

Assigned Leaders in Unionized Environments:
Coping with the Economic Recession and Its Aftermath in Academic Libraries

A Dissertation presented to the
Faculty of the Simmons College Graduate School of Library and Information Science

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By Adriene Lim

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Its Aftermath in Academic Libraries**

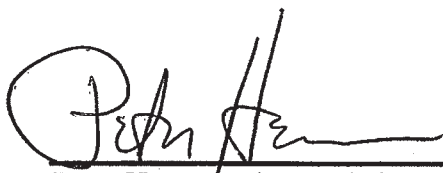
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Abstract

Despite the fact that the rate of unionism has grown in institutions of higher education over the past several decades, and the recent economic recession occurred at the same time that academic libraries faced accelerating changes in scholarly communication and technology, increased demands for accountability, and heightened external competition, few research studies existed in the current literature of library and information science about the changes that have occurred in unionized libraries and in their assigned leaders' ability to transform their organizations. This dissertation begins to fill the void through a multiple-case study of four academic libraries, where the perspectives of university and library administrators were considered in relation to: (1) changes occurring in unionized libraries as a result of the economic crisis; (2) the effects of unionization on assigned leaders' attempts to handle the crisis; (3) the benefits and constraints that library administrators encounter as a result of working within unionized contexts during economic recessions; and (4) the strategies used for handling changes in unionized, financially stressed environments.

Before, during, and after the recession, the libraries in this dissertation experienced severe and/or chronic budget challenges, reduced capacity, and the threat or actuality of organizational decline and retrenchment. Library administrators continued to be optimistic, however, about their libraries' performance levels, and were implementing new and enhanced

services. They believed that innovative thinking, paired with resourcefulness, helped the libraries adapt to reduced funding and staffing. They also used strategic visioning and planning, communication, transparency, team leadership, and shared or participatory leadership as organizational change strategies. Administrators believed that the negative effects of unionization were amplified in times of economic crisis, but agreed that the backdrop of fiscal scarcity made it easier for them to carry out necessary change initiatives.

The case study sites exhibited different organizational responses to unionization and the economic recession, but shared several themes in common. Unionization brought human resource-related benefits and constraints to library administrators, and removed some administrative autonomy, while at the same time demanded strong managerial leadership to ensure appropriate administration of collective bargaining agreements and transformational change. Unionization seemed to be associated with more shared leadership at the libraries, but co-existed with cultures that could be adversarial and caste-laden. Unionization also appeared to have had an impact on the structural values of the libraries; stability and control seemed to have been emphasized over flexibility and adaptability. Other insights about the role of library leaders in countering decline and using cutback management tactics were obtained through the use of models from the literatures of the organizational sciences, management, and public administration. This study raised several important issues and questions, including but not limited to: the need for further research about unionization in relation to the education of current and future academic library leaders; organizational cultures, dysfunctions, and effectiveness; external fundraising and entrepreneurship; resiliency in leadership; and administrative strength and accountability.

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the woman I love, Mary Galvin.
Thank you for allowing me to share your life, for the gift of your heart,
and for never leaving my side through this challenging journey.
Without your playful companionship, support, and encouragement,
this achievement would not have been possible.

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Chapter 1

UNIONIZATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION AND ACADEMIC LIBRARIES¹

The expansion of unionization in the United States gained momentum after the passage of the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) of 1935 (PL74-198), known as the Wagner Act. This act, which prohibits employers from engaging in unfair labor practices, established the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), an independent federal agency charged with safeguarding the rights of workers to form unions and facilitating their ability to choose representatives to act as spokespersons in negotiations with management (O'Reilly & O'Reilly, 1981; Saltzman, 1998). Subsequent federal legislation amended the act in significant ways: The Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 (PL80-101), also known as the Labor-Management Relations Act, imposed restrictions against unfair labor practices by unions and established limitations on strikes, while the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959 (PL86-257) regulated unions' internal administrative operations and required unions to disclose their finances publicly (Carr & Van Eyck, 1973; O'Reilly & O'Reilly, 1981). These and other public laws marked the beginning of the federal government's "seesaw policies favoring the employer and the employee in alternative cycles" over the next six decades (Mika & Shuman, 1988, p. 217). Despite this, however, the

¹ This chapter provides background information about unionization in higher education and academic libraries, and is contextual to the dissertation. It focuses on the major characteristics, themes, and issues of unionism, in order to enhance understanding of the study's findings, but is not intended to serve as a comprehensive review of unionization. The sections in this chapter rely on extant secondary sources, because a historical or general investigation of unionization was outside the scope of the research itself. Sources were relatively scarce when it came to addressing certain aspects of academic library unionization, compared to the number of general sources available about unionization in higher education.

NLRA's original curtailment of management's authority over workers prevailed throughout much of the twentieth century, and continues to have an impact on labor relations today.

Because public employees fell outside of the NLRB's jurisdiction, the immediate beneficiaries of the NLRA's passage were private-sector industrial laborers and trades workers. Public-sector employees were often thwarted in their attempts to unionize in the mid-twentieth century (Kramer, 1975), but they indirectly benefited from the NLRA through the political and social legitimacy of unions which federal laws fostered and through legal precedent. Public employees did not receive formal federal support for collective bargaining until the issuance of two presidential executive orders. Signed by President John F. Kennedy, in 1962, Executive Order 10,988 "provided the foundation for the development of negotiations by public employees," and Executive Order 11,491, signed by President Richard M. Nixon, in 1970, "strengthened the federal labor relations system," freeing federal employees to join unions (Moses, 1973, p. 31).

Supportive state statutes from the 1950s through the 1970s extended legal protection for collective bargaining activities to public-sector employees in several states, beginning in 1951 with Illinois, where the legislature authorized but did not require negotiations. Michigan went beyond that, in 1965, by encouraging negotiations with unions, followed in quick succession by Hawaii, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and South Dakota (Freeman & Ichniowski, 1988; Saltzman, 1998). It was in this climate that union membership in the public sector peaked throughout the 1960s and 1970s (Johnson, 1994), and expanded among faculty and professional employees in higher education (Chandler & Julius, 1985; DeMitchell, 2005; Garbarino, 1973; Saltzman, 1998).

The overall growth of unionization in higher education has been profound. By 1980, approximately 136,000 faculty and staff members in four-year and two-year institutions were represented by unions (Garbarino, 1980). By 2006, according to a report by Moriarty and Savarese (2006) for the National Center for the Study of Collective Bargaining in Higher Education and the Professions (NCSCBHEP), over 375,000 faculty members and graduate student employees were unionized. All but approximately six percent of unionized faculty members were employed at public institutions. The aggregate figure for 2006 represented an increase of over 62,000 or 24 percent of the total number of organized faculty and graduate student employees from 1998. Growth during this period can be attributed to increased numbers of union members within established bargaining units (recognized groups of employees with common work characteristics who engage in collective bargaining) and to the formation of 78 new bargaining units created since 1998 (Moriarty & Savarese, 2006). From 2008 to 2010, the number of unionized faculty and graduate student employees had grown to 440,000; this is an increase of more than 17 percent from 2006 (Schaefer Riley, 2011).

Collective Bargaining in Higher Education

Collective bargaining is a system of “representative government in which members of a body politic (in labor relations parlance, the grouping of jobs constituting the bargaining unit) participate through a designated organizational representative, in decision-making which affects their working environment” (Wollett, 1973b, p. 24). Put more simply, it is a process wherein employers and employees “meet jointly to establish the terms and conditions of employment for workers in a bargaining unit” (Kearney, 2009, p. 88). By 2006, three major national organizations served as the collective bargaining agents for 89 percent of organized faculty in the United States; these were the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), the

American Federation of Teachers (AFT), and the National Education Association (NEA).

Remaining faculty members were represented by independent unions not affiliated with a national organization, or by the United Auto Workers (UAW), the Communication Workers of America (CWA), or the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) (Moriarty & Savarese, 2006). Although the AAUP, AFT, and NEA served as agents for the majority of faculty, these same organizations were agents for only 39 percent of graduate student employees. Industrial labor unions represented more graduate student employees than they did faculty, with the UAW serving as the agent for 49 percent of all organized graduate student employees, and the CWA and United Electrical Workers (UE) representing the remaining 12 percent of the group (Moriarty & Savarese, 2006).

Determination of the appropriate bargaining unit is achieved through various means in higher education, but most often in the public sector, the process is specified “in statute or in the administrative procedures of a state public employee labor relations board” (Kearney, 2009, p. 89). In addition to considering the wishes of the employees’ themselves, the determination of the unit is usually based on the following criteria:

- the history and composition of any other units at the institution or any existing patterns within the sphere of the industry in question;
- the common characteristics of the employees in regard to skills, duties, and working conditions;
- the work-related concerns that employees hold in common with each other (also known as having a mutual “community of interests”); and
- the appropriateness of the unit in regard to how it fits within the institution’s overall organization (Carr & Van Eyck, 1973).

Decisions regarding bargaining unit membership in higher education have not been without controversy. Conflicts have arisen and have been ruled on by the courts in sometimes contradictory fashion in regard to the inclusion/exclusion of other types of employees in the same faculty units (Carr & Van Eyck, 1973; Saltzman, 1998). These conflicts arose around questions such as:

- Should faculty members from multiple campuses of a large university or college system belong to one comprehensive unit, or should they be grouped separately according to the individual campus at which they work?
- Should part-time and/or adjunct faculty be merged with full-time, tenure-stream faculty?
- Should “nonteaching” professionals such as librarians and counselors or perhaps even nonprofessional support staff be included with regular faculty, or should these categories be part of distinct units?
- Is the work of department chairpersons managerial or supervisory enough that these positions should be excluded from the faculty union?

In public higher education, negotiations of binding agreements between unions and governing bodies/administrations are achieved through a “good faith bargaining” process similar to that which occurs in the private sector. Good faith bargaining, which requires all parties to negotiate in a sincere effort to reach agreement, is a duty that state laws may confer on public-sector institutions (Kearney, 2009). Some states have also implemented standards for good faith bargaining that resemble the NLRA’s; these standards range from establishing negotiation time limits to proscribing formal procedures for resolution of impasses (Kearney, 2009). The basic tenets of good faith bargaining are followed when both sides “approach bargaining with a mind

accessible to persuasion;” adhere to “procedures that will enhance the prospects of a negotiated settlement;” discuss and justify with reason any “respective claims and demands” that are made; and “explore with an open mind proposals for compromise or other possible solutions of differences” (DeMitchell, 2005, p. 546).

Within the overarching framework of good faith bargaining, divergent approaches are used to negotiate agreements in the public sector, depending upon the context in which the bargaining takes place. Kearney (2009) described three basic types of bargaining approaches, including:

1. *Concession bargaining*. This type of bargaining occurs during economic recessions or periods of fiscal crises, when management seeks givebacks from unionized employees in compensation levels, benefits, and/or working conditions. The givebacks are requested at times when there is less public support for unions and when union members believe they may lose gains they have made in the past, resulting in loss of influence and power for the union side. Relationships between management and labor are “more likely to be confrontational and adversarial” when this approach is used (p. 124).
2. *Traditional bargaining*. Also known as distributive (zero-sum) or positional bargaining, the traditional “hard bargaining” approach is inherently adversarial and typically relies on contentious tactics. Each side focuses on advancing its own power, holding firm on its positions, and winning at all costs. When this “win-lose” approach is used, ongoing relations between management and labor can be severely damaged in the

long term, with the risk of an “us-versus-them” mentality permeating the organization long after a settlement is reached. Traditional “soft bargaining,” while at the opposite end of the spectrum from hard bargaining, can be just as damaging. Its “lose-lose” avoidance of natural conflict and too-eager willingness to compromise with the opposing side can result in solutions that are detrimental or unworkable for the organization in the long term.

3. *Interest-based bargaining (IBB)*. The IBB approach is integrative as opposed to distributive, and principled rather than positional, because it is based on the belief that satisfactory solutions meeting the organization’s overall goals can be attained collaboratively without forcing one side to win at the expense of the other. IBB is considered to be “win-win” negotiation, not because all sides gain their desires without cost, but because the process culminates in what is perceived to be a fair, equitable agreement. This method accomplishes a “tough job ... in a way that settles the immediate problems and sets conditions for improved future working relationships” (p. 134).

Kearney (2009) observed that IBB garners more attention in today’s team-based, collaborative workplace, yet traditional bargaining in the public sector is still the norm, much as it was when Graham and Walters (1973) described the tactics that were dominant in higher education in the early 1970s. In addition, “government fiscal constraints in some jurisdictions have produced a trend toward concession bargaining” (Kearney, 2009, p. 140).

Similar to the NLRA's scope-of-bargaining regulation in the private sector, state laws and policies in the public sector establish whether or not certain topics are mandatory, permissive, or prohibited during collective bargaining (Kearney, 2009; Saltzman, 1998). In most cases, unionized public institutions are bound by law to negotiate wages, hours, and specified terms and conditions of employment (mandatory items) (Kearney, 2009; Saltzman, 1998). Some issues, known as prohibited items, are explicitly excluded from discussion. Examples are issues that fall within the realm of an employer's rights as codified in state statutes or in the "management rights" clauses of collective bargaining agreements (CBAs) or when other legal restrictions are imposed. A variety of matters, including educational policy issues and the protection of faculty governance systems, may be introduced into bargaining if the parties agree. These are known as *permissive* items. With their inclusion, the scope of bargaining can be as broad or as narrow as the particular institutional, legal, and political context allows. Setting these boundaries is perhaps "the most emotion-charged issue which arises in collective bargaining in education" (Wollett, 1973b, p. 33).

When bargaining teams cannot reach agreement by a given deadline or if important differences between the parties seem irreconcilable, a formal declaration of impasse is made. In these cases, political, economic, and institutional pressures can be brought to bear through work stoppages in the form of lockouts by employers or strikes by employees, unless the state and local governments involved prohibit them. Kearney (2009) mentions three principal alternatives to the lockout and strike, all of which may be mandated by state statute or policies, and may be used exclusively or in combination with one another. These are:

1. Mediation, a process whereby an impartial third party helps the groups settle their disputes.

2. Fact finding, which is “a formal proceeding consisting of a quasi-judicial hearing by [a neutral party or panel] of both parties’ positions and evidence ... [It produces] a written record of the facts and events, and, in most cases written recommendations for settlement.”
3. Arbitration, which is similar to fact finding in that it is a “formal proceeding consisting of a quasi-judicial hearing,” but, unlike fact finding, the arbitrator’s judgments are almost always considered binding on both parties. (Kearney, 2009, p. 266)

Collective Bargaining Agreements (CBAs), the products of unionization, place into “written legal form a great deal of the substance and procedure of faculty-administrative relations heretofore either traditional or specifically delegated” (Mortimer & Lozier, 1973, p. 109). Although CBAs are contracts enforceable by the courts, they are also documents crafted through painstaking negotiations in an “attempt to construct a democratic system for governance of the workplace” (Kearney, 2009, p. 292). For this reason, they typically include provisions to settle workplace disagreements or alleged violations of the contract through mutually agreed upon internal means, grievance processes, or grievance arbitration. Other provisions of a typical CBA found in higher education include: statements about the institution’s educational goals, management rights clauses, recognition of the bargaining unit and agent, sections on compensation and working conditions, and delineation of processes used in the case of retrenchment or financial exigency (Carr & Van Eyck, 1973).

Faculty Unionization

Unions are “organizations designed to protect and enhance the social and economic welfare of their members” (Tannenbaum, 1965, p. 710), while unionization of faculty in higher

education occurs “when a majority of faculty vote to support a union, the union is certified, and the faculty are then represented by a collective bargaining agent” (Porter & Stephens, 2010, p. 11). As straightforward as these concepts may be, their implementation in higher education came with controversy and tension.

Prior to the late 1960s, according to Schmid and Herman (2003), many professors viewed unionization as incompatible with higher education’s culture and practices. Union opponents emphasized the ways that professional standards, autonomy, academic freedom, tenure, and governance activities differentiated faculty members from other types of employees. They pointed out that their relationships with administrators depended upon mutual respect and rationality, and did not require the same adversarial tactics that unions employed. Some believed that scholarly work was of an individual rather than collective nature, better suited to a competitive environment unrestricted by union contracts. Schmid and Herman (2003) theorized that other factors, such as gender and class, contributed to the anti-union mood. Predominately White, male, middle- to upper-class professors in higher education wanted to distance themselves from unionization mainly because, by doing so, they would differentiate themselves from K-12 teachers, who were mostly female, from upwardly-mobile immigrant communities, and extensively joined unions during this time period (Schmid & Herman, 2003).

After the late 1960s, these concerns became less compelling as many professors perceived their faculty governance clout to be waning and as they grew dissatisfied with their salary levels, benefits, and working conditions. Other political and economic factors also contributed to faculty members’ growing interest in unionization. In the immediate decades following World War II, national goals called for high-quality research and universal access to higher education, which led to federal investments that contributed to the substantial growth of

public educational institutions, the professoriate, and student enrollment (Hutcheson, 2000; Schmid & Herman, 2003). Garbarino (1973) contrasts this relatively prosperous age with the leaner times that followed in the late 1960s. Shifts in social policies forced states to spend money on programs other than higher education and, as a result, there were fewer faculty positions, slowdowns in salary increases, and pressures on administrators to change tenure and other practices. The resulting tensions between administrators and faculty led some faculties to pursue unionization as a way to become more involved in institutional decision making (Garbarino, 1973). This trend occurred at a time when higher education's expansion from a system of small colleges to complex universities had already resulted in a tendency for some faculty members to lose influence as they transitioned from serving less as academic partners and more as bureaucratic employees (Fisk & Duryea, 1973; Hucheson, 2000).

Other motivations for unionization were based on the “bread and butter” issues of compensation and job security. Carr and Van Eyck (1973) noted that “academic salaries had shown a sharp improvement and almost certainly the greatest improvement during any similar period in the present century” (p. 43). Nonetheless, many faculty members at public institutions remained dissatisfied with their compensation compared to colleagues in elite institutions, public school teachers, faculty at community colleges, and other public employees. Data from AAUP annual salary surveys from the late 1960s show that, in some instances, faculty dissatisfaction may have been “justified in the sense that compensation was below average” (Carr & Van Eyck, 1973, p. 52). Allen (1988), who studied the impact of unionization on job security, found that, while union members were less likely to be unemployed than their nonunionized counterparts, public-sector union members were less likely than members in the private sector to experience unemployment and/or permanent layoffs. Simcox Myers (2003) discovered that union status did

not influence job satisfaction and organizational commitment, but that unionization reduced the likelihood that higher-ranking, tenure-stream, full-time employees would choose to leave their jobs, even though these same employees were generally less satisfied with their jobs than were lower-ranking, non-tenure-stream, part-time employees.

Johnston (1994) described two other factors that are often present when public-sector faculty members unionize: the political climate of the geographic area is not favorable to higher education, and the institution already has non-faculty employees represented by unions. Peters and Masaoka (2000) found that public-sector employees' motivation to unionize can stem from "unmet expectations about the distinction of [the employees'] work culture from corporate or bureaucratic culture" (p. 306).

The desire to extend and protect shared governance systems is another motivation for unionization. Shared governance is a system whereby institutional decision making is undertaken jointly, to varying degrees, by faculties, administrations, and governing boards or bodies. Some argue that collective bargaining promotes and provides legal protection of what otherwise would be vulnerable structures of shared governance (Benjamin, 1997), while others claim that unionization diminishes faculty members' roles, casting faculty as academic laborers and placing them in an adversarial industrial-labor mode with administrators (DeMitchell, 2005). Begin (1974) and Lee (1979), who studied faculty senates and unionization, affirmed the positive impact of unionization on faculty governance. Most collective bargaining contracts, they showed, reinforced rather than weakened existing local governance systems. A more recent study (Porter & Stephens, 2010), which examined the causal effect of unionization on institutional decision making, came to a similar conclusion, namely, that unionization enhanced faculty

participation in decision making (in the areas of compensation, appointment of departmental chairpersons, and service on campus-level committees).

Schmidt and Herman (2003) found that most union contracts are “silent on such issues as the ratio of tenure-line to non-tenure-line faculty, job security for adjuncts, or the preservation of tenure lines, and thus leave their bargaining units vulnerable to the effects of the casualization² of the higher education workforce” (p. 8). Fisk and Duryea (1973) emphasized a major negative aspect of unionization:

Whatever the causes of unionism, the consequence of a commitment to this form of organization poses a significant change in the academic milieu.

Recognizing as it does a dichotomy of interest between those who manage and those who implement, collective bargaining accentuates the organizational role of faculty members as employees in contrast to the idea of professionals who participate as partners in the academic enterprise. (p. 198)

Wollett (1973a), who echoed this point, cautioned that “faculties cannot expect self-governance through academic senates or similar vehicles to survive --- at least as institutions of significance, if they opt for collective bargaining” (p. 29).

The stance of the AAUP, one of the oldest higher education associations to focus solely on the occupational interests of professors, reflected the tension between professionalism and unionization as unionism evolved throughout the twentieth century (Hutcheson, 2000). The AAUP began pursuing vigorously its role as a collective bargaining agent only after its members voted in 1972 to endorse this shift (Hutcheson, 2000). This vote came after decades of

² Casualization refers to the replacement of permanent, full-time faculty with contingent or adjunct faculty.

impassioned internal debate and despite some arguments that the association would lose its “unique, hard-won, traditional status as a professional investigatory body” (Garbarino, 1973, p. 16). DeMitchell (2005) contrasts the AAUP’s stance during the 1960s with that of the AFT, which embraced unionization early on as a way to win ground in compensation and, thus, gain professional respect for their members. During this time, the NEA focused more on the professionalization of its members rather on unionization, until the loss of membership to the AFT forced the NEA to adopt pro-union philosophies and strategies (DeMitchell, 2005; Schlachter, 1973).

The dilemma concerning faculty members as participants in shared governance versus protected categories of academic employees culminated with the U.S. Supreme Court’s landmark decision in *NLRB v. Yeshiva University* (1980). In that case, the Court, which went against the NLRB’s position, upheld a lower court’s ruling that all full-time faculty at Yeshiva University, a private institution in New York, were managerial employees with authority in policy, academic, and personnel matters, and, as such, were not professional employees covered under the NLRA (*NLRB v. Yeshiva University, Respondent, and Yeshiva University Faculty Association, Intervenor*, 1978). The Court based its decision on the high percentage (90 percent) of the time that university administration followed faculty committee recommendations in academic policy and personnel matters (Douglas, 1981; Metchick & Singh, 2004). This meant that Yeshiva’s faculty members, while not denied the rights to organize and bargain collectively, could no longer depend on the NLRB’s protection of those rights. Yeshiva’s administration could not be legally compelled to bargain with the faculty’s duly elected, certified bargaining agent, the Yeshiva University Faculty Association.

The *Yeshiva* decision marked the first time that the NLRB had been reversed on an issue related to faculty unionism since the early 1970s (Douglas, 1981). It effectively extended “the NLRA’s ‘managerial’ exclusions to a new group of employees—faculty members” (Metchick & Singh, 2004, p. 54). Although the Court was careful to state that its ruling applied only to the specific circumstances at hand (Douglas, 1981; Metchick & Singh, 2004), scholars (Hutcheson, 2000; Metchick & Singh, 2004; Saltzman, 1998) point to a major slowdown in growth of faculty unionism among private universities and colleges to emphasize the ruling’s anti-union impact in the private sector. The degree to which the *Yeshiva* case retarded unionization rates in public universities was less clear at the time, but it now seems to be minimal, because unionization in the public sector was already governed by pre-*Yeshiva* state laws (Douglas, 1990), and because union-permissive states were not “inclined to follow the doctrine laid down in *Yeshiva* and have ruled in favor of faculty unionization in several cases” (Metchick & Singh, 2004, p. 57). Yet, if state laws had, for now, minimized the impact of *Yeshiva*, Nagle (1994) points out that these same state laws could also be revoked, which would seem to leave public-sector faculty in a tenuous situation when it comes to the protection of their rights to unionization in the future.

Collective Bargaining in Academic Libraries

Mirroring the growth pattern of unionization that occurred in public higher education, a small number of unions existed in American libraries after World War I. The number increased slightly from the onslaught of the Great Depression through the 1940s, and continued to appear sporadically until the 1960s, whereupon the rate of unionization expanded greatly (Guyton, 1975; Schlachter, 1973). The low numbers of library union numbers during the early part of the 1900s was attributed to the lack of supportive state laws for public employees, a sector in which most American librarians worked, and to the ambivalent response of library employees to the

question of joining a union at the time (Kennelly & Kleingartner, 1975). The profession's relatively small size at that time and the perception of library workers as those performing "nonessential work" were deemed obstacles to unionization, as was the female-intensive nature of the profession, which was viewed by some to be detrimental to unionization because women were assumed to be a difficult group to organize. However, Guyton (1975) concluded that gender and other types of personal characteristics were not relevant to the union status of librarians. Most librarians, according to Guyton, were open to the idea and confirmed their desire to have an organization represent their job-related and professional interests. No matter the reason for the lack of union numbers in these early years, Flanagan (1974) points out that "virtually no articles about unions appeared in the library literature" from 1945 to 1965 (p. 492), which suggests the lack of attention given the topic throughout the profession.

After the 1960s, union membership in academic and public libraries rose dramatically as state laws favorable to collective bargaining were enacted (Guyton, 1975). Hopkins (1969) linked this growth to non-legislative factors, including overall union successes in the public sector as opposed to union decline in the private sector, and the library profession's failure to raise low wages and improve the status of library professionals and nonprofessionals. Wasserman (1975) attributed the rise in public-sector unionism to the desire of professional employees to participate in decision making regarding their conditions of employment, which for them went beyond the typical private-sector issues of wages, benefits, and working conditions to encompass any professional-, service-, or facilities-related issue that would have an impact on their ability to carry out their professional duties. Anxiety produced by the bureaucratic depersonalization of library workers and the threat of lost job functions due to library automation also contributed to the employees' discontent. As Guyton (1975) explained, "Unions arise as

defensive organizations to protect the worker from the dehumanizing effects of the machine process” (p. 5).

If higher levels of anxiety were a determining factor, so were the perceived lack in communication from administration to staff, and the growing decision-making gulf between administrators and frontline librarians (Guyton, 1975). Added motivations for collective action were the stagnant economic conditions in the public sector pervading the country after 1960, and the perceived devaluing of professional workers. Wasserman, writing in 1975, predicted the acceleration of library unionization would only continue, due to economic troubles already being experienced by public universities and colleges. He suspected that “another area that administrations will examine for budget cutting will certainly be libraries” and that “libraries and librarians are going to be in for a rough time for the next few years” (p. 27).

The American Library Association (ALA) had been concerned about the status, salaries, and working conditions of its members since the early 1900s, but it had neither actively advocated for nor opposed unionization, nor had it ever acted as a collective bargaining agent for its members (Guyton, 1975). Internal pressures within ALA and growing numbers of unionized members in libraries served as an impetus for ALA members to question this stance in the late 1960s (Guyton, 1975). Schlachter (1973) described the main question facing the association: Should it follow the path of other professional associations and agree to serve as a “quasi union” for its members, or should it remain strictly a professional association, which, in Schlachter’s words, is “an organization ... primarily concerned with the profession and only secondarily — if at all — with the specific conditions of employees within the profession” (p. 187)?

Although some vocal ALA members vigorously supported a collective bargaining role for ALA, and predicted that the Association would lose relevance and membership to rival

associations if it did not move toward this type of role (Schlachter, 1973), most members did not support this change in focus and the movement failed to gain momentum (Todd, 1985). As a result, in 1970, ALA formally rejected a role as bargaining agent, asserting it could not assume this role when both library managers and other personnel belonged to the association and when “the collective bargaining concept and collective bargaining laws generally preclude the membership of both managers and other personnel in the same union or bargaining group” (American Library Association, as cited in Guyton, 1975, p. 65). Eventually in 1980, ALA settled on a simple policy statement regarding collective bargaining, the preamble for which reads:

The American Library Association recognizes the principle of collective bargaining as one of the methods of conducting labor-management relations used by private and public institutions. The Association affirms the right of eligible library employees to organize and bargain collectively with their employers, or to refrain from organizing and bargaining collectively, without fear of reprisal. (American Library Association, 1980, n.p.)

This “freedom of choice” stance was positive, yet neutral, and was enough to satisfy both union advocates and union detractors (Todd, 1985). From this point forward, ALA continued to address union issues, albeit through an occasional statement of support from its officials for legislation regarding collective bargaining or workers’ rights, and by its members through diffuse activities in ALA’s divisions, discussion groups, and round tables. Additionally, a non-profit companion organization to ALA, the ALA Applied Professional Association (ALA-APA) was established in 2001 to address the “mutual professional interests of librarians and other library workers,” such as pay equity and improved salaries and status, and to provide “certification of individuals in

specializations beyond the initial professional degree” (American Library Association, Allied Professional Association, 2002). The ALA-APA affiliates with other external organizations, such as unions and human resources organizations, and advocates for labor laws and other human resources issues favorable to librarians and other library workers.

