

## Differences By Sex: Academic Library Administrators

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THE PROPORTION OF FEMALE and male administrators in academic research libraries has changed significantly between 1970 and 1980. Although men still prevail, women have made dramatic inroads into the administrative suites of academic libraries during the past decade. Such inroads have reduced sex segregation within librarianship. Like other female-intensive professions, librarianship has suffered from the malady known as "intraoccupational sex segregation" in which men dominate the pinnacle of a profession's institutions and women, the base. The reasons for this phenomenon are varied and complex and include factors such as female labor markets, demographic characteristics, and sex-role stereotyping of positions as well as professions.<sup>1</sup> The existence of sex discrimination in the library profession has been documented by numerous surveys which commonly cite gender-based differences by salary and by organizational placement.<sup>2</sup>

The changes in women's representation as administrators in academic research libraries did not occur by chance. In the early 1970s, the requirements of affirmative action demanded that women be given the job opportunities that previously had been denied. The compelling need to meet affirmative action guidelines effectively complemented two other patterns that had emerged among academic research libraries during the 1960s and 1970s: an increase in the number of administrative positions, which required a larger pool of administrative candidates, and the impact of participative management, which afforded women an opportunity to gain experience in reviewing management concerns and

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to become a visible force in recommending change. Certainly, the women's movement coupled with women's changing work roles also influenced female perceptions of career options.<sup>3</sup> Without affirmative action, however, these other variables may not have exhibited the rapid changes wrought by legal intervention.

The study reported here is based upon an analysis of selected factors which have militated against proportional representation of women as administrators of academic research libraries in North America, specifically those libraries in the Association of Research Libraries (ARL).<sup>4</sup> Multifarious explanations are offered for women's limited career options, ranging from achievement motivation to educational preparation. In this paper, emphasis will be placed on the following demographic and career variables: (1) family background and personal characteristics, (2) mobility and career history, (3) role models and mentors, and (4) professional activities.

### **Administrative Sex Ratios in ARL Libraries**

Although the library profession is sex-typed as female, executive leadership is commonly associated with males; consequently, even though female librarians outnumber males, women are not usually associated with the membership of library executive suites. The sex structuring of organizations prevails throughout library, higher education, and corporate administration.<sup>5</sup> Among academic libraries, the largest and most prestigious institutions are represented by their membership in ARL.

In 1976-77 ARL began collecting data on the sex composition of administrators in member institutions. Within this group of research libraries in the mid-1970s, men held 89 percent of the directorships.<sup>6</sup> At the associate and assistant director levels, men held 70 percent of all positions in ARL academic libraries, although women represented 62 percent of the professional population in these libraries.<sup>7</sup> By 1984, men held 80 percent of the directorships and 49 percent of the associate and assistant level positions.<sup>8</sup> Women have nearly doubled their representation within nine years. The changes in the proportions of female ARL administrators, however, are startling if examined against 1970 figures. At that time, seventy-eight academic libraries were in ARL and there were *no* women directors and 16 percent of the associate and assistant directors were women.<sup>9</sup>

The extraordinary and progressive increase in women administrators over the past thirteen years has coincided with the implementation

of affirmative action guidelines for higher education. Notwithstanding the effects of affirmative action, another factor conveniently complemented the recruitment of women administrators. From 1970 to 1980, the number of ARL administrative positions increased from about 270<sup>10</sup> to 395 positions,<sup>11</sup> an increase of nearly 50 percent. Consequently, given the number of administrators required during this period, university administrators and library directors involved in recruitment may have found it both convenient and necessary to expand the potential pool of applicants to include women.

By 1980 women had entered the administrative ranks of ARL libraries in numbers significant enough to merit study. Historically, men had dominated the executive pool; consequently most published studies had a male bias until recently.<sup>12</sup> The analysis reported here is based upon data gathered on ARL administrators in 1980.<sup>13</sup> At that time, among ninety-nine ARL libraries, 85 percent were directed by men. Among 90 associate directors, 72 percent were male; and among 191 assistant directors, 60 percent were male.<sup>14</sup> While men held 69 percent of all administrative posts,<sup>15</sup> women represented 62 percent of the professional population in ARL libraries.<sup>16</sup>

A survey was conducted in 1980 to gather demographic data and career profiles on academic library administrators. Respondents to the survey were distributed among the three administrative categories in proportions similar to the percentages previously reported: among 78 directors, 83 percent were male; among 64 associate directors, 75 percent were male; and among 155 assistant directors, 57 percent were male. The following discussion is based upon data received from 80 percent of all administrators in ARL libraries in 1980.

