

# Pay Equity for Women in Academic Libraries: An Analysis of ARL Salary Surveys, 1976/77-1983/84

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*In recent years pay equity has become an important employment issue in librarianship, as in other service fields where women predominate. Analysis of Association of Research Libraries Annual Salary Survey data from 1976/77 to 1983/84 reveals that a majority of women university librarians are still clustered at lower levels of status and pay. However, the percentage of women among all administrators has risen from 27.6 percent to 45 percent, and the proportion of all women who are in middle management now approaches one-third. With a 1983/84 sex salary differential of 13 percent, progress towards equity is nevertheless very slow.*



ay equity has been hailed as the employment issue of the 1980s. To achieve this goal requires overcoming formidable barriers to equality. It pits women, awakened to their financial plight, against tradition, custom, and the entrenched power of the institutions that have profited from the general low level of women's compensation. The bottom line in equal rights is salary. To what extent has sex equality been achieved in university library pay scales?

Pay equity and its synonym, comparable worth, are both treated in this paper as abbreviated terms for the longer phrase, equal pay for work of comparable value. This concept calls for compensation to be determined by objective job evaluation techniques that analyze duties in terms of required knowledge, skill, effort, responsibility, and working conditions. It must be applied across *all* job families (not

within just one closely related group) in a bias-free manner and without reliance on prevailing compensation levels.<sup>1</sup> It is thus a broadening of the earlier principle of equal pay for equal work, which could be enforced only when jobs could be proven *exactly* or *substantially* equal. Pay equity operates to protect women and minority persons from being compensated by a lower pay scale than that used for white males.

## WOMEN'S COMPENSATION— THEN AND NOW

Pay equity is, of course, not a new issue. It came into prominence during World War I, when women entered the labor market because of the shortage of male workers. For example, an article appearing in *Economic Journal* in 1922 entitled "Equal Pay to Men and Women for Equal Work," discusses the problem in Britain.<sup>2</sup>

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It contains two basic, but now archaic, assumptions: (1) all working *men* are married, with families to support, but all working *women* are single, with no dependents; and (2) women are inevitably less productive and are less useful in emergencies. Sixty years ago, with these convictions, even a liberal thinker could not come out more than slightly in favor of equal pay for women.

Although there were efforts to achieve equal pay for women through the National War Labor Board and during the era of Rosie the Riveter in World War II, the old problem of differing pay scales for men and women surfaced in the United States as something remediable with the Equal Pay Act of 1963. This law required that an employer must provide the same compensation to both sexes for positions that are substantially similar with regard to skill, effort, responsibility, and working conditions, unless the pay differential is based on a factor other than sex. Other actions have followed: Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 again forbade discrimination in employment, as did two presidential executive orders (11246 and 11478), the 1978 Civil Service Reform Act, and several court decisions (notably *County of Washington, Oregon, v. Gunther*).<sup>3</sup> Yet, twenty years after the Equal Pay Act, the average woman who works full time year-round is paid only 59 cents for every dollar earned by a male worker. How can this be?

Great strides have been made in achieving equal pay for equal work, and in achieving an acceptance of this principle as fair. However, the major cause for the continuing wage gap between the pay of men and women is the concentration of women workers in a few low-paying occupations that are sex-segregated and where positions are dead-end. Approximately 80 percent of working females are in clerical, sales, service, and factory jobs.<sup>4</sup> Of the remaining 20 percent who are professional and technical workers, a large share are found in lower-paid, female-dominated service ("helping") fields of nursing, school teaching, social work, and of course, librarianship. Even within these professions, moreover, although almost

all salaries are low compared to those in male-dominated fields, there is frequently further sex segregation in that the female majority remains in lower-paying positions, while men tend to rise to the top.<sup>5</sup>

Major forces in opposition to pay equity are firms that employ many women in low-paid slots. It would not be expedient nor even permissible to lower men's pay, so employers fear the cost of raising women's pay, as would be necessary to achieve an across-the-board application of comparable worth.<sup>6</sup> In times of economic stress this is a particularly strong argument. However, a voluntary plan to inaugurate pay equity after appropriate job evaluation might be less expensive than years of back pay awarded as a result of litigation.

#### FEMINIZATION OF LIBRARIANSHIP

As in most professional fields, librarians of a century ago were mostly male. However, according to the 1870 U.S. Census, 20 percent of the 213 librarians polled were female.<sup>7</sup> The next two censuses lumped librarians with authors and other literary persons, but by 1900, when they were again a separate category, the number of librarians had become twenty times greater (4,184), and women constituted 75 percent of those listed!