Many public-sector library administrators reportedly were not neutral about the growth of unionism in libraries. They expressed concerns about the potential of unions to harm the public interest if they gained too much parochial influence on public policy or if they encroached too far into areas typically controlled by management (Hopkins, 1969). These and other concerns indicate that the early movement to unionize libraries did not occur without some resistance from library administrators, despite a tendency for some of them to express neutrality or remain silent about the issue in public (Hopkins, 1969). Guyton (1975) emphasized that administrative opposition was a key factor in many union struggles and failures, with “approximately one half of the unions which dissolved between 1917 and 1960” doing so because of this opposition, but he also acknowledged that most legislative gains for library employees’ salaries and working conditions were made through joint employer-employee advocacy efforts (p. 19). Even if some library administrators favored unionization as a concept, they recognized that “with the arrival of unions within the library, a second authority structure has been created and the likelihood of conflicts heightened” (O’Reilly & O’Reilly, 1981, p. 19).

Regardless of ALA’s particular position on unionism or library administrators’ reactions, unionization continued to spread steadily throughout the profession, especially at libraries associated with public colleges and universities (American Library Association, Allied Professional Association, 2006; Kennelly & Kleingartner, 1975). Although Kennelly and Kleingartner (1975) acknowledged that exact figures for the library union phenomenon were not

captured adequately, nonetheless they estimated that, in 1975, 23,870 of the 114,000 American librarians (about 20 percent) were unionized. An Association of Research Libraries (ARL) report in 1985 observed that 47 of 95 responding ARL libraries (49.5 percent) “had union representation for at least some of their employees: 26 with unions for professionals and 52 with unions for support staff or ‘other’” (Lynden & ARL, 1985, n.p.). This same report indicated that the “strongest concentration of library unions [was] in the Middle Atlantic and Pacific Coast states,” and that the “fewest numbers of unions [were] in the Southern, Southwestern, and Rocky Mountain states, with Florida and New Mexico being exceptions” (Lynden & ARL, 1985, n.p.).³ By 2005, a report based on the *Survey of Librarian Salaries* found that 732 of 2,040 responding public and academic libraries (approximately 34 percent of libraries) were unionized (American Library Association, Allied Professional Association, 2006).

Unionization of Academic Librarians

Initially, academic librarians disagreed about whether their fledgling professional or faculty status would be damaged with the advent of the industrial labor union model in their organizations (O’Reilly & O’Reilly, 1981), whether unionization would be a boon or a detriment to their organizations, or whether unionization would reduce them to mere “academic laborers” rather than professionals participating in institutional decision making.

These concerns were the impetus for a number of post-unionization studies in the literature of library and information science (LIS) addressing librarians’ satisfaction levels, professional values, and other characteristics in unionized contexts. For example, Hovekamp (1995), who examined job satisfaction levels of unionized and nonunionized academic librarians,

³ For a depiction of the states in these regions, see the “U.S. Census Regions and Divisions of the United States” map at http://www.census.gov/geo/www/us_regdiv.pdf.

found that unionization had a negative relationship to overall job satisfaction, issues of job content and growth, and work environment. Further, union presence had no real relationship with satisfaction levels regarding salary, benefits, and job security. Hovekamp's discovery that the respondents' union membership and union-commitment levels seemed to have little to no impact on satisfaction levels led her to conclude that there was no basis upon which to theorize that union culture led to job dissatisfaction. Instead, she suggested that job satisfaction might be "more strongly affected by other variables, typical of unionized environments but independent of union influences" (1995, p. 348), and gave as an example the possibility that workplace conditions might have been dissatisfactory prior to unionization. Put a different way, "union presence simply could be an indication, and not the actual source, of decreased levels of job satisfaction" (Hovekamp, 1995, p. 348).

Hovekamp (1994) also examined librarians' professional work values in unionized and nonunionized academic research libraries. Reacting to the supposition that academic librarians would become more interested, under unionization, in extrinsic aspects of their jobs (e.g., salaries and benefits), rather than in the intrinsic values of their profession, Hovekamp compared the responses of unionized and nonunionized librarians to a series of questions grouped into three categories related to certain job-attribute dimensions: "bread-and-butter" issues, such as salaries, benefits, and job security; "professional growth" issues, covering advancement opportunities, job responsibilities, professional development, and status; and "work environment" issues, including caliber of personnel and quality of library service. Hovekamp (1994) found that union presence had "no significant relationship with the degree of values professional librarians placed on the three job-attribute dimensions" (p. 987). Within the unionized group, however, librarians who were registered union members tended to place a "higher degree of importance on professional

growth issues than did nonregistered members,” and those most “committed to their bargaining organization tended to place a higher value on professional issues” (Hovekamp, 1994, p. 991). Hovekamp concluded that the professional character of academic librarianship remained intact, if not stronger, when librarians were unionized.

Historically, it seems that a desire for better salaries tipped the balance in favor of unionization, with greater library union participation occurring where salaries were lower, and lower library union participation taking place where salaries were higher (Guyton, 1975). By 1971, large numbers of academic librarians had embraced collective bargaining, with approximately 60 percent of them joining faculty-based bargaining units on their campuses (Kennelly & Kleingartner, 1975). The Association of Research Libraries (1973) summarized the state of affairs during this time period in this way:

Certain trends and tendencies are observable in unionized libraries. There is evidence that the broader-based and larger the union local, the less likely it is to be concerned with the details of everyday operations. With larger constituencies, union leadership tends to concern itself with the traditional bread and butter issues of salary and benefits, issues with which more people can identify.... There is also evidence that working under a collective bargaining agreement tends to emphasize top and bottom management levels at the expense of middle management. In handling personnel problems, grievances, or questions of contract interpretation, for example, the first-line supervisor often consults with the person responsible for union relations, who is usually at the senior administrative level. (p. 1)

Applegate (2009) determined that better salaries, at least when compared proportionately to academic libraries' overall budgets, were eventually realized by unionized academic librarians, but mostly by those at masters-level institutions. She proposed that the higher salaries for librarians at masters-level institutions might reflect the greater workloads these librarians were likely to have, given their higher students-per-librarian ratios compared to the ratios at other libraries. Higher salaries did not translate into other union-related benefits, however, such as a lower ratio of students to librarians, or higher overall library budgets, for the institutions in which these librarians worked, according to Applegate. Strikingly, all libraries, whether part of public or private institutions, unionized or not, received about 2.2 percent of their institutions' overall budgets.

A study by Lee, Rogers, and Grimes (2006) confirmed the attainment of a positive union wage premium for unionized academic librarians in ARL member libraries over the period of 1989-1998, but found that this wage premium declined along with the rest of the economy throughout the period of study. By the end of the 1990s, any wage premium found in the starting salaries of unionized academic librarians had effectively disappeared.

Another long-standing complication in unionized academic libraries was the need to clarify role boundaries between librarians as union members or librarians as part of library management, often uniquely decided by each contract (Hopkins, 1969). Other questions arose as well, with the answers to the questions differing from campus to campus: Should librarians be grouped with teaching faculty members, or should they be considered academic professionals? If librarians serve as heads of library departments, are they equivalent to department chairs, and if so, should they be excluded from bargaining units because they act as managers? If librarians

are faculty members, should they work all the months of the year when the library is open, or should they have the same eight-, nine-, or ten-month contracts as other faculty on campus?

Faculty status and, in some cases, tenure rights and advancement in professorial ranks, have been hard-won victories for some academic librarians. As late as 1997, the attainment of this status and accompanying privileges were still not uniform across the profession. Various designations, such as professional staff, academic professionals, faculty status with tenure, and faculty status without tenure, were in use across academic libraries, and indicated the plethora of bargaining units and contracts associated with academic librarians (Spang & Kane, 1997). Thus, while there is a “harmony of interests” among the teaching faculty about the purpose of the university (Kennelly & Kleingartner, 1975), the relationship of the library and its professional staff to the teaching faculty has been unclear for administration, librarians, and non-library faculty. As Lee, Rogers, and Grimes (2006) stated, “in many ways, academic librarians find that they are neither truly faculty nor truly staff, but something unique between the two” (p. 479). Despite this, reflecting the priorities of its membership, the Association of College and Research Libraries (ACRL), a division of ALA, reaffirmed its “Guideline on Collective Bargaining” in 2008, stating that: “academic librarians shall be included on the same basis as their faculty colleagues in units for collective bargaining,” and that “such units shall be guided by the standards and guidelines of ACRL pertaining to faculty and academic status” (n.p.). Hovekamp (2005) noted that the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) “has been particularly influential in this issue, consistently ruling that librarians in private academic institutions be included in the same bargaining unit with faculty” (p. 111). Kennelly and Kleingartner (1975) pointed out that a downside to this otherwise status-enhancing amalgamation of librarians with faculty bargaining

units is that issues specific to librarianship or to the needs of the academic library might be subsumed under the dominant needs of the collective faculty.

While ALA decided to forego the role of bargaining agent to remain a neutral professional association, the AAUP made a transition from professional association to bargaining agent. Many other professional organizations have become bargaining agents for their members, for example, the American Nursing Association (ANA) and the National Education Association (NEA). As a result of ALA's position, all unionized academic librarians today are represented by bargaining agents with roots more broadly based in higher education, public-sector service, or industry rather than focused on librarianship.

Unionization of Academic Library Support Staff

In unionized libraries, academic administrators often face the complexity of multiple bargaining units and multiple contracts, where unionization extends to librarians, clerical workers, technical workers, and professional non-librarian staff. With multiple layers of unionized employees, there are variations in how the library is organized and different union-related regulations are in place. These regulations may affect the extent to which administrators control library operations, including cases where outsourcing is not allowed per the contract (Beckman, 1975) and where staff members' job classifications⁴ and associated pay ranges need to be formally negotiated (Bielavitz, 2010). There are reasons for unionization of support staff, going beyond the usual push for better pay, benefits, and job security, but a study on the wage effects for support staff in higher education showed that an estimated 9 to 11 percent salary premium is gained by staff under unionization; this figure rises by an additional 2 to 3 percent at

⁴ Job classifications are formal statements describing the requirements, responsibilities, and pay scales of specific groups of positions (Bielavitz, 2010).

institutions where faculty are also unionized (Klafl & Enrenberg, 2003). Other reasons for unionization of academic support staff might include employee concerns over the impact of technology on jobs, a desire to end perceived arbitrary management decisions about job transfers and reassignments, and the beliefs by these employees that they are skilled professionals who are often undervalued and underpaid (Weber, 1992). Support staff members in higher education, once unionized, generally “perceive the culture, philosophy, climate, and outcomes of their work environment more negatively than do nonunion staff” (p. 145), according to Vander Putten, McLendon, and Peterson (1997), writing in the literature of higher education.

Few studies quantify the number and types of unionized support staff in higher education, let alone the number in academic libraries. Flanagan (1974) noted that, by 1974, unionization of library support staff had surpassed that of professional librarians. He, however, provides no data to support this statement. He later states that, in public academic libraries, “there appear to be fewer success stories” related to staff unionization (p. 494), although he offers as successful examples the unions established at the University of California at Berkeley library and at the City College of the City University of New York. As mentioned earlier, one report from the American Library Association-Allied Professional Association (2006) stated that, of the 2,040 public and academic libraries responding to the 2005 *Survey of Librarian Salaries*, 35.8 percent of them had at least one category of staff represented by a collective bargaining agent, while 17 percent had all support staff covered. Lynden and the Association of Research Libraries (1985) reported that support staff across ARL libraries seemed to be “chiefly represented by the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and the Service Employees International Union (SEIU)” (n.p.). Although these types of limited surveys exist, the lack of comprehensive inventories of library support staff unions makes it difficult to gauge the

actual numbers of unionized support staff in academic libraries, and whether those numbers have risen or fallen in the past decade.

Kusack (1986) decried the dearth of research and data about the unionization of academic library staff members, and tried to fill that gap with a book based on his dissertation. Because there were few studies of academic library unionization available then (and now), and the ones that were available mostly focused on the unionization of professional librarians in those environments, his work was one of the only efforts to examine the effects of unionization of non-librarian workers in academic libraries. He reported on the results of a 1983 study of support staff in 184 unionized and non-unionized academic libraries, one third of them associated with private institutions. In his study, he examined three areas: (1) compensation levels and employment policies, (2) personnel policies and budget characteristics, and (3) the relationship between environmental variables (“such as corporate character of the institution, level of unionization in the state, and the geographic region”) and the dependent variables (“compensation, work policies, and personnel and budget patterns”) (p. 53). He found “no statistically significant difference in compensation, work policies, or personnel and budget patterns in university libraries with support staff unions and without support staff unions” when taking into account “control of the institution, level of unionization in the state, and geographic region” (1986, p. 77). He acknowledged the need for additional research and a “rigorous examination of the qualitative effects of support staff unions, possibly relying on case study techniques” so that the library profession could attain a deeper understanding of the effects of unionization on libraries (p. 86).

Conclusion

From 1970 through the 1990s, union activity in higher education and academic librarianship increased dramatically, bringing with it many controversies and the need for broad adjustments throughout academia. Today, unionism continues to be a controversial issue, especially at a time when recovery from a severe economic recession and technological advances are changing the educational landscape and placing pressure on academic libraries to transform. Governments in at least three states, Indiana, Ohio,⁵ and Wisconsin, have joined the anti-union fray and sought to curtail unionization of public employees by enacting legislation to revoke previously union-permissive laws (“American Library Association President Roberta Stevens,” 2011; “Wisconsin and wider,” 2011). To make their case, anti-union state legislators have criticized public-sector unionization, asserting that unions should not cover public employees who are paid in part or in full by tax revenues, and that unionization makes it difficult for state governments to maintain the agility needed to manage their operations and budgets effectively. In 2011, ALA’s president, Roberta Stevens, responded to the proposed anti-union legislation with an official statement supporting library workers’ rights:

While governments are facing financial challenges, addressing deficits should not serve as an opportunity to strip away the hard-won right of workers to collectively bargain. As library visits continue to soar, with job seekers and families turning to our libraries to gain new skills and free access to education resources, the value of library service and staff should be recognized and

⁵ In a November 2011 referendum, Ohio voters rejected a new state law that would have limited public-sector collective bargaining rights, including the removal of professors from collective bargaining processes (Eaton, 2011).

protected. (“American Library Association president Roberta Stevens,” 2011, n.p.)

The economic recession of 2008-2009 and its aftermath have resulted in diminished state budgets, along with decreases of income from endowment funds. As a consequence, some universities have been forced not only to increase tuition and to make incremental reductions, but also to embrace more profound changes, including reorganizations that bring about elimination of whole programs and layoff of staff. The economic pressures are great enough to manifest themselves in pessimistic statements from a variety of administrators in the academic press. For example, Sandy Hicks, assistant vice president and chief procurement officer at the University of Colorado, states: “We will never go back to where we were before” (Sabo, 2010). Jack Giarusso, executive director of human resources at the University of Massachusetts, Lowell, said: “This approach is a real change in culture and thinking” (Sabo, 2010).

Universities are moving away from across-the-board cuts to more targeted, strategic cuts, as are their academic libraries. Maintaining traditional library services that are well used and responding to pressure to offer new services and emerging technologies are creating multiple stress points in academic libraries as they simultaneously have fewer resources and less staffing with which to meet the demands placed on them. These pressures and the changes they bring may create potentially controversial situations between unions and administrations in the coming years, because a union’s main function is to “maximize benefits won from management” and to do this “without destroying the enterprise upon which it is dependent and within the limits of its own power resource” (Tannenbaum, 1965, p. 710).

It is within this rapidly changing context that the current study explores academic library leadership in unionized environments. The study takes place at a time when academic institutions

face increasing demands for accountability, heightened competition, and accelerating changes in scholarly communication and technology. The next chapter presents the study's problem statement and literature review. The study's research objectives and questions, and qualitative, case-study procedures are also described.

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Chapter 2

THE STUDY'S REFLECTIVE INQUIRY AND PROCEDURES

In 2008, the worst global economic crisis since the Great Depression occurred, causing severe financial problems for many institutions of higher education. The National Association of Colleges and University Business Officers (NACUBO) reported that the value of university and college endowments lost an average of 23 percent between 2008 and 2009, due to investment losses and drops in donations (Blumenstyk, 2010). At the same time, the downturn led to a marked decrease in the size of state budgets allocated for higher education (Zumeta, 2009). In this economic climate, a number of colleges and universities have resorted to staff layoffs, buyouts of tenured faculty, staff and faculty furloughs, hiring freezes, and the delay or cancellation of capital projects. Harvard University, with one of the highest endowments in academia, announced it had experienced unprecedented losses ("Spending cuts planned as Harvard takes hit," 2008), and proceeded to lay off hundreds of its workers, impose salary and hiring freezes, and halt expansion and construction plans (Jan, 2009). The University of California system, said to be experiencing the worst state-financing disinvestment in its recent history, implemented an average pay cut of eight percent through staff and faculty furloughs (Lewin, 2009). Institutions such as Brown University and Cornell University imposed hiring freezes (Schweber, 2008).

Correspondingly, the financial woes of many academic libraries have been major as well. Libraries at the University of Washington, Emory University, the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), Stanford University, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) faced deep budget reductions, with some of them making unprecedented cuts in acquisitions

budgets, staffing, and operations (Blumenstein, 2009; Oder, 2009). These financial woes came at a time when many academic libraries, for instance, were grappling with a lack of certainty about their continued role as a core information provider on campus, due in part to profound changes in information technology, formidable competition from such commercial giants as Google Scholar and Amazon, and the skyrocketing costs of providing access to scholarly publications.

To address this multi-pronged crisis, academic librarians writing in the literature of library and information science (LIS) exhort the assigned leaders¹ of libraries to transform their organizations by acting as change agents, reorganizing and repositioning their staff, taking more risks, becoming more entrepreneurial, and outsourcing many of the library's functions to improve efficiencies and make room for new services. Such leaders, however, may also operate in environments that include unionized professional and support staff workforces; yet the reality of leading in this context is an issue rarely addressed in the literature of library and information science. This lack of coverage is a glaring omission when one considers that, as far back as 1985, 49.5 percent (or 47 of 95) of libraries responding to an Association of Research Libraries (ARL) survey indicated that there was union representation for some, if not all, of their employees (Lynden & Association of Research Libraries, 1985). A 1997 survey conducted by the American Library Association (ALA) found that 30 percent of 891 responding libraries had at least some professional or support staff covered by collective bargaining agreements, while 108 of these same libraries (12 percent) reported that *all* staff members were unionized (American Library Association, 2007). By 2008, according to a fact sheet produced by the American Federation of

¹ "Assigned leaders" is a term that describes people who are expected to lead organizations due to the formal positions they hold (Northouse, 2013, pp. 8-9), such as library directors and associate/assistant directors in academic libraries, but they may not necessarily be actual leaders in the broader sense of that term.

Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO, 2009), 25.8 percent of all librarians and 19.4 percent of all library technicians were union members. In fact, “workers in education, training, and library occupations had the highest unionization rate at 38.7 percent” compared to other segments of the working population (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2008, n.p.).

Unions can bring positive changes for their members and for the broader workforce beyond libraries, as employees seek increased wages and benefits. Unions may also constrain assigned leaders when these managerial leaders attempt to make timely and substantial changes during crisis situations. As Buller (2007) states:

There are two fundamental rules that deans must always remember about organized labor and its relationship to higher education. First, working with a unionized faculty and staff can simplify matters greatly. Second, working with a unionized faculty and staff can complicate matters to an almost unimaginable degree. The real difficulty arises because these two rules are both equally true simultaneously. (p. 368)

An ARL (1973) publication affirms: “Each provision of a collective bargaining agreement is in effect a [management] limitation where none had formally existed before” (p. 3). Collective bargaining can lead to contractually-bound staff classifications and job descriptions, and strictures related to salaries, outsourcing, and layoffs. On the other hand, unionization can also bring a formalized means for settling employer/employee disputes and improving the management of the organization by providing mechanisms for positive faculty/staff participation in policy and decision making. Unionization can also be a way for administration, faculty, and staff to navigate the complex political and cultural relationship with fewer disruptions. This can

be accomplished through a formalized structure for negotiations and conflict resolution (Carr & Van Eyck, 1973).

Problem Statement

The recent economic recession and its aftermath have had a major impact on many academic institutions, especially those located in the most economically depressed states. For these institutions and their libraries that are unionized, it is unclear if, and how, unionization has helped or hindered administrators at the senior management level during and after this crisis. While research has addressed the effects of unionization on some academic library operations and employees, no study has examined the changes that have occurred in unionized libraries and in their assigned leaders' ability to transform their organizations. This study fills the gap by addressing the changes in unionized libraries that have occurred since the onslaught of the economic recession; and if (and how) assigned leaders try to ensure that strategic or operational changes still occur as needed. What types of leadership strategies do they use to bring about change, and which do they consider most effective? Do assigned leaders perceive unionization as aiding them in coping with the recession? If yes, in what ways? If not, why not?

The results of this study provide insights into unionized academic libraries during the recession and its aftermath. Those insights are important to understand if these libraries are to be led and changed successfully in all circumstances. Examining these environments also contributes to current theories about leadership in higher education, including scholarship related to the types of leadership strategies that work best at financially stressed institutions. Effective leadership strategies in these relatively unstudied environments are critical to ascertain, if higher education administrators in any context wish to improve their organizations' relevance, performance, and sustainability.

Literature Review

In contrast to copious scholarly writing covering collective bargaining, DeMitchell (2005) confirms that relatively few research studies have examined unionization in higher education. Fewer still have focused on the changes that unionization brings to higher education administration and management specifically. With a small number of exceptions, the works that are available tend to be decades-old, written in the mid-1960s through the 1980s, perhaps because these were years that saw heavy union growth and activity in public sector higher education.

Chandler and Chiang (1973) identified seven crucial areas as indicative of a union's penetration into the managerial functions of academic administrators, five of these related to personnel matters (i.e., appointment, evaluation, nonrenewal, promotion, and tenure), and two to governance issues (i.e., long-range planning and budget (allocation of funds)). They examined 91 collective bargaining agreements (CBAs) associated with two- and four-year institutions and they found that 68 percent of the contracts had management rights clauses. The CBAs with articles on personnel matters were mixed, with about half of the contracts having no provision for appointments, evaluation, and promotion, while 75 percent included articles on nonrenewal, and 65 percent included articles on tenure. Articles in governance areas were found in far fewer numbers, with only six CBAs establishing joint faculty-administration committees for long-range planning, and only eight making provisions for budgetary committees. The researchers concluded that most CBAs reflected a lack of union penetration into traditional areas of management purview, whereas more noteworthy penetration had been made into personnel areas. However, the results indicated that personnel areas were ripe to continue gaining additional union pressure on management rights in the future.

Analyzing contracts and other documents to provide historical and contextual details, and conducting in-depth interviews of 60 academic personnel at six institutions, Lee (1979) studied the structural changes in governance systems at 90 four-year state colleges and private liberal arts colleges and universities that were unionized as of July 1974. Preserving or acquiring faculty decision-making power and autonomy was the main motivation of the faculty for unionizing; this reason was more important than improving faculty salaries and benefits. Changes in the faculty's share of decision-making power and autonomy from administrators were evident in several examined areas of institutional operations. For example, where faculty already enjoyed decision-making power in academic matters, such as setting admission policies and degree requirements, unionization helped to legitimize and protect that autonomy; where faculty did not already have this authority, unionization helped to increase it.

Walker and Lawler (1982) conducted a study focusing on the perspectives of 247 mid-level administrators concerning faculty bargaining and the implementation of unionization in the California State University and Colleges (CSUC) system. They found that administrators supported unionism in a variety of ways, depending upon the administrators' "expectations concerning outcomes, perceptions of how well bargaining [was] working in higher education, and personal political orientation" (p. 353). If administrators had a conservative political orientation, there was a moderate tendency for them not to support faculty bargaining. If administrators exhibited a weak sense of integration into the administrative hierarchy and were not satisfied with their salaries, they tended to support unionism. Overall, however, most administrators expected unionism to have adverse effects on their decision making, power, and flexibility, especially if they perceived that the collective bargaining agent was an "aggressive" one. They generally believed that unionization was not working well in higher education, and

this belief strongly influenced their views about whether bargaining would be a positive process for their own institutions.

Wilson, Holley, and Martin (1983) conducted a national study to ascertain the attitudes of university administrators toward faculty unionization. In their survey of university presidents at two- and four-year institutions, they compared the respondents' retrospective attitudes toward unionization (before their institutions were unionized) with their current attitudes about unionization (after their institutions were unionized), in order to ascertain how the administrators' attitudes had changed. Wilson et al. discovered that, after unionization, administrators tended to believe that unionization had not brought about any significant change to their institutions in the areas of faculty influence in institutional policy making, shared governance, professional values, academic freedom, job security, and salaries. After unionization, the administrators believed more strongly that unionization resulted in divisive relationships between administrators and faculty mediocre faculty performance, and tended to inhibit, rather than stimulate, positive change at their institutions.

Chandler and Julius (1985) examined the impact of unionization on shared authority between administrators and faculty in 285 two- and four-year colleges and universities. Analyzing collective bargaining agreements (CBAs), they concentrated on clauses regarding management rights, encompassing two key administrative areas of jurisdiction (long-range planning and retrenchment), and four personnel-related areas (promotion, appointment, non-renewal, and tenure). The purpose of their research was to understand how, or if, management asserted its rights in the CBAs or whether faculty unions encroached on these management rights. The findings were mixed regarding the specific bargaining agent in question; how long the collective bargaining agent had been in place; whether or not the department chair was included

in the bargaining unit; the characteristics of the institution (e.g., public or private); organizational size; and geographic location. Stronger management rights and a weaker “faculty voice” were more apparent in two-year private institutions, but not in the four-year institutions, for a variety of reasons. Geographical region and the particular state “emerged as key explanatory variables” (p. 111).

In the literature of library and information science (LIS), one relevant study was published in 1973 as a professional “issue paper” rather than a scholarly article. Using data gathered for a Council on Library Resources fellowship project by Joan Gotwals, the ARL (1973) report summarized union-related trends that have an impact on management. Larger unions with more members, as noted in this report, tended to focus on compensation issues such as salary and benefits, rather than on operational-level issues, and because of unionization, there is an increased need for recordkeeping for statistics, compliance, and reporting. The report encourages administrators to make sure the contract works at the library, by providing input and feedback about contract proposals.

Based on his dissertation, Kusack (1986) provides an overview on the history of unions in academic libraries and the effects of unionization on support staff, but he does not study unionization and library management. Several LIS studies have addressed the impact of unionization on specific aspects of library operations and librarians’ work conditions, job satisfaction, salaries, and benefits (e.g., Anderson, D’Amicantonio, & DuBois, 1992; Applegate, 2009) as well, but none of them have addressed the intersection of unions and library administrations in a substantive way. When the effects of unions on library management are addressed, they are usually included as subordinate to other topics of collective bargaining, such as librarian salaries, benefits, and faculty members’ academic freedom. In her work on

questioning who benefits from unionization in academic libraries, Applegate (2009) acknowledged this gap and called for more research, stating that “case studies and selective interviews could address in a more systematic and less anecdotal way how library managers’ decision making is influenced by union or nonunion situations” (p. 461).

Research Objectives and Questions

Primary Objectives	Questions
Institutional and Library Context 1. To identify the changes occurring in unionized academic libraries as a result of the economic crisis	a. What political changes, if any, have the libraries experienced, in terms of the assigned leaders’ ability to influence campus decision making, and to garner support and advocacy to improve the library’s situation? b. How has the crisis affected the libraries’ budgets, resources, and staffing levels? c. What changes have been seen, if any, in the libraries’ organizational performance? d. What changes have occurred in library administration/unionized staff interactions, in regard to increased collaboration between management and labor, and higher number of grievances?

