AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

FOR THE DEGREE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE

SCHOOL OF LIBRARY AND INFORMATION MANAGEMENT

_____Heidi Blackburn_____

Presented on: April 1, 2015

Title: Factors That Influence Male Millennials to Become Professional Librarians

Abstract approved: _____

Dr. Gwen Alexander, Co-Chair

Dr. Mirah Dow, Co-Chair

This case study investigates what prompts male Millennials to join the historically stereotyped feminized library profession. The study addresses social, cultural, economic, and/or political factors that influence male Millennials to become professional librarians; the influence of technology on male Millennials currently enrolled in library and information science (LIS) graduate programs decisions to become professional librarians; and professional stereotypes male Millennials currently enrolled in LIS graduate programs encounter. To gather data, surveys were conducted with 231 participants enrolled in 37 LIS graduate programs across the United States, and semi-structured interviews were conducted with 21 volunteers who participated in the surveys. Findings have implications for LIS graduate program recruitment and retention practices and

suggest extending the scope of literature in the areas of professional librarianship and gender roles.

Keywords: librarian, Millennials, male, librarianship, tokenism stereotypes

FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE MALE MILLENNIALS TO BECOME PROFESSIONAL LIBRARIANS

by

Heidi Blackburn

Emporia, Kansas

April 2015

_____

A dissertation

Presented to

EMPORIA STATE UNIVERSITY

_____

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

The School of Library and Information Management

_____

Dean of the School of Library
and Information Management

_____

Gwen Alexander, Ph.D. (Co-Chair)

_____

Mirah Dow, Ph.D. (Co-Chair)

_____

James Carmichael, Ph.D.

_____

Dean of the Graduate School and Distance
Education

Acknowledgements

My sincere gratitude to my dissertation co-chairs, Dr. Gwen Alexander and Dr. Mirah Dow, for all their help and support. Dr. Alexander's broad perspective helped me to climb out of the minutia and see the larger past and present perspectives of the library profession. Dr. Dow's attention to detail is the best and her constant, patient encouragement reminded me even one-step forward at a time is progress in a marathon. I also want to thank Dr. Carmichael whose original study in 1992 was the cornerstone of this work and who generously agreed to be on the committee (after one fateful, cold-calling email) to provide the expertise on men in libraries. This has been a work of true dedication to a topic not highly favored by the library profession at this time and I am thankful for their encouragement of my passion. Others may have prompted a trendier topic but they fully supported my research interests in male librarians from the beginning. In addition, of course, thank you to my participants for answering the call to share their backgrounds and plans for the future. I learned something from everyone and I appreciate the time they took to share their personal challenges, fears, and dreams for librarianship.

I am very thankful for the support from my entire family who gave encouragement and prayers without hesitation or questions. I also want to thank Jerrad, who patiently waited while I dedicated nights, weekends, holidays, and social engagements to listening to other men tell their stories so I could tell theirs. This is for all of you.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Chapter 1

Introduction

Consider the workplace setting of a medium-sized non-profit library, one where employees provide necessary services to a wide demographic that ranges from children to adults. Imagine one of those employees standing out from the larger homogenous group, reduced to a stereotype in his employer's mind, and conducting tasks given to him only because of the perceived characteristics associated with his minority group. Despite daily attempts by peers and the public to highlight his differences, he continues to conduct himself in a professional manner and exerts extra efforts to assimilate with the rest of the group, although there are clear differences in social norms and preferences. Such biases based on demographic characteristics are often shocking and generally unacceptable in any modern workplace. Now imagine the employee is not being profiled as part of a specific racial or ethnic minority group, but because he is male. He is outnumbered by females in every department of his workplace and in his profession overall. As with other feminized professions, such as elementary education, social work, and nursing (Cushman, 2005; Rochlen, Good, & Carver, 2009; Wiest, 2003), men have been a privileged minority group in the profession at least since the early 20th century but the number of men in libraries is beginning to increase.

According to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics (USBLS) (2012), the library profession has seen a 48% (19,458) increase in males working in libraries since 1980 (Table 1) and the male influx is expected to increase (*Minnesota*, 2011) despite lingering professional stereotypes (Carmichael, 1994; Wiebe, 2005). Researchers note

differing occupational experiences of men and women created by sex-segregated jobs such as librarianship (Cross & Bagilhole, 2002; Simpson, 2004).

Statistical reports since the late 1920s indicate more women than men work in the library profession (Harris, 1999). In ALA's 2007 Diversity Counts report, 19,463 (17.7%) credentialed librarians were men out of 109,958 librarians (American, 2008a). In the 2009-10 update of the ALA report, there were 20,393 (17.2%) credentialed male librarians out of 118,546 total credentialed librarians (American, 2012). The number of men enrolled in ALA-accredited library and information science (LIS) graduate programs reflects the current ratio of men in the profession. Men were 20.5% (3,822) of all full- and part-time enrolled students compared to the 79.5% female population (14,815) (Wallace, 2012). Statistically, men still dominate director positions (Record & Green, 2008), but gender equity in lower ranks has seen little change over the years until recently. Many from both within and outside the profession question why today's libraries employ more women than men.

Research Problem

The problem is that library science has not identified the factors that currently influence male Millennials to join the library profession. Motivational factors for members of the male library workforce remain obscure for the profession without insight into the dynamics of sex, gender roles, and technology in the workplace. Professional stereotypes may be misinterpreted on the faulty premise that men confront the same stereotypes in the library workplace as women. Social roles and norms are different for men and women and men joining a traditionally female profession face different levels of prejudice than do women (Williams, 1991). Exploring why men choose to become

librarians may help employers formulate more precise recruitment techniques so they may better represent the populations they serve.

This case study attempts to identify factors involved in the recent increase of male Millennials in librarianship that influenced their decisions to join the profession, including social, cultural, political, economic, and/or computer technology. The central question is: "What prompts male Millennials to join this historically stereotyped feminized profession?" Related questions are whether or not computer technology plays any role in attracting male Millennials to the library profession; what male Millennials think of belonging to a minority within the profession, and how that affected their decision to join it; and what accounts for male interest in the profession when they could pursue a more lucrative career. Kanter's theory of tokenism is used as a basis to analyze the findings related to the minority status of male Millennials within the library profession.

The Evolution of the American Male Librarian

Librarianship is a profession historically stereotyped as a feminized profession by society only within the last several hundred years. This chapter first briefly explores the role of the librarian in early civilizations as it evolved into new duties and responsibilities in the 20th century with the growth of public libraries. Second, the recruitment of men, specifically to librarianship after World War II, is discussed. Third, the emergence of documentation science and later information science and their effects on librarianship are covered. Finally, the role of men in librarianship at the beginning of the 21st century is discussed.

Male librarians in early civilizations. The role of the librarian has changed drastically in the last two thousand years. Devolving from an elite priestly caste to the lowliest of jobs, such as library hostess and spinster drudge, back to a middling status and now a service icon, the profession has shifted with social and technological changes. From the fall of the Roman Empire to the dawning of the World Wide Web, the preservation and dissemination of information has usually fallen to a select and, more recently, to a self-selected group**.**

Few writers have explored the evolution of the male librarian's character and responsibilities despite a well-documented history of libraries. A substantial amount of the literature documents women in librarianship (Harris, 1992; Heim, 1983; Weibel, McCook, & Ellsworth, 1979) but for a profession that was predominantly male until at least 1898 (Harris, 1999), a very small part of the literature discusses males in the profession. The term *librarian* was not always used as it is today although the classifying, sorting, storing, and retrieving of information was a significant part of ancient civilizations (Harris, 1999). The duties and responsibilities of the earliest librarians are mostly unknown, as the title of librarian was often second to what was considered a more important role, such as official, priest, or nobleman. As with the ancient librarians of Egypt and Babylonia, little is known about the role of the librarian in society in the Middle Ages, as the task of librarian was often a simple series of housekeeping duties fulfilled by a monk assigned such tasks. Monastic houses and some cathedrals functioned partly as libraries but librarians had not emerged as professionals by the time of the foundations of the early universities. Instead, a faculty member or

even a student fulfilled the functions of a librarian, usually charged only with the library's physical care (Harris, 1999).

Male librarians at the start of the 20th century. The growth of libraries in the United States (U.S.) was slow from their beginnings in the 17th and 18th centuries. Tax-supported libraries open to all citizens date only from the early 19th century and did not gain support as a movement until the founding of the American Library Association (ALA) in 1876 through the generosity of Andrew Carnegie. His donation of $56 million built more than 2,000 library buildings after 1886 (Bobinski, 1969) that were then operated by local governments (Rubin, 2010).

The roles and responsibilities of librarians fluctuated, and the recruitment of both men and women to the profession deeply affected librarianship. Aside from his heavy emphasis on mechanics and apprenticeship within his new School of Library Economy in 1887, Melvil Dewey revolutionized librarianship when he insisted that library schools actively recruit women (Garrison, 1979). He anticipated the waning appeal of librarianship for men, while at the same time recognized the widespread availability of talented "college-bred women" (Dewey, 1886, p. 19). His aggressive recruitment of women sparked a rapid transition in librarianship, which led to the nearly complete "feminization of librarianship" by 1920 (Harris, 1999, p. 291).

The low cost of hiring women compared to men was perhaps the most important reason male head librarians welcomed female assistants. Justin Winsor, the first

president of the ALA, famously extolled the value of women's contribution to the library labor force:

> In American libraries, we set a high value on women's work. They soften our atmosphere, they lighten our labor, they are equal to our work and for the money they cost–they are infinitely better than equivalent salaries will produce in the other sex (Garrison, 1979, p. 135).

Female labor was cheaper than male labor, and women dominated the profession numerically, although the largest and most prestigious libraries still denied them administrative positions (Garrison, 1979). Men sought out these administrative positions not only because the salaries were larger, but also because the subordinate positions, such as reference librarian and cataloger, supposedly lacked the intellectual rigor of such male-dominated professions as law and medicine (Passet, 1993). Men sought to improve the lowly status of librarianship through position title, thus creating a gender-based hierarchy where men filled administrative roles and women were subservient clerks.

Raising the level of library instruction to attract men to library work was also recognized as a solution as early as 1903, when the New York Library Association recommended training courses for men who "were not willing to undergo two years instruction in library methods which, after all, were neither particularly abstruse or difficult to learn" (Garrison, 1979, p. 191). Many believed the entry of men into librarianship would raise the level of salaries and increase the librarian's prestige, and these attitudes persisted until late in the 20th century (Wilson, 1982).

To ensure the quality of education for librarians, the ALA established the Committee on Library Training in 1900 (R. M. Hayes, 1986) with the purpose of

formulating the first standards for library training. This body morphed into the Association of American Library Schools (AALS) in 1915 and became the precursor of the Association for Library and Information Science Education (ALISE) (R. M. Hayes, 1986). In 1951, the Master's degree was designated as the professional degree in ALA Policy 54.2 (Vann, 1971). The ALA Committee on Accreditation (COA) was established in 1955 as the body responsible for accrediting professional degree programs in LIS studies. Formerly the Office of Education, the ALA Office for Accreditation now administers this work (O'Brien, in press). Studies before 1951 may refer to all men working in libraries, who may or may not have professional degrees. Studies conducted after this date generally refer to male librarians as library professionals with a Master's degree.

Recruitment of male librarians after World War II. With the explosive growth of public libraries from 1886 until about 1920, economic hardships in the Great Depression, and the flood of college graduates taking advantage of the new G.I. Bill after 1944, the demand for librarians waxed and waned in the 20th century. After World War I, the shortage of librarians accelerated rapidly. In 1921, The New York Evening Post ran an interview with John Cotton Dana, former ALA president and leader in the librarianship movement, who encouraged young men to join the profession for the benefits of job security and good standing in the community (Library work, 1921). The Great Depression's deflated wages forced some men to other professions because a librarian's already-low salary could barely support a family (Sable, 1969). The profession responded by expanding opportunities for library education from 1930 to 1935 with Rosenwald Scholarships for male librarians in Atlanta and again following World

War II, in recruitment efforts by universities, the ALA, and library schools strongly targeting men. Low salaries and a poor public image continued to deter men from pursuing functional specialties and to apply in greater numbers to academic libraries for their prestige compared to other types of libraries (O'Brien, 1983).

Recruiting literature in the 1940s began promoting the library profession to men by emphasizing a steady income, job security, and "community respect" (O'Brien, 1983, p. 56). Following World War II and the rise in national affluence, men began entering the profession in significant numbers again (Table 1) and approximately 3,891 men were employed in libraries during the 1940s (O'Brien, 1983). Veterans were encouraged to apply and the *Chicago Tribune* estimated 1,500 veterans could be placed in library positions by 1952 (Evans, 1964).

The profession portrayed librarianship as a pleasant, laid-back job for men in administrative roles looking for a recession-proof job and one easily obtained with benefits from the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (commonly known as the G.I. Bill) (O'Brien, 1983). The G.I. Bill was signed into law on June 22, 1944, making college education affordable for veterans, who comprised 49% of college students in the peak year of 1947 (United States Department of Veterans Affairs, 2014). Various administrative positions in new cooperative library ventures offered salaries at competitive rates, financed by state and federal funds. Male librarians filled these new positions as well as most of the general administrative roles (Sable, 1969), and the top male public library administrators were, on average, five years younger than female administrators (Bryan, 1979).

Society portrayed the typical male librarian as submissive in social situations and unlikely to exhibit qualities of leadership, despite his rapid advancement within the professional ranks in practice (Bryan, 1979). The public opinion surveys summarized in *The Public Librarian* (1950) (as cited in Bryan, 1979) present a dim view of the male library professional, suggesting that he lacked confidence and drive, and felt inferior to other men but was not concerned about such feelings. Lipscomb (2003) noted "population growth, the corresponding rise in college enrollment, the audiovisual and documentation movements, stronger school accreditation standards, and funding by the Library Services Act all contributed to an increase in the number of vacancies" (p. 7). Even popular literature touted the ease and benefits of becoming a professional librarian to the male population. An *Esquire* article by publisher Arnold Gingrich (1964) entitled "Young Man, Be a Librarian" claims:

> Most of the top jobs in the profession want male librarians to fill them as the running of library systems in most large urban areas of the nation is truly big business. And there is an increasing demand for librarians who are specialists in many of the fields to which men normally gravitate, such as the various sciences (p. 8).

Gingrich (1964) encouraged male readers to become librarians because "With the shorter work week and earlier retirement, librarianship is also increasingly attractive as a second career" (p. 8).

Promotional literature distributed by the ALA sought to appeal to men by emphasizing the increase in males coming to the profession ("Librarian," 1962), the comparison of libraries with big businesses, and administrative roles in public relations,

personnel, and business management ("Public librarian," 1965). Additionally, the ALA highlighted the respect commanded by the librarian in schools ("Lively career," 1964) and the glamorization of reference librarianship as detective work (Drury, ca. 1965). Efforts paid off, and the number of men in the field doubled again between the 1950s (6,303) and the 1960s (12,248) (Table 1) (O'Brien, 1983). The enrollment in library school graduate programs to meet a shortage of librarians in the 1960s showed parallels with the 1920s, and the sudden retrenchment of the 1970s produced an outcry from new applicants reminiscent of the reaction of new library school graduates in the 1930s about jobs (Lipscomb, 2003).

Efforts to professionalize librarianship resulted in an emphasis on the scientific basis of librarianship, so that the name of the occupation evolved to meet changing conceptions of expertise, particularly concerning automation. The facets of library work considered the most masculine (those involving technology and management) were highly valued, while the profession discounted the more feminine tasks such as children's services and cataloging (Harris, 1999).

The emergence of documentation science and iSchools. In 1937, the newly-created American Documentation Institute focused largely on microreproduction, but broadened its scope during World War II to include technical and intelligence reports (Harris, 1999). *Documentation science* flourished and documentalists began using new punched-card computing machines to facilitate information retrieval for scientific needs (Bowles, 1999). The organization later evolved into the American Society for Information Sciences and Technology (ASIS&T) and is currently "leading the search for

new and better theories, techniques, and technologies to improve access to information" ("Association," 2014).

Beginning in the 1950s, the term "documentation" was replaced by "information science," (Harris, 1999, p. 37) which described new initiatives in the traditionally male disciplines of business, medicine, and engineering. Thus, introducing the new field of information science into curricula was a way to legitimize skills previously viewed as feminine (Harris, 1999).

In the late 1980s, the deans of the graduate library school programs from the University of Pittsburgh, Syracuse University, and Drexel University began meeting regularly to foster relationships, share information, and address topics of the information science curriculum. By 2003, the group had grown to include deans from ten LIS graduate programs across the country and now focused on building a sense of identity and community among *information schools*, later known as *iSchools* ("iSchools," 2014). Now encompassing 55 graduate programs worldwide, the iCaucus Charter (adopted in 2005) states:

> The iSchools take it as given that expertise in all forms of information is required for progress in science, business, education, and culture. This expertise must include understanding of the uses and users of information, the nature of information itself, as well as information technologies and their applications. The iSchools have organized to pursue common objectives with a collective commitment of resources ("iSchools," 2014, para. 1).

To meet the criteria of joining the iCaucus, schools are expected to have "substantial sponsored research activity (an average of $1 million in research expenditures per year

over three years), engagement in the training of future researchers (usually through an active, research-oriented doctoral program), and a commitment to progress in the information field" ("iSchools," 2014, para. 2). Of the 55 iSchools, 20 offer ALA-accredited Masters degrees. This is 34% of the total 58 of ALA-accredited programs.

Whether advancing through an iSchool or traditional library science graduate program, the number of men in libraries nearly doubled in the 1980s (40,514) and increased again in the 1990s (50,056) (Table 1) ("Minnesota," 2011). The overall digitization of library materials brought about new methods of creation, preservation, and dissemination, along with job titles to match new duties. In an effort to carve out new roles and responsibilities for librarians, titles as *Chief Information Officer (CIO), information entrepreneurs*, *information systems specialist,* or *knowledge manager* became popular (Greer, Fowler, & Grover, 2013). According to popular websites and blogs ("Annoyed Librarian," 2008; Houston, 2007; Jesella, 2007; "Pop," 2013), the slang term *guybrarian* began circulating in library literature referring to male librarians. Librarians of both sexes loved or loathed the moniker.

Additional men joined the profession but the overall number of librarians decreased due to both retirement among the rank of employees who joined the profession during the hiring waves of the 1980s and 1990s and the downsizing of libraries. Staffing shortages at the beginning of the 2000s caused concern, as new recruits were not entering the profession in adequate numbers to fill vacant positions. A variety of groups, such as national and state library associations, state library agencies, library and information studies programs, library systems, and other organizations, as well as individual librarians, all played a part in recruiting for the profession (Lipscomb, 2003).

Male librarians at the dawn of the 21st century. With the digital revolution, the mass marketing of personal e-readers containing thousands of books and the information explosion on the Internet, public confusion is abundant about why librarianship is still relevant. In addition to traditional library tasks of circulation, acquisitions, archives, reference, reader's advisory, and children's services, 21st century librarians write blogs, manage digital records, practice community outreach to new groups, protect intellectual freedom, and lobby for funds on local, state, and national levels. The title of librarian encompasses many aspects of a multifaceted job description, where each day brings new challenges and responsibilities to create, store, retrieve, and disseminate information to users in a variety of digital and physical formats.

Today, the professional librarian is found in public, private, government, school, corporate, and academic libraries as well as in museums, hospitals, and archives. Librarianship will see another metamorphosis as technology creates new methods for sorting, storing, and retrieving information, but librarians will continue to serve society as they have done since the first written document appeared. Learning whether the increase in technology is a factor in motivating more men to enroll in LIS graduate programs and join the profession may open a new subject of exploration for the recruitment and retention of male librarians in the future.

Applying Tokenism to Librarianship

Kanter's (1977b) theory of tokenism informs the study by applying it to a workplace situation, men in the library, an area not previously studied through this theoretical lens. Two distinct but intertwining influences played a key role in Kanter's (1977b) seminal work, *Men and Women of the Corporation*: feminism and sociology,

particularly a growing interest in social analysis of the workplace. Second-wave feminism was at its peak, and sex had been included as part of the federal government antidiscrimination list for over a decade. Kanter was a spectator to debates at feminist conferences over women's work behavior divided between two camps: macroscopic (global variables such as general rates of workforce participation by historical period and social class) and microscopic (issues such as the psychology of women and dispositions implanted by nature or socialization). Such debates led her to a third analysis, which fell "between the two extremes, where macroscopic societal patterns and individual psychologies influenced behavior" (Kanter, 1977b, p. xvii) but she also considered the nature of the institution and its intervening links when defining behavior by roles and situations for both men and women.

Sociology played a key part in influencing Kanter's work and, at a time when sociologists were seeking a more abstract view of the workplace, she built on the research of those focusing on specific individuals and their roles inside the organization (Kanter, 1977b). Mills' (1951) account of the history of white-collar work and his investigations and criticisms of management elites; Hughes' (1958) considerations of the relations of men and their work and informal connections to an occupation; and Merton's (1961) insightful comments on the effects of social structure, such as bureaucratic roles and mobility prospects; played a heavy part in Kanter's interpretations. Two books, Crozier's (1964) *The Bureaucratic Phenomenon* and Thompson's (1967) *Organization in Action* were particularly influential in providing insights into the relationships between the formal, technical aspects of organizations and the informal, personal aspects (Kanter, 1977b). Argyris' (1957) ideas about interplay between personality and organization

structure also played a heavy part in Kanter's social analysis of the corporation she labeled "Indsco" (Kanter, 1977b, p. xvi).

Men and women of the corporation. Kanter (1977b) asserts every group and work setting has a group of *dominants*, composed of people who share similar characteristics. The opposite group, *tokens*, signifies people who cannot be categorized with the dominant group, and are "treated as representatives of their category, as symbols rather than individuals" (Kanter, 1977a, p. 966). Whether they choose to or not, they represent their ascribed category and can never be just another member of the group if their category remains rare. If the group is small, the token may even be a solitary individual or *solo* (Kanter, 1977b).

Tokens are not merely people who differ from other group members in one category but are identified by ascribed characteristics (master statuses such as gender, race, religion, ethnic group or age) or other characteristics with a set of assumptions about culture, status, and behavior that are prominent for a majority of the category members (Kanter, 1977a). Kanter identifies two conditions that cause the token to become more visible in the work setting: 1) the token's social category (master status) is physically obvious, such as gender or race and 2) the token's social type is rare or new to the setting of the dominants. Based on Kanter's characteristics, Millennial male librarians could be tokens, both because of their gender and because of their age.

Kanter (1977b) forms her theoretical framework for tokenism with three perceptual phenomena: *visibility*, *polarization*, and *assimilation*. First, tokens are highly visible and capture a larger share of the awareness of the group. The larger proportion of females may force male librarians into the spotlight in the workplace and at conferences.

Second, the presence of a token makes dominants more aware of the situation and they may polarize and exaggerate the extent of their differences. The tokens are then unable to prevent familiar generalizations or stereotypes because of their small numbers. Male librarians must either ignore or work especially hard to fight stereotypes because they are unable to disprove the stereotypes by example. Finally, assimilation occurs through stereotypes because the characteristics of the token are shaped to fit the generalization. Dominants will look for ways to make the stereotypes fit the token, even if they do not seem to fit right away. Society sees male librarians as more effeminate because they choose to work with women all day in a feminized occupation, even if their personalities and behavior otherwise conform to societal expectations of masculinity.

Conceptual evolution of tokenism. Since 1977, numerous studies have applied Kanter's theory to scenarios with different populations. Studies of women in male-dominated settings support her theory of tokens experiencing professional barriers, including female police officers (Ott, 1989; Stichman, Hassell, & Archbold, 2010), coal miners (Hammond & Mahoney, 1983), construction workers (Greed, 2000), and firefighters (Yoder & Aniakudo, 1997; Yoder & McDonald, 1998). Other studies focus on military cadets (Yoder, Adams, & Prince, 1983), nurses and physicians (Floge & Merrill, 1986), autoworkers (Gruber & Bjorn, 1988), coaches (Kane & Stangl, 1991), scientists (Shachar, 2000), the leveraged buyout industry (Turco, 2010), and law students (Spangler, Gordon, & Pipkin, 1978), as well as token women in general leadership positions (McDonald, Toussaint, & Schweiger, 2004).

