# Affirmative Action: Opportunity or Obstacle Ellen Altman and Patricia Promís 


#### Abstract

This study analyzes the advertisements for supervisory positions in academic libraries in 1990 and the pools of applicants for these positions. The study's purpose is to examine the extent to which gender or ethnicity relates to the outcomes of the search and screen process. The study also explores the opportunities for acting candidates to obtain permanent appointment compared with the opportunities for outside applicants.



nyone familiar with higher education is aware that cultural diversity has become an important issue on campus. Student demographics are changing; people of every racial and ethnic group are making up a larger proportion of the student body. This proportion is expected to grow as the United States population itself undergoes a similar transformation. Academic administrators want to respond to the changing campus demographics and to the heightened sensitivity about cultural diversity issues. Evidence of their desire is reflected by the increasing number of advertisements in the Chronicle of Higher Education inviting applications from culturally diverse individuals in any academic discipline. This study sought to determine whether opportunities for advancement for women and minority librarians had changed in light of the changing campus climate.

Affirmative action and equal employment opportunity are not new issues. They have been of concern to the
library profession for more than twenty years. Recently, the emphasis has shifted from compliance to concern about career advancement for individuals from culturally diverse groups. At the end of 1990, the Executive Committee of the Association of College and Research Libraries (ACRL) established a standing committee to stimulate employment opportunities for culturally diverse librarians. The ACRL's move was based on a report by a task force on minority recruitment. Despite the committee's efforts, little is known about the ethnicity or gender of managers hired by academic libraries claiming to be affirmative action, equal opportunity employers-AA/EEO. (For reasons unknown, the more common abbreviation of equal opportunity employer seems to be EEO rather than EOE.)
Essentially, equal opportunity employment means no discrimination on the basis of gender or ethnicity in hiring, treatment, or promotion. Affirmative action means actively seeking to hire or promote women and persons whose

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ethnic heritage is Hispanic, African, Asian, or native American.

Although the task force report included no numerical evidence, it cited "patterns of low recruitment efforts and minimal attention to the advancement and retention of underrepresented groups. ${ }^{11}$ One area that the committee targeted for action was barriers to advancement for minorities. It referred to these barriers as "glass ceilings," "early plateauing," and the "cycle of frustration" which inhibit the advancement of minorities and, in some cases, lead to resignation.

## Despite the concerns expressed by ACRL and the growing interest in accommodating cultural diversity on campuses, the profession has little information on whether gender or ethnicity are related to the outcomes of the search and screen process for middle and senior management positions in academic libraries.

Recruiting anyone, culturally diverse or not, from outside the library for supervisory positions hinders the opportunities for advancement of individuals already on the staff and eager to move up. Yet, organizational policies of promoting from within have long been recognized as beneficial to both the employer and the employees. Opportunities for internal advancement serve as strong motivators to sustain job performance. Supervisors promoted from within understand their jobs, the positions that they supervise, and the organization as a whole.

## PROBLEM STATEMENT

Despite the concerns expressed by ACRL and the growing interest in accommodating cultural diversity on campuses, the profession has little information on whether gender or ethnicity are related to the outcomes of the search and screen process for middle and senior management positions in academic libraries. Nor does it have any indication of how
affirmative action may be affecting opportunities for promotion from within to senior level positions. This study gathered data about managerial jobs and applicants in an attempt to draw conclusions regarding the extent to which AA/EEO guidelines have affected recruitment and promotion for the groups covered by those regulations. The study also sought to determine to what extent internal candidates, especially those acting in the advertised positions, have or have not been affected by AA/EEO policies.

The objectives of the study were to:

- collect data about the gender and ethnicity of applicants, the candidates interviewed, and those selected for management positions in academic libraries
- ascertain the success of applicants covered by AA/EEO in obtaining management positions
- determine opportunities for internal promotion to management positions


## FINDINGS FROM THE LITERATURE

Two surveys investigating the selection process for filling senior library positions found that internal promotions are not common within academic libraries. An Association of Research Libraries (ARL) survey on filling assistant/associate director positions among fiftyone libraries observed that "internal recruitment is rare." Further, the report said:

