

**AN INVESTIGATION INTO FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE JOB  
SATISFACTION OF AFRICAN AMERICAN LIBRARIANS IN SOME  
URBAN PUBLIC LIBRARY SYSTEMS IN THE UNITED STATES**

**By**

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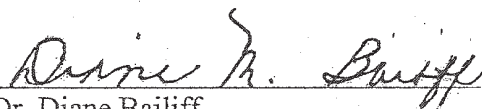
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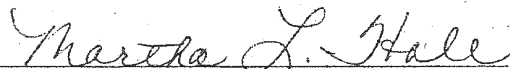
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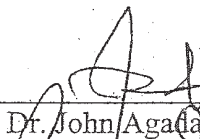
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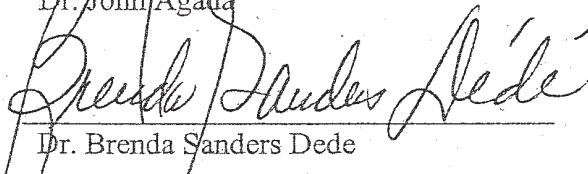
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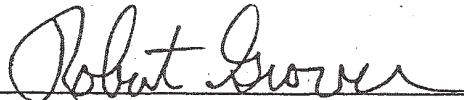
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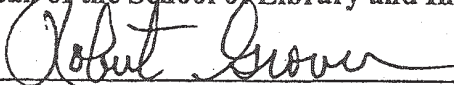
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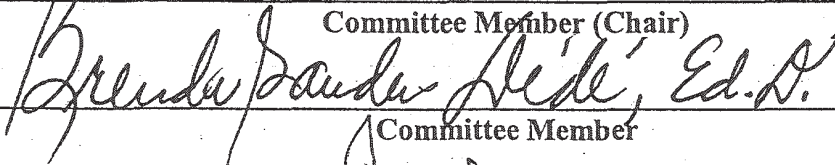
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**AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION  
FOR THE DEGREE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE  
SCHOOL OF LIBRARY AND INFORMATION MANAGEMENT**

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Title: An Investigation Into Factors That Influence Job Satisfaction Of African American Librarians In Some Urban Public Library Systems In The United States

Abstract approved:

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This study investigated factors that influenced the job satisfaction of 10 female African-American librarians working in urban public library systems in various geographic areas of the United States. The epistemological basis of the study was phenomenology. Narrative methodology was used to collect the data. The investigator interviewed participants on a face-to-face basis. The interviews were audio taped. The tapes were transcribed and coded using Sage Publication's QSR N6 Software. Each participant submitted a written document six weeks after her interview responding to a question about her job satisfaction. Depending on the content of their interviews, some participants were asked to describe the role religious belief played in their achieving job satisfaction. Others were asked to describe their perception of the competency of their managers and supervisors. Grounded theory methodology was used to extract meaning from both sources of data. Triangulation was achieved by using the transcripts of the interviews, the written documents, and the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's regulations enforcing federal laws prohibiting job discrimination.

Performance of the duties of a professional librarian emerged as the prime factor in attaining job satisfaction. The primary reason cited by all participants for satisfaction in performing the work of a professional librarian was helping people. Other predominant factors contributing to job satisfaction noted were mentoring and religious beliefs. The chief source of job dissatisfaction was the perception that managers lacked the necessary skills to manage their organizations. The primary reasons cited for poor management were the perception that managers and supervisors discriminated in assigning work duties, in awarding promotions, and in allowing library patrons and staff to behave in a discriminatory manner toward African-American employees. Salary did not emerge as a factor for job satisfaction or job dissatisfaction.

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

The racial composition of the population of the United States is changing. The profession of librarianship, however, remains predominantly white. The African-American population in major urban areas of the country is increasing yet urban public libraries assert that they have difficulties recruiting and retaining professional librarians who are African-American. Public libraries in urban neighborhoods act as anchors to stabilize a community. They serve as local meeting centers, provide pre-school and after-school programs, assist in helping people in the community find employment, and fill a wide variety of other community needs (Hart, 2001, July 4).

The American Library Association (ALA), in an attempt to increase the number of minority students attending graduate programs in library and information science, inaugurated its Spectrum Initiative in 1998. The purpose of the initiative is “to recruit applicants and award scholarships to African American, Latino/Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander and Native American/Alaskan Native students for graduate programs in library and information studies” (American Library Association, 2002). The initiative is succeeding. Statistics collected and compiled by the Association for Library and Information Science Education (ALISE) show a promising 25% increase in the number of African-Americans awarded a Master’s Degree in Library Science between 1996 (n=177) and 2001 (n=231) (Association of Library and Information Science Educators, 1997, 2002).

But if gains made in increasing the number of African-American librarians are to be solidified, especially gains in the number of African-American librarians working in urban public libraries, it is important that African-American librarians already employed in libraries be retained. This dissertation investigated an important aspect of the retention of African-American librarians – job satisfaction. It examined factors that influence the job satisfaction of 10 African-American librarians who work in eight public library systems in the United States and who graduated from ALA-accredited schools of library and information science between 1999 and 2002.

### **STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

The purpose of this dissertation was to investigate the job satisfaction of African-American librarians at the beginning of their careers. The population studied was 10 African-American librarians who are employed in public library systems in the United States and who are graduates of graduate schools and departments of library and information science accredited by ALA. The subjects graduated between 1999 and 2002. Recent graduates were studied because they have just entered the acculturation process in the workplace. It was anticipated that the career expectations each person had when entering graduate school would be easily recalled and would serve as a lens to view workplace experiences since graduation. The areas of the country in which the participants live and work will not be identified. Because there are few African-American librarians who are recent graduates and who are working in public libraries, discovery of the identities of the participants could be possible if specific geographic information were presented. In the most recent statistics

available, ALA's Office for Research and Statistics reported that 6.3% of public librarians in the United States in 1998 were African-American (Lynch, 1998). In recent years, African-American women and women of other races have gained more career options than in the past (Murry & Mosidi, 1993).

The population of the United States is becoming more diverse. The African-American population of the United States is increasing at a much faster rate than the total population (McKinnon, 2001). The 2000 Census indicated that the population of the United States increased to 281.4 million people, an increase of 13.2% from 1990 to 2000 (Perry & Makun, 2001). The 2000 Census asked citizens for the first time to report the race or races they considered themselves to be. In the Census 34.7 million people reported being Black alone. In addition 1.8 million people reported Black and at least one other race. Thus 36.5 million, or 12.9% of the total population reported Black alone or Black in combination with one or more races. Using the Black population alone, the increase in the Black population between 1999 and 2000 was 4.7 million people, a 15.6% increase. If the Black population alone or in combination population is used, the increase in the Black population between 1999 and 2000 was 6.4 million people, a 21.5% increase (McKinnon, 2001).

The distribution of the Black population is concentrated in the South and in large cities. According to the Census 2000, 54% percent of the Black population lived in the South, 19% in the Midwest, 18% lived in the Northeast, and 10% lived in the West. The 10 largest cities for Blacks accounted for 20% of the total Black

population. But the growth of the Black population in urban areas has been more rapid in the cities of the South and West (McKinnon, 2001).

As the country becomes more diverse, the nation's public libraries have increased their recruitment of minority librarians, especially African-American librarians. Yet as Howland (1999) notes, while libraries in the United States have increased recruitment efforts, the history of the retention of minority librarians hired is poor. As a result, the library profession remains a predominantly white profession. ALA's Office for Research and Statistics indicated that, in 1998, 87% of both academic and public librarians were white (American Library Association, 2002). St. Lifer & Nelson (1997) even suggest there is a "discordant view among minority and white librarians on the most basic question - to what degree racism exists in librarianship vs. other professions - and [that this question] embodies the ideological gulf that exists between the two groups." (p. 43) In a survey of 400 librarians, 100 from each major race, they found that "the majority of black, Asian, and Latino librarians surveyed say racism in the library profession is just as prevalent as in other professions. Whites see it differently, with almost two-thirds saying that racism in the ranks [of librarians] is less prevalent." (p. 43 - 44) Yet there are suggestions that, unless recruiting efforts like the Spectrum Initiative are successful, the number of African-American librarians will begin to decrease because of retirements. In a survey of African-American librarians (n=161), Yang (1999) found that 34.6% of the respondents were over the age of 50 while just 3.4% were age 30 or younger. The

retention of African-American librarians is crucial if the nation's public libraries are to meet the information demands of a country that has become ethnically diverse. An important factor in the retention of African-American librarians is job satisfaction. In her research, Thornton (2000) calls for further research into the job satisfaction of African-American librarians. She notes, "Understanding the factors that influence job satisfaction generally, and for librarians of African descent specifically, can contribute to the recruitment and retention of this group of librarians. It is imperative that more research be conducted in this area" (p. 230). Squire (1991) notes, "It is apparent from the lack of literature that dealt with the job satisfaction of ethnic minority librarians that there is a need for research to be conducted in order to examine this area more fully" (p. 201). This dissertation attempts to answer the call for more research into the job satisfaction of African-American librarians, particularly African-American public librarians.

### **Research Question**

The research question investigated was: "How do African-American public librarians who have graduated from ALA-accredited schools of library and information science between 1999 and 2002 and who are working in urban public library systems in the United States perceive satisfaction or dissatisfaction about their jobs?"

### **Job Satisfaction**

There is anecdotal evidence that African-American librarians frequently encounter difficulties in achieving satisfaction in their work as professional librarians (e.g.

Josey, 1994; Collins, 1994; Reese & Hawkins, 1999; Neely & Abif, 1995). In her research on the job satisfaction of African-American librarians in ARL libraries, as will be explained in Chapter 3, Thornton (2000, 2001) suggests that the factors influencing job satisfaction for African-American librarians and white librarians may not be the same. The reasons for dissatisfaction of African-Americans are causal factors that range from racial discrimination to perceived poor salaries. The findings of this dissertation as reported in Chapter 5 will confirm Thornton's findings with the exception of salary as a factor of job satisfaction or dissatisfaction. The topic of salary did not emerge from the data collected for this study.

### **Definitions of Job Satisfaction**

Many factors influence a person's job satisfaction and, as a result, there are many definitions of job satisfaction. It should be noted that I did not give the participants in this study a definition of job satisfaction. In keeping with narrative methodology as described in Chapter 4, it was important that each participant tell her own story about what she perceived job satisfaction to be. There is a more detailed discussion of the definitions of job satisfaction in Chapter 3. The following are examples of definitions of job satisfaction. Job satisfaction is "an overall affective orientation on the part of individuals toward work roles which they are presently occupying" (Kalleberg, 1977, p. 126). "A pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job or job experience" (Locke, 1976, p.1300). "Job satisfaction is simply how people feel about their jobs and different aspects of their jobs. It is the extent to which people like (satisfaction) or dislike (dissatisfaction) their jobs" (Spector, 1997, p.2).

Thornton (2000, p. 239) notes the following definitions found in the literature of librarianship: (a) Job satisfaction reflects an individual's attitudes and expectations toward his work and goals in life (Scherrer, 1985); (b) Job satisfaction is the feeling an employee has about his pay, work, promotion opportunities, coworkers, and supervisor (Vaughn & Dunne, 1974); (c) Job satisfaction refers to the feelings and emotional aspects of individuals' experiences toward their jobs, as different from intellectual or rational aspects (Nandy, 1985). (d) Job satisfaction is defined as an employee's affective response to his job (D'Elia, 1979). In this dissertation, job satisfaction is defined as an individual's perception about his or her experience in the workplace.

One of the differences between the definitions of job satisfaction used in the research noted above, and the definition of job satisfaction used in this study, is the nature of the data from which the definition emerged. In this dissertation, people were asked how they perceived their job satisfaction. Data collected through narrative methodology about human experience is in keeping with the use of phenomenology as the epistemological basis of this study. I suggest that people's perceptions cannot be quantified. The use of qualitative methodology can best capture data for an analysis of a person's perception of her or his job satisfaction. Polkinghorne (1989) notes that in the phenomenological perspective, inquiry concentrates on "descriptions of experience." (p. 41) This dissertation used a phenomenological perspective to inquire about an aspect of the participants existence – their work. The findings of this



dissertation about participants' perceptions of factors that influence their attainment of job satisfaction are reported in Chapter 3.

### **Significance And Implications Of The Study**

Before I began interviewing one of the participants in the study, she asked me "Why are you interested in us [African-Americans]? Why would anybody be interested in what we think or how we feel about our jobs? We're Black." She was asking why did I think African-American people were worthy of study since too few researchers of any race choose to investigate phenomena in African-American culture. My response was that because so little research has been done, the experiences of African-American librarians were worthy of study because there is little understanding of their professional lives. This participant's expression of simultaneous wonderment and disdain has a basis in a review of the literature. When studies have occurred, they have been conducted in a style that was pedantic. Because most of the research used quantitative methodology, there was no opportunity for the person being studied to tell about real life occurrences in a meaningful way. Narrative methodology allowed their stories to be recorded for analysis and an emergence of understanding.

What is notable in the review of the literature that follows later in the dissertation is the paucity of studies of the relationship of race to job satisfaction of librarians. While writers explored the effects of gender, age, level of education and other variables, the effect of race on job satisfaction of librarians was rarely discussed. In the few studies that have been conducted, Squire (1991), Preston (1998), and Thornton (2000, 2001)

call for a significant increase of research on the job satisfaction of African-American librarians. It is hoped that the findings of the research for this dissertation will add to the meager body of knowledge about the job satisfaction of African-American professional librarians who work in public libraries. This dissertation will, as a result, help public library administrators develop models to identify factors in their organizations that affect retention of African-American librarians. The findings will assist professionals in the organization's human resources department counsel African-American librarians who are dissatisfied with their career choice. The findings will identify factors that may be favorable for successful recruiting and retention of African-American professional librarians.

In this chapter I discussed the demographic changes in the United States reported by the 2000 Census. The racial composition of the profession of librarianship was presented, emphasizing the need to recruit and retain African-American librarians, particularly those who work in public libraries. Job satisfaction was identified as a major factor in the retention of African-American librarians; thus, it will be the prime area of research in this dissertation. The research question was presented and definitions of job satisfaction were discussed.

In Chapter 2 I will discuss the theoretical framework for the study. Because the epistemological basis for this dissertation is phenomenology, the phenomenon to be investigated in this study will be discussed. I will next discuss the methodology employed, grounded theory, and the theoretical sensitivity concepts that enabled me

to give meaning to the data. Finally there will be a discussion about the epistemological basis for the research, phenomenology.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Theoretical Framework for the Study**

#### **Overview of Chapter**

In this chapter I discuss the phenomenon to be investigated in this dissertation. I discuss the methodology employed, grounded theory, and the theoretical sensitivity concepts that enabled me to give meaning to the data. Finally the epistemological basis for the research, phenomenology, will be discussed.

I used grounded theory methodology because of its utility in extracting meaning from various sources of data. Personal narratives were the main sources of data for the study. The use of narrative methodology to collect data will be discussed in Chapter 4. The second major source of data was written documents submitted by the participants. By using grounded theory methodology, I was able to tease meaning out of the sources of data beginning with the first narrative and follow the direction of the data as it emerged in the subsequent interviews and documentation. Grounded theory will be discussed in more detail in this chapter.

#### **Central Phenomenon Investigated**

Cresswell (2003) suggests that the focus of a study should be a single phenomenon. "This focus does not [require] 'relating' two or more variables or 'comparing' two or more groups, as is typically found in quantitative research. Instead, advance a single phenomenon to study, recognizing that the study may evolve into an exploration of relationships or comparisons among ideas. None of these related explorations can be

anticipated at the beginning of a qualitative study" (p. 88 – 89). The central phenomenon focused on in this dissertation was the job satisfaction of 10 recently graduated African-American librarians working in public library systems in the United States as described by the librarians themselves.

### **Grounded Theory**

Grounded theory methodology “involves the creation of theory beginning with the collection of data through observation, interviews, content analysis, or any number of qualitative methodologies” (Glazier, 1992, p.5). “Grounded theory is one that is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is, it is discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 23). An essential procedure in the analysis of data collected using grounded theory methodology is the constant comparison of data collected during the course of the study. “The comparative method combines systematic coding and analysis with theoretical sampling to generate a theory that is integrated, consistent, [and] close to the data” (Conrad, 1978, p. 102).

In grounded theory methodology data may be collected from a variety of sources that offer the possibility of information about the phenomenon being investigated.

Examples of sources are interviews, analysis of documents written by participants, anecdotal accounts of the phenomenon and so forth. During the collection of the data, and upon completion of data collection, information gathered is subjected to a process

of evaluation that distills from the full body of data collected, a core element or elements that can be used to develop theory.

Glaser and Strauss (1967), the developers of grounded theory, detail four stages when the comparative method is used in the distillation of data to help create theory: (a) “Comparing independent incidents applicable to each category” (p. 105). In this category the researcher begins by coding each incident into as many data categories as possible as information emerges from the various sources of research. Like incidents that produce data are grouped under one of the emergent categories; (b) “Integrating categories and their properties” (p. 108). In this step analysis moves from comparison of incidents to comparison of the data categories and their properties. In effect, integration and merger of the data categories themselves begins. Theory begins to emerge; (c) “Delimiting the theory” (p. 109). As the theory begins to form, the number of data categories is reduced as these categories are integrated and (d) “Writing theory” (p. 113). The researcher now processes coded data and when it is felt that an “analytic framework forms”, the results of the research and subsequent theory are published.

In conducting the research for this dissertation, the findings noted in Chapter 5 emerged from data acquired in an ongoing, evolutionary manner from personal interviews with the participants and from subsequent written documents submitted by the participants. As described in more detail in Chapter 4, I interviewed each participant. Understanding and consequent theory building came from the ongoing

analysis of the stories of the persons interviewed. For example, during the course of the first interview conducted, the participant introduced the factor of religious belief in her story. I had not anticipated religious belief would be a factor. In the second interview, the participant emphasized the role of her religious beliefs in attaining job satisfaction. The third participant also noted the factor of religious belief. The data element, religious belief, emerged from the data and became an essential factor explored in subsequent interviews and in the written documents. The role of religious belief as a factor of attaining job satisfaction became one of the main findings of the research. Finally, federal laws prohibiting job discrimination as enforced by the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) (U.S. Equal Opportunity Employment Commission, 1999), the literature, and African-American professional librarian discussion groups on the Internet informed the achievement of understanding and building of theory.

### **Theoretical Sensitivity Concepts.**

As noted above, because grounded theory methodology was used in the study, it is important to consider *theoretical sensitivity* throughout the dissertation because of the frequent association of the term with the grounded theory methodology. Strauss and Corbin (1990) use the term *theoretical sensitivity* to refer to the ability of the researcher to give meaning to data. "Theoretical sensitivity refers to the attribute of having insight, the ability to give meaning to data, the capacity to understand, and capability to separate the pertinent from that which isn't" (p. 42). Theoretical sensitivity is acquired through reading, professional experiences and personal

experiences. Theoretical sensitivity is also acquired during the research process as new insights are gained during the collection and evaluation of data. Glaser (1992) notes the importance of theoretical sensitivity writing, “ A researcher may be very sensitive to his personal experience, his area in general and his data specifically, but if he does not have theoretical sensitivity, he will not end up with grounded theory” (p. 27).

In this dissertation, the theoretical sensitivity concepts that influenced the collection and evaluation of data and the move toward theory were:

### **Literature**

*(1) Popular Literature and Personal Accounts* – Examples are oral history transcripts, published anecdotal accounts of discrimination against African-Americans, articles from popular magazines (e.g. Ebony, Jet), comments about the workplace posted to the list server of BCALA, and newspaper articles, especially articles in historic Black newspapers.

### **Personal Sources of Bias**

*(1) Family* – Because my wife and daughter are African-American (I am white), I have a unique perspective into discriminatory difficulties experienced by African-Americans in the workplace. While my personal involvement may have affected my interpretation of my research, it did give



me special insight about discrimination into the community dynamics in both the black and white communities.

(2) *African-American Communities* – I have lived, worked, and worshipped in African-American neighborhoods, communities, and churches in rural and urban areas throughout the United States. My involvement in the daily life of the communities has given me special insights into the life experiences of the people in the neighborhoods, communities, and churches. Because I am in an interracial marriage, I have experienced occasional acts of discrimination toward myself from members of the white community. Some of these discriminatory actions occurred in the workplace. Most of these actions have occurred while seeking to purchase clothing, home furnishings, automobiles, and so forth. These experiences have given me special insights into the personal feelings aroused when discrimination is experienced. While I have never been subjected to overt discrimination by African-Americans, I am aware of feelings towards whites that may exist.

#### **Professional Sources of Bias**

(1) *Bias Toward Management*. I have spent 30 years in management positions. I am biased toward management that is conducted in a professional manner. I am biased against management that performs in an unprofessional manner. I hold an M.B.A. I understand the influence of the workplace on job satisfaction.

(2) *Workplace Civil Rights Activities* – I have been actively engaged since 1968 in pursuing job opportunities for African-Americans and fighting workplace discrimination against African-Americans in the various management positions that I have held in the public sector and in the corporate sector. I understand how organizational cultures are created and perpetuated.

(3) *Recruitment and retention of African-American librarians* – In past management positions I have been very successful in recruiting and retaining African-American librarians. I understood what I needed to do, as a white manager, to successfully recruit and retain African-American librarians. While this study did not use participants who were recruited by me, I was able to use the findings of the study and my own experiences to suggest theory that has applicability for other organizations.

I was aware of my biases during the interviews. I took special care to ask questions that were centered on the need to collect data in as an objective manner as possible. I do not believe that my biases were injected into the collection of narrative data nor in the conclusions reached. The data collected determined the findings of the research.

## **Epistemological Basis For Research**

### **Phenomenology**

The epistemological basis for this research was phenomenology. It is important to note that it is argued that there are significant differences between grounded theory methodology and phenomenology. (e.g. Goulding, 1998). As noted above, grounded

theory gathers data from a variety of resources that may include interviews, written documents, journal articles and so forth. In phenomenological research the verbal statements and expressions of the participants captured by the investigator are data that come from the participant's existential situation and belief structure. In this dissertation, however, I suggest that the methods are complementary. As described at the beginning of this chapter, because personal interviews form the core of the data collected, the use grounded theory methodology was appropriate to distill core concepts from the interviews for the building of theory. The core concepts, in turn, were then compared with concepts elicited from the participant's written documents.

Sokolowski (2000) defines phenomenology as "the study of human experience and of the ways things present themselves to us in and through such experience." (p. 2). For one of its chief proponents, Husserl, phenomenology was nothing other than the restitution of the most original idea of philosophy which found its first coherent expression with Plato and Aristotle and which constitutes the basis of European philosophy and science (Dastur, 2000). The original idea of philosophy was the attempt to arrive at an understanding of existence, of the experienced world, in effect, an understanding of the phenomena human beings experience in the course of their lives. A research methodology founded on phenomenology, therefore, investigates in a rational manner "awareness, aims, meaning and personal and social experience. Phenomenology gives equal attention to both the personal and social aspects of communal life" (Owen, 1994, p. 262).

Polkinghorne (1982) notes that it is important to understand that “human beings exist within an experience of meaning” (p. 48). In phenomenological philosophy “experience involves the operation of active processes that encompass and constitute the various contents that become present to awareness. These contents include not only objects of perception but also those of memory, imagination, and feeling” (Polkinghorne, 1989, p.41) He further writes “the phenomenological map refocuses inquiry, concentrating not on descriptions of worldly objects but on descriptions of experience” (Polkinghorne, 1989, p. 41). In this dissertation my life experiences, as noted in the theoretical sensitivity concepts noted above, were of particular value in collecting and interpreting data from the 10 participants through personal interviews about their life experience.

A detailed discussion of the use of narrative methodology will be presented in Chapter 4. In the next chapter I present a review of the literature of job satisfaction. I will give special emphasis to the literature relating to the job satisfaction of African-Americans, African-American librarians in general, and African-American public librarians in particular.

## **Chapter 3**

### **REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE**

#### **Overview of Chapter**

Numerous investigations into the job satisfaction of workers have been conducted but none were found about the job satisfaction of African-American librarians employed in public libraries in the United States. Spector (1985, 1997) notes Locke's (1976) estimate that, by 1972, 3,350 articles had been written about job satisfaction. The number of periodical articles grew to 4,793 in 1985. He further notes the PsychLit database of the American Psychological Association contained 3,690 entries from 1984 to June 24, 1996. In this chapter I will first review representative samples of research that has been reported in the literature about job satisfaction of African-Americans. Research into the job satisfaction of librarians in general will be discussed followed by a review of research into the job satisfaction of academic librarians and public librarians. Finally I will review research about African-American academic librarians and public librarians. Linkage will be made, when appropriate, between the literature reviewed and the findings of this dissertation as reported in Chapter 5 and discussed in Chapter 6.

#### **Definition of Job Satisfaction**

As discussed in Chapter 1, many definitions of job satisfaction have been proposed in the literature. Here are examples of definitions presented in Chapter 1. Job satisfaction is "an overall affective orientation on the part of individuals toward work roles which they are presently occupying" (Kalleberg, 1977, p. 126). "A pleasurable

or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job or job experience" (Locke, 1976, p. 1300). As described by Thornton (2000, p. 219), Scherrer (1985) defines "Job satisfaction is a dynamic changing idea that reflects an individual's attitudes and expectations toward his work and goals in life." "Job satisfaction is the feeling an employee has about his pay, work, promotion opportunities, coworkers, and supervisor" (Vaughn & Dunne, 1974, p. 163). I have noted in the following sections of this chapter examples of definitions of job satisfaction used by the researchers in the literature reviewed. Researchers did not always define job satisfaction in reporting their findings.

In this dissertation I define job satisfaction as an individual's perception about his or her experience in the workplace. In Chapter 1, I suggested the one of the differences between definitions of job satisfaction posited in the research literature and the definition of job satisfaction used in this study is the nature of the data from which the definition emerged. In this dissertation, people were asked how they perceived their job satisfaction. The examples of definitions from the literature include the terms: (a) affective orientation; (b) dynamic changing idea; (c) feeling; and (d) attitudes and expectations. These are terms that cannot be quantified. The use of qualitative methodology can best capture data for an analysis of a person's perception of her or his job satisfaction. Data collected through narrative methodology about human experience is in keeping with the use of phenomenology as the epistemological basis of this study.

### **Job Satisfaction of African-Americans**

A review of the literature suggests that no research has been conducted about the job satisfaction of African-American public librarians. There is related research that examines the job satisfaction of minorities in general, and African-Americans, in particular, in a variety of workplaces. The results of some studies suggested that minorities and African-Americans experience less job satisfaction in the workplace than whites. The results of other studies indicated that African-American workers were as satisfied as white workers. Weaver (1998) took issue with these research results that seem to be contradictory. He notes that the “contradictory results are unfortunate if they confuse or mislead managers, researchers and policy makers” (p. 1084). Weaver suggests that the contradictions in the research appear to come, in part, “from two methodological shortcomings: nonrepresentativeness of samples and non-response error” (p. 1084). The purpose of his study, therefore, was to examine black-white differences in job satisfaction in a manner that avoids these two methodological shortcomings often characteristic of previous research. He analyzed data from 21 nationwide opinion surveys from 1972 through 1996 by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago using a methodology that took into account the two methodological shortcomings he felt were present in previous studies. He concluded the blacks reported lower job satisfaction than the white group. The difference in job satisfaction existed for males and females and across categories of education, age and occupation. He does not purport to give reasons for the dissatisfaction of African-American workers.

The methodology used in this dissertation may appear, at first, to fall into one of Weaver's methodological problem areas: nonrepresentativeness of sample. I suggest that it does not. Weaver was concerned that previous studies came "from one or occasionally a few organizations." While he concedes that the findings may have utility for similar organizations or industries, they cannot be applied to the United States workforce as a whole. In this dissertation the participants are all employed in the same industry – public library organizations. Therefore there may be some utility for public library organizations not represented by participants in this study. Moreover, a limitation of this dissertation discussed in Chapter 6 is the suggestion that the narratives do not necessarily reflect the workplace experiences and conditions found in all urban public library systems in the United States. In this dissertation, the participants represented eight urban public library systems in the United States. The perceptions of the participants, however, do not represent all urban areas of the United States.

Though Weaver (1989) notes his concern about the methodological contradictions, the research indicates that studies about the job satisfaction of African-Americans focus on a specific demographic group. Blue (1995) and Mor Barak & Levin (2002), for example, investigated the job satisfaction of women. Blue (1995), using a research pool of 5,000 women, found that African-American women are more dissatisfied with their lives and with their job satisfaction than white women. She investigated the degree to which job satisfaction, life satisfaction, and locus of control were related in



a population of working women. She found that “job satisfaction was related to life satisfaction in that those most satisfied with their jobs were most satisfied with their lives. Locus of control was related to both job and life satisfaction” (para 1). She also found that “ethnicity plays an important intermediary role in understanding the relationships between locus of control and job and life satisfaction, with African-American respondents being more externally controlled, more dissatisfied with their jobs and more dissatisfied with their lives than whites” (para 1). The findings of this dissertation reported in Chapter 5 will echo Blue’s findings, especially in regard to the roles of ethnicity and external control of work environments in the job satisfaction of African-American public librarians. In their research on the job satisfaction of women, Mor Barak & Levin (2002) studied 3,400 women working in the high-technology industries in Southern California. They found that women and members of racial/ethnic minorities are likely to be isolated from an organization’s information network and from decision-making processes and that this isolation is linked to job dissatisfaction. Mor Barak & Levin define job satisfaction as the “degree to which employees have a positive affective orientation toward employment by the organization” (p. 137). The findings of this dissertation reported in Chapter 5 support the findings of Mor Barak & Levin.