Cassidy and Warren (1991) assessed the status consistency and work satisfaction of 89 females in male-dominated professions and 103 males in female-dominated

professions and found employees of the same sex as the majority group reported a higher satisfaction rate than those who were in the token group. Surprisingly, they also found a higher satisfaction level for employees similar to the majority. Female tokens in male-dominated professions rated higher on the satisfaction level than those in a female-dominated profession, even when controlling for individual earnings, hours worked per week, and length of time employed. The authors claim the cultural value attached to male-dominated occupations correlates to work satisfaction. Thus, men are viewed as status consistent in medicine, law, university teaching, science, and upper-level management; women are seen as status consistent in nursing, social work, librarianship, grade- and high-school teaching, and entry-level management (Cassidy & Warren, 1991). They discuss why females may want to position themselves in male-dominated professions (greater prestige associated with male professions) but do not consider why males might want to join female-dominated professions. Zimmer (1988) argued tokens (specifically women) could experience negative treatment because of perceptions of social inferiority, not because of their low numerical representation within an organization or group.

Most of the literature regarding tokens focuses on male-dominated professions and few researchers have studied tokenism within female-dominate professions. These studies challenge the gender neutrality of the token, finding men fared much better as tokens than women did in the same situations. Female tokens find their visibility hinders their ability to blend in and/or advance in the workplace but some male tokens have greater opportunities for leadership and promotions (Budig, 2002; Floge & Merril, 1986; Heikes, 1991; Williams, 1992; Yoder & Sinnett, 1985; Zimmer, 1988). These results

emphasize occupations as gendered institutions, creating dissimilar experiences for male and female tokens (Acker, 1990). Overall, the reports in the literature conflict on whether male tokens benefit from (Fairhurst & Snavely, 1983; Sackett, DuBois, & Noe, 1991) or are hindered by tokenism (Gans, 1987; Miner, 1994; Sargent, 2004; Young & James, 2001), leaving these themes to be explored.

One main criticism of Kanter's theory is its strong focus on numerical representation within a group, suggesting the problems tokens face will diminish as their numbers increase. Kanter (1977a) states uniform groups have only one kind of person, or significant social type. Skewed groups are those in which there is a larger proportion of one type over another, up to a ratio of 85:15. With this ratio, men in libraries appear to have begun to move towards equality, as they now compose nearly 22% of the professional population ("Minnesota," 2011). Conversely, Yoder (1991) argued tokens would continue to suffer harassment and inequalities as their presence increases within an organization or group because dominant members of the group will feel threatened by them. Only further studies will show whether larger numbers bring gender equality to the library workplace or if males will continue to be treated as tokens even as their numbers increase (Table 1).

Central Question

This study investigates men in librarianship by identifying factors related to the influence of computer technology and related social, cultural, economic, and/or political impacts the advancement of computer technology has had on decisions by male Millennials to become library professionals. The central question is how does Kanter's theory of tokenism apply to the presence of male Millennials currently enrolled in LIS

graduate programs. The objective of the study is to determine possible reasons why male Millennials enroll in LIS graduate programs to join a historically stereotyped feminized profession. Attempts to determine how and why technology may be influencing males to enter librarianship offered further insights.

Significance

The study fills important gaps in the professional literature in librarianship and psychology, and addresses the topic of males as an understudied group within the population of librarians. Individual choices and personal experiences of male students need to be known to understand the reasons men join librarianship, a female-intensive profession. The study findings are expected to be of interest to library graduate programs, the profession in general, other professions dominated by women, and other members of the public interested in gender diversity in today's society, particularly in professional workplaces.

If men now constitute more than 15% of the library worker population, then according to the theory of tokenism, they should not experience workplace stereotyping and polarization through their visibility and assimilation into a profession typically viewed as feminine. Kanter (1977b) identifies two conditions that cause the token to become more visible in the workplace: 1) the token's social category (master status) is physically obvious, such as gender or race and 2) the token's social type is rare or new to the setting of the dominants. The theory implies that *uniform* groups have only one kind of person, or significant social type. *Skewed* groups are those in which there is a larger proportion of one type over another, up to a ratio of 85:15, and Kanter suggests the problems tokens face will diminish as their numbers increase from 15%.

Statistical reports since the late 1920s indicate that more women than men work in the library profession (Harris, 1999). Many from both within and outside the profession question why today's libraries employ more women than men. Statistically, men still dominate director positions (Record & Green, 2008), but gender equity in lower ranks has seen little change over the years until recently. In ALA's 2007 *Diversity Counts* report, 19,463 (17.7%) credentialed librarians were men out of 109,958 librarians ("American," 2008a). In the 2009-2010 update of the ALA report, there were 20,393 (17.2%) credentialed male librarians out of 118,546 total credentialed librarians ("American," 2012). According to the United States Census Bureau (USCB), the total number of men in the category of "Librarians, Archivists, and Curators" (LAC) has increased from 40,514 (1980), to 50,056 (1990), 59,362 (2000), and finally to 59,972 (2010), a change of 48% (Table 1). This compares to the LAC category that was used because it is the only grouping that is consistent over this period.

When using USCB data, it is important to note that the USCB originally had two forms (a short form and long form) as a sampling strategy that randomly chose a proportion of people to receive a more detailed questionnaire (the long form). The USCB recently stopped sending out a long form in 2010 and is currently using the American Community Survey (ACS) in its place. Everyone receives the short form questions. It is administered every year, and the USCB releases this data yearly for places with a large population, in three-year estimates for places with slightly smaller populations, and in five-year estimates for places with small populations.

The role of male librarians has been historically under-documented and their reasons for joining the profession are obscure. The number of men joining the profession

with their female colleagues has grown but Beggs and Doolittle (1993) and Wiebe (2005) note long-held stereotypes of effeminate or "bookish" males in librarianship hold true even today. There are indications that the social status of the librarian is still far below lawyer, doctor, or clergy in career perspectives for young men. What accounts for male interest in the library profession when they could pursue a more lucrative career? The high demand for computer technology (as described in the literature review below) usage in today's libraries will increase in the future. This study investigates my assumption based on existing publications and my expertise as a professional librarian that male interest in using computer technology influences decisions by males born between 1981 and the present to enroll in library graduate programs.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

To explore and understand the factors that motivate men to join a feminized profession, one must look at the intersectionality of multiple facets, including gender roles and stereotypes, librarianship, sociology and organizational psychology. These aspects are covered in the following literature review of scholarly journals as well as professional trade magazines from library science, sociology, psychology, and business. Librarianship has always been an interdisciplinary field, borrowing and reshaping theories and ideas from different academic realms, so the literature review reflects a multitude of academic viewpoints. The scope of literature is limited primarily to the United States (U.S.). The review is limited to the topic of male library employees and includes administrators as well as general employees and stereotypes specific to men in these roles. It excludes the topics of female librarians except for comparative purposes, the historical effect of affirmative action on the rise of women to administrative roles long occupied by men, and pay equity in librarianship. The impact of men in nontraditional roles is explored, but issues associated with gay men in libraries will not be reviewed.

Several terms used throughout this review warrant definitions. First, *Millennials* refers to any male born between 1981 and the present. Second, *technology* represents computer hardware (including but not limited to desktop computers, printers, and personal computing devices both for work and/or leisure activities) and software (including e-mail, specialized software, social media, and web applications). Finally, Kanter's (1977b) definition is used for *tokens*: Any situation wherein proportions of

significant types of people are highly skewed and are treated as representatives of their category. Here, a token is a surrogate for all men because men are fewer among the larger female population of librarians.

The first section considers libraries as a workplace and how the culture can have a positive or negative effect on employees and fostering gender diversity. Early stereotypes associated with anti-intellectualism are briefly discussed. The historical stereotypes of male librarians are traced from the Middle Ages to more recent variations in popular media in the 21st century and the image/role of men in libraries. The second section explores males in nontraditional occupations and ways of balancing social expectations and gender roles. The glass escalator effect and renegotiating masculinity in the workplace are touched upon as factors men in nontraditional roles face. Gender roles, librarians, and technology are also explored. Finally, the last section includes works defining Millennials through their characteristics, behaviors, and beliefs. Their expectations in the workplace, generational identities, and their use of technology are discussed. Possible reasons for gaps in the literature in these specific bodies of literature are addressed in the conclusion.

Library as Workplace

Organizational culture is a strategic resource that can ensure the continued existence and success of a library by using strategic outcomes, innovation, and management. George and Jones (2008) defined organizational culture as the "practices, values, beliefs, and underlying assumptions of formal and informal groups" (p. 567). Garcia (2011) explained, "Institutions are constellations of established and enduring practices, beliefs, roles, and meanings, which shape and are shaped by individual actions.

They provide rules, norms, ideas, and assumptions and constrain or enable us" (p. 150). When the culture is inclusive of all employees, the library as a workplace can have a positive effect on attracting staff, creating favorable assessments by administrators and benefactors, and casting libraries in a positive light (Kaarst-Brown, Nicholson, von Dran, & Stanton, 2004).

Organizational culture can also have the opposite effect, causing workplace anxiety and attrition if employees feel unwelcome. Issues such as stereotyping, discrimination, and sexual harassment all complicate an otherwise effective workplace environment (Greer, Stephens, & Coleman, 2001). Kanter's (1977b) social analysis of the corporate workplace suggests tokenism and polarization can play a key part in the overall poor employee experience of workplace culture. Greer et al. (2001) warn how gender roles can "spillover" (p. 137) into the workplace and manifest as "sexual harassment, dysfunctional coworker relations, stereotyping, discrimination, and other detrimental manifestations such as violent acts" (p. 137) as libraries become more diverse. They assert organizations must be proactive in creating environments that increase the likelihood of success for all members (Greer, Stephens, & Coleman, 2001). Cultural and gender diversity can contribute positively to the library workplace, when actions are taken to make employees of all backgrounds feel included and valued.

Male stereotypes and anti-intellectualism. Public perceptions and stereotyping may also be a factor in the shaping of the male role of the librarian in the workplace rather than the librarian shaping it himself. Historically, when men are thrust into a certain intellectual role, there is no easy way out when that role is not socially acceptable. For example, during times of war in the U.S. stereotypes existed on what qualified a man

to be a soldier, "There would be some, notably the poets, scholar and college men, who might not possess the fighting qualities other men possessed" (Dubbert, 1979, p. 196). These men may have been entirely capable of fighting for their country as individuals but:

> …what made the difference was the old assumption that scholarship and intellectualism were characteristics of a softer kind of man who could not take the rough military life and would falter during the fighting. (Dubbert, 1979, p. 196)

Unfortunately, the evolution of the male librarian role has been slow and these stereotypes may still hold true today. At best, masculinity is not associated with intellectualism, which plays a large part of the librarian's professional role, regardless of gender. "How men perform in their workplace is the principle validation of their masculinity and has been a basis of defining a division of labor and distinguishing sex roles" (Dubbert, 1979, p. 4).

Historical stereotypes of male librarians. Library science literature is replete with opinion pieces on the topic of men working in libraries (Gordon, 2004; Holland, 2007; Tennant, 2006) but it lacks a substantive foundation of empirical research. The scant literature includes short commentaries (Angoff, 1959; Beaudrie & Grunfeld, 1991; deLong, 2007; Munn, 1993; Sable, 1969), how to create a better workplace (DeLaat, 2007; Kaspar & Mosley, 2008), and stereotypes for both men and women (Akintunde & Selbar, 1995; Arant & Benefiel, 2002; King, 1999; Radford & Radford, 2003; Sapp, 1986; Scherdin & Beaubien, 1995; Slagell, 2005; Wallace, Tolley-Stokes, & Estep, 2011). Stereotypes of male librarians date back to the Middle Ages with somber and timid monks hunched over books evolving into effeminate and weak-natured library

curators during the Industrial Age. As the number of female librarians continued to rise through the 1900s, stereotypes for both men and women working in libraries began to surface and have plagued the profession with versions of "the old-maid-Marian-the-Librarian" and "the-fairy-Harry-Librarian" (Glab, 1972, p. 20).

Williams (1998) proposed that social beliefs about the librarian's sexuality are contained within stereotypes: if female, the assumption is she is a sexually repressed unmarried woman; if male, the public assumes he must be gay. Men in nontraditional professions such as nursing and librarianship have become easy targets for stereotyping, creating a vicious cycle. Men assume the stereotypes are valid, they avoid taking the jobs, and the profession continues to see few males entering the workforce, creating a self-fulfilling prophecy of low employment rates. Society sees librarianship as "women's work," and anyone associated with it must be female or feminine. Movies, books, and other popular media focus on the overall image of the librarian, as if only one type exists for both sexes (Duke, 1999; Garcia, 2011). While appearing contradictory, Dubbert (1979) notes intellectualism is not masculine and Williams (1998) suggests society believes a librarian's sexuality is tied to his or her profession, and it must be noted the two concepts are separate.

Popular media perpetuates social stereotypes of librarianship as a feminized profession but scholarly research and literature has also contributed to the widespread notion of male librarians as feminine. Beginning in the 1940s, psychologists built gender stereotypes into survey instruments intended to measure personality attributes. The popular Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) and the California Personality Inventory, for example, considered an expressed interest in librarianship an

indication of femininity (Turner, 1980). Employers, including the government, used such scales to ascertain the "masculinity" of men in librarianship and other predominantly female professions (Morrisey & Case, 1988; Turner, 1980; Wilson, 1982). For the most part, these studies found little difference between male librarians and men in more traditionally male professions. A study by Beggs and Doolittle (1993) of college students' perceptions of the sex typing of 129 occupations reports "Head Librarian" (p. 1442) was the ninth most feminine profession among 128 other occupational titles.

Williams (1998) claims that repeated scrutiny of men in nontraditional occupations serves as a constant reminder their masculinity is in question. Homosexuality is a dominant, if underlying, assumption about male librarians, with a large amount of the stereotyping coming from within the profession. Carmichael's study (1994) estimated the percentage of gay male librarians to be the same as the general population (9%) but indicated male librarians think the number of gays in the profession is higher. Over 81% of all respondents identified "effeminate (probably gay)," (Carmichael, 1994, p. 228) outranking all others on the checklist by at least 30%.

Carmichael's study (1992) exploring stereotypes and gender perceptions in libraries stands as the benchmark for library and gender studies today. Carmichael examined male librarian perceptions of stereotypes and gender perceptions from the viewpoints of academic, special, and public librarians, including practitioners, administrators, and educators. His work emphasized the idea that men explicitly define themselves as "male first, librarian second" in the profession and vigorously try to protect their images from the negative stereotypes associated with the job (Carmichael, 1992). He stated the "feminized profession" image remains unchanged in the media, except for

"…the additional high-tech facet, a product of the electronic revolution in libraries, the effect of which is more than likely benign" (Carmichael, 1992, 415). Such a statement could use justification, especially with the rapid influx of technology into libraries since the original study. Carmichael's enthusiasm for studying the male perspective from a new standpoint is apparent throughout the article:

> Too little is understood about why men choose work in feminized professions, what barriers or incentives they encounter because of their sex, and why they remain committed to or forsake library work. Such information may clarify male motivations and frustrations in society's 'gender wars,' and advance a greater respect for the totality of library work, instead of on particular specialties within it (Carmichael, 1992, p. 418).

Stereotypes of male librarians in the 21st century. Piper and Collamer (2001) investigated male attitudes towards self-perceptions, library stereotypes, and work communities with an updated pilot study based on Carmichael's (1992) original study nearly a decade later. Out of 118 surveys used for analysis, all the respondents reported being assigned certain work traditionally labeled "men's work" but did not think men were more technologically adept than women (despite technology's association with "men's work") (Piper & Collamer, 2001, p. 410). Carmichael's original (1992) respondents were evenly split (*yes*, 32.5%; *no*, 30.5%) on whether the "technological revolution" had changed the male stereotype, but 85% of the respondents claimed it has improved the image of librarianship.

Piper and Collamer (2001) proposed that men address the perceived public stereotype of a librarian by choosing more male areas within the workplace (such as

corporate information or knowledge management) or by choosing positions with titles more aligned with power. They found the male participants believed men had an advantage over female peers for promotions and believed men felt more pressure to take administrative positions. However, male participants perceived they were paid equally to women, compared to Hildebrand's (1999) earlier study showing women earned 5.8% less than men did. The original study and subsequent pilot provided the basis for newer studies focusing on the newest generation of men and their perceptions of stereotypes.

Dickinson (2003) outlined a historical lens for negative male librarian stereotypes, beginning with colonial America's first librarians as they are portrayed in today's movie and television programs. Dickinson did not include an empirical study but these historical references provide a timeline of how American men began working in libraries, were later replaced largely by females in the second half of the nineteenth century, and are slowly returning. Mosley (2002) concentrated on librarian stereotypes for both sexes and what future libraries (and therefore librarians) will look like, including job duties, perceptions, and self-image, while also recognizing the number of librarians in the so-called *Generation X* group (the generation before Millennials) as significantly lower than in comparable professions. Schott and Connor's work (2010) touched on the professional and social benefits and drawbacks to being a male librarian. Despite their interesting twist in having a female coauthor speak for the "majority" to counter male perspectives in the article, other works more thoroughly cover stereotypes and male dominance in administrative and technological roles.

Davis-Kendrick's (2009) study of motivational factors influencing African-American males to become librarians is the most recent study of male librarians. In

addition to identifying which factors led African-American males to pursue a graduate degree in library science, the survey of 93 participants focused on male librarian views on gender parity in the profession, their career goals, job satisfaction rates, and perceived benefits and obstacles in librarianship. When asked why they wanted to become librarians, 53% of participants responded they wanted to help people or be in a service-oriented career, 44% specified they "just kind of fell into" librarianship, and 40% of participants highlighted their enjoyment of technology as a reason for joining the library profession (Davis-Kendrick, 2009). The responses by participants in this study serve as a starting point to strengthen the claim that technology could be a factor for male Millennials choosing the library profession.

While Carmichael (1992) focused on identifying the stereotypes, Davis-Kendrick (2009) focused on the impact of stereotypes on male participants. Davis-Kendrick (2009) found that 61% of respondents indicated they were "not bothered" by male librarian stereotypes, and of the 39% who reported they were "bothered" or "somewhat bothered" by the stereotypes, the misconceptions about their sexuality were the most bothersome. This differs from Carmichael's (1992) findings on male librarian stereotypes almost two decades earlier, in which over 80% of respondents identified a gay male stereotype. Further study is needed to see if male librarians have become less sensitive about professional and sexual stereotypes throughout the profession.

Sex and Gender Roles

Biological sex is a prominent variable in psychology and the studies on gender roles are nearly limitless. Gender is a variable in many studies involving roles in the workplace, especially in nontraditional professions (e.g. Hayes, 1986; Heppner &

Heppner, 2009; Jome, Surething, & Taylor, 2005; Leidner, 1991). Most studies focus on male nurses (Floge & Merrill, 1986; Rochlen, Good, & Carver, 2009; Torkelson & Seed, 2011) and primary education providers (Cognard-Black, 2004; Cushman, 2005; Wiest, 2003). In these studies, librarians are compared to the previously mentioned professional groups but not studied in their own right. Few studies focus on specific aspects of gender roles in libraries, providing an in-depth look at libraries from a defined male point of view. This literature review focuses primarily on the views of men who do "women's work."

Gender roles largely define work roles and include personal experiences, beliefs, and roles as defined by the organization. Padavic and Reskin (2002) propose employers often have a particular gender in mind when they create new jobs, set pay levels, and decide how to accomplish work and under what conditions. They suggest maintaining male advantage is a primary reason for assigning human activities to a specific gender. Gendered professions, such as librarianship, institutionalize the favored position of men as a group and play a fundamental role in perpetuating a hierarchy favoring men over women. Consequently, even though librarianship is a feminized industry, men enjoy the benefits of being male perhaps without any extra effort to obtain those benefits. Padavic and Reskin (2002) argue that men generally are not even aware of the benefits they derive because of their sex, support this possibility. In their discussion of male and female gender differentiation in the workplace, they reviewed open discrimination in hiring practices, pay gaps in wages, sexual harassment, and historical explanations for such practices. Padavic and Reskin (2002) provide definitions of gender, gendered work, and sex stereotypes, as well as an extensive history of gender segregation in the

workplace in the U.S. They further state that workplace changes occur slowly, whether males or females perform the task, because the existing division of labor by sex shapes social expectations about gender roles in the workplace and because in many occupations turnover of an existing male workforce is slow.

In 1999, the International Labour Office supplied statistics from hundreds of studies conducted on sex segregation in occupations from around the world (Greenwood, 1999). The examples focused on stereotypes and the segregation of women. The focus on occupational segregation is important. Elimination of sex segregation and the benefits for men could be key in the discussion of library gender segregation. If segregation activities for both sexes were recognized, men and women could work to eliminate these practices foster a healthier workplace environment.

Rudman and Glick (2008) claim that occupational roles could overshadow traditional male roles, but male stereotypes have been unaffected since the 1970s. Their discussion of social role theory is important in examining how males think and behave in feminized professions. Alice Eagly's (1987) *social role theory* concludes gender differences in social behavior come from the distribution of men and women into social roles. She also provided predictions on what future stereotypes and self-perceptions might be for males and females.

Men in nontraditional professions. Historically, the literature on nontraditional professions focuses on pioneering women in engineering, aviation, medicine, science, and mathematics. Numerous works cover these occurrences but studies of men in female occupations are scarce. Studies by Lupton (2006), Simpson (2005), and Williams (1992) document gender roles in nontraditional professions, but librarianship is merely one of

several female-dominated trades, including elementary school teachers, flight attendants, and nurses.

Two of the most recent works by Cross and Bagilhole (2002) and Simpson (2005) focus on the experiences of men working in professions dominated by women and include librarians in their cross-studies. Instead of focusing on the lines of work, both studies focus on the reasons for career choice and gains and losses in male privilege once they were established in the profession. Cross and Bagilhole (2002) assert that men's entry into nontraditional jobs does not signal a change in men's privileged position as a gender and most men in their study exhibited signs of trying to maintain traditional masculinity in the workplace. Simpson (2005) found male librarians were expected to be *finders*, men who do not actively seek a nontraditional career but who found the occupation in the process of making general career decision. When behaving as finders, men join the profession because of the absence of a desirable career alternative at the time.

Librarianship was a "second best" (Simpson, 2005, p. 369) career after failed attempts at other occupations for over half the respondents. (Women have also joined the library profession as a second or third choice of career). Both studies also explored assumptions of enhanced leadership skills, differential treatment and careerist attitudes by superiors, the constant questioning of masculine roles, and participant self-perceptions (Cross & Bagilhole, 2002; Simpson, 2004).

Men and the glass escalator. Christine Williams (1992) first coined the term *glass escalator* during her study of men in nontraditional roles. The phrase defines the action of quickly promoting men in predominantly female professions to administrative

positions because of their sex despite a personal lack of qualifications or aspirations for advancement. The glass escalator is still discussed in works on gender equity and sex stratification in occupations (Budig, 2002; Cross & Bagilhole, 2002; Maume, 1999; Simpson, 2004; Snyder & Green, 2008; Wingfield, 2009). Researchers now routinely use the glass escalator concept to describe benefits among male nurses, social workers, and paralegals, as well as librarians, and note higher wages and faster promotions even when men are in the minority (Floge & Merril, 1986; Heikes, 1991; Pierce, 1995; Williams, 1995).

Williams (1995) found that, in the Kanterian sense, female and male tokens did not experience the same isolation, heightened visibility, blocked access to social networks, and stereotypes in the same ways in her study of male nurses, elementary teachers, social workers, and librarians. She emphasized that male advantage is built into the structure and everyday interactions of their jobs so men find themselves struggling to remain in place in culturally feminized occupations. Conversely, Wingfield (2009)'s study of black male nurses proposed that only Caucasian men experience the glass escalator and other racial groups in female-dominated professions may face tense relationships, patient stereotypes may inhibit caregiving, and supervisor biases may prevent achieving promotions. These studies suggest variables other then strict mathematical numbers, such as gender and race, may play a part in whether tokenism can be applied to the workplace setting.

