Title

Less money, less children, and less prestige: Differences between women and men academic librarians

Authors

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Abstract

Academic librarianship is a heavily feminized profession, with women making up between 72-74% of the workforce based on statistics from Canada and the US (American Library Association, 2012; Canadian Association of University Teachers, 2017). As a result, gendered issues such as salary discrepancies and a glass ceiling phenomenon might be expected to be magnified in such an environment. The authors analyzed linked data from a 2018 census of academic librarians to uncover and examine the experience of motherhood and librarianship, specifically by looking at potential connections between gender, salary, number of dependents, and academic rank. Results demonstrate that women earn, on average, $10,000CDN/year less, are less likely to become a parent as their career progresses, and are overly represented at the lower ranks (e.g., Assistant Librarian) than their men counterparts. Drawing upon the literature on motherhood, salary differences, and career progression in academia, we demonstrate that issues long standing in the profession have yet to be resolved.

Keywords

Academic Librarianship; Gendered Professions; Academic Parenthood; Academic Motherhood; Salary Inequality; Glass Ceiling

Introduction

Academic librarianship is a heavily feminized profession, with an estimated 72-74% female[*] workforce (American Library Association, 2012; Canadian Association of University Teachers, 2017). As a result, the issues that normally plague women in the workplace - salary, promotion, and other inequities - are magnified in the library context. Academic librarians must also grapple with the impacts of motherhood on their professional and personal lives in a way not seen in other areas of academia, which is more heavily populated by men (Canadian Association of University Teachers, 2019; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019). It is also known that women as a whole, despite advances in the sharing of domestic responsibilities, are still frequently seen as the primary parent and take on the majority of caregiving and domestic duties (Moyser & Burlock, 2018). Recently, we saw the impact of such domestic duties on women - including women academics - exacerbated during the COVID-19 pandemic (Kibbe, 2020;

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[*] This article includes gender identifying terms (e.g., woman, man) and biological sex identifying terms (e.g., female, male) throughout. When discussing other research, we use the terms used by the original authors. For our own analysis and discussion, we will use gendered terms.

Power, 2020). As such, it can be expected that this would be magnified in a feminized profession such as librarianship.

As outlined by Eva (2018), there has been little research done on the impact of parenthood on librarians - particularly those in the academy. The work that has been done is outlined in a narrative review below. In an attempt to better understand why this issue has not been well studied and to add to the body of evidence, we analyzed data from the second Canadian Census of Academic Librarians to uncover and examine the experience of motherhood and librarianship, specifically by looking at potential connections between gender, salary, number of dependents, and academic rank. It is hoped that by adding to scholarship on academic librarianship and motherhood, in addition to issues around salary and promotion as they intersect with gender, the issues uncovered will receive greater notice both in policy and in practice.

Narrative Review

The lack of existing literature on the topic of motherhood and librarianship is stark, especially in the early years. While there has been a wealth written about academics and parenthood (Connelly & Ghodsee, 2011; Hallstein & O'Reilly, 2012; Mason, Wolfinger, & Goulden, 2013; Sallee, Ward, & Wolf-Wendel, 2016; K. Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012), there is almost no mention of academic librarians and parenthood in the literature. What has been written on the topic of women librarians centers largely around issues of pay equity, work-life balance, and lack of mentorship or role models for academic librarians as mothers.

Issues of Equity

As one of the earliest accepted professions for women, much of the early literature reflects mainly on issues of equality with men in terms of status and pay, but very little on parenthood (Heim & Phenix, 1984; Phenix, Goetsch, Watstein, & Landry, 1989; Weibel & Heim, 1979). Simsova (1961) remarks on the difficulty of women re-entering the workforce after having children due to loss of skills, unwillingness of directors to hire women with children, and the inability to return to former positions due to loss of seniority and status.

Emmett Lombard (2018) published an article that reported on a survey of 92 academic librarians which overall painted a fairly rosy picture of the outlook of equal opportunities for leadership for males and females. While comments illuminated some overt and implicit biases against females with children, for the most part the statistics showed that both males and females felt generally that opportunities were there for females, regardless of family status. However, a few quotes stand out: "…[I] generally refuse to compromise family time for work. That absolutely affects my job, leadership included" (p. 228). Another participant states, "[females] are seen as not available to fully commit to the job (even if they consistently put in 40 hours and do good work" (p. 228), and another saw inequity for males: "It seems that people are more sympathetic to females with family than with males here" (p. 228). Most of the issues were seen more at the institutional level which was still very male-dominated and therefore more difficult for a female library dean to be 'at the table' in the same way. This stands in stark contrast to the 2002 article by Jones & Oppenheim who found that UK librarians lacked advancement opportunities, albeit mainly through their own choices to have children, take time out of the profession, relocate for their husbands, or make other family-related decisions which limited their own professional options. As one of their respondents noted, "Like many women, I have set my own barrier because I couldn't cope with a higher level job as well as a family" (p. 111).

A recent article based on data from the Association of Research Libraries (ARL) suggests that the traditional wage gap seen between men and women in most professions may be closing in academic libraries, and is much smaller when compared to the rest of the US workforce (Galbraith, Callister, & Kelley, 2019). However, recent Canadian statistics show that the gap between men and women's salaries in Canadian universities as a whole still persists (Cummings, 2020). A 2021 report that examined the gender divide at Canadian universities confirmed that in general, females make less money, achieved lower ranks, and were paid less at higher ranks overall than their male counterparts (Doolittle & Wang, 2021). A further analysis of ARL salary data that accounted for five different tiers of authority within academic librarianship found that at every single level men make significantly more than their women colleagues, both from a statistical sense and in lost wages that are compounded over the course of a librarians' career (Howard, Habashi, & Reed, 2020).

Rutledge (2020) conducted surveys and interviews to discover why women make up a disproportionately small percentage of leadership positions in academic libraries. She uncovered several barriers such as work-life balance with family obligations, lack of mentorship and role models, and old-fashioned sexism as some of the reasons that women weren't rising to these higher ranks. Wiley (2019) discovered that personal networks and professional contacts were important factors in career progression, though did not find gender to be a significant variable in this regard. Hadfield & Sen (2009) found that family obligations were a noted barrier to women entering into the management ranks; interviewees noted the importance of mentorship, role models, and succession planning, but did not feel that there was a gendered difference in management styles that was affecting women's career progression. Similar findings were found by Akpebu Adjah & Van der Walt (2019), with the need for a support system emphasized.