While there are some strong arguments in support of external searches, including affirmative action compliance, they do imply that it is difficult to build a successful managerial career within one institution. Staff morale also can be adversely affected if senior positions always are filled from the outside. Over-reliance on outside hiring also raises questions about the library's training and developmental programs for professional staff. ${ }^{2}$
Ruth J. Person and George C. Newman, reporting on the selection of academic library directors, noted that "in the five searches studied, current library staff members were rarely considered as
viable candidates or included in a final 'short list.'" Their report recommended that universities pay attention to developing managers in their libraries with the aim of increasing the pool of potential applicants for future director searches. ${ }^{3}$

Library literature contains little information about the hiring of affirmative action candidates either from the outside or by promoting from within for supervisory positions. Only Barbara B. Moran's article, which compared the number of women holding middle and senior academic library positions in 1972 and 1982, offered any numeric data. She concluded that "the position of women improved slightly during the decade. ..."4

A 1991 article on the development of an affirmative action plan for the University of Arizona Library noted that a search of the literature since 1985 "revealed little applicable information other than summaries of affirmative action case law." ${ }^{5}$ Another survey about recruitment of middle and upper level managers does not even address the affirmative action issue, although its authors commented that there was little information about the subject of recruiting these managers. ${ }^{6}$ This paucity of information seems curious, considering the fact that since the early 1970s, advertisements from educational institutions have carried statements about endorsing equal employment opportunity and affirmative action.

The best information about multicultural employment in libraries comes in two studies conducted by the Office of Library Personnel Resources within the American Library Association in 1980 and 1985. The latter study concluded:

Comparisons with the 1980 data ... [show] there has been very little change in the racial, ethnic group or gender of academic and public librarians. ... Black librarians remained almost constant ( 4.0 in 1980 as compared to 4.1 in 1985). Asian/Pacific Islanders declined slightly. . from 5 percent (1980) to 4.5 percent (1985) . . . Hispanic librarians show. . a very slight decrease (1.7 percent in 1980 to 1.5 percent in 1985).

The percent of American Indians/Alaskan Natives remained exactly the same- $0.2 \ldots$ (p.6). The study found that the proportion of females in academic libraries had increased from 62.3 percent in 1980 to 65.9 percent by 1985. Although whites represented 89.7 percent of librarians overall, they filled 93.6 percent of the upper-level jobs. Women accounted for 65.9 percent of all academic librarians, but occupied only 48.2 percent of higher positions. Whites of both sexes held 89.9 percent of branch and department head positions. Women from all ethnic groups held 66.4 percent. ${ }^{7.8}$
Although acting appointments, especially for middle and senior levels, are common in academic libraries, "the subject of acting librarians is a topic that has not been addressed in the professional literature," according to Claire-Lise Benaud and David G. Null. ${ }^{9}$

## AFFIRMATIVE ACTION REGULATIONS

No affirmative action regulation requires an employer to hire any applicant who is not qualified for the position. However, Supreme Court decisions have concluded that affirmative action allows consideration of race or sex as another desirable characteristic in evaluating applicants for employment or promotion. ${ }^{10}$ Later, handicapped and Vietnam veteran status qualified as additional positive factors in selecting employees.

By law, any institution that takes money directly from the federal government in grants or contracts, or indirectly in the form of student fees, must develop, maintain, and update written affirmative action plans describing goals and timetables for countering the effects of discrimination. Federal regulations also require these employers to send all job applicants a questionnaire inquiring about their gender and ethnicity, although the applicants are not required to respond. Because completing and returning the questionnaire is voluntary, it is impossible to obtain data detailing the gender and ethnicity of every applicant for every job.

According to Jay Stauss, former associate vice-president for affirmative action at the University of Arizona, institutions must maintain a log of all applications for each position. ${ }^{11}$ Information recorded in the log includes the position's title, the applicant's name, the date the application was received, the results of the screening, and the date the applicant was notified of elimination or granted an interview. After concluding the search, the hiring unit must complete another report detailing, when possible, the ethnicity and gender of applicants. Both the logs and the summary statements must be kept on file for three years.

## ADVERTISED POSITIONS

ACRL is the major professional affiliation for academic librarians. All members receive its newsletter, College \& Research Libraries News. Advertisements from all 1990 issues of CERL News constituted the pool used to identify the management positions available. Positions selected were those for director, deputy, assistant/associate director (hereafter called AUL), branch head, department head, and section head. In this study, the term section head refers to positions below that of department head, such as head of monographic cataloging. During 1990, C\&RL News carried advertisements for 238 positions classified as managerial. Public institutions placed 155 of these. Private nonsectarian schools accounted for another sixty-five, and religious institutions for eighteen. Libraries holding membership in the Association of Research Libraries (ARL) placed 104 of these advertisements ( 43.7 percent). Because forty-four libraries advertised two or more jobs, only 157 separate institutions are represented.

