

Multi-cultural Graduate Library Education

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IN THE UNITED STATES, almost everyone knows that a librarian is a middle-aged, white woman. Two times out of ten she will be a man and once every 12 or 13 times she will be other than white, but chances are she is white. Few other occupations are more middle-aged, more female and/or more white.¹ The major purpose of this paper is to discover to what extent, during the past eight to ten years, the student bodies of accredited library school programs have changed from the predominately white demographic characteristic. It's principal focus is upon the activities and problems involved in higher education for U.S. minority students, but it also briefly discusses concerns specifically related to Canadian library schools and the education of foreign students in American library schools. What is discovered is on the one hand heartening, for a number of schools have undertaken effective recruitment programs and there are now more non-white librarians. For example, in 1969 there were only 156 black students and 32 students of Spanish heritage enrolled in accredited programs,² while in 1975 there were 338 black and 72 Spanish heritage graduates of these schools.³ On the other hand, there is cause for despair, because, for the most part, the progress has been the result of one-time efforts supported by dollars from outside of the library schools' regular budgets. There is, in fact, little indication that racial diversity is indeed a priority in graduate library education. With the myriad of other problems facing the schools, problems such as altering curricula, providing continuing education programs, encouraging faculty to do research, to name but a few, and considering that it is truly an Herculean task to recruit and finance students other than those who select themselves, it is not at all surprising that student bodies remain predominately white.

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Although understandable, the bottom line still amounts to institutional racism.

During the summer of 1971 at an American Library Association pre-conference on the recruitment of minorities into the profession, much of the conversation naturally centered on library education. What was said then is still valid: Library schools should be charged with the responsibility of changing the racial and ethnic mix of their student bodies to be more representative of the population which their graduates serve.⁴ What this profession needs is commitment to the recruitment of minorities. Until we have this commitment, backed up by money, we only play the game of institutional racism.⁵

The money is shrinking and what commitment there was in the early 1970's is waning. The crisis is still with us, now rather more acute than it was then.

Minority Education in the U.S.

As context, it is important for library educators to become familiar with the history of minority education in general and more specifically with postsecondary undergraduate education because of the requirement for Master of Library Science degree candidates to hold the baccalaureate degree. Further, it is useful to be conversant with the experience of other graduate programs, especially professional ones, with regard to minority participation. To that end, the following information is presented. "Since its earliest beginnings, the American public school system has been deeply committed to the maintenance of racial and ethnic barriers. Higher education, both public and private, shared this outlook."⁶ So states Meyer Weinberg, Director of the Center for Equal Education, Northwestern University and Professor of History, City Colleges of Chicago, in his 1977 book on the history of the educational experience of black, Mexican American, Native American, and Puerto Rican children in the United States.

Even the most noted defenders of public education in America, John Dewey and Horace Mann, remained silent on the subject of minority participation in public schools. The pattern of discrimination against minorities was national and is reflected clearly, not just by circumstance and neglect, but by statutory exclusion and/or statutory separateness. The exclusionary pattern was developed for elementary and secondary education in the North and its transfer to the South was facilitated in part by the development of the National Education Association. There is really no room for argument; the evidence is abundant and clear. There is prodigious writing and discussion about why and how such blatant discrimination can develop in a society which claims to value equality of opportunity. This great mass of writing, unfortunately, has become a base of evidence for explaining away its reality. Although W.E.B. DuBois and C. G. Woodson graduated from Harvard, Harvard never invited DuBois to deliver a

lecture, and the Washington, D.C., Harvard Club refused Woodson membership when it was discovered he was black. H. M. Bond's *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* was published in 1934, but even though now reprinted, it is rarely cited and is generally excluded from teaching outside of black universities. M. E. Layman wrote a history of American Indian education for her doctoral dissertation at the University of Minnesota in 1942, but it was never published and to date no general history of Mexican American or Puerto Rican education has been written.

The United States appears to be driven from within its social fabric to deny cultural distinctiveness. This is perhaps the heritage of the early colonists who desperately wanted to make Americans of anyone who lived in America, even English persons. All persons were to deny their cultural heritage and become American. Laws were passed denying persons the right to instruct children in languages other than English. Assimilate or be excluded was the base of the social order. Although rapid assimilation was difficult for some nationalities and religious groups, it was virtually impossible for those of non-European cultures, for they are, inconveniently visibly different. Blacks, Native Americans, Mexican, and some other Spanish heritage Americans and Asian Americans all find themselves occupying a subordinate position in the economy and society, for not only are they non-European, they are peoples who were historically incorporated into the nation by force and violence, through enslavement and war. As a consequence of their enforced incorporation they were systematically excluded from a voice in government and, although taxed for governmental services, including public education, were either forbidden from or only tolerated within public institutions.