It is interesting that despite the strong evidence that men do better in terms of promotion and compensation than women in librarianship, men also feel the effects of being a minority in the profession. Male librarians are often stereotyped as being, weak, effeminate, or homosexual (Dickinson, 2003; Piper & Collamer, 2001). Piper & Collamer also found males being asked to perform "traditionally male tasks" (407) and often the victims of sexual harassment. Hickey (2006) noted the sexual harassment, but also a sense of the males feeling 'excluded' and 'othered' by the female librarians. However, men in Piper & Collamer's study also acknowledged that they were more likely to get promotions in the field than were women. Dickenson also acknowledges that more recent images of male librarians in the media are shedding the effeminate image.

Issues of Work-Life Balance
Those few articles that mention domestic duties are much as expected: women found that their careers suffered as a result of marriage, unlike men who found their careers flourished once coupled (Bryan, 1952) and the work by Ward (1966) speaks to the difficulty of finding adequate childcare and balancing domestic obligations. Simsova (1961) argues that administrators would benefit from hiring mothers as the break from the profession is beneficial for a fresh outlook, much like that of a sabbatical (!) and that having employees with a full private life is beneficial for their professional life as well. However, some administrators were warned against hiring married/mothering librarians (Herbert, 1939) and others carried on the debate about whether librarians could or should combine children and careers (Heim & Phenix, 1984). Meyer (1985) wrote a first-person account on balancing librarianship and motherhood, and cited juggling several jobs in order to create the flexible schedule needed.

Townsend & Bugg (2020) conducted an exploratory study on work-life balance (WLB) and urban librarians, and the greatest differences in responses were found between parents and non-parents. Parents were less satisfied with their WLB, were concerned about cost-of-living, and were more likely to leave the profession in an attempt to gain more WLB when compared to non-parent respondents. Lack of flexible work schedules was cited as the greatest WLB barrier. When looking at WLB and parents and gender, the study found that fathers have a higher salary, are happier with their WLB, and are less likely to rely on support from others than were mothers.

Gallin-Parisi's 2017 article focused on how administrators can support their librarians in their quest to 'have it all', including policies, flexibility, and empathy. She states that mothers can actually be *more* productive than their childless colleagues in their attempt to ensure there is no appearance of slacking or special provisions. A quote from Gallin-Parisi's 2015 article illustrates how mothers can actually achieve a *better* work-life balance than their childless colleagues: "I think it actually makes me a better librarian when I'm at work, because I can be all business, and then I can turn off work at the end of the day. If I didn't have this attitude, I think I would, like, burn out at work, because I'd just be trying to do [work] all the time instead of setting aside time and then turning it off" (2015, p. 844). Likewise, one of Hines' participants states, "I think [parenting] has broadened my skills, especially the type they don't teach you in library school. I am more competent at resolving conflicts, setting limits with patrons, and juggling multiple priorities because I am a parent" (2015, p. 28).

Bedoya, Heller, Salazar, & Yan (2015) wrote a similar article focused on practical advice for working mother-librarians, highlighting challenges and potential solutions for both the parents and their administrators. Townsend & Bugg (2018) acknowledged that not all institutional policies for faculty apply in the same way to the more restrictive librarian work schedule, and surveyed academic librarians to discover which policies would help them achieve a better work-life balance; overwhelmingly, the ability for a flexible work day was key. Critically, this flexibility *must* be seen to be supported by administrators to avoid any stigma or perception of unfairness, as highlighted in this quote from one of Gallin-Parisi's interviewees (2017): "I'm just one of those people who feels very responsible for being in this situation, for having kids while I have this job, and so I need to show them that I can do it and I can work during my maternity leave and everything. So I really feel like I can't take advantage of any of these [flexibility policies] because I need to prove myself worthy of the investment they are making in me" (2017, p. 7). Also important (but outside of policy implications) was the availability of a supportive partner. Flexibility was also mentioned as a key factor in Laynor's 1987 account of one library which successfully experimented with part-time work for librarians balancing work and motherhood.

Issues of Motherhood
The literature has largely been silent on the topic of academic librarian mothers. As Alexandra Gallin-Parisi says in her very personal essay, "An Academic Librarian-Mother in Six Stories" "…I turned to our discipline's literature for insight into what mixing motherhood and academic librarianship might look like… But I did not find answers in our literature. Mothers were curiously and conspicuously absent" (para 1, para 2). She goes on: "How was it possible that in a field bursting with women of all ages, mothers were nowhere to be seen?" (para 4).

One of the earliest scholarly articles on women librarian parents (Olson, Frieze, & Detlefsen, 1990) compared women MBAs to women librarians in order to compare the ability to balance work and family in a male-dominated profession vs a feminized one. They found that in both groups, equal percentages were married and had children, though both women librarians and women MBAs were less likely to be

married or have children than women in the general US population. Notably this did *not* focus on academic librarians and as such, found more librarian parents able to find part-time work, something that could considerably help with the balance (and something much more unlikely for an MBA or an academic librarian to find).

Graves, Xiong, & Park (2008) surveyed tenured and tenure-track librarians at ARL libraries to determine if having a child disadvantaged them in the tenure process, or vice-versa. They note that while the literature is rife with analysis on the demands of parenthood and academia in general, very little has been written about librarianship, which is quite different from other academic disciplines in that often our schedules are much less flexible and the workload balance quite different than that of other faculty. The authors wondered if the demands on women, often the primary caregivers, could contribute to their lack of parenthood. They reference the general studies of academics on the tenure track which seem to suggest that women are penalized in terms of career progress and/or tenure if they have children before getting tenure; the same is not shown for men in academia. They note the practice at most institutions of tenure clock stoppage or an extension for such. However, it is also very common for faculty members to come back to work earlier than their leave allows, or to continue at least some portion of their work (often research, writing, and conference-going), or intentionally not stopping their tenure clock as they were worried about their reputation (Wilson, 2005). To try to combat this, Princeton made tenure stoppage mandatory for both men AND women on the birth or adoption of a child (Valdata, 2005), although this kind of policy is not without problems (as discussed further below).