2. To identify the perceptions that university administrators have about the changes occurring in academic libraries as a result of the economic crisis, and the effects of unionization on assigned leaders' attempts to handle the crisis	a. What changes have occurred in the libraries as a result of the economic crisis, as perceived by university administrators? b. What are the ways that university administrators believe unionization helps library administrators during difficult financial situations? c. What are the ways that university administrators believe that unionization hinders library administrators during difficult financial situations?
Union Context 3. To identify the benefits and constraints that administrators encounter as a result of working within unionized contexts during economic recessions	a. How much control, participation, or input do senior-level library administrators have in the collective bargaining process? b. To what degree are library administrators able to make decisions or influence decisions regarding union members' job classifications, work assignments, and salary levels? c. How does unionization help or hinder senior-level library administrators' abilities to control or adjust their operating and

	acquisitions budgets? d. What union-related issues concerning human resource management (promotions, disciplinary actions, layoffs, grievances, staff development) affect library administrators' decision making? e. What union-related issues related to organizational development and change (restructuring, workflow redesign, automation, outsourcing, etc.) affect library administrators' decision making? f. How does working in a unionized context and experiencing economic crises affect library administrators' own perceptions about their careers, advancement, and accomplishments? g. If unionization increases faculty/staff participation in policy making and operational decision making, does this help or hurt the organization, and in what ways? h. How has unionization affected the libraries' organizational values, and have these effects made it more difficult for assigned leaders
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	to implement changes?
Leadership Context 4. To identify assigned leaders' strategies for handling change in unionized, financially stressed environments	a. What types of leadership/management strategies do assigned leaders use, and which do they find effective? b. How have assigned library leaders adapted their strategies to adjust to the economic crisis? c. Have assigned leaders made changes to libraries' vision and mission statements, and strategic plans and priorities as a result of the economic crisis, and if so, in what ways? d. What changes have assigned leaders made to the libraries' allocations of staff and resources, and how do they relate to the libraries' strategic mission and vision statements? e. What changes have been made in the organizational structure and design (units merged, teams eliminated), and how do they relate to the library's strategic mission and vision statements? f. How have assigned library leaders evaluated

	the results of their change initiatives, to ensure their organizations are meeting institutional goals? g. Have the internal and external communication methods of assigned leaders changed during the crisis and, if so, in what ways?
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Secondary Objective	Questions
Library Staff Context 1. To identify the perceptions that library staff have about the changes occurring in academic libraries as a result of the economic crisis, and the effects of unionization on assigned leaders' attempts to handle the crisis	a. What changes have occurred in the libraries as a result of the economic crisis, as perceived by library staff? b. How does unionization help library administrators during difficult financial situations, as perceived by library staff? c. How does unionization hinder library administrator during difficult financial situations, as perceived by library staff?

Procedures

Case studies, which are in-depth examinations of real-life events as they occur in their natural settings (Yin, 2009a), focus on the “description and analysis of a single instance,

phenomenon, or social unit” (Merriam, 1991, p. 21). They are used in inductive research, where generalization to certain populations is not the goal, but rather where broad insights and generalization to theoretical propositions are desired (Yin, 2009a). The use of multiple case studies expands the breadth and richness of understanding further still, by allowing for different contextual conditions and variations to be investigated, and by providing opportunities for replication or contrasting of findings (Yin, 2009b).

Researchers often use both qualitative and quantitative data-gathering techniques in their case studies, either in an “across-method” design (i.e., qualitative and quantitative methods used sequentially) or in a “within-method” design (i.e., qualitative and quantitative methods used simultaneously) (Casey & Murphy, 2009). This process, known as triangulation, uses “multiple data sources and/or methods to measure a construct or a phenomenon in order to see if they converge and support the same conclusions” (Bickman & Rog, 2009, pp. 22-23). Triangulation in this research study was achieved through the investigation of targeted phenomena using content analysis of documents, qualitative interviews, and, where permissible, focus group interviews. It also was achieved by obtaining data from more than one perspective, through interviews with library directors, associate/assistant library directors, and, at the campus level, provosts or vice provosts; and through focus group interviews with unionized library employees who represent both professional staff and support staff.

The case studies in this research were instrumental rather than intrinsic, meaning that, while the individual cases with all of their complexities and particularizations were investigated to some depth, the main purpose was to move beyond the local situations, determine common themes, and derive deeper understandings of the issues related to the research questions (Stake, 2006).

The results from the case studies were examined through the lens of grounded theory, which generates theory from data obtained and analyzed systematically (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Locke (2001) confirms that grounded theory is suited to research on managerial and organizational issues, and that it captures the “complexities of the context in which action unfolds;” generates theoretical accounts that will link well back to practice; supports theorizing about new substantive issues that arise in fast-paced organizational environments; and brings about fresh perspectives and new theorizing in areas where mature established theoretical frameworks already exist (pp. 95-98).

Case Selection

Cases were selected through purposive sampling, with selection criteria narrow enough to identify a small group of institutions that share similar campus environments. The goal was to provide realistic opportunities for intensive study, while allowing for interesting variations in contexts for study of the phenomena. Stake (2005) notes that for collective case studies, “selection by sampling of attributes should not be the highest priority,” but that “balance and variety are important,” and the “opportunity to learn is often more important” than focusing on any specific criterion such as representativeness (p. 451).

In order to identify an initial group of academic libraries with similar campus environments, U.S. institutions of higher education categorized by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching as holding a particular research status in common and comprising “public,” “large,” and “four-year” institutions were selected. These universities awarded a certain number of doctorates per year and had the same level of research activity, based on a multi-index formula that takes into account both aggregate and per-capita research levels. The population was further refined as institutions that are publicly controlled versus privately controlled, having

fall full-time-equivalent (FTE) enrollment levels of at least 10,000 degree-seeking students, and serving as bachelor degree-granting institutions (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, n.d.). The refined population totaled over 25 universities.

To determine which of the institutions and their libraries were unionized, in February 2010, the investigator telephoned the administration offices of each library. Administrators at eight of the libraries indicated that some, if not all, of their employees were unionized. In March 2010, the investigator sent a formal online survey, adapted with permission from an ARL survey instrument (Lynden & Association of Research Libraries, 1985), to the senior administrators of these eight libraries. (See Appendix A for the survey form.) The senior administrators confirmed that both librarians and support staff were unionized at all of the eight libraries. Table 2.1 shows the bargaining agents involved, including the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) and the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), among others, and the number and types of represented library employees.

Because the investigator had a personal connection with one of the sites, that particular library served as a place where the research methodology, interview questions, and focus group questions were pre-tested prior to being applied to the remaining cases (see chapter section on “Data Quality”).

According to data compiled by the Center for the Study of Education Policy (n.d.), the seven remaining institutions are situated in states with negative figures reported in two-year percent change in state monies supporting higher education over the period of fiscal years (FY) 2008-2010. The investigator used this information as an indication of the possible depth of fiscal challenges faced by these universities during the recession in the late-2000s and its aftermath.

Each of these states showed negative percentages even when federal stimulus monies were included as part of total state support during the same period.

Indicating further financial stress, institutional endowments at the seven universities declined in market value from fiscal year 2008 to 2009, some severely, according to data obtained from the National Association of College and University Business Officers (NACUBO, 2010).

Methodology

The investigator asked professional colleagues who have existing relationships with the identified libraries and/or library directors, to approach the library directors and make initial inquiries as to the libraries' willingness to serve as case study sites. She then sent the directors an initial e-mail message in August 2010 that announced and described the study, and she requested their participation. Once the directors indicated a willingness to participate in study, she telephoned them or their designated contacts to request access to and retrieval of relevant documents, and to schedule convenient times for site visits, interviews, and focus group interviews. Four library directors (universities B, C, D, and G) allowed their libraries to participate as case studies. The library director at University A declined to participate in the study, after raising concerns about the study's union-related subject matter during a period of contentious contract negotiations with the faculty union at the institution. The library directors at universities E and F expressed interest initially in participating, but this interest diminished when the investigator tried to obtain firm commitments from them.

With the assistance of the administrative offices at each participating site, the investigator sent out e-mail invitations and Focus Group Volunteer Information forms to librarians and library support staff (as shown in appendices B and C), requesting their participation in the focus

group interviews. The investigator obtained signed “Informed Consent” forms from all study participants (see appendices D and E for the “Informed Consent” forms).

Table 2.1
Unionized Libraries in the Subject Population*

University Name	Librarians/ Professional Staff Union	No. of Unionized Librarians/ Professional Staff	Library Technicians/ Support Staff Union	No. of Unionized Library Technicians/ Support Staff	Clerical/ Other Staff Union	No. of Unionized Clerical/ Other Staff
University A	American Association of University Professors (AAUP)	12	State Education Association	12	State Education Association	2
University B	State-based Association	13	American Federation of State, County, Municipal Employees (AFSCME)	22	AFSCME	Included in No. of Library Technicians/ Support Staff
University C	State-based Association	Respondent indicated “unknown”	AFSCME	Respondent indicated “unknown”	AFSCME	Respondent indicated “unknown”
University D	State-based Association	15	Supervisory-Technical Association	20	United Auto Workers (UAW)	10
University E	Faculty-based Association	15	Classified Staff Union	13	Classified Staff Union	Included in No. of Library Technicians/ Support Staff
University F	State-based Association	12	State-based Classified/ Technical Union	5	Service Employees International Union (SEIU)	7
University G	SEIU	21	SEIU	Included in No. of Librarians	Communication Workers of America (CWA)	15
Pre-Test Site	AAUP	14	SEIU	33	SEIU	1

**Note.* Libraries’ Responses to Investigator’s Online Survey conducted in March 2010.

Document Analysis

During the first phase of the project, the investigator gathered and analyzed existing relevant institutional and library documents and statistics, which were obtained from university, library, and higher education-related websites; and by direct requests to the institutions' assigned leaders. Examining these general artifacts allowed the investigator to build a descriptive profile for each case site, and aided the understanding of each site's historical, political, and economic contexts. Relevant documents and statistics include the following:

- General institutional and library-related historical and current documents and statistics. Documents related to mission, vision, strategic planning, unionization, and assessment were analyzed. Financial data were examined for trends in fiscal and operational characteristics and expenditures related to the libraries.
- Collective Bargaining Agreements (CBAs) for faculty/librarians. Following the example of Lee (1979), Chandler and Chiang (1973), and Chandler and Julius (1985), specific clauses in faculty/librarian CBAs were examined in relation to their effects on library administrators' decision-making power. Relevant clauses include those pertaining to management rights; long-range planning, budget, and retrenchment; personnel issues such as promotion, appointment, non-renewal, grievances, and layoffs; academic or operational actions allowed in response to budget crises, such as program reduction and outsourcing; and economic issues, including salary level and benefits.
- Participant and non-participant observation records. News reports and other chronicles of relevant issues addressed by assigned leaders for the university, library, and/or union responses and actions were analyzed.

Table 2.2

Data Planning Matrix for the Case Studies*

Why do I need to know?	What do I need to know?	What kind of data will answer the questions?	Where can I find the data and/or from whom can I obtain the data?
Institutional and Library Context 1. To identify the changes occurring in unionized academic libraries, as a result of the economic crisis	a. What political changes, if any, have the libraries experienced, in terms of the assigned leaders' ability to influence campus decision making, and to garner support and advocacy to improve the library's situation?	- Document Analysis - Interviews	Documents: general institutional and library-related documents and statistics; university, library, and/or union correspondence; participant and non-participant observation records. Interviews: library director, associate/assistant library directors, provost or vice provost.
	b. How has the crisis affected the libraries' budgets, resources, and staffing levels?	- Document analysis - Interviews	Documents: general institutional and library-related documents and statistics; university, library, and/or union correspondence; participant and non-participant observation records. Interviews: library director, associate/assistant library directors, provost or vice provost.
	c. What changes have been seen, if any, in the libraries' organizational performance?	- Document analysis - Interviews	Documents: general institutional and library-related documents and statistics; university, library, and/or union correspondence; participant and non-participant observation records. Interviews: library director, associate/assistant library

			directors, provost or vice provost.
	d. What changes have occurred in library administration/unionized staff interactions in these situations, in regard to increased collaboration between management and labor, and higher number of grievances?	• Document analysis • Interviews • Focus group sessions	Documents: general institutional and library-related documents and statistics; university, library, and/or union correspondence; participant and non-participant observation records. Interviews: library director, associate/assistant library directors. Focus groups: unionized librarians, unionized library support staff.
Institutional and Library Context (cont'd) 2. To identify the perceptions that university administrators have about the changes occurring in academic libraries as a result of the economic crisis, and the effects of unionization on assigned leaders' attempts to handle the crisis	a. What changes have occurred in academic libraries, due to the economic crisis, as perceived by university administrators?	• Interviews	Interviews: provost or vice provost.
	b. What are the ways that university administrators believe unionization helps library administrators during difficult financial situations?	• Interviews	Interviews: provost or vice provost.
	c. What are the ways that university administrators believe that unionization hinders library administrations during difficult financial situations?	• Interviews	Interviews: provost or vice provost
Union Context 3. To identify the benefits and constraints	a. How much control, participation, or input do senior-level library administrators have in the collective bargaining process?	• Document analysis • Interviews	Documents: CBAs. Interviews: library director, associate/assistant library directors.

that administrators encounter as a result of working within unionized contexts during economic recessions	b. To what degree are library administrators able to make decisions or influence decisions regarding union members' job classifications, work assignments, and salary levels?	• Document analysis • Interviews	Documents: CBAs. Interviews: library director, associate/assistant library directors.
	c. How does unionization affect senior-level library administrators' abilities to control or adjust their operating and acquisitions budget?	• Document analysis • Interviews	Documents: CBAs. Interviews: library director, associate/assistant library directors.
	d. What union-related issues concerning human resource management (promotions, disciplinary actions, layoffs, grievances, staff development) affect library administrators' decision making?	• Document analysis • Interviews	Documents: CBAs. Interviews: library director, associate/assistant library directors.
	e. What union-related issues related to organizational development and change (restructuring, workflow redesign, automation, outsourcing, etc.) affect library administrators' decision making?	• Document analysis • Interviews	Documents: CBAs. Interviews: library director, associate/assistant library directors.
	f. How does working in a unionized context and experiencing economic crises affect library administrators' own perceptions about their careers, advancement, and accomplishments?	• Interviews	Interviews: library director, associate/assistant library directors.
	g. If unionization increases faculty/staff participation in policy making and operational decision making, does this help or hurt the organization, and in what ways?	• Interviews • Focus group sessions	Interviews: library director, associate/assistant library directors. Focus groups: unionized librarians, unionized library support staff.
	h. How has unionization affected organizational values, and have these effects made it more difficult for assigned leaders to implement changes?	• Interviews • Focus group	Interviews: library director, associate/assistant library directors. Focus groups: unionized librarians, unionized

		sessions	library support staff.
Leadership Context 4. To identify assigned leaders' strategies for handling change in unionized, financially stressed environments.	a. What types of leadership/management strategies are used by assigned library leaders in these circumstances, and which do they find effective?	- Interviews - Focus group sessions	Interviews: library director, associate/assistant library directors. Focus groups: unionized librarians, unionized library support staff.
	b. How have assigned leaders adapted their strategies to adjust to the economic crisis?	- Interviews - Focus group sessions	Interviews: library director, associate/assistant library directors. Focus groups: unionized librarians, unionized library support staff.
	c. Have assigned leaders made changes to libraries' vision and mission statements, and strategic plans and priorities as a result of the economic crisis, and if so, in what ways?	- Document analysis - Interviews - Focus group sessions	Documents: general institutional and library-related documents and statistics; university, library, and/or union correspondence; participant and non-participant observation records. Interviews: library director, associate/assistant library directors. Focus groups: unionized librarians, unionized library support staff.
	d. What changes have assigned leaders made to the libraries' allocations of staff and resources, and how do they relate to the libraries' strategic mission and vision statements?	- Document analysis - Interviews - Focus group sessions	Documents: general institutional and library-related documents and statistics; university, library, and/or union correspondence; participant and non-participant observation records. Interviews: library director, associate/assistant library directors. Focus groups: unionized librarians, unionized library support staff.

	e. What changes have been made in the organizational structure and design (units merged, teams eliminated), and how do they relate to the library's strategic mission and vision statements?	• Document analysis • Interviews • Focus group sessions	Documents: general institutional and library-related documents and statistics; university, library, and/or union correspondence; participant and non-participant observation records. Interviews: library director, associate/assistant library directors. Focus groups: unionized librarians, unionized library support staff.
	f. How have assigned library leaders evaluated the results of their change initiatives, to ensure their organizations are meeting institutional goals?	• Document analysis • Interviews • Focus group sessions	Documents: general institutional and library-related documents and statistics; university, library, and/or union correspondence; participant and non-participant observation records. Interviews: library director, associate/assistant library directors. Focus groups: unionized librarians, unionized library support staff.
	g. Have the internal and external communication methods of assigned leaders changed during the crisis and, if so, in what ways?	• Document analysis • Interviews • Focus group sessions	Documents: general institutional and library-related documents and statistics; university, library, and/or union correspondence; participant and non-participant observation records. Interviews: library director, associate/assistant library directors, provost or vice provost, union representatives. Focus groups: unionized librarians, unionized

			library support staff.
Library Staff Context 5. To identify the perceptions that library staff have about the changes occurring in academic libraries, and the effects of unionization on assigned leaders' attempts to handle the economic crisis	a. What changes have occurred in the libraries as a result of the economic crisis, as perceived by library staff?	• Documents • Focus group sessions	Documents: union correspondence; participant and non-participant observation records. Focus groups: unionized librarians, unionized library support staff.
	b. How does unionization help library administrators during difficult financial situations, as perceived by library staff?	• Documents • Focus group sessions	Documents: union correspondence; participant and non-participant observation records. Focus groups: unionized librarians, unionized library support staff.
	c. How does unionization hinder library administrators during difficult financial situations, as perceived by library staff?	• Documents • Focus group sessions	Documents: union correspondence; participant and non-participant observation records. Focus groups: unionized librarians, unionized library support staff.

Note. Adapted by permission, M. LeCompte and J. Presissle, *Ethnography and Qualitative Design in Educational Research*, 2nd edition, 1993. Copyright ©1993 Academic Press, San Diego, California. All rights reserved.

Site Visits and Interviews

During the second phase of the project, site visits to the campuses were conducted in order to complete formal semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews. One-on-one, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the library directors, the associate/assistant library directors, and the provosts or vice provosts, according to the Data Planning Matrix (see Table 2.2). Interviews lasted approximately 60 to 90 minutes. (Appendix F contains the interview questions.)

If permitted access to unionized staff and librarians, the investigator held focus group interviews at the sites, with up to seven union-represented employees participating. After obtaining signed “informed consent” forms from all interview participants and focus group participants (see appendices D and E), the investigator led the interviews and audio-recorded them. (Appendix G contains the focus group interview questions.) Confidentiality was protected by coding the names of participants that corresponded to interview and focus group transcripts. All names corresponding to the interviews and focus group participants were deleted so that there was no linkage back to actual names.

When all of the interviews and focus group interviews were completed, the investigator transcribed the audio recordings and her notes. After checking the transcriptions against the recordings and notes for accuracy, she analyzed, interpreted, and summarized the transcripts for trends, patterns, and themes in responses to the key research questions. ATLAS.ti, Version 6, data analysis software, supported the coding and analysis of all textual content, including the content of documents and transcripts of interviews and focus group sessions.²

Data Quality

The investigator maintained a personal affiliation with one of the subject universities; for that reason, the university served only as a pre-test site. The pre-test examined the investigator’s document-analysis methods, and ensured that the interview and focus group questions produced consistent, meaningful answers that were representative of the study objectives, and that were “reliable and valid measures” of the phenomena under study (Fowler & Cosenza, 2009, p. 376).

² According to its producers, ATLAS.ti is a “powerful workbench for the qualitative analysis of large bodies of textual, graphical, audio and video data” (ATLAS.ti Scientific Software Development GmbH, 2009).

Using a cognitive interview process with selected pre-test participants and a question-appraisal checklist by Fowler and Cosenza (2009, p. 402), the study's interview and focus group questions were evaluated and refined, to ensure that the questions were consistently understood and that they enabled participants to perform the tasks in the study.

Conclusion

The changing financial situation in higher education and academic libraries, brought on by the global economic crisis of 2008 and 2009, falling endowments, substantial changes in information technology, and the skyrocketing costs of scholarly journals, led to a situation in which many assigned leaders in academic libraries were expected to position their libraries successfully and transform them for the twenty-first century. Yet, how assigned leaders in unionized environments cope with change, be it substantial or incremental, is rarely addressed within the literature of library and information science. Instead, most of the literature about unionization in libraries is about collective bargaining itself; little is available about unionization's effect on library administration and leadership. This lacuna leaves several important questions unanswered, including: What changes have occurred in unionized libraries since the recent economic recession, and how do assigned leaders in those libraries ensure that strategic or operational changes still take place as needed?

The next chapter presents a narrative overview of the four case studies undertaken to address these questions, and summarizes data gathered through analysis of one-on-one interviews of assigned leaders, focus group interviews with unionized librarians and staff, and other sources from the selected sites (see Table 2.2). Each case study contains details about the assigned leaders participating in the study, the collective bargaining agreement covering librarians, changes occurring in the libraries, the overall effects of unionization, the perceived

benefits and constraints of unionization, and the strategies of the assigned leaders embedded in these environments.

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Chapter 3

OVERVIEW OF THE FOUR CASE STUDIES

This chapter presents a narrative overview of the results of the four case studies. Interpretation and analysis of the results will occur in subsequent chapters 5 through 7, followed by the concluding chapter, 8, which will present a summary of the findings, implications of the study, and the conclusion.

Four library directors (universities B, C, D, and G) agreed to participate in the study.¹ Library administrative staff at each institution assisted the investigator with the logistical arrangements for the site visits, including scheduling of interview appointments, communicating with library employees to obtain focus-group volunteers, and arranging for meeting rooms. All but one of the participating library directors let the investigator conduct interviews with both assigned leaders and library-employee focus groups. Citing the sensitivities involved in the university's ongoing contract negotiations with the faculty union, the library director at University D withheld permission for the investigator to meet with unionized library employees.

Universities B and C are located in the same state, while universities D and G are situated in different states. For this reason, based on the institutions' geographic proximity, the investigator's visits to the four campuses were organized into two trips: Universities D and G in September 2010, and universities B and C in November 2010. Table 3.1 shows broad environmental and operational characteristics for the four universities. At the institutions, student populations varied, ranging from approximately 12,000 (headcount) to more than 20,000. Two institutions are primarily residential in setting, while the remaining two institutions are primarily

¹ Please note that, with the dissertation committee's consent, efforts have been made to disguise the four institutions without compromising the findings.

nonresidential. Staffing at the libraries varied as well, with the number of total staff ranging from 50 to 90. Other statistics, ones related to library salaries, expenditures, and collection sizes, illustrate that, although the libraries were selected for the study due to reasons that applied across the cases (i.e., same Carnegie classifications, public control, receipt of decreased state funding for higher education, and a decrease market value of endowments), there were other differences in terms of political, budgetary, and operational characteristics. Furthermore, even though the libraries have experienced multiyear budget cuts since 2008, the directors have adapted to financial stresses and the unionization environment in different ways.

Table 3.1
Institutional/Library General Characteristics

Institutions	B	C	D	G
Enrollment-Headcount	Approximately 12,000	Approximately 13,000	Approximately 20,000	Approximately 15,000
Setting	Primarily nonresidential	Primarily residential	Primarily residential	Primarily nonresidential
Number of libraries	1 central, 1 branch, 2 departmental	1 main, 4 branches	1 central, 2 branches	1 central
Total library staff	50	90	90	75
Total library salaries	\$1.5 million	\$2.5 million	\$3.5 million	\$2.5 million
Total library expenditures	Approximately \$3.3 million	Approximately \$6.3 million	Approximately \$9 million	Approximately \$5 million

University B

By 2010, the university had experienced a cumulative reduction of more than \$10 million in recurring Educational & General (E&G) state funding for two years. Another sizable reduction in general revenue was announced for Fiscal Year (FY) 2010-2011, and was exacerbated by the loss of federal stimulus monies which has totaled more than \$4 million. The provost noted that, as of the end of 2010, the university had implemented cuts without resorting to employee

furloughs or mass layoffs across the campus. Instead the university has relied mostly on attrition and the elimination of unfilled positions to achieve the necessary cost reductions. Yet, the provost expressed grave concerns about the likelihood of new budget reductions in the immediate future, given the continuing problems with the local, national, and global economies. The provost opined that an unprecedented paradigm shift was taking place in higher education, and that if any new major cuts in state funding were directed at the university, more dramatic personnel and operational downsizing might become necessary.

Data Gathering

The investigator conducted a personal interview with the provost, the library director, and the associate library director. She also convened a focus group interview with six unionized faculty librarians and one staff member. The investigator consulted the in-force collective bargaining agreement with faculty, strategic planning documents, online press releases from the university's administration, and web-based chronicles in the form of news articles and blog posts to expand her understanding of the interview participants' comments.

Assigned Leaders Participating in the Study

The provost had nearly a decade of experience as an administrator in higher education, working first as a department chair and then as provost at this university. He had been involved as the chief negotiator while serving as a department chair. The library director had served nearly three decades as an administrator. He spent most of this time in higher education at a variety of institutions, working in both union and non-union settings. Earlier in his career, he had been a member of an industrial union and had worked to unionize one of his workplaces. The associate director gained all of her administrative experience at this university, serving in this position for

more than one year. Before joining this university, she had only worked in non-unionized libraries.

Collective Bargaining Agreement Covering Library Faculty

The university's first faculty collective bargaining agreement (CBA) was ratified in the mid-1970s, indicating the existence of a mature contractual relationship between administration and faculty. The size of the bargaining unit was over 300 as of 2006. The in-force CBA with faculty contained 34 articles and seven appendices. It covered topics ranging from "academic freedom and responsibility" to "severability," and incorporates a brief management rights clause.

Chandler and Chiang (1973) identified seven crucial areas as indicative of a union's penetration into the managerial functions of academic administrators, five of these related to personnel matters and two to governance issues. A similar study by Chandler and Julius (1985) changed one of the seven areas from "budget" to "retrenchment." The current study looked for articles addressing both "budget" and "retrenchment." Of these eight areas, the CBA includes articles related only to the five personnel matters (i.e., appointment, evaluation, nonrenewal, promotion, and tenure); not to those related to governance issues (i.e., long-range planning and budget (allocation of funds), and retrenchment).

Before the in-force CBA had been signed, the faculty had been working without a contract for approximately one year, due to an impasse that had been declared. According to the provost, a special magistrate issued an opinion that favored the university's position, but impasse procedures would allow for a ruling from the Board of Trustees, if one or both parties failed to agree with the magistrate. Both sides wanted to avoid this next step, so they negotiated an end to the impasse, with the university authorizing a modest across-the-board increase to faculty members' base salaries and pay increases for faculty promoted to the rank of professor.

Changes Occurring in the Libraries

Both the library director and associate director described years of repeated permanent and one-time cuts to the libraries' budget, with cuts totaling more than \$1 million between 2006 and 2010. Some budget cuts preceded the 2008 economic recession yet worsened after the crisis began. Library administrators did not receive university-level mandates about how exactly they would make the cuts and from what functions. Because of this, they used multiple techniques to absorb the cuts, with most of the impact being felt in significantly reduced staffing levels. Salary savings from deliberately unfilled or frozen positions, consisting of wages and benefit costs at the unit-level, were used for permanent budget-reduction demands; carry-forward savings (fund balances) were used for one-time cuts. Even when library administrators could keep funding for staff or librarian positions that were vacant due to attrition, they sometimes hesitated to fill those positions, out of concern that the positions would only have to be eliminated shortly thereafter. When they filled a position, the position had to address multiple critical needs. For example, a library webmaster position was combined with that of a computer lab manager for a new library computing center for students, in an attempt to address two needs through one position.

The director believed that staff members were "tentative" and "anxious," which he attributed to the fear of not knowing which of them might be targeted if layoffs occurred. He described the effect of the campus's facilities department, perceived as growing more ineffective and losing its good reputation due to reduced staffing levels, and he expressed the concern of library staff members that the libraries might suffer the same fate. The associate director commented that the decrease in staff levels has a "negative impact on [employees]," when employees were expected to do more and different work with fewer resources. Negative impacts of reduced staffing levels throughout the university also were noted as detrimental, with the

libraries having to cope with reduced capacity and service from other infrastructural units on campus as well.

According to the provost and the library administrators, users' perceptions of the libraries' performance continued to be mostly favorable. The provost noted that, although the libraries had reduced the acquisitions budget and given up unfilled lines rather than terminating individuals, there was an effort to ensure some modicum of stability in service levels. Complaints, when they did occur, were more likely to come from individual faculty members regarding the loss of specific databases, books, or journals in their disciplines, and from students regarding the libraries' operational hours. Complaints from faculty about the elimination of specific resources were often ameliorated, according to the associate director, with more user education about how to find alternative resources that remained available.

Notably, the libraries had not carried out any surveys or evaluation studies to examine users' perceptions of the libraries' performance during this time period of budget cuts. As a result, administrators' beliefs about the libraries' continued good performance were seemingly anecdotal.² As an alternative, the main library had placed a bulletin board in the library's public entrance to solicit written comments and suggestions. The new library director expressed his plans to implement an evaluation and assessment program within the next several months.