## DATA COLLECTION

Information taken from the advertisements included level and type of position, salary stated, qualifications required and desired, and the forcefulness in the wording of the AA/EEO statement. Also noted was the status of the advertising library as part of a public or private institution and ARL membership.

Subsequently, a letter outlining the study and a questionnaire were sent to the persons designated in the ads to receive applications. Usually these were campus personnel or library personnel officers. For director positions and some departmental libraries, the designated person was either the chair of the search committee or the office of an academic administrator. The questionnaire addressed the gender and ethnic composition of the applicant pool, the candidates interviewed, and the person finally selected. The questionnaire also sought information on acting positions, such as whether the acting person was a candidate and if that person was subsequently selected.

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## FINDINGS

Most of the job titles advertised clearly indicated the level of the position. Job titles such as head of fine arts collection were placed in the subject department category. Table 1 shows that department head was the most frequently advertised position, and deputy director was the least advertised.
The advertised positions covered more than twenty different types of library activities. Table 2 covers ten types of activities, all of which were represented by ten or more advertisements. Administration, which accounted for the largest number, includes director and deputy jobs as well as some (AUL) positions having responsibility for general administrative services. AULs for public or technical services were placed in those categories because of the background knowledge required for these specialized areas. Reference refers to

TABLE 1

## LEVELS OF POSITIONS ADVERTISED

| Level | No. <br> Advertised | $\%$ |
| :--- | :---: | ---: |
| Director | 45 | 18.9 |
| Deputy director | 6 | 2.5 |
| Assistant/ |  |  |
| $\quad$ associate director | 39 | 16.4 |
| Branch librarian | 23 | 9.7 |
| Department head | 105 | 44.1 |
| Section head | 20 | 8.4 |
| Total | 238 | 100.0 |

jobs involving direct information assistance for clients, whereas public services encompasses the administration of reference and other units interacting directly with clients.

The areas shown in table 2 equal nearly 85 percent of all the advertisements for management positions. Areas such as media services, preservation, government documents, interlibrary loan, and bibliographic instruction had three or fewer advertisements.

## Salaries

Advertised salaries ranged from $\$ 19,000$ to over $\$ 80,000$. (These may or may not be the amounts finally negotiated.) Although CERL News has a policy requiring that a salary or salary range be stated, twenty-three advertisements did not mention salary. Of these, fourteen were for director positions. The salary data were computed from the advertised salary or from the midpoint for advertised ranges. The median salary for all advertised positions was $\$ 34,000$. Table 3 displays the mean salaries in two

TABLE 2
MOST COMMON TYPES OF POSITIONS ADVERTISED

| Type of Position | No. <br> Advertised | \% |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| General administration | 55 | 23.1 |
| Subject department head | 27 | 11.3 |
| Cataloging | 20 | 8.4 |
| Technical services administration | 19 | 7.9 |
| Reference | 17 | 7.1 |
| Acquisitions | 16 | 6.7 |
| Public services administration | 16 | 6.7 |
| Systems | 11 | 4.6 |
| Special collections | 10 | 4.2 |
| Access/circulation | 10 | 4.2 |
| Percentage of all advertisements |  | 84.2 |

contexts: by type of parent institution, and between ARL member and nonmember libraries.

The largest disparity- $\$ 33,795-\mathrm{oc}-$ curred between published salaries for ARL directors and directors of other libraries. The difference was 70.5 percent. Part of the difference can be attributed to scope of responsibility, since the ARL libraries are larger, and therefore, require more responsibility. However, the dollar differences between ARL libraries and non-ARL libraries offered for the other position levels are much more modest, ranging from negative 7 to 16.25 percent. These differences seem anomalous when compared with the directors' salaries.

## Qualifications Required and Desired

All but one position required a master's degree from an ALA-accredited

TABLE 3
MEAN SALARIES BY LEVEL OF POSITION AND INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION

|  | Public | Private | Religious | ARL Member | Nonmember |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Section head | $\$ 27,405$ | $\$ 34,500$ | na | $\$ 29,133$ | $\$ 25,060$ |
| Department |  |  |  |  |  |
| $\quad$ head | 33,680 | 31,030 | $\$ 29,214$ | 33,659 | 31,726 |
| Branch head | 35,437 | 48,000 | 45,000 | 37,500 | 38,500 |
| AUL | 47,732 | 45,111 | na | 49,028 | 44,086 |
| Deputy | 39,250 | 40,000 | 48,000 | 39,000 | 41,750 |
| Director | 58,915 | 48,625 | 39,333 | 81,666 | 47,871 |

program. Other qualifications, when enumerated, were more frequently desired than required. Because the number of required qualifications was so small, both required and desired are combined in this analysis.