Graves, Xiong and Park (2008) rightly point out that librarianship is a feminized profession, so parenthood and associated leave-taking is an issue that should impact librarians disproportionately to most professions. The authors surveyed 264 male and female librarians in tenured or tenure-track positions. They found 27% of librarians had young children (<6 years of age) during their pre-tenure years, most of those with only 1 child. Of those that were already tenured, only 25% of the women had young children while going through the tenure-track process, while 43% of the tenured male faculty had young children at that time. They also found that of those who chose to postpone having children (or having more children) due to the tenure process, all but one were women. The authors reported a hindsight effect in which those who went through the tenure process with young children felt it was a detriment at the time, but looking back felt it was not a hindrance. This study found, like Wilson (2005), that librarian faculty were hesitant to take advantage of leave programs available to them. There was also some indication that those without children felt that there shouldn't be special provisions made for those with children in the tenure process, regardless of gender, and neither those with nor without children believed that the presence of children should entail additional support. Many of the survey participants referred to parental guilt about potentially missing out on their children's young lives, and many referred to the necessity of a supportive partner. The authors conclude that there seem to be few tenure-track librarians with young children, though they didn't link this data to the age of the respondents which could clearly have an impact.

Connell (2013) surveyed academic library administrators to determine the frequency and nature of parental leave policies offered to librarians, and found that overall those librarians on the tenure track were more likely to have parental policies available to them. However, she also notes that librarians are more likely to not be paid during maternity leaves than their faculty counterparts, and are unlikely to stop their tenure clock.

In their 1996 study, Finkel & Olswang found that 56% of women assistant professors in multiple disciplines at one university had children. This hints at the fact that librarians may have fewer children,

as Graves, Xiong and Park's survey found only 43% of the librarians had children. Graves et al., (2008) reference a 1985 study in which Betty Jo Irvine interviewed over 370 library directors and found that male academic library administrators were more likely to be married and have children, have more children, and have younger children than women administrators. Contradictorily, Zemon & Bahr (2005) updated Irvine's work and interviewed academic library directors who were also mothers. These women suggested that being a parent had no effect on their careers – but almost every one attributed this success to supportive partners. However, Graves, Xiong and Park (2008) rightly point out that by only interviewing directors, they were restricting their sample to just those who had made it successfully – what of those who hadn't? Irvine (1985) also points to the lack of role models for future librarians who want to combine parenthood and librarianship – further evidence that the type of study being done here is warranted. Greiner's 1985 survey of public library administrators echoed many of Irvine's findings, with women administrators more likely to be unmarried and childless, and older than their male counterparts. Men in this study also cited a higher incidence of mentoring.

The study by Zemon & Bahr summarized the literature from other male-dominated professions such as law, accounting, and business and concluded that females without children in these professions are twice as likely to be successful than those with children. This holds true in academia, where those who have children within a few years of their PhD are 30% less likely to end up in a tenure track position, and only 1/3 of those teaching in a university ended up becoming mothers. This particular study (US only) estimated that 60-70% of academic librarians are female, but only 40-50% of them are in director positions.

Likewise, De Long (2012) did a small-scale study for her thesis in which she interviewed four women library directors. All but one were married, and all had children; none felt held back by these children in their careers, but all (barring the one who wasn't married) attributed this to helpful partners and flexible workplaces. DeLong published an extensive literature review on her findings in 2013, in which she also cites statistics indicating the great gains women have made at the leadership table in libraries, particularly academic libraries. The numbers aren't as stark as they once were, with women achieving increasing parity. Proportion-wise, though, for a profession made up of 74% women, holding 50% of the leadership isn't enough. De Long also calls for more writing on and about women librarians, as the existing experiential narratives and biographies on this group are sparse: "It is only through gendered history or an understanding of the position of women librarians in relation to their male counterparts that one can approach larger questions such as inequality in the workplace" (p. 70).

In 2015 Hines wrote about combining motherhood and librarianship and the transferable skills between them. The article was based on a small (33) survey sample of parent librarians, 21 of whom were academic librarians. All but three respondents felt parenthood had affected their practice as a librarian, many positively through attaining more 'soft skills' such as patience and empathy; negatives were also mentioned, such as lack of focus, time constraints, and guilt. Many also felt that being a librarian impacted their parenting, again mainly positively. However, despite Hines' stated desire to focus on the positives, she did mention an overall sense of guilt and feeling overwhelmed, by her respondents. One mother said, "I don't feel that I have time and energy to focus on my children. My job consumes my day… I feel sad because I don't have a lot of downtime to interact with the children" (2015, p. 29). She also acknowledged the increased necessity for understanding and policies to focus on these areas, given the increase in millennials in the workplace with their desire for work-life balance.

A 2015 article by Gallin-Parisi is one of the first to focus on *academic* librarianship and motherhood. The author explicitly states her goal of focusing on the positive aspects of being a mother and a librarian.

Gallin-Parisi interviewed 21 full-time academic librarians in the US who were currently mothers to children under 4 years of age about their experiences, from which she drew six positive themes, many of which echo those found by Hines. She is quick to note that not all was perfect, but while some interviewees identified more negatives than positives, the opposite was true for the majority.

In a 2017 article Hoffmann, Berg, & Koufogiannakis conducted a large survey of Canadian academic librarians to determine factors that affected research productivity. While their survey included questions on marital status and caring for dependents, they were not found to have a significant effect on research output. This is somewhat contradictory to a report by the Expert Panel on Women in University Research (Council of Canadian Academies, 2012) *Strengthening Canada's Research Capacity: The Gender Dimension.* In it, they summarize many of the statistics which show challenges for women who are also parents in terms of career advancement and research productivity, and present many potential solutions. The report argues that promoting flexibility and balance for professors leads to better teachers, who are more sensitive to their students. It also emphasizes that if academia doesn't become more flexible in allowances for academic parents, we will lose many talented researchers.

In their 2020 study on the motherhood 'penalty' for academic librarians Kelley, Galbraith, & Strong examined whether there was a wage gap between women who are mothers and those who are not, as well as looking at various quality of life factors. Survey results of 808 academic librarians found 42% were mothers (38.4% with one child; 51.3% with two children; 10.2% with three or more). When variables such as age, race, education, and years of experience were controlled for there was no statistically significant wage difference between mothers and non-mothers. Results also show that motherhood did not seem to impact the ability to obtain higher-paying positions or the hours of work completed. Mothers reported higher levels of overall happiness and job satisfaction, and the authors posit that there may actually be a motherhood 'return', rather than penalty.