Another category studied by others was job satisfaction in a specific occupation. Bramlett-Solomon (1992), for example, found that African-American journalists, while generally satisfied with their jobs, were twice as likely as white journalists to be dissatisfied with their work. The chief reason for dissatisfaction was the lack of career

advancement opportunities, particularly advancement into management positions. Other factors are lack of positive feedback from managers and slower promotions into higher positions than whites. She found that there was a feeling among African-American journalists that their race had a negative influence on their career advancement. The findings of this dissertation reported in Chapter 5 support the findings of Bramlett-Solomon. In another study of journalists, Pease (1991) found that while minority journalists exhibited similar career satisfaction, as did whites, the minority journalists experienced significant racism in the newsroom. Minority journalists felt hampered by a "caste" system controlled by white managers. This caste system limited promotional opportunities. Pease reported that minority journalists perceive the existence of a racially discriminatory environment in the newsroom. They also perceive that white managers lack cultural sensitivity. These findings about the effect of a hostile workplace environment are consistent with the findings of this dissertation as reported in Chapter 5.

Moyes, Williams & Quigley (2000) studied the job satisfaction of African-American accountants and found "evidence of perceived discrimination by African-American accounting professionals. They note:

Survey results indicate a statistically significant relation between perceived treatment discrimination and job dissatisfaction among African-American accounting graduates of a prominent [Historically Black College and University] (HBCU). Second, comments by participants in the study suggest that a less direct and subtler form of discrimination exists in the workplace. In spite of the Civil

Rights Act of 1964, African-American accounting professionals continue to feel their treatment is often based on ethnic preconceptions rather than merit and achievement. Third, the findings indicate a positive relation between job satisfaction and the percentage of African-American professionals in the firm. Finally, written comments by respondents to the survey and those made in interviews by African-American partners in the major accounting firms suggest that ethnicity continues to be an issue in the work environment. Participants in the study cite ethnicity as a cause of erroneous preconceptions about ability and as a source of discomfort between majority and minority employees. These results emphasize the need for increased ethnic sensitivity and diversity training in the workplace (p. 46).

The data that emerged in this dissertation supports the findings of Moyes, Williams & Quigley. Findings that address workplace discrimination, judgments made about a person based on race, hostile workplace environment and the need by for management to be more sensitive to African-American culture will be discussed at length in Chapter 5. In another study of African-American accountants Glover, Mynatt & Schroeder (2000), using anecdotal data, found that African-American accountants experienced less job satisfaction than did accountants from other ethnic groups. They define job satisfaction as “individuals reactions to their work environments” (p. 178). They suggested that the reason for the job dissatisfaction of African-American accountants was the organization’s lack of commitment to diversity in the workplace and a “glass ceiling” that limits promotional opportunities.

These findings, as well, concur with some of the findings of this dissertation as reported in Chapter 5 and the findings of Bramlett-Solomon (1992) noted above in this chapter. The topic of hostile workplace as a factor in achieving job satisfaction noted in the above studies is a frequent finding in research into the job satisfaction of African-Americans no matter what the workplace setting might be.

Research into job satisfaction of minorities or African-Americans in other occupations yielded similar findings. Shields & Price's (2002) research in hospitals in Great Britain found that "nearly 40% of ethnic minority nurses report experiencing racial harassment from work colleagues, while more than 64% report suffering racial harassment from patients" (p.295). He suggests that such racial harassment is found to lead to a significant reduction in job satisfaction. This finding is partly consistent with the findings of this dissertation as reported in Chapter 5. While the participants were not openly harassed in the workplace by coworkers, some patrons of the library subjected them to harassment. When a racially hostile workplace does not exist, the research suggests that African-Americans experience greater job satisfaction. Eason (1996), for example, found that African-American faculty at HBCUs experienced greater job satisfaction than African-American faculty at predominantly white colleges and universities. The results of her research indicated that African-American faculty at HBCUs receive greater recognition for their work than do African-American faculty at Predominantly White Colleges and Universities (PWCUs). African-American faculty at HBCUs also feel they have greater job security and are

more satisfied with their personal relationships than African-American faculty at PWCUs.

Research reported about the effect of management practices yielded similar findings about workplace conditions. Debose (1992) examined African-American managers who worked in the public sector and in the private sector. He found that the managers who worked in the public sector experienced more job satisfaction than those managers who worked in the private sector. African-American managers who worked in the public sector perceived less racism than African American managers who worked in the private sector. In another study involving management, Ugorji (1997) found that African American professionals experienced career-impeding supervisory behaviors more often than European American professionals in the New Jersey state government and, thus, had lower job satisfaction. This finding about the effect of management on the career development of African-American professionals is consistent with the findings of this dissertation as reported in Chapter 5. Cabrera (2000), in a study of subordinate-superior relationships between whites and minorities, suggests that subordinates who differed in race from their organization's chief executive officer experienced greater levels of job dissatisfaction. This finding is neither confirmed nor contradicted by the findings of this dissertation.

The findings of the research into the job satisfaction of African-Americans in professional occupations discussed above are especially germane to this dissertation. The same factors reported in the findings discussed will be reported as emerging from

the data collected for this dissertation in Chapter 5. There is a consistency in the findings reported above. Identified as factors influencing job satisfaction of African-Americans are (a) the influence or race on promotional opportunities; (b) the existence of a hostile work environment; and (c) lack of cultural sensitivity by managers and coworkers. Based on the findings of the literature reviewed above and the findings of this dissertation, I recommend in Chapter 6 that further research is needed into the occupational and organizational factors that affect job satisfaction of African-Americans in professions such as engineering, medicine, law and so forth in addition to librarianship, accountancy, and journalism to ascertain if the development of theory applicable to all professions is possible.

### **Job Satisfaction of Librarians**

#### **General Population of Librarians**

Little has been published about the job satisfaction of librarians in general. Articles and dissertations reporting the results of research into the job satisfaction of librarians began to be published in the 1970s. Plate & Stone (1974) reported finds from two different studies about the job satisfaction of librarians. Using Herzberg's motivation-hygiene theory in both studies, they investigated the job satisfaction of 162 American and 75 Canadian librarians. They concluded "librarians respond positively to such motivational factors as a sense of achievement, recognition, and work that is intrinsically satisfying" (p. 108). In a general study of job satisfaction of librarians, St. Lifer (1994) found that 85% of 1,000 librarians who responded to his survey indicated that were satisfied with their current job. Thirty-nine percent of the

respondents indicated that helping people was the primary factor producing job satisfaction. This finding concurs with the finding of this dissertation as reported in Chapter 5 that helping people was the major factor contributing to job satisfaction. Other factors influencing job satisfaction as noted in St. Lifer's survey were (a) working with people in the community (11.7% of respondents) and (b) working with staff (7.1% of respondents). The findings of this dissertation concur with St. Lifer's finding that "working with people in the community" was a factor in job satisfaction if this category can be considered included in the category of helping people. St. Lifer's second category, "working with staff" did not emerge as a factor for job satisfaction from the data collected for this dissertation. It did emerge as a factor of job dissatisfaction when library staff contributed to a hostile workplace environment. St. Lifer notes the following factors as contributors to job dissatisfaction: (a) lack of budget/funding – 16% of respondents; (b) lack of support staff – 10% of respondents; (c) nonresponsive administration – 10% of respondents; (d) bureaucracy/paperwork – 9% of respondents; and (e) lack of time – 7% of respondents. The findings of this dissertation as reported in Chapter 5 did not identify any of these factors as contributing to job dissatisfaction with the exception of "nonresponsive administration." In this dissertation, the perception of management ability was the primary factor contributing to job dissatisfaction. St. Lifer does not give a breakdown of the responses about job satisfaction according to the racial background of his respondents.

While St. Lifer surveyed the general population of librarians, research into job satisfaction almost always was conducted in a specific setting, e.g. academic library or public library. Investigation of the job satisfaction of people who work in libraries has tended to concentrate on those who work in academic libraries, often in specialist positions. The following research noted is representative of the literature about the job satisfaction of academic librarians.

### **Academic Librarians**

The nature of an academic library's work environment and its effect on the job satisfaction of employees was explored in several studies. Marchant (1970) studied job satisfaction of academic librarians. Basing his study on the work of Likert, he found that a participative management style in an organization was a major factor contributing to job satisfaction. Bengston & Shields (1985) tested Marchant's findings and verified a number of causal relationships claimed by Marchant. They confirmed that participative management was a major factor in employees' attainment of job satisfaction. They found, too, that length of service in excess of three years, a high librarian to staff ratio, relationships with supervisors, and opportunity for salary increases contributed to job satisfaction. The findings of this dissertation concur with the findings of Marchant (1970) and Bengstrom & Shields (1985) about the primacy of management style in contributing to the attainment of job satisfaction by employees.



Vaughn & Dunn (1974) conducted another early study of job satisfaction in academic libraries. They defined job satisfaction as “the feeling an employee has about his pay, his work, his promotion opportunities, his co-workers and his supervisor” (p. 163). They conducted what they termed, a “job satisfaction audit,” in six university libraries. They found that levels of satisfaction differed at each university for different reasons. One library scored highest on pay, another scored highest on supervision and so forth. A constant factor across the universities was the effect of management on satisfaction. In their conclusion they report, “managerial performance is related to employee satisfaction, employee productivity, and organizational effectiveness. In fact, managerial performance has a causal influence upon employee satisfaction and employee productivity” (p. 175). The findings of this dissertation as reported in Chapter 5 concur with Vaughn & Dunn’s finding that management performance is a factor in employee job satisfaction. Wahba (1975), using a questionnaire based on Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs, studied the responses of 303 male and female academic librarians. She concluded “women were more dissatisfied than men in all categories (security, esteem, autonomy and self actualization needs) with the exception of social needs, which were similar for both men and women” (p. 45). The findings of this dissertation neither confirm nor conflict with Whaba because all participants in this study were women. D’Elia (1979) also conducted one of the earliest studies into the job satisfaction of academic librarians. As in the studies noted above, the workplace environment emerged as an important factor for the attainment of job satisfaction. D’Elia found that a participative management style on the part of the library director was conducive to the development of the job satisfaction of the

employees. He notes, "...there is a positive relationship between job satisfaction and a job environment which is characterized by both a good supervisory climate and the presence of factors related to the mastery of the job itself" (p. 300). He further comments that "one interpretation of the data suggests that a supervisory climate which permits a librarian to exercise initiative and professional judgment in the performance of the job is conducive to job satisfaction" (p. 283). D'Elia did not report findings according to race. However, the findings of this dissertation agree with D'Elia's findings. The findings presented in Chapter 5 in this dissertation suggest that the major factor contributing to job dissatisfaction is the perception by the participants of poor management of their organization. One indicator of poor management is the creation of a hostile work environment for African-Americans.

A positive work environment that encourages a librarian to use initiative was also explored as a factor contributing to job satisfaction by Rockman (1984, 1985). She investigated the job satisfaction of academic librarians in California and found that a person's autonomy in decision-making is a greater predictor of job satisfaction than gender, occupation or group status. She was not able to find a significant relationship between gender and job satisfaction. Connaway (1992) investigated decision making in technical services departments in academic libraries. She found that employees who held a master's degree in library science and a person's occupational classification level in the organization's hierarchy enhanced the opportunity to participate in decision-making in the organization. Because of this, job satisfaction increased. Horenstein (1993) studied job satisfaction of academic librarians as it

related to faculty status, participation in organizational planning, participation in decision-making, participation in university academic affairs, and participation in professional activities. She found that librarians with faculty status and rank were more satisfied than those who did not have faculty status and rank. Those with faculty status and rank “perceived themselves as more involved in library planning and decision making, and were more involved in the university. The best predictors of overall satisfaction were perception of participation, salary, and possession of academic rank” (p. 235).

Leckie & Brett (1997) investigated job satisfaction in academic libraries in Canada. They explored (a) the relationship between faculty/academic status; (b) administration; (c) participation of librarians in planning, decision-making and university affairs and (d) professional activities. They found that librarians with faculty/academic status were more satisfied with involvement in university affairs and the promotion and tenure processes. They were less satisfied with workloads and salary. Administrators were very satisfied with most aspects of their work. Sheih (1998) investigated the job satisfaction of employees in academic libraries in Taiwan. He found that: (a) supervisors who are considerate of their employees engender positive job satisfaction; (b) supervisors are more satisfied than non-supervisors; (c) male librarians have higher job satisfaction than female librarians and (d) contact with users of the library increase satisfaction. The findings of this dissertation agree with the findings of Rockman (1984, 1985), Connaway (1992), Leckie & Brett (1997) Horenstein (1993), and Sheih (1998) that a positive work environment and the

opportunity to participate in decision making in the organization are important for the attainment of job satisfaction

It is necessary to note, however, that salary as a factor in the attainment of job satisfaction did not emerge from the data collected for this dissertation. This will be discussed later in Chapter 6. Salary as a factor of job satisfaction or dissatisfaction, however, did emerge in the literature. Hovekamp (1995) studied professional librarians in academic research institutions that were unionized and non-unionized. She found that job satisfaction was not a factor in a union culture. Salary was a more consistent predictor of job satisfaction. Voelck (1995) studied the job satisfaction of support staff in academic libraries in Michigan. She found that support staff were satisfied with their supervisors, the nature of their work, their coworkers and benefits. They were dissatisfied with promotional opportunities, salary, and contingent rewards. Abalkhail (2000) compared the job satisfaction of public librarians and academic librarians in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. He found that academic librarians in the city were more satisfied than public librarians, especially with regard to annual salary. Kao (1998) investigated the job satisfaction of library technicians employed in thirty-three academic libraries in Connecticut. She found that they had high job satisfaction except in the areas of salary and promotional opportunities. Parmer & East (1993) did identify salary as a positive factor in attaining job satisfaction in their investigation the job satisfaction of support staff in 12 academic libraries in Ohio. Participants reported satisfaction in five areas: supervision, coworkers, nature of job, benefits and salary. They were dissatisfied in four areas: operational procedures, communications,

contingent rewards, and promotional opportunities. Dissatisfaction increased with age. Satisfaction was highest among part time workers and higher for women than men. Their findings also concur with D'Elia (1979) and others who found a positive relationship between work environment and participation in library decision-making and operation and job satisfaction. Glasgow (1982), in a study of academic librarians, found that the following factors contribute indirectly to job satisfaction: perception of work, position in the organization and the perception of promotional opportunities and annual salary. The findings of Glasgow (1982) and others noted above suggest that salary is linked with benefits and promotional opportunities as factors in attaining job satisfaction.

Research has been conducted into specific functional areas in librarianship such as bibliographers, catalogers, reference librarians and so forth and/or on rank and status within the organization. Fitch (1990) studied the job satisfaction of support staff in academic libraries in Alabama. She found that, in general, women were more satisfied than men. Employees with less than one year of service were the most satisfied with opportunities for promotion. Employees with more than ten years of service were the least satisfied. She suggested the quality of the workplace and managements' attitude toward employees are essential factors for employees to achieve job satisfaction. Kreitz & Ogden (1990) compared the roles and work responsibilities of librarians and support staff in the libraries in the University of California system. They found that the chief factors affecting job satisfaction were promotional opportunities, job development, and influence in the management of the

organization. Lynch & Verdin (1983, 1987) found that academic reference librarians had the highest job satisfaction followed by librarians who worked in circulation departments. Non-professional staff working in reference departments also had high satisfaction but non-professional staff working in circulation had very low satisfaction. Overall, professional librarians were more satisfied than non-professional employees. When they replicated their 1983 study in 1987 the results were similar. They found that library managers were beginning to recognize differences among occupational groups in the libraries. They noted that overall satisfaction was not related to gender. But in seeming conflict with the finding of Fitch (1990) about the relationship between years of service and satisfaction, Lynch & Verdin (1983, 1987) reported that librarians who recently graduated from a graduate library science program reported some of the lowest levels of satisfaction. A conclusion reached in this dissertation and noted in Chapter 6 concurs with the finding of Lynch & Verdin about job satisfaction of newly graduated librarians. In the findings for this dissertation, six of the 10 participants expressed dissatisfaction with their jobs. It should be noted that Lynch & Verdin did not investigate race as a factor of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

Swe (1981) found that librarians who are bibliographers experienced more job satisfaction than did non-bibliographers because bibliographers experienced a higher rate of satisfaction for their needs in the workplace. Kem (1994), using Herzberg's Motivator/Hygiene theory found that, in general, academic librarians in Florida were satisfied with their jobs. Hamshari (1985), also using Herzberg, investigated the job

satisfaction of technical services and public service librarians in Jordan. He found that technical services librarians scored higher on these factors: ability utilization, achievement, activity, authority, co-workers, creativity, independence, moral values, recognition, responsibility, social status, supervision-human, supervision-technical, variety, comfort, challenge, communications and career satisfaction. As a result they experience greater job satisfaction than public service librarians when viewed through Herzberg's two-factor theory of job satisfaction. The findings of this dissertation concur with Hamshari's findings. There is concurrence particularly in the following factors, as described by Hamshari, in both studies: ability utilization, achievement, activity, authority, co-workers, creativity, independence, moral values, recognition, responsibility, social status, supervision-human, supervision-technical, challenge and communications.

Myers (1993) explored the job satisfaction of the directors in the Association of Research Libraries (ARL). Some of her findings were that (a) female directors had greater satisfaction than male directors; (b) years of experience as an ARL director had a negative relationship with job satisfaction and (c) tenure in position, age, staff, materials budget, and salary had a positive relationship with job satisfaction. She found that the ARL directors were most satisfied with their professional duties. They were least satisfied with policy issues and career advancement opportunities.

Rank and status as a factor of job satisfaction was investigated. Koenig, Morrison & Roberts (1996) investigated the relationship between job turnover and the job

satisfaction of ARL library directors relative to faculty status. They found a positive relationship between satisfaction and status. Kazlauskas (1993), in a study of the relationship between leadership practices and job satisfaction in libraries in the State University System in Florida, found that associate librarians had less job satisfaction than librarians in other classifications. A major conclusion reached by Kazlauskas was that the librarians' job satisfaction was more closely related to autonomy in the work setting than to the leadership practices defined by the Leadership Practices Inventory, an instrument used by Kazlauskas. Though the topic of status emerged from the data in this dissertation, the findings neither confirm nor disagree with the findings of the research of Koenig, Morrison & Roberts (1996) and Kazlauskas (1993). As described in Chapter 5, the data collected for this dissertation suggests that occupational status was a factor in job dissatisfaction when a participant was promoted from a non-professional position to a professional position. This sometimes produced strained relationships with coworkers who were not promoted.

In other studies Hegg (1982) found that there was no relation between participation in continuing education programs and job satisfaction of academic librarians. She also found that age was associated with job satisfaction. Green (1982), in a study of academic librarians, found a relationship between communications satisfaction and job satisfaction. Clemens (1983) suggests that the development of formal career ladders for support staff that work in academic libraries effects greater job satisfaction. The findings of this dissertation concur with Green (1982) and Clemens (1983) about communications and career development opportunities being a factor in



the attainment of job satisfaction. Though the participants in the research for this dissertation did express a need for continuing education opportunities, they did so with the sense that they did not have opportunities, not in the sense explored by Hegg. In Hegg's study, the participants engaged in continuing education opportunities.

### **Public Librarians**

There is a paucity of studies of job satisfaction of public librarians. The available research concentrates on the relationship between management and employees. Welmaker (1984) found a positive relationship between perceived management systems in a public library and the levels of job satisfaction of librarians on the staff. If the management system encourages participation in operations the level of job satisfaction is greater than if the management system were less participative. Lee & Kim (1993) studied the relationship between goal setting and job satisfaction in public libraries. They found that staff goals for specific jobs were a better predictor of satisfaction than demographic factors or tenure in current position. Goal setting increased job satisfaction for professional and support staff. Moore (1995), in her study of librarians who work as consultants for state libraries, reported that the chief sources of job satisfaction were the opportunities to take an active role in local public library planning and operations, the challenges of the work, and the opportunity to work across a state in a variety of locations. The chief factors producing job dissatisfaction expressed were lack of time, political pressure, governmental restrictions, paper work, and inadequate operational budget for the state agency. Bartlett (2000) tested five communication behaviors of public library supervisors to

determine the relationship to subordinate job satisfaction. Four of the five behaviors tested (offers of help, offers of cooperation, frequency of contact and trust) were found to be substantially related to job satisfaction. Personal self-disclosure was not found to be related. Landry (1999) found that public library directors understood which facets of the job of a reference librarian were satisfying and which were dissatisfying. She found a positive relationship between job satisfaction and organizational commitment, and a moderate, positive relationship, between job satisfaction and satisfaction with life.

The findings of this dissertation as reported in Chapter 5 and discussed in Chapter 6 concur with the findings of the research noted in this section on public libraries. The perception of poor management style and competency by the participants in the research in this dissertation was the major finding for their experience of job dissatisfaction.

#### **Job satisfaction of African-American librarians**

The findings of research reported about job satisfaction of African-Americans are more specific than the research noted above. In the research on African-Americans, findings will tend to identify specific workplace conditions. Researchers are not reluctant to consider racism as a factor of job dissatisfaction. In searching the literature few studies of the job satisfaction of African-American professional librarians were identified. Squire (1991) analyzed the literature about job satisfaction and the job satisfaction of African-American librarians. She noted that most of the

literature has concentrated on the recruitment and retention of African-American librarians. She identified four areas that must be addressed regarding the job satisfaction of “ethnic minority librarians”: (a) planning for the hiring and assimilation of an ethnic minority librarian into the workplace. She suggests that organizations need to plan the creation of a diverse workforce; (b) recruitment of ethnic minority librarians. When minority staff are recruited, the person being recruited should be given the best understanding possible about the community, the organization, job duties, and expectations; (c) staff awareness and acceptance. Squire quotes Beaudin, Fisher & Knowles (1990): “All library staff need to be educated about personal and institutional racism, and ethnic and cultural awareness and sensitivity, as well as affirmative action policies and guidelines, and notions of reverse discrimination” (p. 201); and (d) retention. Squire notes the importance of mentoring, a workplace environment that is not hostile, cultural sensitivity, and career advancement opportunities. These topics emerged from the data collected for this dissertation as significant factors affecting job satisfaction. The factors are reported in Chapter 5 and discussed in Chapter 6.

In her conclusion Squire lists these concerns in the literature about the job satisfaction of minority librarians:

...the low number of students being recruited to the field of information and library science; the treatment of ethnic minority librarians with mutual respect and the recognition of their abilities and achievements; the confrontation of stereotypes and racism in the workplace because people still make prejudgments

based on physical characteristics; and the importance of feeling accepted and feeling that they are an active and vital part of the organization (p. 201).

The findings of this dissertation as reported in Chapter 5 confirm Squire's observations. The data collected for this dissertation suggest that the participants perceived that they were treated with disrespect, that they were not recognized for their abilities, that they were prejudged because of their race and racial stereotypes, that there was racism in the workplace and that they did not always feel that they were a part of the organization.

Preston (1998), surveyed 124 African-American librarians to examine their perceptions about discriminatory practices and behaviors in the workplace. Among her findings were that (a) 32% of the respondents denied the presence of racial discrimination; (b) 76% reported the absence of a mentoring program for minorities; (c) 34% felt that cultural diversity was missing in their environment and (d) 27% were considering changing professions. She concluded, "Racism is such an integral part of our environment that, by itself, it is not a significant and recognizable determinant of job satisfaction or dissatisfaction. So, where African American librarians may agree that racist attitudes and practices need to be addressed within the profession, the existence of racism alone is not the primary source of job dissatisfaction" (p. 444). The data that emerged in this dissertation suggests that, while racism may not be the prime factor for job dissatisfaction for African-American librarians, the effects of racism were. The participants perceived racism as the reason

for the creation of a hostile work environment that hindered the attainment of job satisfaction.

Yang (2000) surveyed 161 African-American librarians in the United States and reported that, of the 141 responses to his question about workplace barriers faced by African-American librarians, (85%) (n=124) reported encountering such barriers. Barriers reported were: (a) lack of recognition and appreciation by the library (40.3%) (n=50); (b) ineffective communication with supervisor (33.9%) (n=42); (c) limited opportunities to use skills and abilities (33.9%) (n=42); (d) prejudice displayed by colleagues (33.1%) (n=41); and (e) hindrance of career advancement because of race (28.2%) (n=35). The findings of this dissertation agree with the findings reported by Yang.

Thornton (2000) investigated the job satisfaction of "librarians of African descent" employees in ARL libraries in Texas, Mississippi, California, Pennsylvania and New York. She found that "41% of the respondents (n=56) perceived a moderate to high degree of isolation at the institution and that 34.5% (n=47) perceived a moderate to high degree of isolation in the workplace. Nineteen percent (n=26) indicated that isolation affected their performance. Forty-one percent (n=56) of the respondents felt that they must fit into the work environment." (p. 224) Thornton further found that while respondents felt support at work, "13% (n=18) felt the workplace was hostile and 26% had experienced instances of racial discrimination in the workplace." (p. 224) Fifty-one percent of the respondents reported observing racial discrimination in

the workplace. Thornton found that 52% of the library administrators were somewhat committed to diversity or 54% welcomed and valued diversity. Sixty percent of the participants felt that the diversity programs were not adequate. Regarding standards of performance, “43% (n=58) felt that the standards of performance were the same for all librarians, 25% (n=34) felt there was a little difference, and 23% (n=31) felt moderately and to a high degree, that the standards were different” (p. 224).

Thornton notes that, overall, more than 70% of the “respondents were most satisfied with job duties, variety of occupational tasks, interaction with patrons, autonomy, challenges of the job, working conditions, professional development, and job security” (p. 227). “Respondents were satisfied to very dissatisfied with the proportion of librarians of African descent in the library (79.4%) and at the institution (75.7%)” (p. 227). “Thirty-three percent were dissatisfied with lines of communication. Forty-four percent were dissatisfied with salary, and 31.6% were dissatisfied with opportunities for advancement” (p. 227).

In a similar study, Thornton (2001) queried 98 African-American female academic librarians about job satisfaction. She found that the determinants of job satisfaction were similar to those for white female librarians but that “there were other determinants based on skin tone” (p. 159). She found that the “combination of gender and race made African-American women the least satisfied of the female librarians queried” (p. 159). Thornton notes other findings: “(a) older librarians more satisfied than younger; (b) tenure on the job increased satisfaction; (c) there was no significant

correlation between years at present library and job satisfaction; (d) isolation affected job satisfaction; (e) racial discrimination negatively influenced job satisfaction and (f) diversity programs were “window dressing” (p.159). The findings of this dissertation agree with Thornton’s findings in both studies. Major factors of job dissatisfaction that emerged from this dissertation and that were reported by Thornton are isolation, hostile workplace, management insensitivity to African-American culture, lack of career advancement opportunities, and lack of diversity in the workplace. This dissertation agreed with Thornton that performing the work of a professional librarian was a chief factor in attaining job satisfaction. As noted earlier in this chapter, salary did not emerge as a factor in the data collected for this dissertation.

### **Literature Review Summary**

The review of the literature identified factors that affect the job satisfaction of employees in general and minority employees in particular. Factors that appear to affect all employees, minority and non-minority are: (a) Exclusion from or inclusion in decision-making. Employees who are excluded may experience less job satisfaction; (b) Length of time employed in the position. The literature suggests that whites may experience greater job satisfaction because they experience greater job tenure than minorities; (c) Influence of the supervisor on an employee’s experience of job satisfaction, especially the supervisor’s communications skills and participatory or non-participatory management style; (d) age and education level of employee; (e) career path, promotional opportunities and resultant salary increases and (f) position status.

Factors that affect minorities employees more than white employees are: (a) isolation in the workplace; (b) presence or absence of mentoring programs; (c) presence or lack of presence of other minorities in the organization; (d) lack of recognition for work performed; (e) acceptance by white staff; and (f) racial harassment in the workplace.

The findings of this dissertation agree with most of the findings reported in the research literature. The topics of age and education and salaries did not emerge from the data collected for this study. I offer suggestions in Chapter 6 about the lack of importance given to salaries by the participants. The literature reviewed presented findings that were, for the most part, a result of surveys, questionnaires and other instruments whose results could be quantified. This dissertation used narrative methodology, a qualitative methodology. This methodology is discussed in Chapter 4. The data collected and the subsequent findings reported in Chapter 5 confirm most of the findings reported by other researchers who used quantitative methods. I suggest, however, that the data collected using the narrative methodology was able to place a human personage on the findings because of the impact of the stories told by the participants about their workplace experiences. The data collected in this study are not simply an interpretation of a phenomenon based on an analysis of statistics. I suggest that there is more depth in the data collected using qualitative methodology that will permit additional analysis because the data is the complexity of human experience. This is in keeping with the phenomenological basis for this dissertation as discussed in Chapter 2.