It was during this period that Melvil Dewey launched his library school at Columbia University. The program attracted mostly female students and was therefore rejected by the board of trustees (although the president approved). Dewey took the school with him when he moved to Albany.<sup>8</sup>

The feminization of librarianship proceeded apace. Important causative factors were limited budgets for hiring staff and the paucity of other vocations for educated women. Working in the genteel atmosphere of the library was a respectable occupation for the young woman college graduate, but she was too "ladylike" and had too few other options to demand more than a pittance as compensation for this exposure to culture and the opportunity to be of service. The 1930 census recorded 29,613 librarians, with women's participation climbing to a peak of 91 percent. From there it slowly receded to 82

percent by 1970, but has risen again slightly, to 83 percent in 1980.<sup>9</sup>

This drop in the female proportion coincides, of course, with the increased entrance of men into the profession, beginning slowly about the time of World War II and mounting faster in the 1950s and 1960s. It was hoped that this trend would improve the status of librarianship and raise depressed salaries. However, there is little evidence that it has assisted the disadvantaged female majority, because men were hired for most high-level positions and the salary gap between the sexes has widened.

It is now clear that the increased entrance of men has actually reinforced and expanded a dual career pattern in librarianship according to gender. Academic librarianship has the highest percentage of men and is the most prestigious. Library work with children, and in primary and secondary schools, attracts few men and is less valued.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, men in whatever field are expected to climb quickly to administrative roles and high salaries—and a substantial number of them do. The self-fulfilling prophecy for women is that they will be content with subsidiary roles and low salaries, and any upward mobility for them will usually be painfully slow and reach only middle management.

Two outstanding women have conducted extensive research on the status of women librarians. Anita Schiller's pioneering study, *Characteristics of Professional Personnel in College and University Libraries* (1969) was the first published report on comparative attributes, status, and compensation of male and female academic librarians.<sup>11</sup> This work showed irrefutably that the wide gap between average salaries of men and women, which increased with added experience, could not be entirely explained by greater educational attainments, more research and publication, more professional activity, or greater mobility on the part of men but included a strong component of sex discrimination.

This has been followed by other important contributions on the issue of the disadvantaged majority.<sup>12</sup> Kathleen Heim has been the author or editor of equally significant works issued recently. Espe-

cially noteworthy is her part in the comprehensive study on women librarians' roles, sponsored by the American Library Association Committee on the Status of Women in Librarianship, that resulted in *Career Profiles and Sex Discrimination in the Library Profession*.<sup>13</sup>

### SALARY POLICY

Following decades in which there was a general reluctance to face the twin issues of sex equality in the library and a widely disparate pay scale, the American Library Association began to address some aspects of the pay equity problem in the 1970s.<sup>14</sup> After years of committee activity, the February 1979 issue of *American Libraries*, in a summary of activities at the Midwinter Meeting, reported that ALA Council

Adopted as ALA policy an OLPR (Office for Library Personnel Resources) statement on comparable rewards. . . . ALA supports salary administration which gives reasonable and comparable recognition to positions having administrative, technical, subject, and linguistic requirements. Whenever possible there should be as many at the top rank with less than 30 percent administrative load as there are at the highest rank carrying over 70 percent administrative load.<sup>15</sup>

Although some of the wording is ambiguous, this statement appears to be a call from a high policy-making body for the application of pay equity within individual libraries. Was it heeded? The absence of response in the library press suggests that it was not even heard in the furor of the debate over maintaining the ERA boycott of Chicago.

Nevertheless, in academic libraries personnel administration has usually attempted to steer a middle course between the industrial model of a rigid hierarchy of positions and the academic model of recognizing individual merit. To what extent is the professional librarian to be rewarded for excellence in the performance of the daily requirements of the position description, and how much consideration should be given to professional development and merit? Especially where librarians have achieved faculty status, it becomes necessary to reduce the emphasis

on administrative responsibilities and to examine scholarship, research, and publication in making promotion and tenure decisions as well as in recommendations for salary increases.

An examination of the salary policies of ten representative libraries in the ARL, as detailed in a 1981 report, reveals great diversity in systems and procedures but little specific recognition of the need to improve financial rewards for the deserving nonadministrators beyond those small amounts normally accruing from longevity and acceptable performance.<sup>16</sup> An earlier ARL study of classification schemes revised in 1978 includes material from four university libraries (Cornell, Duke, Stanford, and Yale). The study indicates clearly that promotion in status and salary may result not only from advancement in administration but equally through excellence in performance, scholarship, and professional achievement.<sup>17</sup>

Probably the best-known effort to improve the role of academic librarians is the two-track matrix structure of position categories and professional ranks inaugurated at Columbia University a decade ago.<sup>18</sup> Each librarian holds not only a *position*, e.g., cataloger, bibliographer, or reference librarian, whose level is determined by administrative responsibility, but also a *rank* as Librarian I-IV based on peer evaluation of individual development and contribution to the profession. This plan provides a means to raise status even when no upward mobility position-wise is possible, but there is only brief allusion to financial rewards.