Over 42.8 percent, or 102 , of the advertisements stated a preference for applicants possessing a second graduate degree. The type of work influenced the desirability of an additional degree. Of the forty-five ads for director, 80 percent required or desired an advanced degree. Other jobs most likely to prefer a master's or doctoral degree were special collections/rare books ( 80 percent), collection development ( 75 percent), reference ( 53 percent), and subject departments (40.74 percent). Curiously, except in a few cases, the subject of the degree was unspecified. A small number of libraries explicitly stated that a second graduate degree was mandatory for appointment as assistant professor/librarian or for receiving tenure. Only one position, for a director, specifically required the Ph.D. as opposed to other types of doctorates. Non-ARL libraries wanted additional degrees more than twice as often as ARL members. The preference of non-ARLlibraries for directors with advanced degrees and the unimportance of such credentials in ARL libraries is reconfirmed. Of the 103 schools desiring additional graduate credentials seventy-three were non-ARL libraries and thirty were members.

The preference for a second graduate degree may discourage applications from minorities. The cost of obtaining a degree is high both in terms of educational expenses and foregone income. Since the subjects of the desired degrees were not usually specified, it seems questionable that these degrees are essential for the work performed. Therefore, libraries seeking multicultural applicants should reconsider the rationale of this qualification if not required to perform the job.

Knowledge of another language was less often specified than the possession of two graduate degrees. Only thirty-six (15.1 percent) of the 238 advertisements
wanted such facility, and only nine stipulated a particular language. The desire for foreign-language ability was strongest in acquisitions and cataloging. Even though ARL libraries purchase more foreign-language materials, they placed only 45 percent of all the advertisements desiring applicants with knowledge of a second language. One explanation may be that department heads in large libraries focus more on administration than those in smaller schools. At smaller schools department heads are likely to continue doing cataloging along with administrative duties.

Since all the positions included in this study were supervisory, it is surprising that nearly one-fourth ( 23 percent) of the advertisements did not mention prior library experience as a qualification. Among those specifying a particular amount of experience, the most common period was five years. In fact, only one position specifically required more years in management.

## Professional Activities

Few of the job announcements expressed a preference for scholarly and/or professional activities. Only twenty-eight (11.7 percent) positions wanted evidence of scholarship and only forty-one ( 17.2 percent) expressed interest in professional association activities. The relative unimportance of these activities across all levels and all types of positions remained constant, with one exception: nearly one-fourth of the schools wanted the applicants for director to have evidence of professional association involvement.

## Affirmative Action

It has become common practice for employers to indicate in their advertisements that they do not discriminate on the basis of gender, religion, ethnicity, or disability. Originally, such notice was stated as: Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity Employer. Later, the statement often became abbreviated as AA/EEO. As some organizations tried to increase the hiring of women, the culturally diverse, and the disabled, their state-

## TABLE 4 <br> ANALYSIS OF AA/EEO STATEMENTS BY TYPE OF ORGANIZATION

|  | Public | Private | Religious | ARL | Non-ARL | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | ---: | :---: | ---: |
| No statement | 13 | 3 | 6 | 12 | 10 | 22 |
| Label only | 82 | 43 | 9 | 59 | 75 | 134 |
| Inviting | 38 | 15 | 1 | 19 | 35 | 54 |
| Strong | 22 | 4 | 2 | 14 | 14 | 28 |
| Total | 155 | 65 | 18 | 104 | 134 | 238 |

ments expressly solicited such applications. For example, one advertisement states: "[Name of institution] specifically seeks candidates who can make contributions in an environment of cultural and ethnic diversity."

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As shown in table 4, the label "Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity Employer" or the abbreviation "AA/EEO" appeared in 57 percent of the announcements. Advertisements specifically saying "Women and minorities are encouraged to apply," or "Applications from women and minorities are welcomed," amounted to 22.7 percent. Slightly under 12 percent of the total expressed strong interest. Nearly 39 percent of the public institutions and 29 percent of the private ones placed ads encouraging or strongly urging affirmative action applications.