In Chapter 4 I will present the design of the research. I will discuss how participants in the study were identified. I used narrative methodology in collecting the data. I present a discussion about why this methodology was selected and the nature of the methodology itself. I will then continue the discussion about grounded theory methodology initiated in Chapter 2. Sage Publication's QSR N6 software was used to code data collected. I will describe how the software was used in coding the data and its utility in the building of theory. Finally I will discuss how validity was achieved through triangulation.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Research Design**

#### **Overview of Chapter**

In this chapter I present the design of the research. I discuss how participants in the study were identified. I used narrative methodology in collecting the data. I present a discussion about why this methodology was selected and the nature of the methodology itself. I then continue the discussion about grounded theory methodology initiated in Chapter 2. In this chapter, my actual use of grounded theory methodology in gathering data will be discussed. I will describe how the data was collected in the interviews and in written documents submitted by the participants. Sage Publication's QSR N6 software was used to code data collected. I will describe how the software was used in coding the data and its utility in the building of theory. Finally I will discuss how validity was achieved through triangulation of three primary sources of data: (a) participants' narratives; (b) written statements submitted by the participants; and (c) federal laws prohibiting job discrimination as enforced by the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC).

#### **Participants**

The population studied in this dissertation was ten African-American librarians who graduated between 1999 and 2002 from schools and departments of library and information science accredited by ALA. Recent graduates were selected because they had recently entered the acculturation process in the workplace and it was expected that they would be better able to convey their reasons for entering the profession of

librarianship and would be more prepared to speak with feeling about their job satisfaction, career choice, career goals, and the culture of their organization.

Before I began the formal interviews, I tested the narrative method by asking volunteers who were African-American academic librarians to tell their stories about job satisfaction. The creation of a pool of possible participants was difficult. Based on my experience, I knew that I could not solicit names of African-American librarians on their staffs from urban library directors. If participants were chosen with the assistance of the directors, it seemed probable that the participants would not feel free to discuss their workplace situation with me. Selection in this manner could also have subjected participants to possible workplace discrimination should white employees learn of the project because of fear by white employees about stories that might be told by African-American employees. There was a concern, as well, that the narratives of the participants would produce flawed data because of their fear of speaking openly. Participants were eventually solicited with the assistance of the chapters of BCALA in cities in the United States. I asked officers of local chapters of BCALA to act as intermediaries in identifying participants to protect the participants' identities. Chapters of BCALA often recruit members from a multi-county geographical area. The officers of the chapters, as a result, know people who work in an array of library workplace settings. The officers of the association, in effect, shielded the participants from their library directors by acting as intermediaries in identifying participants who would participate in the research.

A second significant difficulty that was not anticipated in the original design of the research was the paucity of recently graduated African-Americans and the low number of these graduates who chose to work in public libraries. When I began to contact names suggested by members of BCALA, I found that many of the recent graduates had chosen to work in academic libraries. Based on information obtained in the interviews, it became apparent that it was not uncommon for the major urban library systems represented by the participants to employ one or two African-American librarians system-wide. It is noteworthy that none of the African-American librarians I asked to participate in the research refused my request. Each of the participants appeared to be pleased to have a chance to tell her story. Once the participants had been identified, interviews were carried out over a four-month period in cities in different geographical areas of the United States.

Because the research involved human subjects, approval for the use of human subjects in the research was obtained from Emporia State University's Institutional Review Board for the Treatment of Human Subjects. Each participant was asked to sign an informed consent agreement approved by the university. I have not provided demographic information about the participants in this dissertation in order to protect their identity.

Seidman (1998, p. 83) notes that "it is especially complex for Whites And African-Americans to interview each other" because of the history of race relations in this country. I suggest that I was able to bridge the divide that often exists between

African-Americans and whites because of the items noted in the section on theoretical sensitivity factors described in Chapter 2. Lincoln & Guba (1985) comment that one of the indicators that an individual interview has ceased to be productive is when the information becomes redundant. Seidman (1998) further notes, “new interviewers frequently ask how many participants they must have in their study” (p. 47). He offers no exact number of participants needed but he does suggest two criteria for “enough”: (a) sufficiency and (b) saturation of information. While Lincoln & Guba (1985) address the question of saturation of information in an individual interview, Seidman (1998) addresses redundancy of information in the participant pool as a whole. He notes that the number of people interviewed is sufficient if the participants reflect the population being studied in a manner that others outside the sample may be able to connect to the experiences of those inside the sample. The participants in this study, though geographically dispersed, spoke of a common life experience shared that other African-American librarians would understand. Though there were differences in the personal histories and backgrounds of the participants, each person told stories similar to other participants.

By the time I interviewed the eighth participant, I had seen a repetition of stories and relatively little new information was being gathered. For example, as noted in Chapter 2, the factor of religious belief emerged from the data of the narrative of the first three applicants. By the time I concluded conducting the tenth interview, nine of the 10 participants had discussed religious beliefs in the course of the interview. In a similar manner, the factor of the management skills of the directors and supervisors in the

public library emerged from the data in the first narrative and continued to emerge in the data collected from the next nine narratives. The stories began to become repetitious during the eighth interview. Because of examples like these, it became apparent that the saturation of information noted by Seidman (1998) was occurring.

### **Narrative Approach**

The narrative approach to research is a method of investigation in which the researcher asks one or more persons to tell stories about their lives (Creswell, 2003). The stories are then subjected to analysis to elicit meaning about the story being told. For Gabriel (2000) “stories are emotionally and symbolically charged narratives...they enrich, enhance and infuse facts with meaning” (p. 135). For Hale (2003) “stories are also a discovery tool. They are a means to discern something old and forgotten or to reveal new insights into the organization” (p. 170). For Polkinghorne (1988) “the term ‘story’ is the equivalent to ‘narrative’” (p. 13). Polkinghorne believes stories link events enabling a researcher to better investigate a phenomenon. The narrative approach uses stories to give meaning.

Du Bois (1938) describes how African-American culture is a culture of tradition in which words, written, spoken and sung, are used to document the past and imbue a sense of hope for the future. When African-Americans speak with each other in the course of daily life, the speech often takes on a lyrical quality that is not always present if a person of another race is present. I understood, when planning this research, that a data collection methodology that captured the stories of the

participants in the speech style that was most natural to the participant was essential. Thus it seemed that the narrative form of data collection would be most appropriate for capturing the language and the spoken nuances of the participants.

Rowe, Halling, Davies, Leifer, Powers & van Bronkhorst (1989) describe how “a phenomenological study involves continual interaction between the researcher and the object of study” (p. 237). The phenomenological method, they contend, is guided by openness to the phenomenon being studied as that phenomenon is situated in a life experience. In effect both the researcher and the participant act and react with each other in the collection of data. Citing Polkinghorne (1989), they suggest, “the actual direction of a phenomenological study will differ from other studies precisely because the researchers are affected by what they study, and different phenomena call for different procedures” (p. 237). In this dissertation, through the use of the narrative method, I attempted to bring about an interaction with the African-American participants that was rooted in the speech style of African-Americans. This style is best exemplified by the interaction between a minister and his or her congregation in a predominantly African-American church. Weaver (1991) refers to the style as the “moment by moment dynamic” in which the “preacher ignites others who may respond with such utterances as ‘Preach It’ ” (p. 59). During my interviews with the participants, the “moment by moment” dynamic occurred when the participant would utter a response while I was speaking or I would utter a response while she was speaking. I suggest that the narrative method is especially valuable in conducting qualitative research with African-American participants because it encourages the

essential “call – response” dynamic that is essential in African-American conversation.

The writings of Donald Polkinghorne about narrative methodology provided the conceptual support for the interviews. Polkinghorne writes, “narrative is the fundamental scheme for linking individual actions and events into interrelated aspects of an understandable composite” (Polkinghorne, 1988, p.13). “The narrative organizational scheme is of particular importance for understanding human activity. It is the scheme that displays purpose and direction in human affairs and makes individual lives comprehensible as wholes” (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 17-18). In this dissertation, the narrative form enabled me to increase my understanding of the complexities of the African-American experience, the organizations in which they work, and their communities. It provided a method in which stories about events were told from the individual’s perspective and the resultant stories were then sequenced and contextualized for analysis. The interviews of the participants provided the stories for sequencing and contextualization.

### **Building of Theory**

As noted in Chapter 2, I created theory using the grounded theory approach. The grounded theory “approach involves the creation of theory beginning with the collection of data through observation, interviews, content analysis, or any number of qualitative methodologies (Glazier, 1992, p.5). I used the grounded theory method to build incrementally an understanding of the data gathered in the interviews. The



literature reviewed was used to help interpret the stories to gain understanding. The literature affected analysis; it did not affect data collection. The data collected were the stories of the participants. But because the story of each participant presented just one participant's experience, theory grew out of the total of the participants' experiences.

## **Data Collection**

### **Administration of Interviews**

The narrative interviews were conducted on a face-to-face basis away from the individual's immediate work area within the public library or in a public place away from the library. Interviews were conducted in parks, restaurants, shopping malls, and public conference rooms. Each narrative interview took from one to one and one half hours. An audiotape of each interview was recorded with the permission of the participant. I began each interview with the same request: "Tell me a story. Tell me why you decided to become a librarian." During the course of each interview, I attempted to elicit comments by asking participants open-ended questions. Each participant was asked a question about the following topics: (a) mentoring; (b) workplace discrimination; (c) continuing educational opportunities; (d) communications within the organization; (e) promotional opportunities; (f) staff socialization; (g) new employee orientation programs; (h) existence or non-existence of an organizational diversity policy, and, of course, (i) level of job satisfaction. These categories of discussion were drawn from the review of the literature. Based on the participants' response, I asked follow up questions. Because each participant had

her own story, information was gathered that was not included in the topics noted above. As theory was constructed, similar topics mentioned in the initial interviews were incorporated into each discussion. The most often mentioned new topic was the role of religious belief in the attainment of job satisfaction. When this topic began to emerge from the data being collected, I encouraged other participants to speak about the role religious belief played in their achieving job satisfaction.

In order to protect the confidentiality of the participants, I am the only person who has listened to the audiotapes of the completed interviews. Each of the taped discussions contained numerous references to the participant's employer, city of residence, graduate program attended, other employees, supervisors, and university faculty. Because of these references, I transcribed each tape and coded all remarks that might enable an outside observer to identify the participant, her employer, the names of other employees, the participant's place of residence, and the names of universities and their faculty.

### **Written Statements**

Each participant was asked to submit written answers to questions about job satisfaction six weeks after the interviews. This was done in order to confirm statements made in the face-to-face interview, to permit the participant to emphasize a particular aspect of her story, and to allow the participant to provide additional information about events that may have occurred in the six-week period between the interview and the submission of the written statement. Written statements were

submitted using e-mail and/or Word documents attached to an e-mail response. The documents were coded in the same manner as the transcripts. Later in this chapter I will discuss how the coding categories were determined.

I asked each participant to write two stories. Each participant was asked to write a story in answer to these questions: “In your work as a professional librarian, do you have job satisfaction? Why or Why Not? What aspect of your work gives you the greatest satisfaction? Which aspect gives you the least satisfaction?”

Each participant was next asked to write a story about one of two topics. The topics were (a) religious beliefs and (b) perception of management. The topics emerged out of the data collected during the interviews. I asked the participants to write a story in response to questions about religious beliefs or their perception of management. The group of questions about religious beliefs was: “Does religious belief play a role in your achieving job satisfaction? For example, if you were in a bad work environment but felt that you were doing the will of God, would you feel satisfaction despite the work circumstances?” The question about their perception of management was: “Is your perception of the professional competency of the managers in your system a contributing factor to your job satisfaction or dissatisfaction?” When the written documents were received, they were coded in the same manner as the transcripts so that data would have the possibility to emerge for the building of theory.

## Data Analysis

### QSR N6 Software

The factors identified in the literature review that affected the job satisfaction of African-American employees were used as the lens to analyze the three sources of data collected: (a) interview narratives; (b) written documents submitted by participants; and (c) information about federal equal employment opportunity laws as noted on the web site of the EEOC. (U.S. Equal Opportunity Employment Commission, 2003). The transcripts of the audio recorded interviews and the written documents were coded according to core subject groupings using Sage Publication's QSR N6 (Nud'ist) software.

Rossmann & Rallis (1998) describe coding as the process of organizing data into "chunks". Once I had transcribed the audio recordings of the interviews and using the QSR N6 software, I read the transcripts and identified general "subject areas" that appeared to be appropriate for the identification of data "chunks" in the transcripts and, later, in the written documents. Similar data "chunks" were then brought together into a folder and labeled. Seidman (1998) describes this process as "noting what is interesting, labeling it, and putting it into appropriate files" (p. 107). The process is similar to procedures used when indexing a journal article or monographic work. Because I had worked as an indexer at one time in my career, I was able to code rapidly. I started with general categories such as "job satisfaction" and "job dissatisfaction". As the data emerged from the ongoing analysis of the transcripts, the general categories were narrowed. This produced categories such as "job satisfaction

– helping people” or “job dissatisfaction – library patrons”. Based the emerging data, categories were then combined if they contained similar data “chunks”. An example of this would be the consolidation of the categories “job satisfaction – helping people” and “job satisfaction – customer service” into the single category of “job satisfaction – helping people”. The category “job satisfaction – helping people” was chosen because the data coded for this term predominated and would include the category “job satisfaction – customer service.” This procedure produced a more manageable thesaurus of codes to use in analysis. Because participants submitted written documents six weeks after the interview, the consolidated thesaurus of terms had formed and the written documents were coded using this thesaurus.

Transcripts of recorded interviews were made as soon as possible after the interview. The study of the transcripts was supplemented by listening to the recordings several times in order to note voice inflections, idioms, accents, speech patterns, and other vocal indications of meaning. Because much of African-American speech makes significant use of imagery, idioms and slang, care was taken to note these words and images and the context of their use. Frequent listening of the tapes was done as a check for accuracy.

QSR N6 software permits the importing of text documents singly or in batches. I imported the transcripts of the interviews with the participants and the written documents submitted by the participants singly. Each document was then coded according to core subject groupings. The initial set of core subject groupings was set

while coding the first two transcripts. It quickly became apparent, however, that subject groupings should be consolidated as the elements for the building of theory emerged. Consolidation of the core subject groupings continued until final categories emerged that were used as the basis for theory building.

QSR N6 software greatly facilitated the coding. As Sage Publications notes on its web site (Sage Publications Software, 2003), “coding on-screen, with new immediate access to the code system, the researcher can monitor and manage the emergence of ideas. Coded material is displayed for reflection, revision of coding and coding-on to new categories. With searches of coding or text accessed by new, visual displays, the researcher can test hypotheses, locate patterns or pursue a line of inquiry to a confident conclusion” (para 3).

### **Validity**

Cresswell (2003) notes that validity is a strength of qualitative research, used to determine whether findings are accurate from the perspective of the researcher, the participant or the reader of the account” (p. 195-196). He suggests that a primary strategy in establishing validity is triangulation. Polkinghorne (1988) takes care to differentiate how the term validity is understood in quantitative research with how the term is understood in qualitative research. In quantitative research validity normally refers to tests or instruments of measurement. In qualitative research, however, Polkinghorne suggests that a valid finding “is based on the more general understanding of validity as a well-grounded conclusion. An argument is valid when

it is strong and has the capacity to resist challenge or attack” (p. 175). Polkinghorne concludes, “narrative research does not produce conclusions of certainty” (p. 175) as is normally the intent of quantitative research. “Narrative research, by retaining an emphasis on the linguistic reality of the human experience, operates in an area that is not limited by formal systems and their particular type of rigor” (p. 176).

In this dissertation validation came from seeking advice and feedback from advisors and from the ongoing understanding resulting from the review of the literature noted in Chapter 3. Validation also arose from an ongoing assessment of the credibility of the responses from the participants. The interviews were designed to elicit stories from the participant to help the researcher gain understanding of the participant’s life experiences. As a white person who has lived in the African-American community for many years, I was able to discern when a participant was hesitant to tell parts of her story to me, as a white person, that were personally painful or embarrassing because of discriminatory behavior directed toward her by white people in the past. It has been my experience that, when discussing acts of discrimination directed toward them, African-Americans will speak in the conversational style in which they feel most comfortable and in which they can best describe what has happened to them. Because discriminatory incidents are humiliating, African-Americans will usually not discuss these incidents with white people. In order to establish my credentials in the African-American community with them, I told each participant about my personal history in the community. In all interviews, therefore, I feel I was able to establish a comfortable environment that made it easier for the participant to speak more openly.

I knew in most interviews when conversations became more authentic and valid because participants began to speak in their normal conversational style and not necessarily in the guarded style that is sometimes used by African-Americans when speaking to white people. This speech pattern was noted in the research of Feagin (1991) who found that African-Americans will attempt to “sound white” over the phone because it helps them get fair treatment when dealing with white people. Establishing an interviewing environment in which the participants can speak from the core level of the person’s existence is essential in phenomenological research. Finally, validity came as well from triangulation.

### **Triangulation**

It is suggested that triangulation is a methodology more appropriately used in qualitative or combined qualitative/quantitative research (e.g. Chapman, Griffiths, Ryland, & Millwood, 2001; Seale, 1999). Because this study uses qualitative methodologies, triangulation was seen as appropriate.

Triangulation is the reliance on multiple forms of evidence and perspective to check on the validity and reliability of findings. (George Mason University, 2001.) Seale (1999) notes that the multiplication of methods can help deepen understanding of different aspects of an issue. Triangulation offers a way of explaining how accounts and actions in one setting are influenced or constrained by those in another. In this study three types of data were used to triangulate: (a) data gathered from the transcripts of audio recorded individual interviews; (b) a written description



submitted six weeks after the interviews by each participant; and (c) information about federal equal employment opportunity laws as noted on the web site of the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (U.S. Equal Opportunity Employment Commission, 2003). The core concepts that have emerged from each source of information through triangulation and the implementation of grounded theory methodology enabled responses to be made to the research question posed with confidence and led to subsequent building of theory.

In this chapter I presented the design of the research. I discussed how participants in the study were identified. I discussed the adoption of grounded theory methodology and its use in analysis of the data collected. I described how the data was collected in the interviews and in written documents submitted by the participants. Sage Publication's QSR N6 software, used to code data collected, was described. Finally I discussed how validity was achieved through triangulation. In Chapter 5 I will discuss the findings of my research.

## Chapter 5

### Findings

#### Overview of Chapter

In this chapter I present the findings of the research. The data presented has been extracted from the transcripts of the personal interviews with the participants and from the written documents they submitted. The data was then analyzed using grounded theory methodology as described in Chapter 2. Using the participants' stories, I will discuss their feelings about overall job satisfaction. There will then be discussions about career decisions, factors that influenced job satisfaction and the factors that influenced their job dissatisfaction. Finally, a summary of the findings will be presented after the presentation. In this chapter I will use guidelines enacted by the EEOC a lens to view stories told by the participants about workplace conditions and perceived discriminatory acts directed toward them in the workplace.

In the transcriptions of the tapes quoted throughout this chapter, the symbol "...” indicates that the participant made a break in the sentences in her conversation. In the quotations from the transcripts I used generic terms such as “university” or “director” enclosed in brackets in place of the actual name spoken by the participant in the interview. This has been done to protect the confidentiality of the participant. In like manner, any other data that could possibly used to identify a participant has been masked. For example, a budget figure quoted in this chapter is written \$000,000 instead of the actual figure. Because all of the participants were women, feminine pronouns are used throughout the chapter.

### **Research Question**

The research question investigated was: "How do African-American public librarians who have graduated from ALA-accredited schools of library and information science between 1999 and 2002 and who are working in urban public library systems in the United States express satisfaction or dissatisfaction about their jobs?" In order to answer this question, 10 African-American librarians, representing eight urban public library systems in the United States, were interviewed. The 10 participants were also asked to submit in writing, answers to questions about their job satisfaction and answers to questions about either the role religious belief played in job satisfaction or their perception of the management style in their organization and its relationship to their job satisfaction. Eight of the 10 Participants responded to the request to submit written documents. If a participant was slow in submitting the written document, a follow up phone call was made and e-mail messages were sent asking her to send the document. The two participants who did not respond were telephoned and sent three e-mail reminders. I could identify no reason why they chose not to send the written document.

An analysis of the data suggests that the primary source of job satisfaction for all participants was performing the work of a professional librarian. The primary reason cited by all participants, either directly or implied, for satisfaction in performing the work of a professional librarian was the opportunity to help people. This finding confirms the findings of St. Lifer (1994). This finding about the role performance of

professional duties plays in achieving job satisfaction also concurs with the findings of Bramlett-Solomon (1992) and Pease (1991) in their research on job satisfaction of African-American journalists. Other predominant factors contributing to job satisfaction noted were mentoring and religious beliefs. These factors: helping people, mentoring, and religious beliefs will be discussed at length in this dissertation because of the frequency with which the participants independently noted them.

An analysis of the data suggests that the primary source of job dissatisfaction for all participants is the perception by the participants of poor management of their organizations by the directors and supervisors of the public library systems. This finding concurs with the research reported by D'Elia (1979), Welmaker (1984), Sheih (1998) and others. The data identified factors that contributed to this perception. The factors are creation and maintenance of a hostile work environment by management, discriminatory behavior directed at the participants by coworkers and patrons of the library, workplace isolation, discrimination in promotion decisions, cultural insensitivity, and management's lack of the basic management skills needed for daily operations. The participants did not identify salary as a factor contributing to job dissatisfaction. The role of management in the achievement will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter and in Chapter 6.

The sections below in this chapter will present narrative and written data segments collected from the participants. Some of the segments presented are lengthy. Polkinghorne (1988) notes, "The meaning of each event is produced by the part it

plays in the whole episode” (p.6). I did not shorten the lengthy segments because I thought it important to present the full context of the participants’ story about a specific event.

### **Overall Job Satisfaction or Dissatisfaction**

In this section I present data that describes the participants’ overall perceptions about job satisfaction. Four of the 10 participants expressed job satisfaction in their work as professional librarians and with their organizations. Their stories are reported in this chapter. Participant 1 holds an undergraduate degree in business and management. Before becoming a librarian she was in management. When I asked if she experienced job satisfaction, she answered immediately:

Here I do, I do. I really love this job. I mean I love...and you know what? I had to take a pay cut. What I’m earning here is not what I was earning...I was earning much more with the [former employer]. And just to say thought I’m satisfied and that I’m happy with what I’m doing... that makes up for even that monetary loss. I feel great. When I leave here I still feel good.  
(Participant 1)

She later went on to discuss how she experienced job satisfaction in her work as a professional librarian and her satisfaction with her organization. I asked her what she liked about her work as a librarian. Her response:

I love just being surrounded by books. That may sound really corny but when new books come in I get excited and patrons ask me have you read this book or can you recommend a book and when I recommend a book and then they come back in and they say oh I really enjoyed that or I really like that ...that just makes me feel good. I feel like I’m helping. People come in...they need information. I’ll research relentlessly to get the information. Even if I can’t answer, I’ll make phone calls to try to point them in the right direction. The patrons, they really appreciate that, they

really... you know, thank you, I'm so happy. And that is a reward for me. I love it. I feel like I get a little high off of that. Just that you know, people say I really appreciate you and I thank you. (Participant 1)

I asked her how she felt about the organization and her managers. Her response:

I'll stay here and as I said, even if I'm not going to be compensated right away for it, I would just like to have that responsibility, undertake that task, that's where I really want my career track to go so you know, I was saying all that to say that I really feel that the management is great here. They don't feel that they have to come out every minute to check to see is she [the participant herself] developing the collection properly, are we getting our new material out, is she weeding the collection because they know that I have a zest and a zeal for what I'm doing so...I don't know if that's part of it or if that is their management style, I'm not really sure but I think that it might be a combination of them both. So they pretty much...they kind of leave you to... I mean if here's a problem, if someone complains or if they come out and maybe they see that things aren't, of course they're definitely going to say but they don't they're not micromanagers, they don't come out and they don't check in on everything you do or look or what you say. (Participant 1)

In both her written statement and in her interview, Participant 2 expressed a feeling of overall job satisfaction.

Everything's pretty good with the exception of the pay. The pay could be a little bit better. My boss could be a little bit better. She's... We're different types of people. I'm very, very organized and orderly and she's kind of, you know, all over the place, but outside of those two factors, job satisfaction is pretty much there. (Participant 2)

In response to the same question in her written document she wrote:

Yes, I have job satisfaction. I love working with literature, technology and children. I feel creating story time programs for children gives me the greatest satisfaction, I have the opportunity to show my creativity on a weekly basis. My hours of working one night per week and every other Saturday during the school year gives me the least satisfaction. (Participant 2. Written Document)

Participant 5 expressed experiencing job satisfaction in her present position. She had worked in the organization for many years as a paraprofessional and did not experience job satisfaction in that classification. Her feelings appear to have changed once she earned her master's degree in library or information science. I asked if she experienced job satisfaction. Her response:

Oh yes. Now I'm in what I guess you call administration. I'm the head of [department] and...I like it because I'm still helping people and I don't think that if it was...I'm not doing as much one-on-one as I did as just a librarian. I'm doing a lot of paperwork and being in the office a lot but I still feel like I'm helping someone and that's I think what librarians are meant to do. So I like that part. I like the respect that I get. I'm not somebody who gets an assignment and that does it and that's it. I'm a person who has to think about giving someone else assignments. And not only think about giving them assignments but giving them something that they like to do, something that fits their character, their personality and something that they can learn and grow with. Before I didn't have that opportunity and in administration I think that's good because I have that opportunity that I won't do what people did to me and that's what I really like about my position. (Participant 5)

Later during the interview, in response to the same question in her written document, she stated:

I enjoy working as a professional librarian much more than working as a paraprofessional. There is a certain amount of respect you get from Library Administration because you have a degree. (Participant 5. Written Document)

Participant 7 had recently changed jobs within her organization. The change occurred after she had obtained her graduate degree in library or information science. She expressed satisfaction with her professional work because of the increased

responsibilities and because of the newness of the duties. Here is how she answered my question about job satisfaction:

Yes. I love it. I love it. It's the best job ever. One...  
I think its for change...the last couple of years...three  
years or so...I've been working with children. Story time,  
planning, programming and a lot of times you can get  
burned out. This is something new, something refreshing,  
a challenge. And to think about I'm responsible, partly for,  
a \$000,000 budget. It's just like mind-boggling. (Participant 7)

In her written document submitted six weeks after the interview she describes why she receives satisfaction working for her organization. Note that the reason given for her satisfaction is her perception of the competence of her manager.

My job satisfaction continues to be a success. I'm happy and fulfilled as we continue to work together as a team and have a strong supervisor that is open to and exciting ideas. Our current project that he has ok'd is to start a African American book discussion club, with the ball completely in our court, so I'm quite anxious to get that up and rolling. Liberties to do creative book displays are also a plus. The work schedule still works out great with rotating shifts at the circulation desk. My supervisor is currently running another department after the retirement of a department head. At first I thought things would go crazy as we would see him less and less, and the rest would start to slack, but that hasn't been the case at all. Teamwork in from our staff has helped him even more to adjust to working in to departments. It's good to hear him commend our efforts to continue to function even when he's away. That pushes me even more to do a great job because all of my hard work is being noticed.  
(Participant 7. Written Document)

The participants in the above stories expressed satisfaction with their jobs. The factors they identified as contributing to job satisfaction that emerged from their transcripts and written documents were performing professional duties as a librarian, particularly helping people, the support of management through positive recognition for their work, and managements' trusting the participants with increased



responsibilities. These findings will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter and in Chapter 6. These findings concur with the findings of Plate & Stone (1974), D'Elia (1979), Welmaker (1984) St. Lifer (1994), and Moore (1995). These researchers found that the opportunity to perform professional work and the style of management directly contributed to the attainment of job satisfaction by employees.

Six of the 10 participants interviewed expressed general dissatisfaction with their jobs. Some described experiencing satisfaction or dissatisfaction with a specific factor of their work or organization. These factors will be discussed later in this chapter.

When asked if she was satisfied with her job, each replied that she was not.

Participant 6 expressed overall dissatisfaction because of her perception of mismanagement and the poor work environment in her building. When I asked if she were satisfied with her job. Her response was:

No.

Q. Why not?

Well in general I found out that the library is mismanaged. There's a director and a deputy director and both of them are out of touch with the community and with what's happening on the floor. The library is very stressful to work in because you have difficulties with patrons. (Participant 6)

In the written document submitted six weeks later she expressed the same concerns.

No, I don't believe that what I do is appreciated or understood by my colleagues or management. Also, I don't feel safe in my work environment due to a refusal by management to create and enforce policies regarding rude and inappropriate behavior by patrons. Participant 6)

Participant 8's reasons for her overall dissatisfaction were her job duties.

Not here. The branch I'm in now, like I said, its very...extremely busy but its busy with what I feel is busy work. I don't feel like I'm doing the work of a librarian. (Participant 8)

Participant 9 told of multiple reasons for her overall dissatisfaction when I asked her if she was experiencing job satisfaction:

No.