### STUDIES OF ACADEMIC LIBRARIANS' SALARIES

Between 1970 and 1974 the Council on Library Resources demonstrated its concern with librarians' compensation by the publication of a series of three reports on salaries of academic librarians as compared with the teaching faculty.<sup>19</sup> It is clear that there is a

pronounced pyramidal structure in academic libraries, with a handful of more or less well-paid librarians at the top and a wide base of very low-paid positions at the bottom. Academic librarianship has seemed to be a profession in

which there are too few well-paying positions to attract and retain highly competent young people in sufficient number.<sup>20</sup>

Unfortunately, the data were not analyzed by sex. The only allusion to a sex problem is a statement in the 1969-70 report that the predominance of women in the profession has "facilitated retention of salary structures which would be unacceptable to a largely male profession."<sup>21</sup> The 1972-73 report concludes that:

Fewer than 10 percent of the professional librarians are in positions in which the average compensation exceeds that of assistant professor in similar institutions.<sup>22</sup>

In 1975/76, after a hiatus of three years, the CLR and the Association of College and Research Libraries conducted a joint survey.<sup>23</sup> Coverage was expanded to include two-year colleges, and breakdowns by sex and race were incorporated at last. Of 13,057 librarians surveyed, 61.5 percent were female; women constituted a majority at *almost every level* (except administrative positions) and earned less in *every capacity*, from 3 percent less for entering librarians to 23 percent less for directors.<sup>24</sup> One table compares librarians with the four ranks of teaching faculty in three types of institutions. The conclusion is inescapable. Average salaries for librarians in the nondirector levels are equivalent to the average for assistant professor and never as high as the average for associate professor.<sup>25</sup>

In addition, the Special Libraries Association has been conducting salary surveys at three-year intervals since 1967.<sup>26</sup> Data compiled in 1979, for example, show median salaries for academic librarians among the lowest when members are grouped by type of institution. Women earn less than men at every salary level. This occurs even when the number of persons supervised and the years of experience are equal.<sup>27</sup>

The most important series of data on internal pay equity in university libraries began to appear in 1976/77 when the ARL expanded its *Annual Salary Survey* to include breakdowns by sex and position similar to those in the ACRL study previously discussed.<sup>28</sup> Eight years of statistics are now



available as a source for average salaries paid to librarians in 90 large university libraries in 1976/77. This was enlarged to 105 by 1984/85. Although the survey also gives information on (1) nonuniversity ARL member libraries; (2) minority librarians; (3) entry-level salaries; (4) relations between median salaries and the Consumer Price Index; and (5) regional variations in salaries, this paper will be concerned only with issues related to the gender gap. It will focus mostly on changes between two extreme years, 1976/77 and 1983/84, with occasional mention of the intervening years.

Each *Annual Salary Survey* from 1976/77 to 1982/83 contains a table entitled "Number and Average Salaries of ARL Librarians." It divides librarians into nineteen categories: director, associate director, assistant director, medical/law head, branch head, subject specialist, functional specialist (involved with media, personnel management, fiscal matters, or automation and systems), eight types of department heads, and "other." "Other" is divided by years of experience into over 15, 10-15, 5-10, and under 5. Beginning in 1983/84, "other" has been split into reference, catalog, and a further other. All are divided by years of experience.

In 1984/85, data for law and medical librarians were moved into separate tables. Figures for these librarians are incomplete. This change in the target population has made exact comparisons with earlier years impossible; thus, figures for 1984/85 generally will be omitted.

There are some omissions from the published tabulations. A few universities did not supply detailed salary data in the early years. Moreover, some universities did not include salaries of directors in their salary rosters, and between 1976/77 and 1983/84 the number of directors appeared to be from 5 to 19 fewer than the number of institutions tabulated. However, after a special appeal, more figures were made available, and the number of directors whose salaries were included rose from 81 in 1982/83 to 95 in 1983/84.

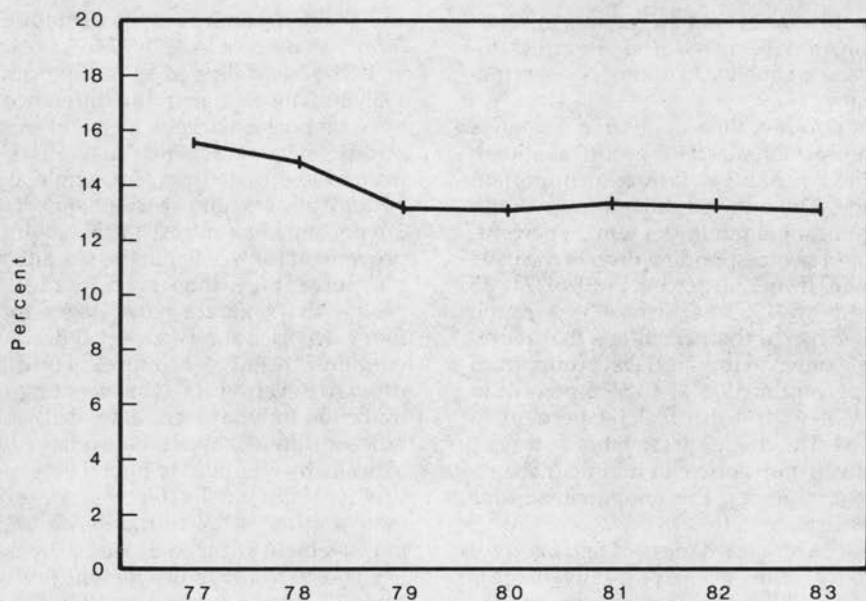
Furthermore in some large systems there may be someone, such as a dean, at a higher level who has the ultimate library