The growth in minority participation in higher education appears to have been real and rapid since the mid-1960's. For example the percentage of black high school graduates attending college in October following graduation was 39 per cent in 1964, 46 per cent in 1968 and 48 per cent in 1974. White high school graduates attending college in October have seen a less dramatic, but nonetheless, reverse trend, 49 per cent in 1964 dropping to 47 per cent in 1974. Furthermore, blacks are exhibiting a willingness to stay in college for at least two years once they have entered. The proportion of 1972 high school graduates enrolled in college in October, 1972, and the following October, 1973, shows the white dropout rate at 5.2 per cent and the black at 4.4 per cent; however, there are many discrepancies in the various data collected. Sources indicate that after the sophomore year, the attrition rate is higher for minorities than for whites. This is more notable outside of those universities which have a long history of minority education.

Minority students are much more likely to attend two-year colleges than are non-minorities. Further, it is important to remember that the high school dropout rate is considerably higher for minorities than for whites;

in 1973 the black high school dropout rate was 28 per cent compared to only a 14 per cent rate for whites. An educational pyramid is still prevalent distinguishing minorities from non-minorities, although most notably blacks have closed the gap and Asian Americans clearly now surpass the population as a whole in educational attainment.

TABLE I. Median Educational Attainment by Race and Ethnic Identity, 1970

Racial/Ethnic Identity	Years Completed, Age 25 or Older	Years Completed, Ages 25-34
Black	9.8	12.1
White	12.1	12.6
Chicano	8.1	10.1
Puerto Rican	8.7	9.9
Cuban	10.3	12.2
Asian ^a	12.4	14.0
American Indian ^b	9.8	11.7
All Persons	12.1	12.6

^a Japanese, Chinese, Filipino only

^b The measures obtained are probably artificially high since the census counts are biased toward Indians residing in urban areas rather than those living on reservations. Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Subject Reports: PC(2)-1B, PC(2)-1C, PC(2)-1F, PC(2)-5B.⁷

Because data on the number of baccalaureate degrees by racial and/or ethnic group granted by four year colleges and universities has not been available, the American Council on Education has undertaken a project to compile such data for the 1973-74 academic year. The following two tables are presented to illustrate the preliminary findings.

From Table III it is apparent that the Spanish-surnamed have the lowest participation rate relative to their distribution in the population, and that except for Asian Americans, all minorities are under represented in the pool of baccalaureate holders. Minorities make up 7.7 per cent of all college graduates, but are 16.9 per cent of the 1970 population. Population projections for 1990 predict that minority persons will constitute 22 per cent of all persons in the age cohort 20 to 24. There will be an over-all decline in the cohort by 1990, but the per cent of blacks in it will increase by 38 per cent and the Spanish-surnamed by 43 per cent. In other words, unless there is a noted increase in the per cent of minorities who elect and are able to go to college, there will be a decided decline in the number of young persons who are prepared to enter graduate school. If minority persons are able to go to college in numbers more closely related to their presence in the population, this situation alone will alter the racial mix of the pool of potential candidates for library school. However, there are many barriers to minority group participation in higher education. The National Board on Graduate Education concludes that these barriers

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TABLE II. Bachelor's Degrees Awarded, by Field of Study, Race and Ethnic Group^a

Field of Study	Total Baccalaureate Recipients ^b		Percentage Distribution of Minority Baccalaureate Recipients				
	No.	%	Subtotal	Black	Spanish Surnamed	Asian	American Indian
Total, all fields	989,200	100.00	7.8	5.3	1.3	.9	.3
Arts and humanities	139,900	100.00	6.1	3.3	1.8	.7	.2
Biological sciences	53,500	100.00	6.6	3.6	1.1	1.7	.1
Business and management	133,300	100.00	7.6	4.9	1.2	1.2	.3
Education	177,800	100.00	9.6	7.9	1.1	.3	.3
Engineering	62,500	100.00	5.1	1.8	1.4	1.5	.4
Mathematics	24,500	100.00	7.2	4.6	.7	1.7	.1
Physical sciences	26,400	100.00	5.3	2.7	1.3	1.1	.2
Psychology	52,100	100.00	7.4	4.8	1.4	1.0	.3
Social sciences	158,800	100.00	9.7	7.2	1.4	.8	.3
All other fields	158,400	100.00	7.9	5.2	1.1	1.2	.4

^aThe above figures represent population estimates based on a stratified sample of all institutions that confer a bachelor's degree. In view of variations in response rates among institutions and other factors that affect the accuracy of the survey findings, caution should be exercised in interpretation of these data. Problems in compiling minority statistics are more fully described in the forthcoming report of the Higher Education Panel of the American Council on Education on bachelor's degrees awarded to minority students, 1973-74.

^bIncludes U.S. citizens and foreign nationals holding permanent visas.

Source: Higher Education Panel, 1976 (unpublished figures).^{*}

TABLE III. Distribution of Bachelor's Degrees Awarded, Graduate Enrollments in Ph.D.-Granting Institutions, and U.S. Population, by Race and Ethnic Identity

Racial/Ethnic Identity	Bachelor's Degrees, 1973-74 (%)	Graduate Enrollments, Fall, 1973 (%) ^a	U.S. Population, 1970 (%)
All Persons	100.0	100.0	100.0
Nonminority	92.3	92.8	83.0
Total minority	7.7 ^b	7.2	16.9
Black	5.3	4.4	11.1
Spanish-surnamed	1.2	1.0	4.5
Asian	1.0	1.4	0.9
American Indian	0.3	0.3	0.4

^aIn Ph.D.-granting institutions

^bFigures do not add to subtotal because of rounding errors.