Interestingly, a parenthood penalty is seen in the 'childcare conference' conundrum - whereby primary caregivers are unable to fully attend and participate in professional conferences. A quantitative analysis of 67 national and state library conferences' websites was done to locate information on childcare accommodations or arrangements. At the national level, 59% provided no information about childcare options; 12% had childcare available on-site; 12% offered some childcare reimbursements; and 18% had recommendations. At the state level figures were even bleaker, with 80% providing no information on childcare at all (Lopez, Deal, & Fontenot, 2020).

When the literature around motherhood and academic librarians over the last almost 80 years is looked at broadly, it is clear that while new issues do emerge and there is some positive research, women and mothers continue to face many of the same challenges. These include lower salaries, fewer career opportunities, struggles around work-life balance, inflexible or short parental leave policies (more in the US than Canada, undoubtedly), and in some cases, simply sexism. In order to begin to make the kind of broad and systemic changes needed to make academic librarianship more equitable to all genders, greater awareness and research on these inequities is needed. To contribute to this work, we completed an analysis of census survey responses from academic librarians across Canada.

Census Survey

Methodology

The Canadian Association of Professional Academic Librarians (CAPAL) conducted its second census of academic librarians in Canada in 2018; the census was distributed to 1827 identified individuals and had 920 completed responses, for a 50% response rate (Revitt, Magnus, Schrader, & Wright, 2019). CAPAL generously shared anonymized linked data related to the following relationships: Salary and Gender; Dependents and Gender; Modified Rank and Gender; Salary and Dependents, Salary and Dependents for Men and for Women, Rank and Dependents, and Salary and Modified Rank Among Men and Among Women. Each of these are discussed further below. All salaries are reported in Canadian dollars.

Two important notes about the survey data must be made. The first is that while the survey did ask respondents to identify their gender identity, the responses for Transgender/Two-Spirit/Prefer not to answer/Other were too small (5 respondents) to accurately report on trends statistically. Survey responses from individuals that did not self-identity as Woman or Man (24 respondents in total) were removed from the analysis.

Respondents were also asked to indicate their academic rank with a variety of options. Librarians at academic institutions in Canada are all organized somewhat differently, but most operate on some form of 4-rank system (e.g. Librarian I-IV; General-Assistant-Associate-Full Librarian). To allow for statistical analysis of rank it was necessary to assign respondents to standard ranks. This was done as outlined below, and while we recognize that with these modified ranks analysis can be somewhat limited, it is still useful in attempting to gauge relationships between career progression and other variables.

Identified Rank (number of respondents)	Modified Rank (number of respondents)
Librarian I (58) General Librarian (80)	Librarian I (138)
Librarian II (93) Assistant Librarian (65)	Librarian II (158)
Librarian III (130) Associate Librarian (103)	Librarian III (233)
Librarian IV (73) Librarian V (9) Senior or Full Librarian (60)	Librarian IV (142)
Not Applicable (158)	Not included in modified rank analyses (158)
Other (33)	Not included in modified rank analyses (33)

Table 1: Modified Ranks

Salaries and its links to rank will vary across institutions in Canada; most academic libraries have salary ranges with a floor and ceiling and tie them to academic rank. Once a librarian achieves a specific rank, they will then spend several years moving through the salary range, often with a salary step/increment every year. Most librarians who do not apply for promotion will hit their salary ceiling after a certain number of years and will not see any more salary increases. It is also worth noting that many upper-level administrative positions are considered 'out of scope' and not tied to salary ranges, and are likely to be much higher than those in non-administrative roles.

Results

a) Relationship between Annual Salary and Gender

The relationship between salary and gender shows that the distribution of salaries is shifted somewhat higher for men respondents than for women respondents. Women are more likely than men to make $110,000 or less; over $110,000/year, men have a greater concentration than women.

For example, among the 623 respondents who identified as women (and provided salary information), 105 (16.9%) reported an annual salary between $70,000-80,000 while 92 (14.8%) reported an annual salary of $80,000-90,000 and 40 (6.4%) reported and annual salary of 110,000-120,000. Similarly, among the 205 respondents who identified as men (and provided salary information), 24 (11.7%) reported an annual salary between $70,000-80,000 while 29 (14.1%) reported an annual salary of $80,000-90,000 and 25 (12.2%) reported an annual salary of $110,000-120,000. (See Figure 1). On average, women's salaries are almost $10,000 less per year than men's, with median salaries of approximately $89,500 for women and $98,000 for men.