authority, is probably male, and is omitted from the survey. These factors indicate that the real average salary for male librarians is higher than ARL statistics reveal. Finally, the ARL surveys make no attempt to compare librarians' salaries with those of the teaching faculty.

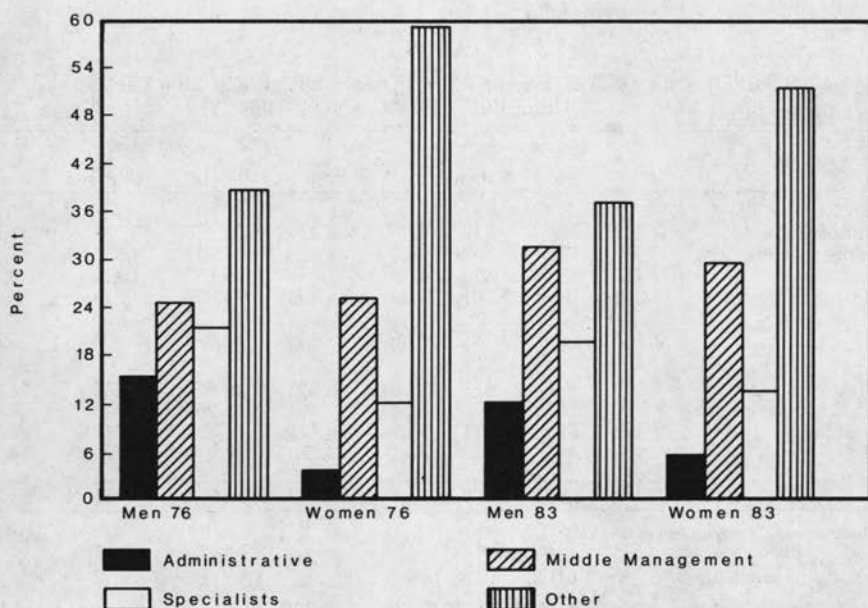
What significant trends can be derived from the ARL data? First, the proportion of women was 61.6 percent in 1976/77, fell to 61.4 percent in 1978/79, and grew to 63.9 percent by 1983/84. Women's average salaries were lower than men's every year in almost every category. Overall they gained only 2.5 percentage points during the seven-year period. Figure 1 shows that the difference between average salaries paid to men and women dropped from 15.5 percent in 1976/77 to 13 percent in 1983/84. Incidentally, these percentages are fairly close—though moving in the opposite direction—to those issued by the Women's Equity Action League for salaries of women faculty members compared to those of men, i.e., a 15 percent disparity in 1982 widened to 19 percent in 1983/84.<sup>29</sup>

One may also compare the distribution patterns by sex when the nineteen categories listed are grouped with changes noted through seven years. What is apparent in figure 2 is that the proportions of male and female librarians who are middle managers (branch and department heads) are almost the same each year (24.5 and 25.1 percent in 1976/77, increasing to 31.5 and 29.5 percent in 1983/84). But other percentages are quite different for each sex.

The proportion of women in high administrative roles is up (from 3.7 to 5.6 percent), and the proportion of men goes down from 15.5 to 12.2 percent. Specialists, both subject and functional, comprise 21.3 percent of men in 1976/77. This is down to 19.4 percent in 1983/84. The number of specialists who are female rose from 12.1 percent in 1976/77 to 14.9 percent in 1982/83, but dropped to 13.6 percent in 1983/84. Especially significant is the 59.1 percent of women who are in nonadministrative positions in 1976/77, as opposed to 38.7 percent of men. Both these percentages have grown smaller by 1983/84, down to 51.3 percent for women and 36.9 for men, largely, it may be presumed, be-



**FIGURE 1**  
Percentage by which Men's Average Salaries Exceed Women's,  
ARL University Libraries, 1976/77-1983/84



**FIGURE 2**  
Percentage of University Librarians by Sex and Rank Level,  
1976/77 and 1983/84

cause the number of new recruits to librarianship has been reduced. Progress towards sex equality in status is nevertheless slow.