The libraries' performance, according to the associate director, had suffered due to its lack of resources to enhance services, carry out staff training programs and librarians' professional development, and fill positions. This, in turn, damaged the morale of library employees. The library's vision for the future had been downgraded, in that an original strategic

² The libraries had last used LibQUAL+™ seven years ago. This procedure involves a web-based survey offered by the Association of Research Libraries to ascertain faculty and student perceptions of service quality.

vision aspired to transform the main library into “that great third place,”³ but now the language had been softened in a new strategic plan. The recently-hired director of libraries realized funding levels would be inadequate for the libraries to create the great new learning spaces and high-quality collections as originally envisioned. Instead, the new goal as expressed in the strategic plan was to create spaces that would be “comfortable and inviting for students,” and there was a shift in the collection-related goal to maintain *core* or “curriculum-supportive” resources.

Complicating matters, a state-level fiscal document indicated that the governing bodies of the state’s universities were focused on leveraging economies of scale and gaining efficiencies in staff in such a way that could have a major impact on the future of the university libraries. The state’s goal, as stated in the document, was to establish, in the next few years, a joint library organization to address the needs of academic libraries by streamlining library operations through consolidation and joint purchasing.⁴

Effects of Unionization

The provost, library director, and associate director expressed concerns about the “us versus them” dynamic affecting the current relationships between administrators and faculty, although the three administrators offered different perspectives about the intensity of this dynamic and the reasons for its existence. An administrator highlighted the fact that, until recently contract negotiations had been conducted using interest-based bargaining, but then changed back to a traditional bargaining approach due to the influence of a new union official

³ This phrase refers to Oldenburg (1999), who explored the ways that a community’s gathering spaces outside of home and work keep the community vibrant and engaged.

⁴ No other details could be found about this goal’s practical details and whether it had been realized yet.

who had joined the team. The recent contract negotiations became much more contentious at that point, and an impasse was declared. Although the Collective Bargaining Agreement (CBA) had recently been ratified, the provost called the process “bruising” for both sides. The provost noted that the “hostility” level was high during the negotiating process and not so easy to ratchet down afterward.

An administrator thought that the adversarial nature of the relationship between faculty and administration extended beyond contract negotiations and could not be blamed solely on the recent impasse. At least insofar as the libraries’ organizational culture, the administrator pinpointed the cause for the adversarial nature as historical and deep-seated, based on the faculty’s distrust of and dissatisfaction with administration that had been the original impetus for unionization decades ago. Contentious encounters might have lessened over time, but long-standing faculty members who had played a role in the earlier unionization movement had trouble letting go of the past. To support this view, the administrator offered as illustrative evidence the fact that library administrators were traditionally “not invited to participate in library faculty council meetings,” even though these meetings were not about collective bargaining issues but were specifically about library governance issues.

The practice of excluding administrators from faculty council meetings was unique to the libraries, and not the norm in other academic units on campus. The administrator believed this anomaly existed as a result of long-standing library faculty members who were some of the most active union members on campus and a view among librarians that regular faculty members working in committees were supposed to be governing the library rather than administrators. “At some point,” the associate director said, “administration allowed it to occur,” and the exclusionary practice became embedded in the culture. The result was that library administrators

and faculty did not work together as closely or as effectively as they might do in a more inclusive, trusting environment.

The provost affirmed the perspective about the library faculty's strong identification with the union, when this person stated that librarians were more apt to be visible union activists than other faculty. The provost admitted this was his "gut feeling" and that he could not verify that opinion, because he was not privy to the names or statistics of union members on campus (actual union membership at the university is voluntary, even if membership in the bargaining unit is not). When asked if this higher level of union activism had any influence on his opinion of librarians as faculty colleagues, the provost stressed that it did not, that he viewed librarians and library staff as "incredibly professional," but he later noted that this professionalism co-existed with a "dysfunctional" culture. A library administrator noted that "some people ... have been so overly activist, it can almost lead to the opposite effect where their voice no longer counts." Yet, despite the stated union activism of library faculty, all three administrators acknowledged that library faculty had filed no recent grievances against administration. A library administrator speculated that university administrators continued to remember the grievances, although few in number, and this remembrance affected their perceptions of librarians.

The director of libraries, relatively new to the position, reported his initial surprise at the intense union identification of some of the library faculty, and believed that this type of union environment was "harder" and more "challenging" than any situation he had previously encountered. He noted his frustration at not being able to act as quickly and decisively as he did in prior environments, mainly because faculty members expected shared-governance processes for many operational areas he would have normally addressed immediately on his own as a library director. After one month on the job, he convinced himself, "... [that he had] to be

adaptive,” saying: “I’ve got to make some changes to their culture and their practices and their traditions.” Yet, he also expressed the desire to move ahead with his decisions without delay, wherever he could, in order to set the tone that the status quo would not be tolerated.

Benefits and Constraints of Unionization

The provost, library director, and associate director all agreed that working with a CBA brought benefits to administrators, as long as they took seriously their charge to live with and honor the contract. As the associate director stated, “If I were to go to another organization that had a very strong union, I think that I would, knowing what I know now, learn the collective bargaining agreement by heart and ensure that I abided by it, and if ever there was something that was a little questionable, I would go to legal counsel before I acted on anything.” For the provost, the benefits for administrators stemmed mainly from standardization of administrative interactions with faculty, knowing explicitly what personnel actions were allowed and how these actions could be carried out. He advised that administrators should familiarize themselves with the state laws that govern their particular public institutions, and that they should keep the “lines of communication open” and try not to foster an “us against them” mentality. As he explained, “I find [the CBA] is more my best friend than my enemy because it provides me guidance on how to do my job in accordance with the agreements reached in the past between the unions and the administration.” He echoed the stances taken by some faculty and administrators before the advent of unionization in higher education, however, when he added: “I think faculty are professionals and, to me, it is an anomaly that they should have to be represented in the same way as the union might represent a person on the line [in a factory setting].”

One of the worst constraints of operating in a unionized environment, according to the provost, was the tendency for the contract figuratively to “tie the administration’s hands” in

regard to hindering that person's ability to reward outstanding faculty, because negotiations often resulted in across-the-board raises to the detriment of administration's ability to reward exceptional performance with merit increases. Library administrators also mentioned this point, but indicated they were more concerned about the inability to carry out meaningful disciplinary action, if weak or poor performance called for this. Although the CBA included language about faculty evaluations, it did not provide procedures or methods with which administrators could address a faculty member's poor performance, other than to institute a "performance improvement plan." There were no stipulations mentioned in the contract for actions administrators or managers could take, if they believed the plan was not being followed. The library director emphasized that unionization itself does not hinder or constrain administrators, instead poorly negotiated contracts do.

Although the library administrators confirmed they had yet to play any substantive role during past or current contract negotiations, they believed that the current CBA otherwise did not present any major operational constraints that they could not ameliorate with workarounds or thoughtful planning. They cautioned, however, that additional care was required for any changes made to work assignments of unionized personnel. To illustrate this point, the director and associate director described the restructuring of the libraries' technical services division, which called for the merging of three work groups, each headed by unionized librarians. The merging of the groups would lead to the assignment of new work to one of the librarians, codified in the form of a new assignment letter. The letter would be drafted, a library administrator and the affected librarian would meet and discuss the proposed new work, and the librarian would be asked to sign the letter. If the librarian refused, the library administrator would consult with Human Resources and the situation would likely become contentious and result in a grievance.

Despite these challenges, the library director believed that he had encountered no real constraints in his ability to redesign jobs, other than the parameters he saw as his own professional ethics: “We do have some latitude, but our latitude is mostly limited by our professionalism. We are not going to take an MLS [master’s degree in library and information science]-degreed librarian and say ‘We want you to sort pencils all day.’” The director also did not perceive any barriers in his ability to outsource functions, although he believed the libraries did not have any particular work that would be a good candidate for outsourcing, save for the idea that he might turn to a consultant for analysis and evaluation of workflow in the library at some point in the future.

Strategies of Assigned Leaders

The library director described his efforts to establish a new strategic plan. Because the previous plan in place prior to his arrival was too broad and too vague, it was “not measurable” and could not really be used for budgeting purposes. The plan he envisioned, already in draft form, would incorporate specific metrics and associated costs, and would drive library budgeting and staffing decisions. Factors included in the draft were to market the libraries as a great learning environment for students, to cap the print collection at a certain number, and to emphasize specific targets and increased allocations to build on the numbers of e-books and e-journals in the collection. The new plan was focused around two major goals, one about enhancing the user experience and the other about increasing institutional effectiveness. Seven objectives were associated with these goals, as well as a list of underlying activities that would support the objectives. Each objective stipulates that dollars be spent in the ways intended to demonstrate accountability to the libraries’ stakeholders.

Covering the need to quantify and establish the worth of the libraries' efforts, an underlying purpose of the plan was to demonstrate the libraries' values to the institution. The director mentioned that a first step toward achieving this purpose would be to change the libraries' financial practices to use cost accounting systems and analyze how much each function in the library costs, and then to compare the allocated costs with the stated priorities in the libraries' strategic plan. He explained that, "We have a reference librarian who spends twenty percent of her time [teaching in the information literacy program]. However, if information literacy is a priority ... [as a student learning outcome], but we are only spending, say, \$14,000 per year on it, and yet we are spending \$2 million acquiring books. Is there a problem here?"

During this time of repeated budget cuts and downsizing of staff, library administrators concentrated on applying for campus reinvestment grants when internal opportunities arose. An example of this tactic could be seen in the award of a large internal grant of one-time funding from student technology fees to build a student computing center in the main library. The library administrators also redesigned operations when needed. The merging of technical services' teams mentioned earlier would be part of a larger reorganization that would take place after the strategic plan was finalized. The library had decreased its hours of being publicly open when the staffing levels fell too low to accommodate the longer schedules, but the director described strategies to restore those hours, which included reallocating a few staff members to work during the night shifts.

When asked about general leadership strategies to use in unionized environments during economic downturns, all three administrators stressed the importance of fairness, transparency in decision making, and open communication with staff and faculty. For example, the director and associate director reported that former library administrations had not shared budget information

with librarians and staff, but they gave this type of data to employees regularly now. The director emphasized that transparency was of the utmost importance, especially during economic crises, because every decision had to be driven by rational explanations tied to strategic objectives. He considered this type of transparency to be a form of professional development as well, believing it to be educational for employees. He said: “We are opening up everything. We’ve got nothing to hide. They are actually stunned when they see all of the data.” He tries to engage librarians in conversations about current developments in the broader world and how these might affect libraries, describing his plans to foster more reading among the librarians of the literature of library and information science and that from other disciplines, and how they would share insights from that reading with each other.

The provost and associate library director highlighted the need for assigned leaders to have a vision, with the provost positing that a leader must have a “vision of where you want to be and flexibility in terms of how you get there.” Although no explicit vision statement for the libraries was provided, the libraries’ new mission statement incorporated a sentence that contained vision-like components, in that it described the library’s intentions to inspire the individual and to encourage personal and social growth through the acquisition of knowledge.⁵

Perspectives of Library Staff and Faculty

Long-term unionized employees who participated in the focus group interview emphasized their lack of trust in previous administrations, both at the campus and library levels, and a corresponding increase in reliance on the union to protect them from what they perceived to be poor, arbitrary treatment from administrators. One long-term employee provided copious

⁵ Several months later, when the investigator checked the libraries’ website, the new strategic plan had been finalized and posted, and contained an explicit vision statement.

details about the history of unionization on campus, confirming that “quite a number of librarians were active as officers and played a big role in getting our contract and our benefits,” although he acknowledged this was no longer the case. He asserted that the relationship between faculty and administration had not always been as contentious as it had been recently, and placed much of the blame on recent contract negotiations. Another librarian noted that the relationship seemed to shift from collaborative to confrontational depending on the specific people involved: “Right now, I think the union is on the weak side. The [administration has] had a very hard line against the union in recent years, with the current president especially.” Long-term employees reminisced about a previous president, who protected employees from state cuts, by funding raises and merit pay out of endowment and foundation funds for several years. They thought that the cuts being made under the current president were more severe than they had to be.

The participants contended that economic demands from the administration such as austerity in raises would have been reasonable if the administrators agreed to make the same sacrifices. The union produced an analysis of salary increases for administrative positions that showed large pay raises for some administrators. There was also union rhetoric that portrayed the administration as bloated. One participant said, frankly: “[anti-administration rhetoric] was used as a negotiating ploy.”

In general, the participants perceived no downsides to unionization, viewing it as a way to gain equity and fairness in terms of apportioning budget cuts and penalties during economic downturns. They pointed out that the union fought for better pay and benefits for them, which they doubted would be the highest priority of administrators, and that job security was extremely important to them, given the fact that they did not have tenure-stream⁶ positions; they have

⁶ “Tenure-stream” is a term that includes both tenure-track and already tenured positions.

annual appointments. One participant maintained that unionization helped to improve workers' relationships with management. He related an example where contract negotiations resulted in the administration providing computing equipment for faculty.

The budget cuts in the library had been felt mainly as unrelenting work increases when positions were lost through attrition and the elimination of open lines, and employees had to do more with fewer resources and less staffing. The participants believed administration did not acknowledge this burden appropriately, and they understood the logic behind increasing enrollment numbers to generate revenue as state appropriations were reduced dramatically. Despite this increase in workload and the availability of fewer resources, all of the participants believed that the libraries' reputation for providing excellent service had not suffered.

When asked to describe the strategies they believed would make a leader succeed in a unionized environment during an economic downturn, the participants agreed that the current library administration's efforts to share budget information, communicate more openly, and involve them in decision making were welcome changes. They mentioned the importance of the leader's holding certain values and attributes more than following any specific strategies. The values and attributes they identified included honesty, accountability, thoughtfulness, courage in one's convictions, an avoidance of micromanaging, and an ability to respect library employees and not use them as "pawns on the library chess board." One participant said: "I think a leader should recognize what ... [his or her] employees are good at and empower ... [them] to do their jobs." In regard to a leader's vision, he added: "We've had a long history of not having a common vision among us ... with the director We've been very frustrated with our leaders over the years. I think something a leader should have is the vision of where he or she wants to take the place, what he or she wants to accomplish."

University C

Since 2007, the university has coped with reduced appropriations from the state. The permanent cuts totaled close to \$30 million, with the reduction for FY2011 alone expected to be between 10 and 15 percent of the university's state appropriations. Given the state's projected deficit, administrators expected more budget reductions in the future and the end of short-term funding from the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 (PL 111-5), known colloquially as federal "stimulus funding." Stimulus funding had saved hundreds of jobs at the university, but, by the end of 2010 with the stimulus funding expiring, dozens of employees were being laid off, and many other unfilled jobs were eliminated or unfilled.⁷ To absorb the reductions in staffing, the university was in the process of restructuring its operations, which would eventually eliminate several academic programs and close academic units. The university's president summed up the situation by stressing that the campus would have to focus on long-term survival, and would no longer be able to protect academic programs or avoid staff furloughs or layoffs in the short term.

Data Gathering

The investigator conducted a personal interview with the vice provost for academic human resources, and, in the libraries, the director, the associate director, and two assistant directors. She also held a focus group interview with three unionized faculty librarians, two unionized staff members, and two staff members who were members of the bargaining union but did not self-identify as dues-paying union members. The in-force collective bargaining agreement with faculty, strategic planning documents, online press releases from the university's

⁷ In later news chronicles, the provost noted that the union had filed grievances to protest the layoffs.

administration, and web-based chronicles in the form of news articles and blog posts provided additional insights.

Assigned Leaders Participating in the Study

The vice provost, who had nearly 30 years of experience, had worked in unionized and non-unionized environments. She had served as a membership chair, a long-standing grievance chair, and the president of the union when the in-force contract was signed. The library director had served as an assigned administrative leader for more than two decades. Most of that experience was at this university, but she also been a leader at other unionized institutions; she had also worked at a non-unionized university. Earlier in her career as a line librarian, she had served as shop steward and pushed for a more transparent process for librarians to earn promotion. The associate director also had more than 20 years of administrative experience at various colleges and universities that were both unionized and non-unionized. One of the assistant directors had approximately two decades of experience as an assigned leader. She had worked at other state universities that were unionized. As a previous union member, she had never held office in a union, but had voted in union elections and signed petitions. The other assistant director for technical services had served in this capacity for more than a decade, and had never worked in a nonunionized environment. Prior to these administrative appointments, she had been a union member herself.

Collective Bargaining Agreement Covering Library Faculty

Faculty members belong to a bargaining unit numbering over 400, as of 2006, and have been unionized since the mid-1970s. When the investigator visited the university in late 2010, faculty members were working under an extended CBA that had expired the previous year, and negotiations for a new CBA were ongoing. The in-force CBA consisted of 29 articles and five

appendices. It covered areas ranging from rights on consultation and academic freedom to severability. A brief management rights section was included. The CBA included articles on the personnel areas of appointment, evaluation, non-renewal, and promotion and tenure. However, it contained no articles in the major areas of governance (e.g., long-range planning, budget (allocation of funds), and retrenchment).

Changes Occurring in the Libraries

Soon after the 2008 recession began, funding for six library faculty and staff positions was transferred from the libraries' permanent budget to budget lines created by one-time federal stimulus funding. By the time the investigator visited the university, the six employees had already received their layoff notices, with the layoffs to occur the last day of the fiscal year, June 2011, when the stimulus funding was scheduled to end. The loss of the employees loomed large in all of the interviewees' remarks, as interviewees already perceived the libraries as too thinly staffed to carry out expected high standards of service. Temporary staffing, including paid student workers, had already been eliminated to save money. This move had forced the main library to shorten its hours of being open to the public by two hours every night, and a library branch to move to five days of operation, even though the student population and user demands had grown. The provost acknowledged that many people across the campus, but especially in the libraries, were asked to perform multiple jobs as more positions were eliminated. This "multitasking," as she called it, could not be avoided. Yet, a library administrator lamented: "Toil is the word. Toil with capital letters. And there comes a time when you have to look at your life and be realistic and cruel and say, all my life I have toiled for that employer. I have sacrificed. Nobody knows that better than me, my family, and god. Really, I have no thinking time. And I think that in itself is what gets people frustrated and burned out."

Before and during the recession, when the libraries refilled positions lost mainly through retirement of long-time librarians, both the director and an assistant director noted that the libraries were having difficulty in recruiting experienced librarians to replace retiring employees. They blamed this on the low salaries connected to the university's budgetary woes, and the libraries inability to keep and use salary savings and to augment salaries with stipends from the operating budgets, as they once used to do. According to the library director, salary studies confirmed that professionals were paid less than those performing similar jobs at comparable institutions. An assistant director worried about the libraries' loss of managerial leaders now that newer librarians were hired directly from library school with little real-world library or management experience. As this person explained, "We have junior librarians who don't understand management, the politics of management that affect the operations of the libraries, [and] the forces you have to work with. So, when they speak out sometimes, they are speaking out without that understanding."

The need to develop existing and new librarians was seen as critical, but this need was occurring at the same time that funding for professional travel was cut, and a restriction on anything but "mission-critical conferences" was imposed. An assistant director said, thus far, that only library-related meetings at the state-university level had been deemed mission-critical for the libraries.

Several library administrators mentioned the reallocation of remaining staff from technical services areas to public service areas as a technique to cope with the decrease in staffing. The administrators had also moved branch library employees back to the main library to maintain public service hours as much as possible. Other staffing changes were made not for budgetary reasons, but to gain economic efficiencies and to adjust to changing priorities in the

libraries. For example, the libraries moved one public services unit, interlibrary loan, from public services to technical services, mainly as a way to save space in access services and to change the supervision of the unit from the access services manager to the serials cataloger, who had more knowledge and expertise with the journal collection and back-end technical processing.

Although the libraries' acquisitions budget had been flat in recent years, it had also not been slashed, due to advocacy from the library director. Several formal faculty senate resolutions had asked the administration to hold the libraries' acquisitions budget harmless (i.e., to protect the budget with any further reductions), and these resolutions were given partial credit for the lack of budget cuts as well. All of those interviewed, from the university administrator to library staff members, expressed great admiration and respect for the library director's successful advocacy for the libraries' acquisitions budget. The vice provost remarked: "She is a strong advocate. If she is not at the meeting and the libraries come up, then others say, 'You know, you'd better not mess with anything until you talk to [the library director].' They respect her highly and want to make sure that she has what she needs." The director noted that, even in this time of budget woes, she had lobbied successfully to have inflation-related increases allocated for library acquisitions. The assistant director for collection management admitted that the flat acquisitions budget had resulted in a positive move to eliminate duplication and resources that were esoteric from the collection. As she mentioned, "We are down to a core collection of resources to support the degrees and the programs, and we still have been able to meet regional accreditation [standards]."

Institutional *exit interview* surveys with graduating undergraduate students continued to reveal high ratings of satisfaction with the library over the past few years. Despite a modest decline in satisfaction evident during the last academic year, the director pointed out that the

libraries' scores were still higher than all other academic units. She and other library administrators attributed the positive ratings to the libraries' strong culture of teamwork, collaboration, continuous improvement, strategic planning, and evaluation efforts. The only complaint received of late had been from student government regarding the reduction of open hours.

The libraries had completed a LibQUAL+™ study once every two to three years for the past several years, but had decided to forego conducting the study in this academic year, even though it had been scheduled, in order to save costs and to fund other initiatives. Library administrators planned to carry out the next LibQUAL+™ study the following year instead. The associate director noted that this situation tended to represent another practical effect of the economic downturn: progress and accomplishments related to the goals, objectives, and initiatives of the libraries' strategic plan were often delayed due to the inadequate funding and thin staffing, but were rarely stopped completely by them.

Effects of Unionization

Compared to the negative effects of the economic downturn on the libraries' staffing, the effects of unionization on the libraries' overall culture and operations seemed to be minimal, according to the interview participants and the investigator's own observations. The associate director called it a "non-issue." The library director noted that many contentious contract issues, such as promotion and tenure criteria, benefits, and job protection, had already been "hammered out long ago." The only real point of contention now seemed to be periodic pay raises for the libraries' union members. In fact, a raise to employees' base annual salaries had been recently issued for everyone except faculty members, which included librarians. The raise had not been

issued to faculty, because the faculty union had simultaneously decided to continue negotiating with administration in an attempt to get additional merit pay and other benefits into the CBA.

Other than the point of contention about the annual raise, no one in the libraries seemed concerned about unions creating adversarial relationships among library faculty, staff members, and library administration. No grievances related to the libraries had been filed during any of the administrators' lengths of service, according to all those interviewed. "I think the union really has less importance in this university than it had in my previous university [also in the same state]," said the director of libraries. "If you are doing good work, you will get regular salary increases as long as the budget permits. If you are doing extremely good work, every now and then, you might get a merit increase." She contrasted the collaborative, collegial atmosphere at the university to the more autocratic, "get in line, stay in line" approach of the former unionized university where she had worked, and said this could be a factor in the libraries' less confrontational culture.

The vice provost said that she had not seen any noticeable library-based contingent at union meetings, and had never perceived librarians to be more active or vocal union members than others. Yet, the vice provost expressed concerns that, beyond the libraries, the union's activism had intensified across campus. "They are in almost every meeting," she said. "At every committee that is formed, they want a presence. Even when the president meets with his academic leadership team, they believe they should be in the room." The vice provost related her view that the union's anti-administration rhetoric about increases in administrative positions and pay had intensified. She asserted her belief that the administration was not bloated, and reflected a true growth in administrative needs, especially as the campus population and demands for reports related to accountability and transparency had increased over the past few years. If the

vice provost's views were accurate, the library administrators seemed unaware of these changes and tensions in administration/union relations at the university level.

The investigator observed that unionized library employees showed little evidence of identifying strongly with their unions or even with their institution's libraries, but instead identified and expressed explicit affection and loyalty for the university. Library administrators fostered and encouraged this type of identification, in reaction to their own intense passion for the institution. As the library director explained, "There is a kind of contagion for the university. Once you start working here you just feel part of the community." The associate director of libraries confirmed this view:

I think our staff feels very much a part of the university. We don't see ourselves so much as library employees but university employees. I try to continue to put that forward, so it's not so much that the library has accomplished this or the library has done that, but that the university, the university through the library [has done this or that], to keep us connected there. With our new strategic plan that we are writing for 2010-2020, it emphasizes that we are directly under the university. We should not and do not have a purpose to exist outside of that.

Benefits and Constraints of Unionization

The library director and associate director agreed that the CBAs covering library faculty and staff were important documents that they consulted regularly when planning to change employees' job duties and carry out personnel-related functions such as promotions of and disciplinary actions against staff. Nonetheless, other than checking several dog-eared sections related to these issues, few, obvious constraints hampered their efforts to transform the libraries'

operations and functions to meet the evolving needs of users. They believed that most of this flexibility came not from the CBAs themselves, which actually had rather strict definitions of job classifications associated with them, but from their attempts to build a collaborative, communicative organization in which staff and faculty participated on committees and in discussions about changes well before they were implemented. The associate director stated: “I have not found any restriction to what I would have done or what I think needs to be done. Referring to the documents, it has been a consultation, a step to be sure that I am on the right track and not stepping on any toes. But I think that when you have the best interests of your students and staff in mind, then the union ought to be happy with you.” The vice provost mentioned one other direct benefit of unionization, namely that contract negotiations allowed those sharing a common goal (i.e., administrators and faculty who cared about educating students) to come together and resolve issues that had an impact on the entire academic enterprise.

Except for the obvious involvement of the vice provost in negotiations, of the four library administrators interviewed, only the library director had once participated as a member of the administration’s negotiating team. Other library administrators had never provided direct input into the tenets of the contract, although they had recently worked with library faculty to revise the libraries’ promotion criteria and evaluation form, which would eventually become part of the faculty contract. The associate director noted that the influence she had wielded in past unionized environments throughout her career tended toward more informal persuasion through discussions with administrative superiors and with unionized library subordinates, rather than direct involvement with contract negotiations.

Strategies of Assigned Leaders

The library administrators expressed a strong commitment and belief in the value of collaborative strategic visioning, planning, and evaluation and assessment processes, which extended through all levels of the organization, based upon the comments of individual interviews and focus group participants. These processes had been used extensively for at least a decade with the most recent process culminating in a strategic plan for 2010-2020.

The members of the libraries' strategic planning team included a representative from the university's strategic planning committee, whom library administrators had asked to review the plan and make sure that the libraries were moving forward together with the university. The assistant director for public services emphasized that "When you are a manager, you need to embrace the vision of your employer. If you can't embrace it, leave, because you can never manage it correctly. How do you make it work? You have a strategic plan, vision, policies and procedures, and someone who has stamina and wants to get it done."

Extensive participation in and communication of library-wide initiatives among all levels and types of library employees was the norm, according to those interviewed. The library director and associate director also used empowerment of middle managers and emphasis of ownership over library functions and services to develop leadership skills and commitment throughout the organization. For example, the associate director had carved out monies from the general library budget and allocated them to team managers in order to provide them with an improved sense of authority and create a way for lower-level staff to influence spending of the budget through interactions with their managers. The only stipulation given to managers was that they needed to stay within their budgets and justify their spending through explicit connections to the strategic plan.

Assessment of outcomes for each academic program and service was emphasized throughout the institution and the libraries. At the university level, a six-step assessment process had been named, codified, and communicated as mandatory for all units. The library director had created a “Library Assessment Team” to implement the strategic plan and conduct all evaluation and assessment studies for the libraries. “I don’t even know why I am here sometimes,” the library director said humbly, even as the investigator observed throughout her visit that members of the director’s immediate administrative team credited the director for much of the libraries’ success and gave her high praise for instilling open communication and participatory management in the libraries.

When asked about general leadership strategies to use in unionized environments during economic downturns, all four library administrators stressed the crucial importance of a leader being able to help the organization map out its future in a collaborative way, mustering the courage to do the right thing for the university even when that was difficult to do, and always trying to be positive and inspirational in terms of conveying confidence to employees that the libraries’ strategies could be carried out successfully (i.e., the “yes we can do this” reassurance). The associate director expounded on the meaning of courage by stating: “I guess about 18 years ago, I came to a place in my career where I was not afraid of my job. And that gave me immense freedom to be true to ... [myself] and to my organization.” She also clarified her take on the difference between being a mere manager and a good leader, although both were needed simultaneously, especially in the face of economic hardships. As she explained, “I see management more as doing things right, and then [leadership] is there to make sure we are doing the right things.” The vice provost remarked: “I think good leadership is a combination of things. I believe to be a good leader you have to be a good follower. You have to be able to take

direction.” She and other administrators noted that resourcefulness, deep knowledge about one’s organizational unit and its functions, and having good interpersonal relationship skills are keys to a leader’s success in times of economic crisis.