Source: American Council on Education, Higher Education Panel, preliminary figures, 1975.⁹

are real, and that there is evidence that since 1972 they have begun to make an inroad into the number of minority students who find themselves able to pursue graduate education.

Barriers to participation in graduate education can be categorized as

financial, educational, psychosocial, and cultural. All students who hold the baccalaureate degree can be regarded as equal with respect to their ability to attend graduate school if only motivation and intellectual potential are considered, but it is well known that many students face difficulties in continuing their education past the baccalaureate degree. For minority students the impact of these barriers tends to be exacerbated due to the increased likelihood that more than one of the barriers will exist.

There is little doubt that the most frequent barrier to continuing one's education past the baccalaureate for the majority of students is financial. The National Board on Graduate Education concludes that although all the research to date is equivocal, there seems to be evidence that minority access to graduate study is diminishing. If it is directly related to any factor it is probably to the shrinking amount of financial assistance. The median family income of minority students is substantially lower than that of white families. Despite recent gains in minority incomes, in both absolute and relative terms, the disparities between white and minority incomes have widened in recent years. A comparison of the estimated family incomes of entering college freshmen with the incomes of high school seniors by race reveals that the distribution of family income for black freshmen is markedly higher than that of black high school seniors. The distribution of family income for white freshmen, however, remains similar to that of white high school seniors. This suggests that financial factors have contributed to differential college entry rates. More minorities expect to use loans in college than do white students. Minority students place greater reliance on scholarships, work-study programs and loans in financing undergraduate education than do non-minority students. Generally, minorities show more concern with regard to financing their education, and while 60 per cent of white students enrolled in advanced study indicate they had not borrowed money for undergraduate education, only 35 per cent of black students indicated no indebtedness. With the sharp decrease in fellowship support for graduate education, minority students in debt are less likely to apply for entrance to graduate school. Minority students who are already in debt are less likely to apply for loans to continue their education at the graduate level than are white students who have no indebtedness. Also, related to a student's financial situation is the decrease in the likelihood that minority parents will be providing extra supports such as automobiles and medical insurance to their children.¹⁰

Educational barriers are the second most frequent problem area for minority students. Graduate faculties view the academic qualifications of potential graduate students as a function of the undergraduate school attended, the type and quality of program pursued within; the individual school and the performance of the student within that program; they search for students with a high grade point average, from demanding programs in the most respected colleges and universities. The distribu-

tion of minorities among undergraduate schools differs from that of non-minority students, with minority students more likely to enroll in two-year colleges and less likely to attend universities and private four-year colleges than are non-minority students. For many years the vast majority of black students attended the historically black colleges and due to lack of knowledge about these colleges and their programs, graduate faculties tended to be leary of their graduates; they knew that these colleges had severe financial handicaps and thus assumed that they had inferior programs. In recent years both federal and state financial assistance to black colleges has increased and they have been able to significantly bolster their programs. Also opportunities for undergraduate study in predominately white colleges and universities has increased for all minority persons. Still in 1973-74 almost half of all black baccalaureates were earned at black colleges. (Librarianship shows this same pattern with well over half of all black librarians having been graduated from Atlanta University.¹¹ Apparently this has only changed somewhat in the past decade, as the Office of Library Personnel Resources 1974-75 study of graduates reports 122 of 338 black degrees came from H.E.W. Region IV which includes Georgia.¹²) If graduate education is truly to be open to minority students, graduate faculties must resist the tendency to assume that students who have attended community and junior colleges for the first two years and students who have attended relatively unknown or predominately minority colleges and universities are less well prepared for graduate education. F. A. Hrabowski's 1975 dissertation from the University of Illinois at Urbana, showed that academic achievement in graduate study as measured by GPA, retention rate and graduation rate is similar for students who graduated from either predominately black or predominately white colleges or universities.¹³

Another factor related to educational barriers is the reliance on the Graduate Record Examination as a predictor of performance in graduate school. Once again, the research to date is equivocal, but there is sufficient doubt about the reliability of standardized tests as predictors of graduate performance that they should be relied upon less heavily than they are presently. As the Educational Testing Service states in their *Guide to the Use of the Graduate Record Examinations, 1974-75*: "Scores on the GRE . . . , as on similar standardized tests, cannot completely represent the potential of any candidate, nor can they alone reflect individuals' chances of long-term success in an academic environment. This is particularly true for ethnic minority and economically disadvantaged students, whose educational experience — in and out of school — has generally differed significantly from that of the majority of students."¹⁴

Even when combined with undergraduate grade point averages as a single predictor the correlation between aptitude tests and Ph.D. attainment reaches a validity coefficient of only 0.40¹⁵ Although I. B. Hamilton reports in his study of minority participation in graduate education that

most graduate programs are willing to waive "acceptable" score requirements on the GRE for minority students,¹⁶ and there is no reason to believe that library schools behave differently from other graduate programs, the very use of the GRE score casts a pall over students who score low, a pall which lingers on through the entire graduate education experience. Use of the GRE creates false perceptions and is undoubtedly counterproductive.