It is also revealing to observe sex ratios within each broad status group, as shown in table 1; in only two is there an important change. The administrative group shows a significant climb in the female percentage (and a corresponding drop in the male element) from 27.6 percent in 1976/77 to 45 percent in 1983/84. There is a much smaller rise in the percentage that represents women in the specialist group, from 47.8 percent in 1976/77 to 55.5 percent in 1982/83, with a dip to 55.4 percent in 1983/84. The change in sex ratio, however, is scarcely perceptible in middle management and among the nonadministrative generalists.

When average salaries are tabulated for the four groups, women's disadvantage is plainly visible. Although the number of women administrators rose from 130 in 1976/77 to 253 in 1983/84, and average salaries paid to these women increased from \$24,988 to \$39,875, the percentage of difference between average salaries of men

and women administrators actually rose from 11.5 percent in 1976/77 to 15 percent in 1981/82 and dipped to 14.3 percent in 1983/84. The change in the difference between average salaries of men and women middle managers and specialists remained less than 1 percent, while at the bottom the sex difference changed only 1.3 percent. In contrast to the slight improvement for women in the sex differential percentages observed in the total group, the separate percentages for all four categories showed a small decline in women's relative economic condition through seven years. This seeming contradiction in what were essentially insignificant differences can be explained statistically by reference to interaction effect.

When individual categories are examined starting at the top, an encouraging improvement is the increase in the number and percentage of women directors, from 73 men, 8 women in 1976/77 to 76 men, 19 women in 1983/84, or from 9.9 percent female to 20 percent female in seven years. This is shown in table 2. Unfortunately, there is no corresponding proportional increase in salary level.

TABLE 1  
NUMBER AND AVERAGE SALARIES OF ARL UNIVERSITY LIBRARIANS  
AT FOUR LEVELS, 1976/77 AND 1983/84

Rank Level	Number of Staff				Average Salaries			% of Difference
	Men	%	Women	%	Men	Women	Difference	
1976/77*								
Administrative	341	72.4	130	27.6	\$28,224	\$24,988	\$3,236	11.5
Middle management	537	37.8	883	62.2	18,268	16,932	1,336	7.3
Specialist	467	52.2	427	47.8	17,318	15,897	1,421	8.2
Other	848	29.0	2,081	71.0	14,450	13,937	513	3.6
Total	2,193	38.4	3,521	61.6	18,138	15,334	2,804	15.5
1983/84†								
Administrative	309	55.0	253	45.0	46,530	39,875	6,655	14.3
Middle management	799	37.6	1,326	62.4	29,491	27,263	2,228	7.6
Specialist	492	44.6	611	55.4	26,471	24,222	2,249	8.5
Other	939	28.9	2,310	71.1	23,723	22,254	1,136	4.9
Total	2,539	36.1	4,500	63.9	28,723	24,988	3,735	13.0

\*Excludes Chicago, Harvard, Illinois, and Yale

†Excludes Chicago

Based on ARL *Annual Salary Survey*, 1976/77, table 1, p.31; 1983, table 13, p.26

Administrative includes: director, associate director, assistant director, medical/law head

Middle Management includes: branch head, department head (reference, cataloging, acquisition, serials, document/maps, circulation, special collections, other)

Specialist includes: subject, functional

Other includes: all other nonadministrative positions

TABLE 2  
NUMBER AND AVERAGE SALARIES OF ADMINISTRATORS IN  
ARL UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, 1976/77 AND 1983/84

Position	Number of Staff				Average Salary			% of Difference
	Men	%	Women	%	Men	Women	Difference	
1976/77*								
Director	73	90.1	8	9.9	\$36,191	\$34,275	\$1,916	5.3
Associate director	71	75.5	23	24.5	28,192	27,263	929	3.3
Assistant director	144	68.2	67	31.8	23,978	22,313	1,665	6.9
Medical/law head	53	62.4	32	37.6	28,828	26,630	2,198	7.6
1983/84†								
Director	76	80.0	19	20.0	59,701	56,953	2,748	4.6
Associate director	60	45.5	72	54.5	43,146	39,774	3,372	7.8
Assistant director	121	50.8	117	49.2	38,119	36,229	1,890	5.0
Medical/law head	52	53.6	45	46.4	50,757	42,303	8,459	16.7

\*Excludes Chicago, Harvard, Illinois, and Yale

†Excludes Chicago

Based on ARL *Annual Salary Survey*, 1976/77, table 1, p.31; 1983, table 13, p.26

The difference between the pay of women and men directors actually rose slightly from 5.3 percent in 1976/77 to 6.4 percent in 1982/83, but fell to 4.6 percent in 1983/84. There have also been substantial gains in the number and percentage of women moving into associate and assistant director positions. In 1983/84, the number of women associate directors even exceeded the number of men by 12 (or 8 percent), and the figures were 121 men, 117 women at the assistant director level. For salaries, however, percentages through the years hover at about 8 percent lower for female associate directors and 5 percent lower for female assistant directors.

