2019

From Women-Staffed to Women-Led: Gender and Leadership in Academic Libraries, 1974-2018.

Marta Bladek
CUNY John Jay College

From Women-Staffed to Women-Led: Gender and Leadership in Academic Libraries, 1974-2018

Marta Bladek

The Lloyd Sealy Library
John Jay College of Criminal Justice, the City University of New York
New York, NY

ABSTRACT: This article reviews post-1974 scholarly literature on women's leadership in academic libraries, with the emphasis on the United States. The purpose of this synthesis is to highlight research areas and themes that have significantly expanded the profession's knowledge about gender and its impact at the top administrative level. The article starts with a brief overview of theories of gender and leadership before tracing scholarship on the gendered career patterns singled out in Schiller's work (1974). The article then focuses on additional issues related to gender and library administration, including leadership styles, perceptions of differences between male and female leaders, and the lack of diversity among academic library women directors.

KEYWORDS: gender, women in academic libraries, library administration, leadership, literature review

Introduction

When Anita R. Schiller's groundbreaking study "Women in librarianship" was published forty five years ago in 1974, in the midst of the women's movement and in the aftermath of key federal laws and regulations prohibiting discrimination based on sex, it was the first-ever systematic review of gender parity in American librarianship (Moran, Leonard, & Zellers, 2009). In many of the earlier sources she was consulting, Schiller was able to find some information about the status of women in the profession, but she observed that "the subject is rarely the primary focus of investigation" (1974, p. 104). To correct the trend of overlooking women's

centrality in librarianship-- where they have long been the great majority--Schiller made gender the main focus of her seminal study.

Not surprisingly, after analyzing data from national surveys from the previous twenty five years, Schiller (1974) found that librarianship was no different from other professions: women were paid significantly less than men, who also occupied the higher--and better paid-- positions. The inequality existed across all types of libraries, including academic libraries, even when women's and men's educational and professional experience were the same. The gender disparity was present at all career stages, beginning with the first job offer and continuing at the director level. Schiller (1974) identified several persistent patterns that reflected and perpetuated women's low professional status. Female underrepresentation, or the disproportionate number of men in top decision- and policymaking positions; "the stratification of the position hierarchy by sex," or the tendency of men to dominate jobs with high prestige and rank; and "dual career structure," or the deeply gendered paths of advancement, all resulted in female librarians' faring worse professionally than their male counterparts (Schiller, 1974, pp. 112-115). As Schiller (1974) summed up her findings, "The higher the status of a library field, the less likely that women occupy important administrative jobs in it" (116).

In the decades since Schiller's (1974) pioneering study appeared, the profession has grappled with the legacy of the gender inequality she so powerfully illuminated. Schiller's (1974) survey "has become a benchmark against which to measure women's progress" (Maack, 2002, p. 244). Many subsequent studies focused on the status of women in librarianship. As societal gender norms have been shifting so has women's position within the profession. Within this body of research, the expansive post-1974 literature on female leaders in academic libraries in particular registers the remarkable shift in women's career aspirations and achievement.

Academic librarianship, after all, has long been "the sector of the profession that has traditionally employed the lowest percentage of women." (Moran, Leonard, & Zellers, 2009, p.216). In 1970, there was not a single woman heading an ARL library (DeLong, 2013). According to the most 2015-16 ARL Salary Survey, 64 out of 109 ARL directors are women, and among the ranks of associate and assistant directors women outnumber men 401 to 223 (Association of Research Libraries, 2018, p. 7). Striking as this change is, a review of academic studies addressing issues of gender in academic libraries leadership reveals nuances in the impressive strides women have made. Even as researchers have been assessing the progress achieved, they also document the continuing setbacks and discover new and emerging challenges that female librarians face.

This article reviews post-1974 scholarly literature on women's leadership in academic libraries, with the emphasis on the United States. Gender was only briefly mentioned in Weiner's (2003) overview of trends in academic library leadership; two recent reviews of library leadership literature (Stewart 2017; Wong, 2017) do not address gender at all. The purpose of this synthesis, then, is to highlight research areas and themes that have significantly expanded the profession's knowledge about gender and its impact at the top administrative level. Comprehensive in scope, it is based on published research studies, academic articles, and literature reviews in the LIS scholarship. Citations were identified by searching Education Source, Emerald Insights, ERIC, Google Scholar, Library and Information Science Abstracts, Library and Information Science Source, Professional Development Collection, and WorldCat databases for sources published between 1974 and 2018. Scholarly books and theoretical models from library history, gender and leadership studies, as well as sociology, are also included in order to contextualize the literature reviewed. Omitted are editorials and letters to the editors, conference proceedings, dissertations, and trade publications. The article starts with a brief

overview of theories of gender and leadership before tracing scholarship on the gendered career patterns singled out in Schiller's work (1974). The article then focuses on additional issues related to gender and library administration, including leadership styles, perceptions of differences between male and female leaders, and the lack of diversity among academic library women directors.