Williams (2013) has recently proposed that the glass escalator concept may not be applicable to "neoliberal workplaces" (p. 11), noting that it primarily describes traditional hierarchical work organizations and not new work environments consisting of horizontal

interdisciplinary teams. She states, "The glass ceiling and the glass escalator seem far too static to capture what is going on in our current era of flexible, project-based, horizontal, and contingent employment" (Williams, 2013, p. 13) and suggested new metaphors are needed to understand the persistence of male privilege in the flatter neoliberal organizations, which can only come from further research.

Using Kanter's theory of tokenism (1977b), men may still dominate the top levels in organizations and monopolize the highest ranks in both traditional and nontraditional occupations whether or not they are a token group. Historically, in female lines of work, the higher the position, the more probable the jobholder was to be male (Williams, 1995). In female-dominated jobs (such as nurse, librarian, elementary school teacher, and social worker), men traditionally do not encounter blocked opportunities because of their gender but experience the opposite situation where they are fast-tracked to higher positions on the glass escalator. Evidence of the glass escalator effect is described in Sullivan's (1996) historical research, where male librarians were promoted intentionally (examples include the Carnegie fellowships disproportionately awarded to male library leaders from 1929 to 1942) as an obvious effort to attract men to the profession.

Schott and Connor (2010) counter claims of promotional devices still being used by library employers, arguing the glass escalator does not go all the way to the top. As a male librarian, Schott described experiencing what he calls *The Old Girls' Network*, which can be "as insidious and soul-destroying as any old boys' network" (Schott & Connor, 2010, p. 344). While no specific examples are provided, the author alludes to preferential treatment of females over males in the library workplace and that male advantage is not always present in promotion practices. The abundance of historical

literature on men in library administrative roles and their promotion over equally capable women (Harris, 1992; McCook, 1983; Weibel, McCook, & Ellsworth, 1979) does not support Schott's claim of the lack of promotion of male librarians. Both Reskin (1988) and Cognard-Black (2004) call for more studies emphasizing the factors influencing workers' movement into and out of sex-typed jobs.

Renegotiating masculinity in the workplace. Stereotypes and conflicted views by society of gender roles require the male to renegotiate his masculinity whether he rises quickly through the organization or remains fixed in a low-level position. Sable (1969) implies the male (librarian) "craves control and seeks guidelines to create a profession with the qualities he finds necessary to justify taking on such a role" (p. 749). He distinguishes five aspects of how a male redefines his masculinity on the job: highlighting masculine qualities, redefining tasks, redefining the position, distancing from female colleagues, and seeking promotion.

Highlighting the masculine qualities of the position is the first and most obvious attempt by the librarian to prove himself as a male, even before proving himself as a librarian. According to Sable (1969), men want distance from the gendered characteristics typifying the female librarian in the popular mind. For example, he may emphasize his role as department head, administrator, or technology expert or extol the physical efforts required of the position. Second, as part of the highlighting, the male librarian may redefine his tasks. Cross and Bagilhole (2002) address the issue of redefining, suggesting that he may reformulate the perceptions of the work as being more like "men's work," (p. 223) such as refusing to perform certain "feminine tasks" (p. 223) or emphasizing the different tasks men perform compared to female colleagues.

Defining and redefining tasks appeared as a strategy for addressing gender inequality during the Information Age. Society already associated men with technology in library jobs and by leadership in library schools (Hildebrand, 1999; Knupfer, 1997). Hildebrand (1999) predicted that enthusiasm for technological advances would further historic gender inequities in both library education curriculum and library workplaces. Society depicts women as passive users while men are seen as "active agents in the computer world" (Hildebrand, 1999, p. 45). In redefining tasks, male librarians may overemphasize their use of technology and expertise and downplay such tasks as readers advisory, circulation, or clerical work (Haigh, 2001). They may also seek library positions with many technology-based aspects, as these would help redefine the position of librarian as a more masculine one.

After redefining his daily tasks, the male librarian may go so far as to rename the position. In one study of ten male librarians, Cross and Bagilhole (2002) report almost half the participants concealed their occupations from friends and strangers. They might change their titles or job descriptions to sound masculine so library director may be chief information officer, cybrarian, or knowledge manager. Schott and Connor (2010) illustrate how male librarians may explain they have different, male-oriented duties (such as organizing, leading, or directing) compared to their female counterparts when discussing their careers or current occupations.

In addition to renaming and redefining daily tasks, the male librarian may also find other reasons to "detach himself from his female coworkers to maintain the veneer of traditional masculinity" (Cross & Bagilhole, 2002, p. 221). Dissociating oneself from femininity may involve including both work and leisure time activities for the male

librarian. Male librarians may avoid overly feminine social activities, such as baby showers or engagement luncheons, where all coworkers are welcome but social norms dictate the target audience is clearly female. Men also reinforce their masculinity through participation in masculine leisure interests, such as hunting, fishing, or athletic ventures (activities in which typical female coworkers may not participate), as a way to distance their lifestyles outside the workplace (Cross & Bagilhole, 2002).

Finally, the most noticeable and debated method for the renegotiation of masculinity in libraries is seeking promotion. The promotion of men over qualified women has historical roots dating back to the 19th century. Motivation to move through the ranks to distinguish themselves from female colleagues is a final method used by male librarians to reinforce their masculinity. Historically, the number of male administrators has been disproportionately higher compared to the percentage of total male employees in librarianship, as documented by Weibel et al. (1979) and O'Brien (1983). Men in feminine jobs suffer both prestige and wage penalties when compared what they could have in masculine jobs (England & Herbert, 1993; Jacobs & Powell, 1984) until they become administrators and make higher salaries (United States Department of Labor, 2010). Schott and Connor (2010) suggest men in technology-driven positions may worsen the glass escalator phenomena in their discussion of all the male librarians for whom technology plays a major role in their job duties. Men may use technology as a way to move farther up the career ladder into administrative positions and use the promotion as a way to emphasize their masculinity.

Gender roles and technology in libraries. Hildebrand's study (1999) explores the discrimination of women and minorities for placement in top positions in libraries,

identifying elements in the LIS curriculum as the origin of the disproportionate promotion of men in the workplace. Despite the focus on sex stratification from the female perspective, Hildebrand briefly investigates the role of computers in gender stereotypes, observing males associated with technology-favored men over women as new hires. According to a study by Ricigliano and Houston (2003), 53% of men were heads of computer systems in libraries in 1991, and 66% of men held similar positions in 2001. Their study shows the number of men in large university libraries has remained consistent over time, men preferred "masculine enclaves," (p. 5), and they specialized primarily in technology. Their findings support the documented increase in men in the library profession through the last forty years ("Minnesota," 2011) and the greater role technology is playing in libraries.

Since the 1960s, libraries have seen the implementation of technology and automation into most areas, such as circulation, reference, cataloging, acquisitions, and technical services, and web management, and Vogt (2003) and Wiebe (2005) suggest men prefer positions within those categories. In 2006, the average annual starting salary for librarians who categorized their positions as information science was $48,413; the average for those who categorized their positions as library science was $39,580. Women who categorized their positions as information science earned an average starting salary of $46,118; men averaged $55,423 ("American," 2008b). Salary statistics substantiate the research showing information technology positions are more highly valued, and therefore are more highly compensated, in the library organization and men more highly compensated than women (Lamont, 2009). Additionally, the Association of

Research Libraries (ARL) (2008) statistics show from 2004-2008 men were more often employed as the heads of computer systems departments within libraries than women.

Bergman's study (2005) compared electronic resource librarian positions to system librarian positions in the categories of job definition, salary issues, and general gender role inequity in libraries but did not focus on one specific generation. Hickey (2006) expanded on experiences of working in a female-dominated workforce, providing an in-depth look at male experiences as academic librarians. Through case studies, he explored how males self-identify and tokenism in the workplace.

Librarians and Technology Skills. The technology skills in demand in LIS workplaces differ greatly from those in computer science. In computer science, the focus is on using technology skills to create software and hardware as the product, whereas librarians use their skills to help the patron use the product as a means to an end. Today, computers and productivity tools help library patrons to access information, generate insights, structure results into a useful format, and produce knowledge. Heinrichs and Lim (2009) note the use of these tools by patrons requires librarians to alter their traditional professional role, which was primarily providing information access for patrons, so they can also provide expanded services such as teaching technology skills and other support services to these patrons.

Heinrichs and Lim (2009) explored perceived and desired computer skills among LIS graduates and found statistically significant gender differences in the desired skill level for the productivity tool applications of presentation and word processing. Men appeared more confident in using multimedia tools than did women and male participants in their 20s showed the highest competence in Web design software applications. These

findings suggest younger employees entering the profession appear to have greater technology skills. This is important, as the skills needed for positions in libraries are changing.

Croneis and Henderson (2002) examined job announcements published between 1990 and 2000 with *electronic* or *digital* in the title and found similar responsibilities but particular differences between the two. Electronic librarian positions involved reference, instruction, collection development, and Web pages and centered on traditional, library-oriented, and user-centered duties. Digital librarian positions are primarily responsible for administration and project management with emphases on securing funding and overseeing production (Croneis & Henderson, 2002).

In an exploratory study by Shank (2006) regarding job advertisements of the newly emerging position of instructional design librarian, 90% of the position announcements required candidates to possess knowledge of using Web and other multimedia creation software, such as *Adobe* or *Macromedia* products. Sixty percent of the advertisements also required that the candidate have skills and/or experience with current and emerging instructional technologies.

More recently, Choi and Rasmussen (2009) examined the qualifications and skills required of professional positions involved in digital resources, services, and technologies as changing aspects in academic libraries. The most requested qualifications for digital librarian positions included finding appropriate technological skills and experience in the digital library environment, knowledge and experience in the creation and management of digital information, and understanding metadata, with high emphasis on management and trend analysis skills (Choi & Rasmussen, 2009). As librarian roles continue to

evolve, the technological skills for applicants will likely continue to grow in demand and could draw more men to the profession.

Millennial Generation

Millennials, *Gen-Ys*, *Next-Gens*, or *Digital Natives*, no matter the moniker, have become the newest generation in the workplace. Study of Millennial librarians is limited, although publications including general character observations of the generation abound (Artman, 2008; Buschman, 2007; Gordon, 2005; Gordon, 2006; Yates, 2008), particularly in business and psychology (Deal, Altman, & Rogelberg, 2010; Hershatter & Epstein, 2010; Ng, Schweitzer, & Lyons, 2010; Pasieka, 2009). While scholars differ on the exact years encompassing the Millennial generation (1977-2000), estimates indicate that 95 million people of a U.S. population of 300 million are in this group, compared to 78 million Baby Boomers (Greenberg & Weber, 2008).

Entering the workforce. While many popular works explore multiple facets of the Millennial generation, this literature review focuses on texts with overarching generalizations of the generation to describe Millennial men as a whole. Understanding their characteristics, habits, hobbies, and goals provides a grounded understanding of Millennials as a demographic group. In this study, technology and the workplace are the focus for a more in-depth analysis. Millennials are just now entering the workforce so little literature exists and studies conflict on the defining work-related characteristics of Millennial librarians.

The literature has varying opinions and predictions on how the Millennial generation will evolve based on their current behaviors and environmental factors. Marston (2007) provides a glimpse of the emerging generation with clear expectations of

how they will act, what they will demand as employees, and what motivates them to come into work, to stay, and to leave for other pursuits. Nevertheless, these generalizations obscure the individual voices of Millennials in certain careers, such as librarianship, lumping them into a collective stereotype.

The integration of technology in everyday life. Technology is tied to generalizations of Millennials and its infiltration into their daily lives. Greenberg and Weber (2008) compiled a colorfully illustrated study of statistics about email usage, instant messaging, text messaging, how new technology can be used, and whether these new technologies are helpful or wasteful. Millennials were viewed holistically in their opinions about technology, including innovations, challenges, perceptions, and activism. In their study, Millennials rated a series of events or trends on their importance in shaping the attitudes and beliefs of their generation. The lead phenomenon is the rise of the Internet, cell phones, text messaging, e-mail, and similar advances in personal technology with an average importance rating of 8.3, where 10, the highest rating, represents *extremely important* and 0, the lowest rating, represents *not at all important*. Moreover, 48 percent of Millennials gave this trend a perfect 10 rating for its effect on their generation. The next most important influence was the terrorist attacks of 9/11, with an average 7.9 rating and 36% of respondents giving it a perfect 10 (Greenberg & Weber, 2008).

Forming a generational identity. Findings from the Greenberg and Weber (2008) study also suggest Millennials have a clear sense of generational identity, and agree their generation "shares specific beliefs, attitudes, and experiences" (p. 22) setting them apart from other generations (Greenberg & Weber, 2008). With fundamental

optimism, they believe in the power of human ingenuity and creativity to develop solutions to problems plaguing humanity using technology. They have a profound belief in technological, social, and political innovation. They do not see limitations but the possibility that anything can be accomplished with enough creativity and determination. Millennials have interest in and believe in collective social action. Salkowitz (2008) provides current statistics on Millennial use of technology, including personal computers, Internet usage, and multi-tasking. He defines *digital native*, provides an in-depth examination of the Millennial work styles and performances, and highlights the fact some Millennials are not technologically adept at all. Both Greenberg and Weber (2008) and Salkowitz (2008) lump the reported experiences of Millennials into large, overarching themes, losing rich details of individual stories in sweeping claims.

While the studies discussed in this literature do not provide insight on whether technology plays a significant part in drawing Millennials to librarianship, or to any particular career, an image of the Millennials' habits and preferences for work and technology can be extrapolated to library work. Millennials appear to be interested in work/life balance (Jennings & Markgraf, 2010), they seek career progression (De Hauw & De Vos, 2010), and are achievement-oriented ("Families," 2002). They disagree with the proposition that traditional gender roles are best, such as the husband being the sole provider for the family ("Families," 2002), and believe either gender can succeed in any career.

According to De Hauw and De Vos (2010), Millennials expect employers to provide meaningful work and challenging jobs, as well as opportunities for learning. The Pew Research Center states they are history's first "always connected" generation;

immersed in digital technology and social media, they treat their multitasking hand-held gadgets as an extension of themselves (*Millennials*, 2010). For Millennials, technological innovations provide more than a bottomless source of information and entertainment and a new ecosystem for their social lives; these innovations are a badge of generational identity (*Millennials*, 2010). Having grown up with widespread access to technology, Millennials are generally able to use a variety of technology and digital devices and navigate the Internet intuitively, although perhaps not always skillfully.

Conclusion

Three lacunae identified in this literature review bear reiteration: motivations for men joining the profession, insight into men in libraries as a minority group, and the personal experiences of men choosing the profession as a cultural group. Despite numerous studies describing gender roles, technology in libraries, and characteristics of the Millennial generation, a gap in the literature exists regarding the social, cultural, economic, political, and/or technological factors have had on decisions by male Millennials to become library professionals. Literature reviewed for this study in the fields of library science, business, and psychology indicated no preceding study linking male Millennials to these factors.

The gaps regarding these specific topics exist for a variety of possible reasons. First, members of the Millennial generation due to their age are only recently appearing in libraries as workers, with the bulk of the generation still in college or high school. Second, in publications, men in librarianship (excluding directorships) have been described as something of a novelty since the early 1900s. A lack of literature on men as a segment of the workforce could be attributed to their assumed minor roles, outside of

administrative positions. The profession does not recognize men as a minority group in organizational activities such as statistical reports or scholarship opportunities despite a clear commitment to overall diversity in the library workforce (*Recruitment*, 2013). Recruitment efforts, such as leadership training, scholarships, and advertising, appear to be solely aimed at racial minority groups. Without formal classification of men as a minority group in official reports, classification, and recognition of minority groups, such as the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender community of librarians, remained the library profession's priority. Third, technology as a part of libraries has been discussed to the point of becoming clichéd, but Lietzau (2009) and Peltier-Davis (2009) point out the focus has been on the technology and its uses, not the librarians using it. Studying reasons men join the library profession extends the scope of literature in the areas of professional librarianship and gender roles and provides practical guidance for LIS graduate programs seeking to recruit new students.

Chapter 3

Methods

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this case study is to identify the factors that influence men born from 1981 to the present to become professional librarians. It is an intensive examination of a single group, men in ALA-accredited masters-level programs in the United States (U.S.). These programs include traditional library science and new information science programs (including iSchools) that offer degrees such as Master of Library Science (MLS), Master of Arts, Master of Librarianship, Master of Library and Information Studies (MLIS), and Master of Science. ALA accreditation indicates that the program has undergone an external review and meets the ALA Committee on Accreditation's standards for Master's programs in Library and Information Studies (American, 2013). These standards evaluate a program's mission, goals, and objectives; their curriculum, faculty, and students; their administration and financial support; and their physical resources and facilities ("American," 2013).

Research Questions

Ultimately, the study identifies some of the factors that have influenced male Millennials to enter library school as the gateway to the library profession or as the means to advance in their existing library careers.

The central question in this study is "What prompts male Millennials to join this historically stereotyped feminized profession?" Subquestions include:

1. What social, cultural, economic, political, and/or technological factors influence male Millennials currently enrolled in graduate programs to become professional librarians?
2. Does computer technology play any role in attracting male Millennials to the library profession?
3. How does Kanter's theory of tokenism apply to male Millennials who are entering the library profession?

Case Study

Creswell (2013) clarifies various views of case study (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001; Yin, 1984) by stating it is "a methodology, a type of research design, a product of inquiry, and an object of study" (p. 97). Influenced by Creswell, this research explores a case through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (interviews, survey) and reports a case description and case-based themes. Wildemuth (2009) indicates that case study design is appropriate for exploratory studies that investigate a phenomenon such as this one.

Additional literature suggests multiple scenarios in which case studies are appropriate methodology and explains my design choice. Fidel (1984) suggests case studies are appropriate for "investigating phenomena when (1) a large variety of factors and relationships are included, (2) no basic laws exists to determine which factors and relationships are important, and (3) when the factors and relationships can be directly observed" (p. 273). Harrison (1987) recommends the case study for investigating organizational structure and functions or organizational performance. Powell and Connaway (2004) propose using a case as an exploratory technique involving intensive

analyses of a small number of subjects rather than gathering data from a large sample or population. Yin (1984) makes a broader statement, "The case study is the method of choice when the phenomenon under study is not readily distinguishable from its context" (p. 3).

Case study data are drawn from people's experiences and practices and are strongly based in reality. They allow the researcher to show the complexity of social life by exploring meanings and interpretations. Any number of data collection techniques can be used in case studies, such as questionnaires, interviews, observation, and the analysis of documents (Powell & Connaway, 2004). In this study, interviews and an online survey are used. Case studies probe deeply and analyze the diverse phenomena of that particular unit to establish generalizations about the wider population to which the unit belongs (Cohen & Manion, 1995). Built on actual practices and experiences, they can be linked to action and their insights can contribute to changing practice since they are close to people's experiences and can be more persuasive and accessible (Cohen & Manion, 1995).

The complexity of case studies can make analysis difficult, because the holistic nature of a case study means the researcher is very aware of the connections between various events, variables, and outcomes. This makes distinguishing the relevant and important pieces difficult, for the researcher must show the connections but not lose sight of the larger picture. As Blaxter, Hughes, and Tight (2001) point out, it can be difficult to know where the context begins and ends, while contextualizing the aspects of the case study help strengthen the study. Paris (1988) provides an alternative theory; however, most researchers consider the case study to be low in internal and external validity

(Leedy & Ormrod, 2001; Powell & Connaway, 2004; Yin, 1984). To serve as a foundation for generalizations, case studies must relate to a theoretical framework, which in turn may be adjusted as case study results provide new evidence (Mikkelsen, 1995).

Case studies are found throughout library science and psychology literature (DeLaat, 2007; Floge & Merril, 1986; Heikes, 1991). Researchers have interviewed small groups of men in nontraditional occupations, such as librarians, seeking detailed responses about a variety of topics. For example, Downing (2009) interviewed 24 librarians from three ARL institutions. The procedure in this case study reflects those used in previous studies used by Hickey (2006) and Williams (1992). Hickey (2006) used a series of structured interviews to interview men about individual experiences of working in academic libraries. Williams (1992) interviewed men in nursing, elementary education, librarianship, and social work about the advantages of working in female-dominated professions. As defined by Creswell (2013), this case study examines the issue of men joining the library profession within a bounded system, in this case, specific LIS graduate programs. The research focuses on three strategically selected universities through detailed, in-depth data analysis involving interviews and an online survey, as well as data analysis of the latest ALISE (2012) Statistical Report (Wallace, 2012).

Sample Participants

The research process began with approval by Emporia State University's Institutional Review Board (Appendix A). To obtain the desired depth of information, participants in this study were identified through purposeful sampling as described by Bryman (2008). This method selects cases, or participants, in a strategic way so those sampled are relevant to the research questions posed. Not to be confused with

convenience sampling, where participants are available by chance to the research, purposeful sampling selects people, organizations, or other units because of their relevance to understanding a social phenomenon. Purposeful sampling is strategic and attempts to establish a good correspondence between research questions and sampling (Bryman, 2008). The researcher set clear criteria for the inclusion or exclusion of units for study and only included those relevant to the research questions based on experience and knowledge of the group to be sampled (Gay, Mills, & Airasian, 2009). Paton (1990) claims that the "logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research" (p. 169).

Creswell (2013) notes that selection decisions must be made about who or what should be sampled, what form the sampling will take, and how many people or sites need to be sampled. Additionally, the sampling must be consistent with the methodological approach selected (p. 125). Strauss and Corbin (1990) propose purposefully choosing participants, sites, or documents that maximize opportunities to elicit data regarding variations along dimensions of categories and demonstrate outcomes of change. Sandelowski (2000) suggests that researchers use criterion for purposeful sampling from one method to collect additional data through another method to discern whether a typical, extreme, or intense case is found when using other techniques. Outcomes from the initial data collection (typical, extreme, or intense) may also be used for the purpose of complementarity (Sandelowski, 2000).

Informed by the sampling experts mentioned above, the case study method of research does not generate definitive findings because the findings cannot be generalized

to the larger population; however, it provides a springboard for further research on the topic of male librarians. The intent is to describe the experiences of the participants, not to generalize to the entire population of librarians. Therefore, representativeness is secondary to participants' abilities to provide the desired information and to add to the understanding of the phenomenon of being part of a privileged minority group.

To combat the possibility of a low response rate and reach the greatest number of male students, a purposive sample included survey participants enrolled in library and information science (LIS) graduate programs at one university in the Midwest, one university in the Eastern U.S., and one university in the Western U.S. (Appendix B). Participants from other LIS graduate programs also responded from the unplanned distribution of the survey by interested individuals who discovered the survey on their own. Participants include males of all races born after 1981 and currently enrolled in a LIS graduate degree program in institutions of higher education in the U.S. Responses from females were filtered and not used.

Procedures

Surveys. The survey instrument was developed according to guidelines by Powell and Connaway (2004) and was created and accessible through online survey software. Qualtrics, a subscription-based tool, was selected and used because of its enhanced customization features, such as the ability to filter survey results by subgroup and to view individual reports for each respondent, as compared to freeware Internet sources, such as Survey Monkey. The survey addressed a variety of topics focusing on gender roles, technology, library stereotypes, and personal demographics used for

classification purposes (Appendix D). Closed questions in the survey intentionally limited participant responses.

An institutional communications officer, or agent, was sent a link to the survey, along with a suggested message of invitation to participate. He or she sent out the invitation and link to potential participants through the appropriate graduate school's institutional listservs (Appendix C).

Survey Data Analysis

Qualtrics was used to analyze responses based on the five point Likert scale and nominal, interval, and ratio data. No specific tests were conducted. All of the questions had weighted answers to assist in ranking the survey responses. Most of the questions focused on the self-reported attitudes of the participants. Open-ended questions were included and some of the questions used a Likert scale or provided a set of predetermined responses. Using closed questions provided efficient processing and coding of answers by using sophisticated software, reduced the variability in recording answers, and enhanced comparability of answers. The possibility of loss of spontaneity from using closed questions was countered with the availability of select open-ended questions where participants could elaborate further on the topics before completing the survey. Since correlation was the operational word in understanding the relationships between gender, age, and technology, descriptive statistics were in order.