Another prestigious function is being head of a law or medical library. Compensation for heads of law and medical libraries is in fact higher on the average than for associate directors of general university libraries. Ratios here have changed from 53 men and 32 women in 1976/77 (62.4 percent male, 37.6 percent female) to 52 men and 45 women in 1983/84 (53.6 percent male, 46.4 percent female). At the same time, average salaries for women have been substantially lower than those for men, and the gap has widened from 7.6 percent in 1976/77 to 16.7 percent in 1983/84. Heads of special collections are also predominantly male, but the percentage of women is rising here too, from 36.1 in 1976/77, changing to 34.3 percent in

1977/78, and up to 40 percent in 1983/84 (See table 3). The gender gap in salaries is larger in this category than in any other, moving erratically from 20.2 percent in 1976/77 to a low of 12 percent in 1977/78, then to a high of 20.5 percent in 1981/82, and ending with a 17.6 percent differential in 1983/84. It appears that where the heads of special collections are female, their average salaries are *comparable* to those of other department heads; if they are male their average salaries are *higher* than those of other department heads and may approach those of female assistant directors.

What of pay equity in middle management in general, i.e., compensation offered to heads of branches (except medical/law) and departments (other than special collections)? Here, as shown in table 3, women hold substantial majorities, with the highest in cataloging and serials. In at least one category each year women have a slightly higher average salary than men. This is true for heads of serials five years out of seven, for circulation and documents/maps four times, and for cataloging twice. In all other categories men's average salaries are from 3.6 to 10.8 percent higher than women's in 1976/77 and from less than 1 percent to 9.4 percent higher in 1983/84, with sex differential for branch librarians highest each year.

The compilers of the ARL statistics, pursuing an issue first raised by the CLR studies, also have investigated the possibility



TABLE 3  
NUMBER AND AVERAGE SALARIES OF MIDDLE MANAGEMENT LIBRARIANS IN  
ARL UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, 1976/77 and 1983/84

Position	Number of Staff				Average Salary			% of Difference
	Men	%	Women	%	Men	Women	Difference	
1976/77*								
Branch Head	194	38.8	306	61.2	\$18,924	\$16,884	\$2,040	10.8
Department Head:								
Reference	36	28.8	89	71.2	18,222	17,558	664	3.6
Cataloging	24	20.0	96	80.0	18,983	18,208	775	4.1
Acquisition	43	44.8	53	55.2	18,546	16,972	1,574	8.5
Serials	20	26.0	57	74.0	16,331	16,734	403†	2.4
Doc./Maps	31	40.8	45	59.2	15,526	16,576	1,050†	6.3
Circulation	37	44.6	46	55.4	15,466	16,811	1,345†	8.0
Spec. collection	62	63.9	35	36.1	20,233	16,151	4,082	20.2
Other	90	36.6	156	63.4	17,725	16,258	1,467	8.3
1983/84‡								
Branch Head	217	37.3	365	62.7	\$30,357	\$27,496	\$2,861	9.4
Department Head:								
Reference	50	32.5	104	67.5	29,134	28,806	328	1.1
Cataloging	40	25.6	116	74.4	30,121	28,900	1,221	4.0
Acquisition	39	35.1	72	64.9	29,303	27,107	2,196	7.5
Serials	17	21.8	61	78.2	26,358	26,783	425†	1.6
Doc./Maps	42	36.2	74	63.8	26,690	26,597	93	.003
Circulation	46	45.5	55	54.5	25,404	24,852	552	2.2
Spec. collection	60	60.0	40	40.0	32,840	27,060	5,780	17.6
Other	288	39.6	439	60.4	29,387	26,797	2,590	8.8

\*Excludes Chicago, Harvard, Illinois, and Yale

†Women's salaries higher

‡Excludes Chicago

Based on ARL *Annual Salary Survey*, 1976/77, table 1, p.31; 1983, table 13, p.26

that specialists, either subject or functional, might be better paid than the ordinary nonadministrative librarian.<sup>30</sup> There is no evidence that this has happened, as table 4 demonstrates. The number of subject specialists grew rapidly from 634 in 1976/77 to 981 in 1981/82, but dropped to 720 in 1983/84. This group was 57.6 percent female in 1982/83 but 55.4 percent female in 1983/84. Meanwhile, the salaries of men subject specialists exceeded those of women by 7.1 percent in 1976/77, by only 3.6 percent in 1979/80, but by 7.9 in 1983/84. Functional specialists, a smaller group, were also 55.4 percent female in 1983/84. Average salaries, usually higher than those for subject specialists, have varied by sex differential from 9.5 percent for men in 1976/77 down to 8.3 percent in 1982/83 and then up to 9.7 percent in 1983/84. Moreover, the salaries of both varieties of specialists have been somewhat lower on the whole than those paid to branch and department heads. With average salaries in 1983/84 of \$26,471 for men

and \$24,222 for women, one must conclude that the specialist route is not a promising avenue to high-level remuneration in the library!