Career and Leadership: Gender Matters

Ayman and Korabik's (2010) review of major models and theories of leadership shows that "gender and culture do make a difference" (p. 157). Neither gender neutral nor universal, leadership and perceptions of its effectiveness are instead "a direct function of either gender or culture" (Ayman & Korabik, 2010, p. 157). As a marker of status, privilege, and expectations about behavior, gender is integral to leadership; Ayman and Korabik (2010) detail the many factors that shape leadership both as a concept and as a role within an organization: "gender-role socialization; gender-role beliefs, attitudes, and expectations; gender stereotypes; gender-based status differentials; group gender composition; and the gendered nature of tasks" (160). Consequently, men and women do not occupy leadership positions in equal numbers. Kark and Eagly (2010) write that "women have less access to leadership, especially to roles that confer high levels of power and authority" (p. 443). Organizational research identifies three key reasons that make it more challenging for women than men to enter leadership ranks. Women's greater domestic and caretaking responsibilities negatively impact their employment outside the home; work-life balancing also limits and/or slows women's career advancement (Kark & Eagly, 2010). Longstanding leadership models that "are strongly infused with cultural masculinity" and value ambition, confidence, dominance, and other agentic qualities usually ascribed to men further reinforce prejudice and bias against women as leaders (Kark & Eagly, 2010, p. 448). No less

important are structural and cultural barriers within organizations, including "traditions that fit men's lifestyles and preferences," expectations of availability to work long hours, as well as willingness to prioritize career over personal life (Kark & Eagly, 2010, p. 452).

Leadership, then, cannot be adequately studied and understood without accounting for gender. Within leadership research that explores the role of gender, there are three distinct perspectives: intrapsychic, social structural, and interpersonal (Ayman & Korabik, 2010). The intrapsychic approach focuses on how the internal gender-role characteristics of the leader, including gender identity, attitudes and values acquired through gender socialization, as well as gendered traits such as "instrumentality/masculinity/agency and expressivity/femininity/communion" influence the leader's "style, behavior, and outcomes" (Ayman & Korabik, 2010, p. 159). The social structural lens, in turn, explores the differences between men and women leaders, as well as the leader gender's impact on how others perceive and evaluate them (Ayman & Korabik, 2010, p. 159). In the interpersonal interaction approach, the main focus is placed on leaders' workplace relations; this perspective recognizes that "men and women leaders will have different types of social interactions with their men and women supervisors, peers, and subordinates, and these interactions will influence the outcomes experienced by each party" (Ayman & Korabik, 2010, p. 160). Given the complex dynamics between gender and leadership, an integrative approach that combines these three perspectives, Ayman and Korabik (2010) suggest, would most effectively capture the gendered aspect of leadership.

As the following literature review will show, the scholarship on gender in academic library leadership spans across all the perspectives Ayman and Korabik (2010) have identified. Taken together, the post-1974 studies illuminate the ways in which the profession has both

perpetuated and overcome the gendered imbalance at the top administrative level in academic libraries.

Librarianship: A Woman's Profession

Librarianship, together with teaching, nursing, and social work, is a traditionally female profession in which women predominate but are underrepresented in top positions (Williams, 1995). The exploration of gender and leadership in academic libraries, then, must engage the organizational patterns that have long upheld the "stratification of the position hierarchy by sex," as Schiller (1974) referred to the disproportionate numbers of male librarians in top administrative jobs (p. 114). A brief history of gender segregation within the profession highlights the trends that established men's and women's disparate roles in libraries.

As was true about teaching and nursing, it was not unusual for men to work in libraries prior to the American Civil War (Williams, 1995). In the War's aftermath, however, men began to be drawn away to other professions; farming and mining, for example, were seen as more attractive ways to make a living (Williams, 1995, p. 30). As men were leaving, white middle-class women--whose employment options were otherwise limited-- were increasingly seen as their desirable replacements. Furthermore, the concurrent emergence of the "research movement" that transformed American universities and their libraries, as well as the development of public libraries, increased the numbers of libraries and thus created a demand for new librarians (Dickinson, 2002; Biggs, 1982). As Christine Williams (1995) points out, "Teaching, nursing, social work, and librarianship were all tied to institutions that were funded by private donations or government support" (31). Women's salaries were much lower than men's, and so relying on the female labor force meant that labor costs for these profession could remain low (Williams, 1995). The ensuing feminization of librarianship was swift. When the

American Library Association was founded in 1876 by 90 men and 13 women, most librarians were men (Biggs, 1982). By 1910, however, librarianship had already become a predominantly female profession (Schiller, 1974). In 1920, women made up 90 percent of all librarians (Biggs, 1982). The 1920s were a decade when women were well represented among top library administrators, but the numbers of women library directors "diminished dramatically in the ensuing decades" (Hildenbrand, 1985, p. 191). Significantly, just as women were becoming the great majority within librarianship, "the principle of of unequal reward for equal work was put into practice almost universally," and women's salaries "ranged from less than one half to about two-thirds that of men in comparable positions" (Biggs, 1982, p. 413). While the Great Depression did not much affect the gender composition of librarianship (Williams, 1995), after World War II the profession became newly attractive to married women with children (Hildenbrand ,2000). The flexibility of the part-time jobs libraries offered, coupled with the federal support for the expansion of libraries, meant that, once again, large numbers of women were joining the profession (Hildenbrand, 2000). At the same time, there were calls to recruit men to the higher prestige administrative positions (Hildenbrand, 2000). This trend continued in the 1960s and resulted in a "dual career" pattern characterized by women occupying lower-level positions and receiving lower pay than men (Hildenbrand, 2000, p. 52). As the salaries in librarianship were low to begin with, the concerns over low pay grew and the status of the profession has suffered (Hildenbrand, 2000). Increasingly, men were choosing not to become librarians; women, on the other hand, were flocking in. In the late 1960s and 1970s, debates about the low status of the profession continued and "masculinization, especially at the top" was seen as an effective strategy to raise the status of the profession (Hildenbrand, 2000, p. 54). It must be noted that Schiller's study (1974), which frames this literature review, marks a turning

point in this conversation. Instead of advocating for the recruitment of male librarians as a way to raise salaries in the profession overall--and thus lift the career status of women librarians--Schiller (1974) sees the new decade as a watershed moment with the potential to transform women's role in librarianship.

