply for this position. It was a woman that applied for this position. And ironically, I knew the person that applied for this position. I encouraged her to apply! Then they called me. It was pretty awkward. That was truly, pretty awkward.

Lewis, another young African American librarian, also wondered whether his rapidly rising position in the library had to do with the fact that his associate director is male, and that his area of expertise has to do with technology. He was placed in a position for which he was discretely encouraged to apply. He got the job, and it means he is now supervising many older female librarians who have served in the unit much longer than he has. In fact, he used to be supervised by two of the librarians he now supervises, which is a bit uncomfortable for him. He shared,

I sometimes wonder if gender helped me get to where I am. I mean, it is obvious to me that I'm the only man in the unit, and now I am supervising all these women who have been here so much longer than me. I know they wanted me because I have a radically different view of the work, but it is still in the back of my mind that maybe if I was a woman, I wouldn't be here [in this level of position]...

Andy also talked about the potent mix of gender, race and power while at meetings, and trying to be aware of the power dynamics associated with these mixes of

identities. He was recently at a meeting where the only other male was a White man who was high-jacking the meeting from the woman in charge. Andy said,

So I sat down and just had a heart to heart with him, and I think he's a very decent person, and because I always really believe that we all have stuff to overcome, like—we live in a patriarchal society, so I know there's things I benefit from as a male, *because* I'm a male. I work on issues of sexism all the time, because I think it'll come out [in his interactions with women at work] because I've been taught these things. And I think it's the same thing with issues of race...Whites have privilege, and so do men. And so, they feel, "okay, me being a white male, let me explain things for you." (*laughs*) So you never know where it will come out. You have to be really careful, but that's the reality. So when I go to these meetings, it's always interesting. I have to understand my power, that I do get it. And I think about it, but I don't want to get overwhelmed by it. Because that will hold me back.

And finally, back to Michael, in his role as an administrative librarian, took it upon himself to see if there were in fact inequities in the tenure process for men or women. After analyzing tenure data for a period of fifteen years, he was somewhat surprised to find there were patterns of inequity for women and people of color. He said,

I was interested in looking at demographic breakdowns of our promotion/tenure by gender and by race/ethnicity. And certainly, I can absolutely say, white males on the promotion/continuing status issue have not suffered [by their low numbers relative to women].

Although there is a very robust body of literature that discusses the many ways that women in the academy are at a disadvantage, there is very little literature that documents male advantage. It is a well-recognized phenomenon, but little is known about it, other than how it disadvantages women (Rudd, et al., 2008).

Diego, a Latino librarian who runs a specialized library within the system, was the only male participant to disconfirm the idea that being male is an advantage. He talked about the power structure within his library cluster,

She's [his colleague] partners with one of the [middle managers]. And there's this core of women here, that are just inseparable. And you can't penetrate that little power block. It's too much. It's *too* much. And they're notorious for ganging up on people...It pisses me off, because there's this hierarchy of privilege that some people have access to...That's why I'm very fortunate that I have my partner at home and my own life, and that I have my [cultural programming] show because it helps me keep things in perspective.

For Diego, however, the intersection of multiple targeted identities held the biggest challenge.

Well, being male in a female dominated profession is probably more “out there.” Being a big minority male with a loud voice (laughs) is “out there” all the time for me. I’ve been told that I scare people. That I create safety issues for people. And I raise issues when I disagree. I’ve been told that I’m a very good writer, but that *I’m too good?* That my writing is too aggressive. And I’ve been told that I’m threatening to people [women colleagues]. So being a man, being Latino, being big physically. They’re all there. I have to be very careful of what I say and how I say it and how I interact with people. I’ve also learned to develop sort of a sixth sense. When I was younger, I was very trusting, very open, and never thought that people had bad intentions,. But now I’m sort of like, there’s, more of a shell there that’s hard to crack, and I don’t implicitly trust people like I used to. And it’s helped me survive, because I’m more guarded and I have to, you have to be on guard here, in this environment [ARL libraries] especially. But I’m more bold.

Diego’s experiences contrast with those of Thomas, a White male public services librarian, who did not feel the salience of his gender. He reflected on being a man in a female-dominated library and noted—although he had to think about it for moment—that he has almost always worked for a woman boss, but chuckled, “Gender has never seemed to be much of an issue to me.”

It is the intersectionality of Diego’s race, gender, and other identities that may explain the very different perceptions that Thomas and Diego have of the salience of their gender identities to their work. While Thomas had to stop and think about the gender of his bosses, Diego knew exactly how many women he worked with and for. Additionally, Diego was the only male in his cluster, whereas Thomas has several male colleagues, and

a largely male power structure within his library system (Sekaquaptewa & Thompson, 2003).

And finally, while Michael knew from his demographic analysis of tenure data that men were not being disadvantaged in the tenure process, he also believed that issues of gender were a constant undercurrent in the library, and rarely discussed openly—to the detriment of the climate within the Library. He shared,

So for various reasons, some of which are related to specific personnel issues, and some of which are just kind of generic, it's always in the air somehow [the gender divide]. We talk about generic "diversity" a lot; but some of these identities, less so, or never. Gender, as such, doesn't come up a lot. There are more women in the library than men. My boss is a woman. The majority of our Library Cabinet, which is our administrator-type people are women. So, [men can't claim reverse discrimination because they know that]. It's not likely that anything good will happen if they complain about being discriminated against because they're White males. I don't doubt that there's an undercurrent of, "that's why I didn't get X, Y or Z," whatever it is. But I know from the data that males aren't being discriminated against.

Perceptions among the male librarians differed regarding whether their gender advantaged, disadvantaged, or did not matter to them. Three men felt advantaged because their male networks gave them a 'leg up' when applying for work, and one librarian had empirical evidence of male advantage in the tenure process. The perception of the one male participant who experienced disadvantage based on gender was, in his opinion, a confluence of his targeted race, size, and gender.

Summary of Findings on Gender Identity Salience

The relationship between gender identity and role performance was salient or very salient for all but one participant. Salience of gender identity is manifested in particular roles such as administrator, technologist, instructor, and collection manager. Salience is also seen with respect to injustices in the workplace, including differences in hiring

requirements, and promotion and tenure outcomes. All the target identity holders (females) felt the salience of their gender identity, and surprisingly, all but one agent identity holder (males) felt the salience of gender as well.

Finding 1 illustrates several roles where librarians felt the salience of their gender identities. These included library-wide as well as middle-level administrative, technology-related, teaching, collection development, and outreach roles. In most cases, female gender identity was seen as a negative factor that impeded access to resources as in Susan, Pamela and Polly's cases, but was seen as a positive in Harriet's case, where she identified with the library's special collections relating to women's history and her female library users. For men, gender salience usually was seen as a positive factor in the administrative role, even though there were some perceptions of difficulty with female supervisees. For both females and males, solo status in the participant's work group exaggerated the affects of gender identity salience.

Finding 2 linked early-career experiences with sexism in the academic library with current role performance. These early experiences left an impression on two senior librarians, and sensitized them to issues of power imbalance, feelings of powerlessness, and injustice. Both Susan and Yvonne felt that the gender-based discrimination they experienced early in their professional careers influenced their role performance these many years later, because they now use their experience and wisdom to help younger women and men. They both felt that their early experiences cemented their commitment to similar others—in Susan's case, to younger female librarians, and in Yvonne's case, to her female students and more junior instructional librarians. It is interesting to note that the other two retirement-age women (front-line librarians with no administrative role)

and the one older male librarian (a senior administrator) reported no discriminatory behaviors directed toward them early in their careers.

Several sub-themes emerged in Finding 3. One of these is the tendency of women to seek out other women for social and professional networking. On campuses largely dominated by male tenure track faculty and administrators, the female participants sought out other women to help them navigate the campus environment, garner committee appointments, and receive mentoring and assistance through the promotion and tenure process. None of the male participants spoke of seeking out any particular gender in building social networks, either professional or personal.

Another sub-theme involved perceptions of different standards set forth to acquire jobs and receive promotion and tenure. Several of the female participants talked about the differential treatment they or their female colleagues received during both job hunting and promotion.

Finally, many women, and one man perceived different treatment in opportunities and access to service, professional development, and mentoring opportunities within their libraries. For some of the participants, it was hard to separate whether these differences were due to gender or other targeted identities, or other factors altogether.

Finding 4 discussed the perceptions of the male librarians on the advantages and disadvantages of being male in a heavily female-dominated setting ran along several themes. Four of the seven male participants felt the salience of their gender in the library setting. Three of those four felt their gender had given them certain advantages over their female colleagues when job and other opportunities arose, and one felt his gender was a disadvantage.

Two male participants felt no salience of their gender identity. Neither Thomas nor Ralph hold solo status in their respective libraries, which may explain why their gender identities did not hold salience for either of them.

CHAPTER VI

RACE/ETHNICITY IDENTITY SALIENCE

“Discrimination is often a subtle phenomenon...a phenomenon that may be difficult to detect, and that may even be unconscious on the part of the perpetrator.”
(Roscigno, 2007)

This chapter reviews and discusses the findings of this study related to race/ethnicity identity salience and role performance. Echoing extensive bodies of higher education and library literature relating to race and ethnicity, the findings related to race/ethnicity identity salience and role performance were among the least surprising, but most compelling of results generated from this study. The participant’s narratives of the ways in which racial and ethnic diversity enrich collections and services, and also present organizational and interpersonal challenges help deepen our understanding of diversity in the ARL workplace.

Unlike age and gender identity salience, which were salient to most participants, race was either “very salient” or not salient at all to the participants in this study. For each and every librarian of color, race identity was “very salient,” and for all but two of the White participants, race was not salient at all. The difference in perceptions about the role that race plays in the ways the participants approached their work is deeply divergent depending on whether the librarians held a target identity (non-White) or an agent identity (White).

The ARL Context for Race/Ethnicity Identity Salience

According to Christian, Porter and Moffit (2006), much of the literature that examines racial diversity in the workplace through the late 1990s was too simplistic to understand why and how diversity in the workplace creates new and richer opportunities, and sometimes creates challenges to cohesion and work processes. They wrote,

In our view, the field began to make major advances at the point at which researchers changed their focus from simply noting that there was relationship between group/individual differences and group performance, and began examining in depth the circumstances under which diversity can influence—and potentially improve—performance (p. 460).

In 1998, Alexander-Snow and Johnson reviewed the higher education literature on faculty of color at predominately White institutions. The literature they found pointed to several commonalities in experiences of faculty of color including loneliness, intellectual isolation, lack of collegial support, marginalization, heavy workloads, and time constraints (p. 1). Each of these themes, along with the effects of solo status, tokenism, differences in tenure and promotion, and non-English language needs, were voiced in the interviews.

Findings

For all librarians of color (14 of 14), race/ethnicity was the most salient social identity. Each librarian of color ranked race/ethnicity as being “very salient.” (on a scale of 1 to 4, with 4 being the most salient, each librarian of color marked 4). For most White librarians (8 of 10), race/ethnicity held little or no salience. Because ARLs are overwhelming White, and have recent histories of exclusionary practices, using Hardiman and Jackson’s (1998) framework, I have categorized a White racial identity as

holding the agent status, and all non-White identities as having target identities in the ARL setting. Figure 6.1 illustrates this dichotomy.

Figure 6.1. ARL Target/Agent Age Groupings

Target Identity:	Agent Identity:
Non-White (14%)	White (86%)

Sources: Kyrillidou, Young & Barber (2008); Hardiman & Jackson (1998)

Due to the sheer numbers of White and non-White librarians (86 percent of ARL librarians are White, and 14 percent are non-White) (Kyrillidou, Young & Barber, 2008), the chances for experiencing solo-status in any given ARL are quite strong. Among ARLs, there is a clear geographic distribution to the low numbers of non-White librarians, with the highest concentrations of librarians of color in the Southeast and Southwest. The Midwest, Northeast, and Western regions have between six and 12 percent librarians of color, making the chances of experiencing solo-status even more likely than the overall numbers indicate.

Finding 1: Operationalizing Identity

It is interesting to note that no matter which set of target or agent identities each participant possessed, each participant presented a unique sense of the salience of each of those identities they shared. For example, Rosario and Rachel are both Hispanic women, but while Polly felt her age salience more acutely, Rosario felt her race/ethnicity more acutely. To further complicate the picture, Rosario felt her race/ethnicity salience much more strongly in her reference and instruction roles, while Rachel felt her age salience most acutely while engaging in collection development activities. Thus, as Christian, Porter and Moffit (2006) write, “understanding the complexities of diversity” is the

number one job of diversity researchers moving forward. They posit, “A considerable amount of the literature fails to take into account interactions between and among diversity attributes.

Many of the participants talked about how they approach the salience of their social identities overall in the work setting, and they viewed the role of race/ethnicity in their work. When asking if and how social identity is linked to operationalizing her professional goals for herself, Rosario answered,

I do link my social identities to my work. Part of it is giving back and being a person of color, a multicultural [interracial] person. And part of it is recognizing how important libraries have been in my own life and what an impact they made in various ways to my ability to be where I am right now. But I also feel that in this country, there is such a disparity between the have and have-nots, and it does fall along predominantly racial lines and socio-economic lines—which often bears out racially. And because of my dedication to equal access to all, I feel that I do need to help to make or build that bridge. I want to] help to reinvigorate, some of the attitudes and programs, and policies within the profession that do support racial equality and really remind people, what libraries were founded on. Everything I do keeps that in mind. Because I think sometimes we [academic librarians] forget—we don’t see readily the impact that having access to the right information at the right time can have on an individual, a family, a community, a culture, a nation...

Rosario went on to talk about the operationalization of her identity whenever she is working with the public.

I feel that because my primary constituents are students of color or students who are at risk, or transfer students sometimes, I feel my racial identity every day in my work. I’ve taught a couple times, for students in the [library school], and so I feel that if students feel some kind of a shared experience with you, whether it be based on your color, or race, or culture, or age—you know, I was a non-traditional student myself—or gender, that it makes all the difference in the world to them—that they maybe will see themselves in you. And I think, it’s part of what got me into library sciences. I’m a Chicano. It’s how I identify. And I went to a conference and saw librarians who were similar in appearance to me, and in passion to me, and I realized that *I* could do it. That I actually, maybe had a place in this environment. That was a revelation to me, and I see it in the students I teach. And so, I’m always trying

to recruit (*laughs*) to the library profession by trying to make things engaging and accessible to the most at risk students.

Rosario's words illustrate one of the ways in which librarians who feel their race/ethnic identity salience permeates everything they do. The way in which she operationalized her social identity is seen in the type of work role(s) she concentrates her time on (outreach and relationship building across campus) and the particular user populations she chose to concentrate on (at-risk populations). Rosario's work is closely tied to her social justice orientation, and her belief that libraries are opportunity equalizers for her at-risk students.

Polly, on the other hand, also a Hispanic women in middle-age (although much farther along in her career), operationalized her identity in a very different manner than Rosario. According to Polly, her South American perspective is very different than the more numerous Mexican-American perspectives in their part of the country. As a first generation immigrant, she is still somewhat unfamiliar with cultural norms at the University. Rosario, Rachel, and Diego, who are Mexican-Americans, have lived in the Southwest for generations. Polly refuses to let her ethnicity dictate and/or limit what she or others think she "should" be doing with her library career. She elaborated on the way she operationalizes her race/ethnicity in her work,

I have tried to make a point that your ethnic background does not mean that you can only do certain things. I've made a point in having [a minority person] being the Music Librarian, a Special Collections Librarian, and being myself an [administrator]. And sometimes it's a battle that I have to fight with them [librarians of color who report to her]. They don't have to get stuck with those things [being the Mexican American specialist]. If I have that as my specialty, I would do it. But if my specialty is a different one, I don't have to end up with doing Latin American Studies. We can also do other things. And, so that's been my philosophy, you know? And it's been quite successful, I think. An example that is close to your understanding is [librarian's name]. He doesn't have a formal background; music is his passion. He's passionate

and he does a good job. So that's been sort of like my philosophy ever since. And I have to fight with some of my colleagues, because they themselves feel like, oh, because I'm African American, I want to do African American Studies. You don't *have* to. I also find it so unfair, to be forced to do that work if you don't feel it passionately. So, I think though these librarians [that report to her] we can make a social point to the larger community. And teach them that we are not just good for doing the yard work, or the cooking, especially in this area, where there is an overwhelming presence of Hispanics.

It was obvious that Polly's experiences working in a predominately White institution over a twenty-five year career had taught her that expectations were set by her White colleagues that librarians of color were there only to provide service to constituents that mirrored their race/ethnicity, and she was adamant that this should not be the case. She had made it her professional goal to show by example that librarians of color could work successfully in any area of the library, and she used her administrative power to appoint librarians of color to a variety of positions.

Edwina, a White, early career librarian operationalized her ethnic identity very differently than the other White librarians in the study. To her, ethnicity and socio-economic status are very salient in the ways she approaches her work and her work philosophy. To her, surface diversity (Christian, Porter & Millet, 2006), or just talking about race, does not capture the intricacies or harness the positive power that diversity brings to the work environment. She said,

I feel like most of those identities [race/ethnicity, age, SES, gender] are very salient or dominant the way in which I operationalize things. I think that, once again, this speaks to my race in a way...I don't understand why people need to have (*laughs*) like three hour dialogues about change...Because I don't want to have a workshop. I want to work with someone. Does that make sense? Because my consciousness doesn't get raised by sitting in a room with someone. My consciousness is raised by *interacting* with someone. I mean, I don't think it's [workshops] an authentic way of being multicultural. Because you and I are from different cultures. And when we're in a work situation, and we're all aligning ourselves with whatever culture we think is dominant, none of us are really acting our culture, but when you go out to eat with someone,

or you have them over your house, or even if you work on a project with them intimately, you really get to know like, hey, you know, I'm from [State]. I grew up in this kind of neighborhood. I grew up in an industrial neighborhood. You know what I mean? I guess it comes back to my beginning about that I think diversity is very much about the intricacies of knowing each other.