At the bottom of the pyramidal structure are the generalists—the nonadministrators and the nonspecialists. The proportion of librarians at this level has decreased in seven years to 37 percent men and 51.3 percent women, but 3,249 out of a total of 7,039 librarians were still clustered there in 1983/84.

One particularly significant factor is the shift in recent years between newcomers and old timers. The number of librarians with less than ten years' experience shrank from 2,000 in 1976/77 to 1,584 in 1983/84, a drop of 20.8 percent, while those with more than ten years' experience—but who were not in an administrative or specialist role—grew from 929 to 1,665, an increase of 79.2 percent. Economic conditions throughout the nation may have restricted job mobility, thereby reducing the number of job

**TABLE 4**  
 NUMBER AND AVERAGE SALARIES OF SPECIALISTS IN ARL  
 UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, 1976/77 and 1983/84

Position	Number of Staff				Average Salary			% of Difference
	Men	%	Women	%	Men	Women	Difference	
1976/77*								
Subject	318	50.2	316	49.8	\$16,851	\$15,661	\$1,190	7.1
Functional	149	57.3	111	42.7	18,316	16,568	1,748	9.5
1983/84†								
Subject	321	44.6	399	55.4	\$26,258	\$24,194	\$2,064	7.9
Functional	171	44.6	212	55.4	26,871	24,274	2,597	9.7

\*Excludes Chicago, Harvard, Illinois, and Yale

†Excludes Chicago

Based on ARL *Annual Salary Survey*, 1976/77, table 1, p.31; 1983, table 13, p.26

changes. Another consideration is that fewer young women are leaving the profession after becoming mothers. Many are continuing after a brief maternity leave.

How are the salaries of the "other" group at the bottom of the pyramid? The categories of "under five years" and "five to ten years" (in table 5) show the closest equity between the sexes, with a 3.6 percent differential for men in 1976/77, down to 2.7 percent in 1982/83, but back up to 3.8 percent in 1983/84. Salaries for those with more than fifteen years' experience are slightly below the average for middle management. They exceed the salaries received by some department heads. Furthermore, the 621 women nonadministrators with more than fifteen years' experience constituted the largest single category of women librarians in 1982/83.

They earned an average salary of \$24,972. This is more than the salary of female specialists or heads of circulation departments. By 1983/84 the total of women non-administrators with more than fifteen years' experience had increased to 701, with an average salary of \$25,944. This is still less than half the average salary of the nineteen women directors who succeeded in reaching the top of the pyramid.

The 1983/84 ARL *Salary Survey* includes a new table presenting number and average salaries of men and women in ten four-year groups according to total library experience.<sup>31</sup> Librarians have long careers. Twenty percent have more than twenty years of service. The female proportion falls from 71.7 percent with 0-3 years' service, to 64.7 percent for 4-19 years, and to 55 percent for 20-35 years. There are 101

**TABLE 5**  
 NUMBER AND AVERAGE SALARIES OF "OTHER" (NONADMINISTRATIVE) LIBRARIANS  
 IN ARL UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, 1976/77 AND 1983/84

Years of Experience	Number of Staff				Average Salary			% of Difference
	Men	%	Women	%	Men	Women	Difference	
1976/77*								
Over 15 years	125	27.4	331	72.6	\$17,662	\$16,513	\$1,149	6.5
10-15 years	136	28.8	337	71.2	15,920	15,571	349	2.2
5-10 years	266	29.8	628	70.2	14,497	14,064	433	3.0
Under 5 years	321	29.0	785	71.0	12,538	12,048	490	3.9
1983/84†								
Over 15 years	300	30.0	701	70.0	\$27,635	\$25,944	\$1,691	6.1
10-15 years	188	28.4	475	71.6	24,342	23,660	682	2.8
5-10 years	250	30.8	563	69.2	21,885	20,995	890	4.1
Under 5 years	201	26.1	570	73.9	18,037	17,828	209	1.2

\*Excludes Chicago, Harvard, Illinois, and Yale

†Excludes Chicago

Based on ARL *Annual Salary Survey*, 1976/77, table 1, p.31; 1983, table 13, p.26

persons with more than 35 years (22 male, 79 female).

The salary lines for men and women rise steeply during the first twenty years. After fifteen to twenty years the female line is almost flat and the disparity between salaries increases dramatically (see figure 3). Thus the differential for males rises from 2.8 percent for those in the 0-3 category to an appalling 30 percent after more than thirty-five years (male average \$45,155, female \$31,620). This salary figure is somewhat suspect, along with the averages paid to all female categories over twenty years (ranging from \$29,420 to \$31,021), because they seem too high compared with the average salary (\$27,263) paid in 1983/84 to female branch and department heads.

#### WOMEN'S SITUATION TODAY

It is the almost forgotten generation of older women librarians who are affected most from past sex and present age discrimination. They entered librarianship when even the best-qualified female had almost no opportunity to climb to upper administrative levels. There was little en-

couragement for them to attain a doctorate, conduct research, seek an elected office in professional organizations, or strive for promotion to middle management. They had no mentors grooming them for success, except perhaps as department heads where the proven route was by impeccable on-the-job performance.