Although religious organizations are exempt from AA/EEO guidelines, twothirds of the ads from church-affiliated institutions contained an AA/EEO statement. Curiously, nearly 10 percent of the advertisements from C\&RLNews used in this study carried no information about AA/EEO policies. Even a small propor-tion-8.3 percent-of public colleges and universities omitted the AA/EEO. Also lacking the statement were 11.5 percent of the ARL libraries. There is no way to know if these omissions were simply
an oversight or not. AA/EEO statements may have been included in the job announcements routinely sent to library schools and other libraries. The difference in enthusiasm for AA/EEO applicants expressed in the ads by ARL and non-ARL libraries was slight. Nearly one-third of the ARL libraries' announcements contained encouraging or strong AA/EEO statements. This was similar to the 36.5 percent from non-ARL libraries.

## Overview of the Respondents

Because 44 institutions advertised two or more positions, the 238 advertisements represent only 157 separate schools. Questionnaire responses also totaled 157; these came from 104 institutions. One library not counted as a respondent specifically declined to participate. In all, 138 of the openings advertised by the 157 respondents were filled.

The recession which began in 1990 negatively impacted some searches. Ten were suspended indefinitely because of budget cuts. Another five libraries reopened their searches but had not concluded them by spring 1992. In the four remaining cases, existing positions assumed the duties of the job advertised, or the job was eliminated.

## Gender and Ethnicity of the Applicant Pools

The Previous Supervisors. In order to determine whether applicants covered by AA/EEO guidelines were being selected in greater numbers for management positions, it was necessary to determine the gender and ethnicity of the previous supervisors. Table 5 shows these data.

## TABLE 5

GENDER AND ETHNICITY OF PREVIOUS SUPERVISORS

| Level of Position | White Male | White Female | Asian Female | African <br> American <br> Male |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Section head | 3 | 10 |  |  |
| Department head | 20 | 38 | 3 |  |
| Branch/subject head | 4 | 9 | 2 |  |
| AUL | 6 | 15 |  |  |
| Deputy | 2 | 1 |  |  |
| Director | 14 | 4 |  | 1 |
| Total | 49 | 77 | 5 | 1 |
| Percentage of total | 37.1 | 58.3 | 3.8 | 0.7 |

The overwhelming proportion (95.4 percent) of previous supervisors were white, and 58.3 percent of them were women. About 46 percent of the men held AUL, deputy, or director positions. Although women occupying jobs at those levels were nearly equal in terms of absolute numbers, the proportion of women in upper-level positions was smaller ( 25.6 percent) because there are many more women in the pool. Culturally diverse representation was extremely small-six individuals (five Asian females and one African American male), amounting to less than 4 percent. ${ }^{12}$ The single African American male served as a director. Three of the Asian females were department heads and two were branch managers. These six worked in public, private, and religious institutions and in ARL and non-ARL libraries.

One issue explored was the opportunity for professional staff, regardless of gender or ethnicity, to advance into management positions within their own libraries.

Acting Appointments. One issue explored was the opportunity for professional staff, regardless of gender or ethnicity, to advance into management positions within their own libraries. Therefore, the questionnaire asked about the appointment of acting managers and
whether those acting persons were considered for permanent appointments. Surprisingly, only seventy-nine persons (59.8 percent) were appointed as acting. Nearly two-thirds of these already worked within the same unit. Many libraries reported that another administrator on the staff had shouldered the responsibilities of the vacant positions as additional duties. Another fifteen advertisements were for new positions.

In filling those seventy-nine appointments, the proportion of white individuals declined slightly from 95.3 to 94 percent. As a group, white females made the largest gains. Their proportion increased from 52 to 59 percent. Even more significantly, they assumed higher-level positions. There were twelve acting appointments made at both the AUL and director level. Women were designated acting for two-thirds of those vacancies. The only acting deputy appointed was also female.

Although only four culturally diverse individuals were named for acting appointments, the group was more ethnically diverse: one Hispanic, one Asian, and one African American. All were women. ${ }^{13}$ There was a single male who was African American. Three of these appointments were as department head, the other as branch librarian. These four appointments were equally divided between ARL libraries and nonmembers. Three of the acting persons were chosen by public institutions, and the fourth by a private school.