For Sally, one of the few women, and even fewer African Americans in a technology role within the library, the way she operationalizes her identity is very much related to the context of her current institution, reflecting the “potential third variable” effect that Christian, Porter and Moffit (2006) write about in their work. Third variables can include the context of the work environment, the type of roles or tasks performed, and many other variables besides the race/ethnicity of the worker and his/her colleagues.

[At my] previous institution, diversity had already been sort of on the radar; something ingrained in their whole strategic plan, strategic framework for a long while. So they had had time to build it up. And when I came here, they were just starting to even really think about it. And from what I understand, that was largely because of an accreditation threat. So it was more a forced march kind of thing. So I think it [library environment] does very much affect how I’m able to work. There’s not the level of support around, I think because [within] the larger institution, diversity is—you’re required to do it. There’s a sense of, “we’ve been pushed into this. We didn’t necessarily want to do this on our own.” As a person of color, I kind of represent that [being forced to confront discrimination]. So, I think about [racial identity] on a day-to-day basis, especially when some situation has occurred and I kind of think, “oh, that looked a little funny” [discriminatory]. Then I have someone to call [an African American friend/colleague] and say, “You know what? This is what happened and it looks a little suspicious to me.” And that someone’s just going to listen and sort of get it. I think I definitely do [operationalize diversity into everyday activities]. I do in the sense that I think it’s a really important issue that libraries need to directly grapple with, and realize the impacts throughout everything we do, both in our work place and how we deliver service.

When I asked Sally for other examples of how she operationalizes her racial identity at work she said,

In the day-to-day of how I work? Well, we have, at this institution, several people of color who’ve been actively trying to bring diversity ideas into the

workplace, even though it's not my "official" job. So an example would be, just yesterday we had sent out an article about race and discrimination, and examples and such. And we led a discussion at the Library Faculty Association on them. So it comes into day-to-day activities that way. Even though it's not really my job to do diversity. And then in terms of long term career goals, I think there's definitely a connection there as well in that, both, I think the more diversity issues are out there, and I help to get them out there, and help the profession to work on them, the more kind of opportunities will be there in general for everybody.

Sally talked about the same phenomenon that Susan and Yvonne talked about with regard to gender, whereby personal experiences with sexism/racism have spurred a commitment to bettering the environment for similar others. This commitment to feminist and/or social justice practice, is one way that librarians have tied their social identities to their work roles (Wyn, Acker & Richards, 2000).

Andy, a young African American librarian reflected on how he operationalized his racial identity in his workplace. He concurred that his racial identity permeates everything he does, even though he tries not to let it paralyze him. He said,

Sometimes...no every day I think about race, because, for instance, like that pamphlet [library marketing pamphlet] that you have there? About banned books? I'm in that. And I'll wonder, am I there because I'm Black? You know, they want to make sure they got a Black person in there to talk about banned books? So that's one little example. Sometimes I think about it [race] in all sorts of ways throughout the day-to-day. Like, take [as an example] my step-father, who's White. When I was at [former institution], they would put me on the front of publications, or ask me to serve on a committee. And my step-father said, "You're just a poster boy." You know? I don't mind it, but I don't just want to be an image. I run a library—I have a lot of responsibilities! They [library administration] want to project themselves as being diverse, and so the question is: Are they truly practicing what they preach? So I do think about race and gender at times, in everything I do and say. It's part of the fabric of me in my role here.

With regard to operationalizing racial identity, most of the librarians of color talked about how it permeates everything they do, how they approach their work, their motivation for helping others, and how they interpret their environment.

Finding 2: Identity Salience in Particular Roles

Beyond the question of how participants operationalize their racial and ethnic identities in the workplace, I wanted to know more about whether, or how these identities became more or less salient within particular work roles. Many participants (16 of 24) agreed that their racial and ethnic identities were most salient when working with diverse others. For many of the librarians (14 of 14 of the librarians of color, and two of the ten White librarians), these identities became most salient when working with the public in instructional, reference, and outreach/liaison roles, when working internally with colleagues in formal and informal meetings, and for many librarians of color (12 of 14), when selecting materials for inclusion in the library's collections.

Reference and Instruction

Reference and Instructional roles raised the salience of race/ethnicity for many of the participants. When one is working with such a wide diversity of clients including undergraduate students, graduate students, faculty, staff, and people from outside of the university, diversity and differences are naturally raised. Librarians talked about how reference and instruction present ways to merge career and social justice goals, expand their own knowledge about their racial and ethnic histories, and help similar others through sometimes-hostile campus environments.

In Andy's case, his racial identity became salient when working for colleagues at a neighboring library's reference desk. For Andy, the only African American male in his library system, a common trigger that raises the salience of his identity is found in not knowing if disrespectful behavior he perceived from his colleagues was due to his race, or just general lack of social graces. For Diego, the same uncertainty comes from the

disrespectful behavior from a subset of his faculty and students, who believe that the ethnic music he has been integrating into the collection is changing the nature of the once classical music-only library. Andy said,

My pet peeve is the lack of respect, because it's always hard for me, as a person of African descent to, to really, call it a race thing. Because sometimes I could call it—I can *see* it. And I can see when people are making an olive branch. They're actually, really trying. Like when we [my library] were relocated temporarily in the [main library]. I was welcomed as a part of the reference department. Open arms. I was doing the reference desk hours as an extension, even after the building was complete. I was covering the desk during their [reference] meetings, but they never invited me [to the meeting]. It got to a point where I didn't feel I was being valued. And they weren't looking at me with the respect I thought they were. And I don't know if it's about race, or if that was about, "We're the [Main] Library. This is where the administration is housed and, and everything begins and ends with us. You're our poor cousin." And I just said, well, I don't need this—I don't want to be a part of that. So I politely pulled myself off the desk. And to this day, I remember the head of that department—one day she cornered me. "Why did you leave?" And I'm like, "nah." I didn't feel comfortable telling her the full explanation. Because I know how politics around here work...

Similarly, Diego recalled,

I have found that there's a split on the faculty between those who are willing to work with me and those who have just, from the get-go, written me off. And so I don't know if it's the credentials issue, or if it's some other factor. That I'm Mexican? I am visibly Latino, so I don't think it's my credentials [he doesn't have a Ph.D.]. And I do find that within certain areas [of his liaison department], the graduate students all snub me. And it's because of their professor. So it really does depend, but I've worked with other faculty, and they are always sending their students to me, or always having me teach a class every semester. So it's a mixed bag with them. With my other areas, the faculty are wonderful. {Department name} and [department name], and I'm finding that in [Ethnic Studies], too. I try to be sincere and honest and let them know if I can't answer something, that that's just the way it is. I'm really happy that the [Ethnic Studies] faculty embraced me right away, quickly.

For both Andy and Diego, the politics and risk of confronting the disrespectful behavior made it more advantageous to either just withdrawal from the situation, or seek support in other areas of campus. It is a common theme among participants of color that

they must chose their battles carefully, so as not to be labeled “troublemakers” or “too sensitive.”

For Rosario, her racial/ethnic identity is a source of strength to be drawn upon when interacting with her students and faculty because she believes it helps her empathize with those who may feel intimidated by the library and with asking for help. She draws upon her minority status as a place of empathy for others who are struggling with complex and sometimes intimidating campus environments. She said,

I can honestly say, I may not be the greatest librarian in terms of my hard skills, but I have a great [soft skills]. I have a great empathy with my students, and that's probably my first line of defense. Because I personally was not the best undergrad, or high school student and I also know what it's like to kind of be the only minority student in a class, or the first one to go to college. Because of the group that I'm working with—mostly minority students—I know what it's like to be “the other.” And so, my first method of instruction is just to try and put them [library users] a little bit at ease, and help to break a little bit of the stereotype of what libraries are and, and let them know that, just because you don't know the answer doesn't mean you're dumb. You know, [I tell them]“if you guys knew all the answers, we'd be out of work in *[laughs]* the libraries!”

When talking about specific pedagogies, Rosario talked about the importance of gauging particular pedagogical choices to the different underrepresented groups that she works with. She elaborated,

My pedagogy really switches with the audience...I feel it's important to get the students involved. I cannot stand sitting up there and lecturing for an hour, and I *can* talk. I can talk the whole hour—but I can't stand to see the look of boredom on their faces. So I try very hard to get them engaged, whether it be kinesthetically, for instance, I work with student athletes, and I will actually have them doing games where they compete with one another. And getting the answer and learning, and then getting them out into the stacks to physically move around and, and find things. Because there are a couple things that I've been told by my students, that they really have a hard time with. One is finding a book on our shelves, and the second is knowing how to cite resources properly. And so I often will ask a lot of questions. I'll try and have them engaging in things.

When I asked Rosario how she manifests the empathy she feels for her students, she responded,

I have a philosophy that's a little unusual, and it kind of shocks [my colleagues], but I know that when I was a student, I never ever studied during the regular eight-to-five period. And while the university library is open, I also know that service in the middle of the night often leaves a lot to be desired. And that sometimes these students may not feel supported, or they may be a little edgy about coming in, you know, and if they're anxious because they've maybe left something to the last minute, which was my modus operandi, then I want them to feel comfortable. And so I give them my personal cell phone number so they can call me 24/7. They all kind of are shocked by that, but I've had yet to have anybody abuse it, and I have had a few students use it. And I was happy that they felt comfortable to call me. And the latest I've received a call has been like, one in the morning. I didn't mind. It really doesn't bother me at all, and it means so much to those students who now know me.

Rosario, like many teaching faculty, did not have any formal training on how to teach before she started her current position. She reflected on her lack of formal preparation, and also on the racial/ethnic identity salience in the choices of what classes she chooses to teach, as well as which student groups she wanted to reach with her instruction. In particular, she became very animated about a semester-long class on American diversity that she co-taught several times with an African American male colleague. She recounted,

I've done all types of instruction, and, really, it's funny, because I didn't have any real instruction background when I came here. Oh, maybe informal, with regard to small group facilitation around issues of race. But not any kind of classroom instruction, or formal preparedness...I do a lot of instruction inserted into a semester course. I've done this now four, five semesters where they're, called [name] courses, and they're academic bridge courses for incoming at-risk students. And typically there are nine sections of this course, so I teach nine sections at least once in a semester. And then I coordinate the peer counselors group, so I do individual trainings for them, and that includes everything from technology to soft skills around reference and research topics, and then we offer workshops so I co-teach with them, or often I'll have them teach, to open up workshops for students of color on campus. And as a result I do a lot of one-on-one and consultation or small group workshops, if

they're doing group projects. Most of them are doing a group project for the class. They'll come to me for further instruction and assistance with their project, because I am familiar and friendly, and I understand what's it like for them...

When I asked Rosario why she has chosen to work with these groups of students and teach these particular classes, she responded,

These are some of the choices I've made partly because no one else was reaching out to them, and partly because it fulfills my professional passion for equal access to education and information. I was in there, in their shoes, and it can be scary and lonely, but one friendly librarian can make such a difference in their lives.

I heard this phrase “professional passion” from librarians of color again and again. For librarians like Andy, Diego, Rosario, Polly, Shevonda, and Rowena, the passion arose from the work they did with at-risk students, faculty of color, working with collections that reflected their cultural background, or in Polly’s case, helping the librarians of color who report to her, become successful in the things they are passionate about.

With regard to instruction and reference, Edwina framed her Italian ethnic identity salience as inseparable from socio-economics, social justice, and also cultural capital. Edwina weaves together issues of race/ethnicity and SES with a resulting abundance or lack of cultural capital. To her, teaching information literacy skills to at-risk students is a political statement and a social justice issue. She said,

Almost always my socio-economic identity is in the front of my mind when I do instruction or reference. And that has to do with the fact that I am someone who came from a blue-collar family, and who went to a liberal arts school that was very privileged. So I was really challenged in liberal arts education as an undergraduate. And many of the people I went to school with were prep school people and from an upper, probably more than an upper middle class background. And I realized very early on at eighteen, nineteen, what cultural capital was. And I understood what I had and what I didn’t have. And I also understood through these peer groups that I’ve been part of,

how much understanding [there is about] scholarly communication, and how to negotiate higher education. This is something that is given to you through your family. And so, for example, I have a friend whose father was the Dean of [school in the Midwest]. And she was, I mean, she's a super hyper aware person, and she always says, like, "I understand how to do this because it's like, it's in my family. I was taught the way to negotiate. Of course you don't know how to do it." So I'm always very, very aware of that, and I do see a real difference between me and other librarians who might have been raised in an upper middle class Anglo family. I never take for granted that a child or a student or a young adult understands how to negotiate scholarly communication. And I think that teaching someone how to negotiate the world of scholarly communication so that they can be successful is the most important thing that a librarian does. And I think that it's political in nature. It's economic in nature. And it's often racial [ethnic] in nature.

When asking about the salience of race/ethnicity identities on their instructional roles, several librarians felt that the subject matter of the classes they choose to teach reflected the salience of their identities. For Rosario and Andy the subject and content of their instruction was very important to them. The content, for them, reflects a cultural and political desire to connect library users with their own histories, and with new scholars in those areas:

For me, it's the subject matter [how racial identity is salient when teaching]. Because I think any good instructional librarian can teach databases. For me, the unique thing is my subject area. Because that's actually my area of expertise. I should be able to get in there and be able to relate what they're learning in that subject class, if it's about Pan-Africanism—if it's about nationalism, Black nationalism, Malcolm [X], whatever. I should be able to get in there and put that subject touch to it. And that's always like the fine line, you know? Where does teaching the subject and teaching the databases merge?

When I asked Andy to give me an example of a class where he combined his library knowledge with his subject expertise, he replied,

It was really cool when I was doing that library session on Black Humor. It was interesting! It was the day that Angela Davis was going to speak. And so the faculty member makes an announcement. Say, "By the way, Angela Davis is going to be there." And then [the instructor and I] got on this whole lecture of who Angela Davis is. What she represented in the sixties, and then,

another time, when I was working with the African graduate students, and they wanted to know how this place [university] got established. So I spent a good time talking about the [local Black history]. And I created a bibliography on it, and I was like, “this is how it happened, and these are the resources.” So it’s like I use that [in-depth subject expertise] to my advantage, because that’s my specialty. One of the best compliments I ever had was when one faculty member was watching me teach. [He said] “you look like Thelonious Monk when you teach, man.” It’s best when you just kind of groove with everything, you know? And for me, I have to get warmed up, but I really feel confident in front of a classroom, where I can get into a groove, you know? So, for me, it’s the subject area. That’s, my role as a teacher/librarian within that. And I do consider myself a teacher. As an educator—a Black educator, you know? And to me, also, the subject matter keeps it interesting. Because I think, for me, it would be dry and boring if I just did, “okay, this is ProQuest. This is how you use it” and like, *(laughs)* it’s boring!

Similarly, Rosario talked about the subject area of her teaching, and how her racial identity is salient to the classes she chooses to teach,

I’ve taught three semester-long courses—that’s rare. Most librarians don’t get involved in that way, and so I was co-instructing, and was able to implement library skill building into those classes. It was a general education class called Interpersonal Relationships in a Changing World. And I got into that because of my interest in communication as well as diversity. And also, it coincided with my need to try and reach the students enrolled in that class, who are my constituents. This course set aside three-quarters of the seats for students of color, and then filled the rest with English first-year students. The curriculum was created to help facilitate and stimulate discussion and activities around issues of race and culture—to help us all learn about feelings and understanding differences, and respecting differences, and knowing how to dialogue around them, and actually seeing, not so much “differences,” but similarities. So I loved the material and the students—it feeds me in a way that my other classes do not.

Teaching subject matter that is important and salient to one’s own social identity is not unusual. Turner (2003) wrote about the “ambiguous empowerment” of many faculty of color in the academy. This is a phenomenon that occurs when faculty of color enter a PWI, and are expected to assimilate into the dominant culture. By studying and then teaching in areas that keep them connected to their salient social identities, for some

librarians of color, it is one way of resisting the overpowering pressure to assimilate, or give up one's social identity in such a setting.

For several of the librarians of color, the affective side of connecting with their students, particularly students of color, both inside and outside of the classroom, was another important way they exercised a connection to their salient racial identity. Andy, Rosario, and Rachel illustrate this point:

Andy: When I give this (help) to them, it is more or less to make them feel welcome. Because I really believe in it [making users feel welcome in the library]. It's important for them because I want them to know "you're a person. I value you." It's funny, I was hanging out with a couple of [African American students] a few weeks afterward the session I did for their class—this was like a two hour session. And I went at it the whole time. I had an outline, a gateway [web] page, went into all the stuff: database, reference works. And they were like, bug-eyed after the session. *[laughs]* And I said to them, "I think I gave you just a little bit too much." They said, "Yeah, your presentation was good, but yeah, you did give us a lot." *[laughs]* But then they said, "We know it's because you care and you love this stuff [Africana material]." It's like, yeah, I do [care]. So now they know I care, *and* I know my stuff.