Anti-discrimination Policies and Their Impact

Indeed, Schiller (1974) was prescient in envisioning women's rise within the leadership ranks of the profession. The introduction of federal laws and regulations prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex allowed women librarians to begin to gain a foothold at the top (DeLong, 2013; Deyrup, 2004). A number of studies looked at the impact of the groundbreaking legislation to assess the progress women have made (Moran, 1985; Moran, Leonard, & Zellers, 2009) or identify the persistent inequalities, most notably the lack of diversity among women directors (Epps 2008; Hollis 1999; Simpson Darden & Turock, 2005). After describing in more detail the policies that resulted in more women advancing to academic library leadership roles, this section of the article moves on to review shifts in women's representation among academic library directors since the mid-1970s, including the unremedied racial imbalance among leaders.

Title VII, Title IX, Equal Pay and Affirmative Action

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Title IX of the Educational Amendment of 1972, coupled with concurrent anti-discrimination laws and regulations, had a great impact on women's careers in academic librarianship (Moran, 1985). Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was a federal law that prohibited employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex and national origin (U.S. Equal Opportunity Commision, n.d.). It originally applied to federal, state, and local governmental agencies with more than 15 employees, but the 1972 Equal Opportunity Act amendment extended it to cover educational institutions, private and

public alike (American Association of University Women, n.d., *Know your rights*). Hiring and promotion practices in academic libraries, then, were directly affected by the 1972 amendment. Another landmark law, Title IX of the Educational Amendment of 1972, the first comprehensive federal law prohibiting discrimination based on sex in education (American Association of University Women, n.d., *AAUW issues: Title IX*). The law applied to educational programs and activities receiving government funding; it also applied to employment at these institutions (U.S. Department of Education, 2015). Once put in practice, Title IX "made it possible for women who worked within academic librarianship to be promoted and gain leadership status" (Deyrup, 2004, p. 244). Importantly, the Educational Amendment of 1972 also extended the Equal Pay Act of 1963, to cover executive, administrative, and professional employees, thus including academic librarians (Moran, 1985; Moran, Leonard, & Zellers, 2009). The suite of anti-bias legislations was complemented by Affirmative Action. Aiming to redress effects of past discrimination, including sex and race, it was first articulated in the Executive Order 11246 of 1965 and amended by the Executive Order 11375 in 1968. The law applied to higher education and thus covered academic libraries (Moran, 1985; Moran, Leonard, & Zellers, 2009). Given these laws' transformational potential, it follows that researchers examining gender and academic library leadership have diligently traced their impact on women's professional advancement. Indeed, as the overview below shows, these anti-discriminatory laws and regulations and paved the way for female leaders in the coming decades.

Women's Representation in Library Leadership

When Moran (1985) set out to investigate the impact of the recent anti-discrimination policies on academic libraries, she noted that "few objective studies have been made to assess the effectiveness of affirmative action law" to date (p. 203). To assess whether or not women

librarians have benefited from these regulations, Moran (1985) compared *The American Library Directory* data from 1972, the year the Educational Amendment was passed, to data from 1982, a decade later, to see if more women entered top administrative ranks of director, associate or assistant director, or department head. Moran (1985) relied on data from ARL libraries and non-ARL libraries classified by the Canergie Foundation as Research I and II, Doctoral Granting I and II, as well Liberal Arts I. Some progress has been made as the number of women in leadership positions increased in all types of the libraries Moran (1985) studied. In 1972, only two women headed ARL libraries and the 87 remaining directors were men; a decade later, 12 ARL library leaders were women and 77 were men (Moran, 1985). In the Research I or II and Doctoral Granting I or II libraries, there were 5 women and 85 men directors in 1972, whereas in 1982 the number of women leaders increased to 16 (Moran, 1985). As a category, Liberal Arts I libraries had the largest number of women directors (38) in 1972, as compared to 74 men; but by 1982 little had changed and women were directing 44 out of the 112 libraries within the group. With the gains noted, Moran (1985) pointed out the continuing gender imbalance at the top: only 13.5% ARL, 17.6% of Research I or II and Doctoral Granting I or II libraries, and 38.9% of Liberal Arts I were led by women. Even when accounting for the significant increase in the number of women at mid-level management in ARL libraries, Moran (1985) voiced concern about the persistent underrepresentation at the top and the resulting lack of gender parity.

If the first decade after the passage of anti-discrimination laws saw limited change in leadership, in the ensuing years a great shift did take place. For one, the literature had convincingly established that gender bias in academic library leadership was a persistent and urgent issue that needed to be addressed. The implementation of anti-discrimination policies, in turn, did pave the way for women who sought advancement. In 1994, women led 39.4% of ARL

libraries, and 51.2% of associate and assistant ARL directors were also women; whereas 40.2% of Canergie Liberal Arts I libraries were directed by women, at 71.6%, the percentage of female assistant and associate directors was even higher (Moran, Leonard, & Zellers, 2009, p. 223). Taking note of women librarians' rise to the top administration, Fischer (1997) challenged "'the common knowledge' of male dominance in the managerial ranks" and critiqued, rightly so, the overreliance on data from the most prestigious libraries to assess gender parity within academic librarianship overall (p. 234). Fisher's (1997) own methodology, however, had its shortcomings as well. In addition to looking at data from public and special libraries, he used the 1993-94 *American Library Directory* to obtain personal information about academic library directors, while excluding associate and assistant directors, both of whom were generally included in previous studies. Consequently, Fischer's (1997) conclusions were not easily comparable to results from earlier studies. While Fischer (1997) showed that women leaders outnumbered men in the majority of the libraries he examined, his findings about the most prestigious, academic libraries confirmed the persistence of the very gender imbalance he sought to invalidate. Within the group of large and medium-large libraries, Fischer (1997) had to concede, men held a significantly greater share of directorships than women did.