While data was collected from librarians who identified as part-time workers (< 30 hours a week), there were relatively few of them (n=28, 3.24%) and their data is likely represented at the lowest end of the graph (<$60,000/year) based on librarian salaries in Canada.
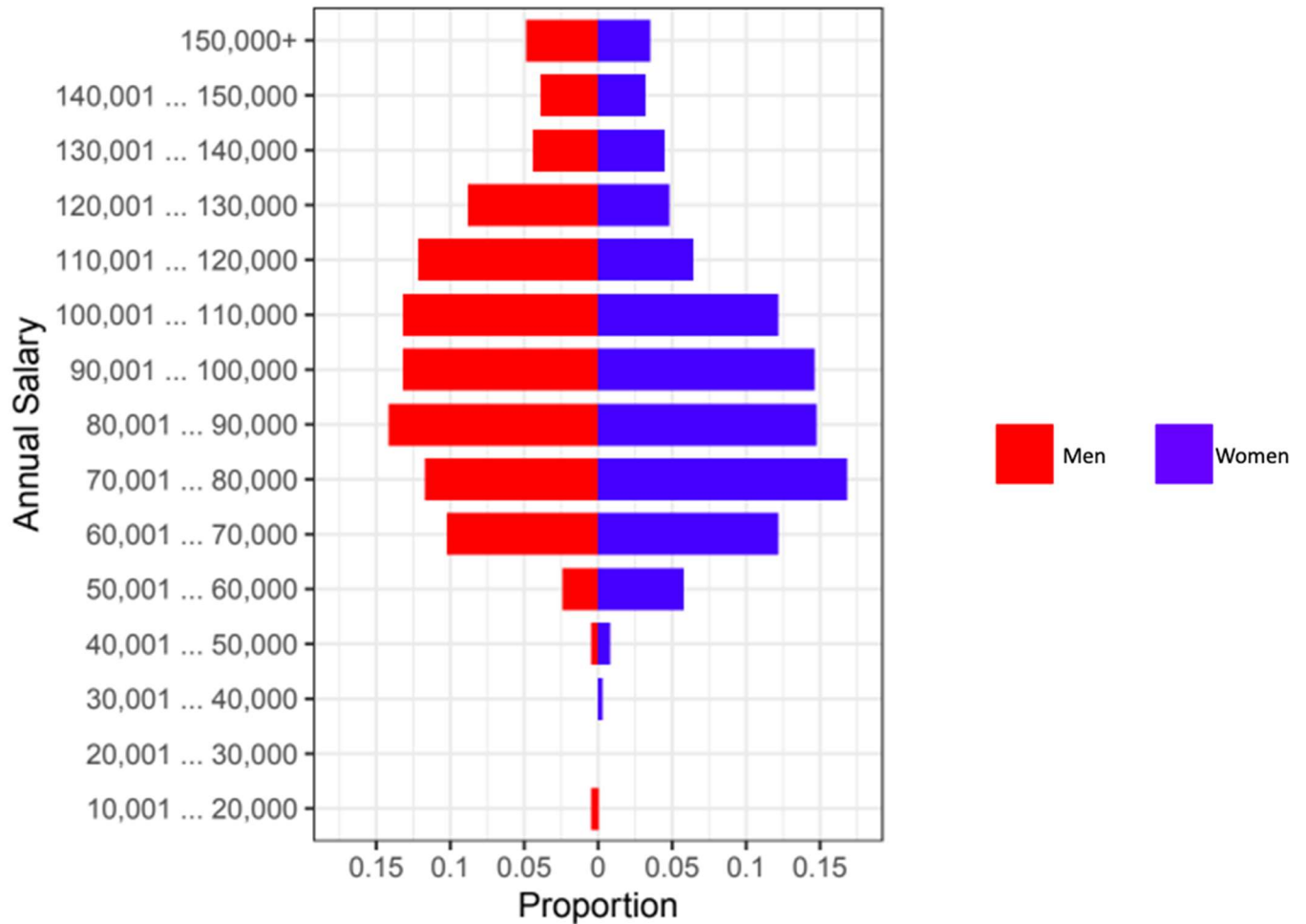
Salary by Gender

Figure 1 - Annual Salary by Gender

b) Relationship between Dependents and Gender

Turning to the relationship between dependents and gender, the distribution of dependents is more concentrated at fewer dependents among women and with men having a tendency towards a greater number of dependents. In our sample, approximately 50% of men have children, and 50% do not; while only about 40% of women have children, and 60% do not. Overall, men are somewhat more likely to have a greater number of children and women are somewhat more likely to have fewer children as compared to men.

Figure 2 displays the relationship between the number of dependents and gender for just those respondents who identified as either men or women, and who also provided information concerning the number of dependents. So, for example, among the respondents who identified as women (and provided dependents information), 373 (59.6%) reported 0 dependents while 9 (1.4%) reported 4+ dependents. Similarly, among the respondents who identified as men (and provided dependents information), 108 (51.7%) reported 0 dependents while 4 (1.9%) reported 4+ dependents.
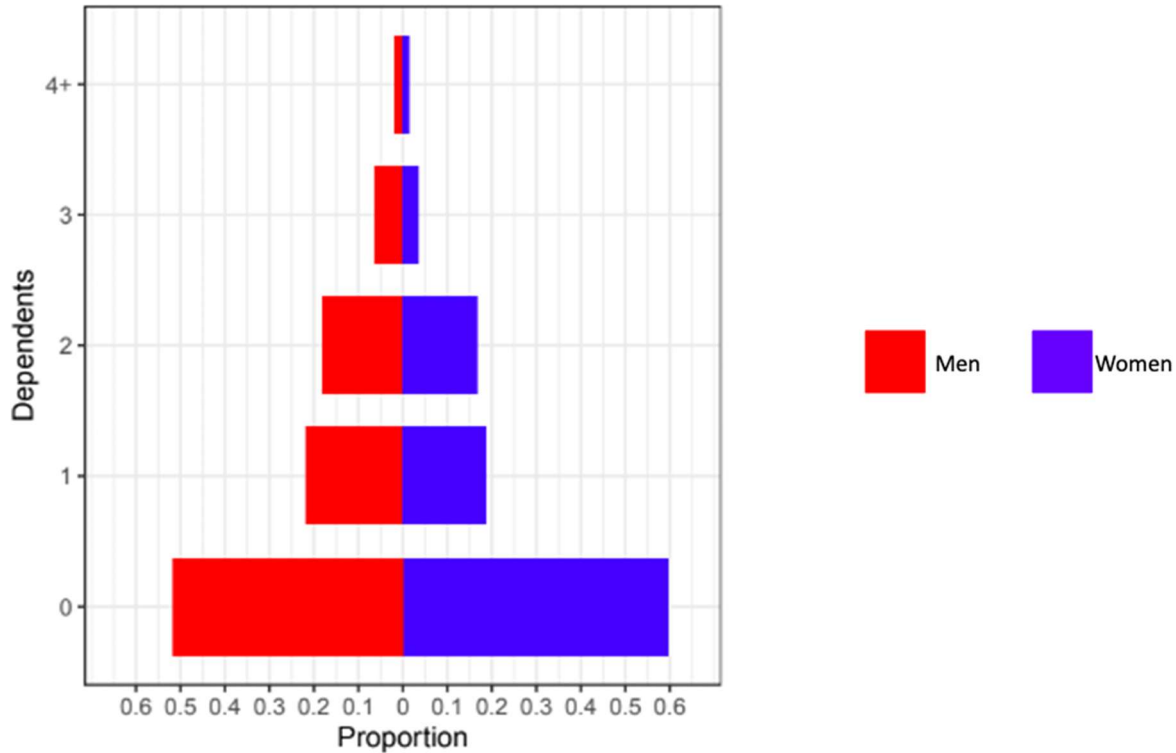
Dependents by Gender

Figure 2 - Dependents by Gender

c) Relationship between Modified Rank and Gender

In our sample, men are proportionately overrepresented at the higher ranks (III and IV) and underrepresented at the lower ranks (I and II) compared to women. The differences are most pronounced with more women at rank I and more men at rank III.