When I asked Andy how he connects on an affective level with his students and faculty, and which ones he tries to stay connected with, he answered,

I try with all of them, but some are more receptive than others. It's usually the very new students, or the upper level students. It's always the Africana Studies students, and they tend to be African American. This library and this department is a small pocket of comfort for many of these students. Some will come see me [in his office] because I give them my phone number and email address, and tell them to check me out at the library—I can help them. Like, there's two film, classes I taught. It was two freshman-writing classes, taught by the same person. And they can create their own curricula, so she created a class called Black Humor, and another one called Black Seminar. And that was my carrot! I got in there and did my thing—made sure they [students] knew who I was, and what I could do [for them]. And I did the same thing with the Black Humor class where, and I also talked about my interests, and my love for Richard Pryor. And the next class I had, some of the same students came, and they were like, "We remember you—you really get into your subject, and we like that!" Now next week, is going to be my most challenging class—it's a 400 level class called The Black Arts Movement.

And I'm already up about it, and that's like wow! I can't wait to get at those students!

Rachel, a young Latina librarian who works in a rarified area of the library that is always seen as the most traditional and resistant to change: Special Collections. She talked about how she connects with her students of color to make the library's rare book collections less intimidating and more accessible for students of color. She said,

I think that there is often a sense of importance for me, particularly in the Special Collections area, because it can be so intimidating—it seems like this bastion of privilege. Or I guess in a different way, as I'm thinking this through, it [special collections] doesn't seem very welcoming to anyone young and curious. And I think particularly, because I'm in charge of the [Latino/a Collection]—I didn't have formal training in special collections, so there's a sense of, once you get over the lack of confidence, and feeling like you have to know everything about [Mexican history] because you're actually related to that border in some way. And in another way—in a positive way, I feel that it's important for me as Hispanic, Mexican, Latina person, whatever you want to call me—in a position like this, where there aren't many of us [Latinas]—and so when I teach, I'm very aware of that. And I want to show the students that either somebody like me can do it, or somebody like them can do it. Which, that can be anybody, right? I am aware when I am teaching, that I am modeling a possible career path, and they can see that we [Latino/as] can make it.

Similarly, Rosario talked about the importance for her students to see a successful Latina women on a PWI campus,

I've taught a couple times... and so I feel that if students feel some kind of a shared experience with you, whether it be based on your color, or race, or culture, or age—you know, I was a non-traditional student myself—or gender, that it makes all the difference in the world to them—that they maybe will see themselves in you.

When I asked Diego about whether his racial/ethnic identity was salient when he was engaged in reference and instruction he answered,

Yes. Most definitely. I think about diversity issues all the time. And I do try to, especially when I teach. For example, I use examples that are from the civil rights movement when I teach about the social context of music. I use the music from that era to show how the musical expression of a people has

been used to influence social policy. It's so exciting to see the students make those connections...and the faculty too! I tell them [faculty] to think about using me because I've been building the folk collections in this area.

And Rowena, a young African American female librarian, talked about working with a summer minority program at her university. She recalled the relief that students of color showed when they saw her doing reference and instruction at the library,

In terms of the [business] school that I'm in, I think it [racial identity] is very salient. There is a multicultural program here and they invite about 30-50 minority incoming first-year students. They come in the summer and they start to do some studies, and they work on a project. They get kind of acclimated to the campus and all the activities before the semester starts officially. So they definitely know that they are in the minority, right off the bat. There's really only a handful of minority staff and faculty. And that's out of about a thousand people here. So it's a pretty small percentage. I know from the past, when the Pre-Freshman students show up, and when they come to my library, I excuse myself from meetings [to welcome them]. And their reaction when they see me! They even kind of whisper to each other! I know that they're, it's like, "oh, my gosh, there's a Black librarian here!" And they look all excited! ..It's like, well, I'm glad they feel like now they have a face here that they can recognize and feel like they're represented in some sort of way. And I get those students in here, even when they are working on other assignments [that have nothing to do with the subject area of her collections]. So I think it *is* salient, and sometimes I wonder if they rely on me too much—and I'm not an expert in all those subjects. But that's my insecurities. But I just feel like I, I feel like it's a good thing for me to do. ...Be a face of comfort in the library.

Rachel, Rowena, Andy and Diego had all been undergraduate students at their current institutions, though they had each left to go elsewhere, and then returned. They knew from their own experiences, how isolating it could be to experience solo status in many classes, in the residence hall, and in the library. They used these "shared experiences" as a guiding reference to provide support for the undergraduate students of color that came to their classes and to their libraries.

Rachel recalled the isolation she faced as a student at her current institution. When she graduated, she left the institution, and it was a hard decision to return as a librarian. She said,

When I was a student [here], I was the only person of color in my classes, pretty much. Maybe there was another one in the other corner, or something, [laughs] but I was pretty much the only one. That kind of pressure and loneliness is hard to shake, and I see it in some of my students when they come to me for help.

Reference and instruction work held identity salience mostly for the librarians of color. Edwina was the only White librarian to feel the salience of her ethnic identity in these public service roles. For her, reaching out to students of color was a political action, whereby she was teaching them information literacy skills to help level the playing field between them and the wealthier Anglo students.

The salience of race and ethnicity to instruction and reference roles was translated into many behaviors, including bridging behaviors to help guide and assist similar others in navigating an often lonely and unfriendly campus, developing or utilizing expertise in minority-related subjects to aid with instruction, and relationship building with faculty and students who are at-risk.

Outreach/Liaison Work, or, “It’s All About the Relationships”

Although very few ARL libraries have positions dedicated to doing outreach on campus, most librarians, especially public service librarians who have collection development responsibilities are involved in liaison work with specific departments on campus related to their area of the collection. For those few ARL libraries that do have positions dedicated to outreach, they are usually set up to target underrepresented, non-

traditional, and at-risk groups in order to provide extra library support in order to retain and graduate these groups of students.

One of the three libraries in the sample has a librarian dedicated to outreach on campus and within the community-at-large. Rosario was hired to be the first outreach librarian for her campus. To Rosario, the interpersonal connections she has formed on campus are critical to the work that she does, and they give her a sense of fulfillment and connection with other people of color outside the library. She said,

I was on the [campus] undergraduate recruitment committee. And many of the people who are in these offices [her liaison offices across campus] that I work closely with, also sat on this committee. So we would see each other there, and were able to touch base at that point. But also, they were very willing to introduce me to others around campus. And because I've been able to produce good work with regard to instruction, word has gotten out. I'm being approached by people who I don't even think would need my assistance, or would want it. And so it's always interesting and challenging to find ways to integrate into these areas around campus, and it's got to be very creative. Sometimes it's not just an instruction session. There's other things that I think the library can offer—that I can offer. Maybe development of a web page that supports a course. Sometimes it's just encouragement to a student, a faculty colleague, or lending a sympathetic ear. You know, it's all about the relationships you build with people. Once the relationship is there, anything is possible with regard to getting the library to them [the students] in a way that makes sense to them.

Many of the librarians (14 of 24; 12 of 14 librarians of color and 2 of 10 White librarians) I talked with mentioned their experiences with mixing work relationships with personal relationships, and how that occurred organically. For these librarians, there was importance stressed in befriending their constituents who shared similar disciplinary backgrounds, race, gender, or age. These relationships provided librarians with a social network, support in the tenure process, mentoring, valuable information about the department and campus politics and activities, and introductions to others outside the library walls. The librarians in turn, provided their colleague/friends with the same

professional and personal support, as well as traditional library services related to collection, reference, and instructional support.

Related to this seamless blending of personal and professional relationship building, Shevonda, and African American science librarian, and Edwina, and White public services librarian, talk about how they have experienced the intersection of personal relationships with their work roles, and how they enrich their ability to perform their outreach roles:

Shevonda: This is how I do it: I show up on the person's [office] door. I say, "I can't believe I wasn't invited to that!" They're like, "You weren't invited to that?" "No, I don't think I'm on the list." So then I get on their email list. And that's usually how it starts. I do that because I want them [science faculty] to feel like I'm a part of them. They didn't really know that when I started. But now, more and more, they start naturally thinking about me. So that's how I did my departments. And then...well...as an African American, I think [as] any minority, you're expected to, a lot of times you're getting called in to do special presentations or speeches for minority groups as an example [role model] of going through the [university] system. So I do a lot of that for my departments. So I network on campus in those ways—they invite me to their parties and things, and I teach for them—we help each other and have fun together. I'm motivated—I have a sense of renewal when I get outside of these library walls, I'm really motivated to check out the world outside the library! So I attend a lot things with my friends in the departments. And usually I'm very good at connecting [with new faculty and students], and somehow figuring out a way to make it [the library] relevant to what they're. I've established a connection for them and for me. It's like, it's all about relationships. And so I feel like most of it is establishing and maintaining relationships to make what we do here [in the library] relevant to what they do there [in the departments].

Edwina: On campus, I always tend to gravitate—and this is from my old job and this job—I always tend to become like, really, really chummy with my faculty members, because I really love talking to them and I love, I'm just curious about what they do. So I've become, sometimes it's men. Mostly it's women. They're usually my age or younger. I also have like another layer of, I always tend to become very fond of [them], and they become fond of me, like the whole younger generations coming up. So I like that. I enjoy that.

Shevonda also talked about how the informal interactions enriched her ability to connect with her constituents when it was time for business, but she also talked about her interactions away from campus, when she attends discipline-based conference:

Well, the [sciences] actually put on some great conferences. I sometimes go with the faculty in the department. I mean, it's just like, they throw a good party as well as good sessions to learn about the new areas [of my field]. And so, I think you need a break every now and then, and it's nice to get away with your faculty friends. I think that's what motivates me to go with them—I get a chance to interact with a lot more kindred souls [from campus and in the profession]. I say engineers are more of my kindred spirit. I started off working with engineers at [institution name], and so, it's like, for all of my professional career, I've worked with engineers in some capacity. So even when I go the conference, I'm probably hanging more with the engineers. Like I joined the [Minority Engineering Group], and it's a part of [professional society name]. They also have an Engineering Library Division, but I pretty much, truthfully, don't the spirit with those folks. Truthfully, I go to these things to be with the engineers, not the librarians! I pick those groups on the contacts I have in the [Engineering] School.

Voicing both a concern for spending time with her constituents whenever she gets the chance, and a bit of condemnation of the amount of time she finds herself spending behind a desk doing paperwork within the library, Nancy talked about the difficulties of being too internally focused in the library:

I try to stay away from as many inner library groups as possible. Yeah. I spend my time as much as possible outside of this library. I can see a direct connection between that activity [outreach] and how involved [department name] wants me to be in their affairs. I don't always see a connection of this inner library work with the customers I need to reach to be successful. It gets harder to connect if you're in library meetings all day, and your customers aren't anywhere in those meetings. Yup, nothing but [outreach] for me. *[laughs]* I think that's the most important thing I do for my users. If you don't know what your customers are doing, or what they want, what's the point of [the library]? I mean, too many times I see librarians—we sit in a room and we *guess* at what they want. I say, "go ask them." And then try to deliver it.

While outreach or liaison activities seemed to be very organic for most of the librarians of color, and oftentimes grew out of serving on campus committees, or from

previous connections, mutual social identity backgrounds, or grow out of connections through time, based on who is working in what sub-discipline, Shevonda talked about the methodical way she went about developing her connections with her faculty, and how that blossomed into friendships and more contacts:

When I first came here, I profiled all of my faculty so I knew their habits. And so there was a group that pretty much got started at about five or five-thirty in the morning, and they might work 'til ten, and then they go home and then they come back at a certain time in the afternoon. Well that fit my schedule fine. Because I'm up at that time of morning, I tried to connect with them. So, usually I'm on my email, because they're emailing. And because I stay in contact with so many of those people—like I'm probably in contact with at least two people from each of those groups every day—and because we have these ongoing dialogues, and we socialize after work a lot, because that's pretty much where I get the bulk of my information. I get to know what's coming down the pike, who is doing what, and how I can fit into their work. I mean, I don't know how it is for other majors, but for engineers, you go to their functions, and their conversation is always around their research. So I end up getting a lot of information from them, and the thing about me being part of that. So I have that interaction, and it's an important part of my job.

Many of the librarians of color talked about engaging in relationship building with the support staff in their liaison departments. Support staff are often on the lower status rungs of the academic ladder, but they also have important gatekeeper roles lending entrée to the faculty. They often have valuable information about department and faculty activities. Leslie and Rosario talked about the relationships they have forged with support staff, who are also more likely to be people of color themselves:

Rosario: And just being aware of what your people are going through is so important. To know if they're coming up this year [for tenure], or who had a birthday...and sometimes when you go in-person, like a couple of days ago, to get exercise, I started delivering my campus mail myself. So instead of putting something in an envelope that I have to send you, I'll go over there and take it there. What I learned is that the secretaries get to know you, and when I was over there, I was asking about the secretary, one of my favorite secretaries, who I always see. I say, "Oh, where's [name]?" We have the same name, so we sort of struck up a friendship because of that. The temporary person said, "Oh, she had a massive heart attack, and she's out," So I was like,

“Oh, can I have her address to send her something?” And I would never have known about that if I just put stuff in the mail. I was so shocked, because we had just talked the day before. So that’s one way to keep up with people in my departments. And then when they see you, when you have to call them or email a request, they make sure people get my information.

Leslie: I couldn’t do what I do without [names of departmental secretaries]! They invite me to all the functions, help me track down particular faculty, call me when they need something. They are always there when I need them, and in some departments, they run the show—really! The place would fall apart without [name]. At one point she got me in to see [the department chair] about setting up an instructional component to a required class. And [name] helped us merge the library with the I.T. functions in the school.

In both cases, Leslie and Shevonda deliberately created symbiotic relationships with the support staff in their departments to help with communication and access to the faculty, and to provide services and resources to the department.

Working with a lot of graduate students, Andy commented on the affective side of doing outreach, where the goal is to connect with graduate students and let them know they are important to him—that he wants them to be successful in their programs. He said,

I do a session in the beginning of the semester with all my graduate students. I put together this packet. I put some things in that’s more related to Africana Studies and give it to them. It is more or less to make them feel welcome, and let them know I care. Because I really believe that’s important for them to know. Yeah, it’s, “You’re a person. I value you.” That, I think that is important, and I think they know I care because they come to me—not just for library help, but as a friend.

In an increasingly interdisciplinary world on our ARL campuses, areas like Africana Studies, Women’s Studies, American Culture, etc., present librarians in those areas with particular challenges in the outreach/liaison arena. The challenges of doing outreach are magnified, because librarians in those areas are often treading into areas that

are covered by other subject-specific librarians. Andy spoke to this point of uncertainty, and not wanting to overstep his authority:

I do a lot of outreach, but I still feel like I don't do enough. I don't go out to the English Department, or the History Department, because we have librarians in the areas that will cover those folks, even though I know an Africana perspective would be good for them. But I do have behind-the-scenes relationships with the faculty that teach in History and English, that's related to Africana Studies. I have my joint teaching roster—we cross-list the courses between departments. And they do know me. And they will ask for me. And that was actually the cool thing when I was at [the main reference desk], is that I would run into them every now and then, and so I would have these interactions with them. It's always interesting—I don't want to step on toes [of other librarians]—I've always got to communicate with my colleagues to know who's doing what. Like, a colleague of mine that selects out of [the main library], and his responsibility is English. So he deals directly with the English Department as a whole. We just had a new hire here at Africana that has a joint appointment in English and Africana. And I let him know, hey, this is how it is: "I will always help you, but I have to go lightly." So, I gave the [faculty member] information and now we [he and the English librarian] worked it out that he's going to have contact with him, as well as me. And so that's kind of an added burden of communication on both of our ends.

In Andy's case, the politics of venturing out into the English Department made him hesitant to approach new faculty on the up and up. He felt he had to go "on the down-low" to communicate with the African American faculty who were cross-listed between Africana Studies and English, in part, because the English librarian is more senior, and White, and the vast majority of the English Department faculty are White. In the past, Andy had received negative feedback from the English librarian when he had taught a class for one of their professors, so he was hesitant to do it again. So even a simple thing like reaching out to new English faculty becomes fraught with racial politics, and the politics of power and territorialism for Andy.

For Rosario, developing connections with the undergraduate students she has taught is particularly rewarding, and for her, instruction and outreach merge as one opportunity leads to another. She said,

What I find most fulfilling is actually knowing, because I've had a lot of students come back for further assistance, knowing that somehow I was able to provide them something that was beneficial to them. Whether it be in their school work or a personal need, whatever, to where they felt that they could come back and know that they would receive my assistance and my empathy. And I've had many of them say, "You know, when you came to our class, I didn't think I was going to learn anything, but then the next semester I found myself using a database, or telling a friend that this would be a great resource, and I was surprised that I remembered that, and that I was able to share." And that made me feel really great. I've had a lot of students see me on campus now, there's a lot of face recognition. That is very rewarding. With student athletes, and the ethnic center students—all over campus—[I get] a lot of nods, a lot of hellos, and sometimes they even stop and ask for assistance on the run, for their research. You know, "Can you make any suggestions?" or "Can I set up an appointment with you?" Whatever it may be, I always cheer them on. And it happens pretty regularly. It's cool.