More recently, management training programs have been aimed at the young and promising, not at those nearing retirement. Moreover, many who married and had children were confronted by pressure to make a career or family decision. Because of personal choice or yielding to existing prejudices, many left temporarily or compromised by working part-time. This practice was often cited as proof of a lack of professional zeal and aspiration. Upon reentry they were much less likely to achieve middle management status or to receive more than meager remuneration. A few outstanding women have moved up to the role of director or acting director at the end of their careers, but the average age of all women administrators in 1980 was forty-six.<sup>32</sup> It is the young, well-educated, highly mobile women, with

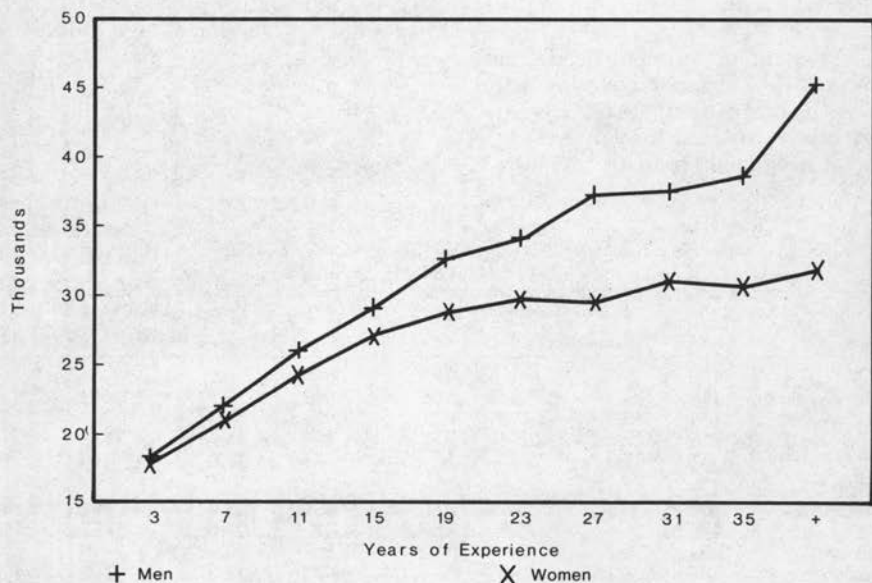


FIGURE 3  
Average Salaries of ARL University Librarians  
by Sex and Years of Experience, 1983/84

new skills, attitudes, and expectations who are chief beneficiaries of the current concern with sex equality.

Recent studies have examined the extent to which the status of women librarians has been affected by factors such as lower educational attainments, less experience, limited mobility, more career interruptions, less involvement with professional associations, or fewer publications. Results are incomplete and not always consistent and comparable. They do indicate the importance of these factors and the myth that they account for *all* the differences. Clearly gender still plays a critical part in career patterns. The need for more research and for remedial action remains.

What gains have women made? Not many. Organized efforts by librarians at Stanford, University of California-Berkeley, Temple and University of Minnesota have recently led to increases in women's salaries.<sup>33</sup> In contrast there is the attempt by the Office of Personnel Management to lower the standards for federal librarians and the uncertainty caused by the Merwine case as to whether the master's degree is a valid minimum requirement.<sup>34</sup> Any lowering of the entry-level standards could have a disastrous impact upon the profession.

### THE FUTURE

There are some hopeful trends within the profession. Among the most encouraging is the substantial increase in the number of women attaining a Ph.D. in library science. At one time there were many more men in doctoral programs, but now the proportion of women has risen to 57 percent. Women constitute a similar percentage of assistant professors in li-

brary schools, even though men still dominate the upper ranks. Since the number of men entering librarianship dropped to 17 percent in 1981, many women should have more opportunities for advancement in the future.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, women are organized in such groups as ALA's Feminist Task Force and Women Library Workers. Workshops and preconferences have been held. Networking efforts with outside women's groups have also produced important results. These productive manifestations of the women's movement should produce substantial changes in female career patterns and remuneration in the university library.

### CONCLUSION

Historically there have been three basic status and compensation problems in academic libraries: (1) the level of most salaries is lower than that of the teaching faculty; (2) compensation for administrative work is disproportionately higher than for service work; and (3) men in every category usually achieve higher status than women.

Regarding status, the most encouraging finding is that the administrative group has changed in seven years from 27.6 percent female to 45 percent female. This elite is such a small proportion of all female librarians, however, that the percentage of all females who are administrators rises less than 2 percent between 1976/77 and 1983/84. Regarding salaries, the change in the sex differential has been minimal. The difference between the average salaries paid to all men and all women has dropped only 2.5 percent in seven years. Unless the pace accelerates, pay equity will not even be achieved by the year 2000.

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