By the time Deyrup (2004) analyzed gender and pay statistics of academic library directors, however, there was no doubt that women had become the majority at the top administrative level. Whereas in ARL libraries, 52.1% of directors were women, 57% of all college and university libraries were managed by women (Deyrup, 2004). Moreover, after a long history of pay inequality, ARL female directors were sometimes outearning their male counterparts, and women directors' salaries overall were just 8% lower than men's (Deyrup, 2004). The new prominence of women within academic librarianship was unparalleled. As

Deyrup notes, "Women library directors also have surpassed most female faculty and administrators in higher education community in the percentage of leadership positions they occupy and at the uppermost level in terms of economic parity with their male colleagues" (p. 244). Gender, economic and professional parity in academic library leadership, Deyrup (2004) concludes, has been achieved.

Moran, Leonard, and Zellers (2009) challenged Deyrup's (2004) declaration that gender equality within academic libraries has been achieved. In a follow-up to Moran's 1985 study, Moran, Leonard, and Zellers (2009) compared *The American Library Directory* entries from 1972, 1982, 1994, and 2004 to determine the gender of director, associate or assistant director, or department head, in ARL and Liberal Arts I libraries. They found that, even as the numbers of women in top positions had indeed greatly increased and overall women did outnumber men within all levels of management, the gender distribution among directors was not proportional to the percentage of women working in academic libraries (Moran, Leonard, & Zellers, 2009). Within ARL libraries, the number of women directors grew from 2 in 1972 to 52, or 60.6%, in 2004; in the Liberal Arts I libraries the increase was from 38 to 57, or 73.9%, women directors over the same period (Moran, Leonard, & Zellers, 2009, p. 223). Near as gender equality might be, Moran, Leonard, & Zellers (2009) warn that it still "must be guarded and improved upon;" efforts to erase the pay gap, small as it is, must persist as well (p. 227). The tremendous impact Title VII, Title IX and related anti-discrimination laws had on professional parity should not divert "attention paid to the [continuing] progress of women in academic librarianship" (Moran, Leonard, & Zellers, 2009, p. 217).

Diversity

Although the number of women in leadership positions has been growing since the 1970s, the lack of racial diversity at the top administrate level persists. Scholars have pointed out that it is premature to celebrate women's professional progress without addressing the racial imbalance among women academic library leaders (Hollis, 1999; Epps, 2008; Simpson & Turock, 2005; Turock, 2001). Hollis (1999) observed that when gender in librarianship is discussed, "The default definition of woman appears to be white, not inclusive of of minority females" (49). Similarly, Simpson Darden and Turock (2005) argued that "while white women have made in-roads in managerial positions, African American women's careers in the profession have not shown a similar trend" (p. 321). Given the predominance of white women in the profession and the simultaneous lack of easily available data on the race of library directors, there is little research about minority women library leaders; moreover, the existing studies feature only a small sample size, limiting their generalizabililty (Epps 2008; Hollis 1999).

To assess the effects of Title IX and affirmative action policies on the professional advancement of women and minorities, Hollis (1999) looked at twelve-year data from eighty six libraries in the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Division I conferences. After identifying library directors and deans through the American Library directory for 1986-87 through 1997-98, Hollis (1999) found that while the number of white women leaders has significantly increased over the years, no similar upward trend could be observed for minority men and women directors. Between 1986 and 1997, the number of women directors increased by 25%, from 18% to 43% (Hollis, 1999, p. 67). The gains, however, were not distributed evenly geographically. While the change was impressive in the PAC 10 division, consisting of universities in the Southwest and on the West Coast, other divisions did not experienced such

marked gender turnaround (Hollis, 1999, pp. 69-70). Hollis's (1999) analysis of race statistics revealed that the gains in racial diversity were very modest in comparison: in 1986, only one out of the eighty six deans and directors was African American; by 1997 there were four African Americans, three women and one man, heading the Division I libraries (pp. 68-69). Given the discrepancy between the progress women and African Americans have made, Hollis (1999) posited that affirmative action policies have had a great positive impact on women's career advancement, but have not equally benefited minority librarians.

Similarly, Simpson Darden and Turock (2008) investigated the limited effects of affirmative action on furthering the the careers of African American women librarians. Through a mail survey and follow-up interviews with top African American female administrators, identified through the Directory of Ethnic Professionals in Library and Information Sciences and the Black Caucus of the American Library Association Membership Directory, Simpson Darden and Turock (2008) sought "to determine the facts about benefits and barriers borne of affirmative action and their association with success" (p. 323). Their findings revealed that race and gender were two key career advancement obstacles that negatively affected black women's professional success (Simpson Darden & Turock, 2005). Additional detriments included institutional racism, lack of mentors and role models, as well as the predominant leadership model based on male and white-middle class values and skills (Simpson Darden & Turock, 2005). To counteract these negative factors, the African American women leaders drew on their "self-confidence, daring, firmness, courage to follow convictions, grit, boldness, backbone, openness, fearlessness when making unpopular decisions, and the ability to take risks without fear of reprisal" (Simpson Darden & Turock, 2005, p. 336).