In this sample, the individual librarians often defined their own outreach roles within their departments, schools or colleges. In the case of Rosario, she targeted the student ethnic centers, athletes, and other at-risk populations for special outreach programs. Many of the librarians of color emphasized the affective side of connecting with library users was as important as the cognitive delivery of library services, and that friendships often developed organically from the professional relationships. From previous research on cultural capital and social networks in the academy, we know that minority faculty are more likely to serve as mentors to minority students (Antonio, 2003; Milem, 2001; Nettles & Millett, 2006). Librarians like Rosario, Andy, and Leslie looked first to similar others in developing their outreach networks, then broadened their contacts using a snowball method to expand their reach into their campus communities (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002).

Shevonda also started her outreach activities from her interactions with a few people, but felt no constraint to select similar others. She said, “Any person who needs my help is a person who will get my help.” She added, “I am the Engineering Librarian, not the ‘Black Engineering Librarian.’” It is important to note that in the field of engineering, there are far fewer people of color than in many of the areas in which the other librarians of color liaison. Because of the underrepresentation of people of color in engineering, Shevonda felt it was particularly important to join the minority engineering group within the school, and to coordinate a yearly presentation to minority recruits to the college.

Collection Development

Collection development activities usually encompass a range of responsibilities in the largest ARL libraries. Typically these include: Selecting and deselecting materials, where librarians acquire or gain access to a subset of available materials in all formats including digital, paper, and film, and also make decisions to weed items out of the collection for storage or discard; Identifying materials, where librarians seek out resources based on selection criteria and informed decision-making to produce a broad and deep collection that supports the curricular and research needs of their users; Storing information, where librarians develop physical and virtual methods to house collections of materials of all formats; and Producing, where increasingly librarians are involved in decisions to produce digital and/or paper resources within a particular disciplinary area (Westbrook, 2000).

Although much of the literature on collection development portrays these activities as “fundamentally logical and deliberative,” Quinn (2007) wrote about how

much of collection development “depends to a significant extent on affect or emotion” (p. 5). Until recently, many large research collections had gaping holes in areas relating to people of color, and many smaller branch or disciplinary libraries on ARL campuses still lack sufficient materials on minorities (for example, the overlap of public health and minority public health) (Young, 2006).

Eleven of the 14 librarians of color in this sample had collection development responsibilities as part of their position. Of those, 10 voiced how their race/ethnicity identity is salient in the ways they approach their areas of the collection.

Rachel and Diego talked about the ways in which their Latina/o identities have been salient in their collection development responsibilities. They were especially aware of the salience of their racial/ethnic identities because their areas of selection are not explicitly in ethnic/cultural studies. They said,

Rachel: I think most definitely [my racial identity is salient], especially with the two most recent collections. The most recent one was a Mexican history collection, which is in the [name] Collection. I think it had a lot to do with the trust that I was able to build with the [donor] families, particularly being of Mexican descent myself. I mean, one of the things that they [donors] first said to me was, the collection had been taken care of by the mother for years and years—it was turn of the century material. And his mother had real issues with the US. One of the things that he said to me was, “If she knew that I was turning it over to the US, she’d be turning in her grave.” So this was a really hard thing for them to do—to deposit it with a US institution. But I was able to build enough trust with him and I understood that mindset—we have a similar history, he and I. But what I am able to say [to reluctant donors] is that representation of this history in the US is of *utmost* importance. Keeping it where it can be exposed [to scholars and the public] is *very* important. And I think, in that sense, his mother would have been gratified. In addition, it’s in a lot safer, better condition. So we traveled there [to Mexico], and [met with] the grandfather—the one who collected this library over many, many years. For them to send it off, I mean, obviously, they wanted to leave it in Mexico, but the institutions [there] just couldn’t [take the collection]. So for them to send it off to the US—away from them, was really hard. Just explaining to them how important that this addition is to this collection, and the scholars that would be able to study it—is phenomenal! I think, I made them happy

with it. And I mean, being able to speak the language [Spanish], and know the culture, I think that it does play a huge role in being able to negotiate with [donors] nowadays.

Similarly, Diego told me,

Diego: Oh, yeah, absolutely! Big time. [his race/ethnic identity is salient to his collection development]. Especially with the music collection. The focus for many years in this school has been classical music. But at the same time, they've always had other areas of the curriculum, like jazz, they teach popular music, they've had a mariachi group, and they now teach some Mexican music. When I came here, there was maybe five jazz CDs on the shelf. No Mexican music other than old albums. No world music. Nothing but classical music. And so my social identity came into play. I started building the Latin music collection. I started building the folk music collection. I started building classic popular music collections. I was able to work with a donor to bring in a huge jazz collection. And so over time, more and more people have become aware that, hey, the music library just isn't for those [classical musicians]. I just met with the Africana Studies faculty less than a month ago, and I told them, "If you're teaching anything about civil rights, for example, think of the music library! We've got music of the Civil Rights Movement." They loved that! So now I am teaching about how music was part of the Civil Rights Movement. I tell the students, "Don't think that the library, just because it's a music library, doesn't have what you might need." For example, there's [another institution's name] has a huge mariachi collection. But the person that is doing the collection development only looks for the word mariachi. They don't look for other Mexican music. So as they're building their collections, they get everything they can that has "Mariachi" in it. But that's just one slice of a huge pie—of something much bigger. So my cultural identity as a Mexican, as a Latino, and as a politically progressive person, really does inform where I look for stuff, what I add to the collection, and that kind of thing. So it, it's played a huge role in building and enhancing the collections here.

It is important to note that in the collection development role, as in reference and instruction, many of the librarians of color view their racial/ethnic/language knowledge and cultural competencies as assets to their library's collections and service offerings, and to their library users. Rachel talked about how her shared background with the Mexican history donor family helped convince them that depositing their library at her institution was a mutually beneficial decision. Diego talked about how his knowledge of

ethnic music allowed him to grow a much more comprehensive collection than a colleague at another institution who was superficially building an ethnic music collection. In both cases, they perceived a need for materials by their faculty and students, and were able to procure materials that librarians who did not possess their cultural knowledge would likely not have been able to replicate.

Jackie, an African American special collections librarian, was introduced to librarianship when she was shown a collection of early Americana materials on Pre-Civil War Blacks. She fell in love with special collections, and now takes great pride in her ability to add to her library's collections on African American history, among other areas. She said,

I love seeing that spark in the eyes of the students when we bring out the diaries and letters [slave narratives]. For some of these kids, they've never felt connected with history before, but this brings it home. Adding to the collections, and watching people react to these items in a class or our exhibits is the best part of my job.

When I asked Jackie how she goes about finding items for the collection she laughed and echoed Rachel's words about cultural capital and trust issues between communities of color and the university. She said,

It's not like being the English Librarian! It's like being a detective—finding some of these things. Someone knows someone from church, or up the street who has their [ancestor's] papers sitting in an attic. It's crazy how it happens sometimes. You have to be plugged in to the community to get them, or else it's a dealer somewhere who will charge you a small fortune. Forming trust with the [donor] family is very important, because sometimes there is a [lack of] trust issue between the [local] community and the university.

Diego, Raquel and Jackie all recognized that the cultural capital they brought to their non-race/ethnicity positions has helped diversify their libraries' collections. Their language skills, their knowledge of the historical context of U.S. and Mexican relations,

and Black/White community tensions, and their personal experiences have given them cultural knowledge that has allowed them to develop new collections that match growing or new areas of the curriculum on their campuses (Antonio, 2000; Milem, 2001).

Even with new and growing areas of the curriculum demanding new areas of scholarship, sometimes, librarians of color felt they had to fight their White colleagues to bring in collections from underrepresented groups. They talked about the tightrope they walk in trying to diversify their areas of the collection, without having their White faculty and colleagues become unhappy with their selections. Rachel recalled,

I feel the salience in another way. For the Bilingual Ed. material that I brought in, it was a really hard decision to bring in the first place. Because, according to my colleague, who's a trained archivist, it was "secondary source material," which we don't really collect. I mean, we do have secondary source material, we have a book collection here. But as far as a manuscript collection, she felt that it was really outside of our criteria. It was a really hard decision for me to make to bring it in...[hesitation]...I guess, sometimes I feel like I have to, as a person of color, I have to make the case for these collections, where White librarians do not. That maybe as a pure manuscript collection, it isn't just right for our collection, but as the *subject*, it is right on target, and it complements what we already have. It would be so useful to the scholars. And I've learned that that's kind of a thing with special collections librarians, and archivists—I'm not sure they come to agreement on [whether to combine primary and secondary material on a topic] But as a subject collection [Mexican history], it was really important for us to bring in this material, given [the history, geographic area, and demographics of the campus].

Whereas Rachel felt she had to fight her library colleagues to diversify special collections, Diego had the support of his library colleagues, but he had to fight some of the faculty in his liaison department. He said,

I try to promote what I've done [in diversifying the collection], in the sense that this is all historical stuff, and it's all cultural stuff and we shouldn't be putting things in a hierarchy. And so culturally, I get some criticism from people who are intellectual or cultural traditionalists. They [faculty] don't want to see music that's not within their realm on our shelves. But they don't [own it]—none of us own this. This is the property of the state of [state name], and it's there to serve the students and the faculty as a whole. Not just

a certain sector. And I just had a big run-in with some of the faculty, because we've had to start weeding multiple copies of the same titles. And a lot of them are very angry about the new music. But, their point of view is, "we serve the opera community in [city name] and those few students here." or "The classical community and those students here. So we need all the copies of everything we can get." Well we're running out of space. This is probably one of the only collections in the region that has a strong Latin music component, and they begrudge it.

Leslie, an Asian American health science librarian, talked about the struggle to juggle the demands of a changing student and faculty body, and convince library colleagues that collecting in areas relating to minority health is a legitimate and needed activity. She recalled,

We have so many faculty that are not only doing research here [in minority health], but also are running clinics and interacting with minority patients. They need access to these materials, but I hear "we don't have the resources to collect in that specialty area." Specialty area? Minorities will be the majority very soon. Wake up! I know from talking to the students that they need these materials, but when it comes to minority health, we seem to always be short of money.

Andy also felt his Africana budget was too lean to do a thorough job of serving his growing department. He said,

I am the selector for this library. No one else. It's just me. You know, we have a very small budget, which is hard to believe because we [the whole library system] has like an 18 million dollar acquisition budget. But the individual selectors see just a fraction of that because a lot of it goes to electronic stuff, and once it gets down to the selectors themselves, it's not a lot of money. When you really get down to it, I'm not controlling that much money. Roughly \$70,000. That's about it. So it's not a lot. And so for me, I wish I had more of that 18 million because I could do so much more.

Finally, Ralph, an African American librarian, talked about the close salience of race/ethnicity to his collection development activities, and the support he has received from his library colleagues and his faculty members. He selects in areas related to American Culture including African American, Asian American, Native American and

Hispanic history and literature. Ralph talked about how his areas intersect with so many other selectors' areas, and how, for the most part, he has had very strong working relationships with his fellow librarians. Only occasionally is there tension when a librarian in another area would like Ralph to put an expensive item on his budget, rather than on his or her own budget. He explained,

We have diversity codes that every selector is supposed to use when they buy something having to do with ethnic minorities. I'm not sure if everyone uses them like they should, but we can get reports showing us who is buying what, and we can generate lists of new books. I've not had too many problems with my budget and with the overlap [with other selectors]. People are pretty good about buying things and keeping out an eye for these things [minority related disciplinary items]. It's more when there is a budget cut and someone will ask me to buy an encyclopedia or a journal, and every once in a while I think, "why can't you get that?" But it's not like other places where I hear they [other universities] can't even buy the basic materials.

None of the White librarians who had collection development responsibilities (6 of 10) raised the issue of race/ethnicity salience in their collection development roles, whereas all but one of the librarians of color mentioned the salience of race/ethnicity to how they approach collection development.

Administration

Of the 24 librarians, two White female, and one White male participants had senior administrative roles for the whole library system on their campuses, one Latina participant had a mid-level administrative role, and one African American male and one Latino male were directors of single disciplinary libraries within the larger system. Other than Edwina, these two White female senior administrative librarians were the only White librarians in the sample to mark race/ethnicity as "salient" or "very salient." Unlike Edwina, Susan and Pamela felt the salience of race, but not their own White racial

identities. They talked about race from the perspective of managing demographic differences within the library system, and the importance of being sensitive to campus diversity needs, the added value of having a racially diverse staff, and tenure and promotion issues.

Susan, the dean of libraries on her campus, developed an interest in diversity when she served as a volunteer for a year in a majority-Black Caribbean country. There she saw the effects of poverty and skin color while she was in the minority. She said,

I didn't decide to become a librarian until after I came back from [volunteering]. I had started a high school library there. I had originally came back to the US intending to get a Ph.D. in Sociology studying the family. And I was especially interested in the Black family, from my experiences in the [Caribbean]...I think it [her interest in diversity] goes back to [that experience] and even before—a sense of social responsibility. And I've always seen librarianship—it's not cliché to me that libraries are important in our foundation of democracy. They're also the foundation for social justice. Both modeling it, and then providing support through your services and your collections.

Karen: So you just mentioned that before you [volunteered] you had a sense of social responsibility. And is this something you developed growing up? Is it something that was modeled for you by other people? How do you think that you developed that sense?

Susan: Well I think that my grandmother had a strong influence on me and my mother had an incredible dedication to fair play and to giving back to the community. We certainly were blue collar, not middle or upper class at all. And I don't think my sense of racial or ethnic social responsibility [grew from her upbringing]—that sort of developed over time. And only in retrospect can you look back and say, "well that was probably an important thing to happen to me." I remember in junior high school I was in Girl Scouts and we were doing a sale. We collected old clothes and we were down in a really poor section of town. [My family] didn't have any money, but we didn't buy used clothes, either. And sort of seeing things in people who were much worse off, and why [because of skin color and education]. And it was really a defining moment early So that's where that [social justice orientation] came from...And now I have some amount of influence in this library to make sure we are keeping diversity in mind when we hire librarians, and when we are trying to figure out how to work with campus. I will always push for diversity

when we post a position—not only because it is the right thing to do, but because we need it to do our job on campus.

Pamela, who has senior responsibilities for human resources and organizational development is a lesbian who came out later in life after marriage and children. She applies experiences of holding that target identity status to her work at the library by framing issues of race and ethnicity along social justice lines as Susan does. She told me about her early defining experiences,

Pamela: I would say from a results perspective, the university's made maybe some little progress in terms of diversifying, or including or hiring and retaining more women. But not necessarily too much progress in the area of minorities or even gays and lesbians, who are still at a university that does not have equal benefits.

Karen: And does this lack of diversity emphasis impact your ability to do your job here at the library?

Pamela: Yes, I think so. I mean, we're very much part of a large system. And so I think, although in the library we've made much greater strides, it effects our job in that we're always kind of going counter to the [university] culture. And it's not easy then. It becomes more work to gain exceptions to how we will go *beyond* what the University's doing. This just came up yesterday in a situation where the university does not require posting extended temporary staff positions. They do it for purposes of expediency. I don't believe they understand [the diversity ramifications]. Therefore that means that faculty will just choose more of their kind to be in these positions. Then those people have an opportunity to show that they're experienced, qualified, etcetera, for permanent jobs, and that feeds the pipeline. In the library, we said we *will* do a search for those positions so that we can be sure we're acting affirmatively. And that causes tension with our staff who want to move forward quickly to get project work done. So yeah, it does effect what we do here, because we have to constantly look at how will we do something that doesn't violate university policy, but we have to go beyond, because they're not proactive. It affects our [administration] a lot. I mean, we've had to come up with our own merit system, our own hiring and policies, and performance systems, so that we constantly keep in front of our staff, the value of diversity. And that's kind of secondary out there in the university world.

Both Susan and Pamela translated their own experiences of privilege and discrimination into motivation to understand and work toward racial diversity within their

libraries. They maintained their commitment to diversity even in the face of pressures from within their own libraries, and from the larger universities' lack of support.

Non-Role Specific Times When Race/Ethnicity is Salient at Work

All of the librarians of color (14 of 14) and several of the White librarians (3 of 10) recalled a variety of times at work, outside of their formal work roles, when their race/ethnicity was salient. Many of these situations had to do with interactions with colleagues within the library, dealing with organizational culture within the library, and experiencing what researchers have labeled "cultural discontinuity" (Gay, 2000; Sue & Sue, 2003; Tyler, et al., 2008). Cultural discontinuity arises when one's home culture falls outside of the dominant organizational culture. Some participants talked about this discontinuity in terms of lack of "cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1990), or organizational knowledge (Blackburn & Lawrence, 1995), while others talked about it in terms of not "fitting in" or cultural isolation.

Shevonda is an example of the former, where growing up in a lively household in an all-Black neighborhood intersects with her race and solo status, while Rowena, who has been in a university setting for many years, but nonetheless felt her solo status in her library, is an example of the latter:

Shevonda: Well, in my different roles on campus, I do feel like my true diversity is something people want me to bring to the table when I come. I do get that feeling—outside of this library I get that. Yeah. Whereas, inside the library, I think there's more like this attitude of, "Can you just be like the rest of us?" "Can you, can you just not question things so much?"