Perspectives of Library Staff and Faculty

Despite the fact that three of the seven focus group participants were being laid off in several months once the federal stimulus money ended, all of the participants asserted their proud connection to the university and their trust in library administrators to lead the libraries through the current crisis. The participants called the loss of positions, the ending of paid temporary staff, and the pending loss of six more colleagues in the libraries to be “dramatic,” but they agreed that the libraries continued to reprioritize its initiatives, reshuffle existing staff, and adjust open hours as necessary to absorb the cuts. Because of that, they believed the organization to be moving steadily, if more slowly, toward meeting its strategic goals and objectives. “It doesn’t become a case of what do we stop doing, but what do we defer until maybe we can handle it later,” said one librarian. One manager slated to be laid off mentioned that he had joined the university shortly after the crisis began and knew coming in that his team would already be down 40 percent due to open positions not being filled. Other participants agreed that staff and faculty have to “work double time” to make up for the loss of positions.

During the focus group interview, the participants were asked about their union affiliation and whether they perceived there to be benefits or downsides to unionization. The participants’ identification with and awareness of union activities were relatively low, based on the participants’ responses. Only one member contributed comments that went beyond recognition of the unions’ assumed role in obtaining the aforementioned annual increase to employees’ base salaries. This person stated, “The [union officials] have been proactive as much as they possibly

can be. They have realized the situation and come up with a list of thirteen or fourteen recommendations of their own [to address the university's budget crisis].⁸ ... They are very involved and active." In place of identification with the union, the participants expressed loyalty and commitment to the institution: "We love the university. We don't just graduate students. We have to move them. That's our job." Another said:

Our director --- this is a big thing with her, it's not just words --- We always keep an eye on one thing: that we all work for the university. We don't work for such and so library, we work for the university. Definitely I think we all have that spirit. I know I wouldn't be here if it wasn't for that, because I left and came back through a lot of obstacles. I love the university and that is why I'm here.

The participants agreed that the library-wide participation in strategic planning, the emphasis on true collaboration and teamwork, and the administration's efforts to communicate openly with all employees made them feel valued and appreciated by their administrators, especially during the throes of troubling economic times. They mentioned the importance of a leader's ability to listen to followers and to engender trust through authentic relationships of respect and caring concern about employees. "In terms of my relations with my superiors, I couldn't be happier," a librarian said. Another stated:

I feel I have a good relationship with my boss, and my boss's boss, and my boss's boss. I have implicit trust in them. I know they are not going to stab me in the back and they are not going to feed me to the wolves to sacrifice my hide for somebody else's benefit. That is a good feeling. There is a lot of

⁸ The investigator asked for but was unable to obtain these union recommendations, either from the participant who mentioned this or from the faculty union's website.

uncertainty and volatility, and knowing even in spite of that, you will not be used as a sacrificial lamb is a major morale factor.

University D

The university had experienced an 18 percent reduction of its budget since 2003, but compared to universities B and C, its budget cuts from the start of the recession to the present were relatively modest, approximately \$2.5 million. Still, as the library director noted, the series of continuous cuts over the past several years had their own negative effect on the university:

I think our state economy had significant problems before this most current recession. It has been business as usual from the standpoint of the state economy ups and downs throughout my 22 years here. We had an earlier recession in 2001. For the last ten years, it has pretty much been continuous economic scarcity. We have had wave after wave of cuts, and so this [the 2008-2009 economic recession] is hardly noticeable and doesn't lead to exceptional or extraordinary measures.

Yet, news articles from February through June 2011, a time period closely following the investigator's visit, indicated a shifting outlook for the university as the broader economic recovery continued to falter. One article reported that the state governor's proposed budget contained a cut in FY 2012 state appropriations for the university amounting to more than 20 percent in the worse-case scenario, or a reduction of 15 percent in the best-case scenario. Subsequent articles reported that the governor's proposed budget for FY 2012 had been approved, and that the best-case scenario had been realized for the university, as long as the university complied with the state's tuition rate cap. The university's president was quoted in another article advising that the institution had already cut several million dollars from its budget,

by way of reductions in personnel and other areas as it began to prepare for a decrease in state allocations.

Unlike the situations at universities B and C, stimulus funding did not play a major role at the university; none of the participants mentioned this funding during discussions about the libraries' financial situation. According to news accounts, stimulus funding was requested but never granted to temporarily fill in budget caps due to cuts in state allocations, augment student financial aid, and implement physical-plant projects.

In seeming contradiction to reports about the university's budget cuts, a concurrent news article described the university's strong financial state in 2011, based on a large increase in unrestricted net assets at the university. The increase was the result of the university's fiscal conservatism, record enrollment revenue, lower expenses as a result of fewer faculty hires, and successful market holdings. Although the president was careful to point out that these funds were one time increases and could not be committed to ongoing operating expenses, as they were already committed to current capital projects and planning for the future, a negative reaction to this and other statements about the university's seemingly solid financial shape could be seen in online news chronicles from the faculty union. The faculty had been working for several months with an expired contract, and the union had been embroiled in intense negotiations for raises and to resolve other issues in the next CBA. The faculty union later released a statement decrying what it saw as the obfuscation of the university's financial condition by the president, administration, and board of trustees in an attempt to avoid bargaining in good faith about salary increases. One editorial accused them of undermining shared governance, open communication, and trust. Months earlier, during the investigator's visit, an administrator had described the administration/faculty relationship as follows:

I think the economic downturn forces a more moderate change, at least in conversation. But recently, I would suggest to you that there is a bit more grumbling ... because money is precious. They [the faculty] make a value judgment and they say, ‘Alright, we know the pie is shrinking, but is the percentage of that smaller pie still the same as the percentage of the larger pie in more flush times, and if so, ok; if not, then why not? People are trained to question authority and where else could you question authority, if not at a university?

The administrator noted that, in his experience, the relationships between institutional leadership and faculty leadership were usually “pretty good.” When a breakdown did occur, it was typically something that resulted from not being able to communicate with the institution’s union members and resolve their concerns directly and collaboratively. Instead, administrators were forced to handle them through a third party, which imposed a certain filter on the conversation, and sometimes skewed how others perceived the proposed resolution. The administrator noted that, without a union in place, it would obviously be easier for management to issue final decisions on contentious issues, because there would be no need for the university to use a third-party for mediation or fact finding, if a collaborative agreement could not be reached.

Data Gathering

The investigator completed personal interviews with a university administrator, the director of university libraries, and the associate director of university libraries. She did not conduct a focus group interview with unionized faculty librarians or staff, because she lacked the

director's approval to contact other library employees.⁹ The in-force collective bargaining agreement with faculty, strategic planning documents, online press releases from the university's administration, and web-based chronicles in the form of news articles and blog posts expanded on the comments of the interview participants.

Assigned Leaders Participating in the Study

The university administrator, who had more than 15 years of experience in assigned leadership positions at various universities, had worked at unionized and nonunionized institutions. The library director had served in the position for more than two decades and had been an administrator elsewhere, for another 10 years. Before joining the university, he had served at other universities that were both unionized and non-unionized. Before he became a librarian, he had been a member of an industrial union. The associate director has served in administrative positions for about 25 years and much of that time was spent in unionized environments. He had served as an administrator in a non-unionized setting early in his career.

Collective Bargaining Agreement Covering Library Faculty

The current bargaining agent has been in place since the late 1970s, with the first CBA ratified in the early 1970s. The in-force CBA covered a bargaining unit with approximately 600 members, and contained 48 articles, eight letters of agreement, and two exhibits. The agreement in force during the investigator's site visit was set to expire a few months after the investigator's visit. Because the university did not extend the CBA, faculty members, at the time this chapter was written, were working under an expired agreement, and by the end of the year, were undergoing a non-binding "fact finding" process. Key fact-finding issues included questions related to compensation, bargaining unit membership, and tenure and promotion policies. When

⁹ As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the director explained his refusal by citing the sensitivities involved in the university's ongoing contract negotiations with the faculty union.

the fact finder's opinions are issued, both sides expected to return to the negotiating table in the hope that the fact finder's insights and recommendations would help them come to terms and finalize a new CBA.

The CBA in force during the investigator's visit incorporated a fairly extensive management rights clause, and had articles covering appointment, promotion, and tenure. An article on non-renewal was subsumed into a section on reappointment. However, there were no articles on evaluation or major governance issues, such as long-range planning, the budget, or retrenchment.

Changes Occurring in the Libraries

The separate interviews of the university administrator, library director, and associate director revealed similar perspectives on the libraries' acquisitions budget over the last few years. Although they acknowledged that, during the current recession, the state had invested less in higher education, they agreed that the libraries' purchasing power had been weakened for reasons not necessarily tied to the recession, such as acquisitions budget cuts made since 2001, serials inflation costs, and the high prices that publishers charged for large packages of journals and other content. The declining purchasing power had been an accelerating factor, but the libraries had also considered it a strategic move to shift the focus from primarily owning print collections to primarily providing electronic access to scholarly content. The vice provost wondered if this change had perhaps offset any negative faculty reactions about the libraries' collections, as the shift to electronic resources created easier online access even as the number of resources diminished.

The associate director gave credit to the director's effective advocacy for the libraries, regardless of the economic situation, and described how the director had persuaded the

administration and faculty that a cut to the libraries' budget affected everyone. He pointed out, "There was a decision to promote the library long before there was a budgetary crisis at hand; you have to make sure people understand what is at stake." The associate director went on to note that an academic library's funding is usually one of the largest budget items on a campus and therefore typically brings the library's stewardship of these resources under more intense scrutiny, regardless of the economic environment at an institution.

In regard to staffing changes as a result of the economic downturn, to date, there had been no furloughs or mass layoffs. This situation aided the associate director in his attempts to ameliorate the fears of library staff and faculty members about future budget cuts. People constantly thought about the threat of these cuts, he explained. The associate director emphasized the importance of open communication with librarians and staff as a way to mitigate the stress of the situation, saying: "The most important ingredients in the library environment are the people who work here. Budget reductions in acquisitions may come back, but losing people who serve individuals on campus is a much harsher hit to the libraries' operations." Both the director and associate director mentioned one personnel-related effect of the uncertain budget situation: They had been hesitant to fill two open positions, out of concern that the positions might need to be cut later due to possible budget reductions. However, other than this conservative approach to hiring new employees, they had not encountered any staffing constraints attributable to the economic downturn.

Indirectly, the worsening economic situation (or at least the perceptions of a potential fiscal crisis) enabled administrators to make broad changes in the libraries' organizational structure and in the reallocation of staffing that they otherwise might not have been able to achieve without engendering more resistance from staff and librarians. The hesitation in hiring

staff to fill two open positions, due to budgetary worries, also created a need to reexamine the libraries' structure and processes, so that the library administrators could determine how else the duties for the two positions might be handled. "Economic scarcity creates an opportunity to do something that we might have had a harder time doing without," a library administrator acknowledged. Further, "If you have longstanding situations that need to change from the libraries' standpoint of meeting our mission and being successful, it's harder to rouse people that we need to do this, without economic pressures. The economic pressures can create a helpful backdrop to being able to make changes."

The libraries' most recent changes involved the merging of two separate document delivery/interlibrary loan groups, and the potential joint management or merging of two separate reference service teams. The reference services teams, one dedicated to on-campus needs and the other to off-campus (distance learning) needs, with each headed by a different librarian, had always existed in a bifurcated fashion for historical and budgetary reasons. The on-campus reference team, resourced with general fund allocations, contained librarians who were tenure-stream and included in the faculty bargaining unit, whereas the off-campus reference team was resourced with "soft money," meaning that funding depended solely on enrollment revenue that could fluctuate over time based on market conditions. The librarians involved in this area were not tenure-stream and were excluded from the faculty bargaining unit. By not filling the head position of one of the reference teams, library administrators could solve what they deemed to be a "dysfunctional" situation in which service requests were shunted back and forth in a confusing way between the two units. The director explained: "We have two departments doing basically the same thing. It would be beneficial to have them more closely aligned. Why are they separate? Where we have online courses that are taken by those who are on campus, we have discontinuity

to a clear pathway to service for our students. This can't continue." Although merging the two reference groups was under consideration, the concept of co-mingling two different sets of librarians who were doing essentially the same work but with one set tenure-stream and represented by the faculty union, and the other set not, was seen as problematic. The university administrator referred to this situation in his comments, as follows:

Whenever a union establishes itself, it has a quite natural and normal interest in preserving work for its members so that, if you are doing the work that the union rightly says ought to belong to it, then it sees what you are doing as undermining and ultimately eroding the [union's] base. So that's a real worry about what's going on right now.

The same type of bifurcated situation existed for the two document delivery/interlibrary loan groups, one dedicated to meeting on-campus needs and the other to addressing off-campus needs. However, both groups had already merged into a new resource-sharing group and, as a result, two types of bargaining unit members worked side-by-side in the same group, led by a non-librarian professional/administrative worker.

Effects of Unionization

The libraries faced unique organizational complexities that had grown at least partially out of the sometimes problematic union-based affiliation of academic librarians with non-library faculty (e.g., academic librarians with tenure-stream, faculty status could only serve populations associated with traditional courses), even though these differences were slowly becoming less irrelevant as more of the university's budget was funded through enrollment revenues and not state allocations. Added to the complexities for libraries' administrators was the need to: (1) address three separate bargaining units within the libraries, each with its own boundaries, job

classifications, and CBAs; and (2) consider the issues related to non-unionized directors, department heads, and distance-learning librarians who were part of the mixed staffing model as well.

Historically, the library's distance learning librarians deviated from the established "community of interest" with regular faculty, and this instigated the need to create a separate category of librarian, regardless of the practical needs of the library and its users, and the redundancy and similarities of the work involved. This left a challenging legacy for all concerned. According to the director, the situation had created its own sense of "tribal divisiveness," though this phenomenon was more heightened during contract negotiations than at other times throughout the years. The director related one example where a librarian had claimed that library staff and distance learning librarians were not her colleagues. When asked by the director to explain who her colleagues were then, the librarian had answered that the faculty in English and the faculty in Chemistry were her colleagues, not the other people in the library with whom she worked.

The director acknowledged that, in his experience, one of the negative effects of unionization was the way that it had the potential to worsen the libraries' already "caste-laden" organizational structures. In his view, the libraries seemed to emphasize, for instance, boundaries between one type of employee and another and formal classification grades, and this emphasis formalized a type of "pecking order" that did not match with the importance and value of all employees working toward a common library vision. He expounded on unionization's effect on some employees' identities:

I have seen it in what I would describe as a more pathological state at times,
but I would say over the last several years, it has been much more

benign. ... There have been various dynamics ... but what I refer to as tribalism is based on the fact that in the non-union environment, I found it was easier for the employees, regardless of their classification or category, to identify with the organization, and to think of themselves in relation to the university first and foremost. ... For some union members, sometimes the sense of identity has been divided between attachment to the library organization and attachment to the union. ... Some employees have developed a kind of bond and engagement with the union that rivals their engagement with the library.

According to the director, a few long-term faculty librarians continued to feel a sense of pride about their faculty status. This fact encouraged some librarians to identify more strongly with their union than they did with the libraries or the university.

Despite these ongoing changes and cultural peculiarities, however, in the recent memory of the director and associate director, library employees have not filed any grievances, and there did not seem to be a visible increase in the union activism of library staff and faculty on campus. Both the director and the associate director described the culture in the libraries as one that was “collegial” and “participative,” with decisions being allowed and made at all levels.

Benefits and Constraints of Unionization

The university administrator described the benefits of non-unionized environments as including more flexibility and autonomy for assigned leaders, but he acknowledged that some leaders could “get into trouble” with too much untrammelled freedom. According to this person, unions in general encouraged equity and fairness, but their downside was the bigger and more complex bureaucracies they brought to bear; these bureaucracies could discourage innovative solutions and ideas from taking shape. He noted that better salaries and compensation were often

given as the main benefits of unionization, but he countered this by noting that unionization might not always lead to higher salaries when faculty members relied on third-party agents to bargain on their behalf, and when faculty members did not stand on their own merit in the marketplace. The director described another downside of unionization as the union's need for heightened anti-administration rhetoric: "There is a nagging stream of communication from people's unions that they are being mistreated by the administration."

All of the participants agreed that union classifications and contracts introduced some complexities and delays, and could hamper attempts to reallocate staffing and/or make structural changes in the libraries, but that these factors did not completely stop administration from taking actions it deemed desirable. The associate director illustrated this point when he mentioned that, at another university, he created updated job classifications for library paraprofessionals by working with the union to reclassify people and obtain raises for them. He expounded on this point as follows:

Librarians as professionals and staff people in a library are typically those [who] ... are left aside in many conversations, and you have to, if you are going to be looking at equal pay for equal work across the university environment, you have to look at the kind of tasks that people are doing across the board. That is where you have to make your pitch and say, hey, what happened to the library in this conversation.

The director had served on two teams for the faculty bargaining and had been a dean-level representative in negotiations. In addition, he discussed contractual goals and objectives at the Council of Deans meetings. The associate director had no direct control over the bargaining

process, but at least had some input, as he routinely shared issues and suggestions before contract negotiations were to begin.

In general, both the director and associate director downplayed any constraints encountered as a result of unionization, but at the same time, did not seem to list many positive benefits of unionization. One neutral observation the director shared was that assigned leaders needed to give greater attentiveness to the contracts, but that that such attentiveness might still not be enough to avoid problems:

What I learned early on is that you can read the contracts and think you understand what the words mean, but that is only part of it, because what the words mean is developed over time in the adjudication of grievances and resolution of disputes. So, it is kind of like case law, the result of which you have to be very mindful of the fact, in doing some kinds of things as a leader and as a manager, making certain kinds of decisions and changing people's roles, changing organizational structure. ... It is much more beneficial to seek out the advice of Human Resources professionals, who understand the contracts better --- not just what they say, but what they really mean.

Strategies of Assigned Leaders

The director emphasized the need to be positive and strengthen communication throughout the organization during a time of change and crisis, especially in discussions regarding the budget. He described trying to reinforce a mindset throughout the organization where the library's performance was respected and valued, and where the budget was viewed as a university resource for which they, the library administrators, librarians, and staff, were all stewards, but to which they should not feel entitled. He viewed this type of communication as a

form of antidote to the media's drumbeat of negativity about the economy, and believed that it countered a sense of powerlessness about these external forces. As he explained:

Our budget is X million. We must deliver X million of value to the university.

We have no right to the money. If the university were to give us less money instead, that is up to the university. We have to earn that X million every year and every semester and every day. My goal is to deliver more than X million dollars worth of value to the university.

The university administrator also emphasized the importance of honesty in communications, even to the level of bluntness, as he believed that this led to the appropriate and positive exchange of ideas between supervisors and employees. He noted that successful new directors and administrators were engaged with their faculty and staff, questioned how things are and how they should be, and were more assertive of their own agendas.

As in the case at University C, the director and associate director highlighted the need for leaders to have a strategic vision and plan. In regard to implementation of the plan, the director and associate director noted that progress was steady, but slower than they would prefer, as a result of the libraries' thin staffing and budgetary constraints. In these circumstances, the associate director emphasized the need to "work smarter," and for administrators to reject a top-down management style in favor of a more participatory leadership style, saying that he believed giving away power in some instances was a more "potent way of getting power and persuading people" they were on the right course. He said:

You have to realize, when you look at the faces of the people [you are leading]; they are all professionals. You can't have a top-down environment. It astounds me sometimes the expectations of a new director or department head ... that

they are going to have all this power vested in them. But the power they have is the power to succeed, and that power to succeed is only ... [based] on the willing assent of their ... [followers].

The associate director further expounded on the limitations of a leader's power and the need to be politically and personally persuasive in regard to leading and managing "upward" as well. He said: "The people on the top, your provost and president, need to be in support of what you are trying to do. They become agents to make change happen as well. You have to make sure that you are not out on a limb."

In response to a question probing the concept of leadership, the university administrator said he "did not know enough about leadership" to describe it. "Leadership is something that you can recognize when you see it, but describing it? I can't describe it. And teaching it and learning it, I don't think I can buy that." This person's take on leadership seemed in stark contrast to that of the associate director and director. The associate director said, "I believe leadership is the capacity of an individual to see beyond the superficial and ordinary; to effectively articulate a vision and purpose for action; and to mobilize the willing and active participation of subordinates and superiors to achieve success." The director described leadership thusly, "Leadership is the use of personal and professional knowledge, skills, experience, and vision to assist an organization and one's coworkers, and to achieve the organization's mission at a higher level of effectiveness. What I am not saying anything about is positional authority. Leaders operate at all levels of the organization."

The director declared that an effective leader should engage employees with the library as the employees' primary home, so they feel attached to it, and should reinforce a service orientation, teamwork, and collaboration, because this was the right thing to do, whether or not

operating in a union environment. He believed that the union had no effect on him as a leader, other than to give him more opportunities to savor the challenges and difficulties he had overcome. The comments of the associate director matched these in tone, when he said that a leader should act as a resource getter, visionary, coach, and cheerleader, and should be courageous in the face of hardship, whether or not in a unionized environment.

Perspectives of Library Staff and Library Faculty

The investigator was not permitted to conduct formal focus group interviews with library staff and library faculty, and the director and associate director provided few general insights about the perspectives of their library employees. Still, the director seemed to be realistic in his assessment of the general mood of the faculty and staff, especially in light of the changes occurring in the libraries. “There may be unhappy people in places where we are doing organizational restructure,” he said. The associate director confirmed this sentiment, as follows:

It is a bit fractious, but I think people have taken the message ... to draw on the strengths of both operations and try to come together and find a way to improve services across the board for our customers. ... That is the big message in terms of leadership. We have to get to the point of explaining why we are here. Why are we academic librarians? Who are our constituencies?

University G

A library administrator used the word “downsizing” in her description of the university’s steady decline in the receipt of state funding and the attendant loss of fiscal and human resources that accompanied this.¹⁰ This administrator did not attribute this decline directly to the recession but placed the blame on higher education’s overall downward trends in the state over the past

¹⁰ Study participants at University D made similar observations.

several years. The provost confirmed this view when he spoke about the university's cuts being less severe than they otherwise might have been: "Here in this state, while the outside economy has suffered badly as a result of the recession, we have not yet, in terms of higher education, really had the kind of budget cuts that have been inflicted on higher education in other states. They are coming down the road for us." While interview participants did not mention stimulus funding as a cushioning factor, a news source from mid-2011 reported that one-time stimulus funding for the state's universities had "bolstered budgets over the past two years as the state struggled through the economic downturn," and that the state's universities would be forced to "cut costs and raise revenue, including tuition hikes" to make up the difference of an average 13 percent drop in state funding in 2012. Reflecting on the poor budget forecast, the provost said:

I think people know the budget scenario, that the budget problems are very bad.

I mean, you would have to be Rip Van Winkle who just awakened from your slumber not to understand that in other universities and other industries, people are losing their jobs quite substantially. Our state has a higher than average unemployment rate than other places in the country. I am sure there are people who have friends, family members, neighbors who have lost jobs. So they know it is very real.

The university reacted to the negative budget forecasts through its formation of a task force charged with developing a new resource allocation model for the university. The task force recommended mechanisms for dealing with the impact of expected major budget cuts in 2012-2013. In its report, the task force grouped the university's organizational units into three areas (academic, academic support, and university support) and proposed targeted allocation percentages for each area. The academic area was categorized as the most important, because it

addressed concerns about academic quality and the ability to support sustained enrollment growth while continuing to improve the university's retention and graduation rates. The library, grouped under "academic support," is part of Academic Affairs, which was slated for a decrease in the permanent budget target as recommended by the task force.

Data Gathering

The investigator conducted personal interviews with the provost for academic affairs, a vice provost, the director of libraries, the associate director of libraries, and two assistant directors. The investigator also interviewed two unionized librarians and a unionized staff member. The in-force collective bargaining agreement with faculty, strategic planning documents, online press releases from the university's administration, and web-based chronicles in the form of news articles and blog posts added to an understanding of the comments of interview participants.

Assigned Leaders Participating in the Study

The provost was new to the position. Before being appointed to this position, he had been an administrator at the university in an area in which faculty members were not unionized. He had spent most of his career at the university. The vice provost served in the position for more than five years, and one of his primary responsibilities included serving as a contact for faculty grievances. The library director had served in the position for more than 10 years. Before that, she had been a library administrator at several non-unionized institutions, and had over 25 years of experience as a library manager. The associate director had been an assigned leader for 12 years. He was a librarian prior to joining the university; his current position was his first experience in higher education and working in a unionized environment. He had been a union member in his previous career as a teacher. One assistant director, who has served in

management for less than three years, worked in non-unionized environments before she joined this university. The second assistant director, who had served in her position for nearly three years, worked at many different institutions, some of which were unionized.

Collective Bargaining Agreement Covering Librarians

Librarians belonged to a bargaining unit which was also composed of the university's professional staff. These employees were the last group to unionize on campus in the late 1990s. While the investigator was on site, the collective bargaining agreement (CBA) for this group had expired, but was extended and set to expire in several months. It was composed of 44 articles on 79 pages, with topics ranging from academic rights and responsibilities to distance education. The extensive management rights article in the in-force CBA remained the same in the soon-to-be-adopted new CBA. The document has an appendix dedicated to matters of appointment, non-renewal, and promotion, and a separate article noted the evaluation process. The document, however, contained no provisions regarding matters of governance.

Changes Occurring in the Library

The provost and the library administrators conveyed that the library had experienced annual budget cuts, one round of layoffs, and the elimination of unfilled positions well before the recession. Despite this, they maintained that the library performed admirably under trying circumstances: students used the library heavily, librarians enhanced their liaison work with academic departments, and faculty support for the library was increasing. Nonetheless, the provost voiced his concerns that the coping mechanisms that the library was using would be insufficient as budget reductions became more pronounced in the coming years --- something he fully expected to happen. He described his awareness of misperceptions in the academic community that because relevant information resources were online and freely available, the

library's budget could be slashed dramatically as a result. He also shared his own opinion that libraries and librarians were needed even more so in the digital age than before:

First of all, librarians aren't simply keepers of materials. They are guides to help people find the answers to their questions ... I don't know this for sure, but my instinct tells me that, to the extent that those sources have moved online, it's actually made the challenge to providing that kind of research support more complicated. You need a better educated, more sophisticated librarian than you might have had 30 years ago. Having said that, I do think the challenge is with respect to the other more traditional materials. We are going to have to continue to be strategic, even more prudent and cost effective than we are, in terms of making the transition as much as possible away from costly subscriptions of serials. The challenge for us is we are striving to become a more residential campus and in that respect, the library becomes more than simply the repository of information; it becomes a destination point on campus. The challenge is, quite frankly, does that institutional aspiration ... fall within the core of what we are able to continue to support ... or does that become something we put on hold or eliminate, because we just don't have the resources to do all that we want

The director of the library stated that the library had not seen an increase in its acquisitions budget in a number of years and had taken funding out of acquisitions lines simply to maintain existing staffing levels. Despite this diminished buying power, all of the participants mentioned the positive perceptions among faculty and students about the library's e-resources collection, and attributed this to the library's membership in a well regarded consortium that

provided the university with access to major databases, e-resources, and an increasing number of e-books. The library administrators stressed, however, that campus awareness and misconceptions about this consortium's provisions sometimes worked against them when they advocated for increases in the library's budget. The associate director said:

The [consortium] is a double-edged sword. It offers opportunity to get good value for our ... dollars on databases and research materials, but there is a misunderstanding ... about what that means. It is not free; it is not Google. We pay a huge amount of money to be members and that comes out of our materials budget, so it has been difficult. As administrators change, it's been a difficult educational process to explain, that we have to pay to play We have struggled with getting our due attention, even before the recession hit. ... [The consortium] is a wonderful resource and it is difficult to explain, but yes, we pay locally to participate in that. ... We love it, but it works against us in part, because it is so hard to educate people about where the money comes from and how it actually works.

The director tied the library's own economic fate to the fiscal condition of the consortium. As the consortium experienced its own cuts, the members of the consortium were often asked to contribute funding above their usual allotments to safeguard shared resources from being lost. In those cases, when member libraries have upped their contributions to avoid the loss of important shared resources, the end result appeared to be no net loss for the university community, when in actuality, the end result was only possible because many institutions with low discretionary funds had come together to offset the consortium's cuts.

Beside collections issues, the vice provost reported that the library had implemented new campus-wide services during the past several years, but had not received additional permanent funding or staffing to accommodate the changes. The associate director confirmed this point, describing how the library had assumed oversight of distance learning, classroom technology, and media services with little or no new permanent funding from central administration. Instead, the library had cobbled together the staffing and funding to achieve noticeable improvements in these areas, year by year, with small, sporadic increments of one-time funding, some of it coming from student technology fees and distance learning fees. The library's successful initiatives in these areas, achieved mostly through sheer determination, according to the associate director, had earned it some positive attention and respect from the central information technology unit and others on campus. These initiatives included establishing classroom technology standards in what was formerly a "scattered quilt" of poorly maintained multimedia equipment across campus, enabling streaming servers and digital video capture of lectures, and implementing high-quality video conferencing for the university. The added visibility and work did not gain the library more permanent funding, even as time went on, however.