Building on Simpson Darden and Turock's (2005) list of characteristics shared by African American women library directors, Epps (2008) set out to identify personal traits that were crucial in ensuring the success of African American ARL library leaders. While the skills sets necessary to do well as a top administrator may be the same for white and minority directors, African American women, Epps (2008) hypothesized, "may need additional attributes or more of certain attributes to overcome stereotypes and successfully navigate predominantly White academic research library environments" (p. 255). Epps's (2008) interviews with fourteen African American ARL library heads, including assistant, associate, and executive directors, revealed five core attributes that characterize a successful leader. She "is an enabler and facilitator, embraces change/is change focused, is energetic, is a visionary, and is an educator" (Epps, 2008, p. 261). The essential skills, as identified by the women directors, "are the ability to empower, to manage change, to motivate people, to coach and develop staff, and to communicate" (Epps, 2008, p. 264). Overall, the African American women directors acknowledged that race does matter in their careers, and their life and career experiences are different than their non-minority counterparts', often requiring that they "overcome negative stereotypes and to successfully navigate hostile work environments" (Epps, 2008, p. 267). As far as their current job duties and responsibilities are concerned, however, the African American leaders believed that they need to employ the same knowledge and skills as white directors do (Epps, 2008, p. 267).

Far from being remedied, the lack of racial diversity among leaders, and in academic libraries in general, is only becoming more urgent as higher education demographics continue to change. While the numbers of minority students are growing, the profession remains predominantly White. According to the 2017 ALA Demographic Study Report 86.7% librarians

identify as White, 4.7% as Hispanic or Latino, 4.4% as African American, and 3.6% as Asian American (Rosa & Henke, 2017). As Epps (2008) argues "recruiting and retaining adequate numbers of minority librarians, in general, and minority leaders, in particular" (p.256) will ensure libraries' continued relevance to the communities they serve. The many additional benefits of increased diversity include a bigger talent pool to draw from and and fresh perspectives, both conducive to institutional change (Turock, 2001). Insofar as the studies cited above focus on non-white women library leaders, they contribute to a better understanding of the issues affecting the professional success of minority women librarians. Such knowledge can, in turn, inform efforts to foster diversity at the top and within the ranks of the profession.

Women Library Leaders

Turock (2001) traces the remarkable post-1970s shift in the professional status of women librarians by framing it within the feminist scholar Margaret McIntosh's (1983) four-stage inclusive leadership model. Phase I, or Womanless Leadership, was characterized by the absence of women at the top administrative level (Turock, 2001). It was followed by Phase II, or Women as Leadership Anomaly, when male style was the default leadership model and aspiring women leaders were expected to adopt and comply with the ruling paradigm (Turock, 2001). Phase III, or Women as Leaders, was marked by women's ascent to leadership positions, an entry that resulted in a shift from hierarchical to web-like structures in organizations (Turock, 2001). Phase IV, or Leadership Redefined, is the most inclusive stage of leadership that recognizes women's values, such as collaboration and empathy, as necessary to lead; a leader is newly defined as "as the facilitator of a shared sense of organizational vision and purpose" (Turock, 2001, p. 124). Noting women librarians' professional progress, Turock (2001) nevertheless cautions against the assumption that all gender bias has been eradicated. The literature definitely supports her

skepticism. What emerges from the following sections on women leaders' professional characteristics and their career advancement paths, their leadership styles, as well as the perceptions and attitudes toward female directors, is that women in top administrative positions continue to encounter obstacles and barriers to equality.

Professional Characteristics and Career Advancement Paths

Studies comparing characteristics and career paths of women and men academic library directors seek to identify factors that differ by gender. Knowing and understanding these differences may help explain why men are disproportionately represented within leadership ranks; no less importantly, it may allow the profession to address specific issues that hold women back. Irvine's (1985) study, based on a survey she conducted in 1980 among top ARL administrators, exemplifies the comparative approach. Interested in assessing whether women and men academic library directors are different or alike, Irvine (1985) investigated how family background, marital status, and educational training affect career advancement of male and female librarians. Some clear demographic patterns did emerge from Irvine's (1985) survey. She found that women administrators had parents with higher educational attainment than their male counterparts did, and that women became directors at an earlier age than men, a finding that contrasted with previous research (Irvine, 1985). While 78% of men directors were married, only 50% of women leaders were; Irvine (1985) elaborates the significance of the finding by explaining that "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" (p. 240). When it comes to educational attainment, 94% of all directors had master's degree in library science, but a gender disparity was marked as far as 2nd master's degree was concerned: 50% of men and only 24% of women obtained it (Irvine, 1985). Irvine (1985) also

looked at job mobility patterns and found that men were benefiting from it to a greater extent than women did. Her finding that women tended to get promoted internally rather than obtain directorship positions as external candidates and that were promoted to high-rank positions previously held by a woman reflected the limited benefits of job mobility for female librarians (Irvine, 1985). When analyzing the rates of participation in professional activities, including state and regional associations, Irvine (1985) found that men and women directors were active at comparable levels. What set them apart, however, was their publishing output, with men writing more articles than women did (Irvine, 1985).