Rowena: We had a group when I first got here at [institution name]. It was called The Women of Color Round Table, and I think they kind of invited all of the women of color on campus, whether they were faculty or not, to come

and just talk about their experiences and to see what could be done about kind of putting some movement into this diversity movement on campus. And definitely a lot of people had the same sort of stories. They felt kind of isolated in their unit and they felt like they kind of had to be the spokesperson for whatever they were. And yeah, they felt pressured, more pressure than they felt their White peers were feeling. I mean, again, I walked away feeling a little more comforted—that I wasn't the only one feeling these same things. Or having the same experiences. And you do. You start to get into this terrible pit—of being very petty and counting things. Like we just hired two new fellows and they're both Asian and *[laughs]* men. So myself and some of my Black friends were like, “you know, we thought this was a program for underrepresented librarians and why didn't they pick someone Latino or Black?” And you really just don't want to be in that sort of mindset but you're almost forced to in a way.

Several librarians of color and White librarians lamented that cultural capital can be difficult to build for newcomers to large PWI campuses, and puts them at a disadvantage during promotion and tenure. This thought is echoed by Shevonda:

You know, I think I probably was a different librarian 11 years ago, but the older you get, my attitude now is I'm not going to be the only one who's uncomfortable. If you're perpetuating actions that make me uncomfortable, it becomes my story to tell. So if I want to point it out to you in a ‘please pass the butter’ voice—but that doesn't really matter, because when it gets back, it's (gasp) “She's so angry.” But, but I feel like I'm not owning your stuff. Like, for example, our associate dean is the nicest person, but he doesn't speak to me. I think he's uncomfortable but I don't know that for sure. Like we were at this event, and one time, I ended up sitting next to him instead of his wife. And at some point my arm brushed against him and he was like [uncomfortable and recoiled]. His wife was like, “It doesn't rub off! [skin color]” Which just horrified him, but I think she knows [how Shevonda felt] and it's not like you would ever point anything out, because you know it would just embarrass him. But then I realized that there was another librarian of color who pointed out the same thing and, and they were concerned because they're going up for tenure, and I thought, “*Well, wait a minute. Maybe I shouldn't be ignoring this.*” And so I've decided that I'm going to have to say, “You know, whether it's an unconscious or conscious thing you do, that fact that you're not comfortable enough to even speak to me—it disadvantages me in your position.” Do you see my point? We may never be friends, but I need him to see me at tenure time.

The idea that only privileged people have access to resources such as powerful people (who are usually White, and usually chose to mentor similar others) (Nettles &

Millett, 2006), are given the time and flexibility to write and publish, and are chosen to travel to conferences to present to their peers are in stark contrast with many of the narratives of Shevonda, Diego, Rosario, Sally, and other participants of color. In their cases, they were either cast as “the other” (in Sally’s words), left to find resources on their own or were required to generate their own resources (as in Rosario’s case where she had to “volunteer” her time in a non-library unit to earn travel money), or found themselves in uncomfortable situations where they either had to point out disparities and risk being labeled “angry” (Shevonda) or “threatening” (Diego), or risk losing even bigger battles such as tenure and promotion. These race-based disparities in privilege are echoed in the higher education literature under various rubrics, including cultural capital and cultural reproduction (Apple, 1982; Bourdieu, 2001), social justice (McClellen & Dominguez, 2006), socialization (Nettles & Millett, 2006; Sule, 2008), but is not found in the library literature.

Shevonda also talked about the superficiality of support for diversity within the campus setting, and the discontinuity between the spoken support for diversity and an actual lack of tolerance for diversity beyond numbers. She explained,

I would say, and I’ve voiced this in plenty of avenues here, is that the commitment to me [as a librarian of color] is to a “rainbow of colors,” so that you have a “Black” and a “White” and a “Red” and a “Brown,” but sometimes within that color scheme, everything else is the same [SES, gender, age, etc.]. So to me, that’s not *real* diversity, because if we both have the same socio-economic background, and we went to the same type of high school, we’re pretty much of the same mind, with certain variations. My sense is that the commitment here is to creating that rainbow, but not necessarily to the real benefits of diversity. So you may have different styles of learning or teaching, or dealing with things, and sometimes I don’t always get the impression that those truly diverse mannerisms are respected. It affects me because I’m a little more resistant to being molded, so that I don’t come off like the cookie cutter model minority. Like...you get a little more than a “rainbow” with me.

Here Shevonda talks about the difference between “surface diversity” (Phillips, Northcraft & Neale, 2006), where numbers and quotas are the only measure of success, and “deep diversity,” where people’s differences in perspectives and experiences are harnessed to create stronger problem solving and other organizational outcomes (Page, 2007).

Promotion

Many researchers have examined junior level faculty of color on predominately White campuses (Alexander-Snow & Johnson, 1998; Boice, 1992; Finklestein & LaCelle-Peterson, 1992). They found that at promotion and tenure time, many faculty of color lacked the social and cultural knowledge and the “political and informal norms governing culture” (Alexander-Snow & Johnson, 1998, p. 1) or learned them too late to be useful during the promotion and tenure process.

Some researchers have also found that the intellectual areas of inquiry pursued by faculty of color are not valued at promotion and tenure time (Boice, 1992; Alexander-Snow & Johnson, 1998; Antonio, 2002). In this vein, Diego, talked about his great love of ethnic music, and the research he does in that area. He hosts a weekly musical performance that has drawn tremendous campus and public support. It is one of the few faculty efforts of its kind, which benefits both the Latino community on campus, and in the city where the university is located. Despite the amount of intellectual effort and expertise it takes to put together these weekly performances, Diego receives an utter lack of recognition and support within the library. He recalled,

I have talked about giving it [music show] up so that I can focus on writing something, because I won’t get promoted unless I write a significant scholarly work. And my work [musical performance] just isn’t going cut it. And they know that I’m having an impact, too. My boss knows, because I told her, ‘I’m

pretty popular among my [music] faculty, you know?" I walk down the hall, and they say "Hey, great show!" And I work hard on that show. It just makes me feel so good to know that these folks were all listening, and learned something about cultural music. And she [supervisor] knows that, but she won't say it's significant content...No. It's "outreach." That's what she's characterized it as. And if you put my [publication] record next to her record—she just got promoted to Full Librarian—I've run circles around this person with my publications! Yet she blocked my request for promotion. I see my radio show as probably the most significant scholarship that I've really ever engaged in. I'm there every week. I jumped at that chance. That was where my heart was.

Similarly, Sally talked about her fears about the promotion and tenure process, and how her racial identity is salient to those fears. She said,

So I do have a tendency to really think about it [race identity salience] in evaluation processes. Like when we do our merit processes and annual reviews and those things. I think it shows up there very strongly. And that's when I most often think about it. I can give an example, just recently. We have a promotion process, which is the equivalent of tenure. And each year, they do a little mini-review of people who are on that tenure track, to kind of tell you where you are? And I was getting information back that they [the promotion and tenure committee] had comments for me. With every one of the comments, I started seeing those patterns that I read about. Patterns of bias, and how race effects how people are perceiving you—how people are evaluating you. The way they choose to word the evaluations. Like, "Sally needs to concentrate on more *substantial* publications"—because three publications in the last three years is enough for [librarian's name] but not for me. I think there's definitely a different bar set for people of color. A different sort of standard in how people are viewed. I will see myself criticized for one thing that people of other racial groups [White librarians] just do all the time.

In the perceptions of these librarians of color unfairness in the tenure, promotion and annual review processes were tied to non-White status and racism, and therefore brought out the salience of their racial identities during what is already known as a stressful time. The higher education literature is replete with the differing rates at which faculty of color and White faculty receive tenure (Escueta & O'Brien, 1991; Perna, et al., 2007). To date, this is the first time these same fears have been documented in the academic library literature.

Sensing Fear and Discomfort of the “Other” in Supervisors and Colleagues

Blackburn and Lawrence (1995) define the concept of “social knowledge” as how each faculty member perceives their work environments and relationships. They discuss how these perceptions are individually viewed as “reality,” and are likely different for each individual. This social knowledge grows out of “experiences with colleagues, administrators, committee decisions, faculty meetings, institutional rules and norms, and professional association practices” (p. 99).

The social knowledge of the librarians of color varied in several significant ways from their White colleagues. In this study, many, but not all librarians of color (12 of 14) related experiences with colleagues, supervisors, and students that were perceived to be laden with racial overtones, and less than comfortable and/or respectful.

In his review of the literature on workplace discrimination, Roscigno (2007) found that “employers consistently rate Blacks lower in soft skills such as interactional ability and motivation” (p. 22). Roscigno wrote, “differential assessment of soft skills can be problematic and lead employers to claim that ‘blacks don’t know how to get a job,’ or are lazy, unmotivated, undependable, and ‘just don’t care’” (p. 23). One can argue that these assessments, however, are always subjective, and deeply rooted in stereotypes. Roscigno wrote, “Correspondingly, employers also contend that blacks are defensive and combative in their interactions, and that their speech patterns and language usage make them less desirable employees” (p. 23). Several of the librarians of color related encounters with their White colleagues that closely echo Roscigno’s findings, and may be explained by differences in social knowledge, and prejudicial leanings. Shevonda talked earlier about using her “please pass the butter” voice only to have it get back to her later that she was viewed by her White colleagues as being angry and loud. Sally talked about

how she was called to the carpet for a single instance of behavior that her White colleagues display on a regular basis. Diego talked about the eagle eye kept on his work schedule while his White officemates came and went as they pleased. Polly talked about the numerous negative reactions she gets when colleagues hear her accent—everything from open disdain to colleagues telling her to learn English “properly.” In each of these cases, the librarian of color raised the issue within their unit, and were either shut down by their colleague and/or supervisor, or assured that the behavior was harmless. Rarely was there a resolution to the conflict that looked at the individual behaviors in context of the larger trends of inequities between people of color and majority Whites. Rather, the behavior was explained away as an isolated incident, or worse, the librarian of color was labeled as troublemakers, or as being “too sensitive.”

Rowena, a young female African American librarian expressed surprise at the attitudes of some of the colleagues she supervises when it comes to working together across differences. She recalled,

So even though we’re [a top university], and we’re this highly educated population, there are definitely people that come from smaller valleys outside of [city name] that are uncomfortable with people different than themselves. So yeah, I’ve definitely come across that challenge in people that are definitely not used to working with someone who’s Black, and definitely not used to having someone who’s Black as their boss. And to them—it’s just very different. And I can see them thinking, “oh, my gosh, you’re this very different person, and you’re my boss.” As opposed to, “you’re just a person; you’re my boss.” So it’s salient in that respect, and I’ve definitely had to have a couple of conversations about what’s appropriate to say and what’s not appropriate, and what one may consider offensive. Lots of those kind of conversations. I wasn’t really expecting to address those things here. Because I guess I assumed that if you’re someone that’s been working here for ten years, you must have come across a variety of students, at least, but also faculty. But I guess not. (*laughs*)...Definitely I think a lot of people of color here come across it, one way or another. And I definitely have.

For many of the librarians of color, meetings with colleagues within the library and across campus were a touchstone for feeling the salience of their racial/ethnic identities in a negative manner. The sense of isolation and loneliness that can arise from repeatedly being the only person of color in the room can be stressful. Being a “solo” (Sekaquaptewa, Waldman & Thompson, 2007) in a roomful of White faculty was a commonly expressed source of stress for participants of color, and was most often voiced by the African American participants. Here, solo status is commented on by Andy, Nancy and Sally:

Andy: Oh yeah. I mean, that's kind of part of being in America. I'm so used to going to meetings, being the only black person there. I'll be very observant to what's going on when I'm sitting at the table with these people, and sometimes, I just get totally frustrated with people, and sometimes—it's *always* difficult. It's not fair to always label something as race-based. Because sometimes it [tension and dissent at meetings] has nothing to do with race. And sometimes it is obvious.

Similarly, Nancy talked about solo status in the classroom,

I'm sometimes aware of being the only non-White person or the only visibly non-White person in the room. And sometimes that creates a sense of discomfort for me, and I have to kind of move past that in order to proceed. If I go into a class that's a one shot [lecture], I often will notice, especially other Black students—whether or not there are any in the classes. But also, [she thinks to herself] “gee, there's one Asian American,” or, I am aware when I walk into a classroom, of the racial demographics. And that usually takes a beat—it kind of registers on my brain, and then [I]move past it. But it's definitely something that is always on my radar.

And Sally added,

Well I think it's [race salience] always there. There's always an undercurrent. But the particular times where it really does stick out and it's particularly salient to me is, first of all, in groups [meetings]. I think it completely effects group dynamics. It affects who sits where at the table, who is allowed to speak—and who is heard—and the language people use or don't use. There are just as many things that go unsaid at those meetings, depending on who is there.

Polly felt her ethnicity, particularly in meetings with new people, but not because of her physical attributes or appearance, but because of her Spanish accent: She described the sometimes paralyzing effect other people's reaction to her accent have had on her through the two decades she has been practicing librarianship in the United States,

Oh yes [interactions in groups heighten her ethnic identity salience]! In that case, it's my ethnic background. Definitely. It is, I would say, more present in my mind than I think is sometimes justifiable...I think I am too conscious of my accent. That is, to me, it's almost wearing a label on my forehead. And obviously, for many people, my accent is a Spanish accent. So that brings with it all the connotations that you may or may not think about. But the first one is, that you are somewhat disabled, if not stupid. I mean, that is true—I'm not just inventing something, I'm telling you that this is true. So gender, to me, coming from a very highly male dominated kind of society, has never been an issue or something too salient in life here. Because something else became *more* salient. And to me, that's what I'm extremely conscious about when meeting with other people. Constantly.

Karen: So it's something that you're always aware of with groups?

Polly: Oh, yes. Well, if I had an accent that would reveal a French background, or Finnish background, or Dutch background, it would not be an issue. You have to realize that Spanish is considered a second-class language here [in the Southwest]. Whether you like it, or accept it or not, that is the case. I mean, we are not going to discuss that here, because we could stay here until midnight. But that is the case. Latinos are, in many peoples' mind, second-class citizens. The whole business about immigration is about Latinos. Not about the Dutch and the French. No. And my issue is that they [colleagues] go through several stages when I physically appear in front of a group. First, surprise—that people sometimes don't expect that I have an accent. Second is the registering of the accent. And thirdly is [surprise that], "there may be some gray matter there" [in her head], you know? So that's the way it is. But that's been always, always, *always* very much present in my groups.

In each of these cases, solo status in a group setting impacted the librarian of color's racial/ethnic identity salience in a negative way. The White librarian participants, who rarely experience racial solo status in ARL settings, made no comment about group settings with colleagues relating to racial or ethnic salience. The three White librarians

who did raise race salience were not referring to their own race, but the race of others, and feeling empathetic toward librarians of color who are often isolated in, as Susan said, “a sea of Whiteness.”

Giving Back to One's Community of Origin

Many of the librarians of color (9 of 14), and one of the White librarians, talked about the importance to them of being successful in their professional lives in order to give something back to their communities of origin. Some of the librarians referred to their “community” in terms of a race-based professional organization or campus group. Four of the librarians actually grew up in the larger metropolitan areas where their current campus is located, and three others traveled home (four hours or less) to their community of origin to see relatives, and volunteer in those communities on a monthly, if not more regular basis.

Rosario referred to Reforma, one of five ethnic caucuses of the American Library Association as her home. She told me,

I got involved with Reforma before I even became a librarian. I came to the Reforma Conference in [city name] in 2000. It was there that I realized that I was wanting to become a librarian, and then I ended up being nominated and serving on the Executive Board before I had even had achieved my degree [Masters in Library Science]. And I have this desire to give back to this organization. I feel that its values are very much in alignment with my own, with regard to equity of access to information. And for Spanish speaking populations, my knowing that it could be my own family that benefit from this [work]. And so that is an engagement base on love, and a desire to give back.

Rowena, on the other hand, referred to community as the actual place she grew up, and her desire to help mentor young children in that very impoverished setting. She said,

I'm just getting to the point where I'm thinking about my long-term goals. Longer than your five year plan. Kind of like, what I want to leave behind [after she retires]. And yeah, it does occur to me that the neighborhood I come from wasn't this horrible place, but it definitely—it's such an unspectacular place, and it's surrounded by vast wealth. I don't know—if you're in an unspectacular urban place, with little hope of getting out, surrounded by all that suburban wealth, it's definitely a challenge to live up to your potential. So I think it would be interesting to at least do something in terms of going back to where I came from to, like, justify my existence now—here in this wealthy setting. It is hard to see those kids there [in the old neighborhood] and still be true to yourself [on a wealthy ARL campus]. I am trying to have a professional life, but to also build a life outside of this wealth in a place that is very real and important to me.

Andy's interest in giving back to his local African American community took the forms of volunteering in the local school district and with a group for men of color who were incarcerated for domestic violence. He told me,

It's very important to me [service in the community]. It's a lifeline. I'm also on the board of [name of educational non-profit]. It's a small non-profit, and this person, she actually goes out and does educational things in the community around issues of diversity. I guess that goes back to what I talked about earlier, in terms of understanding how this place came to be [an African Studies center]. And I really believe that it came to be out of the community struggle—Black students, community people struggling. And so it's kind of my way of giving back, to the community, because I really feel my job is beyond coming in here [this library], punching the clock, being a librarian. It's deeper than that. And so it's my way of giving back. But I also get stuff back from them as well. So, I actually enjoy that more than some of these other committees I'm on in the library. It's hard work [volunteering], but it keeps me real.

Susan, the only White librarian to talk about giving back to her community of origin, is supporting five generations of her family with her job, and she defined her community in terms of those family generations. Her grandmother instilled in her a sense of responsibility to help others, and she has done so for many years.