Q. What makes you dissatisfied with it?

Well...I'm not satisfied because...there are so many dynamics in my job that I think that people don't even understand. For example...I'm young and I'm in a profession where most of the people are old...not only the people that are managing me but people who aren't in...people who are clerks and sometimes other positions. They're older than me and they've been in this organization a long time. And then...I'm dissatisfied because I'm in an organization that's top heavy with administrators and the people in the front line, like me are not encouraged...I'm not encouraged to think on a regular basis...EVER. I'm not...it's not...it's not encouraged. So that's a big issue for me. And then also...even though people...I guess I'm in an organization that says that they embrace diversity...well we have like maybe less than [number] African-American librarians... librarians who are African...in the organization but there aren't any Hispanic librarians. (Participant 9)

Later in the interview I asked if it were fair to say then that she may be satisfied with the profession of librarianship but was dissatisfied with the work situation she found herself in. She wasn't sure how she felt. Her response:

Right. And I'm not sure if it's the organization or...I'm not sure if it's the organization or just public librarianship in general because I don't know enough about that many other people who are public librarians. (Participant 9)

Participant 10 felt that she was satisfied with her work as a librarian but not satisfied with her work environment. She told this story:

My satisfaction comes from actually helping someone get information that they can apply to their lives immediately. Something where someone says "If you hadn't helped me with this I don't know what I would have done"... personal things ... education ... continuing education...career advancement...any... I mean anything that will apply to their lives immediately and... and they show gratitude for that...that's like...that's what I'm here for. Like WOW. I did it. I know why I got into this field. But that's...that's where I get...that's the main...that's it. That's where I get satisfaction.

Q. You said earlier that sometimes you don't have job satisfaction.

The sometimes comes in with dealing with problem staff... trying to...not get along...but get people on the same page. Because within an institution I've learned...I was talking about how corporations don't get it...but within certain institutions, certain departments don't get it. People who are doing something in another department...it may feel like they're their own island and they don't feel like they were working together in unison to do the things they were trying to come to and same goal...you know trying to reach the same goal in unison...and hard to get people on the same page. That's where dissatisfaction comes.

Q. So it's more environmental?

Yes. Political and environmental...territorial. (Participant 10)

Participants 3 and 4 did not experience overall job satisfaction. They made no statement about their overall feelings. I did not ask them directly if they experienced satisfaction or dissatisfaction because, during the interview, each gave responses that told of dissatisfaction with their jobs to such an extent that the question seemed unnecessary. Later in this chapter, stories from Participants 3 and 4 will be used to describe factors that made them dissatisfied with their jobs.

## Career Decisions

Librarianship was not the first career for nine of the participants. Nine of the 10 participants had begun careers in other occupations. Examples of initial occupations are sales manager, teacher, public administrator, college professor, and health care practitioner. Each participant, though, had worked at some point in her life in a public or academic library as a paraprofessional. This gave these participants a different perspective about their work and their organization than the perspective of a person who had not acquired work experience in another occupation. Nine of the 10 participants made a decision to change their careers and become a librarian. The following statements describe each participant's reason for choosing the profession of librarianship. A summary of the answers to the question follows their stories. I asked this of each participant: "Tell me a story. Tell me why you chose to become a librarian."

The number one factor was that I was pretty dissatisfied in my professional life and I started reflecting on what made me happy and the first thing that came to mind was my love of books and my love for reading although I know that librarianship is even much more than just having a love for books but I just reflected on what really made me happy and I wanted to use that as a base to find where I wanted to start a new direction with my life which led me to librarianship. (Participant #1)

First I was I teacher, substitute teacher for a little while and I didn't have a contract or graduate school at that point and I couldn't really figure out what I wanted to do. I knew I wanted to work with children and I was kind of tired of the school setting and I wasn't really quite sure and strangely enough my best friend said, "what was you favorite job"? And oh way back in high school when I worked in this library. She says "Have you thought about being a librarian? Oh not really. And I looked into it, the program at [university], and I applied and then I decided gosh I don't really know what part of library science I wanted to go into. The natural assumption would have been schools because I was a teacher.

I was getting a little tired of that and, umm, I decided I wanted to work with children in the public without that one-on-one school responsibility and still work with children and be a librarian with books and stories. That's what I've been doing...can't really say its been at least 1 year, 1 year and 5 months. (Participant #2)

I really believe that God was calling me to the profession. There were some circumstances within the company [where I worked] that were leading me to a new direction. There was a rash of robberies, if you will, where people were just coming into the store, robbing you at gun point and I just said, "You know what, this is probably not where I want to be the next three or five or ten years"... add that risk factor into the job I was doing. So there was a part time job at our local library that I actually was able to apply for and was hired. I should say, part time/full time, you know one of those full time hours where you're not getting any benefits type of thing, which is common in a lot of municipalities. (Participant 3)

Yes. I started off...I think there used to be a program a long time ago... the GEPTA [Government Employees Training Act] program and I worked there kind of as a messenger shelving books and...used to repair magazines back in the old days, well not repair them but kind of put them together and from then on as a college student...even after I left college, I worked there in a summer program and we worked with children and did story hours, some crafts. I think I leaving out...when I was at [university] as an undergrad I think I worked in the library there as, you know, just a student worker shelving books, ILL, that type of thing then after ..... I came back from [city] and I got this job as a children's specialist and I've been here since 19##. (Participant #4)

He [graduate student] said "When did you graduate from library school"? And I said "well I never have gone to library school". And he was like "Why not?" And I said "Well I never finished college." And he was like really shocked and he said "Why don't you finish college?" And I said "I don't know. I don't know if I can." And so he said "Well you need to talk to [professor]." And I said "Oh, all right." So I called [professor]. This was in [19XX]. And he said... you need to go back to school. I will do what I can to help you. I don't know as far as your undergraduate what I can do but if you can get to the [master's degree in library science program] then I will help you. So that was the first time anyone said...actually anyone said that I COULD go...and it was the first time anyone said that I will help you. So I...then I said, well...I always liked libraries. It doesn't make sense for me to do anything else if it's something that I like... the [professor] called me back and he

said...and it was just coincidental...he was like...he called [branch] library and I was there and he was like "is this [name]?" And I said "yes it is". And he said "So...when do you start? When do you start?" And no, I wasn't saying I'm going. And I said "Well...I haven't filled the papers out but I'm going to...I'm going to do that." And he said "ok, well make sure you do it because remember what I told you that when you get to the [master's degree in library science program] I'm going to help you." And I said ok so I did. I went and I filled out the papers and when I...I talked to a very nice lady in the admissions. She was a Black woman. "And she said well you've gone to school here before. I said "I know. But I did really horrible". And she said "Don't worry about it. Some of the credits we can use". But she said "Have you thought about taking the CLEP test?" And I was like...No because I don't think I will pass it. And she well... you have two weeks...if you want to take it...it's forty-two dollars. It will save you...you know...you can go up to six credits. It will save you whatever...thousands of dollars or whatever. So I said all right I'll try it. If I fail its forty-two dollars. So I took it and...I was only going to take it for the three credits but I passed...I did very well. They gave me six credits and I was like amazed. I was like I'M NOT DUMB. I CAN DO THIS. So that kind of pushed me and I decided, all right, I'm going to do this so I thought...I went to school for [academic discipline] and then later on I discovered I liked [academic discipline]so I started studying [academic discipline] so I graduated. And I graduated Magna Cum Laude. A double degree in [academic discipline] and [academic discipline]. Yes, for somebody who thought they were stupid...and I graduated in three years. I went full time. Then after that I said that I'm definitely going to...and I did not tell...talk to [library school professor] this time. I wanted to make sure that I was going to do the right thing and when I decided to apply, then I called him and he remembered me of course and he was like "Yes, I told you I would help you". And he gave me references and he told me about scholarships and so when I started the [master's degree in library science program] I got...it was a half teaching assistant so it paid for half of my tuition and so I finished that then when I got in the doctorate he helped me to get the urban scholarship which paid full tuition and a stipend. So...and he's been very helpful throughout. So that's my long story about... (Participant #5)

I was doing a lot of library use teaching in my...courses and I found that it was...I could still have the teaching...which was about the only thing I enjoyed about being a [professor]...and I could combine it with my love of books and my used to always being in libraries. I've been in libraries all my life so I was interested in a career change because I was frustrated with academia not focusing on teaching, which I thought they should have. And I thought that becoming a librarian would allow me to take the

things that I loved about being a...professor and incorporate them into another career that had to do with books. (Participant #6)

It started when I was a young girl. I used to always go to my public library to do homework problems questions then I always was drawn into the reading clubs...the summer reading clubs... I always did reading clubs. Essentially I just grew up with the library. And then one day the librarian, she said, "Well she seems like a quiet young girl, you know, why don't we see if she would like to become a page". The worse thing she could have done. She stuck with me all these years...its been 12 years and....at first I just thought of it as a job and as I was coming from high school, you know, just a little job to keep money in my pocket. But then I started saying, "Oh, Wow. I could be a children's librarian. I could do that." And then...so she became my mentor. So she said, "[name]"... I was at [university] so she said just go ahead and go to [university] and [library school] had closed down years ago. I found out I had to go to [another university] and so my supervisor became my mentor so that kind of helped me out...just really egged me on to go to...to library school because at first I really didn't know what I wanted to do. So when I got to [undergraduate university] she said, "Oh well, why don't you just get your degree and then just go ahead. (Participant #7)

I didn't want to be a librarian. I didn't want to be in [city]. I went to the University of [name] for two years. I started the day after I graduated high school in the scientific program for African-American women minorities called [program name]. I started [academic discipline], actually. I did two years and decided I hated [city]. I wanted to be closer to my family so I came back so and I got a master's in [academic discipline] with a minor in [academic discipline] with a focus on [academic discipline] ...you know... experience, from the University of [name]. From there, the following Fall, I started in education and I have 30 graduate credits that are just floating around in [academic discipline]. That's what I thought I wanted to do. Somewhere in there I took a children's literature class, actually I think in my last semester, and it just clicked like, "Wow. I could do this. I like books. I've always loved books. I've always been very entrenched and surrounded by books. And so I looked at library school. The program didn't seem that hard. It seemed like something I would be interested in but its something actually I fell into even though it probably made sense all along. I fought it.... So that's why I say I don't know if it was a conscious decision. It wasn't like "Oh. I'm going to be a librarian or something that..." I sort of went full circle and came back around to. (Participant #8)

I became a librarian because I am interested in information...not just reading though...just...I just like to collect information and pass it

out so I was trying to think of something that I could do that was a little bit on the low stress end and I wanted to work in [city]. So I didn't like have a desire to become a librarian like after college or anything. I just kind of thought there something that I could do so I decided to become a librarian. (Participant # 9)

Actually what happened was...I was a page at [name] public library and from my standpoint...a person pushing a load of 50 or 60 pounds of books every day...three hours...every three hours...or however long it takes for circulation to get them to us...and shelving all of these books...I saw librarians sitting on their duffs and drinking coffee and having a good time talking...you know just leisure time and getting paid. And I said OHHHKAYYY. I want to do that." I'm qualified for this. Actually I did. I did think that. But actually I didn't think about it seriously until I got into college. I just started to go from education to library and information science because education and the classroom was not what I thought it would be and I thought I could do education through library and information science in a...an indirect way. We're kind of similar things but off the table. (Participant #10)

### **Summary Of Career Decisions**

Each of the participants worked in a public library or academic library while in high school, college or graduate school. Though they may have pursued other occupations after obtaining their undergraduate degrees, each had experience working in a library environment. Their stories suggest that their decision to make a career change was based on a sense of dissatisfaction with their previous occupations. But other reasons for the career change were indicated. Participants 1, 6 and 8 were attracted to librarianship because of their love of books. Participants 2 and 10 found that they could use their experience as teachers in their work as a librarian. Participant 3 felt called to being a librarian by God. Participants 3, 9 and 10 thought that work as a librarian would be less stressful than their initial occupations. Participant 5 and 7 decided to become librarians because of the encouragement of a mentor. Participants 4, 5 and 7 decided to become librarians because they liked working in a library. The



factors that influenced participants' decisions to become librarians were not investigated in the review of research reported in Chapter 3. However, Squire (1991) and Thornton (2000, 2001) reported the effect mentors, or the absence of mentors, had on employees' attainment of job satisfaction. Mentoring emerged from the data collected for this dissertation as an important factor in the participants' attainment of job satisfaction. It will be reported in more detail later in the chapter and discussed in Chapter 6.

### **Factors that Influence Job Satisfaction**

As noted before, an analysis of the data suggests that the primary source of job satisfaction for all participants was performing the work of a professional librarian. The primary reason cited by all participants for satisfaction in performing the work of a professional librarian was the opportunity to help people. Other predominant factors contributing to job satisfaction noted were management practices, presence of mentors, and religious beliefs. Each of these factors will be discussed below.

A finding of this dissertation is participants' perceptions that the performance of the duties of a professional librarian is a major factor influencing the attainment of job satisfaction. Similarly, a finding in this dissertation is the participants' perception that the poor performance of professional duties by managers in their organizations is a major factor contributing to job dissatisfaction. Both of these factors will be discussed below. I suggest the nature of the work of professional librarians should be briefly considered. D'Elia (1979) found "the presence of factors related the mastery of the job itself" contributed to the attainment of job satisfaction (p. 300). Professional

library “work” is multifaceted. Examples of important skills needed by a professional librarian are computer skills, interpersonal skills, analytical skills, a deep understanding of the demographics of the city and its neighborhoods, and organizational skills (e.g. Braun, 2002; Keller, 1996; Low, 1996). Skills required also differ by specialty. For example, if the librarian is a children’s librarian, the person must understand child development, parental child relationships, learning abilities and disabilities, story telling skills, and child group management skills (Shinners, 1999). If the librarian works at the main reference desk, she or he must have interviewing skills, have an in-depth knowledge of sources of information, e.g. databases, print materials, have a well-developed understanding of the demographic profile of the city and its neighborhoods, have good political skills, and be aware of the need to treat all customers with equal professionalism. (e.g. Sherrer, 1996; Dawson & McCook, 1996) If the person is a supervisor or library director, that person is expected to have the professional management skills required of their counterparts in the corporate sector or public sector. This is in keeping with Mintzberg’s (1973) classic study that found that managers’ jobs are remarkably alike. Each of the participants interviewed expressed satisfaction with their decision to become a professional librarian. Each expressed satisfaction in performing the daily work of a librarian. Here are two examples of their stories when asked about their feelings about the profession of librarianship:

Here I do, I do. I really love this job. I mean I love...and you know what? I had to take a pay cut. What I’m earning here is not what I was earning...I was earning much more with [company]. And just to say thought I’m satisfied and that I’m happy with what I’m doing, that makes up for even that monetary loss. I feel great. When I leave here I

still feel good. And I don't really think it may just be here. I love just being surrounded by books. That may sound really corny but when new books come in I get excited and patrons ask me have you read this book or can you recommend a book and when I recommend a book and then they come back in and they say oh I really enjoyed that or I really like that ...that just makes me feel good. I feel like I'm helping. People come in, they need information. I'll research relentlessly to get the information. Even if I can't answer, I'll make phone calls to try to point them in the Right direction. The patrons, they really appreciate that, they really... you know, thank you, I'm so happy. And that is a reward for me. I love it. I feel like I get a little high off of that. Just that you know, people say I really appreciate you and I thank you. (Participant 1)

Ahhh, there are so many things. I don't know if I can tell you all of them but I'll share with you what I think I most like about it, is the fact that I'm helping people, or engaging them or at least showing them, kind of like a search engine, how to find what they need and how to disseminate the information that they have but I think most... I like the most... would be the people and trying to show them or share with them how there's SO MUCH MORE outside of the regular institution they might go to, especially with kids with school. Sometimes they get turned off to school for whatever reason or reading or learning and I think for me its exciting to try to engage them in that process again. A lot of times it means beating down walls and knocking down doors because people... they just don't want to hear it because they've been turned off so badly or so much with it but I think that's the most part I like about it. Because I love it, I love it. I mean...how can I say...I don't think a lot of other people who have that passion for things let obstacles get in their way and, not to name people, but I think of Martin Luther King. You see the outcome, or the fruit, a vision anyway of your labor and you don't give up just because a few people have a problem with that. Well its more than a few people but you can't give up because of that because people still need information and they need to know the library is a great resource for them. That's part of our mission, our...I don't want to say our code of ethics...its part of what we are and what we do as libraries and librarians. (Participant 3)

Yes, I have job satisfaction. I love working with literature, technology and children. I feel creating story time programs for children gives me the greatest satisfaction, I have the opportunity to show my creativity on a weekly basis. (Participant 2. Written Document)

Participant 5 ascribed significant job satisfaction in her new duties as a manager and professional librarian after having worked in the organization on a clerical level.

I enjoy working as a professional librarian much more than working as a paraprofessional. There is a certain amount of respect you get from library administration because you have a degree. I believe I could have functioned as a librarian without the degree but I would not get the same respect. Also, I have more confidence when I talk to customers because I know I have received training that equips me to be professional. Customers notice this also and rely more on my searching skills and suggestions. Working with people is the greatest satisfaction I receive as a librarian. However, my current position is quite different from previous reference work I did as a paraprofessional.

As a manager I work closer with my staff than I work with customers so I have to develop a different set of skills and communication tactics. In some respects it is easier to work with customers than it is with staff because you have to make library decisions for staff that you know will affect their life and it may not be positive for them, especially during these times of financial instability. I relish the times when I get to work with customers, where I can find material they need and know that I have helped them. But I find more satisfaction in knowing that I can keep the department running smoothly and keep staff morale up even in bad times.  
(Participant 5. Written document)

All participants described individual factors in their work that gave them job satisfaction. They identified helping people as a major factor contributing to their job satisfaction. As discussed in more detail below, this finding is consistent with the core values of librarianship reported by Gorman (2001). He suggests, "Service, in the highest sense of the term, is central to all library work" (p. 174). This finding about the role of helping people in attaining job satisfaction also concurs with the research of St. Lifer (1994). An analysis of the data reported above also suggests that participants find job satisfaction in specific functions of librarianship such as work with children, use of technology to help people, development of management skills,

and the opportunity to work with books. As will be discussed in Chapter 6, salary did not emerge from the data as a factor in achieving job satisfaction.

### Helping People

Because public libraries, in general, are tax supported they open their doors to the general public. People from a wide range of social, economic, ethnic, and educational backgrounds use urban public libraries, particularly the headquarters branch. Public library branches are typically in neighborhoods and work with people from the local neighborhood and, thus, there tends to be more homogeneity in the people's background. Because of the diversity of people served and their needs, public libraries can play a crucial role in a person's education, job search, health care, legal care, and similar essential life needs. The ability to help people directly was cited by all participants as the primary factor for their job satisfaction. Here are some stories told by the participants:

I feel like I'm helping. People come in. They need information. I'll research relentlessly to get the information. Even if I can't answer, I'll make phone calls to try to point them in the right direction. The patrons, they really appreciate that, they really... you know, "thank you, I'm so happy". And that is a reward for me. I love it. I feel like I get a little high off of that. Just that you know, people say I really appreciate you and I thank you. (Participant 1)

I can see the questions of people. They really want to know something or they really need something. I can give you an example from today. There was a phone in reference question and she wanted a book but she wanted to know if this chapter happened to be in this book so I put her on hold, find the book, go through the table of contents and tell her "No its not there". And she said I called twenty-three libraries and no one would do this for me. And I just found that to be weird. What are they doing the whole day? But to hear her relief or happiness or contentment, "She did this for me, she helped me out". I like that. I can't be a doctor so it's the closest I can get. (Participant 2)

Ahh, there are so many things. I don't know if I can tell you all of them but I'll share with you what I think I most like about it, is the fact that I'm helping people... (Participant 3)

I like my job. I like just being on the floor talking to people. It also has an outreach component in it, which I'm very, very interested in. (Participant 4)

Oh yes. Now I'm in what I guess you call administration. I'm the head of [department] and....I like it because I'm still helping people... Sometimes I miss it but I feel like I have to do what I have to do and no matter what I'm going to help someone somewhere. Its just a different person, a different level. (Participant 5)

I love books and reading. Any career where I work with books and reading is a good career for me. But mostly, I think its that when I help someone who's sincerely seeking something...and I find something for them...it gives me pleasure and I've always wanted to work in a field...its...its...I have to work. I can't afford not to work. I feel that you give back and that is my way of giving back. I could never work in a field where there's not some way that I give back to society. When I can find information or I can help some one as I was able to do, specifically in teaching...get that immediate feedback and in librarianship... to me that makes a lot of things worthwhile. (Participant 6)

Satisfying the patron. I can honestly without a shadow of a doubt say that I really enjoy someone coming in and getting what they want, and I gave it to them. Or if I don't have it, I can refer you to someone who can get it for you. (Participant 7)

Helping people. Feeling that without me they may not have accomplished this. Solving problems and I'm not a research...reference librarian...but I like to know the answers. I'm very nosy. If you ask me a question I will find the answer. It may take me awhile. You may not even want it. I've literally had people "No. No. That's OK" and they'll leave and I still feel the need to find the answers to the question. And I like the satisfaction that I can find the answers. So I like working with the kids. I like providing answers. I like empowering people with knowledge...letting them know that the answers are out there, you just have to know how to find them. And that's what satisfies me about this job. I feel in the grand scheme of things that I'm helping people. I guess it goes back to my fundamental belief that my job is here to help people...that someone helped me...that I have great satisfaction in general out of life so therefore I should be able to give back. So I guess, Yes. Because my belief is that this job gives me a way to give back to people as a whole and to the community as a whole. So my satisfaction comes from helping

other people which I guess, fundamentally, is a religious belief.  
(Participant 8)

My satisfaction comes from actually helping someone get information that they can apply to their lives immediately. Something where someone says "If you hadn't helped me with this I don't know what I would have done"... personal things ... education ... continuing education...career advancement...any...I mean anything that will apply to their lives immediately and...and they show gratitude for that...that's like...that's what I'm here for. Like WOW. I did it. I know why I got into this field. But that's...that's where I get...that's the main...that's it. That's where I get satisfaction. (Participant 10)

The participants said that helping people was the predominant contributor to the job satisfaction of the participants. Helping people brought in return a positive sense of self, a feeling of contributing to the community, and a reinforcement of the participant's decision to become a librarian. This confirms the finding about the importance of helping people reported by St. Lifer (1994). Helping people as a factor of attaining job satisfaction is also important because it reflects a societal value. Wilson & Musick (1997) quoting Wuthnow (1991) report, "three out of four [people] believe helping people in need is 'essential' or 'very important' to them" (p. 696). As participants 1,2,6,8, and ten note in the data quoted above, helping people find the information they need contributed to their job satisfaction.

### **Mentoring**

The participants who had mentors experienced job satisfaction. The mentors were long time library employees, professors, a personnel director, or other employees.

Here are stories told by the participants:

Like I said, I had a lot of good mentors all the way from high school when I started as a page. My supervisor and my staff...they weren't just like my supervisor...they were like my second

family...you know...home ec, always baking something..."Hey, taste this". So they became like my extended family and it was just really easy because we had like a real small, close-knit staff and anything that I had to do at school wise...they were right along just supporting so, you know, it was really nice. (Participant 7)

Well, actually...Thank God...there was a lady here then...she left in...she went to another system...she was here for 20 years and she was my mentor. I mean she didn't...we didn't say anything...she didn't sit me down and say, "Ok. I've got to show you." Being the type of person I am, I asked questions. I'm not afraid to say "I don't know" or "help me grow". I was just asking her my questions and she just started showing me everything that she knows which was a lot and that's how I got my information. That's how I got acclimated to the system...acclimated to the environment...acclimated to the collection. She showed me everything. (Participant 10)

We still only have, I think I am the only Black degreed librarian. There's one...my mentor, [name] who since retired a year ago. As a matter of fact when I graduated from library school...It's really kind of symbolic almost because as I was coming in she was leaving and I remember going to her retirement party and she kind of said, you know, [unintelligible] and that was nice. There's one more left, one more African-American librarian left and quite recently she's actually had a mild heart attack so I don't know. She's close to retirement but right now I'm the only Black librarian at the library. The only one there. (Participant 4)

Later in the interview Participant 4 returned to the subject of mentoring.

Miss [name]. I can't say the other African-American librarian. We get along but I don't really...we're not...I have to say all the other ones [mentors] were white and one woman, Mrs. [name] who's since retired...she told me, if you don't go to school...she didn't have a degree either. One of the best librarians, one of the truly best children's' librarians I've ever seen, I've ever known. She told me...I'll never forget it...if you don't go to library school you won't go up, you won't go down, you'll just go sideways. So I definitely consider her one and Miss [name] was always encouraging, and again these are ladies without a degree. I think they had been in the system, they saw that were certain things they were isolated from. It's like you're doing good work but when it comes to being on committees or having a say about certain things, they were definitely excluded. I don't think they wanted that to happen to me. And I have to again give [personnel director] a lot of credit because he told me right out, he said



“You know [interviewee] there are a lot of things I would like to do for you but if you don’t get your degree my hands are tied. So I kind of had to do it. I almost had to do it. I’m glad though. I’m glad somebody put the gun... (Participant 4)

Then after that I said that I’m definitely going to...and I did not tell...talk to [library school professor] this time. I wanted to make sure that I was going to do the right thing and when I decided to apply, then I called him and he remembered me of course and he was like “Yes, I told you I would help you”. And he gave me references and he told me about scholarships and so when I started the [master’s degree in library science program] I got...it was a half teaching assistant so it paid for half of my tuition and so I finished that then when I got in the doctorate he helped me to get the urban scholarship which paid full tuition and a stipend. So...and he’s been very helpful throughout. (Participant 5)

Yes. I have a mentor. Her name is [name]. She’s an academic librarian at [university] and I was...I received a Spectrum Scholarship from ALA in 19XX or something like that and through that they actually identified [name] as my mentor and I have maintained a relationship with her. However she is in... an academic librarian. (Participant 9)

[Position title] which is now the director...we changed the name for these things but she’s over all of extension services. [Name] which is the former one that retired. You know...even when I did work for him...when I was working in the children’s department...every so often he would call me upstairs “What’s going on? What’s up with this? I heard this. How are they treating you down there?” To this day he still does it. (Participant 8)

Participant 8 also offered a different perspective on the relationship between mentoring and work performance.

I get so...I guess I had a lot...a lot of “anti-mentors”... seeing people do what I don’t want to do... sort of taught me that I need to be a different way or find another approach. And yet [name], which is the director now, and the former director, I would definitely say were mentors. More than one mentor at different stages. (Participant 8)

Other participants told of having different mentors at different stages in their lives.

I did when I was working at [university]...the lady I was telling

you about who would put these things around the table. "I got a project for you!" She was great. She was wonderful...still is. I can call her up and say: "I need to ask you a question". She'll...she'll go out of her way to help me. She's wonderful. I had several other people but she was the one. There was a professor I still talk to...she was a mentor of mine...she really was. But in the library system...she's head of reference now...the lady that I worked under...she's working on...well she...she used to be head of the [name] department in the library where I was. (Participant 10)

Early in my academic career it [mentors] was mostly white women. At [university], [professor] is a professor of mine who encouraged me. She is an [academic discipline] teacher. She was the first white professor who actually knew more about African-American literature than most of the Black people I knew. She was my advisor and she's the one who encouraged me to go to graduate school when I finally decided to do it. Once I got to [university], [professor] another white female professor was open-minded enough to recognize that I had original...original ideas and to encourage me an to work behind the scenes to help make sure that I got where I needed to get because she used her power to basically push me forward. (Participant 6)

Participant 6 expresses a feeling of gratitude that white professors mentored an African-American student. She continues her comments about mentors and the impact that race can have on mentoring relationships and career decisions.

When I started teaching at [college] there was only one other African-American female professor in that area...in the school as well as in [academic discipline]. She did a lot of encouraging. Looking at her career and the fact that she was still facing the same problems that I was facing at my age...when she was 20 years older than me...also added to my decision to leave the field because I didn't want to continue to go through this over and over again. She was their superstar...their academic superstar. She was the reason people came there and she still was being disrespected, her ideas ignored. She still had to fight harder than everyone else to get her tenure and I didn't want to have to keep going through that. I felt it was stupid for this woman...this African-American woman to be going through all of this just because she was an African-American woman and I didn't want to be in that same place, you know, 20 years from now. (Participant 6)

One participant noted the impact one of her parents had on her decision to become a librarian. I have not presented her narrative because her description of her relationship with her mother could enable the participant to be identified.

Those who did not have a mentor described the importance of having a mentor in attaining job satisfaction. When Participant 9 was asked how job satisfaction could be increased, she responded:

I'd probably find a mentor in the organization because sometimes I just need some...some honest life experiences. You know, I just need to know...am I on the right track? Or I do need some support...I just want to find a mentor...really. That's where I would start.

Q. So you feel like you're drifting?

Yes. Yes, I do. (Participant 9)

Participant 1 expressed the importance, she felt, for African-American librarians to have mentors.

I think that, although I'm working in a predominantly African-American culture here in the library in the [city], it would help African-American librarians anywhere other than a predominantly African-American system to have a mentor. To have someone that could be there for... to help.... to help. Maybe someone who, if they are in a system as my friend, she's in a [public library] system and, like I said, predominantly Caucasian, and she's having all sorts of problems. I think if she had a mentor or someone that she could actually talk with about it, I think that would help her with trying to cope and deal with the situation. That would be very important.  
(Participant 1)

The stories of the participants describe the importance of the influence of mentors on the participants' job satisfaction. This finding confirms the findings of Squire (1991)

and Preston (1984). The findings also confirm the research of Dede (1992) who found that role models were essential for the job advancement of minority females. The role of mentoring in the achievement of job satisfaction will be discussed later in this chapter.