Figure 3 displays the relationship between modified rank and gender for just those respondents who identified as either men or women. So, for example, among the respondents who identified as women (and provided rank information), 105 (21.3%) had a rank of Librarian I while 103 (20.9%) had a rank of Librarian IV. Among the respondents who identified as men (and provided rank information), 28 (17.1%) had a Librarian I rank while 35 (21.3%) had a Librarian IV rank. Women appear to be overrepresented at the Librarian I rank. Although our sample is roughly 75% women vs 25% men, the Librarian I rank is about 80% women / 20% men. At other ranks, the woman/man breakdown is more in keeping with the overall sample; for Librarian II it is about 76% women and 24% men, Librarian III, about 73% women and 27% men, for Librarian IV, about 75% women and 25% men.
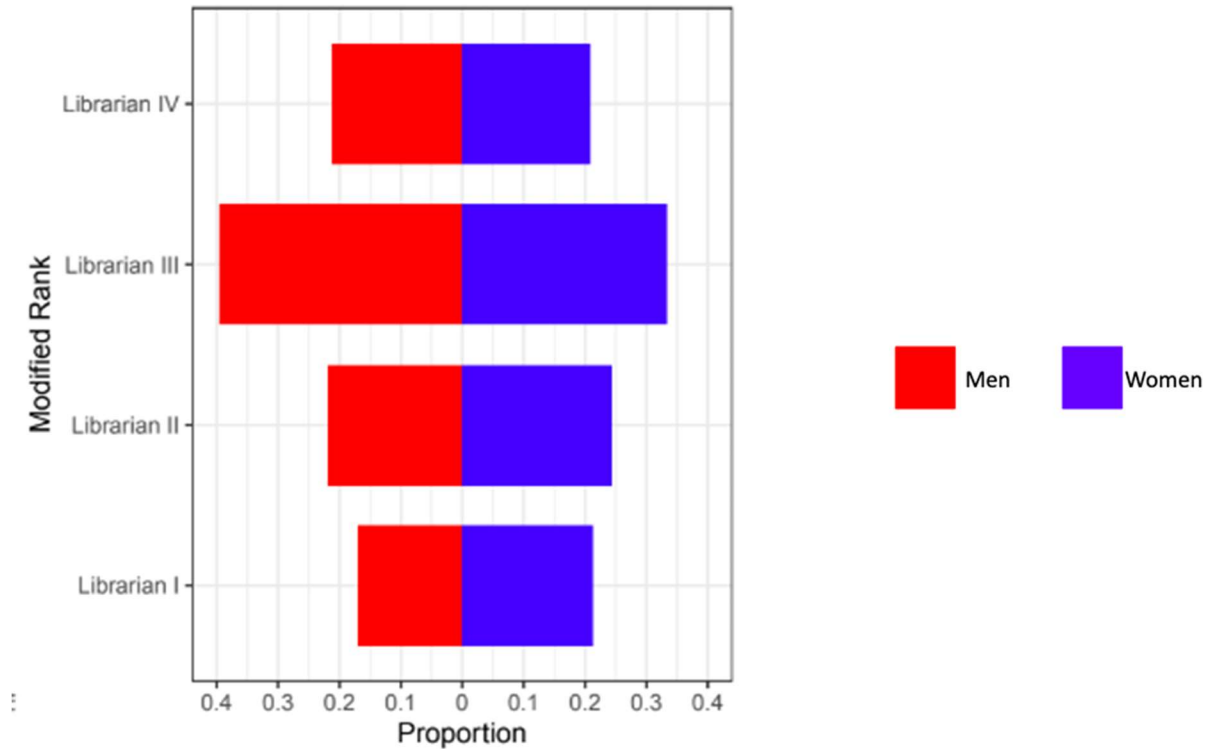
Modified Rank by Gender

Figure 3: Modified Rank by Gender

d) Relationship between Salary and Dependents

The relationship between salary and dependents is complicated by age, as generally both the number of dependents and salary can increase with age, with dependents perhaps no longer being considered dependent at the older age ranges. In our sample, above $50,000, as salary increases, the proportion with dependents also tends to increase. At the upper end of the salary scale - those earning $150,000 or more - we see the proportion with dependents drop off sharply. It is possible the respondents are later in their careers and possibly old enough that children have left home, and they have therefore indicated no current 'dependents'; or it could be that those with no dependents tend to reach the highest salary levels. Clarifying the language around this question for future iterations of the survey will help improve the quality of the analyses that can be done. (See Figure 4).

Dependents by Salary

Figure 4: Dependents by Salary

e) Relationship between Salary and Dependents for Men and for Women

Across nearly all salary levels ($60k-$150K), the proportion of women without children stays relatively stable, while men are more likely to have children as their salaries increase. Additionally, the proportion of men who have more than one dependent increases as their salaries rise, while for women the numbers remain stable (i.e., a salary increase for women does not lead to having multiple dependents). While it could be suggested that having children as salaries increase could be related to the potential age of respondents also rising, the fact that this pattern is only seen in men and not women suggests that there are other factors at play (See Figure 5).

Figure 5 - Dependents (numbers) by Salary, Men (left) vs Women (right)

Figure 6 clearly demonstrates that in terms of either having dependents or not having dependents, men are more likely to have children than women at nearly all salary levels.