Despite high levels of aspiration, minorities have not entered graduate education to the extent that studies of intention predict. A large variety of psychosocial barriers can be cited to explain why minorities often do not proceed beyond the baccalaureate: 1) parents may not support continued study; 2) there is a lack of role models; 3) requirements for graduate education may not have been explained at a sufficiently early time during undergraduate preparation; 4) professors may not encourage continued study; 5) minorities tend to be less confident about their abilities; and, 6) their experiences as undergraduates, especially outside of the historically black, or predominately minority schools has often proved to be psychologically exhausting.¹⁷ As one graduate student complained: "Students and faculty kept coming up to me, as though I was a famous person, to inquire as to what the black community thinks. . . . to have to spend half one's time in a graduate seminar just letting people know you're not Paul Robeson, W.E.B. DuBois, and Malcolm X all rolled into one takes a lot of time, and it wears one out, intellectually as well as physically."¹⁸

Although students should not be denied the chance to bring to graduate education those aspects of their work and life experience which they believe to be relevant, it should not be assumed that all or even most minority students at the graduate level will be interested in explaining their unique heritage. All students should be afforded the opportunity for individual guidance through their graduate program, without faculty assumptions about their past experiences. This is especially true with regard to cultural distinctiveness. There are obvious cultural differences among minority students and between minority and non-minority students, but there is nothing such as being culturally disadvantaged unless one is measuring against the culture of the white majority. Although some cultural differences clearly cause disadvantages to minorities in the present educational system, this is only because the educational system is designed to be most compatible with the culture of the white majority. American education is still struggling with the majority's dilemma regarding cultural diversity. As has been stated variously by many different persons, the problem seems to be just how white does a non-white person have to become in order to succeed in the U.S. educational system? Do they have to give up their cultural heritage and divorce themselves from their community in order to make it? This question may have special significance for graduate library education as it has traditionally been the bastion of the "well-educated" properly middle class, white female. Al-

though, both librarians and library educators claim that they want to change the image of librarianship, there is little evidence that there is a great deal of recruitment to bring about that change; further there is little evidence that once admitted, the culturally diverse are afforded the opportunity to pursue different approaches to librarianship. Problems directly related to minorities in graduate library education will be discussed more specifically later in this paper.

Foreign Student Education in the U.S.

The vast majority of international students in the U.S. come from non-European cultures. Most of these students will return to their own countries and therefore do not bear the prospect of life-long discrimination which is borne by U.S. minority groups. While here these students come in contact with the prejudices of the majority culture and therefore have much in common with minority group students. Most foreign students also bear an additional burden of having difficulties with the English language. In 1973-74, India boasted the largest number of foreign students in the U.S. Large contingents also came from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Iran. Although not providing the greatest number of students, during the past several years dramatic increases in the number of students from African and Near and Middle Eastern countries have been evident. The states which educate the largest number of foreign students are California, New York, Florida, Michigan, and Illinois. Forty-two per cent of all foreign students in the U.S. are studying at the post-baccalaureate level and 23 per cent are studying in the field of engineering.¹⁹

In a recent review of research on foreign students in the U.S., S. Spaulding and M. J. Flack have provided valuable information for U.S. faculties.²⁰ In addition to such general information as the fact that the number of foreign students in the U.S. is increasing in absolute numbers and that in relationship to undergraduate foreign students, the proportion of graduate students has increased, Spaulding and Flack provide strong evidence to dispel some general beliefs about foreign students which are held in the U.S. For example, a relatively small percentage of sponsored students do not return to their country of citizenship; those who do stay tend to be from lower-middle and lower-classes as well as minority group members from their native country; most U.S. universities lack resources to develop general programs for foreign students and there is even less money for academic departments to develop specialized programs suited to the needs of foreign students. The research is clear in showing that a large number of faculty members consider dealing with foreign students to be a special chore and problem. Although students indicate that they develop insights through interaction with foreign students, few faculty indicate that they benefit in any appreciable way from the presence of foreign students. U.S. faculty assume that foreign stu-

dents come to the U.S. to learn the American way and they do not make attempts to alter their teaching methods or curriculum content either to aid the foreign student or to incorporate into the classroom foreign experiences.