## TABLE 6

 SELECTION OF ACTING, INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL APPLICANTS| Level of <br> Position | Acting | Internal | External |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | ---: |
| Section head | 3 | 1 | 9 |
| Department head | 6 | 11 | 46 |
| Branch/subject | 4 | 3 | 8 |
| AUL | 1 | 1 | 21 |
| Deputy <br> Director <br> Total | 4 |  | 4 |
| Percentage of <br> $\quad$ total | 18 | 16 | 104 |
|  | 13 | 12 | 75 |

Whatever the reasons, 60 percent of those acting managers chose not to become candidates for the positions that they were filling. Of the 40 percent who did apply, almost all were accorded an interview. Yet, the candidates already acting in the job who applied had only slightly better than a fifty-fifty chance of appointment. In the end, only eighteen of the seventy-nine acting managers were selected. Thirteen others who competed in the search lost to external candidates; one was rejected for another person on the staff. Another fifteen internal candidates were chosen for positions where no acting personnel had been appointed or the acting personnel declined to apply. Because external applicants received 472 interviews and internal candidates only seventy-four, it is not surprising that the outsiders won appointment overwhelmingly (see table 6).
The data in table 6 confirm the strong preference for external candidates mentioned in previously cited studies. While 20 percent of the new directors were internal promotions, only two of twentyseven libraries chose to fill an AUL or deputy director position with a person on staff. Perhaps the relatively low percentage of internal promotions reflects the desire for new blood or at least fresh perspectives at the administrator level.
An important consideration in hiring an unknown external candidate is whether that person can perform the job in a satisfactory manner. Considering the time and costs involved in the re-
cruitment process, the investment in choosing managers is substantial. The typical search in this study covered six months and cost the libraries who paid from their own funds a total of nearly $\$ 6,000$, not counting staff time for the selection process. Six of the external appointments already have left their positions. Half accepted a position in another library. The other half were either terminated, or the contract was not renewed because of dissatisfaction with performance. Nine of the previously acting heads resigned.

The Applicant Pool. Many of the ap-plicants-965-could not be identified by ethnicity because they chose not to reveal their backgrounds or because of inadequate record keeping by the libraries. In several instances, the person responding to the questionnaire could not decide ethnicity when the applicant's heritage included two minority groups, such as Hispanic and Asian. Ethnicity could not be determined for 540 males and 425 females. Nevertheless, the information supplied for the other 1,883 candidates still gives a good indication of the ethnicity of the applicant pool. In all, 143 culturally diverse candidates were identified; over half (seventy-five) were Asian. However, these applicants represented all AA/EEO ethnic groupings. Culturally diverse candidates sought positions at every level from section head to director. They also sought positions at public, private, and religious universities. They applied for ninety positions in ARL libraries and for fiftythree in non-ARL libraries.

Although studies have shown repeatedly that women librarians outnumber men by a rather wide margin, in this study male applicants outnumbered women- 1,525 to 1,438 . These figures include persons whose ethnicity is undetermined. Men were much more likely to apply for jobs as director, associate director, and department head. Women were more likely to apply for positions as section head, branch librarian, and deputy.

Of the 143 culturally diverse applicants, only thirty-three were interviewed. This study did not explore the

| TABLE 7 |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| GENDER AND ETHNICITY OF |  |  |  |
| THE APPLICANT POOL VS. POOL |  |  |  |
| INTERVIEWED |  |  |  |

reasons why any applicants were deemed unsuitable. According to a 1990 survey of ARL libraries, "The consensus among respondents on the major barriers to minority recruitment are lack of qualified applicants . . . and lack of knowledge on the part of the recruiter about where to find qualified minority librarians." ${ }^{14}$ It is not uncommon for persons lacking the required qualifications to apply, though how many did cannot be determined in this study. However, it seems unlikely that all 110 of the culturally diverse applicants ( 77 percent) rejected for interviews lacked credentials for the positions that they sought. Table 7 shows the gender and ethnic backgrounds of all candidates interviewed.