DeLong (2013) reviews additional research from the 1970s and 1980s that compared female and male directors' career progression. Similarly to Irvine's (1985) survey, key points of comparison between how women's and men's advancement to directorship included internal vs. external appointment, job and geographic mobility, as well as professional and publishing activity levels (DeLong, 2013). Importantly, internal succession was the only factor strongly and consistently associated with gender. It was repeatedly found that women were more likely to move up to the top administrative level within an institution as internal candidates; men, on the other hand, tended to be appointed as external candidates (DeLong 2013). The findings on job mobility, and professional and publishing activity, however, were not as clear cut. While some researchers found that men directors had a more expansive job history than women directors did, others found no difference in the range of previously held positions along gender lines(DeLong, 2013). Similarly, studies looking at publishing record and professional activities did not establish a consistent pattern of difference between male and female directors (DeLong, 2013).

Comparative approaches have not been the only method applied to tease out factors that prevented women from assuming leadership positions in proportion to their numbers within

academic librarianship. Surveys and interviews with academic women library leaders were also conducted to solicit accounts of their professional experiences. As discussed above, Hollis (1999), Epps (2008), and Simpson and Turock (2005) surveyed African American women directors to identify systemic barriers that negatively affected their paths to leadership. Kirkland (1997) posited a theory that women were held back from obtaining top administrative jobs because of a wide array of "behaviors or techniques to discourage female ambition" they encountered throughout their careers (p. 366). The surveyed women librarians confirmed that deprivation behaviors (including the tendency to assign women to positions with responsibilities but without authority, the lack of acknowledgment of women's input, and double standard in rewarding accomplishments) were widespread within academic libraries, effectively halting women's professional progress (Kirkland, 1997). To identify factors that would help counteract this pattern, Kirkland (1997) asked women library directors to identify and rank key factors in their career advancement. Professional activities, educational background, tenacity and perseverance, job mobility, and mentoring experience were on top of the list (Kirkland, 1997). When weighed for significance, however, mentoring was the most important factor in women's rise to leadership (Kirkland, 1997, p. 381). Kirkland (1997) offers that the growing numbers of female directors may become mentors to aspiring women librarians who, for the time being, continue to navigate deprivation behaviors.

Following Kirkland's study (1997), mentoring has been repeatedly emphasized as an effective strategy to bring more women librarians to top levels of administration. Turock (2001) identified mentorship as an indispensable element in women's progress to leadership. Even as she celebrated the newly large numbers of women in directorship roles, Deyrup (2004) warned that gender parity cannot be sustained without a concerted focus on mentorship, retention, and

recruitment. Indeed, as Simpson Darden and Turock (2005) found, African American women leaders saw the lack of mentors and role models as one of the professional hindrances they faced. Hoffman (2014) investigated the importance of mentorship for men and women librarians who became library deans. She found no significant gender differences in how men and women valued mentors, but she noted that minority librarians were more appreciative of mentorship than white librarians (Hoffman, 2014). Given the evidence that women and minorities stand to benefit greatly from mentoring, Hoffman (2014) echoes earlier calls to expand mentoring initiatives and programs within the profession.

Gender Differences, Leadership Styles and Attitudes

Well established themes in scholarship on gender and leadership include explorations of the differences between men and women leaders, their preferred leadership styles, and the ways in which a leader's gender influences how others perceive and evaluate them (Ayman & Korabik, 2010). The post-1974 literature on women and leadership in academic libraries has engaged all the above. As more and more women librarians were advancing to the top administrative level, Kaufman (1993) situated the changing gender composition of top library management within contemporary theories of organizational leadership. Kaufman's (1993) pointed question, "Is gender a critical factor in effective leadership?" (p. 109), as well as the paths of future inquiry she outlined, provided a frame for subsequent inquiries into how and why the gender of an academic library director matters. The following section reviews studies that addressed--but did not settle-- the issues raised in Kaufman's (1993) article.

To examine whether men and women lead differently, Voelck (2003) surveyed and conducted semi-structured interviews with male and female managers of public university libraries in the state of Michigan. When asked if being male or female affects their work and

leadership style, a great majority of the respondents agreed (Voelck, 2003). Indeed, voelck (2003) found that there are significant differences in several key leadership traits. The male managers saw themselves as "significantly more assertive, competitive, directive, dominant, forceful, stern, and tough" than their female counterparts (Voelck, 2003, p. 402). In turn, the women "described themselves as significantly more appreciative and sensitive; and significantly more approachable, democratic, and intuitive" than men did (Voelck, 2003, p. 402-403). On the other hand, Voelck (2003) found no statistically significant differences when men and women were asked about being "ambitious, analytical, confident, goal-oriented, and task-oriented; both the male and the female managers rated their management styles as moderately ambitious, and as highly analytical, competitive, goal-oriented and task-oriented" (p. 402). When it came to workplace dynamic, female respondents emphasized the satisfaction brought by collaboration and social interaction, while male respondents expressed frustration with "the processes involved in participative decision-making," preferring more hierarchical reporting arrangements instead (Voelck, 2003, p. 407). Voleck (2003) concluded that men and women library managers lead in different ways, even as they incorporate aspects from both male and female leadership styles.

After surveying administrators at Canergie doctoral/research extensive libraries, both private and public, Deyrup (2004) reached a different conclusion. Unlike Voelck (2003), Deyrup (2004) found no significant differences between male and female leadership styles and suggested the existence of "behavioral uniformity within the managerial culture" (p. 246). Rather than gender, it was the the specific educational and organizational culture at a given institution that determined an individual director's leadership style (Deyrup, 2004). Deyrup (2004) interpreted the lack of gender differences between men's and women's leadership styles as evidence that,

contrary to earlier predictions, women in top management did not adopt "gender-specific management" styles, opting instead to replicate "mainstream leadership" models (p. 249).