Diego's Mexican music show on the local public radio station, Shevonda's work with the minority engineering students, Rosario's outreach work with the local high

schools, and others were ways these librarians of color contributed to communities of color to help others, and in turn, helped to alleviate the solo status they felt within their campus roles.

Summary of Findings on Race/Ethnicity Identity Salience

The interviews in this study revealed the relevance of some of the ways in which individual librarians approach the salience of race and ethnicity within their various roles in the ARL workplace, and how they perceive library administrators, colleagues, and library users react to their race/ethnicity within their various professional roles and settings. From the interviews conducted, I have found that individual, organizational, and societal ideas about racial and ethnic differences have ramifications for how academic librarians perform their work roles including instruction and reference, outreach, collection development, and administrative roles. These findings are in agreement with the literature on race in the academy and sync with other qualitative research that has been conducted with academic librarians and discipline-based faculty (Adkins & Espinal, 2004, Adkins & Hussey, 2005; Alexander-Snow & Johnson, 1998; Milem, 2001; Milem, Chang & Antonio, 2005).

Several themes emerged from the data with regard to race/ethnicity identity salience. These include:

First, librarians of color all felt their race/ethnicity was “very salient” within their ARL settings. Three of ten White librarians felt their race/ethnicity was “salient” or “very salient.” Of those who found their racial/ethnic identities salient or very salient (17 of 24), there were specific roles such as collection development and instruction where the salience was particularly strong. There were also predictable times that racial identity was

salient, that were work-related, but not role-specific, such as preparing for promotion and tenure processes, and for librarians of color, in meetings and when collaborating with colleagues when they were the only person of color, and in motivation to give back to communities of origin.

Second, while all of the librarians of color recognized the distinct and persistent personal disadvantage their non-White racial status brings to them in comparison to their White colleagues in a predominately White setting, most of them (12 of 14) took great satisfaction from the positive contributions they bring to their ALR setting including valuable cultural capital, non-English language skills, the ability to inspire trust with communities of color on campus and with donors/potential donors, providing mentoring and safety for students of color seeking library assistance, using administrative influence to impact positive change, and a commitment to and history of diversifying the libraries' collections.

Third, more than half of the librarians of color (8 of 14) expressed their dissatisfaction with the fairness of promotion and tenure policies, and their campus' fair application of those policies. Some librarians felt the policies favored only a narrow set of criteria that discounted cultural contributions to campus and the larger community, and fully half of the librarians of color expressed frustration with higher standards applied to non-White librarians during annual reviews and during the tenure and promotion processes. Several librarians recounted being denied promotions by White supervisors who had fewer publications than their non-White subordinates, or having White colleagues who hold the keys to promotion not even speaking to them.

The roles in which the librarians of color felt the salience of their racial/ethnic identities the most acutely included collection development, outreach, and reference and instruction. For each of these role-specific areas, there was a variety of ways that librarians of color drew from their racial identities. These included developing active strategies to gain the trust of donors of color in order to procure unique family libraries and collections, building the trust of faculty and students of color in order to deliver culturally relevant and sensitive services, and developing organic relationships with other faculty of color across campus in order to give and receive mentoring and support, and to stay plugged into departments and schools across campus. Many librarians of color also reported the relief and comfort that underrepresented students expressed to them about finding a librarian of color who would help them with their library needs, even if the help they needed was outside the disciplinary focus of their particular library.

CHAPTER VII

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

“There is a problem in the workplace...it is a problem of values, ambitions, views, mind-sets, demographics, and generations in conflict.” (Zemke, 2000, p. 9)

Overview

The review of the literature from Chapter II discusses the many ways in which researchers and scholars theorize *why* a diverse faculty contributes to the intellectual, social, and cultural robustness of higher education institutions. Yet little in the existing literature shows *how* these contributions actually manifest. This study—by demonstrating how academic librarian faculty approach their work roles—illustrates the process by which the intersections of personal and professional identities guide them in their various tasks, roles, and responsibilities.

What emerges from this examination of the relationship between social identities and role performance is that social identity often matters significantly in the ways academic librarians go about performing their work responsibilities. Whether it is the way they think about who their clients are, how they interact with their colleagues within the library and on campus, how they select local and national service options, or how they envision the scope of their library’s collections, social identities of all kinds are salient to each and every librarian participant in this study. The identities that were most commonly raised, and most strongly salient, include race/ethnicity, gender, and

age/generation. The relationships (or inter-relationships) of these various factors is illustrated in Figure 7.2.

At times, a salient identity may be experienced as a benefit, as was the case with Rachel when she negotiated for a Mexican historical collection with a donor family that shared her language, ethnicity, and cultural background. Conversely, the salient identity was a source of distress as was the case with Charlene, who experienced the stresses of solo status in an all-male technical setting. Salient social identities were an integral part of the talent, expertise, and engagement that each participant brought to his or her variety of roles. Many of the participants verbalized how those identities enabled or challenged them to enact and deliver relevant and ever-changing services and collections for their users.

The literature in the fields of higher education and library science are replete with accounts of the ways in which various aspects of diversity are still salient to the work of the academy, including admissions (Howell & Turner, 2004), persistence (Chang, 2001b; Nettles, 1991; Schexnider, 1992), availability of mentoring (Nettles & Millett, 2006; Scisney-Matlock & Matlock, 2001), recruitment (Adkins & Espinal 2003; Adkins & Hussey, 2005; Scisney-Matlock & Matlock, 2001), tenure and promotion (Chang, 1999; Milem & Astin, 1993; Milem & Hakuta, 2000), expansion of the curriculum (Milem, Change & Antonio, 2005; Milem & Hakuta, 2000; Sears, Marshall, 2000), among others. Within this literature, there is general agreement that race/ethnicity, gender, and age/generation status matter in a multiplicity of ways. While most of the literature centers on race/ethnicity and gender, a smaller body of literature also describes the ways in which age/generation enhance and/or limit the experiences of individuals in the academy

(McMullin, Duerden Comeau & Jovic, 2007; Roberson, 2003; Sears & Marshall, 2000; Zemke, Raines & Filpczak, 2000). This study builds on the literature about diversity in the academy by highlighting the multiple and intersecting ways in which academic librarians experience the salience of their social identities in their work roles.

According to Alexander-Snow and Johnson (1998), “Much of what is known about diverse faculty has been teased out of research conducted during the seventies and middle eighties—when there was strong public support for diversifying the nation’s college/university faculties and student bodies” (p. 1). Today, however, in a “post-affirmative action era,” attempts to bring equity to the academy are frequently attacked (Bowen & Bok, 1998; Moses & Saenz, 2008). Such attacks were reported as early as 1992 by Tagaki, who coined the phrase “the retreat from race,” and others, who more recently write of a retreat from gender equity as well (Mestrovic Deyrup, 2004; Pawley, 2005).

In such an era, where many think the work of equity has already achieved its goal, or may view equity as a form of “reverse discrimination” (Boekmann & Feather, 2007; Libertella, Sona & Natale, 2007), having a clearer understanding of how and why faculty diversity is increasingly essential to the relevance and excellence of academic libraries is very important. Also, bringing to light a constellation of equity-related problems that still plague many academic libraries may help administrators and practitioners better understand the continued necessity of equity efforts to counteract centuries of inequalities. This study contributes to the literature on diversity by exploring the ways in which librarians of all races, genders, ages and ethnicities bring valuable cultural and social capital, ways of knowing, language skills, approaches and perspectives to their

work in reference, instruction, collection building, mentoring and outreach to diverse campus constituents.

Where librarians are underrepresented, the profession and individual academic libraries are unable to meet demanding service and collection needs. For example, in this rapidly aging profession, grappling with succession issues is increasingly important. Academic librarians know that they lose valuable perspectives, new approaches to service provision and technology adoption, valuable insight into youth culture, approachability at service points for younger clients, and input into their increasingly complex and ever-changing information landscape with a paucity of academic librarians under 30 (Wilder, 2003). In another example, the paucity of librarians of color deprive the profession of valuable language skills, approachability for underrepresented students and faculty, essential cultural knowledge, and cultural approaches to collections and services (Winston, 1999, 2001). Or take gender—where librarians lose the talent and potential of many women who aspire to leadership roles, and still experience the glass ceiling in ARL settings (Pawley, 2005)—librarians know that they must do a better job of insuring there is ample talent from a diverse group of academic librarians to remain relevant and to better serve their diverse campus communities (Adkins & Espinal, 2004; Adkins & Hussey, 2005; Alire, 2001).

This study has highlighted the multiple ways in which librarians of all races, genders, and ages have linked their social identities to their work roles, and how their social differences are needed to provide robust services and collections for the campus community. My research also provides a snapshot of how target identities impact academic librarians both positively and, unfortunately, sometimes negatively. The study

highlights the need for greater attention paid to making our workplaces more respectful and welcoming to women, underrepresented minorities, and both young (20s and 30s) and older (over 60) librarians so that all library faculty have equitable access to cultural and economic capital, and so that each librarian is accepted and valued for the diversity they bring to the workplace.

Summary of the Findings

Consider the original research question, ‘What is the relationship between social identity(ies) and how academic librarians perform their various professional roles and responsibilities?’ The answer to this question may be stated as follows: it is a complex and individually-based relationship relying on a number of intersecting factors, including whether one’s identities fall into the target or agent categories (Hardiman & Jackson, 1997), solo or non-solo status within the work environment (Sekaquaptewa & Thompson, 2002, 2003), and the support structure in place (or lack thereof) to encourage and assist intergenerational, intercultural, and cross-racial work (Gurin, et al, 2002: Hurtado, et al., 1999). As a major contribution to the field, this study records empirically the ways that dynamic social identities overlap and intersect with one another, depending on the particular work role, and the individual and social context within the workplace.

The findings of this study support the existing higher education and library literature that describe the various ways in which individual and intersecting identities influence outcomes within the academic work setting. In particular, race/ethnicity, gender, and age/generation identities held the most salience for this study’s participants. Each participant self-identified at least one social identity as being “very salient” on the demographic survey, and in almost all cases, the most salient identities were target

identities. This finding is consistent with Hardiman and Jackson's (1997) agent/target identity framework. The study clearly shows that social identity is significant for all of the librarians in at least one of their work roles. How the salience plays out in the workplace appears to be a function of target/agent categorization, solo/non-solo status, organizational culture, and perhaps other factors that were not measured in this study.

Perhaps the most important finding of the study is that each librarian found at least one of his or her social identities to be salient in the work setting, and that the participants, even those with target identities, believe his or her diversity is an advantage to their students, faculty and institutions. The study corroborated Hardiman and Jackson's (1997) theory that target identities are more salient than agent identities for age, gender and race/ethnicity. Further, the study documented that librarians have further work to do in the ARL setting to address issues of culture, climate, and inclusivity in order to ensure that people who hold target identity status along any dimension feel less isolated, gain more career support, and have equitable access to resources. It is equally important that as influential institutions, ARL libraries develop a more nuanced understanding of the power and privilege that is granted to those librarians holding agent identities. There is also a need for greater understanding of the range of experiences and perspectives that improve ARL libraries' excellence (Page, 2006).

Theoretical Basis

I analyzed the salience of identities within specific roles using the conceptual framework of Hardiman and Jackson (1997). According to Hardiman and Jackson's model, identities fall into one of two categories: persons who have agent or target identities. Briefly, *agent identities* have the social power to define reality and set cultural

and organizational “norms.” Those with agent identities are typically from dominant social groups privileged by birth or acquisition. Knowingly or unknowingly, they exploit and reap benefits from target groups and they are sometimes unaware of membership in dominant group due to existing privilege and cultural/societal norms. Ironically, membership in a dominant group allows such persons to be seen as individuals apart from their group membership. *Target identities*, on the other hand, hold membership in current and/or historically oppressed groups, are seen as without individual identities apart from the group, are often stereotyped because of lack of inter-group interaction, and are frequently labeled as outside societal or organizational “norms.” Figure 7.1 illustrates the range of identities identified in this study, and their coinciding target and agent demographic ranges. With very few exceptions, this study found Hardiman and Jackson’s framework to be very useful in explaining why some librarians felt their race, gender, and age identities more salient in their daily work than others.

Figure 7.1. Target/Agent Social Identities in Participants

	Target Identity	Agent Identity
Age/Generation	20s and 30s, 60s and older	40s and 50s (or mid-career)
Gender	Female	Male
Race/Ethnicity	African American, Asian American, Hispanic/Latino/a	White

For most of the participants, the identities that were most salient included age/generation, gender, and race/ethnicity. Within these salient categories, the target identities fell into the following ranges: Age: twenties and thirties, and older than sixties; Race/Ethnicity: all non-White race/ethnicities including African American/Black, Asian American/Asian, Hispanic/Latino/a (no Native American/American Indian participants

were recruited into the study); Gender: female. In almost each case, the corresponding agent identity was less salient to participants, including: Age: forties and fifties; Race/ethnicity: White; Gender: male.

Participants felt greatest salience of their target identities when they were engaging in professional service roles with faculty and students, including reference, instruction, and outreach. Target identities were also important when engaging in non-public work such as attending meetings and performing collection development work (making decisions about particular items or groups of materials to include in the library's collections and meeting with potential donors).

The following is a summary of the three dimensions of social identity that were most prevalent among the twenty-four participants.

Age Salience

One of the most pressing issues for leaders of complex institutions is dealing with the generational differences in the workplace today (McMullin, et al., 2007; Roberson, 2003; Zemke, 2000). The library and higher education literature points to pressing issues related to age and generation in the academy, including: succession planning/retirement bubbles/aging workforce (Wilder, 1995b, 2003); ability of different generations to mesh productively in the workplace (Black & Leysen, 2002; McMullin, Duerden Comeau & Jovic 2007; Zemke, Raines & Filpczak, 2000); identifying and dealing with social constructions of youth and aging (Roberson, 2003); socialization of new librarians (Black & Leysen, 2002).

Although I had not previously considered age/generation identity to be an important issue, the data showed that twenty of the twenty-two participants found their age

identities “salient” or “very salient” at work. Other interesting and noteworthy findings include:

- Librarians younger than their mid-thirties felt that age was a negative factor among older colleagues, particularly in being taken seriously and being asked to participate in work groups. However, they also felt their relatively young age to be a positive characteristic when working with undergraduate library users;
- Librarians older than their mid-fifties felt passed over for opportunities within the library and felt that they were labeled as technophobic or, to repeat a phrase from one older participant ”old school;”
- Librarians in their late thirties to early fifties felt age identity salience only when dealing with very young library users in certain settings (e.g. at the reference desk and in the classroom). and
- Several of the participants felt that senior library administrations actually exacerbate the generational divide in the library by favoring younger librarians with administrators’ time and interest, by repeatedly giving opportunities to a small subset of mostly younger librarians, and by simply not attending to sensitive issues relating to age and generation in the workplace.

Gender Salience

Curiously, the library literature is almost entirely silent on the issue of gender in academic libraries. What is published is rather damning about the position of women in the elite ARL settings. For instance, female ARL librarians make 92 cents on the dollar to male librarians (Mestrovic Deyrup, 2004); technology areas (areas of growth) are predominately male (Ricigliano, 2003; Tennant, 2006); and there still exists a gender

imbalance among the most senior members of ARL administrations (men comprise 14% of the overall library workforce, 34% of academic librarians, but 48% of ARL directors) (Mestrovic Devrup, 2004).

Although women in ARL libraries have come a long way since affirmative action laws went into effect in the 1970s, serious inequalities still exist. Mestrovic Deyrup (2004) wrote,

Women now in their twenties and thirties—the age at which a new cohort of women enters academic librarianship—are in a very different position than their predecessors were at the start of their careers. They are joining a field in which women already dominate leadership positions. If they reach the top of the profession, they stand to have a great deal of professional responsibility and be financially well compensated. These women are the true inheritors of the policies of affirmative action” (p. 248).

While this is largely true, ARL libraries exist on campuses that are still male-dominated. As Pawley (2005) counters, “Positions of power—faculty positions and directorships of large libraries—have traditionally been disproportionately male” (p. 305). Even today, although women have made great gains in the last 30 years (since Title IX was passed), women ARL directors still do not come close to representing the overall ARL gender demographics (Mestrovic Deyrup, 2004) illustrating the frustrating axiom of “the higher, the fewer” (University of Michigan, 1974).

My findings related to gender identity salience include:

- Even though women predominate numerically in ARLs, they still felt gender salience more strongly than men, leading me to label “female” as a target identity;
- Several male participants felt they had been given opportunities for advancement not afforded to females;

- Women sometimes felt a negative gender salience during external interactions with library patrons (especially male faculty) and internally with their male library colleagues; and
- Women in certain technology-rich areas felt salience particularly acutely, as their solo status caused some discomfort, and they felt that they were taken less seriously by their male colleagues, that their technical skills were viewed by library colleagues as not being as strong as their male counterparts, and that they were not as likely as their male counterparts to be consulted for help in their areas of technical expertise by male and female colleagues throughout the library system;

In an article in *Library Journal* by Roy Tennant (2006), the User Services Architect for the California Digital Library, wrote, “Recently I’ve had reason to reflect on a disturbing situation in digital library development. Looking around, I see mostly men...in a profession dominated by women, this disparity is even more striking” (p. 28). He goes on to note that,

Most technical library organizations, or the technical parts of libraries (like systems departments), tend heavily toward men...we see this reflected in conference speakers, the authors of technical papers, and attendees at most technical conferences in our profession. We have a serious gender gap in technical librarianship, and it’s time to acknowledge and work on it (p. 28).