### **Religious Beliefs**

The role religious beliefs played in the attainment of job satisfaction by the participants was unexpected. I did not ask the first three participants about the role their religious beliefs played in attaining job satisfaction. But when each of these persons brought up the role of religion in their lives as part of their stories, I asked each of the last seven participants about how religion affected their job satisfaction. As noted in Chapter 4, when the topic of religious belief emerged out of the interviews, the following group of questions was posed to some of the participants interviewed: "Does religious belief play a role in your achieving job satisfaction? For example, if you were in a bad work environment but felt that you were doing the will of God, would you feel satisfaction despite the work circumstances?" Here are written answers and stories told by the participants when asked about the role religious beliefs play in their attainment of job satisfaction. The first sequence of comments is from the transcripts from the interview of Participant 7.

A high role. I take them with me everywhere I go. Before I come to a building God is with me. My religious beliefs are my everything. I believe that's what keeps me through the day...going through the day. If I don't have God with me no matter...I don't know what would happen. Sometimes I have to take breath prayers, especially....

Q. What is a breath prayer?

“Thank You.” “Hallelujah.” I call them breath phrases, breath prayers, something to that effect. It lets me take a deep moment... a moment to gather myself. Sometimes people come to you and you think that they’re attacking you personally and it’s something totally...something irrelevant...something that doesn’t have anything...that doesn’t have anything to do with me. So I have to kind of step outside of myself and say, “OK, well what is the problem? What are they trying to ask me? What’s the result of what they are trying to get to?” So...I’m a constant reader of my Bible. I believe in my heart that I’m actually putting Jesus’ applications through my daily work. I don’t just do it on Sunday and leave it there and then take it...pick it back up on Monday.

Q. This is very much a part of you?

Exactly. Exactly. (Participant 7)

When I asked Participant 7 if she would be satisfied in her job no matter how difficult the work environment may be she replied that she would. In her written document, submitted six weeks after the interview, she reaffirmed the role religious belief played in her attaining job satisfaction.

Religion definitely has a huge role to play in my job satisfaction. Before I start my work day, I thank God for my job and ask Him to order my steps in the right direction and make [me] an instrument of His peace. I'm grounded and firmly planted therefore when situations with difficult patron, staff, etc come about I know that it's not really them reacting, but a unsettled spirit within them. It helps me to look at people different and to love them by being kind to them in spite of how they're reacting. At the end of the day I feel complete because it has been a day that God especially designed for me and the people that I've come in contact with was meant to be. Many times I find that people need an encouraging word, and a smile. God has allowed me to do that and it doesn't cost me anything. His love feels me and I try to let that radiate from the inside to the outside so that others may feel it too, no matter the color or the age.” (Participant 7)

The responses to the question about the role of religious belief in their attainment of job satisfaction by eight other participants echoed the feelings expressed by

Participant 7. Participant 9 felt that God contributed to her job satisfaction and would protect her from a bad work environment.

I really don't feel that God would place me in a "bad work environment." I feel that God has blessed me with my current position...despite some of the things that are challenging. This is one reason why I have remained in this position. My faith in God plays a significant role in achieving job satisfaction, transfer and promotion. (Participant 9)

Participant 2 felt that her religious beliefs played a role in achieving job satisfaction. She also felt that she would leave a bad work environment and not depend on her religious beliefs to help her cope with the bad environment.

I feel my religious beliefs plays a role of achieving job satisfaction. I feel God directed me toward librarianship/education. I would not stay in a bad work environment, my religious beliefs taught me happiness is God's will. (Participant 2)

Participant 1, however, wrote that religious belief did not play a role in her attainment of job satisfaction in the document submitted. Her response is interesting because I first detected the role of religion in her work life during the interview when she responded to a question about how she became interested in librarianship. She replied, "No, no and it was just that I felt the grace of God because I was thinking I needed to work in a library." Her comments, however, reemphasize the importance of helping people in her achievement of job satisfaction. In the written response submitted six week after the personal interview she wrote:

This question is a bit complex. At first I wondered why anyone would say that there belief in God had a role in achieving job satisfaction. I felt that this would come from within, but then I realized that a part of our culture is deep rooted in the belief of a higher power. God provided salvation for our forefathers that were

deeply entrenched (physically—never mentally) in slavery. Additionally, many Blacks say, “By the grace of God”, “God bless”, “I am blessed”, and “I want to thank God” as part of their regular conversations.

I do give homage to God and I do feel that God opens doors for us, but I don't feel that my belief in God has had a role in achieving job satisfaction. I do feel that if we exemplify God's qualities such as joy, peace, long-suffering, we will experience a measure of contentment—even if we are doing something that we don't really enjoy—because God can take us on a spiritual level to where nothing can break the spirit.

I think that I have simply found what brings me joy. Learning something new every day and linking people to information. For example, I was unhappy in my previous position because of a number of reasons. I was “blessed” to have a stable and secure job, but was not satisfied. My belief in God did not bring about secular satisfaction. I would never downplay God's loving kindness or his blessings—I just feel that satisfaction comes from doing something that I find pleasure in. (Participant 1)

In the next quote, Participant 8 suggested that the role helping people played in her attainment of job satisfaction appeared to be intertwined with her religious belief. In the interview she made this linkage in her comments when asked a sequence of questions about religious belief.

Well I don't believe I'm a very religious person. That's to say I have issues with organized religion. I think I'm a very spiritual person. I have a very strong belief in God. But one of my major beliefs is that I shouldn't infringe on anyone else's belief so therefore...I guess it goes back to my fundamental belief that my job here is to help people...that someone helped me...that I have great satisfaction in general out of life so therefore I should be able to give back. So I guess, Yes. Because my belief is that this job gives me a way to give back to people as a whole and to the community as a whole. So my satisfaction comes from helping other people which I guess, fundamentally, is a religious belief.”

Q. Does the concept in your belief of doing the will of God enter into it?

Yes. Because I believe that I am in a position to help others. I don't want to say help the less fortunate because that's not always the case...but to help others. And I think to be happy in life you have to give back and I do see my job as a way to give back do, Yes, it is doing the will of a higher being.

Q. If you felt that you were not fulfilling the will of a higher being, would this cause you job dissatisfaction?

Yes. I think that's pretty much what it is here. I don't feel that I'm helping people so that's why I'm not happy at this [library].  
(Participant 8)

Participant 5, in her written statement, also suggested a linkage between religious belief and helping people yet made the distinction between the effect of religious belief in her private life and the effect of religious belief in her work life.

I think most people in public service do so because they have a higher than average desire to serve others. I believe I have a responsibility to God to be a good person and to me that means serving others. I do this in my private life so I don't really feel it is part of my job satisfaction. However, I do feel that my religious beliefs have made me the type of person to be good at what I do so that being a librarian complements my private life. (Participant 5)

Participant 3 describes in stark terms, how religion helped her cope with workplace discrimination.

Its like, you know, thank God that I know I'm a child of a king that it doesn't...you know you're not hurting me...it hurts but its not hurting me in the sense that, you know, if this is all I have to go through to get on my journey to where I'm going than so be it, and that's just the way I see it. (Participant 3)

In the African-American culture, religious belief is bedrock of daily individual life and community life. This will be discussed below in more detail in the summary of factors that influence job satisfaction. It should be noted that religious belief as a



prime factor in attaining job satisfaction was not reported as a finding in the literature reviewed.

### **Summary of Factors that Influence Job Satisfaction**

An analysis of the transcripts of personal interviews with the participants and the written documentation submitted six weeks after the interview suggest that three factors provided the highest level of job satisfaction: helping people, having a mentor, and religious beliefs. There is further suggestion in the data that, in the feelings of the participants, religious beliefs and helping people were intertwined. The factor, helping people, is a long held value of the profession of librarianship. Gorman (2001) illustrates the importance of helping people in his formulation of eight fundamental values of librarianship: stewardship, service, intellectual freedom, rationalism, literacy and learning, equity of access, privacy and democracy. He gives special attention to the value of service. He suggests, "service, in the highest sense of the term, is central to all library work. We seek to serve the individual and, in doing so, to serve society and humanity as a whole" (p. 174). The opportunity to help people expressed by the participants positions them in concert with a core value of the profession of librarianship.

The data noted above in presenting data about mentoring indicate that the presence of a mentor was an important factor in the attainment of job satisfaction. One of the participants expressed a strong need for a mentor. The other nine participants had mentors at some time in their careers but their mentoring relationships were based on

personal relationships that were formed. None of the organizations in which the participants worked established either a formal or informal mentoring program. Ragins (1997) notes, "traditionally, mentors are defined as individuals with advanced experience and knowledge who are committed to providing upward mobility and support to their protégés careers" (p. 484). The narratives of the participants tell of mentors who were instrumental in the development of the participants' careers. It is noteworthy that those participants who did not have a mentor felt that they were at a disadvantage in their career development. The narratives indicate that participants may have had several different mentors at different stages in their lives and education. Though all of the participants were African-American, mentors were African-American and white. Ragins (1997) points out that "diversified mentoring relationships are a fact of life for minorities in organizations" (p. 482). The narratives tell of the importance of mentors in the participants' lives. The stories suggest that, if public library systems construct informal mentoring programs for new African-American librarians, the librarians may experience higher job satisfaction.

The role of religious beliefs in the attainment of job satisfaction by these African-American participants should have been anticipated. In the African-American culture religion is incorporated into daily life seamlessly. Williams and Dixie (2003) note, "religion in the African-American tradition is still both a tool of survival and an inspiring 'terrible swift sword' of justice. There is no separation between Sunday morning and the rest of the week. All life is spiritual and every breath is full of faith in God as an all- powerful, ever-present force" (p. 5). Steensland, Park, Regenerus,

Robinson, Wilcox & Woodberry (2000) write that “the Black Church has undoubtedly served as the central institution in the lives of African-Americans from before emancipation through the civil rights movement until the present day” (p. 294). Raboteau (2001) comments “religion has had a profound influence in the individual lives of black people.” In a preliminary report of a study about college students’ beliefs and values conducted by UCLA’s Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) in 2003, it was found that more students at historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) ascribe to values researched in the survey than students at six other types of schools: public, non-sectarian, Catholic and other religious colleges and public and private universities. In the study, 76% of students at HBCUs believe in being honest in relationships with each other, 68% believe in integrating spirituality into their private lives, 45% believe in the sacredness of life, 38% engage in self-reflection, and 38% of students in HBCUs “appreciate the interconnectedness of everything” (Spirituality Project, 2003). The narrative and written documents of the participants indicate that religious belief is either an essential factor in attaining job satisfaction or is an important element in the individual’s daily life in the work place.

But while the participants attained job satisfaction by performing the work of a librarian, six of the 10 were dissatisfied with their jobs because of the perception of bad management of their organizations, workplace discrimination, discrimination by library patrons against them, and the feeling of being isolated, as an African-American, in the organization. The next section will discuss findings that influenced job dissatisfaction.

### **Factors that Influence Job Dissatisfaction**

As noted above, six of 10 participants were dissatisfied with conditions in the workplace. The primary source cited for dissatisfaction caused by the workplace was the perception that the directors of their library systems and supervisors in the systems did not possess the management skills necessary to direct the daily operations of the organizations or departments. The most often cited reason for the participants feeling that their managers were poor managers was the perception that managers and supervisors discriminated against them in assigning work duties, in awarding promotions, and in allowing library patrons and staff to behave in a discriminatory manner toward African-American employees. Some participants felt that their managers were out of touch with their communities. Some participants felt isolated in the workplace. Management skills and various workplace discrimination factors will be discussed at length in this dissertation because of the frequency with which they were noted by the participants. It is interesting to note that salary and benefits were not noted by any of the participants in being a factor for either job satisfaction or job dissatisfaction. Salary as a factor of job satisfaction will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

An analysis of the data suggests that the primary sources of job dissatisfaction for the participants were the participants' perception of bad management of their organizations by the directors of the organizations and by the organization's supervisors, workplace discrimination by colleagues and patrons, and isolation because of their race. While six of the 10 participants felt that they were dissatisfied

with their jobs because of these factors, the four who were satisfied also expressed concern about the same factors. I will present findings, first discussing concerns about management expressed by the participants that are based on the perception of non-adherence to commonly accepted managerial practices, and, secondly, discussing concerns that are perceived to be caused by racial discrimination. In Chapter 6, I will use Mintzberg's (1973) descriptions of the five basic reasons why organizations need managers as the lens for a summation of the data about the role of management in an employee's attainment of job satisfaction. A brief examination of federal legislation that addresses workplace discrimination is appropriate. The following section is a summary of these laws.

### **Federal Legislation**

Eight of the ten participants in this study told stories about experiencing racial discrimination in their workplace. The stories included perceptions that racism was a factor in not being promoted, in receiving unattractive job assignments, and in experiencing confrontational interactions with colleagues and the customers of the library. These participants described a hostile work environment. The concept of the hostile work environment will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Because a hostile work environment can be a factor in workplace discrimination, it is important to briefly consider the role of the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) in the enforcement of all laws prohibiting job discrimination. The EEOC provides oversight and coordination of all federal equal employment

opportunity regulations, practices, and policies. The EEOC is responsible for the enforcement of the following laws:

- Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Title VII), which prohibits employment discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin;
- the Equal Pay Act of 1963 (EPA), which protects men and women who perform substantially equal work in the same establishment from sex-based wage discrimination;
- the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 (ADEA), which protects individuals who are 40 years of age or older;
- Title I and Title V of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA), which prohibit employment discrimination against qualified individuals with disabilities in the private sector, and in state and local governments;
- Sections 501 and 505 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, which prohibit discrimination against qualified individuals with disabilities who work in the federal government; and
- the Civil Rights Act of 1991, which, among other things, provides monetary damages in cases of intentional employment discrimination (U.S. Equal Opportunity Employment Commission, 2003, para 1).

The EEOC's home page on the Internet identifies the practices that are considered to be discriminatory. "Under Title VII, the ADA, and the ADEA, it is illegal to discriminate in any aspect of employment, including: hiring and firing; compensation, assignment, or classification of employees; transfer, promotion, layoff, or recall; job advertisements; recruitment; testing; use of company facilities; training and apprenticeship programs; fringe benefits; pay, retirement plans, and disability leave; or other terms and conditions of employment" (U.S. Equal Opportunity Employment Commission, 2003, para 3). The participants' narratives and written documents will tell stories about perceived discrimination in hiring, assignment, classification of employees, and promotions.

The EEOC further points out discriminatory practices that are prohibited under these laws. Prohibited practices are:

harassment on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, disability, or age; retaliation against an individual for filing a charge of discrimination, participating in an investigation, or opposing discriminatory practices; employment decisions based on stereotypes or assumptions about the abilities, traits, or performance of individuals of a certain sex, race, age, religion, or ethnic group, or individuals with disabilities; and denying employment opportunities to a person because of marriage to, or association with, an individual of a particular race, religion, national origin, or an individual with a disability. Title VII also prohibits discrimination because of participation in schools or places of worship associated with a particular racial, ethnic, or religious group (U.S. Equal Opportunity Employment Commission, 2003, para 4).

The stories told by the participants will include perceptions of these discriminatory practices by management: harassment on the basis of race, color; retaliation against an individual for filing a charge of discrimination, participating in an investigation, or opposing discriminatory practices; and employment decisions based on stereotypes or assumptions about the abilities, traits, or performance of individuals of a certain sex, race, age, religion, or ethnic group, or individuals with disabilities.

An important aspect of the legislation is the requirement that employers not submit employees to hostile work environment harassment. Hostile work environment harassment is “speech or conduct that is ‘severe or pervasive’ enough to create a ‘hostile or abusive work environment’ based on race, religion, sex, national origin, age, disability, veteran status, or, in some jurisdictions, sexual orientation, political affiliation, citizenship status, marital status, or personal appearance, for the plaintiff and for a reasonable person” (Volkh, 2003, para 4). The EEOC (1999), furthermore, states that employers are responsible for the acts of its supervisors and that employers are required to prevent harassment in the workplace. The federal laws on discrimination will be used as a lens to view management practices and workplace conditions discussed in this dissertation.

### **Management Practices**

Drucker (1998) defines management with these words. “Management is about human beings. Its task is to make people capable of joint performance, to make their strengths effective and their weaknesses irrelevant” (p. 172). Gibbs (1994) found that managerial work has been affected by technology and changing environments, thus, newer perspectives about the work of a manager are needed. He suggests, “some potential directions include the role of the manager in developing organizational culture, the manager's role in instituting new organizational forms, the manager's role in dealing with the institutional environment and in legitimating institutional demands in the organization” (p. 601). The narratives suggest that library managers are having difficulty adapting, in Gibbs words, to “developing organizational cultures” and new



“organizational forms.” The narratives, moreover, suggest that white managers have difficulty adapting to managing libraries in urban neighborhoods that are predominantly African-American. The difficulty adapting sometimes manifests itself in the manager’s not developing library services to meet the needs of African-American customers. Here are stories told by the participants about management’s difficulty in adapting to a changing neighborhood culture. Participant 4 notes that the white managers in her organization did not understand the community the library serves because they lived in the suburbs. Her story:

I think they’re [managers] trying, like I think [name] is. But they really...I mean, we have no people of color managers, at all, not since I’ve been there. They all live in [suburbs] or the [neighborhood], you know what I mean? They don’t even live in the city. They don’t educate their children in the city so they can only go by what they know. If it’s just reading the paper about poor school performance and crime then...you know what I mean? I think that, maybe more now...at least I can say with [manager], I think he is trying to make the effort but they’re suburbanites. And as a matter of fact, the branch librarians that they have now, none of them live in [city], none of them. So I don’t know how they can set a tone, you know what I mean?

Unfortunately...I mean I like the diversity that’s now. I think it’s beautiful but there are...actually I have to be honest, my branch librarian always makes, I feel, negative remarks about we’re not the same library we were before. As a matter of fact she just told me this yesterday. We’re not the same library we were before. I try to tell them this is a changing community. But she says it with a sense of danger and negativity so, you know, that bothers me.

Q. What is her race?

She’s white.

Q. So this is code?

Absolutely. Absolutely. But its funny that she’s saying it to me. You know, maybe I’m so...I don’t know....people, everybody feels like they can talk to me, you know what I mean,

I'm so nice, I guess, but its really, really sad and I've actually told [name] that I keep hearing that, "The neighborhood has changed. (Participant 4)

Participant 6 describes management that is out of touch with the community and insensitive to African-American culture. She too describes white employees as detached from the community they serve.

They have a separate African-American collection because it was a demand of the community. The community is 50% Black but they're not addressing that at the library. So one of the things they agreed to do to appease them...the African-Americans in the community...is to have a separate African-American collection which had fiction...they had a separate budget and everything...for fiction and non-fiction. It was very small. When I got there, the first thing I did was fold the African-American fiction into fiction. You know, that's half of your constituency. They do the majority of the reading because you can never find a book in that section.

The other day...I'll give you an example of the director [name]...what she did that I consider racist and condescending. She did it with another librarian but this librarian told me about it. It's actually a part timer. She's not a librarian. [Director] came out on the floor and she asked the patron, "May I help you?". She said she was looking for "The Coldest Winter Eve" by Sister Soulja. That's the most requested book we have. She couldn't look it up and couldn't find the book because she didn't know how to spell Sister Soulja. And of course the patron didn't know how to spell it... so eventually the director, [name] had to go over to the part timer and ask her about the book. The part timer said, yes, and she looked it up and she did everything and so [director] said, "Well, how did you find it?" And she explained to her how she found it and how she spelled her name. [Director] turned to the patron and said, "Well you just remember that Missy the next time you come in". That's condescending because [director], that was your fault. If you were out here on the floor...if you would have known that book and known how to spell it. Another thing while we're on the racist behavior since we're talking about the [department] librarian. The [department] librarian, I like her as a person, but African-American month, February...she did not have one African-American program, you know. (Participant 6)

Well, you know, in the “city” that’s where the people are... the Black people. The librarians who work at [main branch], primarily, come from other areas into the city and their comfort level when going to those neighborhoods is very low. So because I’m Black...ok...it doesn’t matter what my background is... somehow I’m supposed to be comfortable going into all these neighborhoods...you know...because I’m from the city.  
(Participant 6)

The narratives suggest that white managers are disconnected from the communities they serve. The disconnection is physical. The manager lives in a predominantly white neighborhood and only visits the predominantly African-American neighborhood to work. The manager does not understand that the neighborhood has changed. The narratives suggest that this disconnection affects library service because management does or respond to the needs of the library’s customers. Management’s unease working in an African-American community or with African-Americans manifests itself in other ways. In this excerpt from the story of Participant 2, a manager attempts to establish his diversity credentials.

Well I was hired by that Branch librarian who prided himself by telling me that he was the first to hire the first ever African-American to work there... in the library system. And he also took pride in saying he hired, I guess, the first [minority] library assistant. So he wanted this whole multi-cultural thing going on. He just always took pride in that which was really weird to tell me that, like “I hired the first”. Oh Very Good. (Laughing). (Participant 2)

In this example the participant felt that the manager, when attempting to establish his diversity credentials with an African-American induces an opposite reaction. Participant 2 does think, with a hint of reservation, that her new manager is trying to learn about African-American culture. In her narrative she says:

She will go way beyond that, so her style and my style are very different. I have more in common in style with

my former branch manager but I didn't like him as much as a person, which is interesting since we have the same style. I like her much better as a person because I think she really tries to connect with everyone. I'd say overly liberal and sensitive by wanting me to this book discussion group but just not organized enough, just kind of out there. (Participant 2)

Seven of the participants described managers who were out of touch with their market service area and with their customers. Seven of the participants describe managers who appeared to be ill at ease with African-American employees. Four of the participants did suggest that some white managers were making attempts to learn about the African-American culture. These findings confirm the findings of Moyes, Williams & Quigley (2000) about the need for management to be sensitive to African-American culture.

### **Operational Practices**

The narrative data suggests, as well, that participants question actions taken or not taken by management about operational matters. They also question decisions made or not made by management about professional matters. Participant 1, in the written document submitted, was very direct in her comments about management and job satisfaction.

Management is responsible for my job dissatisfaction.  
I don't believe that what I do is appreciated or understood  
by my colleagues or management. (Participant 8. Written  
Document)

Participant 2 felt her manager made questionable decisions about building operations but also comments on what she considers to be an equally negative management style of the previous manager:

She...I'll put it like this. When I started I had a different branch manager. He was so organized it was bizarre. Nothing was out of place. List of rules on things to do...things that patrons could do and not do. It was a pretty orderly place. You never deviated from his list of "Oh, you're not supposed to do that or a person can't do this or they're allowed to do that". She isn't like that. Its all willy-nilly there. She has allowed the public to use her work computer.

Q. She allows the public to use her computer?

Yes. She's a definite people pleaser so if all the computers are being used she'll offer her computer. Its bad in a way because the way the branch is laid out, I think people expect that type of service from me when she's not there and, "NOOO, you may not sit at my desk, especially when we have six right here. Just wait...there will be another one. Or she won't...at closing time.... As I said before, I'm ready to go home, ready to back to my life, and she will let people keep coming in....not good. (Participant 2)

Participant 1 felt that management could increase her job satisfaction by implementing basic communications procedures to help departments in the organization work together more effectively.

Another area is communication amongst the different divisions. It would be great to have meetings, not bi-weekly at least monthly. There's always, its like there's such a, such a clear division in which we all are working for the same common goal but its just so, and another thing people are so territorial it just, its all amazing to me that there's times when I walk behind the circulation desk and its like what are you doing over here, you should be over there. Like I said its all part of, it's the nature of the job. (Participant 1)

Participant 8 expressed her concern about the need for management to clearly communicate the organization's mission and operational strategies to fulfill the mission.

I think that they should regularly let people know, "this is our audience, this is what we need to do, this is how we're going to do it." They are not practical. I wish they were more practical about the mission of this library. I think that librarians, period, because I saw through school... there's no set mission

for the field. Every field has to have a mission. (Participant 8)

Similarly, Participant 9 attributed her minimal job dissatisfaction to management's lack of communicating a clear direction for the organization.

In my work as a professional librarian, I have minimal job satisfaction. I am a big-picture person and my organization embraces the status quo. I want to know where we are going more than where we have been. I also can't see the big picture because I don't interact with the top leaders of the organization and the middle managers have various levels of leadership. Some managers lack leadership skills all together.  
(Participant 9. Written Document)

She also expressed her concern about management's reluctance to listen to the ideas of younger librarians. I asked a series of question about whether new librarians participated in management planning and decision-making starting with this question:

Q. Let me get back to participation. That seems to be a central theme in your comments. Would it be correct to say that there is not an opportunity to participate in management planning and decision making in the system? Is every thing formulaic?

Right. That's how it is. Right. That's how it is.

Q. Do you think other librarians feel that there are management controls?

Yes. That's how we feel. Black and white. Especially the new librarians...we tend...we tend to be younger and we're new. We have new ideas and we would like to share them with someone... you know...preferably our organization but..."

Q. Why do you think they do want you to suggest new ideas?

Well...I'm just going to...I'm not sure if this is it or not...but I'm just going to take a guess. I think that the people at the top really are not good thinkers. I think they are a little threatened because...that's what I think. That's my gut. Because it seems to me if you...that that is the goal when you hire new and young people...to bring new ideas but when we're silenced...I think... I don't think they're being good thinkers. I don't think they have that many good ideas [unintelligible]. So that's why I think they

confuse what has been done.

Q. So it seems that...if this is right...that there's a managerial sense, a feeling throughout the system, that it's not worth listening to new librarians?

I just don't think they have any ideas. I don't think they are solutions...solutions based. I don't think they have any ideas.  
(Participant 9)

Participant 7 felt that the managers in her system would not change and adapt to the changing urban environment in her city and to new ways of providing service.

I think a lot of it comes from managers who are still clinging on to the old way of working...my way or the highway... also just putting in their time just to get their retirement and their love for the actual library is kind of diminishing. It's like just hanging on because of the years...I have a couple more years to retire. But the passion isn't there anymore. It's just like a draining...like "Oh, I've got to go to work today." And like I've told several other people...I said I can't believe it's been a couple of months I've been over here...four or five months or so...and the time has really gone by really fast and...if time can go by like that in years...in years...you're just really happier.  
(Participant 7)

Participants attributed job dissatisfaction to their feeling that managers did not convey the mission of the organization, did not communicate well with employees, made questionable operational decisions, and did not involve new librarians in planning and decision making. One participant remarked that some of her managers had lost their enthusiasm for their work. In this dissertation, criticism of management may not be related to racial differences. Lynch & Verdin (1983, 1987) reported that librarians who recently graduated from a graduate library science program reported some of the lowest levels of satisfaction. Each of the participants was a recent graduate of a graduate library science program.

## Management Skills

As noted above, six of the 10 participants in this study identified the management style of their library directors and supervisors as a major factor that contributed to their job dissatisfaction. They saw managers as being out of touch with the staff, rigidly controlling by adhering to a top-down hierarchical philosophy and not controlling enough to effectively manage their operations. Here are examples from the narratives:

I feel like I can do it well [manage] because I'm organized. But I have a combination of the two branch managers that I've worked with. I felt the first one I worked with was all head and no heart and she's all heart and no head. And I have a combination of the two and I think if I could bring that into...it would be a well run library, any library would be well run with enough heart and enough head. If you don't have either or if you just have too much of one its not good. (Participant 2)

Participant 9 expressed concern about the reluctance of management to accept new ideas from younger staff by adhering to a top-down management philosophy. I asked her what management model she thought her management used.

I don't know. Tradition. I would ask questions because in the current model, for example, all the committees that I'm on... I never decided which committees. It came from the top down what I'm going to be on or what I'm going to do. So I would ask...I would just ask a person like myself "Where do you see your strengths? Where do you see your contributions to the organization? Where do you see things that need development?" Things like that. I would ask and that's what I'm just waiting for. I'm waiting for someone to ask me something. (Participant 9)

Participant 9 sees a much more fundamental problem with the management of her organization. Her perception is that her managers do not have the skills to manage and lack proper training as managers.



The managers in our organization, I believe, they only have had...needed to take one course in library school on management which is mandatory. And then if they get to a certain point or a certain number of points on a civil service test, they can get promoted to be a manager so we have...what we have in our organization ...we have people who want to be in charge but they don't have any power and we have people with power...people in charge who don't understand power. So it's like a schizophrenic organization. You've got these clerks and they're like working it over. And you've got these managers...they're non-confrontational. They have all these issues. They don't know how to manage and I know that that's not their fault. There's nothing for them...to develop them. I mean... I don't know whether it works with skipped skills but they don't have them. That's the problem right there. That is a big problem. Yep. (Participant 9. Written Document)

Participant 9 has little, if any, positive contact with her managers. She is anxious to offer ideas for service and projects but is unable to get anyone to listen to her. Her managers appear to give her little feedback on her performance or talk with her about her career development. She feels that management is not effective because it is too rigidly bound to the hierarchically organizational model.

Two participants who had attained job satisfaction as librarians and in the workplace offer counterpoint comments about the management skills of their directors and supervisors. I asked Participant 7 to comment on whether or not she had job satisfaction. Her response is her perception of the effect good management can have on employees. She notes, in particular, the beneficial presence of functioning teams in her organization. Her remarks stand in vivid contrast to the remarks of Participant 9 noted above. In Participant 7's organization, she perceives managers to be strong, open to new ideas, and using teams to achieve results. Employees are given power and encouraged to use the power.