### **Family Background and Personal Characteristics**

How do factors such as family background, marital status, and educational training affect the careers of male and female librarians? Do women who achieve administrative positions have characteristics in common with their male colleagues, or do they exhibit differences that may contribute to their status as career women? Sex has tended to be a reliable predictor of which academic librarian would be most likely to become an administrator. Other factors beyond the control of an individual have also been associated with career achievement, including age, family size, and parental background. Remaining single and obtaining advanced educational credentials have been the options for women desiring career advancement. Affirmative action requirements,

the women's movement, and women's changing work roles have enlarged the options for women.

As the potential population of high-achievement women increases, there may be fewer exceptional or different characteristics associated with such women as compared with men. When considering the implications of the survey data on age, family background, marital status, and educational attainment, the reader should keep in mind the special circumstances of the 1970s which mandated that women's employment options be expanded and enhanced and that equity rather than personal bias occur in recruitment.

### *Age*

Among administrators studied in 1980, 44 percent were fifty years or older, but nearly half of the men were this age while only one-third of the women were in this age group.<sup>17</sup> The mean age of men was 48.9 and of women, 45.8. Given the significant age difference between the sexes, women appear to be entering administration at a younger age than men. This finding was in contrast to earlier studies of academic librarians which indicated that, in general, women have been older than their male colleagues.<sup>18</sup>

This age difference, however, may only be representative of academic librarians at the administrative level. Recent research has shown a trend toward women library administrators being younger than male administrators.<sup>19</sup> Among librarians in general, the COSWL (Committee on the Status of Women in Librarianship) profiles of ALA members revealed similar median ages for men (42) and women (40).<sup>20</sup> Among ARL administrators, the median age of men was 49 and of women, 43.5.

One recent study documented a higher mean age for female (58.5) than for male (52.2) administrators, but all participants were drawn from a group of college and university administrators who had held such positions in 1970.<sup>21</sup> In 1970, there were not concerted efforts to alter the sex ratio of administrative staffs prompted by affirmative action guidelines; consequently, women were more likely to exhibit the pattern of being older than men by the time they were promoted to executive levels. This age pattern has also been associated with women in higher education administration.<sup>22</sup>

### *Family Background*

The educational attainment and occupational status of the parents of male and female administrators exhibited a number of significant characteristics which reflected similarities to research on career women. Fathers of male administrators were more likely to have completed

elementary school (43 percent) than to have achieved any other educational level, while those of females were equally likely to have completed college degrees (43 percent). Women's fathers were twice as likely as men's to have college degrees, 43 percent and 22 percent, respectively. The significant differences in the educational attainment of men's and women's fathers were similar to those of their mothers. While 35 percent of the mothers of men had completed elementary school, 30.5 percent of the women's had college degrees.

Overall, the individuals in this study represented a background of relatively high educational achievement, with 39 percent of all administrators having fathers with some degree of college-level work—33 percent of men's fathers and 53 percent of women's. Of the mothers, 37 percent also had college-level work—33 percent of the men's mothers and 49 percent of the women's. Previous research has cited significant correlations between the educational levels of the mother and the career aspirations of the daughter.<sup>23</sup> The influence of the father's educational attainment was also apparent in this study, as both parents of women were significantly more likely than those of their male counterparts to have earned college degrees.

Men's fathers were more widely distributed among the following major occupational groups than were women's fathers: (1) professional, technical, and kindred workers; (2) managers and administrators, except farm; (3) sales, clerical, and kindred workers; (4) craft and kindred workers; (5) farm workers; and (6) the retired or unemployed. Among male administrators, 46 percent of their fathers were either professional workers or managers and administrators; and among females, 71 percent of their fathers were. While 42 percent of the fathers of men were working in occupations in the sales and craft groups, 41 percent of the fathers of women were working at the managerial or administrative level.