Using an online survey to gather participant responses was both cost and time efficient. Because this case study was conducted nationwide to gather a larger sample, it was cost-prohibitive and inefficient to travel the country to collect the responses in person. Qualtrics made it easy to design a professional survey, disperse it to the online

community, gather the data, and analyze the results. The online method also addressed two other issues regarding participant responses, interviewer variability, and biased responses due to social desirability. Because the questions were preformatted, there was less chance for interviewer variability than for such methods as interviewing or observation. In addition, because the survey was conducted online, participants had minimal interaction with the researcher, reducing potential bias through socially desirable responses. Third, using an online survey method was beneficial for the potential participants. Its simplicity and short length reduced respondent fatigue compared to interviews and its online format was simple for participants to access and complete.

Interviews. Twenty-one self-selected survey participants took part in structured interviews using an interview protocol (Appendix E) that provided opportunities for them to share their experiences, such as reasons for joining the library profession, personal technology use, and encounters with librarian stereotypes as well as reconstructing events leading up to the decision to attend library school. All interview questions were open-ended, providing in-depth discussion of the topic as the interviewee shared details he found relevant to the questions, with an opportunity for the participant to share additional thoughts at the end of the interview.

Open-ended questions in the interviews were used for a variety of reasons (Lupton, 2006; Simpson, 2004; Williams, 1992) beneficial to both the participants and researcher, allowing the interviewee to explore related topics the researcher may not have considered because there were no predetermined answers for the interviewee to select. Personal characteristics (age, gender) were used for classification purposes but

nationality, race, religion, or marital status were not important variables for the interviews so the resulting respondents were diverse.

Recorded interviews took place in private Adobe Connect Pro sessions. After they were transcribed, Microsoft Word and Excel programs were used to organize, analyze, and visualize content from the interviews and surveys. All interview recordings and transcripts were kept strictly confidential and locked in a file at the home of the researcher to ensure privacy.

Interview Data Analysis

Data analysis of interview transcripts followed the coding techniques described by Krathwohl (1998). Each recording was transcribed after the interview. A descriptive word or phrase was assigned to each unit spoken in the text of the interview, using the informant's language in the code title when possible. The codes enabled interpretation of the narrative data that informed decisions about the meanings of statements (Appendix F).

Case study integrity. Rather than focusing on internal and external reliability and validity, as valued by quantitative research, Yardley's (2000) criteria were used in this study method. First, sensitivity to male participants who may already feel polarized or stereotyped was shown through carefully crafted wording and open-ended interview techniques. Conducting and coding the data for both the interviews and surveys obtained substantial engagement with the research matter. Clearly defined research methods and data analysis assisted with transparency and coherence. Finally, this study used Kanter's (1977b) theory of tokenism to address the issue of the privileged minority status of male librarians. It will be of high interest to the librarian and information communities.

Limitations

The limitations of the study are in three subcategories: population, instrument features, and researcher restrictions. First, the use of the surveys and interviews restricted the potential participants to those with access to online real-time communications methods (such as Adobe Connect Pro) and participants who self-select from LIS programs. Second, attempts were made to reach a wide audience; however, the sample size is relatively small. Because the exact number of men who are male Millennials could not be estimated before the study, the researcher's judgment as to the representativeness of the sample was limited. Third, the format of the data collection tools may have hindered participation. Interviews required a time commitment on the part of the participants, in addition to the time required for electronically connecting for an online interview. Such requirements may have dissuaded some potential participants. Fourth, the topic may have elicited emotional responses by touching on sensitive subjects and some potential participants may have declined participation because they did not wish to share these feelings or experiences. Finally, the resources of the researcher were limited and directly influenced the format, and thus the results, of the instrument. Researcher time constraints as well as no funding for participant incentives and travel were limitations of the study. The female Millennial status of the interviewer may have caused a filtering effect with answers to questions related to stereotyping.

Definition of Terms

The study used the following terms. Beside each term is the description of the term as it is used in this study.

iSchool–an LIS graduate education program that promotes an interdisciplinary approach to understanding the opportunities and challenges of information management, with a core commitment to concepts like universal access and user-centered organization of information

Library School–A LIS graduate program at an American institution of higher education, accredited by the American Library Association

Millennial–A person born between 1981 and the present

Male–Based on biological sex of participant

Stereotype–"a standardized mental picture representing an oversimplified opinion, prejudiced attitude, or critical judgment" (Stereotype, n.d.)

Technological Revolution–"a dramatic change brought about relatively quickly by the introduction of some new technology" (Bostrom, 2007, p. 129)

Technology–computer hardware (including but not limited to desktop computers, printers, and personal computing devices both for work and/or leisure activities) and software (including e-mail, specialized software, social media, and web applications)

Traditional library science program–an LIS graduate education program that promotes traditional aspects of librarianship such as the collection, organization, preservation, and dissemination of information resources

Chapter 4

Findings

The following sections reflect the findings of the online survey and online interviews. First, a basic overview of the study participant demographics is provided from data collected from the online survey. Next, the findings from the online survey are discussed, including the Likert item responses and short answer responses. Finally, the responses from the open-ended questions in the online interviews are provided.

Study Participants

The study participants were men enrolled in ALA-accredited, Master's degree programs (Table 2) in fall 2013. The Master's degree programs are a combination of the three originally targeted programs located in the Midwest, Eastern, and Western regions of the United States (U.S.) (3/37, 20%) and other programs, (34/37, 80%) resulted from unplanned distribution of the survey by interested individuals who discovered the survey on their own. Study participants were enrolled in a mix of traditional LIS programs (31/37, 84%) and iSchools (6/37, 16%). Participants were not asked to disclose whether they had any experience working in a library, either previously or at the time of the study. However, responses indicated that a number of the students had former or current experience as library workers.

Consenting survey respondents (N = 271) included self-identified males (268/271, 99%), 252/268 (94%) participants self-identified their age-range as 18-32 (231/268, 92%), 33-40 (15/268, 6%), 41-50 (3/268, 1%), and 51+ (3/268, 1%). The racial profile of the 18-32 group was White/Caucasian (193/231, 84%), African American (3/231, 1%), Hispanic (8/231, 3%), Asian (12/231, 5%), Pacific Islander (0, 0%), Other (7/231, 3%),

and Multiracial (8/231, 3%). In keeping with the study's focus on men of the Millennial era (born after 1980), all respondents in age-range 18-32 (231/252, 92%) were included in this study. Respondents in age-range 33-51+ (21/252, 8%) were excluded from the data.

Survey Questions

Study participants responded to questions designed in three question types (Likert, short-answer, and open-ended) administered by the researcher using a *Qualtrics* electronic survey. The survey questions included Likert items and short answer questions.

Survey questions, question type one, Likert items. Likert question items asked respondents to rate items (1 Strongly Agree to 5 Strongly Disagree) as reasons for choosing the library profession including love of books, learning, and intellectual stimulation; work experience; non-threating work environments; social improvement; library management; computer technologies; financial means; interest in gaming, and the opportunity to work with the public (Table 3). Respondents (n = 220) indicated love of books, learning, and intellectual stimulation most strongly influenced the decision to become a professional librarian (M = 1.78, SD = 0.91). Gaming was of least interest as a factor for recruitment to the profession (M = 3.62, SD = 1.19), followed second by the library being a non-threatening work environment (M = 2.85, SD = 1.09), and computer technologies as third least (M = 2.75, SD = 1.14).

Survey, question type two, short answer. Short answer questions asked respondents to comment on topics including the role technology plays, if any, in

attracting males to the library profession; male professional librarians and technology in libraries; and male professional librarians in general.

Technology and recruitment (5 categories), question 1. Narrative responses (n = 84) from 108 participants for the role technology plays (Table 4) in attracting males to the library profession indicated five categories: technology as a legitimizing factor in joining the library profession for males (2/84, 2%); technology was a personal factor in the decision to become a librarian (18/84, 22); technology was not a personal factor (32/84, 38%); technology playing a role for men in general (20/84, 24%); and technology playing no role for men in general (12/84, 14%). Subcategories explaining the topic of recruitment and technology indicated: respondents preferred learning to use new technology in the library workplace (4/84, 5%); held the belief that technology is simply a tool for librarians (6/84, 7%); reacted to perceived social expectations of what male librarians should know about technology (3/84, 4%); and believed the information technology (IT) field is a more suitable field for males looking to hone computer science skills (4/84, 5%).

Librarians and technology (6 categories), question 2. Narrative responses (n = 51) addressed 63 respondents' perceptions of male professional librarians and technology in libraries (Table 5) in six categories including: recruiting in the library profession (2/51, 4%), generational characteristics as factors in recruiting (4, 7%): serving patrons (11/51, 22%); the gap between gender roles in the library workplace (23/51, 45%); male librarian stereotypes regarding technology (6/51, 12%); and social expectations of gender roles regarding technology in libraries (5/51, 10%).

Male professional librarians (5 categories), question 3. Narrative responses (n = 68) discussing 79 respondents' perceptions of male professional librarians in general (Table 6) indicated respondents focused on men as a highly visible minority group in librarianship (26/68, 38%), followed closely by feminine stereotypes associated with librarianship (16/68, 24%). They noted male library professionals come from a variety of backgrounds (8/68, 12%) and voiced a stronger need for recruitment efforts targeting males (16/68, 24%). Two participants (2/68, 2%) noted serving the public as a male librarian was an important action for society.

Interview Questions

Open-ended questions asked respondents to comment on topics including experiences in selecting the library profession, public stereotyping of male library professionals, long term goals for librarianship, gender, and work role assignments in librarianship or libraries, and comfort with using computer technology. Three questions mirrored those of the survey including the role technology plays, if any, in attracting males to the library profession; male professional librarians and technology in libraries; and male professional librarians in general.

Selection (7 categories), question 1. Narrative responses (n = 40) describing 21 participants' experiences in selecting the library profession (Table 7) included recruitment through a personal contact (10/40, 25%) and a need for job security (1/40, 2.5%). Librarianship as an alternative career path (8/40, 20%), previous experiences working in a library (7/40, 17.5%), a passion for librarianship (6/40, 15%), previous experiences as a library patron (6/40, 15%), and working in a library as a "dream job" (2/40, 5%) were also mentioned.

Stereotypes (4 categories), question 2. Narrative responses (n = 40) describing the tendency in the general public to sometimes negatively stereotype men who become professional librarians (Table 8) indicated 21 participants identified negative public stereotypes for men who become librarians (13/40, 32.5%) and had been negatively stereotyped as a librarian (6/40, 15%) (Table 6). Some participants believed male librarian stereotypes did not exist (7/40, 17.5%) and a majority reported never being negatively stereotyped for being a male in the library profession (14/40, 35%).

Long-term goals (4 categories), question 3. Narrative responses (n = 20) for 20 participants describing long-term career goals in librarianship (Table 9) included the appeal of administrative work for some participants (6/20, 30%), while others declared no interest in pursuing an administrative track at the time (5/20, 25%). One participant (5%) noted if the opportunity arose, he would take it and others mentioned the need to weigh the pros and cons of taking an administrative position very carefully first before committing to it (8/20, 40%).

Gender and work role assignments (6 categories), question 4. Narrative responses (n = 53) describing gender and work role assignments in librarianship/libraries revealed 21 participants observed gender-specific work role assignments in librarianship (10/53, 19%) and identified gender-specific public perceptions of male librarians (13/53, 25%) (Table 10). Fewer participants reported roles in the library work environment were gender-neutral (7/53, 13%) and some did not perceive any public perceptions of gender-specific roles for librarians (5/53, 11%). Two participants (4%) believed administrative roles were gender-neutral but seven participants believed men were expected to be administrators (13%). Nine participants (17%) believed the public and the

library profession expect men to have computer systems and/or technology roles in the workplace.

Computer technology (4 categories), question 5. Narrative responses (n = 40) described comfort levels with using computer technology (including any desire to acquire and/or engage with new computer technology in the participant's life), where 15 participants (38%) self-reported a comfort level with technology perceived to be higher than his peers and a great enthusiasm for technology (Table 11). Only five (5/40, 12%) participants self-reported a comfort level with technology similar to that of his peers, or the perceived average. Participants (12/40, 30%) also reported a lower need to engage with or purchase new technology than his peers and/or shared no interest in acquiring it as soon as possible. Fewer participants (8/40, 20%) self-reported a higher need to engage with or purchase new technology than his peers and/or he showed great enthusiasm for acquiring it immediately.

Technology and recruitment (3 categories), question 6. Narrative responses (n = 5) from five participants describing the role technology plays (Table 12) in attracting males to the library profession indicated three categories. One participant (20%) believed men in general are drawn to librarianship because of the technology, three participants (60%) believed technology might play a role in drawing men to librarianship, and one participant (20%) believed technology is not a factor in drawing men to librarianship.

Librarians and technology (6 categories), question 7. Narrative responses (n = 21) addressing 17 respondents' perceptions of male professional librarians and technology in libraries (Table 13) indicated: technology as a factor in recruitment to the library profession (7/21, 33%); technology was not a factor in recruiting men (5/21,

24%); increasing recruitment efforts of bringing men to librarianship in general (4/21, 19%); men bringing new technologies to libraries (2/21, 10%); male librarian stereotypes (2/21, 10%); and lack of communication between men in the library workplace (1/21, 4%).

Male professional librarians (5 categories), question 8. Narrative responses (n = 12) discussing 12 respondents' perceptions of male professional librarians in general (Table 14) focused on male stereotypes in librarianship (3/12, 25%), public perceptions of male librarians' gender roles (4, 34%) and work environment issues tied specifically to being a male librarian (3/12, 25%). One participant (8%) noted serving the public as a male librarian was an important position and another participant (1/12, 8%) shared ideas for motivating men to join the profession.

Two hundred and thirty one male participants from a mix of traditional library schools and iSchools provided a range of responses to questions presented to them in a variety of question types through the survey and interviews. The questions were designed to ascertain a range of perspectives. Findings and their implications are discussed in the following chapter, as well as limitations of the study and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 5

Conclusions, Discussion, and Future Directions

This study explores a case through detailed, in-depth data collection involving a survey and interviews with male Millennials enrolled in library and information science (LIS) graduate degree programs. Participants were carefully selected from Master's degree programs in a combination of the three originally targeted programs located in the Midwest, Eastern, and Western regions of the United States (U.S.) and other graduate programs. The majority of participants (70%) were attending a traditional MLS/MLIS program; 30% were attending an iSchool program.

The central question in this study is "What prompts male Millennials to join this historically stereotyped feminized profession?" Subquestions include:

1. What social, cultural, economic, political, and/or technological factors influence male Millennials currently enrolled in graduate programs to become professional librarians?
2. Does computer technology play any role in attracting male Millennials to the library profession?
3. How does Kanter's theory of tokenism apply to male Millennials who are entering the library profession?

Through structured interviews and an electronic survey, participants had the opportunity to indicate factors related to social, cultural, economic, political, and/or technological reasons for their decisions as well as stereotypes they may experience as a privileged minority group. Questions related to the extent that technology may have

influenced decisions to enter librarianship offered further insights into libraries as a workplace, gender diversity, and the future of the profession.

The previous chapter presented the findings of this study by organizing data from participant responses from both the survey and interviews into categories to produce a holistic narrative. This chapter provides interpretive insights into these findings that present a larger picture of factors influencing Millennial men to become professional librarians. First, Kanter's (1977b) theory of tokenism as it applies to male Millennials in the library workplace is discussed, including men as Kanterian solos, the representation of men in librarianship, and the concepts of polarization and assimilation of men in the library workplace. Second, the factors influencing male Millennials to join librarianship are considered, including the most and least influential. Third, the influence of technology on the decisions of male Millennials, both as individuals and collectively as a group, to become professional librarians is reviewed. Fourth, librarianship as a feminized profession and negative male librarian stereotypes are examined. Finally, discussion of the impact of these findings is provided and future directions for research building upon this study are proposed.

Kanter's Theory of Tokenism

The third subquestion is "How does Kanter's theory of tokenism apply to male Millennials who are entering the library profession?" Men comprise more than 15% of the librarianship workforce, thus should not experience workplace stereotyping and polarization, according to Kanter's theory of tokenism. Kanter's theory (1977a) identified two conditions that cause the token to become more visible in the workplace: 1) the token's social category (master status) is physically obvious, such as gender or race

and 2) the token's social type is rare or new to the setting of the dominants. The theory implies uniform groups have only one kind of person, or significant social type. Skewed groups are those in which there is a larger proportion of one type over another, up to a ratio of 85:15. Kanter places strong emphasis on the numerical outcome of the workplace, suggesting social issues can be solved with a mathematical formula. She emphasizes the problems individuals, as token members of social groups, face will diminish as the number of members of the token group increases from 15%. However, social issues are highly complex and the stories told by the study participants do not support this claim. While men in libraries can be classified as tokens, they do not appear to lose that status as their numbers increase.

Male Millennials as the Kanterian solo. Kanter refers to tokens as *solos* if their absolute size in the group is small or if they are only one of their kind present (Kanter, 1977b). Even if there are two tokens in the group, it is difficult for them to "generate an alliance that can become powerful in the group" (Kanter, 1977b, p. 209). Solos have a larger awareness share in the workplace. In a group, a member's awareness share is averaged over the other individuals of the same social type and declines as the proportion of the total membership increases. Each individual becomes less distinctive or noteworthy (Kanter, 1977b).

As this study reveals, men working in libraries, even in large organizations with dozens of staff, can be classified as solo as defined by Kanter (1977b) due to their low numbers. The awareness of being the only man on an all-female team, or one of a few men on a larger staff, increases not only for the male solo, but also for the females in the dominants group. One participant noted, "I feel that anytime you bring a guy in an all-

female work environment, it completely changes the atmosphere…. I know that I'm treated different than the female co-workers but I expect to be…. I'm not treated differently in a bad way."

Based on participant responses, the presence of solos makes dominants more aware of what they have in common, whether in a LIS graduate program classroom or in the workplace. When a solo appears, group members may suddenly realize what aspects bond them together. For example, an entire group of female employees may see themselves as librarians (dominants) compared to the janitor (token) but all part of the library staff. However, when a male employee joins the staff, the dynamics change and the dominant group becomes "female librarians" compared to the solo token "male librarian." Even if there are several male staff members, a Millennial may still be visible because of his age.

Kanter (1977b) states that once the ratio of dominants to tokens reaches approximately 65:35, the dominants become a *majority* and tokens a *minority* (p. 209). With more males in the profession, they have potential allies among each other and can affect the culture of the group as they gain power in numbers. According to Kanter's theory of tokenism, when more male librarians are hired in a workplace, the solo male librarian no longer faces a large awareness share.

Male tokens representing their ascribed category in librarianship. Kanter (1977b) forms her theoretical framework for tokenism with three perceptual phenomena: visibility, polarization, and assimilation (p. 210). First, tokens are highly visible and capture a larger share of the awareness of the group. The increase in males in librarianship appears to have made them more visible, not less, in the eyes of the female

employee population, based on participant responses. Participants express perceptions that they are not blending in, but rather becoming increasingly noticeable. Second, the presence of a token makes dominants more aware of the situation and they may polarize and exaggerate the extent of their differences. According to Kanter's theory, men should be able to prevent negative stereotyping from occurring by the sheer increase in their numbers in the workplace. Findings in this study indicate that despite their numbers men are still being negatively stereotyped both in the workplace and in public perceptions. Finally, assimilation occurs according to Kanter through stereotypes because the characteristics of the token are shaped to fit the generalization. Kanter's theory of how assimilation occurs is not supported by the findings in this study. The social stereotype still exists that librarians are female and in the event a male becomes a librarian, he is stereotyped to fit into a certain "look" or "type."

The results of this study suggest support for labeling males as tokens in the Kanterian sense in librarianship because their visibility, polarization, and assimilation by the profession categorize them as such. Their stories increase the understanding of how a token group can remain polarized and highly visible, even after Kanter's proposed threshold of 15% of the population is crossed. Studying the effects of women in male-dominated professions has built up a strong foundation supporting Kanter's theory of tokenism for females, but this study builds upon the literature for males in female-dominated professions.

The many facets men face as a minority group in a profession not held in high esteem for males by society are explored in this study. Their responses aid in understanding what it means to select a profession despite known stereotypes, differential

treatment by co-workers, and a lack of respect from society compared to that shown to other careers. Many chose to join as a minority employee despite these barriers because positive attributes of the librarian position offer opportunities that overcome them.

Male Millennials and Kanter's use of the concept of visibility. According to Kanter (1977b), tokens are highly visible and capture a larger share of the awareness of the group. The presence of men as a small number or "token social type" (Kanter, 1977b, p. 211) results in the female majority group being more aware of the presence of a small number of males and their differences. My observation indicates the large proportion of female librarians to male librarians forces male librarians into what may be perceived as a "spotlight" in the workplace and at conferences. Participants confirmed this experience in this study in comments such as "I just have noticed in general in life, especially working in libraries, you know, it's come up time and again." Others noted a constant, underlying attitude towards men, "We always made jokes about how, you know, it's interesting to be a white male and at the same time almost be an affirmative action hire, even though that's not actually how that law works." This differential treatment towards an individual, no matter how benign or innocent seeming, could lead to generalizations towards other men in library workplaces, either in the same establishment or through behaviors and attitudes replicated at other institutions.

Reports were made of instances where gender was a distinct factor in the decision to delegate a task to a male or female library employee. Many participants in this study shared stories similar to one participant:

> ...because I was the–at the time, like, a 23-year-old, you know, man…. I was the one that basically got selected out of all my co-workers to go and help pull the

> stuff.... So, I kind of felt like I was almost in a way, like a pack mule, hauling this stuff around…. I really don't think that my boss would have done the same thing to any of my female coworkers. Not necessarily because they couldn't have done it. I mean they definitely could have but I don't think he would have asked it of them.

Another participant perceived he was unofficially assigned tasks because of his gender on a recurring basis:

> One of the things that I've encountered with gender roles is if there is anything that has to do with heavy lifting or moving or anything physical objects, that it's not asked upon that I do it, it's what–it's–everyone kind of looks around, you know, says 'Oh, we need to get this moved.' And I'll go ahead and move it 'cause I'm the, you know, big strapping young man. So I think that, in terms of gender roles, when it comes of the physical aspect of librarianship that it, it definitely kind of falls more on males and that's something I don't mind but it's something that I notice.

Participants noted assigned tasks were not only based on real or perceived physical capabilities, but also sometimes the roles men were expected to play in society, such as "protector":

> One time when I was working as just a part time page and I worked in a library that was really far off in the woods. And you know, we close at eight o'clock at night and they really, really appreciated that fact that I was there sometimes at closing time and it was, oh, you know, 'It's just so scary, you know, at night when it's dark and we're all closing and we're so glad there's a strong man up here.'

> And I, like, I–what am I going to do about it? I mean, everyone's going to be looking at me, if something happens.

Something as simple as assuming the male colleague would protect female colleagues or should do all the heavy physical labor caused frustration for many participants. Such stereotyping within the profession is damaging to employees, and can lead to self-esteem issues, anxiety, and in fighting among professionals (Pagowsky & Rigby, 2014).

Male Millennials and Kanter's use of the concept of polarization. The presence of a token makes dominants more aware of the situation and they may polarize and exaggerate the extent of their differences. The tokens are then unable to prevent familiar generalizations or stereotypes because of their small numbers. Using Kanter's (1977b) idea of token polarization in the workplace, men as tokens in a profession dominated by women appear to be unable to prevent familiar generalizations or stereotypes because of their small numbers. According to participant responses in this study, male librarians must either ignore or work especially hard to fight stereotypes because they are unable to disprove the stereotypes by example.

Student participants in this study shared numerous work environment issues they had encountered while working or volunteering in a library specifically tied to be being a male librarian. These participants already were, or had been, employed in libraries and so spoke with authority about the reality of the workplace. They may have encountered these stereotypes because they were younger or lower on the hierarchy but participants were under the impression these encounters were tied to their gender. One frustrated participant spoke of facing discrimination before even entering the workplace:

> I have found it exceptionally difficult to find a job here because all the librarians are women around the places I've applied that have had openings, there are no men. And a lot of them say 'Listen, I am looking for somebody who will work well with my team. And I need somebody who is less exuberant, is less into video games.' Basically it comes down to I'm not a woman so I don't get the job. A lot of people say that's, like, sexism and discrimination and I should sue. And I don't want to be that guy who comes across and says, 'Oh, well, gender discrimination!' I'm a white guy. I'm a white male. I have so much privilege, it's coming out of my ears.