Although during the last decade the concerns of library education have been more specifically focused upon U.S. minority students, there has also been interest in the education of foreign librarianship students. In 1970 a preconference institute on International Library Manpower was held in Detroit. In Harold Lancour's paper prepared for the preconference he states a conclusion similar to one of those of Spaulding and Flack noted above: "In general, library educators have adopted the principle that these students were seeking an American professional education. Therefore they had to meet the regular admissions requirements, follow the same study programs as the American students and complete the same degree requirements."²¹

Roland Piggford in his paper for the preconference used heavily data gathered by Leon Carnovsky in his H.E.W. sponsored study of foreign students in American library schools during the period 1965-69.²³ Foreign student enrollments in American library schools during that period averaged around 350 to 375. On the basis of responses to an inquiry on the number of foreign students in accredited library school programs for this paper, in the fall of 1977 there were approximately 350 foreign students in M.L.S., advanced certificate, and Ph.D. programs. If Canadian library schools are included, the number of foreign students approaches 500; of course, it is important for U.S. faculty to remember that American students are considered to be foreign students in Canada. In 1969-70, the University of Pittsburgh reported the largest contingent of multi-national students. This remained true in 1977. Nasser Sharify pointed out that internationalizing the library education curriculum and student body is a major undertaking and is "up to the faculty of each school."²⁴ At Pittsburgh it was Lancour who sowed the seeds for and developed the international character of the school. Other graduate library schools which consistently have about 15 foreign students are: the University of Wisconsin-Madison, the University of Michigan, the University of Southern California, and Columbia University. The University of Denver, cooperating with the Organization of American States and specific Latin American countries during the period 1974-76, provided training for 12 Latin American students.²⁵ Emporia Kansas State University in the years 1964-67 recruited about 40 Cuban lawyers from the Miami area. Since 1974 the School of Library Science, Case Western Reserve University has had an International Program in Information Science and Library Automation.²⁶ Of all programs offered by library schools which are open to foreign students (20 schools reported in the Carnovsky study that they had a policy of no foreign admissions), the Case Western Reserve program is the most specifically articulated for the

foreign student.

The largest number of foreign students in American library schools are from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Korea. There are also large numbers of students from India, Canada, and the United Kingdom.

The Carnovsky and Lancour papers indicated that American library school faculty share with other American faculties some negative attitudes toward foreign students; furthermore, foreign students in American library schools noted in the Carnovsky study that the curricula of American library schools tended to be insular, including few courses which contained international components. They especially noted the lack of foreign language titles in bibliography courses. Insularity is a complaint also voiced by American minority group students. In examining the 1977 edition of the Association of American Library Schools' directory (admittedly an imprecise tool for the purpose of analyzing curriculum content), 47 per cent of the schools indicated that at least one member of its faculty considered international librarianship to be a teaching area; only 27 per cent indicated a teaching area as ethnic, Latin American, or Afro-American bibliography, library service to the disadvantaged, or some other indication of a teaching area of probable direct interest to American minority students.²⁷

Conclusion

The story of higher education for librarianship is not a story unique from that of higher education in general. Exceptions to the rule of neglect and exclusion can be found; for example, the exceptional work of individual faculty members, such as Miriam Braverman and Lancour, to attract minority or foreign students to a specific library school, and less frequently the exceptional work of whole faculties to make their schools especially attractive to these groups such as at the University of Washington and Case Western Reserve University. Although a great deal of progress has been made during the past ten years in diverting U.S. higher education from its white and national path, progress has been achieved only through relentless efforts by minority groups in the U.S. and by the developing countries to win admission. By means of political and economic pressures, minorities and non-Americans have won access to the higher education preserve. Of course, racism and exclusionary class-based barriers to higher education are not practiced solely in the U.S. Canadian schools of higher education are also facing pressures from the Canadian native population and in Quebec from the Francophones; however, sharing racist and class-based discrimination should not be used as a source of comfort. Nor should the discussion of the problems encountered, as higher education for librarianship continues to attempt a diversification of its student body, be used to explain away the reality of its elitist past. The problems, of course are real, but should not be used as excuses for maintaining the status quo.

Problems Encountered When Attempting to Change

Professionalism: Librarianship is an occupation built on the base of education. The M.L.S. is a credentialing procedure which is accepted because it is assumed that the procedure assures a better professional, that those who successfully go through the necessary steps to gain the credential are better suited for the occupation than those who do not. Despite a lack of evidence to support the assumption, we proceed as though it were irrefutably true. One reason we adhere to the M.L.S. is that we desperately want to believe that librarianship is rational, scientific, and professional. We assume that the M.L.S. is the optimal route and shift our concerns to determining how best to choose the people who can make it through the credentialing procedure. Presuming that we know enough to identify who has the ability and the potential to succeed in the occupation of librarianship, we place our confidence in testing educational achievement. Objective measures such as the GPA and the GRE remove irrationality in favor of objective rules and help us to avoid the exercise of judgment. Because of the difficulty of measuring the effectiveness of our output we continue to accept our historically exercised input measures and further, because the profession is so relentlessly concerned with its image, it uses "high educational standards" to bolster whatever little prestige it can muster. It becomes increasingly important that members of the profession are able to put on a good front for the public, so we count on higher education to exclude those who are not readily observable as highly educated to help us win respect.²⁸ Thus we find ourselves back in the elitist educational system, shifting the cause for the lack of minorities in the profession away from our own inability to question our credentialing procedure. One means of diversifying the racial, class, and ethnic character of librarianship is to accredit the bachelor's degree in librarianship. In a Delphi study of library/information science education initiated in March, 1975, by the University of Michigan in cooperation with AALS, the probability of such an action by 1990 was considered highly improbable; furthermore, the responses suggested that emphasis on excellent academic records of applicants was both highly probable and highly desirable. In addition respondents who indicated the desirability of lengthening the master's degree program slightly outnumbered those who were opposed.²⁹ All of the above findings of the Michigan study put new mortar in the exclusionary foundation of librarianship. An occupation which lacks an attractive image to the majority culture is understandably reluctant to welcome as members minority groups, which though on the one hand are proclaimed as having equal access to the privileged educational system, are on the other hand widely, though quietly, known to be discriminated against by it. It is possible to accept the exceptional member of a class or race into the profession, but surely not possible to encourage parity; that would obviously cloud further the already murky image. It is only those who see the value of librarianship for all classes in