Now, the library faces a severe staffing shortage, due to retirements and lost positions, while at the same time, the campus's demand for these services has intensified. "In some ways, we are victims of our own success," said the associate director. To make matters worse, new administrators at the campus-level were putting the library under scrutiny and asking why it should have its own information technology-related staffing as opposed to reallocating that staffing to the central information technology unit. The associate director said that the scrutiny was not coming from those in the central unit, which he claimed was "more than happy to share the joy." "It is the bean counters," he said, "who think there has got to be a huge savings here,

‘We just need to get these library people to let go,’ but they [the bean counters] are not really aware of what we do.” In regard to funding for these functions, the associate director said:

The university implemented a distance learning fee for online classes but the fee did not carry over to classroom programming, such as video conferencing. Because of that, the library has lost positions and much of its operation budget for these functions. We have pushed over some library positions to help shore things up, but we had to work a balance. It is hard, because we get the money for the work, but we don’t get the [staffing] to do the work.

The director agreed:

I’ve tried really hard not to spread us too thin, but I fear I have. I’m trying to put together a realistic program for us to achieve, so that means I can’t do everything I would like to do right away. We’re very much opportunistic here, so we were going to do *X*, then *Y* comes along, and *X* is looked at again in other years.

The thin staffing levels and the struggling economy also affect operational functions in the library in other ways. A library administrator mentioned the negative effects that the economic downturn has on state benefits and retirement systems, and related this back to staffing difficulties. As she explained, “For the employees, this does make a difference in how you can lead and manage, because you’ve got this person who has been here for 40 years, and they are not able to leave, and yet, even if they have been learning along the way, they don’t have the same mindset as the 30- or 20-something who has grown up with technology.” She mentioned an administrative ruling against allowing overtime hours for staff, and that the staff members still had to cover the same hours at the public services desks, but now they had to do this with only

one-and-a-half compensatory time in return. This created a vicious cycle because more hours were needed to cover the service areas when the employees' "comp time" was applied. She also noted that staff had not received raises in over two years and that it was difficult to acknowledge and encourage excellent performance without monetary rewards.

Because the university was looking for ways to generate revenue due to cuts in state allocations, the library's lack of ability to produce revenue hurt the library's case to refill positions and/or obtain new positions in the administration's viewpoint. "If we lose two positions [through attrition or layoff], we've been able to add one back, is the pattern," said the director. When positions were lost or left unfilled, the associate director noted that the library once was able to use salary savings from unfilled positions, but could no longer do so. The library could not even keep the money to "buy software or hire a temporary person that would make up for the lost position." The assistant director for technical services, on the other hand, said that the director had been leading them in an admirable way through organizational restructuring and changes in position descriptions to make up for the lack of strength in staff numbers.

Both assistant directors described the positive effects of having technical services staff contribute to work in user support services (i.e., at circulation desk and in reserves), which, according to the assistant director for technical services, had broken down the "brick wall between user services and technical services." Interlibrary loan processing had been moved from public services to technical services, where its functional relationship to the acquisitions of other resources and content was seen as a logical impetus for the change. In another example, the position of head of reference, vacant due to a retirement, was slated to be converted into a front-line fine arts librarian, with the assistant director of public services volunteering to assume the reference head's duties in order to enable the conversion of the position. Because the new

position was formulated at a lower salary than that which applied to the long-employed, retiring head of reference, the remaining salary savings from the position would be used to increase the wages of existing library staff who had taken on different, more complex work over the past few years. The assistant director for technical services said:

[The director's] desire to remold the staff positions and changing roles of librarians: I have kind of watched her since I came here ... and I think she is really a master. I appreciate her, the amount of care she takes in finding the right people, not only in finding the right people, but looking at how the position has a role in the institution. So, it is not just blindly filling an empty position and, of course, this has an effect on all the departments because things get moved around. But I have really looked at it as an opportunity ... knowing that our budget is going down ... it is an opportunity to make some changes here in technical services.

The director, who affirmed the critical need to fill precious positions with meticulous care, described her approach to recruitment. As she explained:

I've been very careful to select people that will be a great fit here, emotionally, intellectually, professionally, with our organization. I will close a search and start over again, if we can't get someone with the energy level and commitment that we're looking for. This is the way we end up being able to do as much as we can with our limited resources.

The associate director and an assistant director agreed they were constantly asked to do more with fewer resources, in their areas of responsibility. The assistant director conveyed this sentiment in a positive tone, highlighting the ways in which the staff had developed expertise in

metadata creation, implemented and begun to manage different types of repositories (including an innovative e-book publishing repository), and learned they had strengths to offer in public services that they did not know they possessed. “They can share with staff and patrons. They are really good at searching the catalog and understanding what they see, and finding mistakes and seeing where something needs to be fixed,” she explained. The associate director also described positive changes that were occurring with existing staff; some were reallocated to other areas of the library’s operations, namely, website development and media services. In general, the library administrators conveyed a sense of excitement about current and potential initiatives, although, to varying degrees, they worried about the sustainability of the organization if more cuts materialized. “Most of the negativity at this point is that we haven’t been able to grow,” the director said. She continued: “It’s been difficult to move forward with strategic plans when they can’t be carried out to their maximum [and] when we’ve been facing hiring barriers.”

Effects of Unionization

When the director joined the university in the late 1990s, it was at a time when relationships among administrators, faculty, and staff were contentious. Many attributed this to the confrontational style of the former president, who had begun his tenure with no unions in place, and by the time of his departure, had experienced the formation of four unions on campus. Even with this dissention noted, the library director believed the “us versus them” culture of the university had been mild at the time, compared to the previous university where she worked. Employees at her previous institution were not officially unionized but were in a state employment system that behaved like a quasi-union and, in the director’s opinion, often acted in opposition to management over minor issues. The director believed that the relationships between administration and the unions were mostly cooperative now at her current university,

and she attributed this to two factors: one being the rather young history of the professional staff union at the university, and another being the collaborative, less confrontational style of the president. As evidence of the good relationships in the library, the director pointed out that only one or two grievances had been associated with the library early in her tenure, and that there had not been many cases since. The associate director attributed the lack of grievances to the library's reputation as a fair unit, one that has worked diligently to develop and train unionized staff, and reallocate staff to new operational areas rather than laying staff off or hiring "new blood" as library work evolved.

The library director maintained that unionization had minimal effects on the organization, but where it did have some influence, she thought it was mostly positive. Except for some delays experienced when reclassifying staff or changing job descriptions, she believed the employees identified strongly with the internal organization of the library, and were united as a "library body" more so than they were pulled apart as members of separate unions. To illustrate this point, she described a previous need to develop a personnel policy for administrative librarians who were not covered under the librarians' CBA. Instead of creating a brand new policy for these excluded administrators, the director aligned both groups by replicating the librarians' CBA and using that document as the personnel policy for librarians in administrative positions as well. Doing so, she effectively turned two categories of librarians into one. The document had mirrored the librarians' CBA ever since. The director said: "My ethics are to follow and honor that contract. ... We decided that we wanted the union behavior and the administrator behavior [of librarians] to come together and there to be no difference." Other participants acknowledged that the librarians' camaraderie was further strengthened by the fact that the successful bids of unions on campus to increase salaries and benefits often became advantages for excluded

employees as well, when these employees received the same percentages of negotiated increases that their unionized colleagues achieved. In reflecting upon her experience of unionization generally, the director said:

I don't think that unionization has had any effect. It might have changed how you get things done, but it shouldn't stop you or change the things you need to get accomplished. You should just assess the union environment, and then try to use it to your best advantage. ... You just look at the ... separate set of tools, examine them, and figure out how to use those tools to accomplish your mission, one that everyone can buy into ... You use what tools you have.

Benefits and Constraints of Unionization

The participants' comments tended to confirm the director's viewpoint about the minimal effects of unionization on the library, and to downplay both the benefits and constraints that unionization brought to bear. At least one library administrator was convinced, however, that the existence of separate bargaining units in the library encouraged an unnecessary "class system," which grouped professional librarians into one class and clerical/technical staff into another, and that this demarcation played itself out into those working mostly at the reference desk (professional librarians) and at the user services desk (clerical/technical employees). As an example, the assistant director described her desire to work a few hours each week at the circulation desk as part of a cross-training initiative and to fill in staffing gaps in the user services support area. After much discussion, library administrators decided that the gulf between what a librarian (mostly reference) should do versus what clerical staff (mostly circulation) should do was too wide. She was advised that her presence and work in a non-

librarian division of labor would cause strife and discomfort throughout the organization.

“Maybe this is how it is everywhere. It is sad,” she said.

When asked if library administrators provided input on the negotiating process, the director noted that a prior associate director in the library was asked to be part of the administration’s bargaining team. This was the sole example of direct input or influence on contract negotiations that any of the library’s assigned leaders mentioned. The library director noted that library administrators were afforded more input into negotiations through their relationships with unionized librarians than through their roles as assigned leaders within the institution.

When asked to reflect on the benefits and constraints of unionization, the provost voiced his support of unions in general, but considered it a negative effect of unionization that the university was constrained from rewarding outstanding performers at the “top of the curve” and from removing or disciplining those at the “bottom of the curve.” Even with those constraints, he believed, deans and other administrators could reward people on their own, but often did not, so as not to “ruffle the feathers” of those falling in the middle of the spectrum. He expressed disappointment at being unable to talk directly to employees about certain administrative decisions or concepts of shared sacrifice, without having to go through a third party. In addition, the provost explored the contrasts between faculty governance and unionization with these remarks:

We have faculty governance that takes shape in other mechanisms, be it the faculty senate ... [or] faculty meetings. For me, one of the first challenges was to try and understand whether a particular issue was one that involved the union, and understanding the rules of the union, or whether it was one that

involved the policies and procedures that cover the faculty and the administration, or whether sometimes an issue actually was affected by both mechanisms. ... I think in areas where faculty unions are in an educational setting, it would be important to, as much as possible, try to identify whether an issue falls into one structure or the other ... because if you think about them, they are fundamentally different in terms of the relationship. Ideally, in the faculty senate, that is the area where the faculty and administration come together, perhaps with different perspectives but with a common goal which is to improve the institution. We are not adversaries, we should be partners. In the union relationship, there is no question, we are on the opposite sides of a negotiating table and we are bargaining against each other and extracting concessions ... While there are elements of negotiating in the faculty senate, because that is just the reality of how partners deal with one another, in the union setting, you are clearly adversaries.

The vice provost believed the benefits and constraints of unionization depended largely on the nature of the leaders in charge during any particular period, and, by this, he referred to the leaders on both sides of the negotiating table: the university president, the provost, the union president, and the members on each of the negotiating teams. According to the vice provost, the administration believed in interest-based bargaining, rather than in traditional bargaining. However, even with the use of this less contentious approach, speaking from a purely practical, administrative standpoint, he cautioned: "You will never have a perfect contract. You will never love a contract."

Strategies of Assigned Leaders

Although the assistant director for technical services noted that there was a great organizational emphasis placed on the importance of strategic planning, including efforts to fold the library's strategic plan into the university's overarching strategic plan, participants' remarks in the focus group interviews did not focus on strategic planning. This seemed to hold true in the library's publicly posted documents, when the library's purpose, mission, and vision statements could be found on the library's website, but the strategic plan could not. In fact, the librarian participants in the focus group interviews expressed a lack of knowledge about the plan's details. In response to a question asking if they were aware of any changes occurring in the mission, vision, or priorities within the library's strategic plan, especially in light of the economic downturn, one librarian responded: "I'm not sure I'm always aware of why [the director] is making some decisions." The other librarian agreed: "She has a vision in mind, but I'm not quite sure I know the whole thing. It might offend some people, if they did know the whole vision." These comments were contrary to other observations that the librarians made when they noted that their relationship with library administration was open and communicative. According to one librarian participant, library staff and librarians meet every month, together and as separate groups, led by the director. She said: "[The director] sets items on the agenda, but also asks for agenda items from employees. She always asks if there are questions or if there is need for clarification."

When queried about the library's strategic initiatives, the associate director commented: "Basically, our mission says that we are going to do all to ensure students' success. No matter how bad it gets, we will do whatever we can." The assistant director for public services believed the challenge was to be more creative and adapt to having fewer resources through the

innovative use of technology. As this person explained, “I think my experience ... is that the managers --- I include myself as one of those --- have been thoughtful in trying to rework the organizational structure, use technology as best they can, and lead people into some change to come out with a better result.” These remarks and others from library administrators demonstrate the organization’s apparent reliance on the sheer determination of its people, the resourcefulness of its assigned leaders, and innovation throughout the library to accomplish initiatives. The associate director described this type of environment in relation to technological areas within his portfolio as “exhilarating.” He expounded on this by saying: “It has been kind of like the wild, wild west. I mean, there was no structure or path and ... lack of guidance from the provost’s office ... so I guess we have gotten a lot of freedom to have at it, and build our own vision as to what we should be.”

In an attempt to maximize the use of the library’s existing resources and services in a time of scarcity, the library had increased its marketing and outreach efforts, and was planning to conduct its fifth LibQUAL+™ study. The libraries paid special attention to using statistics in advocacy efforts with deans and other campus administrators. As the associate director explained:

The old school thinking was ‘they know where the library is; they will come and find us.’ ... We break it down to, ‘we did this many instruction sessions for the college of liberal arts and sciences, and this many for engineering, and this many for health sciences’ ... so we try to prove to departments that they do need us.

When asked about general leadership strategies to use in unionized environments during economic downturns, all of the library administrators emphasized the relationships with people first and foremost, including the critical need for people to see them as credible, honest, and

respectful. The director stated that she was responsible for the emotional welfare of everyone who worked in the library, unionized or not, and described her concept of work as “adult play,” meaning that she wanted everyone to come to work excited about they get to do, even if they go home tired. The associate director described leadership as “helping the people you lead to be successful [and] to help employees grow and find an upwardly mobile path, if they want that.” Echoing this sentiment, an assistant director said: “I think one of the most important things is respecting staff no matter where they work or what they do. One thing that has increased my effectiveness is treating people with respect.” A different library administrator also placed a high priority on her relationships with people, saying: “My leadership strategic is to work well with others on campus and tell them what a great library we have.”

The director described her attempts to focus on the library’s strengths, instead of its weaknesses. She had brought in a consultant to teach the administrative team about appreciative leadership concepts and methods.¹¹ She said:

We start out with the question, ‘what is going well?’ rather than addressing everything as a problem. We manage with the idea that when everybody that reports to you is doing a better job than you do, then you’ve done your job. That’s the way I feel about it. It’s not about me being the star; it’s about everybody who reports to me being the star. I want them to feel like they get credit for everything they do. We work at this all the time.

¹¹ Appreciative leadership is a leadership model based on Appreciative Inquiry (AI), a theory founded by David Cooperrider, a professor of Organizational Behavior at Case Western Reserve University’s Weatherhead School of Management (“Weatherhead faculty,” 2004). According to Schwandt (2007), AI is: “... a social constructionist approach to organizational change and development that, rather than focusing on defining and fixing problems, begins by appreciating what is best within an organization, building on existing organizational achievements, strengths, and skills” (pp. 8-9). Chapter 7 addresses this leadership model and others.

Perspectives of Library Staff and Librarians

When many of the expected participants failed to attend the focus group interview, the investigator conducted individual interviews with one unionized staff member and two unionized librarians. The two librarians, both of whom were relatively new to the university, did not expound much on the positive or negative effects of unionization, except to say they were grateful the CBA afforded them some measure of job security and stability, a promotion path to higher librarian ranks, and better benefits. One also mentioned the positive role that the union might take in slowing down any radical changes management might want to implement. “I really don’t see a downside other than paying dues,” said one librarian. The other librarian countered this, by saying: “There are downsides in the fact that you don’t always get what you want. The raises are nonexistent. The union can only push so far, when there may be nothing out there to get. It does get frustrating in that way.” They both noted that the professional staff union usually followed the faculty union’s actions closely in order to determine what it would try to achieve in its own contract negotiations. Because of that, they believed their union’s relationship with university administration seemed mellower than it might otherwise be. One librarian attributed this cooperative relationship more to the reality of external conditions than to the amiability of unionized employees, adding: “I think some of it is the state economy right now. People working here understand that there are rising costs, and that the state is in a crisis. There is a willingness to meet the university half-way.”

In regard to the library’s ability to weather the fiscal challenges, the librarians described the way they had assumed many new responsibilities as positions were lost due to attrition. They revealed their disappointment that professional development funding and travel budgets had been reduced, but they still voiced their trust in the director. One librarian stated: “I think that [the

director] is really creative, innovative, and is able to stretch our budget and find out new ways to do things. ... I trust her to make these [kinds of] decisions.”

The unionized library staff member who was interviewed was a long-term employee of the university and served as a digital production specialist. He was not an active member of the union, although he voted in union elections. Having come from a non-unionized industrial environment prior to joining the university, he believed it was harder to terminate the employment of non-productive staff members than at his previous workplace. He then contradicted himself when he claimed the union lacked power and was ineffective. According to him, “The union presence is very weak; there is not an economic reason to join. The union has done virtually nothing for workers; it’s not effective in [getting] raises or job security. Administration can reshape jobs and move people around.” He shared the same perspective as the librarians about the director’s high level of effectiveness. He attributed the collegial relationship of library administration with employees in part to the director’s “tone,” and in part to the retirement of two activist union stewards from the library, using the terms “forefront of technology,” “sets a good example,” “open-door policy,” and “approachable,” to describe the director and her leadership style.

Conclusion

Throughout the site visits, the investigator noticed that the exploration of leadership in unionized environments and during an economic recession intrigued potential participants, but also caused them concern. The topic of unionization in academic libraries was viewed as timely and relevant, but perhaps too timely and too relevant, given the power struggles between fiscally conservative lawmakers and public-sector unions that were taking shape in states such as Wisconsin and Ohio, and gaining national media attention. These power struggles, expressed

through proposed right-to-work legislation and attempts to reclassify faculty members as managers not entitled to union protection (Schmidt, 2011), served as a backdrop for the consideration of this chapter's findings, as did the faltering economic recovery and the ending of federal stimulus funding, which experts reported would be devastating to many public institutions of higher education. In hindsight, it seemed no matter how challenging the fiscal situations at some of the case study sites or how often the assigned leaders portrayed their economic difficulties as business as usual, the investigator's visits allowed her to observe a relatively prosperous time before what could be an even more challenging financial and political era for the case study sites.

The four case studies exhibited different organizational responses to unionization and economic recession. Important key variables in determining how successfully or effectively the libraries adapted to unionization and economic recessions include the characteristics and strategies of the assigned leaders; the specifications of the unionism and CBAs in place; and the institutional legacy and culture¹² that encompasses unionized employees, their identities, and their expectations. Permeating all of the cases was a positive determination, on the one hand, to continue pushing the libraries to greater levels of performance, while, on the other hand, there was a resigned awareness that fiscal pressures were worsening and would delay the libraries' plans. At two of the case study sites, there was a growing concern that valuable resources and well established achievements were being lost, and that both the resources and achievements would not be easily replaced in the wake of these troubles.

The next chapter presents the general findings applicable to two or more of the four cases, and relates these findings more explicitly to the institutional, library, union, leadership, and

¹² Chapter 5 discusses organizational culture and identity.

library employee contexts examined in this dissertation. The chapter also explores the cross-case findings to reflect on themes and patterns of similarity and dissimilarity that have emerged.

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Chapter 4

OVERVIEW OF THE CROSS-CASE FINDINGS

This chapter presents an overview of the broad themes and similarities that emerged from the results of the four case studies, but does not include the investigator's interpretation of the meaning of these results. Interpretation and discussion of these themes will occur in subsequent chapters, 5 through 7, followed by the concluding chapter, 8, which will present a summary of the findings and the implications of the study.

Data from the four case studies demonstrate that there are many different ways in which assigned leaders in higher education and libraries have dealt with the impact of the economic recession and experienced unionization. The institutions' geographical, institutional, historical, and cultural contexts influence the differences. Further differentiating each site, there are also unique characteristics of unionization in place, including why and for how long the collective bargaining agent has been in place, the composition of the bargaining unit, and the specifications of each contract. Yet, at the same time, similarities and broad themes occur across two or more of the cases.

By the end of 2010, all four institutions exhibited various degrees of retrenchment¹ and cutback management,² partially as a result of multiple, severe, or chronic cuts in state

¹ Behn (1980) defines "retrenchment" as the need to downsize an organization so that it consumes fewer resources yet still is able to meet the organization's strategy in a functional and effective way. According to Auster and Taylor (2004), retrenchment connotes a "set of short-term emergency measures undertaken in response to adverse conditions" (p. 26).

² Cutback management refers to political and operational strategies used by managers who need to address declining resources during retrenchment (Behn, 1980). Chapter 6 explores retrenchment, cutback management, and other issues related to the effect of the economic recession on academic libraries.

appropriations and other financial losses (e.g., declines in endowment income related to the economic downturn). Universities B and C fared the worst during and after the economic recession. They were also the two sites with the smallest student populations, located in the same region of the United States, and they perceived the loss of stimulus funding as a devastating blow to their overall financial health. Of the two universities, however, only University C had experienced financial losses to a degree that forced it to adopt major restructuring and layoffs for a number of employees. Administrators at the other three sites were worried they would no longer be able to protect academic programs or to avoid staff furloughs or mass layoffs. They realized that additional budget cuts were “coming down the road.” Perhaps then, University C’s situation serves less as an outlier than a harbinger of worse financial realities to come for these other sites.

Universities D and G, the two sites with the largest student populations, are located in the same region of the United States and they experienced fewer direct effects from the economic recession than the other two sites. Both sites had experienced chronic budget reductions before and after the recession. Thus, those interviewed perceived any new cuts almost in a “business as usual” manner, rather than believing these cuts provided evidence of a major financial shift. In contrast to universities B and C, the participants in these cases voiced no concerns about the end of stimulus funding. Several participants at universities D and G expressed their concerns that dire cuts in the future would not be avoided if the economic recovery continued to falter and their states’ deficits did not improve. Participants at each of the four sites believed that the full effects of the recession, compounded by additional losses in the housing market, high unemployment, and lower tax revenues, would not be felt in their entirety until the next one to two years.

Collective Bargaining Agreements Covering Librarians/Library Faculty

Of the four case studies, only University G's librarians had joined a union relatively recently, in the late 1990s, whereas librarians at the other three sites did so in the mid- to late-1970s. Librarians at University G were the only ones among the four sites not considered to be full faculty and thus were not members of the faculty bargaining unit. The short duration of librarian unionism at the university seemingly did not contribute to the number of articles or the specifications of the collective bargaining agreement there; the number of articles (44) was comparable to University D (48). University G's types of articles related to personnel and governance issues, as identified in studies by Chandler and Chiang (1973) and Chandler and Julius (1985), and were also comparable to the other sites. The five major personnel issues (appointments, evaluation, non-renewal, promotion, and tenure) were covered in all of the CBAs, with the exception of University G's contract, which did not cover tenure because it was not applicable to the librarians' non-tenure-stream positions. All of the CBAs contained management rights clauses. Once again, universities B and C were similar, in that their management rights clauses were brief with broad language used, and universities D and G were similar, in that their management rights clauses were longer with more specific language used. None of the CBAs contained articles related to the governance matters of long-range planning, budget, and retrenchment. Table 4.1 summarizes CBA characteristics pertaining to each case study.

Table 4.1**Characteristics of Collective Bargaining Agreements Covering Library Faculty/Librarians**

Characteristic	University B	University C	University D	University G
Year first collective bargaining agreement ratified	Mid-1970s	Mid-1970s	Late-1970s	Late 1990s
Total number of articles	34	29	48	44
Status of CBA	CBA newly ratified one month before investigator's visit	Librarians working under expired CBA with extension through 2010	CBA set to expire in 2011; CBA not extended after this date.	Librarians working under expired CBA; extension set to expire in 2010.
Management rights clause	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Management rights clause Length, language	Brief, broader	Brief, broader	Longer, more specific	Longer, more specific
Personnel Matters				
Article on appointments	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Article on evaluation	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Article on non-renewal	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Article on promotion	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Article on tenure	Yes	Yes	Yes	Not applicable
Governance Issues				
Article on long-range planning	No	No	No	No
Article on retrenchment	No	No	No	No

Changes Occurring in the Libraries

Not surprisingly, the library administrators at three of the four case study sites reported the loss of funding through repeated permanent and one-time cuts to their budgets, which resulted in the loss of acquisitions buying power and librarian/staff positions. This loss occurred at the same time that the administrators were pressured to improve their stewardship of resources, increase or transform their services, and provide evidence of library effectiveness by applying stronger assessment and evaluation methods (i.e., to provide evidence of return on investment and effectiveness related to achieving targeted outcomes).

The loss of librarian and staff positions usually manifested itself through the elimination of unfilled positions, but was also part of the libraries' retrenchment strategies when administrators were unsure about the stability of the economy and thus were not willing to carry

out recruitment efforts for open positions (out of concerns that the positions might only have to be eliminated later). They also used salary savings from unfilled positions to augment their shrinking budgets, eliminated temporary staffing, and laid off employees when needed, as was the case most recently at University C. Because staffing levels were stagnant if not declining, all of the administrators mentioned the need to make adjustments to their organizational structures and to individual positions. Administrators asked library departments, teams, and individual employees to handle new and multiple types of work; to be members of changed or merged teams; and to reallocate staff members either fully or partially to new areas in the libraries (usually from technical services areas to public service areas). Administrators also combined or converted positions into new job classifications to accommodate growing and evolving service needs. As a result of the rapid changes and economic pressures, participants mentioned the negative effects on librarian/staff morale and stress levels at three of the cases (universities B, C, and D). This was in direct contrast to University G, where two participants framed the staffing situations in positive ways (i.e., that staff were allowed to develop expertise in new areas of work in ways that they were unable to do before the economic pressures necessitated the changes). For example, administrators reassigned technical services staff members to the reference desk, where the staff members discovered they were “really good at searching the catalog” and finding what users needed.

In the area of collection development, all of the libraries grappled with the loss of acquisitions buying power in part by greatly accelerating the shift from a focus on primarily owning print collections to primarily providing electronic access to scholarly content. In two of the cases suffering the most economically, the participants focused on core resources needed for

the curricula, as they no longer had the funding to develop their collections and holdings (universities B and C).

Even with the budgetary and staffing difficulties, all of the participants thought the libraries' performance levels were relatively high and reported that faculty and students at their institutions continued to view the library favorably, with the exception of an occasional faculty complaint about a specific journal or electronic resource not being held by the libraries or student complaints about reduced library hours. Participants at universities C and D praised the success of their library leaders' political advocacy efforts for the libraries and noted their efforts to try to safeguard the libraries from more drastic financial damage. All of the university administrators who were interviewed echoed these positive sentiments about the library directors' efforts to keep their libraries' performance levels high.

To some degree, the perceptions about the libraries' performance were mostly anecdotal, with the exception of University C, which was the only site wherein participants focused on users' perceptions of the library, through the use of periodic LibQUAL+™ studies of service quality, the regular use of a survey of exiting senior-year students who had rated the library highly in its performance, and the work of a standing "assessment committee" devoted to making sure that desired metrics matched the libraries' strategic plan. Only one other site, University G, mentioned that it was conducting periodic LibQUAL+™ studies, and that it was the only method in use there so far. University D's participants mentioned that evaluation and assessment components were part of the new strategic plan they were implementing. University B's participants acknowledged that they had not evaluated service quality since 2004, but this was attributed to the brief tenure of the newly appointed library director. The library director stressed his attempts to set performance metrics and to switch to cost accounting and return-on-

investment calculations as a way to obtain more financial accountability.³ Although many of the library administrators used the words “assessment” in their answers, the details they provided covered general performance measures that were being used (e.g., outputs, satisfaction and service quality surveys); actual assessment measures linked to student learning outcomes, qualitative studies of library users, and return-on-investment analyses, for example, were not raised in any major way as part of the responses.

Effects of Unionization

One major theme emerged when administrators were asked to describe the effects of unionization on their libraries. This theme centered around two aspects of employees’ organizational identification. One aspect related to some employees’ stronger identification with their unions versus the library or the university, and vice versa. The second aspect related to some employees’ stronger identification with one intra-library group over another (e.g., librarians versus administrators).

Although there are many competing definitions of organizational identification, Pratt (2007) summarized that concept as ranging “from a type of persuasion based on personal liking to a by-product of impersonal categorization based on one’s membership in a social group” (n.p.). Identification then becomes “an indicator of how much one values and internalizes a particular social identity—and as an indicator of the degree to which the identity determines one’s behavior” (Pratt, n.p.).⁴ The *organizational target* for this identification can be at the institution level (e.g., an entire university), an organizational subunit (e.g., the academic library of a university), a work team (e.g., a cataloging group or a circulation team), or an affiliated

³ More details about the case study sites’ evaluation and assessment activities are included in Chapter 7.