The occupational status of the mother did not exhibit the significant variations by sex that the father's status did. Although the mothers of female administrators were more likely to have worked outside the home than those of males, the differences were not exceptional. Among women, 66 percent of their mothers were homemakers and of the men, 74 percent. Notwithstanding the educational attainment of female administrators' mothers, women's mothers were almost as likely as men's to fulfill domestic work roles. Prior research has cited the importance of a working mother and the mother's educational level on women's career aspirations.<sup>24</sup>

Although the results of the study did not reinforce the importance of working mothers on women's occupational achievement, there were

significant influences based upon the father's occupational and educational status, and based upon the mother's educational status. These women ARL library administrators may reflect differences that relate to their being a combination of *pioneers* and *traditionals*—pioneers have represented those women in male-dominated professions; and traditionals, those engaged in all other career activities.<sup>25</sup> Although the library profession is female-intensive, the top managerial levels have been male-dominated; consequently, those women who achieve administrative careers may express a mix of background factors rather than merely falling in line with what have been the accepted attributes of pioneer women. This thesis would also be consistent with the historical trend that women who entered the library profession did not necessarily assume or expect to assume administrative positions. Thus, library women would be less likely to fit the model that links high achievement in a male-dominated arena to well-educated and career mothers.

With the entry of more educated women into professional and managerial careers, future studies could indicate a role model reversal in the direction of greater influence by the mother than appears to be evident in this study; however, the significance of educational attainments of women's mothers should still be considered a potent factor in the career achievement of the women administrators.

### *Marital Status*

For administrative aspirants, marital status may be perceived as a positive asset for men but a negative one for women. Of the men, 78 percent were married compared to 50 percent of the women. Even at the assistant director's level this pattern was sustained. Men were almost twice as likely as women to be married—79.5 percent and 47 percent respectively. There appears to be no trend toward more married women entering administrative careers in libraries. This group of women may conform to "evidence that working women are more likely to postpone marriage."<sup>26</sup> Previous research on academic librarians has consistently documented that women have been less likely than men to be married.<sup>27</sup> In the 1980 COSWL report on ALA members, 66 percent of the men and only 49 percent of the women were married.<sup>28</sup>

Female administrators appear to reflect the marital status of women librarians in general, while male administrators appear more likely to be married than their counterparts at large. In the future, more women executives may be married than previously. Such a trend has been reported in the literature on women executives in higher education and in corporate management.<sup>29</sup> Although the small number of female directors makes generalization difficult, this group exhibited a higher

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marital rate (61.5 percent) than assistant directors (47 percent). Only future studies will provide evidence whether librarians' marital status will parallel that of other women pursuing administrative careers.

### *Educational Achievement*

In discussing educational achievement data, analysis is limited to administrators' possession of graduate library and information science graduate subject degrees. Of all administrators, 94 percent had master's or equivalent degrees in library and information science. In general, these individuals received their library degrees from a wide distribution of schools throughout the United States and Canada, although the majority of the schools were located in the northeast and midwest states. In contrast to Parsons's<sup>30</sup> research in the 1970s—which showed that nearly 60 percent of ARL directors had received their library science master's degrees from four schools (Columbia University, the University of Chicago, University of Illinois, and University of Michigan)—this study found that only 40 percent of the directors had library degrees from four institutions (Columbia University, the University of Illinois, University of Michigan, and Simmons College). The influence of an educational network such as that described by Parsons may be diminishing, given the distribution of library schools represented by the 1980 study.

Of the ARL administrators, 42 percent possessed a master's degree in a subject field—i.e., 50 percent of the men and 24 percent of the women. Comparatively, among academic librarians in general, about 30 percent have a graduate degree in addition to their master's in library science.<sup>31</sup> Of this group, 65 percent had received degrees in the arts and humanities, with business (14 percent) and the social sciences (13 percent) representing the next most popular fields for advanced degrees. In most areas, the percentages by sex did not vary significantly, although women were more than twice as likely as men to have obtained master's degrees in business—24 percent and 11 percent, respectively. While the overall numbers of male administrators who received master's degrees other than in library science sharply declined in the 1970s to 13 percent, 46 percent of the women received subject master's degrees during that decade; consequently, there may be a trend toward women catching up with men in degrees received at this level.

Including both library and information science and subject doctorates, 22 percent of all ARL administrators studied in 1980 possessed these degrees—25 percent of the men and 16 percent of the women. Since previous studies have focused on the qualifications of directors only, analysis of this group is especially relevant. Of seventy-eight directors,

38.5 percent had doctorates (40 percent of the men and 31 percent of the women). In Parsons's research on 1973 ARL directors, 29 percent held doctorates, which marked a decline in directors having doctorates from a high of over 50 percent in 1958.<sup>32</sup>

The 40 percent figure in this study would appear to be consistent with the manner in which qualifications were being listed for university directorships from 1970 to 1979. In an analysis of job listings for this period, Olsgaard and Olsgaard found that a mean of 39.8 percent of the directorship notices either preferred or required doctoral degrees.<sup>33</sup> Only 12.7 percent of the notices preferred or required a second master's degree.<sup>34</sup> Given that doctoral degrees usually have been considered research degrees, it is interesting to speculate why librarians would be required to have such degrees for administrative positions rather than degrees in business and management. Historically, with men more likely than women to possess advanced graduate degrees, this qualification has tended to filter most women out of the applicant pool.