The most recent study on gender and leadership style is Martin's (2015) exploratory assessment of male and female directors' preference for either transformational or transactional leadership style. Associated with women, transformational leadership emphasizes relationships, shared values and vision; a transformational leader recognizes and respects the individual needs of their employees who, in turn, trust and follow their lead (Martin, 2015, p.333). Transactional leadership is linked to men and focuses on clearly stated expectations, assignments, evaluations, and rewards for task completion (Martin, 2015, p.332). Although Martin (2015) reported no significant difference in men's and women's use of transformational and transactional leadership, she found significant differences when it comes to how often men and women employed specific aspects of transformational leadership. Women directors relied on idealized attributes, inspirational motivation, and individualized consideration to a greater extent than men did (Martin, 2015).

The findings about differences in how men and women academic directors manage academic libraries are inconclusive, which is also the case with other organizational research on gender and leadership (Kark & Eagly, 2010). Similarly, no definite differences were reported in studies that looked at library school students' and professional library staff's perceptions of gender in leadership.

Murgai (1991) surveyed current students in master's degree programs (MSLS/MLS) to examine their beliefs and attitudes about women managers. She found that a great majority of students, both male and female alike, did not differentiate between the professional competence of men and women leaders. Moreover, some of the characteristics the students attributed to

women in top administrative positions were those typically associated with male leaders, such as being " emotionally stable, responsible, adventurous, objective, aggressive, and as capable of handling managerial responsibilities as men" (Murgai, 1991, p. 681).

Murgai (2004) went on to explore male and female library school students' attitudes toward gender and management in a cross-cultural context by administering her survey in the US, India, Singapore and Thailand. She found that, as far as acceptance and support for women leaders go, cultural differences across countries were greater than those between men and women in the same country (Murgai, 2004). Overall, most of her female respondents "want the same level of responsibility and challenge as men in their jobs" (Murgai, 2004, p. 24). At the same time, Murgai's (2004) respondents were not immune to gender bias: a significant percentage of women students said female managers would be ruled by emotions to a greater extent than their male counterparts, and "The desirability of equally challenging and responsible jobs for women and men was also less agreeable to male students than female students from all four countries" (24). Murgai (2004) suggested that management training not only might address and dispel the gendered attitudes toward leadership her study uncovered, but it may also encourage women LIS students to assume top administrative positions as their careers progress.

Lombard (2018) surveyed academic library personnel, including staff and librarians, to assess men's and women's perceptions of leadership equity within their organizations. Although he was able to conclude that there is " little perceptional difference between female and male library personnel regarding leadership, or its opportunities, based on gender" (Lombard, 2018, p. 228), he did find that women believed male leadership received greater institutional support than female leadership.

What emerges from the literature on differences between men and women library directors, their management styles, and the ways library professionals perceive gender's influence on leadership, is gender's continued relevance. Voelck's (2003) and Martin's (2015) findings suggest that even though all library managers simultaneously engage male and female management styles, they emphasize different leadership aspects and attributes depending on gender. The apparent similarity between male and female leaders Deyrup (2004) reported, in turn, should raise questions about how gender-neutral the "mainstream leadership" model she describes really is. Finally, as Murgai (1991; 2004) and Lombard (2018) show, attitudes toward and perceptions of leadership equity are not the same for men and women in librarianship.

Conclusion

There are many reasons to study the professional lives of women academic library directors. As Irvine (1985) and Turock (2001) argued previously, DeLong (2013) writes that understanding women leaders' career advancement trajectories, professional characteristics, as well as past and current experiences, may help and inspire more women librarians to take on leadership positions in the future. After all, women's lead in senior management roles still has not achieved the level of proportional representation. To ensure continuing progress towards gender parity in all its aspects, more women librarians should be encouraged to become directors in coming years (DeLong, 2013).

Neigel's (2015) pointed critique of LIS leadership discourse offers another rationale for studying gender in academic libraries management. Scholarly literature on leadership, Neigel (2015) explains, suppresses gender-related issues, including the predominance of women within the field, and in doing so "fails to account for the feminized nature of the profession and the gendered practices that shape the roles of men and women who choose this field" (Neigel, 2015,

p. 521). Such uncritical endorsement of masculinized leadership practices devalues women who "find themselves working within the context of a man's world, potentially limiting their ability to lead and/or exercise power over how they choose to lead" (Neigel, 2015, p. 522). Consequently, Neigel (2015) argues that it is imperative that the profession counteracts the male-centered understanding of leadership. Neigel's (2015) polemic presents "an example of the ways in which it is possible to interrogate assumptions about leadership" (p. 521). Similarly, by focusing on women's rise within the managerial ranks of academic librarianship, this review of post-1974 literature on gender and administration sought to provide a framework to better understand the tremendous professional gains women academic librarians have made even as gender equality has remained elusive.

References

American Association of University Women. (n.d.) *AAUW issues: Title IX*. Retrieved on January 12,

2019, from

https://www.aauw.org/what-we-do/public-policy/aauw-issues/title-ix/

American Association of University Women. (n.d.). *Know your rights: Title VII of the Civil*

Rights Act of 1964. Retrieved on January 12, 2019, from https://www.aauw.org/what-we-

do/legal-resources/know-your-rights-at-work/title-vii/

Association of Research Libraries. (2018). *ARL annual salary survey, 2016-2017*. Washington,

D.C.: Association of Research Libraries.

Ayman, R., & Korabik, K. (2010). Leadership: Why gender and culture matter. *American Psychologist*,

65(3), 157-170.