society and for society as a whole, who are able to step outside of the narrow concern of professionalizing the occupation to see the possible validity of altering its entrance requirements.

Professionalism is a problem for professions and an especially acute problem for minorities which wish to enter them. A study sponsored under the auspices of the American Psychological Association reported in *Behavior Today* concludes that professionals consider the notion of social responsibility as unprofessional, and therefore, by shunning the change agent/advocate role as unprofessional, they are in fact acting as advocates for the status quo.³⁰ An analysis of recent activities by the National Librarian's Association to prohibit libraries from hiring "non-professionals" might bring to light some interesting data relevant to the problems of professionalizing library occupations.

Recruiting and Admissions: Jesse Shera has stated that "the library profession is . . . faced with a very serious crisis, the magnitude of which most librarians are scarcely aware."³¹ The nature of that crisis is multi-factored, and the direction from which any individual librarian sees the facet of most significant coming, is largely a matter of personal opinion. One factor in the librarianship crisis though is surely the lack of diversity in its practitioners. Again Shera states, "small wonder that the college student, looking at what goes on in libraries, wants no part of it . . ."³² Although the number of role models in librarianship for minorities is growing, there are precious few. A. D. Trejo of the University of Arizona Graduate Library School reports, "In compiling a who's who of Spanish heritage librarians in the United States in 1976, we found there are only about 245 of them — 34 in Puerto Rico — to serve a Hispanic population of over 10 million [now 11.1 million] persons."³³ Of 1,615 full-time faculty in U.S. library education programs which granted degrees and certificates in the academic year 1973-74, four were identified as Spanish-surnamed. The Spanish heritage population in this country accounts for 5.3 per cent of the total population. Spanish heritage faculty in American library programs account for .025 per cent of the total full-time faculty. Although increasing the number of minorities in the profession will not make recruiting minorities into the profession easy, it will undoubtedly make it easier. Obviously, a continuing and dramatic effort at recruitment of minorities is necessary. The most encouraging activities in the recruitment of minorities to librarianship are the efforts of the American Library Association's Office of Library Personnel Resources³⁴ and the recent publication of the career book, *Opportunities for Minorities in Librarianship*, edited by E. J. Josey and K. E. Peeples, Jr.³⁵

Hamilton's study of minority participation in graduate education clearly indicates that in order for the recruitment of minorities to have any real effect there must be an articulated policy with regard to minority enrollment. It must include a definition of the type of student sought and the geographic location of the recruitment effort as well as specific provi-

sion for the admission of students with marginal records as they relate to traditional admissions criteria and a single coordinating administrator who is given time to pursue the recruitment, admissions, and counseling functions for non-traditional students.³⁶ There is little evidence that outside of a possible handful of schools, probably including the Universities of Illinois, Michigan, and Washington, that well-developed programs of minority recruitment for librarianship exist.

As Terry Crowley reported in his article on student admission and minority recruitment, "library school faculties are not noted for spelling out the types of graduates they seek to recruit."³⁷ Admissions, he states, "will always be primarily a matter of fallible judgment based on insufficient information,"³⁸ no matter what quantitative criteria we use. What is so often infuriating in attempting to alter admissions criteria or in attempting to encourage the admission of students who look and act differently from our usual students, is that the faculty, while agreeing that current criteria have little relevance to success in the profession, will not agree to experiment with possibly valid different criteria. As Miller said, the educational system does not want to have to exercise judgments.³⁹ When a faculty member suggests that perhaps a group interview or asking students to respond to a case study from librarianship might provide valuable selection information, the majority of the faculty cringe at the thought of the subjectiveness involved in deciding admissions on such information. This kind of subjectiveness is no worse than the present practice of assuming that anyone who has graduated from a black southern university is bound to have had an "inferior" undergraduate education. If a student has a 4.0 undergraduate GPA, over 1200 points on the GRE and outstanding letters of recommendation from practicing librarians, but can reply to the question, Why do you seek admission to the graduate library school?, by stating only, "I want to further my education," or "I want to get the M.L.S. degree," the faculty ought to be willing to question admission. What can be learned from the just cited information is that the student applicant knows how to legislate the educational system, and wants a credential to become part of an educational elite. Why not choose instead someone with marginal academic credentials who can throw our question back at us by replying, "Well, I really don't know for sure; why do you want to teach in a graduate library school?", or reply that they thought possibly being a librarian could be challenging, or even fun, if you could believe in such a response. The reliance on high academic standards for admission to library school has had little appreciable effect on the practice of librarianship; it is time that we looked for signs of social activity, aggressiveness, and self-confidence in the students which we recruit. The mediocre sameness among librarians is going to eventually, if it has not already, condemn the profession to a slow and painful demise.