The requirement for doctorates has merely reflected the reality of the male character of academe. With the director, in many instances, functioning as the personification of the library to external constituencies (external to the library, including both faculty and other administrators), it is not surprising that qualifications associated with men would also be attached to directorships. Whether women will meet these qualifications in the future or whether the emphasis on doctorates for administrators will decline is difficult to predict. For example, at the assistant director's level, only 16 percent of the men and 14 percent of the women possessed doctorates. If this is the future pool for directors, then this group would have to work very hard in the next few years to secure doctorates in addition to fulfilling the rigorous demands of administering university libraries.

### **Mobility and Career History**

Work histories provide an opportunity to examine systematically how individuals have achieved positions of status in their chosen profession. In this study, "positions of status" have been defined as administrative posts in ARL libraries. Women have rarely attained such positions even in female-intensive professions and those women who do attain administrative rank are models for female achievement and for comparison with male achievement. The implications of affirmative action for higher education—especially in the promotion of women—have positively altered women's access to career ladders in academia.



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Historically, women have been locked in positions of high technical skills while men have had access to longer career ladders that have allowed them to permeate all hierarchical levels of an organization. This section will examine the career history of women to see if their career progression has been similar to men's. To do so, this section examines mobility patterns, as well as middle-management and administrative positions held.<sup>35</sup>

### *Mobility Patterns*

A common complaint against women's administrative career development is that they lack mobility and therefore cannot expect to achieve executive positions. Did female administrators perpetuate this stereotype? In this study, both male and female administrators had worked in an average of three library systems during their careers. This similarity in career mobility has been documented by research on male and female executives in academic libraries as well as among cross-sections of academic librarians.<sup>36</sup>

In general, the greater the mobility, the higher the likelihood of attaining administrative posts. However, recent studies have reported that even when men and women have experienced similar mobility patterns, men have benefited from their mobility while women have not.<sup>37</sup> In 1980, among ARL administrators the benefits of comparable mobility may have merely complemented the opportunities provided by affirmative action and the need for additional administrators in the 1970s.

### *Middle-Management Positions*

Although men and women averaged one to two positions in middle-management, women worked longer at this level than men, with means of 6.9 years for women and 5.4 for men. Women consistently have occupied about 60 percent of the middle-management positions since this information was first collected by ARL in 1976.<sup>38</sup> Although women held only 25 percent of the administrative posts in 1976, they had firmly established themselves as middle managers.<sup>39</sup>

Why so many women have remained in middle management relates to equitable access as well as to women's concept of what constitutes career advancement. Research on women executives has shown that women have not tended to make long-term career commitments and instead have made commitments "to current performance and to on-the-job competence."<sup>40</sup> Without visible evidence of equal access to executive positions, however, long-term commitments may not have

represented viable alternatives to most female academic librarians until the 1970s.

### *Administrative Positions*

Data gathered on administrative positions includes an analysis of previous administrative positions (see the section "Administrative Sex Ratios in ARL Libraries" for posts held in 1980) and of the total number of posts and years in administration. Previous administrative positions were put in the following categories: director; associate and assistant directors; administrative staff positions; and other positions in nonacademic institutions—e.g., OCLC, Inc.; the public school system; and libraries such as special, public, and governmental libraries.

Men were significantly more likely than women to have entered their present positions with prior administrative experience (73 percent) while 52 percent of the women previously had not held such posts. Previous directorships were also held by more men than women. A study of appointees to directorships in four-year colleges and universities from 1977 to 1979 showed a pattern of 70 percent of male directors having held prior administrative positions.<sup>41</sup>

To determine external and internal recruitment patterns on an institutional- and ARL-membership basis, information was gathered on the types of previous institutions worked in and on employment in ARL and non-ARL libraries. Among these administrators in 1980, 82 percent had been employed in ARL institutions including or prior to their present positions—i.e., 81 percent of the men and 84 percent of the women. Only 12 percent of ARL directors had come from non-ARL libraries, with the remaining 6 percent recruited from special, public, and governmental libraries and commercial or educational enterprises. Recruitment outside ARL membership was minimal.