My job satisfaction continues to be a success. I'm happy and fulfilled as we continue to work together as a team and have a strong supervisor that is open to and exciting ideas. Our current project that he has ok'd is to start a African American book discussion club, with the ball completely in our court, so I'm quite anxious to get that up and rolling. Liberties to do creative book displays are also a plus. The work schedule still works out great with rotating shifts at the circulation desk. My supervisor is currently running another department after the retirement of a department head. At first I thought things would go crazy as we would see him less and less, and the rest would start to slack, but that hasn't been the case at all. Teamwork from our staff has helped him even more to adjust to working in to departments. It's good to hear him commend our efforts to continue to function even when he's away. That pushes me even more to do a great job because all of my hard work is being noticed. (Participant 7. Written Document)

Participant 2, too, has attained job satisfaction in her professional work and in the work place. The narrative from her interview echoes the written comments of Participant 4.

I'm given... I am as a reference librarian... I have a lot of responsibility and I am trusted to make competent, well thought out decisions. I'm in charge of adult programming. I'm in charge of collection development for the African-American collection. I mean I have a lot of, there's a lot of trust in my ability and that's part of that job satisfaction too, that you feel that, you know, I'm worthy and competent enough to make these kind of decisions for the library. (Participant 2)

Later in the interview with Participant 2, I returned to the subject of management skills and style. I asked her about her perception of management.

I was saying all that to say that I really feel that the management is great here. They don't feel that they have to come out every minute to check to see is she [Participant] developing the collection properly, are we getting our new material out, is she weeding the collection because they know that I have a zest and a zeal for what I'm doing so...I don't know if that's part of it or if that is their management style, I'm not really sure but I think that it might be a combination of them both. So they pretty much, they kind of leave you to, I mean if there's a problem, if someone complains or if they

come out and maybe they see that things aren't, of course they're definitely going to say but they don't they're not micromanagers. They don't come out and they don't check in on everything you do or look or what you say.

Q. What I am hearing is that you think you are free to use your talents and skills.

Unhumm. Umhumm.

Q. You think there is a lot of trust in your talent and skills?

I do. Sometimes I used to think in the beginning well they're desperate for help and you know, they just want, no its not really like that because once in the beginning when I started working on adult programming, they pretty much wanted to see what programs that I was going to develop for the community and they wanted to see...you know...the actual plan for each program and that was for the first maybe three or four programs and then when they actually saw and took pictures of the programs and I had a good turnout because usually the programs here... everyone had had told me in the past...there would always be a real low attendance rate so the programs that I...I don't know how long its been now...I would guess about eight months since I've been doing it...we have a nice amount of attendance for the program. So as I said I think it might be combination of both these pieces. I'm really dedicated and I believe in what I'm doing plus their management style is such that it's a good combination I think.  
(Participant 2)

I suggest the managers of the organizations in which Participants 7 and 2 are employed have tapped into the excitement often found in new professionals by giving the two new librarians opportunity to develop and implement new ideas. Employees are given freedom to experiment. Management provides positive feedback to the employees. The result is job satisfaction. The findings of the effect of positive management style on the attainment of job satisfaction as told by Participants 7 and 2 confirm the findings of D'Elia (1979), Welmaker (1984), and Sheih (1998).

## **Workplace Discrimination**

Participants told of being dissatisfied in the workplace because of discriminatory acts directed toward them by management, fellow workers, and/or library customers.

Participants report being passed over for promotions and found white employees with less experience and qualifications were given the jobs. One participant had filed a formal complaint with her state equal employment opportunity commission because she was not promoted. They reported feeling isolated in the organization because they are African-American. They felt their careers may be hampered because they had been placed in departments that have low internal organizational status. Those that began their careers in the organization as clerks and then, after obtaining their master's degree in library or information science, were promoted to professional status were often subjected to negative behavior by their former colleagues. They reported being told by white employees that they had been given their jobs because they were African-American. They reported being subjected to racial behavior by white customers. In this section these incidents will be discussed within the framework of the responsibility of management to maintain a workplace that is not hostile.

## **Promotions**

Because all participants had had occupations outside of librarianship before becoming librarians, they brought with them perceptions about how organizations should and should not be managed. Some participants described perceived workplace mismanagement in previous occupations. Participant 1's comments are revealing

because she experienced job dissatisfaction in her former occupation but experienced job satisfaction working in her library organization. The bad management practices that made her leave her former occupation are similar to the bad management practices described in the library organizations by participants who are dissatisfied. This suggests that bad management practices cause job dissatisfaction no matter what the organizational structure might be. Hodson's (2002) research confirmed the effect of management practices on job satisfaction or dissatisfaction when he reported that "management leadership manifested through the maintenance of a viable and well functioning organization of production and through respect for workers' rights is of crucial importance for satisfaction, meaning and dignity in work" (p. 312). This also is in keeping with Mintzberg's (1973) research that found that managers' jobs are remarkably alike. Participant 1 was a manager in her previous occupation. Several issues contributed to her resignation and she eventually left her previous occupation because of being passed over for a promotion. (Three weeks after the interview she was promoted to a management position in the library.) Here is the narrative of Participant 1:

I was a manager with the City of [name]. The Division of [name] is where I was housed but I actually worked on the city's [name] program. It was actually to increase awareness of the [program] and to try to encourage people to actually [perform job] in the City of [name]. I didn't have much satisfaction in that job...it seemed...I don't know...working with city government...and I had been there for about...I don't know... twelve years...and it seemed like every project I would ever undertake, it would always seem like there would always be resistance and I'm not even speaking about the public. I'm talking about within the organization itself, the administration and I just got totally fed up with it and I wanted to do something else.

And that's why actually, when I was with the City of [name],

although I was a manager and I was compensated for that position, I really didn't have any...any real faith in anything that I did. Any program that I developed, any action that I was undertaking, it was always...it was like this antagonizing type of relationship I had with the top administrator and I think it was because he didn't have a college degree at all and he...I don't think he was really assured of himself, although he was very competent and I think he was dynamite but I think because of his inadequacies, mentally, he...it was always an issue. Any decision that I would make, and even if he liked the idea, he would somehow try to undermine anything that I would do so I just, it just wore thin. I was tired of that.

And I feel like I have a strong sense of character because of my dad, and I'm very big on what's just and what's fair and what's right. And that's why... And that's why I think I have such a big problem with the City of [name]...the bureaucracy... I mean people would do things, administrators would do things, and they would just do it because they could and it wasn't because it was right or fair. The prime reason that made me decide to quit was I was in line to be considered for a promotion and I wasn't dissatisfied because I didn't get the promotion, because if someone else was better qualified, then fine, I have no problem with that but they ended up bringing someone in who I developed...I won't say a friendship...but we developed a working relationship and she told me about her background. We were told that she had two master's degree...she had two master's, one in human resources management, another in something else, or she's this and she's that, but when I got to know her and we started talking I found out that all that was a rouse and that she had owned a hair salon and she worked in a hair salon and she... and I was just like...I couldn't believe that they had actually, that they can do that and I mean in the city government, if you're an administrator, you can hire your best friend to run a division if you so choose to, I mean that's the nature of government, so that kind of just really, that was the icing on the cake. (Participant 1)

Participant 1's story about being passed over for a promotion that was given to a person with far less qualifications was told by other participants. In the cases next described, the events happened in a library organization.

Participant 3 applied for the assistant director's position in her system, which was vacant. She did not get the position. A white employee, who had less experience and qualifications, was awarded the position. Management created a new assistant director's position for the participant but neglected to tell her that it was not, technically, a management position and that the position was not on an equal classification basis as the other assistant director's position. The participant decided to file a complaint with the state equal employment opportunity commission. Her comments describe the personal toll racism was taking on her life. They describe the negative reactions of the white employees toward her because she filed a complaint.

Well, it...I went to the [state equal employment opportunity commission] and filed a complaint, a discriminatory complaint back in [month]. It was within the year because you know you have statute... you have a year from when you were discriminated against to file that complaint. And even the woman [at the commission] had asked me when I was there...she said "well why did you wait so long if it was, you know, such a problem"? You know I think most of it was denial. You don't want that... somebody doesn't like you because of your color. I don't know. I just couldn't really explain to her. I think most of it was because I knew I needed to finish my [second master's degree]. I was in my last semester... last year and had to get through that. And then to start to deal with some of the other hostility and things that have become more obvious because of the position...its something you don't want to deal with. It's embarrassing. How do you go home and tell your husband that your co-workers are ganging up on you because they don't like you because you're Black? Its not dinner conversation. You know what I'm trying to say? Anyway...

Q. Did you talk to the director at all? She obviously now knows about your concerns but when these were beginning, did you ask her what was going on?

In terms of the position?

Q. Yes. When you discovered what had happened to you.

Yes. That was the initial time...I guess you could say conversation I had with her and I said, gee, I'm really not understanding what's happening here. I thought, you know, A,B,C, or D. And she quite frankly told me that, "No I'm not part of the library administration and whatever gave me that idea." And then I, you know, tried to explain to her at that point that I...just disappointed in her behavior. I felt that...you know, maybe it was a conversation that she wasn't mature enough to handle which, further I think, made it difficult for me because people don't like to be told what they are. Not that I called her a racist or anything like that. But I did tell her that I had high hopes of being able to work with her and learn more from her in terms of running a library, that we would be able to work together, that I think I have a lot to offer her, to learn from since I had been for the last several years preparing myself for this position and, you know, no other librarian went the extra step or had the desire to and I think...like I said...that she was perturbed that I was out of my place, if you will, and didn't appreciate that which continues to make it uncomfortable for me but we had no conversation about what initially happened and her game playing after that. It...and then the e-mail communications in our internal e-mail making comments about the other director and how qualified that she is and its just been horrible.

Q. What next?

That's a good question. Because I'm blackballed. I'm blackmailed. I can't....now that its gone public other librarians know about it and the library assistants know about it. They basically ruined me in terms of my profession and what I can do here in this region and I don't know if that's going to affect me going somewhere else. It's just that what do I do now? Do I stay in this position for the next... you know...twenty years...twenty-five years before....you know what I'm trying to say....before...because I don't see myself being able to get another job somewhere else because they made sure of that too.

Q. How did they make sure of that?

Well I think just bringing...first of all taking my...a position out of administration. I have a [graduate management] degree, never mind my undergraduate and management and working at that level. And I think by moving me into a...and I'm quoting here ..."a liaison position" where its just like you just take care of that part of the community...that's all she's doing...that's all she's doing. Its not doing...its like I have this tool box but I have to remain closed. I can't open it because I'm not given the opportunity to do that.



You see what I'm saying...where someone who does not have even the tool box nor the tools that go in it is given that opportunity. It's not right. Its not right. (Participant 3)

I suggest that the manager in this situation created a hostile workplace for the participant. Other staff contributed to the hostility. The manager should have taken steps, not only to avoid creating a hostile workplace, but to make it clear to other staff that discriminatory behavior was not permissible. The manager erred, as well, by not being aware of federal legislation prohibiting retaliation. As noted before, under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the ADA and the ADEA, retaliation against an individual by an employer for filing a charge of discrimination, participating in an investigation, or opposing discriminatory practices is considered a discriminatory act. Furthermore, employers are required to post notices to all employees advising them of their rights under the laws EEOC enforces and their right to be free from retaliation. (U.S. Equal Opportunity Employment Commission, 2003).

Other participants told of similar situations. Participant 4 tells a story about pondering a decision to apply for a management position in her organization. She encountered resistance from a long time supervisor who knew the quality of the participant's work because the participant was African-American.

There's one, one woman who is very afraid that I might get this position because there are too many Blacks, Hispanics in the library already, which is so weird, because if you call [name] public library, I think we could be counted on two hands too be honest with you. I know there are people out there at [name] public library who think that I would get something because I'm Black but I do, I honestly believe they're in the minority because I have more friends I believe than enemies. And the friends I have are strong people so...I think if they heard crap

they would dispel it. So I'm not trying to tell you that everything is perfect. I've worked very hard. I've had a lot of bumps. Just moving on, Just moving on. It was a little hurtful my boss... but then I have to consider the source. She was telling me "Oh [interviewee] I think you'd be better in a small library right now. I said, [name] I've worked in a small library. They sent me to places that librarians couldn't handle when I was a paraprofessional. I've done that already. "But not in this capacity." And I wish I had said it... it bothers me when I think of something I could have said...the way they have the branches set up now you have two paraprofessionals together. When I did it, it was me and a couple of clerks. Yes you were pretty much...the branch librarian was in charge but the day-to-day activities...if there's a fight let me call you...but I consider the source with her. She's just...but it did hurt me a little bit, I have to say, it did. Who knows. Maybe if she had said "[interviewee], I think you can do this thing", I wouldn't be withdrawing. But a large part of it is, I have to admit, its just the drama of it all, the politics of it all. I'm sure in libraries you worked in you have really terrible people you can't get rid of and at [name]public library, unless they invented personality transplants I have to deal with those people and I try not to suffer fools lightly for too long. I can't personally. And I have a lot to learn myself, a lot more to learn. This lady at work really hasn't shown me a whole lot for I think obvious reasons. (Participant 4)

Participant 5 describes the difficulty experienced when she was working in the organization as a paraprofessional and how this personal history has carried over to her new role as a professional librarian. I asked if she had ever experienced overt acts of discrimination in the workplace.

(long pause) I kind of hate to say. I'm thinking of some things but...there's assistant director...assistant director, not the deputy director...but...some things were not real good and I think even as far as when I apply for jobs...I remember this one time I applied for a job and ...it was general, was clerical, just typing or whatever...I thought that I could have least have done that and they even didn't give me an interview and...I don't know... I felt like...I don't know if it was discrimination or if they just didn't like me. I don't know...I don't know. But then there were some other things that I felt that...not only the assistant director but even my boss was...(long pause)...might have been discriminating. I really...I don't...

Q. These are hard things to talk about it. If you'd like to talk about it I understand how it feels.

Well, my stepfather was an activist and he...he was the first African-American plumber into a union. He went to court and... you know...and when we moved into a white neighborhood I experienced...I was called nigger all the time. They threw stuff at us. They broke out our windows at home so I...I know that and the subtle things are sometimes worse. When I really thought this was a job I could do and they didn't give me an interview and they didn't give anyone Black an interview and they hired someone who had no experience, right out of high school. And I just felt...I've been working here for these many years. I can do this, if I can't do anything else. And I felt that that was discrimination but there's some other things that were subtle that...sometimes it was subtle comments, like living in [neighborhood], in a Black, very poor neighborhood. Just referring to you as if you're never going to be any better and that was kind of one of the other reasons why I was determined when I decided I was going to do something... I was determined that I was going to prove that I could because just all those years of knowing things...well you can do this...and looking at you as if you can't...you start thinking...I'm where I'm supposed to be and that's the kind of the...the kind of the atmosphere that was projected onto me...this is where you're supposed to be. When you decide I don't think this is where I'm supposed to be. I think I'm supposed to be up here and...I was determined I'm not going to be HERE. I'm going to be HERE.

I asked if she had experience overt acts of discrimination on the job since she had become a librarian. She responded:

No. I haven't noticed any...I haven't been a librarian that long to notice any but I have kind of a reputation as a person who...from my past life...there's several times when I threatened to go to an attorney and I did have an attorney in one particular case because of this assistant director. And so no one really bothers me. I do have the support, I must say of the deputy director [name] who I've know for years and that was the one good thing. And it's very ironic how I guess it became to get her support because I sewed for her when I lived...as a clerk I did alterations for her. Its very strange but because of that she knew my work was good and I guess she thought I was a good person and...so she has been a good support to me. When things have gone...unjust... and I believe she's a just person, I could go to her with facts

in hand and say this is what happened so that's... (Participant 5)

Participant 5's story is significant for management in another way. It is difficult for white managers to understand that a racially discriminatory incident is not perceived by an African-American to be a unique, isolated occurrence. Feagin (1991) in his research on anti-Black discrimination in public places found "particular instances of discrimination may seem minor to outside white observers when considered in isolation. But when blatant acts of avoidance, verbal harassment, and physical attacks combine with subtle and covert slights, and these accumulate over months, years, and lifetimes, the impact on a black person is far more than the sum of the individual instances" (p. 114-115). When the participants in this research describe overt or perceived acts of discrimination toward them, they do so from the perspective of having experienced acts of discrimination over a lifetime. Feagin (1991) suggests, "blacks look at white-black interaction through a lens colored by personal and group experience with cross-institutional and cross-generational discrimination" (p. 115). But Feagin also notes that middle-class African-Americans are not quick to charge whites as racists. He says the opposite occurs in that "middle-class black Americans often evaluate a situation carefully before judging it discriminatory and taking additional action. This careful evaluation, based on past experiences, (real or vicarious), not only prevents jumping to conclusions, but also reflects the hope that white behavior is not based on race, because an act not based on race is easier to endure" (p. 103). Feagin defines middle-class "broadly as those holding a white-collar job (including those in professional, managerial, and clerical jobs), college

students preparing for white collar jobs, and owners of successful businesses”

(p.103).

### Cultural Insensitivity

In the narratives, participants tell stories of discrimination that, while not directed at them personally, indicate a workplace environment that is insensitive to African-Americans and that is permitted by management to exist. The story told by Participant 6 is an example. I asked about her concerns that management did not understand that the African-American population in the city was growing rapidly. Her response:

Well, I do have a problem with the fact that they ignore... the fact that it's not a predominantly white library. The things that they do as a library...the programming that they do. The planning that they do. The staffing that they do. It alienates a significant audience and that does frustrate me. I'm also racially unhappy with the fact that I know a ton of African-American librarians who are more qualified than the people they have working there so I'm somewhat resentful that you only have two Black librarians but you hold onto these white males who got the jobs because they're white males, as far as I'm concerned...who cannot do the job. So that is also a big part of my decision. I don't understand how your library system...at the other library system I worked at...it was predominantly white. They had a very... I mean they had a single digit African-American part of the community. When I was working the desk, the African-Americans (customers) would come to me. Skip right over the white librarians and the librarians at my job, they thought it was hilarious. They would laugh at it afterwards. I've never gone through that before where someone passed me by because they saw someone of a similar color. And I had a little girl ask me, "Are you going to be here permanently?" Because she felt that I was her personal librarian and she kept coming straight to me whenever she needed something and it made her feel more comfortable. And they're missing that there. They're missing that completely. And so they're adding to the problems of the community and that frustrates me. And because they are living in their own little world, they're going to continue

to direct the library in an area where they're not fulfilling their purpose as a library because they don't recognize the needs of their audience and the needs of the library. Another reason that I'm leaving is because I'm concerned about the budget cuts. They're not addressing the budget cuts but that's a managerial problem and I'm worried about job security because if you're not addressing the needs of the community, and you're not doing anything to cut back so that you will be prepared for this budgeting...I was one of the last people hired. Not only am I being overworked now because of this but I could go any day now. (Participant 6)

Participant 8 tells another story of management's seeming inattention to a racially negative workplace environment. I asked if her management sets a tone for racial inclusion. Her response:

"I don't know if their intention is not to set the tone and, like I said, I'm usually not offended by anything. If I want something...I don't care if you don't want me to have it... I'm going to have it. But I don't see it. I see it maybe as you see [name] and [name] at the top so you see its possible but overall, No, you don't see it. We had an African-American librarian that came to [branch] and [branch]. They're both considered part-time branches. They're open three days a week each. One is in a very African-American neighborhood, very...surrounded by projects...different kinds of...actually they're three sets of projects within a block of the library. [Branch] which is the branch that is connected with it is in a completely totally [white ethnic group] neighborhood, which is known, historically, for being racist. And there was a librarian...actually I was the acting manager of both librarians, [unintelligible] both libraries, but when [name] was the manager there they painted a swastika on the ground there. And they [management] came and cleaned it up but it was really never talked about. It was never addressed. Basically they transferred her out of there to another library so in that way that made me feel sort of uncomfortable. Well, why wasn't it dealt with? She was just supposed to accept it and deal with it on her own. I don't think it was seen so much as a departmental problem or a problem of the libraries. It was more or less seen as her issue. And I think things like that sort of makes you feel like you don't have the support of the library so in that way I think its not very inclusive. (Participant 8)

As noted above by Participants 6 and 8, management and white employees sometimes exhibit racial insensitivity by their feelings about African-American neighborhoods.

Participant 4 commented on this insensitivity.

Because the reason why the children's specialist or paraprofessional was created is because there was a shortage of librarians and at this point, to be honest with you, a lot of people, even when they become librarians will drive by, say my neighborhood for example, its not, you know what I mean, I'm not from the [number] ward but its not the greatest. My house is fine. But I've heard that there are people whom drove by [branch] and said "No. I don't want to work there." Just on the location. In the [name] neighborhood where I'm working, the library I still think remains somewhat of a sanctuary but...there has been a lot of crime in the neighborhood. I don't necessarily feel frightened or anything but there's a lot of crime, crime there. So they can't even get people who want to go in there and work...  
(Participant 4)

Participant 6 described discussions that occur in the staff room at her organization that she considers racially insensitive. I asked her if her colleagues understood that the demographic profile of her city was changing. Her response:

I think that they are so out of touch that they don't realize that the city is 50% Black now. I really think that that is the case. The majority of the staff is very narrow-minded and somewhat prejudiced.

Q. Describe that. How do you feel they're prejudiced?

They regularly have discussions in the staff room about how, if you come to America, you need to speak English because that's what we speak here in America. I don't come to your country and...I don't come to...when I come to your country I speak English so when you come to my country you should learn English. I don't need to learn Spanish because you're here. To me that's a racist statement and these are the kinds of things that they say. (Participant 6)

As noted above, the participants tell stories about managers who do not understand African-American culture. The data gathered from the participants tell stories of managers who do not understand the nature of the neighborhood market the branch is serving. The services offered by the library, as a result, are not meeting the information needs of the library's customers. The stories tell of colleagues that do not understand racial dynamics in their market areas. The stories tell of colleagues who converse about topics that are perceived to be racially insensitive in the presence of African-American employees. Greer, Agada, & Grover (1994) note, "at the managerial level, an analysis of the client community is necessary to the design and management of the organization and system created to provide information services. Information needs are inferred through a needs-assessment process that examines the characteristics of aggregate groups represented among the client population" (p. 38). Yet the stories told by the participants in this dissertation tell of organizations and managers that are perceived to have lost contact with their communities.

### **Occupational Class Tensions**

There were recurring stories of occupational class conflict told. Because many of the participants had obtained their graduate degrees while working in the library in a paraprofessional or clerical position, workplace tensions often arose between the participants' former colleagues in those classifications and themselves. The narrative data also indicate that class thinking often exists among the various types of professional librarians as well. These factors as sources of job dissatisfaction appear in the narratives. The following stories were told in response to my question about matters that caused job dissatisfaction:



I don't know about other libraries but I think part of the satisfaction or dissatisfaction with African-Americans and libraries is that, not only do...is there a class system among the librarians and the support staff...but there's also a class system within the librarians themselves. You can be a head of a department or you can be a social science librarian or you're a children's librarian or you're teen librarian and "never the two shall meet. They don't know anything about teens. They don't know anything about children". So there's... there's that. And that I think adds to the dissatisfaction. If there was some way... and we just had a...we had to go to a workshop which was interesting because there was teen librarians, were children's librarians...everybody...branch librarians...everybody at this workshop. But you could tell where...because there was a teen table here, there was a children's table here and then...I find it interesting. Maybe somewhere someone will do research on that but...I'm a kind of, kind a mingler because I never fit in...I'm like that hybrid. I never fit anywhere anyway. Whoever will accept me, that's where I go. But that's it.  
(Participant 5)

Participant 9 tells a short story about workplace interaction with white paraprofessional employees:

Well, I mean I just feel that...I feel like if it's a work of collaborative atmosphere...if you are not strong in an area you can talk about it openly but in a competitive atmosphere you go right to the supervisor...right to the supervisor every time. You go right to the supervisor. And it's like a rule: "I'm telling. I'm telling. I'm telling. I'm telling. I'm telling. I'm telling."

Q. So what I'm hearing is that their pattern, particularly on the part of the white paraprofessional, is to go to the supervisors?

Yes. To tell on me.

Q. To tell on you?

Yes. Instead of telling me...telling me what the issue is.  
(Participant 9)

Participant 10 takes a more philosophical approach to her relations with paraprofessional employees and felt that her job satisfaction was not affected

negatively. It should be noted that all of the paraprofessional employees in her workplace are African-American. I asked if tensions existed.

Yes but I figure it...it depends on the maturity of the people around you. Yes...you're going to get that dependent on who you're working with and, like I said, No you may not get it if the person...the people you're working around are mature enough to know that this is something they can do too if they so choose to do that. There's no difference in the person. This person has advanced in their education but their personality is the same. Dependent on that person too because there are some people who...you know...they get a little...a little egotistical about it...so...when they get their degree and start changing but that is not my case as afar as my maturity level where I'm still the same person but I have met with some of my co-workers and...so different challenges. But that doesn't bother me. I look at things in a way that...you know...its human nature...you know...it depends on, like I said, the maturity of the person and I can't get swallowed up by that. I just take it with a grain of salt and keep going. But you know it happens. It happens everywhere and, like I said, depending upon who you're working around... the maturity level of those people but...to answer your question...Yes it has happened to me but it doesn't interfere with my work. It doesn't interfere with my personality...it doesn't sway me one way or the other. I'm a laid back person...I don't care...if I can say that...I don't care.  
(Participant 10)

Participant 7, satisfied with her work as a professional librarian and with her organization, did perceive difficulties between her former paraprofessional colleagues and herself once she became a librarian. I asked her if tensions existed. Her response:

Yes. Its...I don't...you know, I could probably think its jealousy but I think its something more underlying than that. Its just...you know...I paid my dues and I went to school and I got my paper and I don't discourage anyone else but I have come across people who felt that...I'm 27 and then they're 40 something, 50 and they're still clerks or library assistant IIs and why do I have to take orders from you and so I do feel that but its all part of everyday life. I'm always the encourager, asking them "OK, well when are you going to go back? You can do online now and...and that's about the best I can do but I've

learned from the school of hard knocks the...go out, just get what I want to do. (Participant 7)

Participant 8 tells of relationships between occupational classes in her organization in a similar vein. Her comments reflect her work in an organization that is tightly controlled and hierarchical. Her comments also suggest that, when there are fewer staff members in a work site, occupational class concerns are ignored in order to get the work accomplished.

At [main branch] there's a very strong class system like you see librarians sitting with librarians. You see clerks with clerks. You see pages with pages. And there's not much intermingling that's not job related. When I came in I...you know...I was already in library school. It was already known that my position was to be a librarian but me being the person I am and also being younger again, I was more comfortable with the pages a lot of times...not just the clerks but the pages. And a lot of times I don't...I got the sense of like, "What are you doing with them?" And it would like at lunchtime "Well, we're going to lunch too." But I'm going with this page here, you know. And people would sort of look at me like "Well, Fine". But I...let me backtrack also...my [sibling], being a clerk, always, always brought home stories about the stupid librarian. "This person has a master's degree and they couldn't even do this." Or...and when I got here I already had this idea that people were going to expect me to be a Certain way because my [sibling] already...you know I always heard about well this...."She has a master's degree but she couldn't even get the computer on." You know...stupid stuff like that. And I think from knowing my [sibling]...well, when I got to the branches... when I got to [department] I didn't so much feel that way as the classes weren't as broken down because you're more dependent on each other because at the branch everything has to be done. (Participant 8)

The narratives suggest that tensions between the participants and their former co-workers may be attributed to the change in occupational status of those who earned graduate degrees in library or information science. This finding confirms the research of Pettas & Gilliland (1992) that "library departments with professional and pare-

professional staff who receive low recognition or have little hope for advancement offer fertile ground for dissatisfaction and conflict” (p. 26).

### Workplace Isolation

Thornton (2000, 2001) found that workplace isolation could be a factor in causing job dissatisfaction for African-American academic librarians. Participants identified isolation as a source of job dissatisfaction. It is not unusual for African-American employees, especially those in professional occupations, to be the only, or one of a few, African-American employees. Feagin (1991) says that there is a spatial dimension to discrimination. He suggests that when African-Americans move from, what he terms “friendship settings”, to workplace and other public sites, the potential for racial discrimination increases. Workplace isolation is one form this discrimination can take. Managers need to have the skills and understanding to counteract occurrences of workplace isolation. In response to my question about whether they had experienced isolation in the workplace, I was told these stories:

Well, once again one thing I noticed about the [name of library system], and this might be a little aside, out of all of the branches, there’s [number], I’m the only African-American [specialty] librarian and we have these meetings once a month where its just me. So during orientation there was a mixture of library assistants, librarians, and I’m again being the only one, which I really didn’t expect because the [name of library system]... it kind of felt like [graduate school] again... you know... I’m the only exception, the LAs (library assistants) that were there, the library assistants. I feel that [graduate school] feeling once a month when we have that group meeting where all the branches come together. I met...ahhh... there was another children’s librarian, African-American. They relieved here from her position because she didn’t have her masters and there was a big brouhaha about that and so know there’s just me. Outside of a [specialty] services librarian who quit. She just had enough. Pretty isolated. (Participant 2)

Well, I can give you a little bit of history. I was definitely isolated when I started at [name of library system]. This would probably be another ten hours. I actually was getting ready to take [name of library system] to court for not giving me a job. (Participant 4)

Participant 9 did not feel isolated because of her race but did feel the absence of employees with similar backgrounds.