Demand: Those concerned with minority participation in graduate education agree that mere reliance on a person's race or class is not sufficient

reason to admit that person to graduate school. However, a representative of a minority race or discriminated against class should be given special consideration since there is demonstrated need for such representatives in the professions. Librarianship over the past 25 years has given special consideration to men, not because they were a minority group or a group who had been discriminated against, but because they were needed to bring some relief from the effects of being a woman's profession. While it is true that the employment outlook in librarianship is consistently and widely reported to be dismal,⁴⁰ it is also acknowledged that there is a demand for librarians who can more easily relate to minority constituencies. If library education is to behave in a manner consistent with its response to the need for men, then it must turn its attention to the recruitment of minorities into the field. D.E. Webster reported in an Association of Research Libraries study that most research libraries were actively recruiting minority librarians.⁴¹ The study by the Bureau of Labor Statistics conducted in 1973 reported that "in contrast to the anticipated tight job market for beginning librarians throughout the 1970-85 period, demand is expected to remain strong for black and other minority librarians . . ."⁴² For the sake of nothing less than our survival, since it is apparent we cannot count upon our sense of social commitment, minorities must be encouraged to find librarianship to be a relevant and rewarding occupational choice. W. L. Wray observed, "after a long and hard look at my professional colleagues which has taken a quarter of a century, I am not aware of any overwhelming social consciousness."⁴³ On the basis of the research done for this study, it is fair to conclude that the response to the need for minority recruitment has been, for the most part, evident from outside library education *per se*; it is time that we take the lead in this area.

Financial aid: As has been detailed earlier in this paper, financial deficiencies are the most serious barrier facing minority students. Federal fellowships, exclusive of those supported by the National Institute of Health's Alcohol and Drug and Mental Health Administrations, have declined from a high of over 51,000 in 1968 to fewer than 18,500 in 1974.⁴⁴ H.E.A. II-B fellowships for master's degrees in librarianship numbered 494 in 1968-69 but only 171 in 1974-75.⁴⁵ In addition to the efforts of specific universities to meet the financial needs of its minority and/or financially in need students, there have been a number of scholarships developed specifically for minority students. The Special Libraries Association has a "positive action program" for minority groups which will award three \$500 stipends for the academic year 1978-79. The American Library Association, began a minority scholarship fund in 1972 but through 1976 it was beset by inactivity and problems.⁴⁶ Programs such as the Minorities Manpower Pilot Project which involved cooperation between the minority community, library educators, librarians, and the state library have produced funds for graduate library education.⁴⁷ The

University of Washington School of Librarianship and its alumni association have cooperated to provide funds for a minority scholarship. In 1976-77 the A.L.A. directory of *Financial Assistance for Library Education* listed 18 sources of funds as being primarily for the use of minorities. The 1977-78 edition listed 24 sources. To date, AALS has not seen fit to develop a minority scholarship program. There is never enough financial assistance available for all the students who could utilize it, so a scholarship program developed by AALS would be a signal that it will commit itself in at least this useful way to the recruitment of minorities.

Affirmative Action/Reverse Discrimination: The above discussions of recruitment, admissions criteria, and designated scholarships, bring up the perplexing question of reverse discrimination which has been so prevalent a topic in contemporary education and librarianship news.⁴⁸ While most library educators would probably agree on the desirability of increasing minority participation at the M.L.S. and doctoral levels (in 1975 of 78 doctoral degrees awarded, 71 were earned by white students, two by Asian Americans, and five by blacks),⁴⁹ considerable controversy exists about the legality of various programs designed to implement this goal. While on the one hand it is recognized that strict neutrality in the application of traditional criteria for admission and award of financial aid will not in itself bring about a significant increase in minority enrollment at the graduate level, on the other hand the explicit use of race in programmatic efforts is constrained by questions concerning the legality of using race as a predominant criterion.