Figure 6 - Dependents (yes/no) by Salary, Men vs Women

f) Relationship Between Dependents by Modified Rank

As would be expected, as respondents increase in rank (and therefore also rise in age), the number of those without dependents decreases from about 74% with no dependents at Librarian I to 50% with no dependents at Librarian III or IV. The distribution of the number of children (1-4+) remains constant at Librarian III and IV. (See Figure 7).
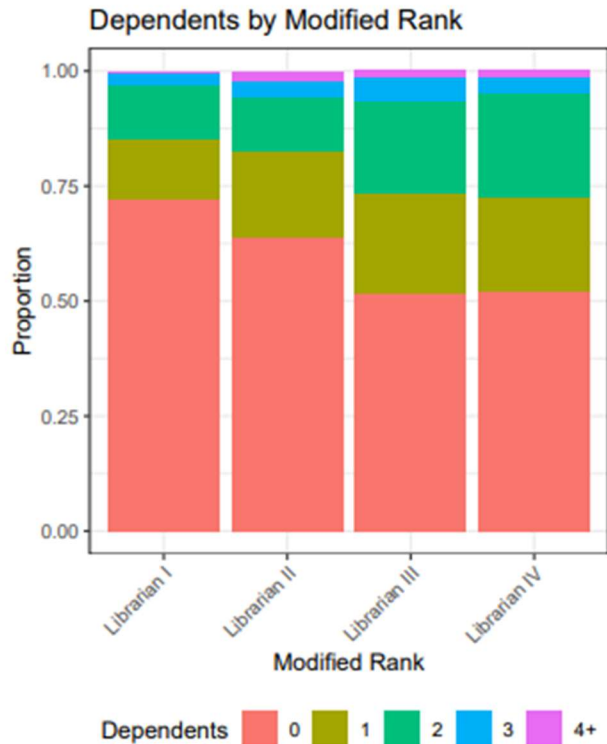
Dependents by Modified Rank

Figure 7 - Dependents by Modified Rank

g) Relationship between Modified Rank and Dependents Among Men and Among Women

While the proportion of both men and women who don't have dependents decreases as rank increases, the rate of decrease is not equal. Men and women are roughly equal at the rank of Librarian I, where approximately 75% of both groups are without dependents. However, at Librarian IV about 40% of men are without dependents, while about 55% of women have no dependents. Overall, men at the Librarian III and IV rank are more likely to have dependents than women at those ranks. (See Figure 8).
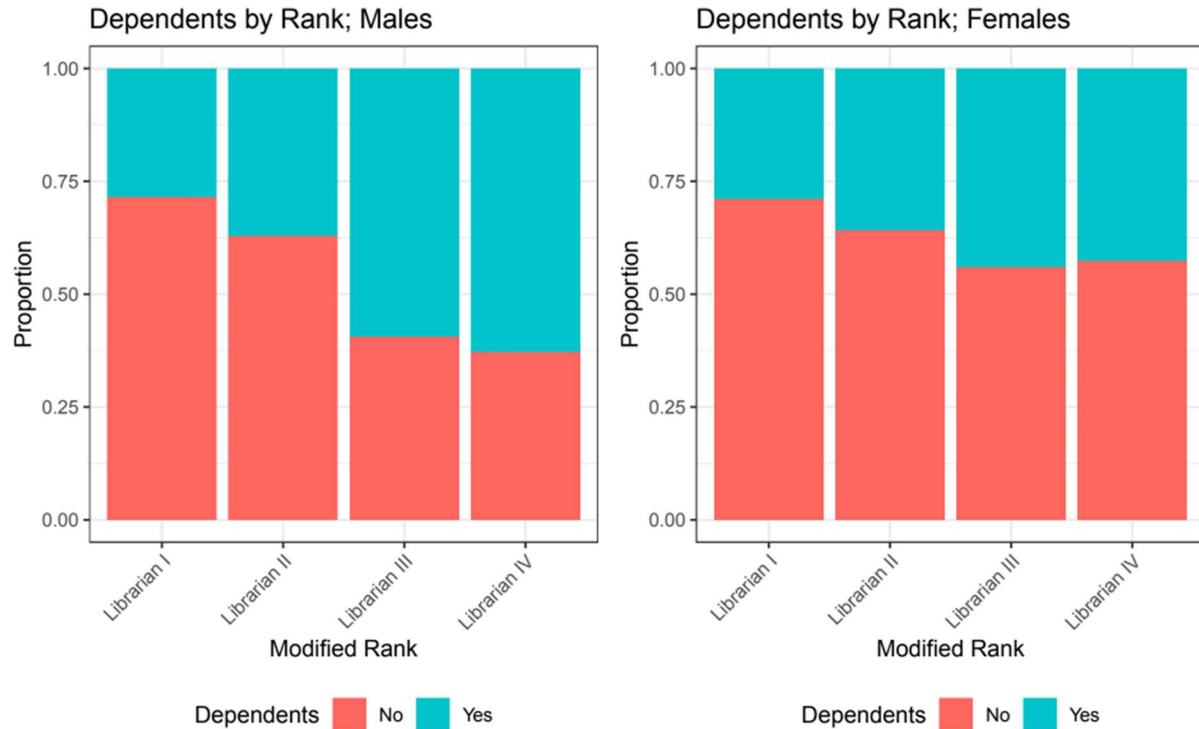
Figure 8: Dependents by Modified Rank; Men vs Women

h) Relationship between Salary and Modified Rank Among Men and Among Women

Analysis shows that women seem to be able to achieve higher salaries at Librarian I and II than men. When considering that women are not progressing through the ranks at the same rate as men (see Figure 3), one explanation for the higher salaries at the lower ranks is that while both men and women accumulate experiences and years in service, their salary increases are dictated within institutional salary grids (i.e., steps, increments, etc) which are largely mandated by collective agreements in Canada. However, as progression through the ranks is tied to an individual who must apply for promotion, women appear to be less likely to put their names forward for promotion than men. (See Figure 9).

Figure 9: Modified Rank by Salary, Men versus Women

Discussion

Overall, the results are much as might be expected from looking at other professions, as well as trends in the rest of academia. Women academic librarians, at least in Canada, are making less money, not being promoted, and are having fewer children than their men counterparts. On average, women are making approximately $10,000 CDN less than men, and are concentrated in the lower academic ranks. From the results, it also appears that women are generally less likely to have children than men regardless of salary level. This is interesting, and while our data cannot infer the reasons for this, looking at the salary and promotional scales attained by women without children might be a clue. For men, as salary increases the proportion with dependents also tends to increase. This seems reasonable, age is likely an important unobserved variable at play in the relationship between salary and dependents, and respondents with higher salaries probably also tend to be older and hence also might be more likely to have children. However, this does not seem to be the pattern among women librarians. For women, as salary increases there does not appear to any trend in the proportion with dependents. The fact that women are making more money than men at the lower ranks, combined with the fact that they are disproportionately represented in the lower ranks, suggests several possible explanations. One is that women are less likely to apply for promotion, a finding echoed in a 2021 national analysis that shows women are disproportionately reflected on assistant-level positions in academia (Doolittle & Wang, 2021). Another, or additional, explanation is that the 'glass-escalator' phenomenon may be at work here. First described in the 1990s, a glass escalator describes a situation where men in heavily feminized professions such as librarianship, nursing, elementary school teaching, and social work, receive structural advantages and preferential treatment and advance in their career faster than women