⁴ Chapter 5 explores the concept of organizational identification and its implications.

collective (e.g., a professional librarians group or a faculty union). At University C, participants suggested that they and other library employees strongly identified with their university as the organizational target, and they acknowledged that assigned leaders reinforced this identification in their interactions with librarians/staff. At University G, the same pattern emerged, except that the identification target was the library, not the university. At universities B and D, the identification target at least for some employees was the union rather than the library or the institution. Participants at these sites were concerned about what they alternately called an “us versus them” environment, a “caste system,” and “tribalism.”

A second aspect of this theme developed around interpersonal relationships within the libraries, with two case studies experiencing more problems in this area than the other two. All of the participants mentioned that unionization either was negatively reinforcing or had the great potential of negatively reinforcing the differences in status and type of employees in the library. This phenomenon aggravated what some participants identified as a common tendency for libraries to be “caste-laden” organizations, even without the added boundaries of bargaining units and separate union contracts. Assigned leaders reported that they were trying to overcome these negative effects by communicating openly with all staff and by implementing shared-governance policies and participatory management practices that tried to de-emphasize those differences. The lack of any grievances from librarians or library staff in the long-term or recent past, as reported by participants in all of the case studies, indicates that these efforts might be succeeding.

Besides this issue of reinforced differences among employees, assigned leaders at universities C and G described the overall effects of unionization on interpersonal relationships within the libraries as minimal. When they mentioned a specific union-related concern, they

were apt to portray the issue as a challenge that was no more troubling to them than any other challenges they were facing. Some participants at universities C and G went even further than this, describing unionization's overall effect on their interpersonal relationships as positive. Assigned leaders at universities B and D, on the other hand, acknowledged that unionism created several legacy problems that manifested themselves in the occasionally adversarial nature of interactions between administrators and library faculty, and in the need for redundant organizational structures.

Benefits and Constraints of Unionization

Most of the assigned leaders studied and consulted the CBAs associated with their institutions whenever personnel issues arose. They named the collective bargaining process and the CBAs as benefits because the contracts standardized personnel decisions such as pay raises, benefits, and promotions. Benefits also resulted when the university typically funded any increases in pay or benefits, which meant that these decisions did not have any direct negative effect on the libraries' budgets. This thereby allowed the assigned leaders to move to other issues and priorities as soon as the contract was settled. Paradoxically, the collective bargaining process and the CBAs were also seen as the worst constraints affecting assigned leaders. The standardization of treatment across bargaining unit members made it more difficult to reward specific individuals' outstanding performance and/or to address weak or unsatisfactory performance of specific individuals.

Assigned leaders acknowledged that the specifications of the CBAs sometimes hindered or delayed their abilities to change their organizational structures and position descriptions, but these effects did not stop their change efforts altogether. All of the assigned leaders used their full managerial decision-making power most of the time in regard to controlling budgets,

personnel, planning, and operations matters, even if this sometimes called for workarounds, such as when University B merged three work groups, each headed by a unionized librarian, and thereby forced the reassignment of one of the unionized librarians to a new area of work, even if this meant defending grievances against these changes in the meantime.

In regard to any direct participation in the collective bargaining process, only the library directors at universities C and D described participating at least once as members of their institutions' negotiating teams, and both said they were consulted periodically when specific issues affecting their units were being reviewed. Other assigned leaders at each university had never participated in the contract negotiation process, but believed that they had indirectly influenced the negotiations through other groups or individual interactions with those who were closer to the process, such as when library directors raised contract issues during closed council of directors meetings. Ironically, one site acknowledged that indirect influence carried more weight when it occurred through interactions with unionized library faculty members rather than with their administrative colleagues.

Assigned Leaders Participating in the Study

Most of the assigned leaders indicated that they had gained long years of experience working as administrators in both unionized and non-unionized environments. Most of them had other personal connections with unions as well, with past roles including chief negotiator (provost at University B), union activist (library director at University B), membership chair (vice provost at University C), grievance chair (vice provost at University C), president of a union (vice provost at University C), shop steward (library director at University C), and union member (all administrators at University C, library director at University D, and associate director at University C).

Effect on Leaders' Personal Careers and Accomplishments

When asked to consider their personal careers and accomplishments in relation to experiences leading and managing in unionized, fiscally stressed environments, most of the library administrators described unionization as a non-issue in this area. They focused instead on the impact of economic scarcity on their careers and ambitions, with the themes in their comments separating them into two different groups.

One group, comprised of library administrators at universities C and G, believed that inadequate funding and staffing were having detrimental effects on their personal careers and aspirations. Their strongest complaints centered on the thin staffing levels in the operations for which they were responsible, and the overload of work they perceived themselves to be handling. This led to a sense of burnout, missed networking opportunities, and to a realization of lowered career expectations. For example, one assistant director at University C stated:

This job is so demanding, even though I don't have to work every other night, I have to come in on the weekends just to keep up with paperwork, just to keep up with some of the reading, so I can then discuss the issues [later at meetings].

I do some of it at home. I stay [at work] until 7 o'clock. I don't ever leave at 5.

A different assistant director at University C reiterated this sense of overwork, and said: "Really, I have no thinking time. And I think that in itself is what gets people frustrated and burned out."

An assistant director at University C focused on the lack of funding and the way it resulted in a lack of professional networking opportunities, due to restrictions on travel reimbursements that had been implemented at the institutional level. She said, "Pretty much, anything I can't accomplish has more to do with [lack of] funds than the other stuff. ... You

can't just say, 'okay, I want to go this conference...' because if that is your only purpose, you will not be going."

A library administrator at University G mentioned that a turning point in his career ambitions was the merging of a media services unit into the libraries' operations with little new funding and no new staffing. He shared the following concerns:

I have actually done more article-writing and presentation-giving before the media services merge. That has just consumed everything ... We have been so short-staffed I have to be on the frontlines a lot, really be in the thick of things. If ever I try to step out of the daily mix, it just starts unraveling. We are just so tightly staffed. So I think it has been frustrating. If I look toward career advancement or moving on to something else, I realize I haven't quite established the right pedigree to be a dean of libraries, because I don't have [a record of scholarship]. I've been focused so heavily on just keeping the boat from sinking here that I have gotten locked in, and done myself a disservice by not taking care of me enough. ... I probably haven't taken good enough care of my own career in terms of what my resume looks like, in terms of the other jobs that I might want to pursue. Some [other] state institutions are probably fine, we just have been poor for so long here. It's just been a really challenging environment because of the lack of staff.

The second group, comprised of some library administrators at universities D and G, considered the economic problems to be severe for the most part, but they believed these difficulties had no more impact on their careers than other obstacles they had faced. The associate director at University D noted, "We have to be wise about utilization of resources, but

we have to do that out of hand; it is a sensible thing to do.” The library director at University D affirmed this remark, stating:

You live within your budgets and try to be as effective as you can when you deploy human resources and other resources. [The economic situation] just gives us more challenges. That is just the meat of the role that has to be played. ... I still have opportunity for achievement in the role that I am in. I can savor the [achievements] more, if I have been through more difficulty.

The assistant director of technical services at University G thought the economic downturn was both a challenge and an opportunity. She said:

You know those 60s and 70s, those days of huge amounts of money, [they] are over and [the funding] has been going down ever since. We have been in the profession long enough to realize that. So, I think it is just another challenge. There are opportunities now with technology and the maturity of the organization to give our employees some additional training. I have been really interested in the idea that technical services staff have the skills to learn metadata. It is just a transition.

There were two exceptions to the perspective that unionization was a neutral factor in the careers of administrators. Both exceptions occurred at University B where, as it has already been pointed out, unionization had resulted in a legacy of adversarial practices and relationships between library administrators and some librarians. However, the library administrators emphasized the experience as an opportunity to learn and grow as managerial leaders. The associate library director said:

I've learned a lot. One of the things I've learned was I am cut out for administration. I am confident doing it. But I also learned a lot about people. I don't find that it has negatively affected my aspirations. If I were to go to another organization that had a very strong union, I think that I would, knowing what I know now, learn the collective bargaining agreement by heart and ensure that I abided by it and if ever there was something that was a little questionable, I would go to legal counsel before I acted on anything.

The library director revealed candidly that he had avoided unionized, public-sector libraries in his administrative career for twenty years, because of early, frustrating experiences in these environments. He described his reasons for seeking out and accepting the new position he held now as part of a desire to challenge himself with one more intense learning experience in the late stages of his successful career, stating:

I had to find out if I could handle these challenges. I've done it before but I'm older, they're wiser. ... I'm telling you right now, the jury is still out on whether I can handle this thing. ... I struggled when I first got here with the whole union thing. ... I was totally frustrated by it, but I said fine. This is why you are here, idiot, get to work. ... It's slowed me down a little bit because I've got more people that want a say in everything. I have to be adaptive. ... I've got to make some changes to their culture and their practices and their traditions. ... For me, it's a learning experience.

Strategies of Assigned Leaders

Several themes emerged to demonstrate that assigned leaders used strategies in three leadership areas, namely, transformation, accomplishment, and people. These areas

corresponded to those described in the National Center for Healthcare Leadership (NCHL) Leadership Competency Model,⁵ Version 2, adopted by Simmons College, as shown below:

- Transformation: Visioning, energizing, and stimulating a change process that coalesces communities, patrons, and professionals around new models of managerial leadership;
- Accomplishment: Translating vision and strategy into optimal organizational performance; and
- People: Creating an organizational climate that values employees from all backgrounds and provides an energizing environment for them. It also includes the leader's responsibility to understand his or her impact on others and to improve his or her capabilities, as well as the capabilities of others. (Simmons College, Graduate School of Library and Information Science, 2006, p. 2)

Under “transformation,” many of the assigned leaders, including all of the library directors, described their awareness of the differences between the functions of leaders and managers, and seemed to be carrying out many of these functions in positive ways. They were aware of leadership and organizational theories and trends, with several leaders reflecting their community orientation,⁶ strategies of shared/participatory leadership, and forms of positive, appreciative leadership they used (although only one site, University G, explicitly named this type of leadership). All of the assigned leaders emphasized the transformation of their organizations through strategic visioning and planning, but universities C and D were the only two cases wherein participants reflected that the strategic visioning and planning processes had

⁵ Chapter 7 discusses this model and its relationship to the study's library administrators.

⁶ A “community orientation” is the “ability to align one's own and the organization's priorities with the needs and values of the community” (Simmons College, 2006, n.p.).

been inculcated deeply into the organization's culture and the participants' consciousness over time. Virtually all of the participants mentioned that risk-taking and innovation in the form of creative resourcefulness were paramount to achieve success in their thinly staffed, thinly resourced environments.

Under "accomplishment," all of the assigned leaders focused on open, transparent communications with employees and external constituencies, with several of them saying that this was even more crucial to do during times of crisis. They demonstrated extensive library domain knowledge and expressed their determination to achieve ever improved levels of performance in their libraries, even when some of them were facing serious, long-term budgetary and staffing challenges, ones that they had never previously encountered. Not only were the assigned leaders aware of their organizations as complex systems, each with its own set of power relationships, they also made it clear they advocated for their libraries, and as change agents, they were not afraid of making major structural and positional changes in their organizations if they believed these would improve their libraries' performance. Although all assigned leaders in the libraries exhibited the characteristics associated with accomplishment, library directors at universities B, C, and D expressed a more intense focus on this area than others, especially in the realms of financial accountability and stewardship.

Under "people," assigned leaders at all of the case study sites exhibited an awareness of and a commitment to their personal and organizational values. They expressed a belief in treating employees with professionalism and respect. When asked to describe important qualities for leaders, the common themes of honesty, fairness, courage, and credibility were raised. Among the case studies, universities C and G seemed to exhibit the strongest focus on people, based on participants' remarks about their team-based approaches in many, if not all, areas of the libraries.

Participants at University G highlighted the importance of people first in most of their remarks and stressed the strategic benefits of professional and personal development for all employees, more so than participants at other sites. The associate director stressed that the library had worked diligently to develop and train staff, and reallocate them to new operational areas rather than laying them off, while other library administrators emphasized that relationships with people were first and foremost. The library director stated that she was directly responsible for the emotional welfare of everyone who worked in the library, unionized or not.

Librarian/Library Staff Perspectives

With the exception of one long-term unionized librarian at University B and one long-term unionized library staff member at University G, all of the unionized employees who participated in focus group and individual interviews exhibited a relatively low awareness of their unions' activities and achievements. Several unionized employees at universities B and G thought that their unions were "weak." Most participants at University C agreed that their union was "doing what it could." Only the long-term unionized librarian at University B expounded on the reasons for unionization at the institution and the library, and attributed some of the adversarial nature of relationships between administrators and faculty to early union-related struggles, even as he blamed the "us versus them" nature of current relationships on the difficult contract negotiations and impasse process that had just occurred earlier in 2010.

University B's employees were the only ones who mentioned a lack of trust in past library administrators, but again, this comment was made with an acknowledgement that their new director was making good strides in healing the lingering wounds leftover by the last permanent (rather than interim) library administration. Participants at universities C and G not only mentioned that they had a high level of trust and faith in their assigned leaders' abilities and

motives, but also that their leaders genuinely cared about them as employees. In response to a question asking them to provide the ideal characteristics of library leaders, many of the focus group participants listed in common the attributes of honesty, openness, vision, creativity, respect, and trust. Most of these named attributes matched the responses of assigned leaders as well.

When asked to reflect on the benefits of unionization, most participants named the main expected issues (i.e., better pay, improved benefits, and job security), but some participants at universities B and G also raised the point about the ability of unions to counterbalance the power of administrators. Only one participant identified a downside to unionism, namely that she had to pay union dues.

All participants believed that their libraries were performing well, despite the economic and staffing problems they were facing. They agreed the libraries achieved their goals mainly because they, as employees, were asked to do more with less, and they were complying with these demands due to their high levels of commitment and dedication to their organizations.

Conclusion

Generalization of the findings to broader populations was not an aim of this study, but generalization to theoretical propositions is a feature of this study's qualitative design and is carried out in the following chapters. An inherent limitation of the study derives from the fact that the focus-group interview participants were volunteers and formed only a small subset of the libraries' employees; therefore, the perspectives shared may not be representative of the larger population groups at each site, but they reflect the stated beliefs of those individuals who participated in the interviews. Where possible, the investigator tried to use multiple perspectives

and documentary sources to confirm each participant's remarks, but otherwise, the information shared was taken at face value.

Based on the rich and multi-faceted findings of this study, casual assumptions about the presence or lack of strong leadership in academic libraries, and the effects of unionization and the 2008-2009 recession on academic libraries are not safe to make. Despite the monumental fiscal and staffing challenges they face in this difficult era of public education defunding, assigned leaders at these four large, public academic libraries seem to be *emergent leaders*, based on the descriptions of their strategies and actions. Emergent leaders, according to Northouse (2013), are those individuals who, regardless of the particular positions they hold, are perceived by others to be the most influential people in their organizations over time – a phenomenon that occurs through the individuals' use of successful communication strategies and behaviors. In this study, the emergent leaders also act as managerial leaders (i.e., leaders who are influencing others, creating visions for constructive change, and developing mutual purposes, while at the same, serving as managers involved in the effective planning, organizing, staffing and controlling of their organizations).

Findings from the individual case studies and the cross-case themes described in this chapter will be discussed and interpreted in the following chapters. The first of these chapters, Chapter 5, examines the effect of unionization on libraries and the library administrators in more depth, focusing on the impact of unionization on the managerial leadership function in regard to benefits and constraints, on organizational culture and identity, and on organizational effectiveness. Chapter 6 addresses the impact of the fiscally stressed environment on the libraries and explores how the libraries' administrators have adapted to and handled the economic challenges facing them, in the context of the threat or reality of organizational decline,

retrenchment, and cutback management. Chapter 7 includes descriptions of the participants' general perspectives on leadership and highlights selected leadership strategies being used at the four unionized case study sites. Finally, Chapter 8 concludes the dissertation by drawing together the important themes covered in this and the previous chapter, and reflecting on the possible implications of the study's findings for unionized, fiscally stressed academic libraries.

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Chapter 5

THE UNIONIZED ENVIRONMENT

In this chapter, the investigator discusses the findings related to the unionized environments at the case study sites. She focuses solely on the phenomena associated with the unionization of professional librarians, due to the lack of data available about the unionization of library support staff. When unionization is referenced throughout the remainder of the dissertation, the references pertain to unionization of professional librarians, not to library staff members unless otherwise noted. Generalization of the findings to broader populations was not an aim of this study, but generalization to theoretical propositions is a feature of this study's qualitative design and is carried out in the following sections.

Collective Bargaining Negotiations

In 1973, an Association of Research Libraries (ARL) management supplement reviewed collective bargaining activities in academic and research libraries, and noted that unionization's growth in the 1960s had made the topic of "wide interest" to its members (p. 1). The ARL (1973) supplement also summarized the usual negotiation process for library administrators, advising that library participation in collective bargaining negotiations "is important to ensure adequate protection in the contract for library operations and also to facilitate effective interaction with union leaders" (p. 2). According to the ARL supplement, if there is no library participation and if campus-level administrators are not able to assume the leadership roles, the library may be left in a weaker state, especially if the library's leaders lack expertise in labor relations. At the same time, the ARL supplement conceded that direct library participation at the bargaining table may be risky, for example, if library directors are drawn into debates where they might make remarks

or commitments that adversely affect the bargaining process. Instead, the ARL supplement suggested that it might be “helpful to have the [library] director available as part of a caucus committee” in the process (p. 2).

This advice seemingly applies to non-ARL university libraries as well, including those in this dissertation. However, only the library directors at universities C and D have served on institutional negotiating teams at those institutions. Their opportunities to participate in any formal way during negotiations were sporadic and infrequent. University C’s library director served “two years ago,” but provided input on issues affecting the library in other ways. University D’s library director, who had served in his position for more than two decades, had participated on two bargaining teams as the directors’ representative, but otherwise had been asked routinely for his perspectives and advice on issues, prior to bargaining.

The lack of regular participation by library administrators in the institutional bargaining process seems problematic, especially if it makes sense for them to gain experience and expertise in labor relations and if the library’s contractual needs are to be represented well at the bargaining table. As Carr and VanEyck (1973) described the collective bargaining relationship, it presumes “that each side has enough bargaining power to enable it to meet the other on sufficiently even terms [so] that the resulting agreement will be balanced and fair” (p. 14). Because large numbers of unionized employees often work in libraries, it would seem detrimental to the goal of a balanced and fair agreement, if library administrators were unable to address the libraries’ changing personnel management needs sufficiently in each bargaining process. Yet, only two of the institutions afforded library administrators the chance to provide formal input. One library administrator decried the lack of formal opportunities to influence the process at her institution: “I have no input. I have problems with the clauses in the contract about

layoffs, but the contract was just signed and approved, so it's going to be another few years before we go back to the table to negotiate that." An administrator at a different library echoed this remark: "I feel like I have no input. I feel like [the bargaining] goes on someplace else and my raise depends on whatever it is that they do."¹

The lack of regular participation by library administrators lends credence to the observation that collective bargaining in public-sector organizations, over time, is associated with increased centralization of personnel management, authority, and structures (Burton, 1972; DeMitchell, 2010, pp. 15-20; Kearney, 2009, pp. 196-197). By centralizing power at the executive level and concurrently providing represented employees with direct access to top executives through union officials, collective bargaining can diminish the roles and decision-making capabilities of mid-level administrators. Focusing on faculty unionization, Kearney (2009) explained:

Faculty bargaining has resulted in the concentration of power in college and university central administrations at the expense of deans and department heads. Management has become more professionalized and specialized to confront the challenges of collective bargaining. Faculty power has coalesced in the union in most cases, with union committees displacing the power and influence of traditional faculty senates. (p. 197)

Julius (2006) postulated that the organizational consequences of unionization included increased bureaucracy, codification of procedures and policies, the need for new styles of management (requiring conflict resolution skills and egalitarian approaches), and reinforcement

¹ Administrators at this particular library receive pay increases that are commensurate with the unionized faculty's negotiated pay increases, which was typical throughout the university.

of supervisory administrative roles. He noted that unionization brought increased system vulnerability, because it led to more external pressures and politicized processes in public-sector universities (pp. 206-209). He predicted that unionized public systems would “become more beholden to state governors and legislative leaders,” and that these “vulnerabilities” would be “hastened as the locus of bargaining moves to legislative, not academic, offices” (p. 209).

While centralization is understandable in response to the institutional need for more labor relations expertise and consistency in administration of union contracts (DeMitchell, 2010, pp. 15-20), the concentration of decision-making power may come at the expense of library directors, who may be marginalized as middle managers in the process. On the other hand, it may be advantageous for them to remain somewhat distant from the formal negotiation process, especially if they lack the required expertise to contribute to it in a positive, efficient way. As the ARL supplement (1973) stated:

Library unionization needs to be viewed in the context of campus-wide labor relations and personnel policies. ... The labor specialist for the university, whether [she or] he is a labor relations expert, labor lawyer, or director of personnel services, serves as a valuable resource person and advisor to library management in its union relations. (p. 2)

Buller (2007) argued that “deans should *never* presume to engage in negotiations directly with a union unless they have the full support of legal counsel, prior experience in negotiations (at least to the point of having sat in on previous negotiations as an observer), and a clear mandate from their institutions to do so” (p. 369). The library director at University B believed that the libraries’ formal participation at the negotiation table would be counterproductive, saying:

I have problems with the clauses in the contract about layoffs but the contract was just signed and approved in September. So, it's going to be another few years before we go back to the table to negotiate that. But when we go to the table to negotiate that, it is at the provost level. ... The deans, we may have some say in terms of going from the administration side ... but when it gets right down to the table - we're not there. Because it's got to be a few people involved. If there are too many people involved you are never going to get anything done.

During the interviews, several library administrators asserted that taking advantage of informal means to influence the collective bargaining process could be more effective than using formal means. Kearney (2009), who concurs, observed that collective bargaining in local government situations can become unstable when participants have too little time or expertise to handle the issues at stake, and when decision-making authority is fragmented. In their coverage of the "diversity-of-impacts theory" about public-sector unionization, Horton, Lewin, and Kuhn (1976) mentioned the need to distinguish between formal and informal power structures, where "diversity ... with respect to control devices, organizational structures, services, and occupational and work groups exists ... [and where it] is rooted in historical legal, functional, and political features of government" (p. 504). Although they addressed unionization in local governments, their points apply to public higher education as well, in that power may be dispersed in a multitude of ways in a mature, complex university environment, and not necessarily in patterns that respect the boundaries of formal political and organizational structures. "Everything is going to be done informally in order to feed the process," said the associate director at University B. One library director said that her ability to influence the

process was improved by discussing library contractual needs directly with librarians in her unit, rather than using formal mechanisms: “The librarians that [*sic*] have served on the union [side], they do let me know [what is happening] ... They come back to staff meetings and they communicate openly, because we internally look at ourselves as a faculty body, a library body. We’re really united internally.”

Impact on Managerial Leadership Functions

Managerial leadership is a concept that combines management with leadership, based on the premise that management produces order and consistency, while leadership produces change and movement in an organization (Kotter, 1990, pp. 3-8). According to Kotter (1990), both of these functions are distinctly different from each other and yet both are necessary for an organization to thrive. In the literature of library and information science (LIS), Hernon, Schwartz, and Anderson (2007) defined managerial leadership as the “knowledge, abilities, and skills of middle to senior-level managers in the information professions” which help “an organization establish and accomplish its purpose and direction (as reflected in mission and vision statements and strategic plans)” (p. 230). Managerial leaders in libraries are those who carry out the functions of managers and administrators, but who also act as leaders in their organizations and likely in larger settings.

Walker and Lawler (1982), who examined the attitudes of 247 California State University and Colleges (CSUC) mid- and upper-level administrators toward the then-imminent unionization of their institutions, found that the majority of them had “deeply rooted unfavorable perceptions of the potential impact of bargaining ...” (p. 371). Further, the administrators expected no “greater equity in treatment of faculty” and believed that unionization would “undermine representation through senates” (Walker & Lawler, 1982, p. 362). Many of the

respondents thought that unionization would lead to the centralization of decision making from campus to system level, centralization of decision making from intermediate to campus level, increased power of nonacademic administrators, and decreased flexibility in decision making for administrators. A majority of these administrators believed that bargaining was not working well in higher education. The results of the study demonstrated that this “attitudinal variable, which is also likely to reflect general impressions rather than precise knowledge, strongly influences views as to whether bargaining is desirable in one’s own institution” (Walker & Lawler, 1982, p. 362).

In contrast to the CSUC administrators’ situation, each of the library administrators in the current study inherited the unionized environments at their institutions. Unionism had already been in place for several decades at universities B, C, and D, and for over a decade at University G. The library administrators at universities B and D described how the legacy of unionism had left cultural and structural problems they were still trying to solve. Librarians at University B, for example, continued to exclude library administrators from library faculty meetings, with the practice attributed to long-standing conflicts between library faculty and administrators. The organizational structure of the library at University D had branched into a two-tiered system. In order to accommodate the boundaries of the faculty bargaining unit, the library had created two separate work groups that performed duplicative functions, one group to cover online programs and the other group dedicated to cover traditional-classroom programs. This two-tiered staffing structure fostered a sense of “tribalism” or “castes” within the library that the directors continued to confront in their relationships with employees and in library operations.

Most of the strategic changes the library directors were implementing related to personnel matters, encompassing restructuring of teams, moving of employees from one operational area to

another, and redesigning of individual positions. When asked if unionization had affected their abilities to lead and implement these changes, the majority of library administrators interviewed believed that unionization had affected their abilities to address personnel-related matters in the following ways:

- Promotion procedures and criteria for librarians had been standardized. The directors perceived this to be a benefit, especially with regard to providing a way to protect librarians' interests at the institution level, and to make librarians' contributions better understood and more visible throughout the academic enterprise. The participants believed that this type of standardization ensured equitable treatment of librarians.
- Policies and procedures for disciplinary actions were tightly regulated in the CBAs and carefully followed by the administrators, when needed. Although librarians and staff rarely performed poorly enough to merit disciplinary action, according to the participants, the majority of the directors noted that even if they want to proceed with disciplinary actions, the procedures required such copious administrative attention, time, and documentation that the efforts might not be worth the costs except in the most egregious cases. Instead, they addressed the situations through other means, such as reassignment of the individual to other functional areas of the library or providing increased mentoring and training. The theme of *picking one's battles* (i.e., conserving leadership energies and resources for higher-priority, bigger-impact changes) was referred to several times, especially when human resource-related decisions were raised.
- The administrators recognized that reduction of staffing through layoffs remained an option available to them, with the exception of not laying off tenured librarians. They

considered layoffs to be a last, undesirable resort, however. Some of them noted that layoffs were harmful, not only to the employees, but also because the libraries rarely regained the eliminated positions and because the resulting “bumping”² procedures threatened to cause the loss of newer employees who would likely be more technologically adept.

- The necessity of union consultation, review, and, in some cases, negotiation, regarding changes in bargaining-unit job classifications³ impeded administrative flexibility and mobility when senior managers wanted to redesign individual positions, but this rarely became an insurmountable obstacle in any of the leaders’ plans. These individuals believed they just had to be more creative and persistent when they wanted to change classified positions. Union interest in maintaining contractual control over individual positions is not surprising, because, as Kearney (2009) wrote, classification plans “serve as the framework for the organization’s compensation structure” (p. 200).
- Some researchers have expressed concern that the “threat of job loss might lead to resistance to [the application of] new technologies in libraries” (Kusack, 1986, p. 41), but the administrators interviewed in this dissertation noted that, to date, the unions had not opposed technological changes. This matched well with Kearney (2009), who commented that “most public employee unions claim they are not opposed to

² “Bumping” is a colloquial word that refers to the contractual ability for laid-off employees with seniority to continue their employment by displacing others with less seniority, within certain job classifications.

³ In most unionized contexts, positions of bargaining unit members are “organized into classes or groups on the basis of the responsibilities, duties, skills, and qualifications assigned to them” (Kearney, 2009, p. 200).

technology changes,” as long as workers’ jobs are protected, and if other changes are negotiated or at least subject to consultation with the union (p. 207). In virtually all situations described by the administrators in the current study, technological changes had not resulted in the need for fewer workers, mainly because natural attrition and the loss of positions due to budget cuts had already taken a toll on staffing levels, and because the libraries were adding new services for which they were requiring more staff. For example, at University G, several long-term library staff members had been retrained to handle website maintenance and media services work.