Although there were only minor differences in the types of previous institutions in which men and women had worked, their internal and external recruitment patterns were significantly different. Among all administrators, 49 percent had been hired internally for their present posts in 1980—45 percent of the men and 59 percent of the women. In addition, women were significantly more likely than men to have held all their administrative positions in ARL libraries—78 percent and 65 percent, respectively. In Metz's study of a group of academic libraries considerably smaller than most ARL libraries, 54 percent of the women and only 18 percent of the men had been internally recruited for directorships.<sup>42</sup> Metz observed that being an internal successor and a woman did not constitute a particularly positive combination for assuming a directorship (70 percent of his directors were male).<sup>43</sup>

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When women have achieved leadership positions in institutions, career paths usually have originated internally. This pattern has also been documented among women who have been college presidents, administrators in a sample of four-year colleges and universities, and corporate executives.<sup>44</sup> Although there has been a substantial increase in filling higher education administrative vacancies through external recruitment in the 1970s,<sup>45</sup> women still have faced a pattern of internal appointment.

In research on successor type and organizational change in the corporate sector, internal successors exhibited less interest in organizational change than those recruited externally. External successors were identified as having a "tremendous impact" on "organizational innovation and change."<sup>46</sup> Given the fact that women have not been expected to perform managerial roles as competently as men and that their sex per se has been perceived as unacceptable or threatening, it is not surprising that they have been recruited when they are familiar organizational members. If organizational disruption is to occur, then men seem to represent less threatening harbingers of change than an unknown woman recruited from without.

With increasing numbers of women assuming administrative positions, empirical data has been gathered to dispel many of the myths which have been associated with women as managers.<sup>47</sup> The key element in the mythology of working with women has been having the actual experience. Whether women have been admitted internally or externally, once they have arrived, they have performed similarly to or without significant differences than men.<sup>48</sup> As women in academic libraries create a critical mass in executive suites—thereby voiding their status as anomalies—organizations should become as accessible to them externally as they have been internally.

As men in this study have worked for more mean years (13.3) in administration than women (6.4), it is not surprising that they have also held more administrative posts. Almost twice as many of the men (43 percent) and 22 percent of the women have held three or more administrative positions. While 67 percent of the men worked ten years or longer in administration, 80 percent of the women worked from one to nine years. Men averaged more than two positions, and women, fewer than two. In the future, if women continue to increase their representation among administrators, these differences should diminish.

## Role Models and Mentors

What do role models and mentors have in common? According to a recent *Harvard Business Review* article, the "dearth of internal role models for women" reinforces the importance of mentorship for them in organizations.<sup>49</sup> Mentors can enhance an individual's occupational vision as well as options. Where women primarily have had access to traditional models of female achievement, their occupational vision has tended to be myopic. O'Leary provided the following explanation of the significance of role models: "The essential quality of the role model is that he (or she) possesses skills and displays techniques which the actor lacks (or thinks she lacks) and from which, by observation and comparison with his or her own performance, the actor can learn. Hence, in order for achievement to occur, the actor needs a role model to emulate."<sup>50</sup> O'Leary further contends that the absence of same-sex managerial role models for women was a barrier to their occupational aspirations.<sup>51</sup>

Same-sex role models have not existed for women and the utility of mentors may be even more critical for them than for men. Although men who succeed often do so with the support of mentors, several studies have shown that women who achieve executive careers may be even more likely to have had mentors than men.<sup>52</sup> While role models may range from parents to occupational superstars, mentors usually represent a "higher-level manager" who advises, supports, provides organizational contacts, and informally trains an individual aspiring to a management position.<sup>53</sup> Direct or personal access to a role model is not necessary; however, the relationship with a mentor may be paternalistic to the extent that father-son relationships often preclude women's access to mentoring relationships commonly assumed by male mentors for male protégés.<sup>54</sup>

Emphasis on same-sex role models has also been related to the fact that women, more commonly than men, have had to face career and family conflicts.<sup>55</sup> For women to achieve in traditionally male managerial careers, they need same-sex role models and mentors who have managed to handle family as well as career demands.