Based on the experiences of the two female technology services academic librarians interviewed, Mr. Tennant’s experiences were borne out in this study.

Racial Identity Salience

Several themes emerged related to the participants' racial identity salience and role performance. The first and most obvious is that non-White racial identities were target identities. Therefore, it is not surprising that 100 percent of the librarians of color (14 participants) found race to be "very salient" at work, whereas only two of the ten White participants found their race salient at work.

The second theme that arose relates to issues of cultural and social capital, and to how many of the librarians of color had a firm understanding of the ways that their cultural and social capital benefited the library and their campus communities. Whether through connections with racial/ethnic communities and donors, or connections made with user constituencies, librarians of color expanded the reach of the library and its services and collections in multiple and tangible ways.

The third theme emerging from the data is that of isolation and tokenism that often occurs when one holds solo status within the library. Whether it was White women in areas of technology or being the only Black male librarian in the entire campus library system, being 'the only one' brought with it a distinct set of hurdles and isolating feelings to some work experiences. This was especially true for librarians of color, who are often the only non-White faculty in their library settings. In fact, race/ethnicity was the only identity for which each and every librarian of color marked as being "very salient" throughout his or her work.

The fourth theme relates to language diversity, and the enrichment of outreach and liaison opportunities that language diversity brings to the many roles academic librarians perform. In this study, language diversity was viewed as a benefit in areas such

as collection building and donor pool gathering, but one participant firmly felt that her Spanish accent limited her ability to be effective in the minds of her non-Spanish-speaking colleagues.

A fifth theme had to do with the struggles for legitimacy felt by many of the participants of color when interacting with their colleagues within the library, but the relative lack of that sense of competition when interacting with departments and constituents outside of the library. Some librarians of color described spending as much time as possible outside of the library with their clients to increase outreach opportunities, but also to avoid the daily hassles, racism, and infighting that occurs within their library.

Finally, the sixth theme relates to the idea of giving back to the communities of origin, which often crossed the identities of race and socio-economics. Many librarians of color and several White librarians came from very humble origins, and thus were aware that when they were teaching, mentoring, or working with students of color or low-SES students that they were doing more than just answering questions or teaching about databases—they were trying to ignite the love of learning and belief in one's self that they formed earlier in their lives.

Emergent Theory of the Relationship Between Social Identity and Role Performance

In the literature review of Chapter II, I developed a framework where I identified those faculty characteristics that are salient to educational outcomes. I used that framework along with the findings of this study to guide future analysis regarding the relationship between social identity and role performance among academic librarians.

Figure 7.2 illustrates this emerging theory. Other theorists hypothesize that diverse

faculty will have a positive impact on individuals and perhaps even the institution itself. The findings of this study allow me to posit that such positive impacts occur because target identity salience inform the ways in which librarians perform their various roles. The roles they enact have an impact on the librarians themselves, the library users, and the institutions in which are situated. Figure 7.2 illustrates these relationships.

Figure 7.2. Relationship Between Social Identity and Role Performance

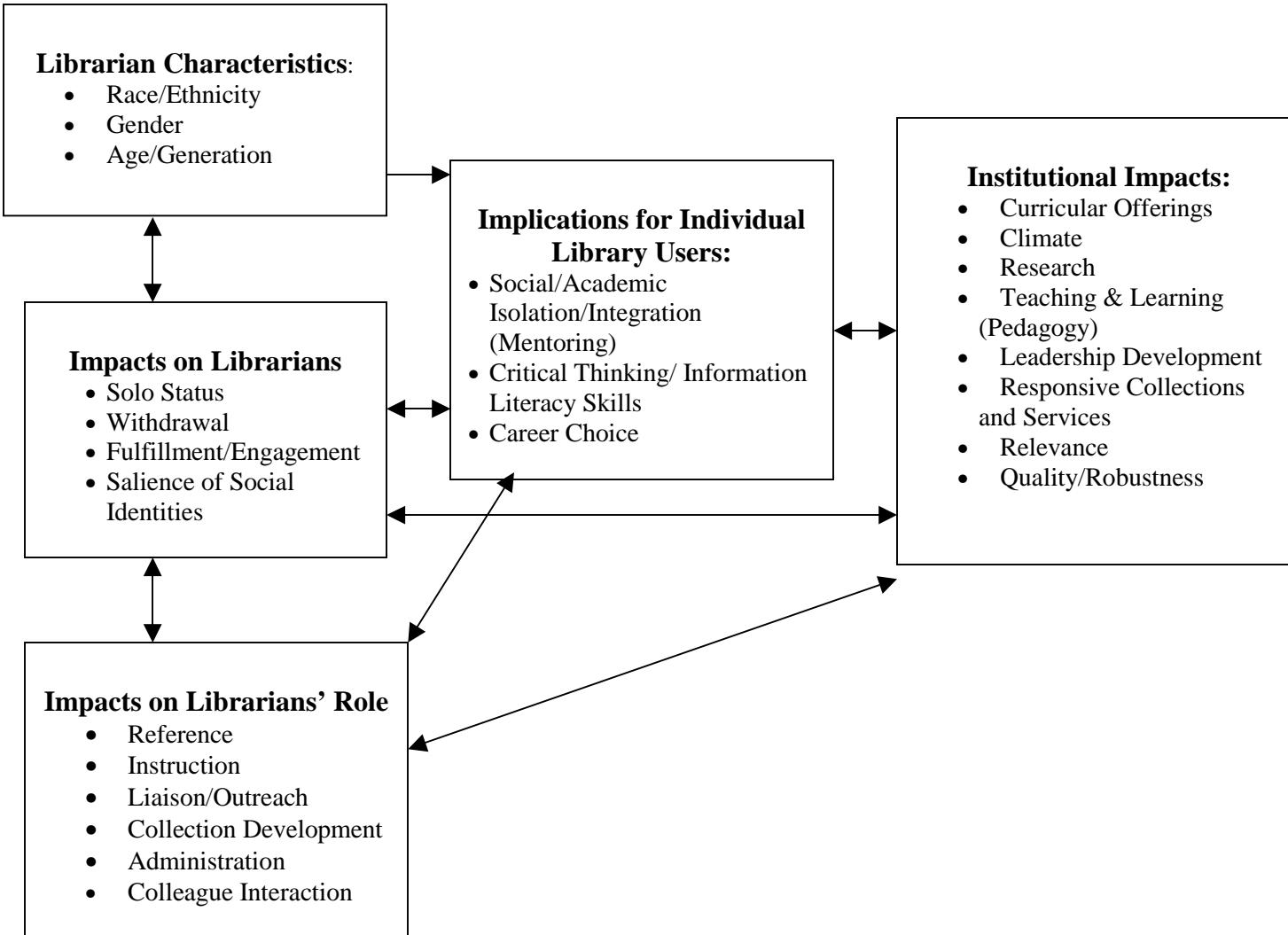


Figure 7.2 shows the relationship between librarians' social identities, the salience of those identities, role impacts, and the librarian, individual (student and faculty), and institutional outcomes. Of the individual and institutional impacts of faculty diversity enumerated in the higher education and library literature, many were relevant to the findings of this study.

In terms of the *librarian* impacts of age, gender, and race/ethnicity identity, seven of the 24 participants experienced solo status related to at least one of their salient identities. Psychology and higher education literature on solo status has enumerated the many negative consequences associated with being the only person in a social category. These consequences include poorer test scores, loss of productivity, personal discomfort, loneliness, stereotyping and tokenism (Baker et al., 1997; Sekaquaptewa & Thompson, 2003). There is also evidence that solo status has greater negative effect on women and minorities (Thompson & Sekaquaptewa, 2002). In this study, Michael was a perfect example of this phenomenon. Although he was the only male administrative librarian on his campus, his race and gender placed him in the agent categories, and therefore he was not uncomfortable with his situation in the least. He knew that once he stepped outside the walls of the library, he would be in the majority. Sally, on the other hand, was the only female, and the only African American in her technology unit, and she felt isolation, a lack of respect for her technical expertise, held to higher standards than her colleagues, and ostracized by her mostly White, male colleagues. Possible effects of solo status can include psychological and/or physical withdrawal from the workplace (Hall, 2006a; Thompson & Sekaquaptewa, 2002). Of the seven participants who experienced solo status,

three have left their jobs for other campuses, and two are actively looking for other positions.

In terms of the *individual* impacts of having a diverse faculty that are enumerated in the literature, several were relevant to this study. These impacts include social/academic isolation/ integration, critical thinking, and career choice. With regard to social/academic integration, several of the participants talked about connecting with students and faculty both professionally and socially. Edwina talked about how she enjoys working with the undergraduate minority students who work in her library as well as the “grand dames” of the faculty. Rosario and Rachel both talked about how their racial identities influence the way they connect with their students, and how they seek to be both role models and teachers. Andy shared the ways in which he “hangs out” in his Africana department and the library with his students to encourage them to ask questions, feel welcomed, and let them know he cares about them as students and human beings. Shevonda described the closely intertwined personal and professional relationships she has developed with her science faculty, her African American colleagues across campus, and the minority science students she mentors. According to the participants, these relationships served several purposes: they provided academic, social and career support to both the library user and the librarian. In Rosario and Andy’s cases, their minority students were protégés whom they mentored, gave career counseling to, and developed their information literacy skills. But their students were also sources of inspiration and fulfillment for them as they saw them progress through their undergraduate years, and some they recruited into librarianship careers.

Additionally, for many of the librarians, relationships with similar-other students, faculty and colleagues lessened the degree to which solo status in their particular library (within the larger campus-wide library system) or library unit negatively affected them. This is very much tied to the idea of “critical mass.” Critical mass refers to the amount of representation of similar-others as well as the documented link between having similar-others in a setting that has a predominance of people from one social category, and positive academic and social outcomes (Baker et al., 1997; Chapman, 2008; Hagedorn, 2007). Within higher education, critical mass has been linked to more positive mentoring (Scisney-Matlock & Matlock, 2001; Nettles & Millett, 2006), as well as stronger academic integration (Astin, 1993; Antonio, DATE).

The second relevant individual impact is critical thinking/information literacy skill development for students and faculty. Virtually all of the public services librarians talked about how their social identities were tied into their work with developing information literacy skills in their students and faculty. Edwina was very passionate about this topic; she connected her ethnicity, gender and socio-economic background to her information literacy work. For her, developing these skills in female, low-SES, and minority students was a political act, linked to social justice outcomes for society. For Rosario, Andy and Diego, developing information literacy skills was also a social justice action, but it also was a means to a variety of other ends—a way to develop mentoring relationships and help their minority students become successful academically. Their ability to blend the cognitive aspects of instilling information literacy skills with the affective side of mentoring minority students (or being mentored by faculty) blends the lines between mentoring and teaching critical thinking skills. As Hall (2003) noted, ”it is

essential to realize that student/teacher interaction is both relational as well as content driven” (p. 183). He, and others, has documented the phenomenon of “relationship as pedagogy” (p. 184). In other words, a blending of the personal with the professional, which often occurs between similar-others (Bainbridge & Houser, 2000; Hall, 1991; Lyn, 1999; Newman & Newman, 1999).

The last individual impact relevant to this study’s findings is that of career choice. For several of the librarians, their racial/ethnic identities led them to develop the blended professional/personal relationships with their students mentioned above, and led them, in their mentoring capacity, to offer librarianship as a career option to their students. At times, for Rosario, Andy and Susan, this was an overt act where they talked openly about their own career paths and ways they enact their cultural backgrounds in their work environments. At other times, for Rachel, Rosario, Leslie, Ralph and Andy, they were often aware as they taught or worked with minority students at the reference desk, that they were modeling librarianship as a career for minority students who might not otherwise think of it as a career path. For these librarians, these “teachable moments” are often present, but not often taken advantage of by those who are unaware of the “relationship as pedagogy” (Adkins & Hussey, 2005; Alger & Carrasco, 1997; Hall, 2003)

In terms of the *institutional* impacts, participants talked about the ways in which their social identities were relevant to instruction and curricular offerings, institutional climate, research engaged in, pedagogies used, leadership development, library collections, library relevance to campus constituents, and quality/robustness of the library. As for curricular offerings, several librarians talked about the fulfillment they get

from integrating their cultural materials into their course offerings. Harriett described the thrill she gets when she shows the women's history artifacts to her young female students. Rachel recalled integrating the Mexican history materials into her classes. Andy discussed his use of Africana materials in his Black Humor and Black Film classes. Diego talked about integrating civil rights music into his African American history classes. In each case, the librarian's own social identities were relevant to their choice of classes to teach, and the materials they used to illustrate the various information literacy skills they taught. They also described the types pedagogies they employed to connect both cognitively and affectively with their undergraduate and graduate students both in and out of class, reflecting the blending of the personal and professional experiences already discussed in the individual impacts above. For these librarians, the curricular offerings were not only responsive to the needs of the faculty and their students, but were also a way to convey and connect their own cultural knowledge with the development and use of the library's collections and services.

Many participants talked about collection development issues related to diversity and their relevant identities. Issues such as collecting materials related to racial and ethnic diversity, gender materials, and social justice literature and music were specifically mentioned. Diego talked about the intensive effort he has made to diversify the classical only music collection, to the delight of the jazz, folk, and international music faculty and student, but the flack he took from the older, White classical music faculty. Andy and Rachel talked about the joy they derive from building their Africana and Mexican History collections, and promoting their use. Leslie discussed the ways in which she builds and promotes her minority health collections, and the struggles she sometimes has receiving

adequate funding for these emerging scholarly areas. Harriett talked about her wish to engage in collection development as career goal, so that she can add materials in women's history. For years collection development has been viewed as a mainly objective-based process of adding materials based on mainstream publishers and their offerings in given disciplines (Delaney-Lehman, 1996; Gilbert, 1999). Today, there is a much greater awareness of the need to expand the collections to include emerging areas of scholarship that are increasingly interdisciplinary and related to cultural diversity (Dickinson & Hinton, 2008; Mason, 2002).

Many of the librarians reflected fears in the literature about the precariousness of remaining relevant in the academic lives of their campus community (Bridges, 2008; Twait, 2005). Thomas talked about his fears of the library losing relevance to his users if he and his colleagues are not vigilant about using current and active pedagogies while teaching library classes. Charlene discussed the importance of employing new technologies to deliver services to GenY library users. And Malory talked about the importance of having a variety of welcoming faces at public service points so that users of all ages felt comfortable asking for assistance. Diego, Rachel, Andy and Ralph talked about relevancy in terms of building and promoting more inclusive collections that better reflect emerging areas of research and teaching related to race and gender.

Leadership was another important institutional outcome on the minds of participants. Several librarians talked about being on the cusp of a major change of leadership in their individual libraries and within the profession. They discussed how the salience of their age added awareness about the need to develop leadership skills in younger librarians so that they are able to step into leadership roles in the near future.

And finally, quality/robustness was the last of the institutional outcomes that multiple participants talked about. All of the administrative librarians, and many of the front-line librarians, voiced the idea that the organization is strengthened by a variety of perspectives, experiences, and knowledge. Susan talked about the direct correlation she sees between the diversity of her librarians and the ability of the library to serve their diverse campus community. She has put resources toward diversification by making great efforts to recruit and retain a diverse librarian faculty. Francesca and Diego both discussed how institutional robustness is compromised when there is only one type of person (White males or White females) at the helm of the library or the university—specifically that perspectives on problem solving and avenues for input are narrowed, and climate is compromised. And Malory talked about the correlation she sees between the staffing of the reference desk with librarians of all ages, and excellence in reference service.

Implications for Further Research

This study provides a better understanding of ways in which age, gender, and race/ ethnicity social identities influence role performance of ARL librarians. Additionally, the findings support the literature, which also points to the need for greater diversity within ARL libraries. The study also highlights the need for a better understanding of the outcomes and impacts of role performance outcomes on library users, and a more complete understanding of the benefits and challenges of diversity for ARL libraries.

One of the key questions for researchers examining cultural diversity in the workplace is “How the inevitable social diversity within groups can be developed as a

productive asset rather than becoming a source of conflict and prejudice?" (Christian, Porter & Moffitt, 2006, p. 459). What we know from previous research is that, as Page (2007) wrote, "diversity is powerful stuff" (p. xx).

We know from multiple demographic studies that the twenty-first century workforce is increasingly heterogeneous (Bird, 2007; Hurtado, et al., 1999; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998; Fullerton & Toossi, 2001). Fullerton and Toossi (2001) estimate that 25 percent of the U.S. labor force will be non-White by 2050. As Christian, Porter and Moffitt (2006) state, "Employers, managers, and employees in organizations will be progressively required to be sensitive not only to intra- and intergroup differences, but also to adopt policies and practices that are effective in coping with such changes" (p. 460).

Recognizing that this is a "post affirmative action era," when many programs and efforts to increase the racial and gender diversity of students, staff, and faculty on campuses across the nation are threatened, it is doubly important to have an empirically based understanding of the ways in which the active participation of heterogeneous groups of librarians can better serve a heterogeneous campus community. As evidenced by the use of Bowen and Bok's (1998) and Gurin et al's (2002) data in the University of Michigan affirmative action suites, this type of data is essential to a reasoned approach to decision-making and policy-making in a pluralistic society.