The immediate debate centers around the issues originally brought up in the DeFunis vs. Odegaard case involving "preferential treatment" in admissions. This case was declared moot by the Supreme Court in 1974 because at the time the case was brought to the court, DeFunis had gained admission to the University of Washington's Law School. The present case before the court which bears a close resemblance to the DeFunis case is Bakke vs. the Regents of the University of California. Although there are several ways to look at the fundamental issues involved in the cases, basically what is being argued relates to the right to equal protection of the law promulgated by the Fourteenth Amendment. On the one hand opponents of preferential treatment argue that any preference based solely on the race of a person is unconstitutional. Proponents argue that racial classification designed to remove the heritage of discrimination, i.e., benign as opposed to invidious classification, is compatible with the Fourteenth Amendment, because the intent of the amendment was never to frustrate remedial efforts. Policies which are designed to remedy past discrimination, and are voluntarily adopted, are not unconstitutional because they do not act to stigmatize or victimize any racial group. Justice W. O. Douglas in his dissent from the majority opinion in the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling on DeFunis, stated that the separate treatment of minority students as a class would be warranted in some situations in

order to "make more certain that racial factors do not militate against an applicant or on his behalf."⁵⁰

Whether or not the U.S. Supreme Court will rule on the substantive issues in the Bakke case during 1978 is uncertain. Therefore, implementation of special programs for minority students will continue to be inhibited; however, they need not be precluded. It should be the belief that minority participation in graduate education ought to be promoted because our society will be strengthened when the talents of the minority population are more fully utilized. Therefore, it is important to press on during this period of legal ambiguity. While it is difficult to design programs which on the one hand are intended to encourage minority participation and on the other hand avoid the use of racial criteria, it is possible to develop such programs.

Curriculum Content: It is easier, though demonstrably difficult, to alter the nature of professional library education by recruiting into the profession persons of diverse racial, ethnic, and/or experiential background than by changing the curriculum; however, without changes in the curriculum the educational program will hold little appeal to the "different" recruits. Just as foreign students complain that foreign language titles are notably absent from U.S. bibliography courses, so also, minority group students complain that titles relevant to minority group concerns are ignored. A large number of federally sponsored institutes have been held to try to provide both librarians and library school faculty with the information and sensitivity necessary to alter curriculum content. The impact of these institutes has been equivocal.⁵¹

Perhaps the most effective curriculum addition can be found in the area of intercultural communications. Institutes such as those directed by David Cohen at Queens College of the City University of New York⁵² and by W. B. Lukenbill at the University of Texas at Austin⁵³ provide much useful information and many workable suggestions. All library schools should continuously evaluate their curriculum from a number of directions; one of these should be the relevance of the curriculum to the changing constituencies which today's librarian encounters. Course content emphasizing intercultural communications is essential in today's librarianship curriculum. It can help sensitize the predominately white, middle class student body to the perceptions of minority groups to the profession of librarianship. Such course content is especially useful when ethnic students such as Italian or Polish interact with minority group students. It is important that differences between race-based discrimination and cultural or economic-based stereotyping be confronted in the academic setting. The purpose of integrating such course content into the librarianship curriculum is not to forward a particular view of what U.S. society ought to be, but is rather to equip students with the skills in communication which they will find necessary as members of a service-based profession.

Continuing Education: A final problem which faces graduate library education in relation to altering its student body is the growing concern with continuing education. Just as the concern with the legal ambiguity surrounding affirmative action programs is inhibiting the development of and commitment to minority recruitment programs, so the shifting of concern to continuing education may become an inhibiting factor. There is no argument that many of today's library practitioners need access to courses which will increase their effectiveness, but the primary responsibility of graduate library education is to provide the profession with new librarians who are able to fill the positions which continue to be needed. Community outreach and minority librarians are in demand. So long as the demand for these types of librarians remains high, students who wish to pursue these types of librarianship should be recruited and trained in accredited library school programs. In the past, and continuing into the present, some of the most successful programs for training minority and community outreach librarians have been unaccredited, e.g., California State University, Fullerton, and the University of Toledo.

In preparing this paper, information was solicited from schools which are members of the Association of American Library Schools. The response rate was slightly less than 50 per cent. This fact alone could be used as evidence to indicate that the response of library schools to the need for minority librarians and the willingness to educate foreign students, has been at best, half-hearted. As Josey, a tireless and eloquent spokesman for minority librarians, states it:

The history of non-whites in America has been essentially that of a struggle for survival in a hostile society against a racist white culture. The brutal chronicle of attempted extermination, slavery, segregation and discrimination is well documented in myriad sources throughout the country. In spite of this wealth of information on the plight of non-whites, including the vast outpourings of the last decade by the victims themselves, little change has taken place in their condition in American society. Minorities still suffer from the crippling disease of racism and its malignant attendant, discrimination. One of the areas where this is distressingly evident continues to be the job market.

The failure to provide equal job opportunities for minorities is the chief cause of their low position in the economic system. Although the library profession has paid lip service to the recruitment of minorities, there has been no real commitment.⁵⁴

What is sought is accredited library school programs which 1) reject prediction of educational achievement based on racial or ethnic identity, economic status, or sex; 2) assure that differences between the minority makeup of the school and the community from which the school predominately draws its student body is a result of choice and not of injustice; and 3) develop a self-sustaining process wherein minority participation is the accepted norm rather than the result of special effort. It is fervently hoped that those of you who have read this paper will turn now to vigorously pursue a program which will meet the conditions listed above, and will encourage the AALS to initiate a scholarship program. It is time for library education to seek out and celebrate diversity among practitioners.

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