### *Role Models*

Role models are defined as one or more individuals who occupy positions in the family, educational setting, workplace, or peer group who serve to guide and/or influence by example another person's personal, educational, or career aspirations. In this study, role models include parents, spouses, and same-sex predecessors of positions held in

1980. As noted in the "Family Background" section, women were significantly more likely than men to have had fathers who provided managerial role models and to have had mothers who provided educational role models for college-level achievement. When mothers do not work outside the home, the fathers' occupations may provide the dominant career model for achievement among women.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, women in this study were more likely than men to have had spouses who were in managerial and professional occupational groups—96 percent and 54 percent, respectively.

Rather than focusing on the possible influence of one role model or of one type of role model, recent research has stressed that: "It is important to think of role models in the plural, of multiple role models illustrating ranges of options and solutions available to women professionals."<sup>57</sup> In this study, women's fathers and spouses provided strong occupational role models and their mothers provided exceptionally strong models for college achievement.

If the hypothesis is accepted that women do need same-sex managerial role models, did the women in this study exhibit a tendency to hold positions which had been previously occupied by women more than men? Such a tendency must be considered in light of the paucity of female managerial role models in academic library administration. Those same-sex role models which have existed for women have been concentrated at the middle-management level in most libraries. Given the male domination of the executive suite, it was to be expected that both men and women had male predecessors in their positions—57 percent and 50 percent, respectively. However, women were more than twice as likely as men to have had female predecessors—27 percent and 12 percent, respectively. Men also were more likely than women to have occupied positions which had been reclassified or which did not previously exist and for which there was no immediate predecessor—31 percent and 23 percent, respectively.

Thus, when female administrators were allowed to enter executive suites, they often conformed to the following model: they were usually recruited internally; they frequently held positions that had been previously occupied by women; and they were more likely than men to enter well-established posts in the library. The unknown female entity was handled in as low-risk a manner as was possible. Notwithstanding the pressures of affirmative action, these sex-role innovators had to conform to a number of recruitment limitations that did not seem to affect male careers.

The pattern of same-sex predecessors for women administrators seems to be continuing. For women who entered administration at the

assistant director's level, they were significantly more likely than men to be filling positions previously occupied by women than by men. While 38 percent of both men and women had had male predecessors, 13 percent of the men and 32 percent of the women had had female predecessors. Among the male administrators, 49 percent entered positions that had been reclassified or that did not previously exist, while only 20 percent of the women entered posts without an immediate predecessor. At the assistant director's level, a significant number of women had been female managerial role models.

A combination of factors may have been contributing to this pattern. First, when women have seen other women succeeding in certain types of positions, they may have been more likely to visualize themselves in similar roles than when their sole exposure has been to men performing such roles. Second, as women have succeeded administratively, they have shown that it is both possible for women to be administrators per se and to be competent administrators. While it has been assumed that men could perform administrative functions, women have not been allowed either the luxury of attempting these functions except by the duress of affirmative action. So few women had occupied administrative posts to the middle of the 1970s that whether or not women could succeed was a moot point—there was very little evidence pro or con.

### *Mentors*

Mentors include individuals in managerial positions who advise and support those aspiring to managerial careers or those wishing to advance an administrative career that already has been initiated. For this discussion, mentors will be limited to those individuals who influenced a person's decision to enter a career in library administration.<sup>58</sup> Among all administrators, 43 percent had identified library administrators as influencing this decision—39 percent of the men and 50.5 percent of the women—however, these differences were not statistically significant. Other individuals who were likely to provide such support were spouses and library school professors. Generally, spouses were more likely to influence women's decisions and library school professors tended to influence the men. Astin's research on career-oriented women supported the hypothesis that such women "appear to have been supported or encouraged by a significant man—for example, father, brother, boyfriend, or teacher..."<sup>59</sup> While the survey findings do not necessarily reinforce only women's requirements for mentoring, they do reflect the general importance of this concept for career development—a perspec-

tive echoed by the evidence of the significance of mentoring in numerous studies.<sup>60</sup>

Mentoring also has been associated with the Academic Library Management Intern Program, established by the Council on Library Resources in 1973.<sup>61</sup> This program has allowed over thirty librarians an opportunity to work closely for an academic year with an ARL director and his or her top executive staff in order to develop administrative skills and expertise. Of this group, about 63 percent have been women, and among all participants, about 43 percent have become library administrators.<sup>62</sup> Not only have these individuals been offered valuable mentoring relationships but they have also advanced in the world of professional networking.