The last column in Table 7 gives the percentage of candidates interviewed in relation to the number of applicants for each gender/ethnic category. Based on the numbers represented in the pool, Hispanic females had the best chances
because two-thirds who applied were interviewed. African American females also did well; 54.5 percent received interviews. Overall, females were more likely than males to be interviewed. The situation for male candidates was mixed. Twenty percent of African American and white males were selected for interviews. But the chances for the other males were poor, ranging from 9 percent for Asians to zero for Hispanics and $\mathrm{Na}-$ tive Americans. Overall, only six males (8.8 percent) from the culturally diverse pool were interviewed. Three were Asians and three were African Americans. Yet, 36 percent of the females in the pool were interviewed. About two-thirds of the culturally diverse candidates were considered for lower-level positions-section or department head and branch librarian. However, African American females were more likely to be interviewed for higher level jobs. Eight of the twelve were contenders for AUL or director jobs. The remaining $\mathrm{AA} / \mathrm{EEO}$ candidates interviewed for upper level positions included one Asian female, one Asian male, and one African American male.

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Although every type of institution interviewed these applicants, public colleges and universities conducted the most- 75.8 percent. Only the religious schools interviewed more men than women. There was little difference between ARL members and the other libraries. ARL institutions interviewed 57.6 percent of the minority applicants, and the nonmembers interviewed 42.4 percent.

Final Appointments. The gender and ethnicity of the candidates finally selected for these management positions strongly resemble those of their predecessors, as shown in Table 8. Women selected as managers increased slightly from eighty-two to eighty-five. Representation of the culturally diverse rose

TABLE 8
COMPARISON OF GENDER AND ETHNICITY OF PERSONS APPOINTED WITH PREVIOUS INCUMBENTS

|  | Previous | Acting | Selected |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| White males | 49 | 28 | 50 |
| White females | 77 | 47 | 76 |
| Asian females |  |  |  |$\quad 5 \quad 1$| 4 |
| :--- |
| Hispanic females |
| African American <br> males |
| mfrican American <br> females |
| New positions |

from six persons to eleven. These include one Hispanic and four African American females. Two universities reported that diversity candidates had declined their offers.

## Culturally diverse individuals were more likely to apply when the advertisement contained an encouraging AA/EEO statement.

A chi-square statistic was computed to test the null hypothesis that there was no significant difference in appointments based on the proportion of whites and minorities in the applicant pool. ${ }^{15}$ The chi-square value of 0.03 with one degree of freedom was not significant at the 0.95 level, confirming the null hypothesis. This study found that culturally diverse candidates were hired in proportion to their representation in the applicant pool. They did receive equal opportunity. However, there is no statistical evidence that they received affirmative action despite the current emphasis on cultural pluralism on campus and ACRL concerns about advancement for culturally diverse librarians.

The levels for which these candidates were selected have changed slightly. While most are still at the section head or department head level, two African American females were appointed as as-
sociate director and one African American male was appointed as deputy. A small private college chose the only minority director. Again, there was no difference in selection patterns between ARL and non-ARL libraries. The ARL schools chose five diversity candidates and the nonmembers appointed six.

Did the AA/EEO Statement Make a Difference? Did the advertisements containing encouraging or strongly worded AA/EEO statements attract more applications from minorities than those which carried only the label or no statement? Did those schools encouraging applications actually hire culturally diverse applicants in greater proportions than the schools with less encouraging statements?

Table 9 shows the ethnicity of applicants responding by the type of affirmative action statement. The numbers in parentheses indicate the persons appointed from each group. Culturally diverse individuals were more likely to apply when the advertisement contained an encouraging AA/EEO statement. For the twenty-eightads containing statements categorized as "strong," twenty-four culturally diverse individuals applied. Another twenty responded to the fiftyfour ads inviting them to apply. In contrast, the twenty-two ads containing no label attracted only nine such applications. Evidently the encouragement published in the AA/EEO statements had no bearing on the outcome. In fact, the reverse seemed to apply. Eleven minority candidates secured management positions. Libraries whose advertisements contained only the label or no AA/EEO statement chose eight of these applicants. Of these, three were hired by one library. The institutions inviting culturally diverse applicants appointed two. The libraries making the strongest statements hired none.

The analysis of AA/EEO statements made in advertisements does not reflect other efforts that academic libraries may have made to recruit culturally diverse applicants. These would include networking to solicit nominations, bringing along former holders of residencies and internships, and appointing culturally