The participant perceived a barrier to employment in librarianship based on negative gender stereotypes, which he believed caused organizations to question his ability to work well as a male with their all-female teams. This perception is a perfect example of the participant being polarized for being a male token in librarianship.

In this study, male Millennial participants reported negative stereotyping by both the profession and the public. In total, 75 individual responses (combined from the open-ended survey questions and the interviews) mentioned specific negative male librarian stereotypes, instances of the participant being negatively stereotyped by the public, or instances of being negatively stereotyped in the workplace by colleagues. According to Kanter's theory, this should not have occurred as the male social status in the group moves away from token. Negative male stereotypes were often spoken of in the open-ended questions at the end of the survey in 12% of the general comments about male professional librarians and technology (Table 4) and in 24% of the general comments about male professional librarians (Table 5). In the interviews, 32.5% of the responses

discussed negative male librarian stereotypes and 15% of the responses mentioned experiencing negative stereotyping (Table 8). When asked about male professional librarians and technology in libraries, 10% of the interview responses were regarding negative male stereotypes (Table 8) and when asked to comment about male librarians in general, 25% of interview responses dealt with negative male stereotypes (Table 14).

Male librarians who worked with children faced an additional facet to stereotyping, and may be polarized by the communities they serve:

> And one of the things I was always conscious of, especially with the public, was that if you're working in a community and people don't essentially know who you are or you don't live in that community and you're working in the children's department, I was always conscious of the fact that parents might look at you like, 'Oh, why are you working with kids?' or 'It's a little creepy that you're hanging around the children's section'…. I was always afraid that someone would be fearful and not want to approach me about it.

Would a new female librarian have faced the same scrutiny in the same position? It is highly unlikely the community she served in would have questioned her motives in such a manner. One participant predicted such a dilemma:

> I can see walking into a position like that as a male and it being much more difficult than having maybe a female for kids or a youth librarian…. But I think it would be very difficult for a guy to go in, especially to a small town and try to work as a children's librarian…. I just think that the expectation of having a woman in that role is pretty enduring.

Every community may have different definitions of acceptable gender roles for men and women in libraries, but men perceive a barrier to entering roles pertaining to youth services based on social expectations.

Male Millennials and Kanter's use of the concept of assimilation. Assimilation occurs through stereotypes because the characteristics of the token are shaped to fit the generalization. Using Kanter's (1977b) idea of token assimilation in the workplace, the data shows this occurs through stereotypes because the majority group shapes the characteristics of the male librarian to fit the generalization. Female librarians may look for ways to make the stereotypes fit the individual, even if they do not seem to fit right away.

For example, society sees male librarians as more effeminate because they choose to work with women all day in a feminized occupation, even if their personalities and behavior otherwise conform to societal expectations of masculinity. An interview participant shared a story highlighting this forced assimilation:

> A buddy of mine had a flat tire with a group of girls he was going out with and they wouldn't let him get out on the interstate and change the tire. They had to call someone. So, sort of demasculinization, demasculinity–Is that word?–of him, their not being able to go out and do the manly thing and change the tire on the interstate.

In this instance, the participant noted his friend was forced to wait in the car (an action seen as feminine) instead of performing an action which society has deemed "masculine" and would have highlighted his differences from the group of women.

The findings in this study substantiate Yoder's (1991) study conclusion that tokens will continue to suffer harassment and inequalities as their presence increases within an organization or group because dominant members of the group feel threatened by them. If Kanter's (1977b) theory holds true, negative stereotypes for male librarians as visible tokens would not exist, but a third of the study responses identified specific stereotypes and stereotyping continues to plague male librarians. This suggests that today men in librarianship are polarized because of their high visibility, despite the increase in number of men in the profession, and therefore Kanter's numerical equation for determining when tokenism should disappear does not apply in this situation.

Subquestion One: Factors Influencing Male Millennials

The first subquestion of the study investigates the social, cultural, economic, and political factors influencing male Millennials currently enrolled in LIS graduate programs to become professional librarians. According to the data, social factors widely appear to have the strongest influence on male Millennials to come to library school and become professional librarians, much more so than cultural, economic, and/or political factors. The data collected in the survey and the interviews resulted in 12 themes: love of books, learning, and intellectual stimulation; personally recruited to the profession; work experience; alternative career path; non-threatening work environments; social improvements; passion for librarianship; library management; computer technologies; financial means; interest in gaming, opportunity to work with the public. The theme of computer technologies is addressed under subquestion two.

1.1 Love of books, learning, and intellectual stimulation. Love of books, learning, and intellectual stimulation was the strongest draw to librarianship for

participants to the profession in the survey (n = 220), with 85% responding "Strongly Agree" or "Agree." An interview participant who explained it best illustrates this perspective:

> I was trying to think of what my dream job would be and I thought, well, whenever I get home, usually the first thing I do is start reading books. And no one is going to pay me to do that so what's the next best thing and I thought being a librarian.

Participants in both the survey and interviews spoke fondly of loving the library when they were growing up, having it as a safe space to mature and grow up, and of often using it as an adult to further their education. It speaks well of the profession that patron experiences with libraries were so positive that men become librarians to perpetuate librarians' roles in serving the needs of people in the community.

1.2 Personally recruited to the profession. Having a personal contact such as a spouse, friend, librarian, or colleague suggest librarianship as a career (often based on their love of books, learning, and intellectual stimulation) was a strong motivator for joining the library profession. Many shared stories similar to this interview participant's, "...my hiring supervisor, before I knew I wanted to go into librarianship, she was in library school herself and that's actually how I learned of the program I'm in now." Interview participants talked at great length about how a personal contact inspired them to become a librarian, often years after their positive encounters in public and academic libraries.

1.3 Work experience. Participants often had affirmative experiences while working in libraries as pages, student employees, or in other non-professional library

roles that would later influence them to pursue an MLS degree, whether to gain professional skills or promotions to higher positions with more responsibilities. This pipeline from the lower ranks to the professional level provided participants with a view of what was in store if they were to advance in the profession, leading one participant to state, "I had been working in the library of a small non-profit organization, and I wanted to be able to learn more about what I was doing."

1.4 Alternative career path. Some participants described moving from one career path to another. Participants indicated that they were encouraged to pursue librarianship as a good career fit later in life after pursuing another field first. Some participants held a job and became dissatisfied with a certain field. For others, job prospects were not satisfactory in the chosen profession and/or serendipitous opportunities arose to pursue librarianship.

1.5 Non-threatening work environments. Participants overall did not perceive libraries as non-threatening work environments so far as gender bias and stereotyping of participants is concerned. The library as a non-threatening work environment was not discussed at length in the interviews and survey responses fell into the "Agree," "Neither Agree or Disagree," and "Disagree" categories almost uniformly. Only one participant mentioned this theme in the open-ended interview questions as a reason for joining the profession and he explained it in this way, "...at first it appealed to me because it seemed like of, like, low-stress and that I liked about it. And the wages seemed fair and then the research part I've always sort of enjoyed." In fact, the opposite was true: participants overwhelmingly reported workplace stereotyping and gender role bias in contrast to the idea of a library workplace as neutral in these respects.

1.6 Social improvements. Respondents reflected an attitude of service through librarianship as a way to make social improvements. Surveyed participants (66%) listed contributing to the betterment of society through librarianship as a strong motivator. One interview participant articulated this perspective when he said, "I would like to work in a public library and I would like to work with the out–to [*sic*] work in or with the outreach department identifying underserved communities and developing programs to meet their needs." The modern library supports social betterment needs of society and promotes self-education of its citizens by providing a place to study and a source for edifying reading (Rubin, 2010). This reflects a fundamental paradigm shift in American librarianship from keepers of books in the 20th century to a service-oriented profession with a focus on patron needs, particularly for underserved populations.

1.7 Passion for librarianship. Often remarked on in conjunction with positive experiences in libraries, as either a patron or employee, some participants felt called to librarianship through its professional ideals of service, intellectual freedom, literacy, and lifelong learning. One interview participant shared his path:

> And then later, as I was getting my undergrad in liberal studies after graduation and before I started grad school, it became more clear and I had a realization that a lot of my personal and political views aligned very much with, it's like A...the ALA stuff and what librarianship stands for.

Participants also mentioned librarianship aspects such as "equity of access, respect for the individuality and diversity of all people, and the assurance of free and open access to information" (Rubin, 2010, p. 302-303; See also Harris, 1992; Harris, 1999).

1.8 Library management. There was a surprising amount of hesitation voiced by interviewees to pursue library management and administrative roles. The following comment reflects interview participants' strong reactions when asked if administration would be part of their future career goals:

> It's not something that I enjoy, and maybe as I get older that'll change and that'll be something more that I want to do, but right now I just want to work with patrons and other librarians and not have to oversee anything.

Another noted "Also, I don't want to pull myself away from working with the patrons directly once in awhile because I love the work so much. That's the biggest reason." Where men have previously been quickly advanced on the glass escalator to such positions (Floge & Merrill, 1986; Heikes, 1991; Pierce, 1995; Williams, 1995) and practically guaranteed a spot as an administrator as part of the ALA's previous recruitment efforts in the mid-1960s ("Librarian," 1965), this generation of men were more interested in the service side of librarianship. If the opportunity for administrative work arose, the participant would heavily weigh the pros and cons of the situation before considering the offer, a stark contrast to the fast track used to lure men decades earlier.

1.9 Opportunity to work with the public. Working with the public was a factor for motivating nearly half of the survey participants (55% of respondents selected "Strongly Agree" or "Agree"). This aligned closely with the interest in professional ideals and the opportunity to make social changes. Participants spoke of wanting to improve the library to better serve the public and increase patron skills, such as technology literacy and reading programs. One interview participant reflected this sentiment "But I want to do this because I really want to service the community and get

relevant and real information out there." This parallels Davis-Kendrick's (2009) report of 53% of participants responding that they wanted to help people or be in a service-oriented career as a reason for joining librarianship.

1.10 Interest in gaming. Gaming appears to be of least interest as a factor for recruiting more men to the profession and had the weakest survey responses. Participants did not mention it at all in the interviews as a reason for wanting to become a librarian. Only 15% of iSchool participants (11/72) "Strongly Agree" or "Agree" that gaming in libraries was a factor in the decision to become a professional librarian, compared to 21% of traditional LIS program participants (31/148). It is a relatively new sub-field of librarianship, and it may be that Millennial students do not realize it is an emerging area for information expertise.

1.11 Financial means. Sixty-six percent of survey participants "Strongly Agree" or "Agree" that they were seeking a job in librarianship for financial means. Sixty-three percent (45/72) of iSchool participants "Strongly Agree" or "Agree" that financial means was a factor in the decision to become a professional librarian, compared to 36% (53/148) of traditional LIS program participants. One survey participant was brutally honest, "...one of the main reasons of doing the Master's was not only to get a pay increase but also to hopefully open up more doors for job security." Interviewees built upon this attitude, admitting that they were aware that librarianship is a lower paying professional job but that they need a job to support themselves and their families. It was also mentioned an MLS would help them achieve a higher pay status, often out of necessity to ensure continuation of employment in a field they loved. They had to find

employment to manage financial obligations but it also had to be something they were sufficiently passionate about to commit to attending graduate school.

Subquestion Two: The Influence of Technology on Male Millennials

The second study subquestion is to what extent has technology influenced male Millennials currently enrolled in graduate LIS programs decisions to become professional librarians. At the beginning of this study, several research questions were posited from the phenomena of more men joining librarianship as a minority group at the same time technology use was on the rise in the library workplace. Could the increase in use of technology in library workplaces be linked to the gradual increase in the number of male professional librarians? On the other hand, could the gradual increase in the number of male professional librarians be linked to the increase in the use of technology in library workplaces? What events or activities are causing this phenomenon? Findings indicate that male Millennials were influenced by the desire to use computers and new computer technology as a factor for becoming professional librarians. According to the data, computer technology is factor for the general recruitment to the library profession.

2.1 Perceived future use of computer technologies in libraries. The desire to use computers and new computer technology was identified by men as a reason for becoming a professional librarian. For some participants, the opportunity to learn about new technologies was a factor for joining the profession, while others sought to bring new technologies already in use in their personal lives into their future organizations. Of the survey respondents, 44.5% chose “Strongly Agree” or “Agree” (p. 37) that computer technologies were a factor in their decision, which is comparable to the study by Davis-Kendrick (2009) where participants highlighted their enjoyment of technology as a

reason for joining the library profession. Seventy-six percent of respondents (113/148) from traditional LIS programs "Strongly Agree" or "Agree" that computer technology was a factor in the decision to become a professional librarian, compared to 44% of iSchool participants who "Strongly Agree" or "Agree" (32/72).

2.2 Technology played a personal factor. Technology was a personal factor for recruitment for 22% of the survey participant responses (18/84). This sentiment was expressed by many participants in this study and was reflected by one interviewee who said this about the personal draw of technology in libraries, "So not so much technology for technology's sake but technology to help promote the aims of the actual profession." Participant responses support the idea that men come to the library workplace to use technology as a means to support patron needs and not merely to be able to use it on a daily basis as a job function. Based on the data, the appeal of using technology in libraries is as a tool to help others, not strictly as a desirable fringe benefit of the job of being a librarian. Almost double the amount (38%) of survey participant responses (32/84) said technology played no factor in personally drawing them to the profession. However, 40% of participants they were personally drawn to librarianship through technology in the study conducted by Davis-Kendrick (2009).

2.3 Technology as a general factor. Some participants believe technology might play a role in drawing men as a group to librarianship. In this study, 24% of survey participant responses (20/84) said technology was a factor for recruiting men in general, while 14% said it was not (16/84). Participant interview responses support this, where 33% said it played a role for recruiting men (7/21) but 24% said it did not play a role for recruiting in general (5/21). The largest group of responses in both the survey (20/84)

and interviews (7/21) supports the idea that technology plays a role for attracting men in general to the profession overall. The following comment reflects a participant's strong reaction regarding men and technology in libraries:

> I think it's been played up, the fact that the way that we're still around is because of technology; we need to be using it better. You know, I think that may encourage more people to actually interact with it and look at the profession as a more viable option.

It is interesting to note this may be self-selected stereotyping. The participant may have been giving the response he believed was the correct choice because of social norms linking men with technology. He may or may not have reported himself as being influenced by this factor, but may also have said it is true of the general male librarian population as a way to defend the decision to become a librarian by highlighting a "masculine" factor, a justifiable reason by social norms. Another participant commented on the younger generation of male libraries coming behind:

> I'm sure those younger than me really like the technology aspect of it just, you know, all the emerging technologies, the iPad, the eReaders, everything that goes along with that, smartphone options and opportunities and that actually does play a role. Especially if they experience it in their library, even at the university level or at the public level.

These comments suggest the large influx of men to librarianship could be attributed to an increase in technology use in society overall. As technology use increases in the personal lives of patrons and employees, it increases in the library workplace as librarians learn to serve patrons through such aspects as library websites,

social media, eReaders, digital content, and online reference services. Based on participant responses, it is possible this increase in services with computer technology aspects attracts men to the profession. As they learn about these services first-hand in their own libraries, either as a patron or as a non-professional library employee, they may want to engage with them as a professional librarian.

2.4 High personal comfort level with technology. There was a distinct difference between participants being comfortable with new technology and owning it. Most participants voiced a desire to own the newest technology, but stated that they did not have the financial means to do so (Table 11). One participant described his struggle and frustration, "Like, I had my phone for a year and it kills me. I just cringe, and I look at all the new ones, and I just lust and go 'Oh my gosh, that's so pretty!' I need that." This self-reported confidence in being able to negotiate the myriad of technologies available for personal and professional use was not tested but it still sheds light on the fact that males of the Millennial generation report being comfortable using technologies seamlessly from personal lives to the workplace. Several participants expressed this ease with technology and one participant summed it up, "I've always felt comfortable with technology because it's always been part of my life." This bodes well for patrons, as these participants join the profession and incorporate new technologies for the benefit of the communities they serve.

Subquestion Three: Kanter's Theory and Male Librarian Stereotypes

The third subquestion of the study focuses on how Kanter's theory of tokenism applies to male Millennials who are entering the library profession. Related to tokenism in librarianship is the historical stereotypical image of the female librarian. As discussed

in Chapter 1, the public and the profession may be laboring under the premise that there is only one stereotype of "a librarian" and that men confront the same stereotypes in the library workplace as women. According to Williams (1998), social roles and norms are different for men and women and men joining a non-traditional profession face different levels of prejudice than their female counterparts. This acknowledgement does not belittle or devalue the stereotypes faced by women in the profession in all types of library settings and hierarchies.

The negative stereotypes encountered by male Millennials in this study focused on librarianship as a feminized profession and the male librarian as a know-it-all. There is a spectrum of male librarian stereotypes spanning from those held within the profession to those held by society. Specific negative stereotypes centered on personality traits: socially awkward, antisocial, very quiet/introverted, intellectual/know-it-all, prudish/uptight, and not good at communicating. Stereotypical male librarians also wear glasses, are constantly telling patrons to be quiet through shushing, and favor comic books, videogames, and computer programming. Participants reported another outside person, such as a peer, classmate, patron, family member, or friend, had negatively stereotyped men as librarians. Some overlap and are based on gender roles associated with men and women by society and others are based on gender roles assigned to male and female librarians.

3.1 Librarianship as a feminized profession. One of the longest-standing negative stereotypes for men held by society since the mass recruitment of women to the profession (Dewey, 1886) is librarianship as "women's work," and therefore anyone associated with it must be female or feminine. Even before enrolling in graduate LIS

programs, participants reported being aware of negative stereotypes about librarianship being associated with women. One interview participant spoke of potential students possibly being deterred from the profession, "I fear that some people may drop the dreams they had to pursue a career in librarianship because they see it as a feminine role, or others do, and make it feel too awkward for them." Participants spoke of needing to explain their decision to family, friends, and peers once the decision was made to become a librarian. One interview participant commented:

> There has to be a reason why that you went into a field that isn't so much–one that that makes a lot of money, one that is something that is–when you grow up, you know, when you're a little kid, that you'd say 'Well, I want to be a librarian when I grow up.' I think it's even less so when you're a male. So it's almost like you failed in a way or you didn't–it wasn't such a masculine decision to do, I guess.

Typical social norms to do not support a man's decision to enter a female-dominated profession, making males work harder to justify the reason they may want to serve patrons and help the communities they live in, which are seen as "feminine" tasks. In doing so, the male appears to have failed at "masculine" tasks in society's eyes and is reduced to accepting a seemingly lower-status role. One interview participant made this comparison between other professions and librarianship:

> I think, first of all, that the false conception is that the men that go into the field, first they're probably book nerds. They're probably people that maybe tend more to be technologically savvy but not so much 'manly man' in a way. It's not a

> profession where, you know, you're working on cars or you're out in sales and earn respect that way.

Men in librarianship have become easy targets for stereotyping, creating a vicious cycle. Men assume the negative stereotypes associated with librarianship and feminization held by the public are valid, they avoid pursuing a career in librarianship, and the profession continues to see fewer males entering the workforce compared to women. Many participants in this study expressed this sentiment and it was reflected by one survey responder who said:

> I would say that the first approach is considered by our society to be a feminine approach (helping, guiding, supporting) and the latter is masculine (telling, doing, fixing). I hope that librarians take a teaching approach to technology in the library and that male librarians can help change the masculine norm to something that is about helping and nurturing.

The feminization of the librarianship by society appears to be a roadblock not only for men considering the profession, but a constant reminder for some of what role society expects them to play after joining librarianship. Perhaps with more men entering the profession, traits such as serving and caring for others will become more gender-neutral, helping to refute stereotyping.

Male librarians as know-it-alls. When men do become librarians, the public negotiates perceptions to "fit" the male into the library in some role that is "masculine." This study uncovered two preconceptions associated with intellectual prowess about men working in libraries: the male librarian must be an administrator and/or he must be proficient at technology use. In both instances, the male librarian is stereotyped as a

know-it-all, or the person who can always help because he knows everything about everything in the library. Posner (2003) defines the librarian know-it-all stereotype held by society as "magicians who occupy a rarified space in which answers are always at their disposal" (p. 111). She also asserts they have the power to provide assistance to patrons, but will do so only if they feel so inclined based on their personal interest in the query and its worthiness to be explored.

The findings in this study support Posner's (2003) position that the stereotype of the librarian as a know-it-all is not positive for library professionals. First, both the public and the profession expect men will have administrative roles in libraries rather than service positions. Participants reported having little interest in this point at time in actively pursuing an administrative career path (Table 9). This can be problematic for men drawn to other library positions, both the traditional (reference, acquisitions, cataloging) and the newer ones (virtual services, digital repository). One interview participant lamented:

> I think it is unfortunate, because I feel like that it maybe makes men less likely to see librarianship as a career option. I think people consider them more like administrator [*sic*] point of view, maybe not quite so much with the public.

For others, public expectations for a male director or administrator can show up in the day-to-day interactions with patrons. As one participant noted, "I think the perception of most people is whenever they ask to go higher up the chain to get a problem solved, at some point they would expect a male and not a female." This is one way males may be polarized and highly visible in the library workplaces.

Second, society expects men to have computer systems and/or technology roles in libraries. Society sees technology as a masculine domain in libraries (Harris, 1999) and therefore the male librarian must be a know-it-all computer expert. The public has certain perceptions about the male librarian's capability to be of service:

> One of the stereotypes I think that people get drawn into is that if you're a male and you're in libraries that you must be good with computers. And that's something I do encounter on a consistent basis where I work in a public library and when patrons come up, they'll see me and they'll say 'Oh, you must be good at computers! You must be good with iPads! Can you help me out with this?' And they'll bypass, you know, my female colleagues.

This can be a self-perpetuating stereotype, where patrons and peers constantly look to the male for technology advice, and therefore he becomes more proficient to meet the demand and play the role given to him. One participant explained it in this way, "But talking with other men, not so much about stereotypes, I mean, we were just kind of–we assume the role of the technological person but it's not something we actually discuss afterwards."

Stereotyping male librarians as gay. The findings in this study differ significantly from the results of Carmichael's (1992) study in which over 80% of respondents identified a gay male stereotype. The Carmichael study used prompts such as "Have you experienced discrimination or sexual harassment?" (p. 431) leading some participants to describe instances of homosexual and heterosexual harassment (Carmichael, 1992). This study did not use prompts and not a single participant mentioned a stereotype regarding homosexuality or associating being a male librarian

with being gay in the survey open-ended questions or during the interviews. Male participants may have filtered their responses to a female interviewer to meet cultural norms.

This raises questions for future research, most importantly, whether or not the homosexual stereotype associated with male librarians has truly disappeared in just one decade. Clearly, more research into the specific stereotyping faced by professional librarians of both genders is needed.

Not reporting negative stereotyping. Some participants stated that they had never been negatively stereotyped in public or in the workplace. Participants in both the survey and the interviews reported no encounters where the individual felt negatively stereotyped specifically for being a male in the library profession. It is improbable the profession has reached gender equity, as 30% of survey and interview participant responses reported having faced stereotypes in one form or another. This finding raises the question as to whether or not the other 70% of male Millennials have not experienced this or are choosing not report negative stereotyping. This too may be the result of filtering.

There are several possible reasons the number of participants reporting stereotypes was low. First, the individual may have felt ashamed of being negatively stereotyped and did not want to report it. Cultural norms teach men not to complain or report such abuse as it makes them look "weak" and "unmanly." Despite the anonymity of the online survey, the participant may not have felt comfortable sharing such intimate details, particularly to a female investigator. Second, the participant does not see the action as being negatively stereotyped and did not report it. He may have trivialized the

event and did not want to label it as "stereotyping." This is similar to the first possibility, where he may have been embarrassed to report it. Third, the participant may have wanted to protect his co-workers from professional shame. Despite assurances of complete anonymity in the survey and interviews, he may have feared the participants in the story would have been immediately recognizable to other professionals reading the results. Finally, the participant may have been cognizant of being negatively stereotyped, but did not want to share the event because his actions at the time may have been less than professional. He may have withheld information to avoid implicating himself in the situation.