Another program which has positive implications for women for management is the Career Development and Assessment Center for Librarians (CDACL) established in 1979 and cosponsored by the University of Washington School of Librarianship and the Washington State Library.<sup>63</sup> Originally initiated for women, CDACL was expanded during its third year to include male librarians. Like the CLR program, the CDACL project has provided women with unique opportunities to develop their career potential—particularly their administrative skills. When individuals come together in such programs, they begin to form their own networks among upwardly aspiring colleagues as well as infiltrating networks that have potential mentors. Several valuable guides have been prepared for women desiring to use mentoring and networking, and the most useful to date for academic women is the report prepared by the Project on the Status and Education of Women of the Association of American Colleges.<sup>64</sup>

### **Career Achievement**

When women have excelled in their careers, has such achievement been complemented by similar excellence in their professional activities? Although women have an early record of participation in the American Library Association (ALA), their involvement has tended to be in less prestigious positions than those occupied by men.<sup>65</sup> The 1980 COSWL study documented the persistence of this pattern. Among ALA members, twice as many men as women have been elected or appointed to offices or committee chairs.<sup>66</sup> Complementing their record of higher organizational involvement, men also have maintained consistently higher publication rates than women.<sup>67</sup> Whether men and women at similar career levels also will exhibit similar patterns of professional activity and publication levels will be addressed in this section.

*Professional Activities*

Professional activities include offices and appointments in library and other professional and scholarly associations at the national, state, and regional levels. Four categories of activities were measured for association affiliations: (1) elected offices, (2) appointments to positions, (3) committee memberships, and (4) program or session chairmanships. A majority of administrators had not held elected offices in national associations—61 percent, including 63 percent of the men and 56 percent of the women. Of the administrators, 65 percent had not had national association appointments—63 percent of the men and 70 percent of the women. Committee involvement represented higher levels of commitment than offices or appointments with 65 percent of the men and 62 percent of the women reporting such memberships. A majority of administrators—57 percent—had not chaired programs or sessions held at national association meetings. Of the men, 44 percent had chaired one or more programs, and of the women, 40 percent.

None of these differences were statistically significant. Comparatively, this group of female administrators have far more in common with their male colleagues than with women at large in ALA. In the COSWL study, 68 percent of the men and 85 percent of the women had not been elected or appointed to a national position.<sup>68</sup>

State or regional association activities also reflected no statistical differences by sex. Among administrators, 49 percent had held one or more elected offices in state or regional associations with nearly identical percentages of men and women represented. A majority of administrators—65 percent—had not held appointed positions in state associations. Of the men, 39 percent had held one or more appointed positions and of the women, 27 percent.

Although there was a marked difference by sex in appointments it was not statistically significant. Among these administrators, 55 percent had served on committees in state associations. Both sexes averaged service on about four committees. These administrators' state- or regional-level professional activities were more similar to the COSWL results than were the administrators' national-level professional activities. Among ALA members, 55 percent of the men and 39 percent of the women indicated that they had been elected or appointed to state or regional positions.<sup>69</sup> State or regional committee memberships tended to be held by more of the ALA/COSWL population than by those in this study. For example, committee memberships were held by 57 percent of the male and 52 percent of the female administrators and the figures, respectively, for ALA members were 72 percent and 61 percent.<sup>70</sup>



## *Academic Library Administrators*

A majority (51 percent) of all administrators had chaired programs in state or regional associations—49.5 percent of the men and 54 percent of the women. On the average, they chaired from two to three programs, which was similar to their activity in this category on the national level. None of these levels of state or regional association participation by sex were statistically significant.

In addition to the activities systematically recorded by this group, a number of administrators indicated that professional associations were not the only type of organization demanding and receiving their attention—e.g., they also mentioned committee chairs and appointments in regional or national library networks, in international organizations, and in national and municipal councils.

### *Publications*

For the purposes of the study, *publications* were defined as authorship of books, articles, and book reviews. Among all administrators, 14.5 percent had published one or more books from 1975 to 1980—i.e., 17.5 percent of the men and 7 percent of the women. (The mean number of books published by sex was not statistically significant.) Comparatively, 17 percent of the men and five percent of the women in the ALA sample population had published books—figures which are surprisingly similar to those for ARL administrators.<sup>71</sup> A majority of administrators had published one or more articles from 1975 to 1980—57.5 percent of the men and 44 percent of the women. Based upon the mean number published by sex, men ( $\bar{x} = 1.04$ ) were significantly more likely than women ( $\bar{x} = 0.67$ ) to have published articles.