Not isolation but I don't find other people in the organization like me. I think that's a little bit of isolation. You know when I can't find somebody to say, "Ok. That person is in the same situation as myself and I can kind of hook up with that person and bounce that stuff off. I can't really find that many people like myself in the organization. But on the other hand, I don't really feel isolated. I just feel like there's not that many people like me.

Q. Like you in what ways?

In terms of background. In terms of background. People who look like me...who are doing my same job. Yes. Because there are...like I said...there are other African-Americans in the organization and most of them are higher up...and they don't really seem to be available in terms of like a mentoring relationship. And then there are two other African-American librarians who came after me who are under thirty and sometimes we do talk and we do have common concerns about the organization. (Participant 9)

Participant 8 experiences workplace isolation. This feeling is offset by meeting socially with other African-American librarians in the organization. While she feels isolated because of her race, she does not feel ostracized. I asked her if she experienced isolation. Her response:

Yes I do. But its not as bad as it has been at other branches. I literally work at branches where people would...I would be standing at the desk and people would come in and look all over to talk to anyone except me...which I'm more comfortable with that because the racism or the ideals that they have is more blatant so they can be confronted. Here I get a lot of

condescending tones...a lot of "Well [name] does it this way or so and so does it this way"...you know...and its like... are you telling me how to do my job? I know what I'm doing.

We try to have a network between African-American librarians, especially the younger ones. Well, that's are they're going to be. But the younger ones. And I went to high school with the one... the one that I told you was hired a year behind me. We have more things in common besides being librarians. Yes and No. I have...will go out to dinner occasionally but not everyday. They're not my only set of friends and I'm fine with that.

Q. So you're not ostracized?

No. I don't think so. (Participant 8)

I asked Participant 8 if she had ever experienced overt acts of discrimination in her workplace. She felt that the acts, while not overt, were more subtle and that the persons performing the acts were staff and patrons.

No. More subversive discrimination I think it would be. A lot of people over compensate when I accomplish something. "OH MY GOD, YOU KNEW THAT!" Its like I'm supposed to know that. You would expect the next person to know that. Or things like I said....people will walk in and I'll be standing at the desk doing nothing and they'll still try to find some...they'll find a page in the corner shelving books and its like "HELLO. Did you not see me?" Things like that. I don't...I don't necessarily think that's overt or open or anything and honestly, sadly to say, I don't even think its intentional sometimes. I just think its something that's sort of accepted. (Participant 8)

Participant 1, however, did not experience isolation in the workplace. She felt that she was part of the organization and the community.

Here I do, I do. I really love this job. I mean I love...and you know what? I had to take a pay cut. What I'm earning here is not what I was earning...I was earning much more with [former employer]. And just to say thought I'm satisfied and that I'm happy with what I'm doing, that makes up for even that monetary loss. I feel great. When I leave here I still feel good. (Participant 1)

Participant 7 also had experienced little, if any, isolation. She had recently been transferred from a branch library to a main library. She attributes whatever isolation she has had to the difference in workplace cultures of small branch libraries and main, headquarters libraries.

Some days I do but I don't know if it's because I'm coming from a branch to a main because it's two different separate entities. Pretty much everybody at the branches, they stay within the branch clique and the main library they pretty much stay with the main library. But by me coming from a branch... and I've never worked in main library...that's just like an isolation all within itself. It's just like an outsider coming in, like "Here's a newbie". And by the end of the week everybody knows everything about you except for yourself. So you laugh. I think isolation in that sense I felt...I still feel a little bit but I pretty much know my way around and know a lot of people by now. There's a lot of people friendly and there's a "Hey, how are you?"...and strike up conversations. By me being on the first floor, I see everybody who comes in for the day or goes out and of course I'm going to say Hi so the barriers kind of broken that way. People come up and start talking to you more.

Q. It's more of the newness of moving in?

Exactly.

Q. Is there any isolation caused because you're African-American?

No. I wouldn't say so.

Q. Did you experience that when you were at the branches?

No. I didn't either because I was working in an urban library too so I really didn't have anybody else...pretty much the majority of our community coming in were African-Americans so...and we kind of like all blended in. No one really knew pretty much who was a librarian or an assistant and a clerk unless they looked at our name tags. They were really just looking for somebody to help them find a video or find a book or help their kid. But downtown...with the main badges...pretty much anybody can determine who 's who and who's rank without really stepping on each other. (Participant 7)

Participant 5 began to experience workplace isolation after she made the transition from paraprofessional to librarian. I asked her about her experience and if there were other African-American librarians in her organization.

I became the “other”. I became the librarian. My friends dropped off. I didn’t think that was going to happen but it did happen. But then on the other hand, the librarians who had been librarians and who had looked at me as the “other” could not see past me as being the clerical staff and so I’m still in the middle.

Q. Are there other African-Americans here at the main branch? Are you by yourself?

Here? Well there’s in the branch....there is a...the [branch] library... the person I worked under. There is a [branch] librarian and those are head librarians. And then there’s I think about three others that work in different departments. Now in the main library they have an “occasional” that comes in who is a librarian. She is just getting her doctorate and they have...I think two part time African-Americans but that’s it. There’s not very many.

Q. It sounds as if there are four full time African-American librarians in the system.

Wait a minute. There was one that left...there is...there’s four or five. There might be five. Yes. That’s right. There are five. The one that lives over on [neighborhood].

Q. Do you ever feel isolation here because of your race?

Oh yes. But that was from day one. I don’t think that it’s all intentional but I think there is a lack of understanding on, not only my culture, but other cultures in general among librarians. I think traditionally it was a certain way. Libraries are very hard to change and librarians are... (Participant 5)

Workplace isolation emerges from the data as a factor of job dissatisfaction for some of the participants. I suggest that the comments made above by Participant 5 establish areas where management can take action to reduce workplace isolation for African-



Americans. As in other areas of concern about management discussed in this dissertation, the narrative data suggests that management must learn about African-American culture if the managers are to manage effectively in urban areas. Moreover the stories suggest that managers need to learn how to affect change in libraries so that employees from diverse racial backgrounds are accepted. The final major source of job dissatisfaction for the participants is discrimination by the library's patrons against African-American employees.

### **Discrimination by Patrons**

As noted above, protections provided by minority employees by federal statutes and employers must take steps to assure that employees are not working in a hostile workplace. The federal legislation gives management the responsibility to create a work environment that is not hostile. The data acquired from the narratives of the participants, however, describe situations where the work environment became hostile for African-Americans because of discriminatory behavior by the libraries' customers. Management, of course, is not responsible for the behavior or biases of the organization's customers. Management should, however, make every effort to create a public environment in the organization that protects employees from hostile behavior. Some of the incidents described by the participants will seem minor. Others may seem more serious. I suggest that, when the participants' reactions to the incidents are viewed in the manner noted by Feagin (1991), minor incidents may be seen by an African-American as more serious because they would not be viewed by them as an isolated incident, but rather as part of a pattern of multiple incidents over a

lifetime. It should be noted, as well, that the topic of discriminatory acts by patrons emerged out of the early interviews and were not initially the result of my having asked a direct question about patron discrimination. The most common type behavior occurred when patrons were surprised that the librarian was African-American. Participant 2 tells a story of mothers' behaviors they brought her child into the library. The library was in an historic white neighborhood.

So it was interesting when...I never got that [discriminatory behavior] from the kids because kids are different, but from the mothers, you know, that double take, that "Oh, you're in charge?" or when they would go to the desk and they would go see the librarian, and even though I'm sitting in a room full of children's stuff, they usually go see the adult services librarian although he's not around children things. Like Oh, Oh yeh. Its like, "No MEEE".  
(Participant 2)

Participant 2 describes her approach to the situation.

I... personally, they (patrons) realized that I was not going anywhere anytime soon and this is the library and I'm the librarian so lets all get used to each other. (Participant 2)

She continued her narrative by describing a specific incident of patron behavior that occurred in the branch where she was working.

...for instance there was a lady that's in the Friends [of the Library] group that worked very closely with my predecessor and she would walk in, not look at me, and this would go for two months and everyone kept telling me that this Lady X is, oh she'll get the kids to come into the programs, and she works very closely with the children's librarian and she would not speak to me, Lady X. That was, you know... its not blatant discrimination. She didn't call me a name or anything like that but knowing her history of wanting to do all of these things, and then being so turned off, you know, it was a little disturbing. I mean Lady X speaks to me now. I don't think we have the same relationship she had with former librarians who worked there but...

Q. Why did you think she speaks to you now?

I'm there and she has children and she wants them involved in the program and there's no other way around me. To deal with this particular library...I'm there. I'm not leaving unless it's for a great, great offer coming through. She knew she had to kind of come around. I think it was a big surprise when she didn't behave very positively to the LA, the library assistant... that's the only African-American library assistant that we have... it's a small branch, there's only six of us, but she would come in and if she didn't see the one she's more familiar with, the white LA, she'd look around, "Oh, I have to get home". So Lady X really had difficulties. But I think if you confronted her on the issues she would probably deny "Oh No, No, I love everybody". There are a few issues. (Participant 2)

Participant 8 describes a similar situation at her library. She describes a patron's reaction when the patron discovered that the African-American employee, not the white employee, was the librarian.

I do find it sort of ironic a lot of times that it [reference question] will come back around where they'll ask everyone in the library and I'm the only person who answers the question anyway. It's sort of like..."Well, you should have stopped here in the first place". At one particular library I was the librarian for almost six months and this lady came in and she was talking to the clerk about me and said something to the effect that it's about time they got him some help. And he just looks at her... he's like well if anything, I would be her help...you know...if you see it that way. It was like she's the librarian and I'm just a clerk and her face was like "aaaaa". Not that she needed to apologize...more like...oh, ok, whatever. You know I'm going to see it my way. It's my story I'm going to tell it my way. That sort of offended me because you were so happy to see me when I was the help but now...you know when you just considered me help...but now if I'm the person in charge it's like, OH. But I...I guess I'm sort of a hard person to offend and I tend, especially at my job, I don't wear my feelings on my sleeve. I don't care what they think about me. (Participant 3)

Participant 9 tells how white patrons do not believe she is a librarian. I asked if she has experienced discrimination from the library's patrons. Her response:

Yes. Yes. You know sometimes...if there...if I'm there and a white peer is there, they'll assume that the white peer has more authority or more expertise or is my supervisor when really we're just peers. And so they'll...they'll...so generally even if its children, they'll go...of all races...they'll go right to the white persons...all the time. Sometimes the white person's a caretaker...the janitor. But they'll approach the white person first all the time. (Participant 9)

Participant 3 tells a similar story.

I went into an all white community, to be honest with you, but again I try not to see that in terms of color but its often reflected in the eyes of the people I meet and see and their facial expressions that "Oh you're the librarian" when in fact they think it's the person standing next to me. That's a little hard to take sometimes but I just smile and, you know... "How can I help you today?"...and try to meet their needs. But I think that's...again... just people, people being people. They're just not...they're...I don't really...I think I surprise them. Even now when I tell people I'm a librarian, they're like, NO WAY. I don't really know how to explain it... another way of saying it is that people are cued into certain stereotypes. (Participant 3)

Participant 3 continued her narrative by describing a specific incident of patron behavior that occurred in the branch where she was working. The story describes how a patron's attitude toward the participant began to change.

I had this one woman who was like filthy rich and she was like the force to be reckoned with in the neighborhood that no one ever told me about when I first got there. So I'm just thinking, "Hey, how are you? I'm [name]. I'm the new librarian." And her first reply, she didn't shake my hand. She didn't smile or anything. And she said "Well what exactly are your plans for this library? This is what I want." OOOOH, Ok well, let me tell you, and I was kind of able to share with her and within a few weeks, a month or whatever, she started to see some positive and perfect aspect things happening and her attitude...her preconceived thought really pretty much evaporated. After a while, there was a point where she was bringing me Godiva chocolate because she knew I liked chocolate. Her whole perspective, I think...but I think we do that no matter what color we are. We often...people look at us and they

have a preconceived thought or idea. That might be if I was a gay person, the same way. They're often, you know that's part of who they are. And it's just the way of life. (Participant 3)

Participant 6 was subjected to bad patron behavior. She felt, however, that men directed the behavior toward her because she was a woman, not necessarily because of her race. She also describes being discriminated against by African-American patrons because they did not believe that she, as an African-American, was qualified to help them.

They have a lot of male patrons. Yes, I mean... a lot of male patrons, problem patrons, who don't like to deal with women, period. And they [management] let them get away with that. And they're verbally abusive. And they hang up on the women if they call in or when they're there they refuse to be waited on by the women. So I've had that problem. The Black patrons tend not to think that I have no authority as an African-American and that they need to go to the white man to get things done. The older patrons have been the nicest to me and I've had the fewest older white patrons. I've had no... I've had few problems from them. If... because there are usually so many librarians at the desk... I really wouldn't be able to tell if a white patron went to somebody else because I was busy or because I was Black. That's... because it's such a busy library, that's hard to tell, you know. (Participant 6)

Participant 9 feels that her management is permitting acts of discriminatory behavior to occur because management has not established an understanding of the African-American community as a priority.

And then also the organization... it's not the organization but... for example, if I am in a library with a white peer or a clerk or page and the public comes in they'll generally go to the white person and that's... that's something that is either not addressed or is not... it's not a priority... to understand the relationship with the community as a Black librarian and the relationship with peer professionals who are of different races and then that's not even to mention the relationship with men... you know... in the organization... in the organization with men. And I know that

that's a factor in almost every other profession but because librarianship has been traditionally white women its more common...it's more pronounced, I would think, in this profession because its just now becoming more diverse. (Participant 9)

When management understands African-American culture and that discriminatory behavior from patrons can occur, the effect on the job satisfaction of the participant is very different. In this story Participant 6 tells of how management handled discrimination in an organization in which she had once worked. I asked why her managers in that organization helped her deal with discriminatory behavior by patrons. Her answer:

They were more open-minded and they were in touch with the reality of the fact that it was a predominantly white culture. They had backgrounds that allowed them to be exposed to diverse cultures. So they weren't as narrow minded as a lot... actually people in this area I have found to be. I've always found this a racist place anyway. So I was prepared because I deal with it on a daily basis especially since I sound white, I've been told. And also because I'm so different than a lot of the Black people that they encounter so I was fully prepared to have problems but I was pleasantly surprised that I didn't. My...the woman who interviewed me...there were two managers. They both interviewed me but the manager who does most of the interviewing, the scheduling and everything like that, she is very careful to pick people of a certain...I guess temperament, maybe...not personality but the part timers mostly were students...were graduate students and the full time people who had been there were, you know, happy to be there. They had other life experiences that had led them to be there and to be really able to contribute to the field so she made an effort and, she once told me that, to make sure that there weren't too many personality clashes and she was very pleased that I came in there. When I came in there they knew my strengths and they let me go [work]. (Participant 6)

Participant 8 discovered that the dynamic of white patrons seeking white librarians for assistance could happen in reverse. In this story she tells how African-American patrons sometimes seek African-American librarians for assistance.

Well I've also seen the reverse. In African-American libraries I think they go in looking for someone looking at...I guess that's why I'm not so offended by it because I've seen the reverse.

Q. What's the reverse?

When African-Americans come in to an African-American library and they're looking for an African-American librarian. I've seen people walk past my manager at the other library and they'll look for me because I'm...and I don't know if its because they know me and they've talked to me before but sometimes I feel its just because they feel maybe I can relate to them better. So I can't be...if I'm ok with that I can't be so offended as the...as the Caucasian does the same thing. I guess also from my background in dealing with... being the only African-American in a lot of situations I don't know if I'm less sensitive or more tolerant of it. I don't know...or if I just see it a different way. (Participant 8)

Participant 8 suggests that an African-American patron seeks out an African-American librarian because the patron feels she or he can better relate to the librarian. This help-seeking dynamic is an important area for further research in order to try to discover if the patron behavior is influenced by a feeling of comfort in speaking to a person of the same race or if the behavior is caused by racism.

The data in the narratives indicate that acts of racial discrimination by patrons do occur. The data also suggests that the managers in the organizations noted are not taking steps to address this type of hostile workplace. The participant's narratives suggest that, if managers were to attempt to understand cultures other than white cultures, they would be sensitive to the needs of minority employees and take steps to assure that the workplace was less hostile. The stories told in this section also suggest that the African-American librarians who work in neighborhoods that are changing from historically white to minority experience a higher incidence of patron

discriminatory behavior than do African-American librarians who work in predominantly African-American neighborhoods.

### **Participants' Recommendations for Management**

I asked each participant what recommendations she would make to management to help improve her job satisfaction. Their recommendations center on changes they feel management should make in the operation of the organization. Though the recommendations reflected personal needs, the ideas presented could apply to all employees in the organization. Participant 6 emphasized the need for white managers to accept demographic change in their cities and design services to meet the needs of their customers.

...would like for them to admit that the library is not meeting the needs of their African-American constituencies... not in the staffing...not in the programming...not, pretty much in the collection development...not really in anything that they do. And I think that they should regularly try to have classes, have the managers do something...because right now they're not doing anything...teach these classes. Learn how to make this library what it should be which is a place that meets the needs of the community that they have. I would like, basically, for them to have some kind of direction... For them to put down a path and do it and that would make it a better place for me. Right now there's no consistency. I need consistency. If a...if you tell a librarian this is what we're going to do, this is what I want you to do, when that librarian doesn't do it [makes slicing across the neck sign and sound]. In the business world it happens. Why can't it happen at a library? (Participant 6)

In the interview Participant 6 expressed very strong feelings about management not serving the African-American community in her city. She further comments:

Its starts in the schools but the managers, and the people in general in [city] need to be more realistic about the fact that you're not going to change the diversity



that's happening. So you need to learn how to effectively deal with it instead of being in denial about the fact that you don't know as much as you think you know about people of color. I think that so many managers are afraid to admit...well they're not afraid to admit it...but they don't see their own racist, their prejudiced tendencies. Because they are in such denial about that, they don't want to deal with that. I learned that they had somebody come in and talk about race at the library I work at now and they stayed from that subject because they had...it turned into...there happened to be another Black librarian there at that time period and she was very blunt with them. They were so shocked in learning these things about themselves and in denial about these things about themselves that they never had another racial discussion there. That's because they're in denial. It's a very conservative field no matter what they say and most of them have very conservative ideology concerning women as well as people of color but they will not admit it. As people they have to stop denying it before the field can move forward. (Participant 6)

For one thing...let me work where I would do the most good...where I can be more productive...where I can use the skills that I've been going to the workshops to enhance and develop and let me apply them. Don't send me to the workshops and then that's it...you know..."That's as far as you're going to go with this". You've been to workshops. So...you know...do that. Talk to your staff and respond to their needs. Like I said before...maybe people don't want to work in other divisions but they'd like to improve their area...a department. There's some things that they need to be more productive in that area...they want to stay there but there's some things they need to...if people want to come to them...listen and respond. Make them feel like their needs are important to you and an institution that everybody is working together for the common goal to provide better service and if you've got job satisfaction everywhere you're not providing better service because your disgruntled staff cannot get past what there... (Participant 6)

Participant 4 suggested felt that increased in-service educational opportunities would help increase her job satisfaction.

You know continue the training. I've been on a couple of trainings...Medline, Historyday.org...and those are really

helpful because not only can you use those...what you've learned to serve your public but you can also teach your other co-workers and that makes them stronger whether they're professionals or paraprofessionals. (Participant 4)

Participant 5 emphasized the need for management to find ways through career counseling and funding for paraprofessional employees to complete their bachelor's and/or master's degrees. She also feels that management should provide day care opportunities for single mothers who are on the staff.

Well first thing, like I...still believe very highly, people who have been working here for years...not just giving them a clock on their anniversary, thirty-year anniversary, stuff like that. I think more should be done... most of the people who have worked here for years...well I'll say a lot of them are African-American...they will not... they are not librarians. They are support staff. I think that they need to know that they don't have to just be support staff. I'm almost positive. I'm not positive but I know my friend, she would have gone to college. She would have been a librarian because she was like me, she really liked libraries but no one gave her that push, no one said "you can do this"... and I'm sure there's others like that that if they were given that opportunity...the main thing is money...that was the...be realistic... that's what I was concerned with. You know...if I have to pay for this I don't know how I'm going to do it and that's where I think the library needed to take a role. Now that they have it... its easier but they're not bringing in African-Americans. They're bringing in college students but most of them are not African-Americans. They're...they are bringing in some other cultures...maybe one or two of various cultures...but its still not...doesn't represent the population at all. So that would probably be the first...the first thing would be to encourage education and to provide some kind of support for it and then the second thing...which was another problem for me...was family. I think in a lot of African-American families there is a single parent and not having a place for your kids...my boss was...at [branch] library. She was a librarian. She had two boys. She was single. She had adopted the two boys. And she had her kids there every single day. From the time they were little, barely walk till...they're still there. And some people may look down on that but if there is no other way what can you do so I...I would kind of...if we couldn't offer some type of child care

then, if the child's a certain age, the library's open for kids. Why can't you bring your kids? (Participant 5)

Participant 4 also suggested that management provide financial support for staff that want to continue their education. She saw education as a key to promotional opportunities.

Well I think far as...one thing for satisfaction...you mentioned about promotion...if the library provided some type of reimbursement for education far as in the master's degree programs who goes to [university] or online...I think more people would probably jump on it but the program is kind of expensive at [university] or if you go anywhere else and if you're paying for it out of your pocket and trying to take time...vacation time to go to your classes...I think a lot of people would expend a lot of energy. "Wow. Is it really worth it?" But if you give them tuition reimbursement or some type of stipend or something far as to help them to get their master's then I think more and more people will get...the turnover rate will be more. But right now its not there. We just have [association acronym], the [association name], they have a five hundred scholarship. They give out two twice...every year. And that's about it unless we actually get out there and find out what's on the web for scholarships but other that that if [name] public library will offer that then I think more people would take advantage of that and they wouldn't feel they're stuck in a clerk job or a librarian assistant job. (Participant 4)

Participant 8's suggestion was a personnel management consideration. She wanted to be reassigned to another position. She felt that management did not attempt to achieve a good person-job fit when making work assignments.

As a whole I would get me out of this branch. I mean I think there are librarians satisfied with just doing what I'm doing now. I'm not one of those. Unfortunately with the policy to transfer people at will, you are where you are. I think it makes much better sense to put me where I'm happy and a person that's in a branch where they can do community outreach and things like that because time allows it here. If that's what they want to do...if they're happy just sitting on a computer...standing in, standing out...can I get

you a bag...you know, things like that. Let them do it. So I guess the answer to both is to fit people's personality and what they want to do more with the job. (Participant 8)

Participant 9's recommendation was personal. She felt isolated in the workplace. She felt she needed a mentor in the organization to provide feedback on her performance and give career guidance.

I'd probably find a mentor in the organization because sometimes I just need some...some honest life experiences. You know, I just need to know...am I on the right track? Or do I need some support...I just want to find a mentor...really. That's where I would start.

Q. So you feel like you're drifting?

Yes. Yes, I do.

Q. Is there a clear career path for you here?

No.

Q. What I am hearing is that you feel like you're here and there's no place to go?

Right. I feel like...you know...like I've said...I've...I've outgrown this place. It's not...there's nowhere for me to grow. There's no growth. I can't...there's...like I said...there's things I think I can do here but it's just...it's off limits...off limits. There's no place really to [unintelligible] but to be a reference librarian which is great but if I was in another place that's... there's other things I would be doing. I would...I think in some places those duties are part of the reference librarians' job but here it's like now...very restricted.

Q. One thing I'm hearing is that you're not intellectually challenged?

A. Thank you. That's exactly what's happening. That's exactly what I feel like. I just feel like I'm in a rut right now...just in a rut and there's no place for me to go but out...to be perfectly honest. That's what it's going to be. (Participant 9)

Some participants mentioned opportunities for career advancement. They spoke about the need for management to provide career paths for employees. Participant 3 felt that there were opportunities for advancement within the organization. I asked if she felt there were opportunities. Her response:

Yes. Most definitely.

Q. So you can feel that there is a career path within the organization?

Oh, most definitely. (Participant 3)

The topic of career paths was a recurring theme in the narratives. I asked if there were opportunities for advancement within the organization. Participant 5 felt that there were not. But she also conveys the sense that she is resigned to the prospect of remaining in her current position. She told this story:

No. There is usually...if you...well, I'd say there are three generations in this particular library. There's the "lififers". There's the "newers", the newcomers. And then there's the transient. And the lififers are going to be lififers. They're going to stay in that position for life. The newcomers are going to come in and they're going to be glorified. They'll start as, maybe, library assistant, librarian, head of the department. Then there's the transients who will come in... either get the partial scholarship...work for a year...go somewhere else. Or they'll come in...start as a library assistant...they generally don't start lower than that...or a librarian...work a year or two and then go somewhere else with a resume. And that's...that's whose here.

Q. What are you?

I'm a "lifer" with a purpose. (Laughter)"

Q. One other question about this. Do you think you have promotional opportunities here?

Well I am probably as high as I can get. I'm head of

a department. That's as high as I can get. The only thing next will be... assistant head of main library...I mean assistant head of branch services, then assistant director, deputy director and then director. So I don't think any of those would happen. And that's fine with me because I want to do the other things anyway. So right now I am where I will be. (Participant 5)

Participant 8 felt that there was a career ladder available to African-Americans. She complemented her organization on its aggressive recruiting of African-American librarians. Her story:

Well when I came in...when I first started looking for jobs...[public library] pays sort of well to start off but what I...I notice is, whereas...and I was recruited by someone in Florida...Long Island...couple other places... and strangely enough with our low cost of living [public library] pays better than most of these places but what I sized was that while their scale went sort of like this...like their pay raise went up like this...[public library] started here but its...didn't go up as fast. There are less top positions on account they're cutting them constantly but I do see a rise of a lot of African-Americans. I think its because they don't want to be looked at for discrimination. The amount of African-Americans they have hired since I've been here, though they have mostly been in this one department, has been phenomenal. I can name five within the last three years. Five out of maybe seven people hired. (Participant 8)

Participant 9, however, felt that there was no career path available for her in the organization. I asked if she saw a career path for herself. Her response:

No. No.

Q. Do you feel you have reached a dead end in the organization?

I feel like...I feel like I'm not only dead-ended but... by...the places to move...they don't even look desirable to me because they're like public positions with no power, you know what I'm saying? So...I'm like...I'd rather just not be bothered. So I don't know where I'm going to go.

### **Summary of Factors That Influence Job Dissatisfaction**

As noted above, six of 10 participants were dissatisfied with conditions in the workplace. The primary source cited for dissatisfaction caused by the workplace was the perception that the directors of their library systems and supervisors in the system did not possess the management skills to direct the organization or department. Some participants felt that their managers were out of touch with their communities and did not possess the skills necessary to direct the daily operations of the library. The data suggests that the managers of the participants' libraries created a hostile workplace environment by permitting these discriminatory acts to occur. The finding that the chief source of job satisfaction was the perception of managerial incompetence is consistent with the research of Hodson (2002) that suggests, "that we should carefully examine the role of management competence, organizational coherence and respect for workers' rights in determining workplace experiences of meaning, satisfaction and conflict" (p. 313).

In the next chapter I will present conclusions that emerged from the data about factors that influence the attainment of job satisfaction of the participants and factors that influence the job dissatisfaction. The federal laws prohibiting job discrimination as interpreted by the EEOC will frame the discussion about hostile work environments. Mintzberg's (1973) study of the work of managers that lists five basic reasons why organizations need managers will be used to provide additional framing of the conclusions reached about management factors that influence job dissatisfaction. The

implications of the study for the recruitment and retention of African-American librarians by public libraries will be discussed and the implications of the study for the management of public library systems will be considered. The limitations of the study will be presented and, finally, areas for further research will be suggested.



## Chapter 6

### Conclusions and Implications of the Study

#### Overview of Chapter

As noted in Chapter 1, in the few studies that have been conducted about job satisfaction of African-American librarians, Squire (1991), Preston (1998), and Thornton (2000, 2001) called for a significant increase in research on this topic. The research question investigated in this dissertation was: "How do African-American public librarians who have graduated from ALA-accredited schools of library and information science between 1999 and 2002 and who are working in urban public library systems in the United States perceive their satisfaction or dissatisfaction about their jobs?" In this chapter I will present conclusions that emerged from the data about factors that influence the attainment of job satisfaction of the participants and factors that influence job dissatisfaction. The federal laws prohibiting job discrimination as interpreted by the EEOC will frame the discussion (U.S. Equal Opportunity Employment Commission, 2003). Mintzberg's (1973) study of the work of managers that lists five basic reasons why organizations need managers will be used to provide additional framing of the conclusions reached about management factors that influence job dissatisfaction. I will next discuss the implications of the study for the recruitment and retention of African-American librarians by public libraries and the implications of the study for the management of public library systems. Limitations of the study will be presented and, finally, areas for further research will be suggested.

## Conclusions

### Factors that Influence Job Satisfaction

An analysis of the data derived from the personal interviews with the participants and the written documentation submitted six weeks after the interview suggests that the primary source of job satisfaction for all participants was performing the work of a professional librarian. The primary reason cited by all participants, either directly or implied, for satisfaction in performing the work of a professional librarian was the opportunity to help people. This finding confirms the finding of St. Lifer (1994) that helping people was the prime factor contributing to the job satisfaction of librarians. Other predominant factors contributing to job satisfaction noted were mentoring and religious beliefs.