The findings of this study give but a glimpse into the larger questions of diversity among academic librarians. These findings prompt me to advocate for more research in this area. While it was important to use qualitative methods to uncover a depth of information from a limited number of participants, it would be interesting and valuable to

follow this study with a broad-based quantitative study of the entire ARL population to uncover a broad spectrum of information on identity salience that would then be generalizable and predictive of the population. Knowing what types of experiences and which roles make social identity salience more prevalent in both positive and negative ways can help academic librarians fashion work experiences that are more fulfilling and lead to better library user outcomes. Knowing which environmental factors help or hinder ARL climates and cultures to support diversity initiatives will help recruit and retain underrepresented groups of librarians. And having a clearer understanding of the issues within ARL libraries that support or deter alternative perspectives and approaches to problem solving, service delivery, and collections would greatly enhance the management of human resources—the single greatest expenditure in academic libraries—and would assist ARLs in providing better, more effective service.

Although there is much literature on social identity in the workplace, most of it has focused on single identities (i.e.: race or gender) (Li & Beckett, 2006; Zemke, 2000). Researchers have treated these identities as fixed entities that do not change in time or within particular work contexts and roles (Hardiman & Jackson, 1997; Miller & Fellows, 2007; Li & Beckett, 2006; Thomas, 1993). Based on the finding of this study, there are opportunities and need to develop a richer understanding of the role of intersecting social identities in the workplace; an understanding that shows identities as dynamic, intertwined, and more role and context based.

Important topics for future research should probe what factors are used in human resource decisions within ARLs. Issues relating to the hiring, tenure/promotion and opportunity structures within ARL libraries were raised in the study. What we already

know about opportunity-related disparities in the discipline-based faculty could provide insight into studying issues of promotion and tenure rates within ARL libraries (Drago, 2007; Valdata, 2005; White, 2005).

There is also a need for a better understanding of whether librarians unknowingly socially reproduce themselves to the detriment of diversity initiatives and library user outcomes. A study examining the formal and informal social networks of diverse librarians would help to illustrate existing patterns of identity-based or other affiliations, help us to understand strengths and weaknesses in mentoring, service opportunities, and other social/professional options for men and women, White librarians and librarians of color, and young versus older librarians.

Additional research should also focus on other social identities such as sexual orientation and socio-economic status, both of which were mentioned by a few of the participants in this study, but did not provide rich enough data for analysis. Recruiting participants to a study specifically based on those social identities would produce sufficient and important data for further analysis. This study allowed participants to self-identify those identities that were salient for them, but further research could concentrate on a single identity in greater depth (and the intersectionality of that identity with others), and would thereby allow identities that did not generate enough data within this study to have a voice in the literature. In particular, identities such as mixed race, Native American, Asian American identities, and immigrant status (among others) did not generate sufficient data in this study, but would provide a valuable contribution to the understanding of role performance and social identity intersection.

The nature of qualitative research makes it more effective to investigate deep rather than broad questions. Although this study has illuminated several issues in depth with its twenty-four participants at three ARL institutions, its findings are necessarily not generalizable to the full population of academic or even ARL libraries. Therefore, further research should examine some of the more intriguing findings in a systematic and quantitative manner. Regarding age, how do academic librarians under 30 and those over 65 perceive their work roles and the climate for effecting positive change within their library settings? Are there statistically significant correlations between various identities and some of the findings of this study (such as salience of age to instruction and reference work, technology usage, mentoring, connecting with younger users, etc.)?

Additional insight into the phenomenon of intersecting identities, especially multiple target identities, and overlapping target and agent identities, would provide further clues to how faculty navigate their work roles in unique and complex ways. How do individuals reconcile competing or complementary identities when one or more fall into the target category, and others fall into the agent category? Do the identities compete and/or complement one another in certain roles? Understanding the ways faculty draw strength or perceive disadvantage from their multiple identities may provide additional strategies for structuring the workplace to insure equitable opportunities for all.

Finally, while it is illuminating to gain the perspective of the librarians' own impact on their constituencies, it is also important to understand the impact of the librarian's role performance on the end user. Therefore, it would be very useful to gain a better understanding of the impact and outcomes of diverse academic librarians on students, faculty, and staff at academic institutions. Similarly, examining collections for

depth and breadth in diverse and non-diverse institutions would provide valuable insight into several important institutional outcomes.

Implications for Practitioners

The implications of this research for practitioners are many and varied. It was clear from stories and accounts of the participants, that social identity is often salient to how academic librarians approach their varied roles. Thus, the following practice-based implications are suggested.

The findings from this study indicate that deans, mid-level managers, and front-line librarians in ARL settings should all be asking themselves whether they are actively encouraging a climate and culture within their libraries, and setting in place policies and procedures that enable librarians of all ages to make appropriate and significant contributions in their work roles. For example, is the library relying only on younger librarians to further Library2.0 technologies? ARL libraries must be willing to invest in retraining older librarians who are often eager to continue making contributions, but need appropriate support to adopt new technologies (Black & Leysen, 2002; Morris & Venkatesh, 2000). The academic library profession's older demographics demand that older librarians be a significant part of the 2.0 revolution—otherwise a majority of our workforce is lost in the process of adopting these new technologies. Also, librarians of all ages should be encouraged to work in cross-generational teams throughout the library, but the mix of ages should take into account the effects of solo status and tokenism when one person is the only representative of his or her social group (Sekaquaptewa & Thompson, 2003; Steele & Aronson, 1995; Tennent, 2006). It seems clear from the librarians in this sample that librarians of all ages should be actively involved in the

provision of reference and instruction services in order to provide a comfortable and welcoming experience for library users, but perhaps we should further examine how mixed age and generation groups could provide added value in the provision of virtual services as well. There are many faculty development implications of this study for practicing librarians, particularly for librarians who fall within the agent age range (40s to 50s). They may be particularly unaware of social identity and role performance issues for their younger and older colleagues, and may not realize their role in providing a more welcoming and respectful climate within the library, and issues related to power and access to library and campus resources.

Regarding race implications raised in this study, it seems there is a long way to go before levels of equity are reached within ARL libraries. Each and every librarian of color within the study found race/ethnicity to be very salient to their work, and many librarians felt discomfort related to their racial and ethnic identities. Sometimes it was related to solo status, sometimes it was related to overt racism, and sometimes to being outside the perceived “cultural norms” of the institution. These are all areas that ARLs need to ameliorate by creatively and actively working individually and collectively to make recruitment and retention of librarians of color to ARL libraries a higher priority. The numbers and percentages of non-White librarians continue to be abysmal in relation to campus populations (Kryllidou, Young & Barber, 2008; NCES, 2006). The “critical mass” referred to in the Michigan affirmative action case would help to lessen the occurrences of solo status, and emerging research shows that it will also provide library users with better service (Lowry & Hanges, 2008).

The gender issues raised in this study point to the need for greater investment in encouraging the contributions and representation of women in the areas of library technology, collection management, and administration within ARL libraries. Programs such as the UCLA Senior Fellows Program and the newly formed ACRL Women's Leadership program, held in conjunction with six other higher education associations are a good start at encouraging and developing women for leadership roles in academic libraries. Although the capacity of these programs is limited, and the Senior Fellows program is not limited to women, the development and mentoring of promising female librarians should be a priority for every ARL library.

Developing the potential of all ARL librarians is not only in librarians' best interest, but it also provides better service to campus communities (Lowry & Hanges, 2002). Understanding and harnessing the power of diversity in ARL settings is one of librarians' most important challenges, as it underpins their ability to adapt services and collections to the needs of diverse users (Lowry & Hanges, 2008; Winston, 2001). This study has contributed to the understanding of how diverse librarians with multiple salient social identities make contributions in culturally relevant ways, when working with library users and library colleagues. Much more research is needed in order to add to the understanding of how and why identities become salient, and their impact on end-user success. In the end, it is the academic success of faculty and students and the preservation of and access to the human record that are served by librarians in academic librarianship. Anything that can increase the reach and richness of the academic librarian workforce can be of great benefit to library users and library collections.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: BODIES OF LITERATURE

Appendix I lists the various bodies of literature used in the literature review of Chapter II.

Bodies of Literature Used in the Literature Review

	Higher Education	Library & Information Science	Organizational Psychology/ Sociology
Definitions of diversity	X	X	
Diverse faculty impacts on individuals	X	X	X
Diverse faculty impacts on institutions	X	X	
Diversity and professional roles in academic libraries (collections, services and personnel)		X	
Social Identity, Critical Race Theory & Role Theory	X	X	X

APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

It was my intention to interview approximately 18-24 academic librarians (12-18 librarians of color and 5-10 White librarians) from ARL institutions across the country. I actually interviewed 24 librarians including 14 librarians of color and 10 White librarians.

I used my contacts from within the ethnic caucuses of the American Library Association, as well as my contacts and data from the ARL to choose three ARL sample campuses and to solicit individual librarian participants. I used a core of contacts within those three libraries to suggest participants on my behalf.

Guiding question: *What is the relationship between social identity (ies) and role responsibilities and role performance of academic librarians?*

Note: *Each participant will have responsibilities in some of these areas, but rarely in all areas. Thus, the protocol may appear cumbersome, but not all of the questions will apply to each respondent.*

Background Questions (Adkins & Hussey, 2005):

- Tell me a little bit about your background...
 - How/why did you decide to become a librarian?
 - Academic librarian?
 - On an ARL campus?

Institutional Context Questions (Hurtado et al. 1999; Milem, Chang & Antonio, 2005):

- Tell me a bit about your campus...
- What is your impression of your institution's commitment to diversity?
- Is the curriculum changing to reflect a more diverse society?

Impact on Services Questions:

Now tell me a little about how you approach the following professional responsibilities:

Teaching (Downing, 1994; Johnson-Cooper, 1994; Nahl-Jakobovits & Jakobovits, 1993; Milem, 2001)

- Please describe the range of instructional activities you are active in...

Prompts:

- Do you do individual or small group consultations?
- Teach one-shot sessions?
- Semester-long courses?
- Co-instruct?

- How do you publicize and schedule your classes? Outreach?
- What does a typical class of yours include? Do you use active learning exercises in most classes, lecture, combination? (*Ask for syllabi, websites, etc.*)
- How do you prefer to structure your classes?
- What types of pedagogies do you typically use?
- Please describe if and how you use technology in instruction...
 - Does using technology change class dynamics?
- What is most fulfilling to you in your teaching work?

Reference (Kyrillidou & Heath, 2004; Nahl & Tenopir, 1996; Radford, 1994)

- Please describe a typical week of reference work...
 - How many hours per week do you usually work at the reference desk?
 - Chat reference? Email reference?
 - Do these different delivery methods impact your reference approach?
 - How do you approach each reference interaction?

Prompts:

- Actively use methods to overcome student anxiety during most reference interactions
- Empathize with users?
- Work collaboratively at the reference desk?
- What do you do when you can't answer a question on the spot, or the question is outside your area of expertise?
- What is most fulfilling to you in your reference work?

Liaison Work/Social Networks (Cichewicz, 2001; Downing, MacAdam & Nichols, 1993; Ibarra, 1993)

- Tell me about your professional network on campus and within the library...
- What about your network within the profession?
- How does this network(s) assist you in performing your work responsibilities?
- How does this network(s) assist you in achieving your personal goals?
- How do you communicate with colleagues and how often?

Collection Development (Diaz, 1993; Johnson-Cooper, 1994; Quinn, 2007)

- What subject/disciplinary areas are within your responsibility?
- What are a few of the most important things you keep in mind when selecting materials for your area of the collection?
- How do you insure that diverse perspectives are found in your area of the collection?

Other possible prompts:

- What was the state of your collection when you arrived? How have you changed it?
- How do you liaison with your faculty and students in your discipline(s)? Do you solicit their feedback on collection needs?
- Is technology changing your collection development activities?
- What is most fulfilling to you in your collection development work?

Access Provision (Cataloging/Describing/Metadata, etc.) (Bethel, 1994; Berman, 1992)

- What would you like to see happen to make collections more accessible and diverse?
- Do you have original cataloging responsibilities? If so: How do you decide to assign subject headings to a given work? Classification numbers?
- What is most fulfilling to you in your technical services work?

Impact on Library/Campus/Community/National Social Network Questions (Black & Leysen, 2002) :

Now I want to focus on your professional service activities.

- What guides your decision to become/stay involved in local/campus/national professional activities?
 - Professional Association Memberships?
 - Continuing Education?
 - Committee Work (Library, Campus, Community, National)?
- Do you feel a high level of integration with your library and campus colleagues?
- Do you feel like your values and professional/personal goals are a good fit with those of your colleagues locally and/or in the profession?

Supervision/Leadership (Alire, 2001; Milem, 2001; Williams, 1994; Winston, 1998)

- What is your philosophy/goals regarding leading others? Following?
- Do you mentor or coach anyone?
- Can you describe any experiences you've had being mentored or coached by another?
- How do you communicate with those you lead? With those who lead you?

Diversity Work (Ayala, 1998; Milem, 2001; Neely, 1998; Howland, 2001)

- Do you link diversity issues with your daily or long-range library work?

Other possible prompts:

- Have you attended any racial/cultural awareness workshops in the last year?
- Served on any committees to do with race/ethnicity/culture?
- Done any research on gender/race/ethnicity/culture?

Ask the following only if it is not raised in previous questions:

Social Identity Questions (Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Page, 2007)

- What are the most salient/important parts of your social identity (the ones that you think about the most often—i.e.: gender, race, age, nationality, immigrant status, ability, etc.)?
- Do these aspects of your social identity impact your work with services/collections/ library users?

- Do these aspects of your social identity impact your social networks on campus or in the profession?
- Do these aspects of your social identity impact your professional development/goals/philosophy?

APPENDIX III: BACKGROUND AND DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY

The following questions are designed to supplement the interview questions. These responses, along with your interview responses will be kept strictly confidential and anonymous.

Background Information

1. How long have you been an academic librarian? _____
2. How long have you worked in your current position? _____
3. Are you bilingual? Yes No
If yes, which languages do you speak? _____

Demographic Information

1. What is your age? _____
2. Gender:
 Female Male
3. Race/Ethnicity (check all that apply):
 African American/Black
 Asian American/Pacific Islander
 Latino/a /Hispanic
 Native American/American Indian
 White/Caucasian
 Other (please specify): _____

4. We are all members of different social identity groups (e.g., gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, socio-economic class, etc.). Indicate the extent to which you think about your: (Mark one for each item).

Never	1
Rarely	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4

	OUTSIDE OF WORK				AT WORK			
Gender	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Race	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Ethnicity	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Sexual Orientation	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Physical or learning disability	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4

Socio-economic class	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Age/Generation	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Other (please specify):	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4

5. Are you a:

- United States citizen
- Permanent resident of the U. S.
- International student

If not a U.S. citizen, please share your country of citizenship:

APPENDIX IV: INFORMED CONSENT

The Relationship Between Social Identity and Role Performance Among Academic Librarians

This research project seeks to understand whether social identities (i.e.: gender, race, age, etc.) influence the ways in which librarians carry out their reference, collection development, teaching, cataloging, and other responsibilities. Many higher education and library organizations such as the American Council on Education, and the American Library Association have strongly advocated for diversity in the workplace. This study is significant to a richer understanding of how diversity contributes to a robust service-oriented profession (academic librarianship). The expected outcome includes a more detailed understanding of the relationship between diversity among the providers of library services and the types of services and collections offered by academic libraries.

As a study participant, you will be asked to answer a series of interview questions regarding your background, your daily work life, and your professional affiliations. The one-time interview will last approximately 60-90 minutes. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded.

There are minimal risks to participating in this study. The discussion of social identities may cause some discomfort. In order to minimize potential discomfort you are under no obligation to answer all the questions, and your participation is strictly voluntary.

There are no direct benefits to you, however, there is a more general benefit to the profession by learning more about the relationship of social identity to work roles. The only cost associated with participating in the study includes the cost of your time.

You and your responses will be kept strictly anonymous. The audio file of the interview will be kept locked in my office file cabinet when not in use. Electronic copies of the transcripts will be kept in my secure institutional file space at the University of Michigan. The audio file will be disposed of once it has been transcribed and quality checked, and paper/electronic transcripts will be destroyed at the completion of the dissertation (within twelve months of the interview).

You will not be identified in any reports on this study. Records will be kept confidential to the extent provided by federal, state, and local law. However, the Institutional Review Board, or university and government officials responsible for monitoring this study may inspect these records

Should you have any questions and concerns regarding the substance of the study, please contact:

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University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, MI

Should you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact the Institutional Review Board, 540 E. Liberty Street, Suite 202, Ann Arbor, MI 48104-2210, (734) 936-0933, email: irbhsbs@umich.edu

Your participation in this project is voluntary. Even after you sign the informed consent document, you may decide to leave the study at any time.

One copy of this document will be kept together with the research records of this study. Also, you will be given a copy to keep.

I have read the information given above. Karen E. Downing has offered to answer any questions I may have concerning the study. I hereby consent to participate in the study.

(Printed Name)

(Consenting Signature)

(Date)

Please sign below if you are willing to have this interview audio recorded. You may still participate in this study if you are not willing to have the interview recorded.

(Consenting Signature)

(Date)

NOTES

1. According to the ARL Annual Salary Survey (2007), there are 1,140 minority academic librarians in ARL libraries. This includes: 398 Black, 207 Hispanic, 511 Asian (there is no distinction between Asian and Asian American), and 24 American Indian/Alaskan Native librarians to comprise 13.1 percent of the overall numbers of ARL librarians.

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