Compared with the COSWL findings, this group of male administrators have published about as often as their colleagues in the ALA sample population—57.5 percent and 52.5 percent,<sup>72</sup> respectively. However, female administrators were considerably more likely to have published papers than women in the ALA sample—44 percent and 25 percent,<sup>73</sup> respectively. Approximately one-third of all administrators have published book reviews but men were significantly more likely than women to have engaged in this activity—39 percent and 24 percent, respectively. Similar percentages of men and women in the COSWL study had also published book reviews—36 percent and 19 percent, respectively.<sup>74</sup>

Although significant differences were found in the publication rates of articles and book reviews by sex, none of the other areas of publication activity studied exhibited such differences—e.g., books, book chapters, and book and periodical editorships.<sup>75</sup> Overall this group revealed considerably greater publication rates than academic

librarians in general. Among a sample of ACRL (Association of College and Research Libraries) librarians, 44 percent of the male and 27 percent of the female librarians had published one or more articles since the beginning of their careers.<sup>76</sup> In the 1980 ARL study, 57.5 percent of men and 44 percent of women had published periodical articles in a five-year period. The comparative figures cited here indicate that as women assume roles primarily associated with men in academic libraries, women also exhibit other characteristics such as involvement in association and publishing activities to a similar degree as their male colleagues.

### Summary

The women who assumed administrative positions in ARL libraries during the 1970s were pioneers in a female-intensive profession. Affirmative action opened the doors to male-dominated executive suites and women entered. These were not the older women who finally made it because they had been around long enough to prove themselves, to have been acting directors, and to show that they would not fall apart under administrative pressures. These women were not overachievers who spent day and night amassing degrees, association offices, and publications. These women did not have to work in *more* libraries than men to prove their mobility, merely the same number. They were exceptional, not so much because of their differences but because they could display many of the same characteristics as their male colleagues and still succeed.

Research, as reflected by this study, provides men and women with information about the preparation required for administrative careers as well as the changing picture of such requirements over time. Although some demographic characteristics are beyond the control of the individual (e.g., educational and occupational backgrounds of parents), women should still realize that there appear to be career and family tradeoffs that they may need to make that may not be necessary for their male colleagues. When these women embarked upon careers, they were significantly more likely than men to have done so without a spouse or family support system. Their family backgrounds, however, revealed a strong pattern of managerial role models among women's fathers and of educational achievement among women's mothers. In addition, these women had spouses with professional careers which either might imply that, as achievement-oriented women, they were likely to marry men with similar career ambitions, or that women who are career-oriented may find it helpful to have spouses who empathize

with their career interests. Certainly marital status can be controlled by the individual. For women making career decisions regarding executive positions, the prognosis is rather discouraging for combining family and career lives. With the trend toward fewer children and two-career couples, however, future studies may reveal a more propitious pattern for women who seek to combine family and career roles.

Among the characteristics that have implications for women and men aspiring to administrative careers were educational preparation and publications. Confirming previous research in librarianship, these men were significantly more likely than women to have subject master's in addition to their library degrees. Additional master's degrees continue to be a plus for individuals seeking administrative careers.<sup>77</sup> Academic credentials and publication activities are generally recognized as highly desirable accouterments of success in higher education. Men possessed such characteristics to a greater degree than did women. In particular, publishing affords substantial opportunities to become known among one's colleagues and to demonstrate affinity for research endeavors.

The majority of both sexes had contributed to the academic world of publish or perish; however, this study did not prove that one must publish to be an administrator—only that it represents one approach to career enhancement and visibility. Such enhancement was also apparent in the equally aggressive record of male and female participation in professional associations. Collegial networks are a natural component of association life as well as of career development and should not be overlooked by aspiring library managers.

If the trends of the 1970s continue through the 1980s, then intraoccupational sex segregation within librarianship should diminish. During any given year, however, only a limited number of positions become available, and even if each were filled by a qualified woman, another decade might pass before equity is achieved. Filling positions merely to achieve equity would not necessarily be a desirable solution to women's proportional representation among administrators. Ultimately, the real objective is to identify the most competent and well-qualified individual within the pool of candidates for each position. The women are in the labor pool.

Women need to be alerted to the fact that they too have an obligation to become part of the applicant pool for administrative openings in academic research libraries if equity is to be achieved. Surely a group in which women represent 64 percent of the population should include substantial numbers of aspiring women administrators. Being female

should no longer be perceived as an insurmountable barrier to ARL executive suites.

*Editor's Note:* This article is based upon the author's book: *Sex Segregation in Librarianship. Demographic and Career Patterns of Academic Library Administrators*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985.

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