Discussion

I learned that many positive social factors strongly influence male Millennials to attend LIS programs to become professional librarians despite society simultaneously negatively stereotyping the profession as feminized and a career for know-it-alls. Changing public perceptions about librarians requires time and a shift in cultural and social norms, starting from within the profession. One of the ALA professional ideals includes serving a diverse population, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin, disability, genetic information, age, or gender. A diverse library workforce creates an environment that is potentially more comfortable for the community it serves. To date, the profession does not formally recognize men as a minority group in its annual reports or in recruitment efforts, despite a clear commitment to overall diversity in the library workforce ("Recruitment," 2013). One interview participant made this suggestion:

> I mean, if library schools want to integrate more men into their programs and into the field in general, I think we need, as a profession, to be doing a better job of

> showing that guys can be librarians and not administrators, and not just administrators. A lot of people aren't going to want to be an administrator but would love to be an actual, you know, on-the-floor librarian, but because I think a lot of people expect them to have to go into administration, there are definitely some people who are going to be scared off of the profession because of it.

Gender balance in LIS programs better represents the real world experience graduates will have in the communities they serve and will help create a gender balance in the workplace.

There are already signs the library profession is moving toward gender balance through additional Millennial men joining the profession. The 2012 Library and Information Science Education Statistical Report shows enrollment of males aged 20-34 (Millennials) was 2,564, which is 66% of the male enrollment in Master's LIS programs in 2011 (Wallace, 2012, p. 85). According to Kanter (1977b), the status of tokens changes over time as numbers increase and reduce visibility and polarization. There are strong negative stereotypes associated with male librarians, particularly the feminization of the profession and the male librarian know-it-all. One interviewee noted this about males in librarianship:

> It's not something is–it's not sexy...there aren't a lot of positive role models for males in libraries in the media…. There's no role models for males in the library field that's in, you know, the media, that kind of says 'Oh, I want to do that.'

Despite these negative stereotypes in society, male Millennial numbers continue to increase.

This study shows how Kanter's use of a mathematical equation to equalize employee numbers does not solve the problems tokens face in the workplace. Using Kanter's theory, it appears students perceive that the benefits of becoming a librarian outweigh the aspects of polarization and visibility. Based on participant responses, these stereotypes do not appear to be strong enough to keep men from becoming professional librarians. The individual choices and experiences of male Millennial students needed to be told to document in-depth personal experiences and the reasons men are joining librarianship, a historically female-dominated profession. One survey participant explained the dichotomy this way: "Male librarians have huge advantages, but they have an identity problem. The term librarian throws most people off, and is a discouraging factor for males who have considered applying to MLIS programs."

According to responses, there are stronger influences that help men look beyond these stereotypes and want to enroll in LIS graduate programs, and for some, technology is one of them. As one survey participant noted:

> I think technology lends some legitimacy to the role of males in libraries. Simply because libraries are constructed as a female space, there is an unspoken pressure for men to cling to a Trojan horse of sorts to justify participation in library science. Technology is one of them.

A large percentage of participants also responded that a family member, spouse, friend, or librarian personally recruited them to the profession through word-of-mouth. Previous experience working in libraries, love of books, learning, and intellectual stimulation, and a desire to improve social conditions are all reasons participants gave that appear to outweigh the negative stereotypes associated with becoming a professional librarian.

Perhaps the stereotypes are becoming outdated as gender roles continue to evolve and society becomes more accepting of men as librarians.

Directions of Further Research

This study's results indicate that there are many factors involved in bringing the male Millennial participants into the library profession, including technology. One of this study's primary contributions is the development of a survey to identify factors influencing men to join the library profession. It began a pool of findings based on the experiences and expectations of male Millennials currently enrolled in library programs, leading to suggestions for library practices and further questions for the future of librarianship. Based on these responses and critical analysis, there are several directions for future research. These suggestions are based on trends in the data, writing the results, reviewing the literature, further questions that arose from the findings, and the conclusions.

Studies could be designed to investigate men of all ages in LIS programs to see if the factors identified in this study are universal to men of different generations. Comparative studies could be conducted on factors motivating men to join the profession between participants choosing iSchools versus traditional programs or between distance and resident graduate programs. This study could be replicated in the future, as more male Millennials join the workplace, to see if the findings are consistent for the generation. It could be replicated to include males and females of the Millennial generation, to see if factors for joining the library profession are similar across both sexes. Another focus could determine the undergraduate majors attracted to MLS

programs, such as English or history, and could compare male to female students in this area.

Reflections

This study makes it clear that librarianship is a profession comprised of both men and women. Even casually, labeling draws a deeper line between male and female librarians. One survey participant summed up the outrage over such slang, "Can the term 'guybrarian' just go die in a fiery pit?" It is time to shift views of men and women in librarianship from the perspective of stereotypes and inequality to a holistic one that reflects the communities it serves. Negative stereotypes and social attitudes about professional male librarians, both in and outside the profession, need to change. There were an overwhelming amount of responses to the survey open-ended question "Please share any additional thoughts you have on male professional librarians in general" and one survey participant eloquently summed it up this way:

> I still get snickers and funny looks when I tell people I want to be a librarian…. They are still living in a world populated by elderly 'shushing' librarians, Marian the Librarian, and the god-awful 'sexy librarian' stereotype. Obviously, men have no place in any of these preconceptions, and picturing a sexy male librarian is downright comical! But I feel that things are beginning to change, in large part because the public has begun to realize that being a librarian is a legitimate profession. We do not simply find books, tell you to be quiet, or all wear glasses; we are data curators in a world dominated by ever-changing information.

This study represents an important building block in studying male librarians as a minority group. There was a need for research to understand the factors that influence

men to join the library profession or advance their existing careers through graduate education. The findings of this study increase our understanding of their motivation. Having explored the variety of factors driving men to the profession out of the many career alternatives available, we begin to understand not only what attracts them, but also what negative social barriers they may face in that pursuit, including negative stereotypes such as effeminate and a know-it-all. Until there is complete gender equality and new social constructs for masculine and feminine work, there is still much to be explored regarding men in libraries.

References

Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gendered organizations. *Gender & Society, 4*, 139-158.

Akintunde, S. A., & Selbar, J. J. (1995). Librarians' image dressing and self-concept: A sociological analysis. *African Journal of Library, Archives & Information Science, 5*, 109-125.

American Library Association. (2008a). *Diversity Counts Report*. Retrieved from http://www.ala.org/offices/files/diversity/diversitycounts/diversitycounts_rev0.pdf

American Library Association. (2008b). *Library Directors: Gender and salary*. Retrieved from http://www.ala.org/research/librarystaffstats/diversity/libdirectors

American Library Association. (2012). *Diversity Counts Report*. Retrieved from http://www.ala.org/offices/sites/ala.org.offices/files/content/diversity/diversitycounts/diversitycountstables2012.pdf

American Library Association. (2013). *Guidelines for Choosing a Master's Program in Library and Information Studies.* Retrieved from http://www.ala.org/accreditedprograms/guidelines-choosing-masters-program-library-and-information-studies

Angoff, A. (1959). The male librarian–An anomaly? *Library Journal, 15,* 553-556.

Annoyed Librarian. (2008, February 13). Just what is a guybrarian? [Web log post] Retrieved from http://annoyedlibrarian.blogspot.com/2008/02/just-what-is-guybrarian.html

Arant, W., & Benefiel, C. R. (2002). *The image and role of the librarian*. Binghamton, NY: Haworth Information Press.

Argyris, C. (1957). *Personality and organization: The conflict between system and the individual*. New York, NY: Harper.

Artman, J. (2008). Motivate your Millennials! *Library Journal, 133*(3), 39.

Association for Information Science and Technology (2014). *About ASIS&T.* Retrieved from http://www.asis.org/about.html

Association of Research Libraries. (2008). ARL Annual Salary Survey, Table 17, Number and Average Salaries by Position and Sex. Washington, D.C.: ARL. Retrieved from www.arl.org/stats/annualsurveys/salary/annualedssal.shtml

Beaudrie, R., & Grunfeld, R. (1991). Male reference librarians and the gender factor. *The Reference Librarian, 15*(33), 211-213.

Beggs, J. M., & Doolittle, D. C. (1993). Perceptions now and then of occupational sex typing: A replication of Shinar's 1975 study. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 23*(17), 1435-1453.

Bergman, B. J. (2005). Looking at electronic resources librarians: Is there gender equity within this emerging specialty? *New Library World, 106*(3/4), 116-127.

Blaxter, L., Hughes, C. T. M., & Tight, M. (2001). *How to research* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Open University Press.

Bobinski, G. S. (1969). *Carnegie libraries: Their history and impact on American public library development*. Chicago, IL: American Library Association.

Bostrom, N. (2007). Technological Revolutions: Ethics and policy in the dark. In N. Cameron & M. E. Mitchell (Eds.), *Nanoscale: Issues and Perspectives for the Nano Century* (pp. 129-152). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Bowles, M. D. (1999). The information wars: Two cultures and the conflict in information retrieval, 1945-1999. In M. E. Bowden, T. B. Hahn, & R. V. Williams (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 1998 Conference on the History and Heritage of Science Information Systems* (pp. 156–166). Medford, NJ: Information Today, Inc. for the American Society for Information Science and the Chemical Heritage Foundation. Retrieved from http://webdoc.gwdg.de/ebook/s/2001/chf/www.chemheritage.org/historicalservices/asis_documents/asis98_bowles.pdf

Bryan, A. I. (1979). The public librarian. In K. Weibel, K. M. Heim, & D. J. Ellsworth (Eds.), *The role of women in librarianship, 1876-1976: The entry, advancement, and struggle for equalization in one profession* (pp. 128-142). Phoenix, AZ: Oryx Press.

Bryman, A. (2008). *Social research methods*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Budig, M. (2002). Male advantage and the gender composition of jobs: Who rides the glass escalator? *Social Problems, 49*(2), 258-277.

Buschman, J. (2007). Talkin' bout my (neoliberal) generation: Three theses. *Progressive Librarian, 29*, 28-40.

Carmichael, J. V. (1992). The male librarian and the feminine image: A survey of stereotype, status, and gender perceptions. *Library and Information Science Research, 14*(4), 411-446.

Carmichael, J. V. (1994). Gender issues in the workplace: Male librarians tell their side. *American Libraries, 25*, 227-230.

Cassidy, M. L., & Warren, B. O. (1991). Status consistency and work satisfaction among professional and managerial women and men. *Gender & Society, 5*(2), 193-206.

Choi, Y., & Rasmussen, E. (2009). What qualifications and skills are important for digital librarian positions in academic libraries? A job advertisement analysis. *The Journal of Academic Librarianship, 35*(5), 457-467.

Cognard-Black, A. J. (2004). Will they stay or will they go? Sex-atypical work among men who teach. *The Sociological Quarterly, 45*(1), 113-139.

Cohen, L., & Manion, L. (1995). *Research methods in education* (4th ed.). London, England: Routledge.

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Croneis, K. S., & Henderson, P. (2002). Electronic and digital librarian positions: A content analysis of announcements from 1990 through 2000. *The Journal of Academic Librarianship, 28*(4), 232-237.

Cross, S., & Bagilhole, B. (2002). Girls' jobs for the boys? Men, masculinity and non-traditional occupations. *Gender, Work and Organization, 9*(2), 204-226.

Crozier, M. (1964). *The Bureaucratic phenomenon*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Cushman, P. (2005). Let's hear it from the males: Issues facing male primary school teachers. *Teaching and Teacher Education: An International Journal of Research and Studies, 21*(3), 227-240.

Davis-Kendrick, K. D. (2009). The African-American male librarian: Motivational factors in choosing a career in library and information science. *Behavioral & Social Sciences Librarian, 28,* 23-52.

Deal, J. J., Altman, D. G., & Rogelberg, S. G. (2010). Millennials at work: What we know and what we need to do (if anything). *Journal of Business and Psychology, 25*(2), 191-199.

De Hauw, S., & De Vos, A. (2010). Millennials' career perspective and psychological contract expectations: Does the recession lead to lowered expectations? *Journal of Business Psychology, 25*, 293-302.

DeLaat, J. (2007). *Gender in the workplace: A case study approach* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

deLong, S. (2007). Nix the name-calling. *American Libraries, 38*(9), 51.

Dewey, M. (1886). *Librarianship as a profession for college-bred women: An address delivered before the Association of collegiate alumnæ, on March 13, 1886*. Boston, MA: Library Bureau.

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

Downing, K. E. (2009). *The relationship between social identity and role performance among academic librarians.* (Doctoral dissertation). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database. (UMI No. 3354141)

Drury, F. K. W. [ca. 1965]. *The library as a detective agency*. American Library Association Archives, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, IL.

Dubbert, J. L. (1979). *A man's place: Masculinity in transition*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice-Hall.

Duke, Y. (1999). *New vision or old stereotype: The image of the librarian on the World Wide Web–Is the professional image changing in this digital medium?* (Master's theses). University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC. Retrieved from https://cdr.lib.unc.edu/record/uuid:90b667d7-d75b-42b0-9657-fff94e3da917

Eagly, A. H. (1987). *Sex differences in social behavior: A social-role interpretation*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

England, P., & Herbert, M. S. (1993). The pay of men in "female" occupations: Is comparable worth only for women? In C. L. Williams (Ed.), *Doing "women's work": Men in nontraditional occupations* (pp. 28-48). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Evans, J. (1964, February 24). Opportunities for veterans as librarians. *Chicago Sunday Tribune*. American Library Association Archives, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, IL.

Fairhurst, G. T., & Snavely, B. K. (1983). A test of the social isolation of male tokens. *Academy of Management Journal, 26*, 353-361.

Families and Work Institute. (2002). Generation and gender in the workplace. *American Business Collaboration*. Retrieved March 22, 2012 from http://familiesandwork.org/site/research/reports/main.html

Fidel, R. (1984). The case study method: A case study. *Library and Information Science Research, 6*(3), 273-288.

Floge, L., & Merril, D. M. (1986). Tokenism reconsidered: Male nurses and female physicians in a hospital setting. *Social Forces, 64*(4), 925-947.

Gans, J. E. (1987). Men's career advantages in nursing: The principle of Peter. *Current Research on Occupations and Professions, 4*, 181-198.

Garcia, M. A. (2011). *Ask a librarian: The profession, professional identities, and constitutive rhetoric of librarians.* (Doctoral dissertation). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database. (UMI No. 3470703)

Garrison, D. (1979). *Apostles of culture: The public librarian and American society, 1876-1920*. New York, NY: Macmillan Information.

Gay, L. R., Mills, G. E., & Airasian, P. W. (2009). *Educational research: Competencies for analysis and applications*. Upper Saddle River, N.J: Merrill/Pearson.

George, J. M., & Jones, G. R. (2008). *Understanding and managing organizational behavior*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Gingrich, A. (1964, April). Young man, be a librarian. *Esquire, 61*(4), 8.

Glab, K. (1972). The sensuous librarian. In C. West & E. Katz (Eds.), *Revolting librarians* (pp. 19-21). San Francisco, CA: Bootlegger Press.

Gordon, R. S. (2004). The men among us. *Library Journal, 129*(11), 49.

Gordon, R. S. (2005). The "bridge" generation. *Library Journal, 130*(19), 46.

Gordon, R. S. (2006). Think trends, not types. *Library Journal, 131*(11), 44.

Greed, C. (2000). Women in the construction profession: Achieving critical mass. *Gender, Work and Organization, 7*, 181-196.

Greenberg, E., & Weber, K. (2008). *Generation we: How Millennial youth are taking over America and changing our world forever*. Emeryville, CA: Pachatusan.

Greenwood, A. M. (1999). *Gender and jobs: Sex segregation of occupations in the world.* Geneva: International Labour Office.

Greer, B. P. D., Stephens, D., & Coleman, V. (2001). Cultural diversity and gender role spillover: A working perspective. *Journal of Library Administration, 33,* 125-140.

Greer, R. C., Fowler, S. G., & Grover, R. (2013). *Introduction to the library and information professions*. Santa Barbara, CA: Libraries Unlimited.

Gruber, J. E., & Bjorn, L. (1988). Routes to a feminist orientation among women autoworkers. *Gender & Society, 2*(4), 496-509.

Haigh, T. (2001). Inventing information systems: The systems men and the computer, 1950-1968. *The Business History Review, 75*(1), 15-61.

Hammond, J., & Mahoney, C. (1983). Reward-cost balancing among women coal miners. *Sex Roles, 9,* 17-29.

Hayes, R. (1986). Men's decisions to enter or avoid nontraditional occupations. *The Career Development Quarterly, 35,* 89–101.

Hayes, R. M. (1986). Accreditation. *Library Trends*, *34*(2), 537-559.

Harris, M. H. (1999). *History of libraries in the Western world*. (4th ed.). Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.

Harris, R. M. (1992). *Librarianship: The erosion of a woman's profession*. Norwood, N.J: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Harrison, M. I. (1987). *Diagnosing organizations: Methods, models, and processes*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Heikes, E. J. (1991). When men are the minority: The case of men in nursing. *Sociological Quarterly, 32*, 389-401.

Heim, K. M. (1983). *The status of women in librarianship: Historical, sociological, and economic issues.* New York, NY: Neal-Schuman Publishers.

Heinrichs, J. H., & Lim, J. S. (2009). Emerging requirements of computer related competencies for librarians. *Library & Information Science Research, 31*, 101-106.

Heppner, M. J., & Heppner, P. P. (2009). On men and work: Taking the road less traveled. *Journal of Career Development, 36*, 49-67.

Hershatter, A., & Epstein, M. (2010). Millennials and the world of work: An organization and management perspective. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 25*(2), 211-223.

Hickey, A. (2006). Cataloguing men: Charting the male librarian's experience through the perceptions and positions of men in libraries. *Journal of Academic Librarianship, 32*(3), 286-295.

Hildebrand, S. (1999). The information age versus gender equity? Technology and values in education for library and information science. *Library Trends, 47*(4), 669-685.

Holland, A. (2007). Gender bias in libraries? *Library Journal, 132*(1), 64.

Houston, B. (2007, August 29). Not a guybrarian. [Web log post]. Retrieved from http://notaguybrarian.blogspot.com/2007_08_01_archive.html

Hughes, E. C. (1958). *Men and their work.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

iSchools organization. (2014). *History and origins*. Retrieved from http://ischools.org/about/history/origins/

Jacobs, J. A., & Powell, B. (1984). Gender difference in the evaluation of prestige. *The Sociological Quarterly, 25*, 173-190.

Jennings, E., & Markgraf, J. (2010). Mind the generation gap: Millennials and Boomers in the library workplace. *College & Undergraduate Libraries, 17*(1), 93-99.

Jesella, K. (2007, July 8). A Hipper crowd of shushers. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2007/07/08/fashion/08librarian.html

Jome, L. M., Surething, N. A., & Taylor, K. K. (2005). Rationally oriented masculinity, gender nontraditional interests, and occupational traditionality of employed men. *Journal of Career Development, 32*, 183-197.

Kaarst-Brown, M. L., Nicholson, S., von Dran, G. M., & Stanton, J. M. (2004). Organizational cultures of libraries as a strategic resource. *Library Trends, 53*(1), 33-53.

Kane, M. J., & Stangl, J. M. (1991). Employment patterns of female coaches in men's athletics: Tokenism and marginalization as reflections of occupational sex-segregation. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 15*(1), 21-41.

Kanter, R. M. (1977a). Some effects of proportions on group life: Skewed sex ratios and responses to token women. *The American Journal of Sociology, 82*(5), 965-990.

Kanter, R. M. (1977b). *Men and women of the corporation*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Kaspar, W. A., & Mosley, P. A. (2008). Making the good hire: Updating the hiring practices for the contemporary multigenerational workforce, part two. *Library Administration and Management, 22*(3), 142-147.

King, A. (1999). Image is everything: So go get one already. *College & Research Libraries News, 60*(4), 277-279.

Knupfer, N. N. (1997, February). New technologies and gender equity: New bottles with old wine. Proceedings of Selected Research and Development Presentations. *National Convention of the Association for Educational Communications and Technology*, Albuquerque, NM.

Krathwohl, D. R. (1998). *Methods of educational & social science research: An integrated approach*. New York, NY: Longman.

Lamont, M. (2009). Gender, technology, and libraries. *Information Technology and Libraries, 28*(3), 137-142.

Leedy, P. D., & Ormrod, J. E. (2001). *Practical research: Planning and design*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill Prentice Hall.

Leidner, R. (1991). Serving hamburgers and selling insurance: Gender, work and identity in interactive service jobs. *Gender & Society, 5*(2), 154-177.

Lietzau, Z. (2009). *U.S. public libraries and the use of web technologies (Closer Look Report).* Denver, CO: Colorado State Library, Library Research Service.

The librarian–Idea consultant. (1962). Office for Recruitment, American Library Association Archives, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, IL.

Library work for young men: An interview with John Cotton Dana. (1921). *New York Evening Post*. Reprinted by American Library Association Archives, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, IL.

Lipscomb, C. E. (2003). Librarian supply and demand. *Journal of the Medical Library Association, 91*(1), 7-10.

The lively career of a school librarian. (1964). American Library Association Archives, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, IL.

Lupton, B. (2006). Explaining men's entry into female-concentrated occupations: Issues of masculinity and social class. *Gender, Work and Organization, 13*(2), 103-128.

Maume, D. (1999). Glass ceilings and glass escalators, occupational segregation and race and sex differences in managerial promotions. *Work and Occupations, 26*(4), 483-509.

Marston, C. (2007). *Motivating the "what's in it for me" workforce: Manage across the generational divide and increase profits*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

McCook, K. P. (1983). *The status of women in librarianship: Historical, sociological, and economic issues*. New York, N.Y: Neal-Schuman Publishers.

McDonald, T. W., Toussaint, L. L., & Schweiger, J. A. (2004). The influence of social status on token women leaders' expectations about leading male-dominated groups. *Sex Roles, 50*(5), 401-409.

Merton, R. K. (1961). Bureaucratic structure and personality. In A. Etzioni (Ed.), *Complex Organizations: A sociological reader* (pp. 47-59). New York, NY: Hold, Rinehart.

Mikkelsen, B. (1995). *Methods for development work and research: A guide for practitioners*, New Delhi, India: Sage Publications.

Millennials: A portrait of Generation Next: Confident. Connected. Open to change. (2010). Pew Research Center. Retrieved March 22, 2012 from http://www.pewresearch.org/millennials

Mills, C. W. (1951). *White collar: The American middle classes*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Miner, M. M. (1994). “You’re going to be the only guy in there”: Men’s minority experience in introduction to women’s studies. *NWSA Journal, 6(3*), 452-267.

Minnesota Population Center. (2011). National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 2.0. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota.

Morrisey, L. J., & Case, D. O. (1988). There goes my image: The perceptions of male librarians by colleagues, students, and self. *College and Research Libraries, 49*(5), 453-64.

Mosley, P. A. (2002). Shedding the stereotypes: Librarians in the 21st century. *Reference Librarian, 78*, 167-76.

Munn, R. (1993). It is a mistake to recruit men. (Originally published November 1, 1949). *Library Journal, 118,* S10 (insert between 48-9).

Ng, E. S. W., Schweitzer, L., & Lyons, S. T. (2010). New generation, great expectations: A field study of the Millennial generation. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 25*(2), 281-292.

O’Brien, K. L. (in press). Accreditation of Library and Information Studies. In J. D. McDonald, & M. Levine-Clark (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Sciences* (4th ed.). Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.

O’Brien, N. P. (1983). The recruitment of men into librarianship, following World War II. In K. Heim (Ed.), *The status of women in librarianship, Historical, sociological and economic issues* (pp. 51-66). New York, NY: Neal-Schuman Publishers, Inc.

Ott, E. M. (1989). The effects of the male-female ratio at work. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 12*, 41-57.