As noted in Chapter 5, Hodson (2002) found that “management leadership manifested through the maintenance of a viable and well functioning organization of production and through respect for workers' rights is of crucial importance for satisfaction, meaning and dignity in work” (p. 312). Hodson’s findings are in concert with federal legislation as enforced by the EEOC that requires employers to maintain a workplace that is free from harassment (U.S. Equal Opportunity Employment Commission, 2003). While the EEOC does not proscribe how the workplace should be maintained to fulfill the mission of the organization, Hodson’s findings indicated that the workplace should not be hostile in order for the mission of the organization to be achieved.

Durrance & Fisher (2003) noted “mission statements reflect the desire of librarians to show that libraries serve a vital role in their community. Public library mission statements increasingly are framed to indicate the value of the public library to the community from the perspective of its contributions to the lives of citizens” (p. 544). In order to fulfill its mission, a public library should maintain a workplace environment that enables employees who are librarians to help people. Though six of the 10 participants expressed dissatisfaction with their jobs, the data suggested that the participants were given the opportunity to perform professional work by helping the library’s patrons find information, by working with children and young adults and by purchasing books and materials for the library’s inventory

The data suggested that mentors were important to the participants for the achievement of job satisfaction. Participants who did not have mentors felt that they were at a disadvantage in the development of their careers. The data further suggested that, if public library systems constructed an informal mentoring program for new African-American librarians, the librarians would expect to experience higher job satisfaction. The participants who did not have mentors felt that mentors could guide them in coping with difficulties experienced in the workplace. This finding concurs with conclusions reached by Preston (1998).

Faith in God played an important role in the attainment of job satisfaction by the African-American participants. The participants used the lens of religious belief in forming their perception of the workplace. This finding was not anticipated at the

beginning of the study but emerged from the data collected during the course of the interviews and in the written statements. The data suggested that religious beliefs were an important source of job satisfaction. This finding confirmed conclusions reached by Steensland, Park, Regenerus, Robinson, Wilcox & Woodberry (2000), Raboteau (2001), and by UCLA's Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) Spirituality Project. (Spirituality Project, 2003). While none of the participants told of experiencing discriminatory behavior because of their religious beliefs, the participants were able, at times, to transcend perceived hostile workplace problems because of their beliefs. This finding was consistent with the comments of Williams and Dixie (2003) noted in Chapter 5. They wrote: "religion in the African-American tradition is still both a tool of survival and an inspiring 'terrible swift sword' of justice. There is no separation between Sunday morning and the rest of the week. All life is spiritual and every breath is full of faith in God as an all- powerful, ever-present force" (p. 5).

#### **Factors that influence Job Dissatisfaction**

Participants in the study ranged in age from 25 to 50 years old. They were new to their work as professional librarians. The finding that six of the 10 participants were dissatisfied concur with conclusions reached by Lynch & Verdin (1983, 1987) who found that academic librarians who recently graduated from a graduate library science program reported some of the lowest levels of satisfaction. The findings also concur with Thornton (2001) who found that older librarians were more satisfied with their jobs than younger librarians. The findings in this dissertation neither supported nor

conflicted with Swe (1981) and Parmer & East (1993) who found that the librarian's age was more associated with satisfaction.

The narrative and written data suggested that the chief source of job dissatisfaction was the participants' perceptions that their managers lacked the necessary managerial skills to oversee their organizations. This finding supports a conclusion of Preston (1998) that while "African-American librarians may agree that racist attitudes and practices need to be addressed within the profession, the existence of racism alone is not the primary source of job dissatisfaction" (p. 444). There was no identifiable indication in the literature about white managers' lack of awareness and/or experience with African-American neighborhoods and culture as a factor in determining employees' job satisfaction or dissatisfaction. The data collected for this dissertation, however, suggested that white managers had difficulty adapting to managing libraries in urban neighborhoods that are predominantly African-American. The difficulty adapting sometimes manifested itself when managers were perceived to be unable to develop library services to meet the needs of African-American customers. The narratives suggested that white managers were disconnected from the communities they served. The disconnection was physical. The manager may have lived in a predominantly white neighborhood and may have only visited the predominantly African-American neighborhood to work. The manager did not understand that the neighborhood had changed.

The narrative data suggested that managers lacked the skills to manage daily operations in their buildings. Some participants raised questions about operational decisions they saw being made by management. They expressed concern that management did not convey a clear message about the mission and goals of the organization. This finding concurs with conclusions reached by Lee & Kim (1993). Some participants felt that management did not communicate well with employees and did not involve new librarians in planning and decision-making. This finding concurs with conclusions reached by Green (1982), Blue (1995), Yang (2000) and Thornton (2001). One participant remarked that some of her managers had lost their enthusiasm for their work.

Participants identified the management style of their library directors and supervisors as contributing to their job dissatisfaction. Participants perceived managers to be enforcing a rigid, hierarchical management organizational structure. They perceived a managerial reluctance to listen to new ideas suggested by new employees. They perceived an absence of essential skills to manage daily operations. Participants who perceived management engaging employees in everyday operations reported experiencing job satisfaction. This finding supports the conclusions reached by D'Elia (1979) and Welmaker (1984) who found that a participative management style on the part of the library director was conducive to the development of the job satisfaction of the employees. They support a finding of Sheih (1998) that supervisors who are considerate of their employees engender positive job satisfaction.

The most often cited reason for the participants' perception of managers' poor management skills was in the area of management's tolerance of workplace discrimination. Participants told of being dissatisfied in the workplace because of discriminatory acts directed toward them by management and fellow workers. This finding concurs with similar findings of Thornton (2001). The findings also concur with those of Moyes, Willaims & Quigley (2000). The participants cited abusive behavior by library patrons toward them because of their race as a factor for their dissatisfaction. This finding is in concert with the conclusions reached by Shields & Price (2002) in their study of the job satisfaction of minority nurses in Great Britain. Participants reported being passed over for promotions while white employees with less experience and qualifications were given the jobs. This finding supports the research of Bramlett-Solomon (1992) into job satisfaction of African-American journalists. The data that emerged from the interviews also suggested that some of the participants felt isolated in the workplace and the isolation contributed to their job dissatisfaction. This finding agrees with the research of Mor Barak & Levin (2002).

The EEOC requires that employers and their managers maintain a workplace that is free from hostile harassment (Volokh, 2003). The EEOC requires that employers assure that there be no harassment because of a "person's race, color, religion, sex, national origin, disability, or age" (U.S. Equal Opportunity Employment Commission, 2003, para 4). Harassment is prohibited in "retaliation against an individual for filing a charge of discrimination, participating in an investigation, or opposing discriminatory practices. Employers may not make employment decisions

based on stereotypes or assumptions about the abilities, traits, or performance of individuals of a certain sex, race, age, religion, or ethnic group, or individuals with disabilities” (U.S. Equal Opportunity Employment Commission, 2003, para 4).

Yet there was the suggestion in the data that management did not honor these laws.

The following participant narratives are examples of a discriminatory work environment and its effects. They were reported in Chapter 5.

Participant 3 has filed a complaint with her state’s equal employment opportunity commission. She had been passed over for a promotion in favor of a white employee with less experience and education. She spoke about her future in librarianship.

Because I’m blackballed. I’m blackmailed. I can’t...now that its gone public [state EEOC grievance] other librarians know about it and the library assistants know about it. They basically ruined me in terms of my profession and what I can do here in this region and I don’t know if that’s going to affect me going somewhere else. It’s just that what do I do now? Do I stay in this position for the next... you know...twenty years...twenty-five years before....you know what I’m trying to say....before...because I don’t see myself being able to get another job somewhere else because they made sure of that too. (Participant 3)

Participant 6 told of her perception that her manager was favoring white male librarians to the detriment of Black female librarians.

The staffing that they do. It alienates a significant audience and that does frustrate me. I’m also racially unhappy with the fact that I know a ton of African-American librarians who are more qualified than the people they have working there so I’m somewhat resentful that you only have two Black librarians but you hold onto these white males who got the jobs because they’re white males, as far as I’m concerned...who cannot do the job. (Participant 6)



In this final example, Participant 4 told of experiencing being isolated because of her race.

Well, I can give you a little bit of history. I was definitely isolated when I started at [name of library system]. This would probably be another ten hours. I actually was getting ready to take [name of library system] to court for not giving me a job.  
(Participant 4)

As noted Chapter 5, participants told of being dissatisfied in the workplace because of discriminatory acts directed toward them by management, fellow workers, and/or library customers. Participants reported being passed over for promotions and found white employees with less experience and qualifications were given the jobs. One participant has filed a formal complaint with her state equal employment opportunity commission because she was not promoted. The maintenance of hostile workplace environments by management, as reported by the participants, may have violated Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Laws as enforced by the EEOC (U.S. Equal Opportunity Employment Commission, 2003).

Salary was not identified by any of the participants as being a factor in their job satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Some participants, in the narratives, expressed a desire for a higher salary but such comments were made in an off-handed way. This finding neither agrees nor disagrees with the findings of Glasgow (1982), Myers (1993), Parmer & East (1993), Hovekamp (1995), Voelck (1995), Leckie & Brett (1997), Kao (1998) and others. That salary as a factor of satisfaction or dissatisfaction did not emerge from the data is not surprising. A value of using narrative research methodology in the dissertation was that it allowed participants

to express freely their perceptions about topics. If I had asked a participant directly about salary, or if a questionnaire contained a question about salary, then it was likely that salary would have emerged as a factor of satisfaction or dissatisfaction because it is probable that each participant would have indicated she wanted to receive a higher salary. But in the absence of a question of this type, salary did not emerge as a factor because the participants themselves led the creation of data, and salary was not a prime issue in the story they wanted to tell.

As noted earlier in this chapter, while four of the 10 participants experienced satisfaction in their jobs, just two of the four felt their managers were good managers. I suggest that the perception of the participants expressed in the narrative data leads to a major conclusion that management, in six of the eight urban public library systems represented by the participants, lacked the essential managerial skills common to managers in all types of management situations. The following participant narratives are examples of the participants' perception of poor managerial skills. These were reported in Chapter 5.

Participant 8 expressed her concern about the need for management to clearly communicate the organization's mission and operational strategies to fulfill the mission.

I think that they should regularly let people know, "this is our audience, this is what we need to do, this is how we're going to do it." They are not practical. I wish they were more practical about the mission of this library. I think that librarians, period, because I saw through school... there's no set mission for the field. Every field has to have a mission. (Participant 8)

Participant 9 saw a much more fundamental problem with the management of her organization. Her perception was that her managers did not have the skills to manage and lacked proper training as managers.

The managers in our organization, I believe, they only have had...needed to take one course in library school on management which is mandatory. And then if they get to a certain point or a certain number of points on a civil service test, they can get promoted to be a manager so we have...what we have in our organization ...we have people who want to be in charge but they don't have any power and we have people with power...people in charge who don't understand power. So it's like a schizophrenic organization. You've got these clerks and they're like working it over. And you've got these managers...they're non-confrontational. They have all these issues. They don't know how to manage and I know that that's not their fault. There's nothing for them...to develop them. I mean... I don't know whether it works with skipped skills but they don't have them. That's the problem right there. That is a big problem. Yep. (Participant 9. Written Document)

In this final example participant 7 felt that the managers in her system would not change and adapt to the changing urban environment in her city and to new ways of providing service.

I think a lot of it comes from managers who are still clinging on to the old way of working...my way or the highway... also just putting in their time just to get their retirement and their love for the actual library is kind of diminishing. It's like just hanging on because of the years...I have a couple more years to retire. But the passion isn't there anymore. It's just like a draining...like "Oh, I've got to go to work today." And like I've told several other people...I said I can't believe it's been a couple of months I've been over here...four or five months or so...and the time has really gone by really fast and...if time can go by like that in years...in years...you're just really happier. (Participant 7)

In his classic study of the work of managers, Mintzberg (1973, p. 95) listed five basic reasons why organizations need managers. He posited that the "prime

purpose of the manager is to ensure that his organization serves its basic purpose – the efficient production of specific goods or services.” Secondly, “the manager must design and maintain the stability of his organization’s operations.” Thirdly, “the manager must take charge of his organization’s strategy making system and therein adapt his organization in a controlled way to its changing environment.” Fourth, “the manager must ensure that his organization serves the ends of those who control it.” And lastly, “the manager must serve as the key informational link between his organization and its environment.”

When used as a lens to view the data presented, I suggest that managers of the six urban public library systems represented by participants who did not experience job satisfaction lacked the management skills to meet the organizational needs noted by Mintzberg. They did not meet the needs of their communities, especially the needs of their African-American patrons. The operations of their organizations were perceived to be unstable because the managers lacked skills to oversee daily operations. The managers had not adapted the mission of their organizations to meet the needs of a changing customer base. The managers did not create organizations to, as Mintzberg writes, “serve the ends of those persons who control it.” For publicly supported libraries, the taxpayers are the persons who control the organization. They are also the customers of the organization. Their needs must be met. The managers of these libraries, through their insensitivity to the cultural changes in their communities, were lacking in their role as “key informational link between” the organization and its environment. Finally, I conclude that the perception of a racially hostile work environment in these

systems, as described in the data, was due to management's inability to identify the presence of the environment and/or their refusal to address workplace discrimination. The following participant narratives are examples of a racially hostile work environment. They were reported in Chapter 5.

Participant 6 described discussions that occur in the staff room at her organization that she considers racially insensitive. I asked her if her colleagues understood that the demographic profile of her city was changing. Her response:

*I think that they are so out of touch that they don't realize that the city is 50% Black now. I really think that that is the case. The majority of the staff is very narrow-minded and somewhat prejudiced.*

Q. Describe that. How do you feel they're prejudiced?

*They regularly have discussions in the staff room about how, if you come to America, you need to speak English because that's what we speak here in America. I don't come to your country and...I don't come to...when I come to your country I speak English so when you come to my country you should learn English. I don't need to learn Spanish because you're here. To me that's a racist statement and these are the kinds of things that they say. (Participant 6)*

Participant 9 told how white patrons do not believe she is a librarian. I asked if she had experienced discrimination from the library's patrons. Her response:

*Yes. Yes. You know sometimes...if there...if I'm there and a white peer is there, they'll assume that the white peer has more authority or more expertise or is my supervisor when really we're just peers. And so they'll...they'll...so generally even if its children, they'll go...of all races...they'll go right to the white persons...all the time. Sometimes the white person's a caretaker...the janitor. But they'll approach the white person first all the time. (Participant 9)*

Participant 8 told another story of management's seeming inattention to a racially negative workplace environment. I asked if her management set a tone for racial inclusion. Her response:

"I don't know if their intention is not to set the tone and, like I said, I'm usually not offended by anything. If I want something...I don't care if you don't want me to have it... I'm going to have it. But I don't see it. I see it maybe as you see [name] and [name] at the top so you see its possible but overall, No, you don't see it. We had an African-American librarian that came to [branch] and [branch]. They're both considered part-time branches. They're open three days a week each. One is in a very African-American neighborhood, very...surrounded by projects...different kinds of...actually they're three sets of projects within a block of the library. [Branch] which is the branch that is connected with it is in a completely totally [white ethnic group] neighborhood, which is known, historically, for being racist. And there was a librarian...actually I was the acting manager of both librarians, [unintelligible] both libraries, but when [name] was the manager there they painted a swastika on the ground there. And they [management] came and cleaned it up but it was really never talked about. It was never addressed. Basically they transferred her out of there to another library so in that way that made me feel sort of uncomfortable. Well, why wasn't it dealt with? She was just supposed to accept it and deal with it on her own. I don't think it was seen so much as a departmental problem or a problem of the libraries. It was more or less seen as her issue. And I think things like that sort of makes you feel like you don't have the support of the library so in that way I think its not very inclusive. (Participant 8)

Management decisions about personnel deployment and general operations made on the basis of race indicated serious mismanagement of the organizations by directors and/or supervisors. In effect, participants perceived the management of the library systems to have created a hostile workplace through permitting racially discriminatory acts to occur against African-Americans. I suggest that this is an indicator of bad management and in conflict with the federal equal employment opportunity laws as enforced by the EEOC.

### **Implications for Recruitment and Retention of African-American Public Librarians**

As noted in Chapter 1, the African-American population in major urban areas of the country is increasing yet urban public libraries assert that they have difficulties recruiting and retaining professional librarians who are African-American. Squire (1991) noted that retention is an area that must be addressed if ethnic minority librarians are to achieve job satisfaction. The findings of this dissertation suggest the following implications for both recruitment and retention of African-American public librarians.

Public library systems, when recruiting African-American employees, should emphasize the opportunities new employees will have to help people in their communities. The importance of helping people as a factor of job satisfaction emerged significantly from the data. The data suggested that when the organization offered opportunities to help people, job satisfaction could be achieved. It follows that an organization would have a better chance to retain African-American librarians if they made such opportunities available.

The data identified mentoring as an important factor in helping African-American public librarians achieve job satisfaction. It is difficult for an organization to formally assign mentors to employees. Ragins (1997, p. 513) concluded that organizations should create informal mentoring systems for minority employees. She noted that formal mentoring programs are less effective than informal programs because relationships may develop more naturally in an informal program. Some informal

methods are establishment of teams to address operational issues or the creation of a pool of older employees who are willing to work with new employees. Managers of public library systems should consider implementing informal mentoring programs to aid in the retention of new African-American librarians on their staffs.

The role of religious belief in an employee's life is a very personal issue. While managers of public library systems cannot influence an African-American employee's religious belief, the managers should be aware of the importance such beliefs play in the lives of their employees. If a public library manager does gain some understanding of the role of religious belief, such understanding may lead to a better sensitivity to, and understanding of, African-American culture. Such understanding would enhance opportunities to recruit and retain African-American librarians.

### **Implications for Management of Public Libraries**

Ribelin (2003) posited that an employee's "level of satisfaction with their manager's leadership style is critical to their work environment" (P. 18). In writing about the retention of nurses, she commented that "nurses don't leave hospitals, they leave managers" (p. 18). In like manner, the data presented in this dissertation suggested that the leadership style of public library managers had a significant negative effect on the job satisfaction of the participants. The findings of this dissertation suggested the following implications for public library boards of trustees and city and county



managers who fund and oversee the operations of public libraries and for the managers of public library systems themselves.

The data suggested that the public library directors and supervisors possessed weak general management skills. The data suggested that the most important management skills perceived as lacking by the participants were leadership skills, operational skills, communications skills, and personnel management skills. The following data examples were reported in Chapter 5. Participant 6 felt isolated in the workplace. She felt she needed a mentor in the organization to provide feedback on her performance and give career guidance. Yet she did not think management had created a work environment where she could develop her skills.

For one thing...let me work where I would do the most good...where I can be more productive...where I can use the skills that I've been going to the workshops to enhance and develop and let me apply them. Don't send me to the workshops and then that's it...you know..."That's as far as you're going to go with this". You've been to workshops. So...you know... do that. Talk to your staff and respond to their needs. Like I said before...maybe people don't want to work in other divisions but they'd like to improve their area...a department. There's some things that they need to be more productive in that area...they want to stay there but there's some things they need to...if people want to come to them... listen and respond. Make them feel like their needs are important to you and an institution that everybody is working together for the common goal to provide better service and if you've got job satisfaction everywhere you're not providing better service because your disgruntled staff cannot get past what there...  
(Participant 6)

The data suggested, moreover, that managers lacked an understanding of their communities and their customers. They had little if any understanding of African-American culture.

The following data examples were reported in Chapter 5. Participant 4 noted that the white managers in her organization did not understand the community the library served because they lived in the suburbs. Her story:

I think they're [managers] trying, like I think [name] is. But they really...I mean, we have no people of color managers, at all, not since I've been there. They all live in [suburbs] or the [neighborhood], you know what I mean? They don't even live in the city. They don't educate their children in the city so they can only go by what they know. If it's just reading the paper about poor school performance and crime then...you know what I mean? I think that, maybe more now...at least I can say with [manager], I think he is trying to make the effort but they're suburbanites. And as a matter of fact, the branch librarians that they have now, none of them live in [city], none of them. So I don't know how they can set a tone, you know what I mean? (Participant 4)

In the interview Participant 6 expressed very strong feelings about management not serving the African-American community in her city.

Its starts in the schools but the managers, and the people in general in [city] need to be more realistic about the fact that you're not going to change the diversity that's happening. So you need to learn how to effectively deal with it instead of being in denial about the fact that you don't know as much as you think you know about people of color. I think that so many managers are afraid to admit...well they're not afraid to admit it...but they don't see their own racist, their prejudiced tendencies. Because they are in such denial about that, they don't want to deal with that. I learned that they had somebody come in and talk about race at the library I work at now and they stayed from that subject because they had...it turned into...there happened to be another Black librarian there at that time period and she

was very blunt with them. They were so shocked in learning these things about themselves and in denial about these things about themselves that they never had another racial discussion there. That's because they're in denial. It's a very conservative field no matter what they say and most of them have very conservative ideology concerning women as well as people of color but they will not admit it. As people they have to stop denying it before the field can move forward. (Participant 6)

In this final example, Participant 6 emphasized the need for white managers to accept demographic change in their cities and to design services to meet the needs of their customers. She further commented:

...would like for them to admit that the library is not meeting the needs of their African-American constituencies... not in the staffing....not in the programming...not, pretty much in the collection development...not really in anything that they do. And I think that they should regularly try to have classes, have the managers do something...because right now they're not doing anything...teach these classes. Learn how to make this library what it should be which is a place that meets the needs of the community that they have. I would like, basically, for them to have some kind of direction... For them to put down a path and do it and that would make it a better place for me. Right now there's no consistency. I need consistency. If a...if you tell a librarian this is what we're going to do, this is what I want you to do, when that librarian doesn't do it [makes slicing across the neck sign and sound]. In the business world it happens. Why can't it happen at a library? (Participant 6)

The data suggested that managers inadvertently or deliberately maintained a workplace that was hostile to African-American employees and was in possible violation of EEOC regulations. The effect of all of these factors on library operations can be serious. Thomas (1990) notes "managers' inability to manage diversity hobbles them and the companies they work for" (p. 108).

The data suggested that none of the participants knew if their employer had a formal diversity policy or anti-discrimination policy. None of the participants had ever heard a manager speak about workplace discrimination. This suggested that either the managers of the public library systems were unaware of federal laws prohibiting job discrimination as enforced by the EEOC (U.S. Equal Opportunity Employment Commission, 2003) or that they chose to ignore these laws. This implied that the managers of these library systems needed to become familiar with federal legislation that prohibited job discrimination and take the necessary steps to comply with the law, particularly in its banning of a hostile workplace environment as described by Volokh (2003).

#### **Distinguishing Factors of Job Satisfaction for African-American Librarians**

When the findings of this dissertation about job satisfaction of African-American librarians were compared with the findings in the literature reviewed in Chapter 3 about job satisfaction of the general population of librarians, the factors of hostile workplace, religious beliefs and salary emerged as unique in this study.

The concept of a hostile workplace environment was not identified in any of the findings from the research on the general population. Management issues were cited in many of the studies as factors leading to employee satisfaction or dissatisfaction, e.g. Marchant (1970), Plate & Stone (1974), Vaughn & Dunn (1974), D'Elia (1979), Welmaker (1984), Bengston & Shields (1985), and St. Lifer (1994). The participants in this study also told stories about their perceptions of management practices. The

difference between the findings of this dissertation about management issues and the findings of research reported in the literature review is African-American librarians perceived many management problems arising from the existence of a racially discriminatory workplace. The findings of the research on the general population reported management issues in the context of standard management theory and practice. There was no mention of the effect of a racially hostile workplace.

The role of religious beliefs in the attainment of job satisfaction was not reported in the literature reviewed. As discussed in Chapter 5, religious belief is central to the ordinary lives of African-Americans. Later in this chapter I recommend further research into the role religious beliefs play in the attainment of job satisfaction.

In studying the general population of librarians, Glasgow (1982), Myers (1993), Parmer & East (1993), Hovekamp (1995), Voelck (1995), Leckie & Brett (1997), Kao (1998) and others reported that salary was a factor in attaining job satisfaction. As noted earlier in this chapter, because I used narrative methodology I suggest the reason that salary did not emerge as a factor of job satisfaction is because the participants themselves led the creation of data, and salary was not a prime issue in the stories they wanted to tell. They were not led to raise the factor of salary by a questionnaire.

### **Limitations Of The Study**

The limitations of this study were (a) the size of participant pool; (b) the number of urban public library systems represented by the participants; and (c) the geographic distribution of the urban library systems. The data collected represented the perceptions of ten African-American librarians. The data collected does not reflect the perceptions of all African-American librarians working in public libraries. The participants interviewed represented 8 urban public library systems in the United States. The narrative told by each participant is about her perception of her workplace. The narratives did not reflect the workplace experiences and conditions found in all urban public library systems in the United States. The urban public library systems represented by the participants were in different geographic areas of the United States. They did not, however, represent all the urban areas of the United States.

### **Areas for Further Research**

Squire (1991), Preston (1998), Thornton (2000) and others noted the importance for further research to be conducted about the job satisfaction of African-American librarians. I suggest that the paucity of research conducted about the job satisfaction of African-American public librarians makes it imperative that additional research be conducted in this area. In addition to the need for a significant amount of additional general research to be conducted about the job satisfaction of African-American public librarians, I suggest the specific areas noted below for further research.

The perception by the participants that patrons of the library tended to seek assistance from a reference librarian of their own race when seeking information requires further study. Further research is needed in order to try to discover if patron behavior is influenced by a feeling of comfort in speaking to a person of the same race or if the behavior is caused by racism.

The role of religious beliefs as a factor in the attainment of job satisfaction by African-American librarians needs further research. I suggest that the role religious beliefs play in helping an African-American librarian deal with a hostile workplace environment receive special attention.

An important area for further research is the professional performance of public library managers. In particular, additional research is needed about their skill levels, their professional training in management, their understanding of diverse cultures and their demonstrable commitment to engendering a workplace culture that incorporates diversity.

These findings and conclusions of this dissertation concur with the findings produced by research noted in the literature reviewed in Chapter 3 into the job satisfaction of African-Americans in other professions, (e.g. Bramlett-Solomon, 1992, Moyes, Williams & Quigley, 2000, and Glover, Mynatt & Schroeder, 2000.) Further research is needed into the occupational and organizational factors that affect job satisfaction of African-Americans in professions such as engineering, medicine, law and so forth

in addition to librarianship, accountancy, and journalism to ascertain if the development of theory applicable to all professions is possible.

African-American women told all of the stories collected for this dissertation. Further research is needed to investigate whether the stories were uniquely told in the voice of the African-American woman or whether the stories would be similar if told in the voices of women of other races and men of all races.

### **Final Comments**

This dissertation investigated factors that contributed to the attainment of job satisfaction by African-American librarians who work in public libraries. It is hoped that the findings of this study will influence public library managers to examine if a hostile workplace exists in their organization and, if one does exist, take firm action to establish a work environment that is hospitable for all employees. It is hoped that the findings will influence public library managers to establish a workplace that will enable all librarians to perform the professional work of librarianship in its most basic element – helping people. It is hoped that the findings of this dissertation will encourage public library managers to examine the communities they serve to see if they understand the true demographic nature of their communities. Finally, it is hoped that the managers of the public library systems represented by the African-American participants in this study will recognize the participants' talents and skills and give them a truly equal opportunity to succeed.



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## APPENDIX B

### DEFINITIONS

**African-American or Black** - people having origins in any of the Black race groups of Africa. It includes people who indicate their race as Black, African-American or Negro or provide written entries such as African-American, Afro American, Kenyan, Nigerian, or Haitian. (McKinnon, 2001)

**African-American librarians** - persons of African-American heritage who have earned a master's degree in library science (or similarly titled degree) from a college or university with a graduate program accredited by the American Library Association.

**ARL (Association of Research Libraries)** - a not-for-profit membership organization comprising the leading research libraries in North America. (Association of Research Libraries, 2003)

**ALA accredited graduate school or department of library and information science** – degree programs in library and information science that have been accredited by the Committee on Accreditation of the American Library Association. (Daniel & Saye, 2002).

**CLEP** – College-Level Examination Program. An examination that provide students of many age with the opportunity to demonstrate college-level achievement through a program of exams in undergraduate college courses. (Collegeboard, 2003)

**Discrimination** - the failure to treat equals equally. Whether deliberate or unintentional, any action that has the effect of limiting employment and advancement opportunities because of an individual's sex, race, color, age, national origin, religion, physical handicap, or other irrelevant criteria, is discrimination. (Shafritz, 1992)

**Professional librarian** – a person who has earned a master’s degree in library science or a similarly titled degree from a graduate program accredited by the American Library Association.

**Public library** - public institution supported by taxation, one that opens its collections, facilities, and services, without distinction, to all citizens. (Lancour, Daily, Nasri, & Kent, 1978)

**Theoretical sensitivity** - refers to the attribute of having insight, the ability to give meaning to data, the capacity to understand, and capability to separate the pertinent from that which isn't. (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

**Triangulation** - the reliance on multiple forms of evidence and perspective to check on the validity and reliability of findings. (George Mason University, 2001.)

**Urban public library** - libraries serving the cities of 50,000 or more individuals in a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. (Urban Libraries Council, n.d.)

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Systems In The United States.

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