Biggs, M. (1982). Librarians and the" Woman Question": An inquiry into conservatism. *The*

Journal of Library History (1974-1987), *17*(4), 409-428.

DeLong, K. (2013). Career advancement and writing about women librarians: A literature

review. *Evidence Based Library and Information Practice*, *8*(1), 59-75.

Deyrup, M. M. (2004). Is the revolution over? Gender, economic, and professional parity in

academic library leadership positions. *College & Research Libraries*, *65*(3), 242-250.

Dickinson, T. E. (2002). Looking at the male librarian stereotype. *The Reference Librarian*,

37(78), 97-110.

Kark, R., & Eagly, A. H. (2010). Gender and leadership: Negotiating the labyrinth. In J. C.

Chrysler, & D. R. McCreary (Eds.), *Handbook of gender research in psychology* (Vol. 2, pp.

443-468). Springer, New York, NY.

Epps, S. K. (2008). African American Women Leaders in Academic Research Libraries. *portal: Libraries and the Academy*, *8*(3), 255–272.

Fisher, W. (1997). The question of gender in library management. *Library Administration and Management*, *11*(4), 231-36.

Hildenbrand, S. (1985). Ambiguous Authority and Aborted Ambition: Gender, Professionalism, and the Rise and Fall of the Welfare State. *Library Trends*, *34*(2), 185-98.

Hildenbrand, S. (2000). Library feminism and library women's history: Activism and scholarship, equity and culture. *Libraries & Culture*, *35*(1), 51-65.

Hoffman, S. (2014). Leadership in academic libraries today--connecting theory to practice: Mentoring diverse leaders in Academic libraries. In B. L. Eden & J. Condit Fagan (Eds.) *Leadership in academic libraries today: Connecting theory to practice* (pp. 77-90). Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Hollis, D. R. (1999). Affirmative action or increased competition: A look at women and minority library deans. *Journal of Library Administration*, *27*(1-2), 49-75.

Irvine, B. J. (1985). Differences by sex: Academic library administrators. *Library Trends*, *34*(2), 235-257.

Kaufman, P. T. (1993). Library leadership: Does gender make a difference? *Journal of Library Administration*, *18*(3-4), 109-128.

Kirkland, J. J. (1997). The missing women library directors: Deprivation versus mentoring. *College & Research Libraries*, *58*(4), 375-383.

Lombard, E. (2018). Gender and Leadership in Academic Libraries. *The Journal of Academic Librarianship*, *44*(2), 226-230.

Maack, M. N. (2002). Documenting one hundred twenty years of writings on women's entry, advancement, and struggle for equalization in librarianship. *The Library Quarterly, 72*(2), 241-246.

Martin, J. (2015). Transformational and transactional leadership: An exploration of gender, experience, and institution type. *portal: Libraries and the Academy*, *15*(2), 331-351.

Moran, B. B. (1985). The impact of affirmative action on academic libraries. *Library Trends*, *34*(2), 199-217.

Moran, B. B., Leonard, E., & Zellers, J. (2009). Women administrators in academic libraries: Three decades of change. *Library Trends*, *58*(2), 215-228.

Murgai, S. R. (1991). Attitudes toward women as managers in library and information science. *Sex Roles*, *24*(11-12), 681-700.

Murgai, S. R. (2004). Motivation to manage and status of women in library and information science: A comparative study among the United States, India, Singapore and Thailand. *The Southeastern Librarian*, *52*(1), 6.

Neigel, C. (2015). LIS leadership and leadership education: A matter of gender. *Journal of Library Administration*, *55*(7), 521-534.

Dickinson, T. E. (2003). Looking at the male librarian stereotype. *The Reference Librarian*, *37*(78), 97-110.

Rosa, K., & Henke, K. (2017). 2017 ALA demographic study. Retrieved on October 22, 2018 from http://www.ala.org/tools/sites/ala.org.tools/files/content/Draft%20of%20Member%20Demographics%20Survey%2001-11-2017.pdf

Schiller, A. R. (1974). Women in librarianship. *Advances in librarianship*, *4*, 103-147.

Simpson Darden, B., & Turock, B. K. (2005). Career patterns of African American women

academic library administrators. In E. D. Garten, D. E. Williams, & J. M. Nyce (Eds.), *Advances*

in library administration and organization (pp. 315-360). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Stewart, C. (2017). What We Talk About When We Talk About Leadership: A Review of

Research on Library Leadership in the 21st Century. *Library Leadership & Management*, *32*(1),

1-30.

Turock, B. J. (2001). Women and leadership. *Journal of Library Administration*, *32*(3-4), 111-

132.

U.S. Department of Education (2015). *Title IX and sex discrimination*. Retrieved on January 12,

2019, from https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/tix_dis.html

U.S. Equal Opportunity Commision. (n.d.). *Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964*. Retrieved

January 12, 2019, from https://www.eeoc.gov/laws/statutes/titlevii.cfm.

Voelck, J. (2003). Directive and connective: Gender-based differences in the management styles

of academic library managers. *portal: Libraries and the Academy*, *3*(3), 393-418.

Weiner, S. G. (2003). Leadership of academic libraries: A literature review. *Education Libraries*,

26(2), 5-19.

Williams, Christine, L. (1995). Still a Man's World: Men Who Do Women's Work. University

of California Press, Berkeley, CA.

Wong, G. K. W. (2017). Leadership and leadership development in academic libraries: a review.

Library Management, *38*(2/3), 153-166.