Passet, J. E. (1993, Fall). Men in a feminized profession: The male librarian, 1887-1921. *Libraries and Culture, 28*(4), 385-402.

Padavic, I., & Reskin, B. (2002). *Women and men at work* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Pagowsky, N., & Rigby, M. E. (2014). Contextualizing ourselves: The identity politics of the librarian stereotype. In N. Pagowsky & M. E. Rigby (Eds.), *The librarian stereotype: Deconstructing perceptions and presentations of information work* (pp. 1-37). Chicago, IL: The Association of College & Research Libraries.

Paris, M. (1988). Thoughts on the case study. *Journal of Education for Library and Information Science, 29*(2), 137-140.

Pasieka, S. A. (2009). *Exploring the changing workforce: Understanding and managing the generation of Millennial workers.* (Doctorial dissertation). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database. (UMI No. 3349310)

Paton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Peltier-Davis, C. (2009). Web 2.0, library 2.0, library user 2.0, librarian 2.0: Innovative services for sustainable libraries. *Computers in Libraries, 29*(10), 16-21.

Pierce, J. (1995). *Gender trials: Emotional lives in contemporary law firms*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Piper, P. S., & Collamer, B. E. (2001). Male librarians: Men in a feminized profession. *The Journal of Academic Librarianship, 27*(5), 406-411.

Pop goes the librarian. (2013, April 4). Guybrarians and male librarians. [Web log post]. Retrieved from http://popgoesthelibrarian.wordpress.com/category/guybrarian/

Posner, B. (2003). Know-it-all librarians. *The Reference Librarian, 37*(78), 111-129.

Powell, R. R., & Connaway, L. S. (2004). *Basic research methods for librarians*. Westport, CT: Libraries Unlimited.

Public librarian. (1965). Office for Recruitment, American Library Association Archives, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, IL.

Radford, M. L., & Radford, G. P. (2003). Librarians and party girls: Cultural studies and the meaning of the librarian. *Library Quarterly, 73*(1), 54-69.

Record, A., & Green, R. (2008). Examining gender issues and trends in library management from the male perspective. *Library Administration & Management, 22*(4), 193-198.

Recruitment for Diversity. (2013). Workforce Development. American Library Association. Retrieved from http://www.ala.org/advocacy/diversity/workforcedevelopment/recruitmentfordiversity

Reskin, B. F. (1988). Bringing the men back in: Sex differentiation and the devaluation of women's work. *Gender & Society, 2*, 58-81.

Ricigliano, L., & Houston, R. (2003). Men's work, women's work: The social shaping of technology in academic libraries. *Learning to Make a Difference: Proceedings of the Eleventh National Conference of the Association of College and Research Libraries*. Chicago, IL: Association of College and Research Libraries, 183-189.

Rochlen, A. B., Good, G. E., & Carver, T. A. (2009). Predictors of gender-related barriers, work and life satisfaction among men in nursing. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 10*(1), 44-56.

Rubin, R. (2010). *Foundations of library and information science*. New York: Neal-Schuman Publishers.

Rudman, L. A., & Glick, P. (2008). *The social psychology of gender: How power and intimacy shape gender relations.* New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Sable, A. P. (1969). The sexuality of the library profession: The male and female librarian. *Wilson Library Bulletin, 43*(8), 748-751.

Sackett, P. R., DuBois, C. L. Z., & Noe, A. W. (1991). Tokenism in performance evaluation: The effects of work group representation on male-female and white-black differences in performance ratings. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *76*, 263-267.

Salkowitz, R. (2008). *Generation blend: Managing across the technology age gap.* Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Sandelowski, M. (2000). Combining qualitative and quantitative sampling, data collection, and analysis techniques in mixed-method studies. *Research in Nursing & Health, 23(*3), 246-55.

Sapp, G. (1986). What the librarian didn't see in the mirror: Aspects of the professional stereotype. *Catholic Library World, 58*, 135-138.

Sargent, P. (2004). Between a rock and hard place: Men caught in the gender bind of early childhood education. *The Journal of Men's Studies, 12*(3), 173-192.

Scherdin, M. J., & Beaubien, A. K. (1995). Shattering our stereotype: Librarians' new image. *Library Journal*, *120*, 35-38.

Schott, M. C., & Connor, E. (2010). The male medical librarian: A misunderstood minority. *Journal of Hospital Librarianship, 10*(4), 341-348.

Shachar, O. (2000). Spotlighting women scientists in the press: Tokenism in science journalism. *Public Understanding of Science, 9*(4), 347-358.

Shank, J. D. (2006). The blended librarian: A job announcement analysis of the newly emerging position of instructional design librarian. *College & Research Libraries, 67*(6), 515-524.

Simpson, R. (2004). Masculinity at work: The experiences of men in female dominated occupations. *Work, Employment & Society, 18*(2), 349-368.

Simpson, R. (2005). Men in non-traditional occupations: Career entry, career orientation and experience of role strain. *Gender, Work and Organization, 12*(4), 363-380.

Slagell, J. (2005). Talk about images and issues of professional librarianship: Professional reflections in turbulent waters. *The Serials Librarian, 48*(1/2), 229-234.

Snyder, K. A., & Green, A. I. (2008). Revisiting the glass escalator: The case of gender segregation in a female dominated occupation. *Social Problems, 55*(2), 271-299.

Spangler, E., Gordon, M., & Pipkin, R. (1978). Token women: An empirical test of Kanter's hypothesis. *American Journal of Sociology, 84*, 160-170.

Stereotype. (n.d.). Retrieved April 24, 2013, from http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/stereotype

Stichman, A. J., Hassell, K. D., & Archbold, C. A. (2010). Strength in numbers? A test of Kanter's theory of tokenism. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 38*(4), 633-639.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory, procedures and techniques.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Sullivan, P. (1996). Carnegie Fellowships for Librarians 1929-1942: A microcosm of Carnegie Corporation and American Library Association join enterprise. *Libraries & Culture, 31*(2), 437-446.

Tennant, R. (2006). The gender gap. *Library Journal, 131*(13), 28.

Thompson, J. D. (1967). *Organizations in action*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Torkelson, D. J., & Seed, M. S. (2011). Gender differences in the roles and functions of psychiatric male nurses. *Journal of Psychosocial Nursing and Mental Health, 49*(3), 34-41.

Turco, C. J. (2010). Cultural foundations of tokenism evidence from the leveraged buyout industry. *American Sociological Review, 75*(6), 894-913.

Turner, R. L. (1980). Femininity and the librarian-another test. *College & Research Libraries*, *41*(3), 235-241.

United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2010). *Weekly and hourly earnings data from the current population*. Retrieved from http://data.bls.gov/pdq/querytool.jsp?survey=le

United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2012). *Occupational employment and wages, May 2011.* Occupational Employment Statistics. Retrieved from http://www.bls.gov/oes/current/oes254021.html

United States Department of Veterans Affairs, Education and Training. (2014). *History and Timeline*. Retrieved from http://www.benefits.va.gov/gibill/history.asp

Vann, S. K. (1971). *The Williamson reports of 1921 and 1923*. Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.

Vogt, S. (2003). The best man for the job is a woman? *Information Today, 20*(3), 23.

Wallace, D. P. (Ed.). (2012). *Library and Information Science Education Statistical Report 2012*. Association of Library and Information Science Education. Retrieved from http://www.alise.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=415http://www.alise.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=415

Wallace, M., Tolley-Stokes, R., & Estep, E. S. (2011). *The generation X librarian: Essays on leadership, technology, pop culture, social responsibility and professional identity*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co.

Weibel, K., McCook, K. P., & Ellsworth, D. J. (1979). *The role of women in librarianship, 1876-1976: The entry, advancement, and struggle for equalization in one profession*. Phoenix, AZ: Oryx Press.

Wiebe, T. J. (2005). Issues faced by male librarians: Stereotypes, perceptions and career ramifications. *Colorado Libraries, 31*, 11-13.

Wiest, L. R. (2003). The current status of male teachers of young children. *Educational Forum, 68*(1), 62-70.

Wildemuth, B. M. (2009). Applications of social research methods to questions in information and library science. Westport, CT: Libraries Unlimited.

Williams, C. L. (1991). *Gender differences at work: Women and men in non-traditional occupations.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Williams, C. L. (1992). The glass escalator: Hidden advantages for men in the female profession. *Social Problems, 39*(3), 253-267.

Williams, C. L. (1995). *Still a man's world: Men who do "women's work."* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Williams, C. L. (1998). A lesbigay gender perplex: Sexual stereotyping and professional ambiguity in librarianship. In J. V. Carmichael (Ed.), *Daring to find our names: The search for lesbigay library history* (pp. 37-46). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Williams, C. L. (2013). The glass escalator, revisited: Gender inequality in neoliberal times. *Gender & Society*, 27, p. 609-629.

Wilson, P. (1982). *Stereotypes and status: Librarians in the United States*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Wingfield, A. H. (2009). Racializing the glass escalator: Reconsidering men's experiences with women's work. *Gender & Society, 23*, 5-26.

Yardley, L. (2000). Dilemmas in qualitative health research. *Psychology and Health, 15*, 215-228.

Yates, E. A. (2008). Millennials: Invite us to the party. *AALL Spectrum, 12*(7), 25-27.

Yin, R. K. (1984*). Case study research: Design and methods*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Yoder, J. D., Adams, J., & Prince, H. (1983). The price of a token. *Journal of Political and Military Sociology, 11*, 269-276.

Yoder, J. D. (1991). Rethinking tokenism: looking beyond numbers. *Gender & Society, 5*, 178-192.

Yoder, J. D., & Aniakudo, P. (1997). "Outsider within" the firehouse subordination and difference in the social interactions of African American women firefighters. *Gender & Society, 11*(3), 324-341.

Yoder, J. D., & McDonald, T. W. (1998). Measuring sexist discrimination in the workplace: Support for the validity of the schedule of sexist events. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 22*, 487-491.

Yoder, J. D., & Sinnett, J. (1985). Is it all in the numbers? A case study of tokenism. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 9*, 413-418.

Young, J. L., & James, E. H. (2001). Token majority: The work attitudes of male flight attendants. *Sex Roles, 45*(5/6), 299-319.

Zimmer, L. (1988). Tokenism and women in the workplace: The limits of gender-neutral theory. *Social Problems, 35*, 64-76.

Appendix A

EMPORIA STATE UNIVERSITY™
1200 Commercial
Emporia, Kansas
66801-5087
620-341-5351
620-341-5909 fax
www.emporia.edu
GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
RESEARCH AND GRANTS CENTER
Campus Box 4003

September 16, 2013

Heidi Blackburn
[redacted]

Dear Ms. Blackburn:

Your application for approval to use human subjects has been reviewed. I am pleased to inform you that your application was approved and you may begin your research as outlined in your application materials. Please reference the protocol number below when corresponding about this research study.

Title:	The Factors Influencing Men Born After 1981 Currently Enrolled in Library and Information Science Graduate Program to Become Professional Librarians
Protocol ID Number:	14014
Type of Review:	Expedited
Time Period:	08/01/2013--08/01/2014

If it is necessary to conduct research with subjects past this expiration date, it will be necessary to submit a request for a time extension. If the time period is longer than one year, you must submit an annual update. If there are any modifications to the original approved protocol, such as changes in survey instruments, changes in procedures, or changes to possible risks to subjects, you must submit a request for approval for modifications. The above requests should be submitted on the form Request for Time Extension, Annual Update, or Modification to Research Protocol. This form is available at www.emporia.edu/research/irb.html.

Requests for extensions should be submitted at least 30 days before the expiration date. Annual updates should be submitted within 30 days after each 12-month period. Modifications should be submitted as soon as it becomes evident that changes have occurred or will need to be made.

On behalf of the Institutional Review Board, I wish you success with your research project. If I can help you in any way, do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

Pamelyn MacDonald pf

Dr. Pamelyn MacDonald
Chair, Institutional Review Board

pf

cc: Dr. Mirah Dow

Appendix B

Table 1

Historical Increases in American Male Librarians

Decade	American Male Librarians
1940	3,891
1950	6,303
1960	12,248
1970	22,286
1980	40,514
1990	50,056
2000	59,326

Table 2

Participants by LIS Program

Program (N = 37)	Participants	%
Catholic University of America	2	0.87
Clarion University of Pennsylvania	9	3.90
Dominican University	4	1.73
Drexel University	1	0.43
Emporia State University	14	6.06
Florida State University, an iSchool	11	4.76
Indiana University (Indianapolis Campus)	4	1.73
Kent State University	21	9.09
Louisiana State University	11	4.76
McGill University	5	2.16
Nanyang Technological University	1	0.43
Pratt Institute	2	0.87
Rutgers University	5	2.16
San Jose State University	5	2.16

Simmons College	1	0.43
Syracuse University, iSchool	16	6.93
University of Alabama	7	3.03
University of Alberta	7	3.03
University of California, Los Angeles	2	0.87
University of Hawaii at Manoa	3	1.30
University of Illinois Urbana, iSchool	17	7.36
University of Iowa	2	0.87
University of Kentucky	1	0.43
University of Maryland, iSchool	6	2.60
University of Missouri	7	3.03
University of North Carolina Greensboro	6	2.60
University of North Texas	1	0.43
University of Pittsburgh	1	0.43
University of Rhode Island	1	0.43
University of South Carolina	1	0.43
University of Southern Mississippi	4	1.73

University of Washington, iSchool	16	6.93
University of Western Ontario	12	5.19
University of Wisconsin Milwaukee	1	0.43
Unspecified by respondent	12	5.19
Wayne State University	11	4.76
Western University	1	0.43
Total	231	100.0

*Note: Authoritative list of iSchools taken from http://ischools.org accessed 1/27/2014.

Table 3

Respondent Reasons for Selecting Library Profession (Survey Likert Item Questions)

#	Topic	Strongly Agree 1	2	3	4	Strongly Disagree 5	Mean	Standard Deviation
1	Love of books	99	89	17	12	3	1.78	0.91
2	Work experience	74	59	38	29	20	2.37	1.31
3	Non-threatening work environments	25	60	70	52	13	2.85	1.09
4	Social improvements	65	81	34	30	10	2.27	1.16
5	Library management	65	72	48	24	11	2.29	1.15
6	Computer technologies	31	67	62	45	15	2.75	1.14
7	Financial means	49	96	31	34	10	2.36	1.12
8	Public work	37	83	51	37	12	2.56	1.12
9	Gaming	15	27	42	79	57	3.62	1.19

Note: 220 participants

Table 4

General Comments from Respondents about the Role Technology Plays in Attracting Males to the Library Profession (Survey Question 1)

Categories (5)	Responses (84)	Illustration of Response Items
Computer technology helps legitimize the library profession for male employees.	2	"I think technology lends some legitimacy to the role of males in libraries. Simply because libraries are constructed as a female space, there is an unspoken pressure for men to cling to a Trojan horse of sorts to justify participation in library science. Technology is one of them."
Technology plays a personal role		
The participant was attracted to the library profession by the opportunity to use computer technology.	14	"The primary reason for entering the library profession is to be surrounded and work with dynamically changing technology." "I think that there are a lot of men up coming in the profession that want to see the tech that the library uses improve…it

		was definitely an aspect that helped me make the decision to pursue this career."
The participant was attracted to the library profession by the opportunity to learn about new computer technology.	4	"I desire to learn more about the available technology. I believed that this is one aspect that drew me to the field." "Technology is a major contributing factor to my decision to pursue a MLIS degree. One of my interests prior to enrolling was learning new technical skills because they are highly sought by employers in higher education and beyond."
Technology plays no personal role		
Computer technology use was not a personal draw for the respondent to join the library profession.	21	"Technology use is increasing on pretty much every career front. It's unavoidable, and so it has never played a role in attracting me to this specific profession." "When I applied to graduate school to become a professional librarian, the role technology plays in this field did not

		occur to me as a significant factor for choosing this profession."
The respondent views technology as merely one tool in librarianship, similar to books or other instruments.	6	"I was more interested as Librarianship as a way to positively influence society, through the promotion and preservation of knowledge. Technology is a useful tool for these goals." "Sure, librarians work with computers a fair amount, but it's primarily a means to an end, not the purpose of the job."
The respondent views the use of technology in the library work environment as a peripheral motivation.	5	"It was not something that initially attracted me to the profession. However, I have enjoyed the courses on technology I have enrolled in." "I do not believe that the technology attracted me, as much as it was a bonus when I got there."
Technology is a factor for men in general		

Men in general attracted to the library profession by the opportunity to use computer technology skills.	6	"I believe many males are comfortable with technology especially any emerging technology with computers, gaming systems and working in libraries allows them to already be familiar with them and assist the staff and patrons." "I believe that computer programmers in specific are being drawn to librarianship, as they see it as an unexplored area where their services could be best put to use."
Men in general are attracted to the library profession through the opportunity to use computer technology in general.	11	"If more technology emphasis is put into libraries, perhaps more males will begin considering librarianship as a viable career option for the technical skills." "…the increasing prominence of technology in librarianship might make the field less gendered in the eyes of some men who are influenced by gender stereotypes."
Men in general in the library profession use	3	"Technology is seen as 'men's work' or an area that is more suited for men. Due

computer technology skills to meet social expectations.		to this, the technology areas are librarianship may draw more men or are seen as 'appropriate' areas for men to work in."
Technology is not a factor for men in general		
The computer science field is perceived as a better alternative for men with computer technology skills than librarianship.	4	"…anyone passionate about technology could earn a higher salary and use newer technology in another field." "If anything, I'd argue that the pay differential between IT professionals and librarians (even though there is some overlap) discourages males to the profession. Additionally, there seems to be a prestige difference too."
Factors other than technology motivate men to join the library profession more than computer technology.	4	"The use of technology as a lure for males to the library profession must be secondary at most." "It doesn't seem like technology plays a bigger role in attracting males to the library profession than others. They decide to study library and information

		science for similar reasons that others do: to connect people with the information that they need, to work and advocate for their community, to engage in the organization and management of information, etc."
Technology generally plays no role at all in recruiting men to the library profession.	4	"I have not noticed men pursuing or working in the library profession to have a greater interest in the technological aspect of librarianship than women in the field."

Note: 108 participants

Table 5

General Comments from Respondents about Male Professional Librarians and Technology in Libraries (Survey Question 2)

Categories (6)	Responses (51)	Illustration of Response Items
The participant reported themes related to recruiting and hiring practices in the librarianship field.	2	"I think many more would be attracted to this career if technology was better emphasized. The field needs to emphasize technology and production." "Male professional librarians have a huge advantage. … they are better noticed in professional socialization settings, such as conferences and workshops. Networking is easier when people remember who you are…. Males who excel with, and have a keen interest in, technology implementation will be optimal choices for those relevant positions."
Generational factors play a larger role in recruiting	4	"I suspect the generational divide plays a role in supporting a belief that there

technology-savvy librarians than gender.		is a link between technology and males moving into the library profession…I have only noticed that males become responsible for technology programing by default of not being involved in more traditional programming like story time or teen library council activities." "It seems like librarian engagement with technology is less a gender divide than a generational divide."
The participant noted a relationship between technology literacy and serving patrons.	11	"Most of the male librarians-to-be that I know are looking to enter public librarianship because of their interest in working with communities." "I often anticipate using technology to make my future job performance more efficient. And because we have to help patrons in their use of technology, I am sure my future patron service functions will have extensive use of technology."

There is a gap between gender roles in librarianship, particularly between men and women in technology-driven roles.	23	"In my experience, men are more often called upon to handle technology issues and learn new technologies than their female coworkers. I think this is based on traditional gender roles and is not based on true competence. In my experience, men who like technology, but do not have the skills or interest to do coding or other computer programming, tend to go into librarianship." "From my personal experience, male professional librarians seem more likely to be engaged in technology-focused work. Web development and similar areas seem to be predominately male."
Male professional librarians are stereotyped as working with technology in some capacity.	6	"Even though the males I know through school and work are not particularly tech-savvy, I think there is a general perception among professional librarians that men are

		more interested and capable when it comes to computers and technology. In a mixed group of librarians, men are more often called upon to solve a technical problem than women."
		"I believe that many male library employees get stereotyped as more technologically proficient than females, which I do not see as personally negative, but also do not believe is fair to the many talented female coworkers I have worked with."
Society expects male professional librarians to favor technology-driven roles.	5	"I would say that the first approach is considered by our society to be a feminine approach (helping, guiding, supporting) and the latter is masculine (telling, doing, fixing). I hope that librarians take a teaching approach to technology in the library and that male librarians can help change the

	masculine norm to something that is about helping and nurturing.”
	“I suspect that this is more a sociocultural bias that exists in our society in favor of men being technology oriented and also the fact that there are so few females in programming would end up being a self-perpetuating gender bias in favor of males because women, I would imagine, would not want to be the token female programmer.”

Note: 63 participants

Table 6

General Comments from Respondents about Male Professional Librarians (Survey Question 3)

Categories (5)	Responses (68)	Illustration of Response Items
The most often-expressed librarian stereotype is librarianship is a feminine profession.	16	"Librarians do not have a manly stigma which to the general population could cause men to look other directions when choosing a career." "Male libraries have huge advantages, but they have an identity problem. The term librarian throws most people off, and is a discouraging factor for males who have considered applying to MLIS programs. It is for that reason that males in librarianship, tend to look to 'other' non traditional career paths, or go to work in corporate or special libraries." "I still get snickers and funny looks when I tell people I want to be a librarian. But I feel that those who immediately judge my decision and

		poke fun at it do not understand what it means to be a librarian today. They are still living in a world populated by elderly 'shushing' librarians, Marian the Librarian, and the god-awful 'sexy librarian' stereotype. Obviously men have no place in any of these preconceptions, and picturing a sexy male librarian is downright comical!"
Male librarians come from a variety of backgrounds.	8	"The ones I have met have come from all sorts of different backgrounds and have varying levels of comfort with library technologies." "In my experience, males in this field tend to be very intelligent with a noticeable degree of self-importance." "I think males are on the average more likely to be blunt, forward and louder. At least that is my experience from university and working at a library. Also, I think males are more likely to censor less and are more likely to

		allow more borderline content such as violent video games, violent graphic novels, etc. I realize this is possibly my own subjective experience, but it seems this way. In my management class men tended to favor more direct action when in a management role."
Serving the public as a male librarian is important.	2	"Overall, the males who decide to pursue this career tend to genuinely love libraries and the ability to help people find whatever they may need. The service component to this profession I would say is important." "I think the library is a great place for men to work and find a fulfilling career. The library is intellectually stimulating; it provides a means of interaction and sociability. The library is also a means for benefiting the society in which one lives in general. People can come to the library for

		learning, for research, for enjoyment, and for any other reasons that they need. Males, having an innate need to provide for others, can greatly benefit the library by helping it reach to the needs of the community."
Male librarians are noticeably in the minority in the library profession.	26	"While I have worked with several male librarians and paraprofessionals over the years, I have to honestly say that our minority status in the field still seems to directly affect our professional development. I have definitely been in meetings where my status as a young male clearly led to my ideas being discounted. I have also often found myself excluded socially by others in the field. That being said, there does seem to be a generational shift occurring…" "There is certainly a high division of the sexes in library school, more so than I see in the profession."

		"There needs to be a greater balance between culturally diverse men and women with the duties of children and youth programming. As a programmer that also presents story time programs to children, I can see the benefit a male role model creates for young male readers. In terms of general instruction, throughout the library, diversity is key. We must be able to represent the people we serve."
The library profession does not focus recruitment efforts on men, and while there is a perceived increase in numbers, more efforts are needed.	16	"There is nothing about libraries that should drive men away. The profession just needs to reframe the situation if they want to attract males. It is the same with minorities or any other group a profession might target." "Males in the library profession appear to 'fall in to it' meaning they don't plan on entering a profession. They are looking at ways to advance in a library

	job, only later realizing that they are in fact in a profession.”

Note: 79 participants

Table 7

Participant Experience in Selecting the Library Profession (Interview Question 1)

Categories (7)	Responses (40)	Illustration of Response Items
A personal contact, such as a spouse, friend, librarian, or colleague recruited the participant to the profession.	10	"I just ended up in a discussion with a school librarian that was there and she said 'Have you ever thought about doing that?'" "My hiring supervisor, before I knew I wanted to go into librarianship, she was in library school herself and that's actually how I learned of the program I'm in now."
The participant was on another career path and librarianship was an alternative profession.	8	"I was in graduate school doing a Master's degree in history and wasn't particularly enjoying what I was doing." "In 2010 all of my GIS jobs that they said we're going to be granting dried up really quickly. So I needed to regroup and decide what I was going to do really quickly."