(Williams, 1992). In academic librarianship, this could manifest with men being more likely to both apply for and be successful in moving up to higher-paid and higher-ranked positions, and not being penalized in the same way for gendered stereotypes associated with leadership, such as assertiveness, decisiveness, and the 'niceness' factor (Olin and Millet, 2015). While these explanations are just educated assumptions, based on the fact that women in both the higher salary ranges and the higher ranks claim no dependents at a higher rate than men suggests that women with children may be less likely to attain higher levels - and correspondingly, higher pay - in the profession. While both salary and rank are correlated with age, and with age comes the aging of children who are no longer considered dependents, the fact that women in these higher positions are more likely than men to be without dependents makes a strong case for this argument. Overall, it seems that women have not yet achieved equality with men when it comes to salary, promotion, and family status in academic libraries - at least in Canada.

As for solutions, many have already been suggested in the library literature. Mentorship, leadership programs, extended maternity and parental leave, conference-supported childcare, and workplace flexibility will all go a long way in helping women achieve parity with their men colleagues. Gallin-Parisi's (2017) suggestions to library administrators on how to support mothers, which may be seen as less tangible (e.g., awareness of flexibility stigma) than something like the ability to work from home, are still equally, if not more, important. More libraries and universities need to make bias training required for internal and external hiring, promotion, and performance reviews, and ensure they include gender as a discussion topic. Although related to the professoriate, some of the ideas suggested by Malisch et al., 2020 are relevant. They argue that gender neutral strategies are not the solution as they often end up favouring men; rather strategies must be implemented that protect and promote women in the pipeline (see the accompanying living document on Gender Equity for a comprehensive set of resources and research on the topic).

Caution must be used when attempting to introduce seemingly gender-neutral strategies that actually do more harm than good, such as tenure clock-stoppage. Stopping or delaying the tenure clock has long been suggested as a way to help even the playing field, with the idea that parents who take maternity or parental leaves (which can be as long as 18 months in Canada) are given an extension to the standard five to seven years for a tenure application. However, studies of professors have shown that stoppages still often benefit men at the expense of women in terms of obtaining tenure (Antecol, Bedard, and Stearns, 2018) and salary (Manchester, Leslie, Kramer, 2013) with COVID-19 only exacerbating the problem (Malisch et al, 2020). While the evidence on gender issues around tenure clock stoppage comes from the professoriate perspective, it is not difficult to see how these same issues would apply at academic institutions where librarians must apply for tenure.

Eva Revitt's (2020) ethnographic inquiry into academic librarians' work experiences uncovered many interesting and infuriating ways in which the work of women and men librarians is valued differently. At one institution, the salary parity between librarians and the professoriate came about at the bargaining table, in large part as the majority of librarians happened to be men, with one stating, *"Of course, of course. It was one of the arguments we used. These guys, our librarians, they're supporting families."* These same arguments need to be applied to all academic librarians, regardless of gender.

It is also the authors' opinion that academic librarians who are mothers and achieve career success be vocal about both the challenges and successes they have had. While positive representation is always helpful as a means to encourage others ('if they can do it, so can I'), it also is important to be truthful about obstacles or hardship as a way to bring about changes and attention. A mentality that newer

librarians have to struggle simply because you did helps no one in the long term, and may cause burnout or mothers leaving the profession. By being more vocal and open about our own personal experiences, and by adding to the literature on this understudied topic, we can advise and mentor the librarians to come after as well as bring formerly under-discussed issues to light.

Societal changes are less easily implemented, but hopefully the recent light shed on women's additional domestic burdens during COVID-19 (Kibbe, 2020; Power, 2020) may help create a more equitable division in labor done in the home as well as the office. But perhaps most important are further studies such as this one which prove there are still tangible differences in salary and promotion levels between women and men - mounting evidence which becomes impossible to ignore, which can be analyzed and corrected at the institutional level. The more evidence that is uncovered on these types of disparities also allows our professional associations to lobby on our behalf.

Suggestions for further research

As mentioned above, our analysis did not include any genders other than woman or man due to the low number of respondents, making any type of summary reporting of trends impossible. While the survey did achieve a 50% response rate for academic librarians in Canada, our relatively small population will possibly always make this kind of analysis difficult. Future research looking at relationships between all genders and parenting in larger populations or with a larger sample size are encouraged. We strongly support the recommendation from Howard, Habashi, and Reed (2020) that all statistical generating work done by library associations or organizations move to using self-identified gendered terms, rather than biological terms, moving forward.

Further, we did not include race in our analysis. Just as with gender, the small number of non-White respondents made any type of accurate analysis difficult. 89.62% (751) of respondents identified as White (only) while 10.38% (95) accounted for all other 23 self-identified population groups; respondents could select as many groups as applied. The authors fully acknowledge that BIPOC academic librarians of all genders who are mothers face many additional challenges, and we strongly encourage and support future research in this area. We echo calls by others (Schmidt, 2018) that more data disaggregated by race, ethnicity, color, and other identities be collected (and from larger samples) to allow for more analysis to uncover these disparities in hopes of moving forward.

It is also recognized that in any survey like this, there are possibly confounding variables, in particular education and years of service, that may be impacting the results. This would be a good area for further study. Qualitative interviews with individual academic librarians to discover their reasons for - or not - gaining higher levels of promotion and salary, as well as family decisions, could also shed light on statistical trends.

Conclusion

It is clear from the analysis that women have a long way to go in terms of parity with men in academic librarianship. With salaries on average $10-$20,000 lower than men's, and women not as likely to attain higher ranks compared to men, the profession continues to favor men in all the traditional ways. This is perhaps not surprising, given these findings generally mirror other occupations, but adds more evidence that concrete solutions need to be found to ensure parity between the genders. It appears that having children hampers women's ability to reach higher salary and rank levels - while at this point we can only

guess at the reasons, it behooves us to find a solution in order to ensure women are proportionally represented in all areas of the profession.

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