TABLE 9
AA/EEO STATEMENT AND GENDER AND ETHNICITY OF APPLICANTS AND (APPOINTMENTS)

| No. of Statements | None $=22$ | Label $=134$ | Inviting $=54$ | Strong $=28$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| White |  |  |  |  |
| Males | 53 (3) | 435 (32) | 279 (9) | 150 (6) |
| Females | 66 (7) | 402 (37) | 250 (21) | 105 (11) |
| Asian |  |  |  |  |
| Males |  | 15 (0) | 10 (0) | 8 (0) |
| Females | 1 (1) | 5 (2) | 2 (1) | 2 (0) |
| Hispanic |  |  |  |  |
| Males | 1 (0) | 10 (0) |  | 6 (0) |
| Females |  | 4 (0) | 2 (1) |  |
| African American |  |  |  |  |
| Males | 2 (1) | 4 (1) | 6 (0) | 3 (0) |
| Females | 6 (0) | 12 (3) | 3 (1) | 1 (0) |
| Native American |  |  |  |  |
| Males |  | 2 (0) |  | 1 (0) |
| Females |  | 1 (0) | 1 (0) | 3 (0) |
| Total culturally diverse |  |  |  |  |
| Applied | 22 | 33 | 20 | 24 |
| Selected | (2) | (6) | (3) | (0) |

diverse search and screen committees. Those other efforts were evidently on the mind of the person responding for one of the libraries making a strong statement who wrote on the questionnaire:

As I looked over our response I was struck by the fact that the numbers do not reflect the effort that the library has taken over the last several years to diversify its staff. This effort has taken place through a special program in concert with the Provost's Office to identify internal needs not met by normal recruiting and funding, and to match outstanding graduates from protected classes to those needs. Our progress has been made outside of the normal recruitment channels and would not be reflected in the enclosed survey.

## CONCLUSIONS

The following statement made in 1990 by Cliff Glaviano and R. Errol Lam still seems pertinent:
... although librarianship may remain philosophically committed to increasing minority representation in the pro-
fession, the profession has given higher priority to other concerns over the past decade than to recruiting, nurturing and retaining minority librarians. ${ }^{16}$
In comparing the gender of the persons appointed with those previously holding the positions, it can be seen that little has changed. Women were not chosen for higher-level positions in any greater numbers than their predecessors in these same positions. In fact, women AULs declined from fifteen to eleven, while males appointed as AULs rose from six to twelve. It could be argued that the time of big gains for women has already occurred.

Affirmative action has not had a significant impact on internal promotions, either positively or negatively. The data indicate that opportunities for promotion from within are slight, but not because of any preference for affirmative action candidates. This study cannot speculate on the reasons for lack of internal promotion opportunities, but this seems an enticing topic for further research.

The application of social judgment analysis used for small group research
on tenure decisions in an academic library by Anne McCartt has implications for future research on AA/EEO hiring. ${ }^{17}$ Like tenure committees, search and screen committees are composed of individuals whose interpretation of the importance of particular qualifications may differ markedly. This is especially true when position announcements list most qualifications as desired rather than required or specify qualifications difficult to assess during an interview. Then the importance and weight given to desirable factors become open to individual interpretation. Research conducted with small focus groups could indicate what qualifications are deemed most important, when judgments are inconsistently applied, and how to better understand the process by which selection decisions are made.

Despite more than twenty years of affirmative action programs, the federal requirement that institutions set affirmative action goals, and the recent interest in career advancement opportunities for culturally diverse groups, the people chosen to fill the advertised positions closely resemble their predecessors. Yet, culturally diverse candidates applied for positions at every level and at all types of institutions. The often-heard lament that there are no minority applicants cannot be supported by this study. However, in this ex post facto analysis,
there is no way to assess the relative qualifications of the culturally diverse with the successful candidates.

## The often-heard lament that there are no minority applicants cannot be supported by this study.

Those individuals from minority groups hired for supervisory positions generally enter at the lower levels of section or department head or branch librarian. And they are mostly female. Although Hispanic and Native American males constituted twenty of the sixty-eight male applicants in the culturally diverse pool, not one was selected for an interview. Despite the discussions of enhancing cultural pluralism on campuses and the appointment of ACRL committees to assess opportunities for minority advancement, the findings from this study indicate that minorities were hired in no greater proportion than their representation in the applicant pool.

Despite the discussions of enhancing cultural diversity on campuses and the appointment of ACRL committees to assess opportunities for minority advancement, it seems clear that the commitment has not yet filtered down to those who make the hiring decisions.

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13. In this study Hispanic includes individuals of Spanish-speaking background or heritage.
14. Association of Research Libraries, Minority Recruitment and Retention in ARL Libraries, SPEC 167 (Washington, D. C.: ARL, 1990), 1.
15. Because of the small representation of some ethnic groups, all minority groups were combined into one group.
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