The participant previously had positive interactions and experiences working in a library.	7	"I really like working in the library. I liked being around books. I liked reading a lot, and being in the library I figured I could still do the academic side and be involved with that…" "I started working as a page in a local public library around 2007."
The participant has a passion for librarianship and its professional ideology.	6	"But I wanted to do this because I really want to service the community and get relevant and real information out there." "…a lot of my personal and political views aligned very much with, like, the ALA stuff and what librarianship stands for."
The participant previously had positive interactions and experiences with a library as a patron.	6	"Libraries had always been a place where I could go and, you know, feel like I belonged, I guess." "I'd also used libraries extensively as a means of learning on my own and decided to get into the field."

The participant deliberately spoke of librarianship as a dream career.	2	"I was trying to think of what my dream job would be, and I thought, well, whenever I get home, usually the first thing I do is start reading books. And no one is going to pay me to do that, so what's the next best thing and I thought 'Being a librarian.'" "…if I could take my dream career, what would I do, and I as like…and she looks at me and gets this look on her face, and she's like, 'Well, you know, why don't you become a librarian.'"
The participant was interested in a profession that would provide job stability.	1	"…main reasons of doing the Master's was not only to get a pay increase but also to hopefully open up more doors for job security."

Note: Some respondents stated more than one response item/questions. 20 participants

Table 8

Public Stereotypes of Men Who Become Professional Librarians (Interview Question 2)

Categories (4)	Responses (40)	Illustration of Response Items
The participant was aware of male librarian stereotypes held by the public and/or profession.	13	"…antisocial, maybe intellectual, maybe not necessarily comfortable in working the public, maybe not necessarily being very outgoing…" "…doubting people, they're prudes, they shush people in the library, they're really uptight, they keep things quiet, they're boring, they're quiet, very introverted, they like their books." "The tendency towards comic books and video games and computer programming." "…there has to be a reason why that you went into a field that isn't so much one that makes a lot of money, one that is something that is—when you grow up, you know, when you're a little kid that you'd say 'Well, I want to [be] a

		librarian when I grow up.' I think it's even less so when you're a male. So it's almost like you failed in other things in a way or you didn't—it wasn't such a masculine decision to do, I guess."
		"So like glasses, socially awkward, not good at communicating, someone who is going to be able to get you the information you want but isn't going to have a conversation with you about it. They're just going to find information, that's all you're going to get from him."
The participant believed there are no specific male librarian stereotypes held by the public and/or profession.	7	"I guess I never, definitely never first hand hear anything. I've never had any patron think it was kind of odd that I was a guy and not a girl."
		"I have never in my life noticed a stereotype about men and librarians, ever. I mean there's a strong stereotype about women and librarians. I have

		never seen or heard of a male stereotype for librarians."
Another person, such as peers, classmates, patrons, family members or friends, has negatively stereotyped the participant as a librarian.	6	"I've noticed if I'm standing there and one of the female librarians is standing there, 90% of the time people will go to the female librarian. I assume this is due to the fact that they've all been there longer, but there is always that sort of surprise." "I always say it's a weird look that says 'You don't look like a 60-year-old woman.' So that's most of what we talk about is the fact that everyone is surprised when we tell them that we're librarians." "They also assume I'm going to be in academic librarianship and not like, children and youth services…" "We've always made jokes about how, you know, it's interesting to be a white male and at the same time, almost be

		an affirmative action hire, even though that's not actually how the law works."
The participant never felt negatively stereotyped specifically for being a male in the library profession.	14	"…I have never encountered these stereotypes based on my gender. I have encountered these stereotypes, or at least most of those stereotypes…in librarianship as a whole." "Yeah, so I have never encountered those stereotypes based on my gender. I have encountered those stereotypes, or at least most of those stereotypes, based on the ones you gave me, in librarianship as a whole."

Note: Some respondents stated more than one response item/question. 20 participants

Table 9

Long Term Goals for Librarianship in Administration (Interview Question 3)

Categories (4)	Responses (20)	Illustration of Response Items
The participant was interested in pursuing administrative work in libraries.	6	"So my goals are to stay in administration. I really like working on the big picture in libraries, working on the strategic goals and in the administrative capacity." "I was a practicing librarian for a number of years and so with that route, I would probably go back in academic librarianship and actively work towards a director position."
The participant was not interested in pursuing administrative work in libraries.	5	"From what I see in terms of library administrators and curators, I see too much politicking and the need to sort of like rub shoulders with the right people and I feel like that's not something I would be interested in spending all of my time doing."

		"No, not really. I don't super like administration. I like interacting with the people and helping people find information and interacting with information."
If the opportunity for administrative work arose, the participant is interested in actively working towards the opportunity.	1	"I would probably go back in academic librarianship and actively work towards a director position."

If the opportunity for administrative work arose, the participant would weigh the pros and cons of the situation before considering the offer.	8	"…I'd have to look at the duties and requirements of that administration job if I would want it or not. But, it's not something I particularly have aspirations for." "If the schools don't work out, I'd like to maybe end up in the academic library or probably—I guess it'll just depend on what opens up when, what seems to be right for our family situation."

Note: 21 participants

Table 10

Gender and Work Role Assignments in Librarianship (Interview Question 4)

Categories (7)	Responses (53)	Illustration of Response Items
The participant believed there are gender-specific roles in the library work environment.	10	"I don't even know if the expectation for men to do anything with child librarians, children librarianship is there at all. I really feel that for the most part I can't be—I can see walking into a position like that as a male and it being much more difficult then having maybe a female for kids or a youth librarian." "So, I kind of felt like I was almost in a way a pack mule…I really don't think that my boss would have done the same thing to any of my female coworkers." "…everyone kind of looks around, you know, says 'Oh, we need to get this moved.' And I'll go ahead and move it 'cause [*sic*] I'm the, you know, big strapping young man. So I think that

		in terms of gender roles, when it comes of the physical aspect of librarianship, it, it definitely kind of falls more on males and that's something I don't mind but it's something that I notice."
The participant believed there are no gender-specific roles in the library work environment.	7	"I haven't noticed any 'glass ceilings' so to speak. It seems like administrative and professional work falls about equally between genders. The field as a whole tilts slightly toward women still, but that's gradually fading." "I don't see there being much of a divide in terms of gender, meaning that men and women have the same roles and responsibilities and they have—they are—have the same expectations of them. It's, for instance, I don't—for instance, I don't see there is much of a glass ceiling…."
The participant believed the public holds gender-	13	"…I was always conscious of the fact that parents might look at you like 'Oh,

specific perceptions of male librarians.		why are you working with kids' or 'It's a little creepy that you're hanging around the children's section.'" "I just think that the expectation of having a woman in that role is pretty well enduring. It's like there's not a whole bunch of you know kindergarten teachers that are guys. I guess more of a cultural expectation and in a small town everybody talks to each other. So, you have a lot of 'You're the one everyone is interested in,' like 'He chose librarianship, he's a guy.'"
The participant believed the public holds no gender-specific perceptions of male librarians.	5	"I think walking up to the reference desk, your average patron wouldn't give it much thought whether or not it was a male or female helping them."
The general public and library profession expect	7	"…what I can tell, that men are almost promoted too quickly because they are the diversity hire to some extend,

men will have administrative roles.		because the field is so female heavy as far as that goes…" "…in some of the library literature where you'd see that for the amount of men who—the percentage of men who work in libraries, they fill a lot of the—you know, an overly large amount—a statistically large amount of the administrative roles compared to how many their general numbers are."
The participant believed administrative roles are equal between men and women in libraries.	2	"And I think that like people do assume that women are better in administration, which I'm not sure why they think that. At like managing people and like giving orders…" "I am glad to hear that a more balanced percentage of women are getting jobs as managers lately."
The general public and library profession expect men will be in computer	9	"I think that there is a general sense of that the technology stuff is more the male end of it and the traditional library work is more towards females."

systems and/or technology roles in libraries.	"Men are also expected to be handling the technical side more often, like the systems librarianship and sort of do that. They're supposed to be like the metadata or web programming for the library."

Note: Some respondents stated more than one response item/question. 21 participants

Table 11

Participant Comfort Level with Using Computer Technology (Interview Question 5)

Category (4)	Responses (40)	Illustration of Response Items
The participant's self-reported comfort level with technology was similar to that of his peers, or average.	5	"I'm pretty comfortable, especially for what most of the patrons' needs are. So I'm much better than I was before I started the program but there are definitely many other students that are way, way better than me."
The participant's self-reported comfort level with technology was higher than his peers and he shows great enthusiasm for technology.	15	"I've always, always felt comfortable with technology because it's always been a part of my life." "I am comfortable using anything I am familiar with. Also, I can enjoy experimenting and learning new things about computer technology so long as I don't feel like I'm fighting the program."

		"So when you asked me if I'm comfortable on computers, the better question is, 'How am I not?'"
The participant's self-reported need to engage with or purchase new technology was higher than his peers were and/or he shows great enthusiasm for acquiring it immediately.	8	"I love technology. I love gadgets, and I always want to get the newest gadget." "I tend to be bleeding edge in terms of technology…electronics and software." "Oh yeah, I'd be the ones—one of the guys waiting in line at the Apple Store if I could be." "And I think I would say I am an early adapter."
The participant's self-reported need to engage with or purchase new technology was lower than his peers were and/or he shows no interest in acquiring it as soon as possible.	12	"…personally, I don't have the money to buy a smartphone and I don't feel the need for it." "So I feel comfortable with it, but I don't think that I'm on top of it like a lot of other people in my generation are, especially as far as mobile apps and stuff."

	"I could wait for a really long time because it's easy to get flooded with stuff like that, it's easy to be connected all the time and not have a piece of mind of yourself."

Note: Some respondents stated more than one response item/question. 21 participants

Table 12

The Role Technology Plays in Attracting Men to the Library Profession (Interview Question 6)

Category (3)	Responses (5)	Illustration of Response Items
The participant believed technology draws men in general to librarianship.	1	"I'm sure it plays a role, especially with people younger than me. I'm sure those younger than me… And I'm sure those younger than me really like the technology aspect of it just you know all the emerging technologies the iPad, the eReaders, everything that goes along with that, smartphone options and opportunities and that actually does play a role, especially if they experience it in their library, even at the university level or at the public library. They may see themselves as less of a clerk or reader's advisory guide and more of a tech guru."
The participant believed technology might play a	3	"I think it's definitely something that we could be promoting more….we're all pretty big into technology, and most of

role in drawing men to librarianship.		the people that I interact with, from like, Library stuff, most of the guys, we're all to some extent techno-geeks." "I think it's been played up, the fact that the way we're still around is because of technology; we need to be using it better. You know, I think that may encourage more people to actually interact with it and look at the profession as a more viable option."
The participant believed technology is not a factor in drawing men to librarianship.	1	"I don't know if technology is a big-time priority for the male gender. So not so much for technology for technology's sake but technology to promote the actual profession…but technology for technology's sake, I really don't believe that's a real predominant factor in the decision to join librarianship."

Note: Some respondents chose not to respond. 5 participants

Table 13

Male Professional Librarians and Technology in Libraries (Interview Question 7)

Category (6)	Responses (21)	Illustration of Response Items
Technology plays a role in bringing males to the library profession in general.	7	"I would argue that we lose of a lot of talent and a lot of opportunities honestly to for-profit companies, a lot of tech firms, a lot of other groups." "It's very easy to see the difference, it's very apparent. You take a library science course, it's mostly women, you take an information science course, it's mostly men. And so I guess they're attracted to it because of the technology but it's hard to say they're just attracted to the technology because I'm kind of attracted to it because of the data and the science involved and technology is just a wonderful add-on. So I think technology, it plays a role…"

Technology plays no role in bringing males to the library profession in general.	5	"For me at least, that was not why I joined. It wasn't because I thought, oh I—you know, in librarianship I can use technology or—I mean I don't think that really played a role in me joining." "I don't think technology plays as much a role as a love of learning."
Specific recruitment efforts to bring males to the library profession need to be increased, particularly with technology aspects.	4	"You've seen scholarship opportunities and outreach opportunities for librarians of color or minority populations of librarians yet we don't see that for men. We don't see that. We don't seem to recognize that we have an imbalance and try to actively do something about it." "I don't think it's something that libraries are emphasizing enough let alone that random other people would know about. I think it's something where men and women who are in

		other fields and focus on technology then kind of fall into librarianship."
Male librarians implement new technology after they join the profession.	2	"I would say maybe this one thing is that the fact that library is taking on a more technological edge is probably really driven by males because especially kind of my group…"
Males face specific stereotypes when joining the library profession.	2	"I think I heard a stereotype about men in libraries that they are not very sexual. They are considered asexual creatures, not that they are considered homosexual, they are just considered not sexual beings." "I think that a gender imbalance in our profession leads to more stereotypes than any particular characteristic about an individual."
Participant reported a lack of strong communication between male librarians in the library workplace when	1	"I think that with men, it's—male communication is something that—not that it's lacking but it's something where I don't get a sense of a—I used

compared to female librarians.	to work in a library where there was male interaction outside of work. I think that it's very dependent on your coworkers and the situation that you're in. But I do think that that can be kind of an issue with male bonding and which can be crucial for males to be comfortable with each other, in a library environment."

Note: Some respondents stated more than one response item/question. 17 participants

Table 14

Additional Thoughts on Males in Librarianship in General (Interview Question 8)

Category (5)	Responses (12)	Illustration of Response Items
The participant shared stereotypes he is familiar with regarding male librarians.	3	"…whenever there's a technological problem in one of our class sites or meetings and stuff, it seems like they somehow automatically turn to the men in the cohort to fix the problems for them. And I always just chuckle at that because, you know, these are the same—these are male and female professors in a profession who are living by the same stereotypes."
The participant shared public perceptions of male librarians he has encountered.	4	"…you know, in elementary school the kid's perception they didn't think any different… Again, maybe one or two comments about it, like 'Wow, you're a librarian?' But then it wasn't a big deal. I was their librarian after the first week or two of school and nobody thought any different of it and it just

		seemed normal. So again, I think that rising generation, if they're just exposed to seeing males in the library, that it's not even a question in their minds. So I think that gender difference, unless it's implanted, it shouldn't really exist."
		"…just ladies coming in and were just oh, you have a guy working here. But you normally have to try to win them over, but they have to get over that initial shock of 'Oh, there's a guy working here.' And then—oh and I guess the one hurdle is trying to win over the little ones too."
The participant shared work environment issues he has encountered specifically tied to be being a male librarian.	3	"I feel that anytime you bring in a guy in an all female work environment it completely changes the atmosphere. I'm sure though it's the same conversely, but I have always been the one guy that puts his foot into an all female environment."

		"Well, I know that I'm treated different than the female coworkers, but I expect to be and that's and also—and I haven't been there very long either. So, they know each other a lot better than they know me. But, I can sure—I'm sure I'm treated differently and I'm fine with that. I'm not treated differently in a bad way."
The participant shared the appeal for men to work in libraries in general.	1	"I think the library's a great place for men to work. We want to help people. I feel like it's a need for men to, like, to kind of bond and help people through education, so the library provides that opportunity. It can be a mentally challenging field, especially trying to help people find information. You're like, 'Ooh, I don't know what's this.' So it gives us a sense of accomplishment or can be a sense of accomplishment."

The participant shared ideas for motivating more men to join the profession.	1	"I mean, if library schools want to integrate more men into their programs and into the field in general, I think we need, as a profession, need to be doing a better job of showing that guys can be librarians and not administrators, and not just administrators."

Note: 12 participants

Appendix C

Sample Email for Gradate Programs for Online Survey Invitation

Apologies for cross-posting

Hello!

I am currently researching the relationships between gender, technology, and librarians as part of my PhD dissertation research at Emporia State University. The focus is on technology and its role in motivating people to attend library graduate programs. I have created a short 21-question survey that should take about 10 minutes to answer and is open to all students currently enrolled in a graduate library and information science program.

The survey is completely voluntary, confidential, and anonymous. All results will be aggregated before being reported and be used for research purposes only. You will not be required to provide any identifying information, such as your name or your library position.

Please access the survey using the link below:

INSERT LINK HERE

You can direct any queries or suggestions to hblackbu@g.emporia.edu with "Gender Survey" in the subject line. I will be happy to share the survey results if there is interest.

I look forward to your contributions, and thank you for your support!

Heidi Blackburn

PhD candidate

School of Library and Information Management

Emporia State University

Appendix D

Informed Consent Form

The School of Library and Information Management (SLIM) at Emporia State University supports the practice of protection for human subjects participating in research and related activities. The following information is provided so that you can decide whether you wish to participate in the present study. If you agree to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time; if you do withdraw from the study, you will not be subjected to any form of reproach. Likewise, if you choose not to participate, you will not be subjected to any form of reproach. The purpose of this study is to determine what factors influence people to attend library and information science graduate programs, and the role technology plays, if any. You will be asked to answer 16 questions. It is anticipated you will be able to complete the survey in approximately 15 minutes or less. No known discomfort or other forms of risk are entailed in the completion of the survey. A doctoral-level student, supervised by a member of the SLIM faculty, is conducting the study. Your personal information and individual responses will not be shared or revealed in any way. At the end of the survey, you will be invited to participate in an interview. You are under no obligation to do so; however, please know that your opinions and practices are highly valued and will help to build a representative body of research. If you would like more information or have questions about the survey, you may contact Heidi Blackburn, MLS at hblackbu@g.emporia.edu with subject line "Gender study" or at (785) 826-2637.

Click yes to continue to the next page and take the survey; click no and submit to leave the survey.

1. Yes
2. No

***Required question**

2. **Do you identify as: ***
    - Male
    - Female *Skip to end of survey if response is female
3. **What is your age? ***
    - 18-32
    - 33-40
    - 41-50
    - 51+
4. **What is your race?***
    - White/Caucasian
    - African American
    - Hispanic
    - Native American
    - Pacific Islander
    - Other
    - Multiracial
5. **Which graduate program are you currently enrolled in?***
    - Emporia State University, School of Library and Information Management
    - University of Washington, iSchool

- University of Illinois Urbana, iSchool
- Other

6. Love of books, learning, and intellectual stimulation influenced my decision to become a professional librarian.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

7. My previous work experience, including work experience in a library, prompted my decision to become a professional librarian.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

8. Libraries are non-threatening work environments when it comes to gender bias and stereotyping (e.g., women's work; librarians are smarty pants, nerd, geek, wall flower, etc.).

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Disagree

- Strongly Disagree

9. Opportunities to advance into library management are important to me.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

10. A financial means for earning a living was a consideration in my career choice to become a professional librarian.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

11. I decided to become a professional librarian because it is a career that requires use of computers and new computer technologies.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

12. Professional librarianship is my career choice because librarianship is an opportunity to work with the public.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

13. A career with opportunities to exercise political action, ideals, and social improvement is important to me.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

14. An interest in gaming and the potential for gamification of library interfaces and services draws me to a career in librarianship.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

15. Please share any additional thoughts you have on the role technology plays, if any, in attracting males to the library profession.

[Open text box]

16. Please share any additional thoughts you have on male professional librarians and technology in libraries.

[Open text box]

17. Please share any additional thoughts you have on male professional librarians in general.

[Open text box]

Are you willing to be interviewed by a graduate student in the ESU doctoral program in library science (meeting in-person or by using Adobe Connect) that will take 45-90 minutes or less? If yes, please type your name and email address in the space provided. Be assured that your name and email address will be kept confidential and will not be shared with anyone other than the student who will be interviewing you. You will be contacted via email to schedule the interview in the next few days. Your participation in this interview is very important to this research project designed to better determine what factors influence people to attend library graduate programs. Thank you.

[Open text box]

Appendix E

Structured Interview Questions

1) Tell me about your experience in selecting the library profession. (Prompt: How or why did you?)
2) What do you think about the tendency by the public to sometimes stereotype men who become professional librarians? (Prompt: Effeminate, smartypants, bookish, socially inept, only works with computers. Have you encountered stereotyping such as this?)
3) Tell me about your long-term goals for librarianship. (Prompt: Do you hope to become an administrator?)
4) What is your view of gender and work role assignments in librarianship/libraries? (Prompt: Are men or women expected to be better at one kind of library work or another?)
5) Tell me about your comfort with using computer technology. (Prompt: Gotta have it. So, so. Very easy for me.)

Conclusion

1. Do you have anything else you'd like to tell me about the role technology plays in attracting males to the library profession?
2. Please share any additional thoughts you have on male professional librarians and technology in libraries.
3. Please share any additional thoughts you have on male professional librarians in general.
4. Do you have anything else you want to add?

Appendix F

Steps in Coding

The researcher performed the following steps (Krathwohl, 1998).

1. Read (scanned) all the interview transcriptions (raw data) to get a sense of what is there. Read and reread raw data looking for patterns. To begin to devise codes, looked for repetitions and relationship and noted them in the margins.
2. Separated the transcripts by research question number.
3. Read only the raw data again, underlining significant parts. This separated actual responses from unrelated content in the transcript. Identified emerging and recurring themes and categories of responses while simultaneously establishing categorization rules.
4. Made a list of tentative themes and/or categories that emerged from the raw data. Gave each category a code number.
5. Sorted (and coded) each response into its appropriate category. Used the informant's actual words. Did not omit any responses. Counted the number of responses.
6. Reviewed the results, looking for overlap and redundancy but especially for whether the codes reflect what is important about the data. Further refined and revised the codes, especially category titles, so that they fit.
7. Laid out the codes in a graphic. This revealed the relationship of one variable to another.
8. Selected at least a couple of instances of verbatim narrative from the data for each of the codes. Wrote a definition of the code; delineated what falls under the code

title. This definition showed its generality and helped define the boundaries of what is included. Constructing definitions revealed other relationships among the codes and the necessity for further refinement and revision of the structure.

9. Wrote statements describing what can best be drawn from the data generalities, general perceptions or perspectives, typologies of individuals, actions, situations, central actions or events, processes, strategies, or interactions.
10. Selected from the data (base) a couple of the best or model examples of each of the generalities, typologies, and so forth.
    a. Looked for data providing counter examples of this generalization.
    b. Determined if the generalization would lead to certain expectations and if those expectations were supported by the data.
    c. If they were not supported, revised the generalization to fit both the new implications and the original data from which it was derived.
    d. Repeated steps *b* and *c* to see if support was found for the revised generalization.
    e. Reviewed the case made for the generalization and assembled the data that bears on it, pro and con.
    f. Proceeded with a similar set of steps for any other generalizations inferred from the data.
11. If seeking to construct descriptive typologies, assembled the best examples and describe the common features that characterize the group. Then,
    a. Looked for persons who were not included in the initial set but who are as relevant as those selected.

b. Determined if additions or modifications in the initial set of characteristics permitted inclusion of the new examples, making sure the set still fit the original group.

c. If the statement could not be modified to cover both new and original data, there was a difficult type in the new data. Determined if there is a set of distinctive features that characterize all or a part of the new group and added it to the set of typologies.

d. Continued with the process until there were no more groups of sufficient size to be of interest with common characteristics. Then, reviewed the set of types to determine whether there is redundancy across types or whether similar types can be clustered in to a typology of families.

I, Heidi Blackburn, hereby submit this dissertation to Emporia State University as partial fulfillment of the requirements for a doctoral degree. I agree that the Library of the University may make it available for use in accordance with its regulations governing materials of this type. I further agree that quoting, photocopying, or other reproduction of this document is allowed for private study, scholarship (including teaching) and research purposes of a nonprofit nature. No copying which involves potential financial gain will be allowed without written permission of the author. I also agree to permit the Graduate School at Emporia State University to digitize and place this dissertation in the ESU institutional repository.

_____

Signature of the Author

_____

Date

The Factors Influencing Male Millennials to Become Professional Librarians

Title of Dissertation

_____

Signature of Graduate School Staff

_____

Date Retrieved