- Several senior managers wanted to offer higher salaries to outstanding job candidates, but were restrained by union-related pay ranges for certain positions. They did not believe that their lack of control over salary ranges and pay increases, however, translated into a lack of control over their own library budgets. For example, they did not think that the funding for negotiated raises was related to any corresponding budget effect that might reduce the money available for other areas. They based this belief on the fact that the universities typically added into their libraries’ base budgets the negotiated raises for librarians and staff members.
- Several library administrators mentioned the inability to have direct control over employees’ merit increases as a major downside of unionization. The directors expressed a desire to reward exemplary employees with merit increases, but believed that the mandates for across-the-board raises were frustrating their abilities to reward the superior performance of employees. Providing a viewpoint from the union perspective, however, Rosen (2003) points out that merit pay systems and other pay and benefit schemes, combined with lean employment structures, are a “management

scheme to divide the workforce ... designed to get more work out of employees for less money, while simultaneously reducing the changes of solidarity between workers by making them think that their fellow workers are either competitors or a drag on their pay” (p. 194).

Despite the constraints noted above, all of the library administrators expressed confidence in their abilities, overall, to solve union-related problems and to tolerate delays attributed to unionization. They perceived union-related issues and constraints to be challenging and frustrating at times, but still surmountable. To varying degrees, several of them believed the downsides of unionization were worth the stability and benefits that unionization brought to the institution. The senior library administrators at universities C and G, for example, professed explicit support for unionism and described an atmosphere of union-management cooperation at their libraries that did not seem to be evident at universities B and D. The associate director at University C rarely “buted heads” with the union, as long as she remained aligned with the libraries’ and the university’s missions. The library director at University G said:

[Unionization] might change how you get things done, but it shouldn’t stop you or change the things you need to get accomplished. You should just assess the union environment, and then try to use it to your best advantage. You just look at the tools it gives you ... you examine them, and then figure out how to use those tools to accomplish your mission, one that everyone can buy into.

The positive attitudes exhibited in these remarks, matched with the directors’ strategic approaches, collaborative relationships with librarians and staff, and the evidence of successful initiatives, argue that emergent leadership is not only possible but firmly in place at these institutions. Serving in a unionized environment may even be strengthening the abilities of some

emergent leaders, as it seems to cultivate within them a high level of determination, creativity, and adaptability.⁴

The ARL supplement (1973) proposed that operating within a unionized environment called for a strong management function. Managerial leaders of unionized libraries must be able to defend their actions as fair, reasonable, and contractually allowable, if a grievance is made and moves to arbitration. As that report explained:

Each provision of a collective bargaining agreement is, in effect, a limitation where none had formally existed before. In order to operate effectively, let alone to make changes or experiment within such a framework, management needs to be imaginative in planning and attentive to detail. Managing will require more time than before and will require considerably more attention.

(p. 3)

Scholars have echoed this point as well. Tannenbaum (1965), for instance, noted that unionism “presents a source of pressure on management to ‘keep on its toes’ ... [and that] ... unions may have contributed to the upgrading of management ... capable of adjusting to, if not undercutting, the pressures which unions create” (p. 735). Slichter, Healy, and Livernash (1960) asserted that unionization had created “superior and better balanced management, even though some exceptions must be recognized” (p. 951), and that specialized management knowledge and experience were needed to administer the contract and handle the complexities of a union environment. Freeman and Medoff (1984) pointed out that good managers can substitute improved planning for the loss of flexibility introduced as a result of unionization.

⁴ Chapter 7 explores these and other aspects of the managerial leadership at the sites.

Participants in the current study mentioned reduced flexibility as one of the major disadvantages of unionization, although they expressed confidence in being able to work around any obstacles and delays. In studies of non-library organizations, Freeman and Medoff (1984) showed that “in general productivity is higher in the presence of unionism than in its absence” (p. 163). They attributed this to the stronger “voice/response” capabilities of unionized employees, with benefits “ranging from reductions in exit to changed managerial practices” (p. 163), but they acknowledged that this type of result depends upon whether labor relations are good or bad, and whether productivity-augmenting or productivity-reducing behavior dominates the organization. Thus, several scholars have acknowledged that unions bring reduced flexibility to the management function, even as they pointed out that good relationships, and skilled managerial leadership and planning, could be used to counteract it.

Slichter et al. (1960) stated that unionization had narrowed the “the scope of managerial discretion ... in two principal ways: by the terms of the union-management contract, and by the administration of the union-management contract” (p. 947). Slichter et al. allowed for the possibility, however, that the administration of the contract might not have to be defended in grievance or arbitration processes, because circumstances and organizational cultures differed, and because “people will assert their rights in varying degrees of frequency and reasonableness” (p. 948). According to administrators at universities C, D, and G, library employees had not challenged management decisions with any grievances during the administrators’ tenures. At University B, librarians had not filed any grievances recently, but they were reported to have done so heavily in the past. The high numbers of past grievances were referenced by one library administrator who said: “We have had some people here who have been so overly active [in submitting grievances] that it can almost have the opposite effect, like their voices no longer

count.” The same administrator conveyed her concerns that the university administration’s memories about these grievances were long-lasting, and she wondered if past grievances were apt to affect the upper administration’s perceptions about the library in the current moment.

Specific reasons for the lack or presence of grievances in the libraries were not examined directly as part of the current study, but the data support the investigator’s observation that more contentious relationships between administration and faculty librarians were evident at University B than at the other sites. One compelling example of this was the librarians’ practice of actively excluding library administrators from regular library faculty meetings, even though the meetings were not union-related but were operational and/or functional in nature. This type of exclusionary practice was not used at the other sites. The library administrators at University B described this practice with disappointment, and yet they also seemed resigned to accept it as a legacy problem for now. They conveyed no strategies they would use to change the practice, other than acknowledging the need to rebuild trust throughout the organization.

Management Rights

The negotiated collective bargaining agreement (CBA) serves as the “legal foundation, or ‘law of the workplace,’ replacing the unilateral determination of employment decisions by management with a shared decision-making process between equals” (Kearney, 2009, p. 292). In the CBA, however, the management rights clause limits the scope of bargaining by placing certain issues outside the boundaries of negotiations (Carr & Van Eyck, 1973). The use of this clause stems from the perspective that management must maintain certain levels of authority in order to carry out its “responsibility for the successful operation and perpetuation of the enterprise” (Hill & Hook, 1945, pp. 57-58). Hill and Hook (1945) distinguished between management *rights* and management *prerogatives*; they maintained management used the word

“prerogative” when it wanted to preserve its existing advantages and invoke an outmoded concept of “constitutional rights as a smoke screen” during negotiations (p. 56). Chandler and Chiang (1973) suggested that the insistence on maintaining a management rights clause could indicate an uncompromising stance in regard to the union-management relationship, and that management might use this device to “warn grievance processors, arbitrators, and others of this fact” (p. 60).

In the current study, all of the collective bargaining agreements covering librarians contained management rights clauses. This was not surprising, given the results of past studies examining CBAs in higher education (Chandler & Chiang, 1973; Chandler & Julius, 1985). Chandler and Chiang (1973) found that 68 percent of the 91 CBAs associated with two- and four-year institutions maintained this type of clause, while Chandler and Julius (1985) discovered that all of the CBAs associated with 285 two- and four-year institutions contained such clauses.

The CBAs at universities B and C contained management rights clauses that were brief with broad language used, while the CBAs at universities D and G contained clauses which were longer with more specific language used. According to Chandler and Chiang (1973), brief, general statements were indicative of a less rigid stance on management rights, whereas longer, specific statements were representative of stronger assertions about management rights. Despite this, in the current study, there seemed to be no obvious implications for the libraries related to these clauses, because the stance of library administrators toward their unionized librarians and staff did not exhibit patterns that correlated with the CBA-related findings.

Union Advancement on Management Rights

Carr and Van Eyck (1973) stated that “reserved rights clauses serve to underscore the problem inherent in faculty collective bargaining of whether a line should or can be drawn between conditions of employment and matters of institutional governance and educational policy” (p. 207). If that line exists, the investigator suggests, it is one that unions will undoubtedly try to cross, if not for the sake of fighting for the more participatory, shared governance systems they espouse, than for the sake of their unions’ continued viability. As Walton and McKersie (1965) observed, the negotiators on the union side are probably subjected to more organizational constraints than their management counterparts, because the union is a “political organization whose representatives are elected to office and in which contract terms must be ratified by an electorate” (p. 6). Thus, union negotiators need to justify their existences just as much as administrators do. They have a political need to strengthen their constituents’ “voice” in negotiated contracts, in order to demonstrate they can be effective in eroding management’s traditional base of power. As Williams and Zirkel (1988) remarked, “From the emergence of collective bargaining in higher education to the present time, there has been a shift in bargaining issues within faculty contracts” from monetary compensation and benefits to “faculty welfare issues” (p. 77). Yet, Kusack (1986) warned that this shift would not be an easy one for library administrators, because they have a “much more difficult time accepting and dealing with noneconomic issues in collective bargaining than economic issues” (p. 40).

In their study of CBAs in higher education, Chandler and Julius (1985) found that “faculty voice” in long-range planning “appeared to be a goal that was apt to be realized more successfully as the age of a relationship increased” (p. 104). In the current study, however, the age of the union-administration relationship did not matter, because clauses covering long-range

planning were missing from each of the CBAs associated with this study.⁵ This seemed to affirm the conclusions of Chandler and Julius (1985), when they remarked that the “more circumscribed public model of collective bargaining may become dominant,” that is, “in the future, there may be less rapid progress in the growth of faculty voice” in the key decision areas of long-range planning and retrenchment (p. 111). Rhoades and Smith (2010) observed that “too few contracts offer sufficient due process protections for faculty from furloughs or retrenchment, especially for colleagues in contingent positions” (p. 80).

Williams and Zirkel (1988), in their study of contract changes from 1975 to 1985, found that faculty unions had penetrated contractually into 16 of 18 academic areas, which included teaching load, nonteaching responsibilities, and academic functions. Penetration had not been as achieved as successfully in the areas of appointment and retrenchment, although there had been a small degree of advancement in those areas as well. Williams and Zirkel theorized that these results could be a sign of the “resistance of administrators to relinquish a greater level of control over appointment and retrenchment probably related to budgetary considerations,” and that it would be “fiscally injudicious for management to give in to union demands on these two items” (p. 90). The current study reflected some union advancement in at least one of these areas: negotiated articles on appointment appeared in all of the CBAs, but none of the CBAs contained articles on retrenchment.

Shared Governance

The current study asked library administrators to consider whether unionization increased faculty/staff participation in policy making and operational decision making. All of the libraries’

⁵ At University G, a joint review of plans related to financial exigency and retrenchment was codified in the faculty contract, but University G’s librarians do not have faculty status and thus are not covered under the faculty contract.

senior administrators perceived that shared governance between administrators and librarians was an integral reason for their organizations' successful performance, whether or not mandated by CBAs. This perspective was expressed most strongly, however, by library administrators at universities C and G. An administrator at University C stressed that the shared leadership practices at the library were not "union-mandated" but were put into place voluntarily by library administrators. This person noted:

I can answer that question faithfully, not knowing what our contracts say. I don't remember whether they require this. We do involve staff and faculty [in decision making], because the director believes in a very collaborative environment, a lot of sharing, a lot of openness, communication. We do a lot of our work in teams.

A similar statement was made by a library administrator at University G:

I really think we have had collaboration between management and unionized librarians. We have a library faculty meeting once a month and we look at issues together. Hiring issues are voted on by the library faculty, but the director, of course, makes the final determination. I think it's a way to make everyone feel they are part of the decision making, but this doesn't have anything to do with the union situation.

Perhaps it is not coincidental that these two sites were also the ones that exhibited the least evidence of adversarial relationships between library administrators and unionized librarians/staff. Although the CBAs covering librarians at the four sites did not contain the two identified clauses related to governance, it seems that non-administrative librarians, and staff

members in some cases, were included in many of the libraries' planning meetings and decision-making discussions.

Shared governance in the context of unionized environments has been addressed as part of other single-issue essays and studies in the literature of library and information science (LIS). For example, Gamble (1989) raised the issue of "university service" provided by librarians and referred to it as "a vague category covering almost any kind of involvement in university activities" (p. 344). She associated such university-level participation with the broader concept of shared governance and unions because of the joint decision-making and advocacy for the interests of librarians and the library that could be attained as a result of librarian engagement with these activities.

Spang and Kane (1997) examined the perspectives of nonunionized and unionized academic librarians about their status/title designations and the levels of institutional support they received to meet governance and scholarship obligations. They found that librarians with faculty status benefited from unionization more so than other categories of academic librarians, in regard to "tenure, promotions and related peer review responsibilities, salary peer review, unit budget input, Senate eligibility, participatory management, and salary and pay scale issues" (Spang & Kane, 1997, p. 459). Unionization "assured librarians the most collegial representation through a combination of union and Senate activity" (Spang & Kane, 1997, p. 457). However, opportunities for professional development were perceived as nearly equal for both unionized and nonunionized librarians, and "not even the unionized librarians ... had optimum support" for scholarship and governance obligations (Spang & Kane, 1997, p. 460). Spang and Kane noted the lack of enforcement of American Library Association (ALA) and Association of College and Research Libraries (ACRL) standards, which stipulated that status as faculty was the answer to

the long debate over academic librarians' professional identity. They asserted that academic librarianship was the only profession that allowed its codified standards to be accepted, changed, or rejected by institutional administrators.

Several studies have addressed unionization and shared governance as they relate to institutions of higher education. Findings on whether unionization promotes or hinders shared governance were mixed, with some research pointing to increased faculty participation in governance, some studies indicating no effects on faculty participation, and some pointing to decreased faculty participation after unionization (Cameron, 1982; Kearney, 2009; Wickens, 2008). Wickens (2008), who conducted an extensive review of the education literature on the organizational impact of university labor unions, ascertained that "there does not appear to be much consensus on the role unionization has actually played in university governance" (p. 550).

However, Porter and Stephens (2010), who addressed the shared-governance question, analyzed both a subset of data gathered in 2001 from a survey of presidents and faculty leaders at 341 public institutions of all types and sizes, and an existing "index of state employee collective bargaining rights as an instrument for unionization" (p. 1). They concluded that unionization "greatly increases faculty influence over decision making in areas such as faculty pay scales, individual faculty salaries, appointing department chairs, and appointments to institution-wide committees" (p. 1), and that "faculty influence does not appear to suffer from any negative effects of unionization" (p. 18).

Impact on Organizational Culture and Identity

Organizational culture has been defined as the shared practices, assumptions, understandings, values, beliefs, language, symbols, and meanings in an organization (Cameron & Freeman, 1991; Tracey, 2009). A separate but related concept is the "organizational culture

perspective,” which refers to the “use of organizational culture as a frame of reference for the way one looks at, attempts to understand, and works with organizations” (Ott, 1989, p. 1). Cameron and Freeman (1991) stated that the cultures of organizations are difficult to examine objectively, because they are “grounded in the taken-for-granted, shared assumptions of individuals in the organizations,” and these shared assumptions are generally “identified through stories, special language, artifacts, and norms that emerge from individual and organizational behavior” (p. 25). In his critique of the managerial functionalist treatment of culture, which claims that managers can “solve the problems of their organizations by manipulating the beliefs, rituals, and language of their employees,” Partner (2000) stressed that organizational cultures are not static and cannot be neatly defined. Instead, they are “fragmented unities,” where meanings and orderings are “refined, revised, and contradicted on a day-to-day basis” (pp. 2-5).

If these statements are valid, then examining the impact of unionization on organizational cultures in academic libraries should be even more problematic, because unionization itself would be yet one more factor in the culture affected by the ever-changing meanings, assumptions, and beliefs of organizational members. Further, as Julius (2006) asserted, “It is difficult to isolate the effects of employee unionism from the consequences of other intellectual, political, economic, and social forces that have transformed the academy” (p. 197). Despite these difficulties, the current study’s data suggest that unionization may have had an impact on (1) the organizational values of the four libraries when viewed through the lens of the competing values framework (CVF); and (2) the organizational identification of some employees at two of the case study sites.

Competing Values Framework

According to Quinn and Rohrbaugh (1981, 1983), the CVF is a theoretical framework that examines the characteristics of public-sector, for-profit, and not-for-profit organizations and analyzes the organization's effectiveness. Hallmarks of the CVF include its application at the organizational level, its integration of accepted theoretical perspectives, its use of a well-defined set of effectiveness criteria, and its attempts to make testable assertions about the relationships among criteria in the framework (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981, pp. 124-125). The effectiveness criteria used in the framework were based on the evaluations of a seven-member panel of organizational researchers, who reduced and organized an extensive list of 30 effectiveness criteria gleaned by Campbell (1977) from the relevant literature at the time. From Campbell's original list, a core group of 16 items were placed into every possible pairing and rated by the panel members as to the items' similarities and dissimilarities. When these criteria were placed into related groups as a result of multidimensional scaling, three axes of competing values emerged:

1. *Focus* (the horizontal or x-axis), representing the contrast between employees' well-being on one side, and the organization's well-being on the other side.
2. *Structure* (the vertical or y-axis), representing a preference for stability and control versus a preference for flexibility and change. On one side is an emphasis on authority and coordination, and on the other side, individual initiative and organizational adaptability.

3. *Means-Ends* (a depth axis), representing the “degree of closeness to desired organizational outcomes,” or a “continuum wherein a concern for ends is nearer and larger, and a concern for means is farther away and smaller.”
(pp. 130-132)

According to Quinn and Rohrbaugh (1981), each set of competing values reflects a recognized organizational dilemma. The *focus* dimension is commonly referred to as “task versus person.” When the organization is the focus, “individual development and human dignity would seem to be reduced” (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981, p. 133). When people are the focus, morale and cohesion improve. The *structure* dimension becomes an organization’s attempt to balance integration and differentiation in its design. In practical application, the resolutions for this dilemma lead to more or less centralization/decentralization in an organization. The *means-ends* dimension considers the objectives of the organization (ends) and the methods by which it achieves its objectives (means).

Four effectiveness models were created through the statistical analysis and subsequent placement of the 16 criteria into the multidimensional space, as follows:

1. Human Relations model, which emphasizes people and flexibility, and stresses the effectiveness criteria of cohesion and morale (as means) and human resource development (as an end);
2. Open Systems model, which emphasizes organization and flexibility, and stresses flexibility and readiness (as means) and growth, resource acquisition, and external support (as ends);

3. Rational Goal model, which emphasizes organization and control, and stresses planning and goal setting (as means) and productivity and efficiency (as ends); and
4. Internal Process model, which emphasizes people and control, and stresses the role of information management and communication (as means) and stability and control (as ends). (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981, p. 134)

A final criterion of effectiveness, output quality, is an “isolate in the three-dimensional space,” because it was not linked to the other criteria when a cluster analysis was performed” (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981, p. 135).

Quinn and Rohrbaugh (1983) replicated the results of their first study while expanding the participants from seven to 45 organizational researchers and theorists. The same three dimensions of competing values and four effectiveness models emerged from the second study, with one exception: The dimension of *focus* was refined from “people versus organization” to “internal versus external.” This refined dimension of *focus* was described as follows:

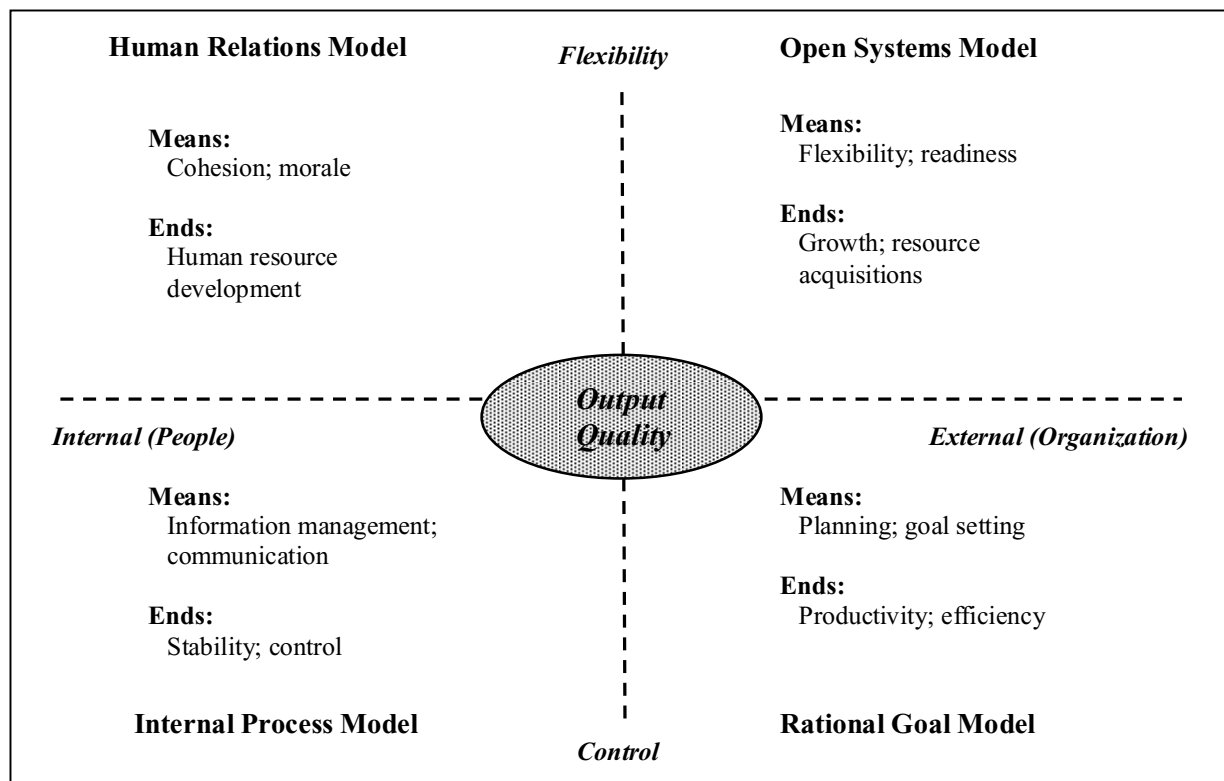
From the external view, the organization is a logically designed tool with the ultimate goal of accomplishing its tasks and acquiring resources. Here the emphasis is on the overall competitiveness of the organization in sometimes changing environments. From the internal view, the organization is a socio-technical system. Participants have unique feelings, likes and dislikes, and require consideration, appropriate information, and stability in their workplace. When the external value on the overall organization is maximized, the internal emphasis on the socio-technical equilibrium may be reduced; and when the

emphasis on internal harmony grows, it may tend to shift emphasis away from overall competitiveness. (p. 370)

Although the current study did not analyze the cultures and effectiveness of the case study sites using the CVF,⁶ participants experienced unionization's influence on organizational values corresponding with the *focus*, *structural*, and *means/ends* dimensions of the CVF. Figure 5.1, which depicts the four effectiveness models, provides a graphical summary of the CVF.

Figure 5.1

Competing Values Framework and Effectiveness Models



Note. Reprinted by permission, R. E. Quinn and J. Rohrbaugh, "A Spatial Model of Effectiveness Criteria: Towards a Competing Values Approach to Organizational Analysis," *Management Science*, 29, 1983. Copyright ©1983 the Institute for Operations Research and the Management Sciences, 7240 Parkway Drive, Suite 300, Hanover, Maryland 21076 USA. All rights reserved.

⁶ No questions focused on the CVF or its components.

The CBAs at all of the institutions contained clauses identified as key indicators of union advancement in personnel matters (i.e., appointment, evaluation, nonrenewal, promotion, and tenure). Unionization seemed to play a strong role in intensifying organizational focus on internal processes and people. Unions would be expected to continue pressing for improved pay, benefits, and decision-making power for their members. Yet, a common complaint heard from most of the administrators was that unionization also seemed to be associated with poor levels of flexibility and cohesion, and they, as administrators, could not acknowledge outstanding performance with monetary rewards and discourage poor performance with disciplinary measures with unionism in place. Directors' attempts to emphasize external performance and effectiveness of the libraries, through heavy reliance on strategic planning, goal setting, and implementation of efficiency initiatives, might be viewed as countermeasures against a union-related pressure to shift focus onto internal processes and people.

Corresponding to the *structure* and *means/ends* dimensions, all of the administrators noted the need to consult the CBAs whenever changes in organizational structures, policies, and job assignments were considered. They cautioned that any desired changes had to be planned more carefully in unionized environments, and that delays or slowdowns were to be expected given the constraints brought by the CBAs. This finding suggests that unionization may have had an impact on the structural values of the libraries, where stability and control have been emphasized over flexibility and adaptability. In these instances, the existence of the CBAs and the threat or reality of grievance processes become the braking mechanisms used to check perceived capricious or arbitrary decision making of management, but could also be viewed as impediments to positive change and stronger external positioning of the organizations. Formal contract negotiations, ratifications, grievances, and arbitration reflect a shift in emphasis toward

internal processes, more so than they reflect an emphasis on external results, such as growth and resource acquisitions. Here again, the leaders' attempts to improve the organizations' adaptability and flexibility through reorganization, redesign of functions, teams, and positions, etc., might be viewed as countermeasures against a union-related shift toward more internal focus, stability, and control.

With these tentative connections to the CVF proposed, a paradoxical argument could be made that unionization leads to more, not less, external focus, flexibility, and adaptability, due to the subsequent countermeasures taken by emergent leaders acting in these environments. Quinn and Rohrbaugh (1983) acknowledged that the CVF itself was "a type of oxymoron, a framework which helps us to recognize the seeming contradictions in the effectiveness construct" (p. 376). They highlighted the fact that, "although certain pairs of concepts are at opposite locations in value space and, therefore, are paradoxical in nature, this does not require that they are empirical opposites, mutually exclusive in actual organizational environments" (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1983, p. 374). In discussing the socially constructed nature of the effectiveness construct itself, they cautioned that the "effectiveness criteria will vary with shifting internal and external constraints and with the value that various coalitions place on alternative foci, structures, and time horizons" (Quinn & Rohrbaugh, 1981, p. 138).

Organizational Identification

The current study's data suggest that unionization may have had an impact on the organizational identification of some employees. This is exemplified in the versions of "us" and "them" that characterized the workplaces at universities B and D. Patchen (1970) defined organizational identity as a "variety of separate, though related phenomena," including "feelings of solidarity with an organization; support for an organization; and perception of shared

characteristics with other organizational members” (p. 155). Riketta (2005) expanded on these points by describing the support for an organization as both attitudinal and behavioral, and stated, “... All these definitions imply that the organizational member has linked his or her organizational membership to his or her self-concept, either cognitively (e.g., feeling a part of the organization; internalizing organizational values), emotionally (pride in membership), or both” (p. 361).

Some scholars consider organizational identity to be synonymous with social identity, and to be either a subset of or subordinate to the concept of organizational commitment (Pratt, 2007). What matters most to the current study, however, are the advantages and disadvantages associated with individuals identifying with their workplace organization, and the implications for leadership. Strong organizational identification has been connected with “lower turnover, increased motivation and job satisfaction, and an increased willingness by employees to think and act in ways ... favorable to the organization” (Pratt, 2007, n.p.). It has also been linked to loyalty, pride in the group, a feeling of belonging, and, most importantly, the means by which employees adopt the core values of an organization (Tracy, 2009).

In regard to the impact of organizational identification on leadership, Hogg, Martin, and Weeden (2003) proposed that, when there is “high group solidarity and members identify very strongly with the group, a depersonalized leader-member style may be preferable because it recognizes and affirms one’s membership in the group and treats all members as equals” (p. 18). They noted that “the social identity theory of leadership ... explicitly attributes an influential role in leadership processes to group members’ self-conception,” and that it “may matter quite significantly whether a member identifies strongly or not with the group that the leader leads” (Hogg et al., 2003, p. 23). Group members positively enhance the leader’s ability to be effective

by endorsing the leader, and this endorsement is “transformed as a function of the extent to which group members identify with the group as an important aspect of their self-concept” (Hogg et al., 2003, p. 23).

Tracy (2009) advised that cultural leaders could “aim for identification by creating a team atmosphere, recognizing employee contributions, talking up the company, and providing frequent integration and enhancement ceremonies (e.g., retreats, parties)” (n.p.). Tracy (2009) further stated:

When employees adopt organizational values, management does not have to tell them what to do. They do it anyway. This type of unobtrusive control is very effective and is associated with increased morale, increased loyalty, and less need for constant supervision. However, because unobtrusive control is invisible, it is very difficult for employees to resist potentially unfair company structures. So, unobtrusive control also raises concerns. (n.p.)

At University B, regular library faculty meetings were held to discuss collection development and other professional and operational issues, but librarians actively excluded library administrators from the meetings. The investigator did not address this issue directly with the librarians in the focus group interviews, because the approved protocol for the focus group interviews did not allow for follow-up questions based on administrators’ comments. However, the continued exclusion of administrators from the meetings indicated high levels of union identification, instead of high levels of library identification, solidarity, and support. The librarians apparently believed that they shared few “librarian” characteristics with administrators, because the administrators were not allowed into the meetings even though the meetings were not intended to address collective bargaining matters but were held to discuss librarians’

philosophy-of-service issues and make decisions about library functions, the latter being something typically considered within a manager's role.

At University D, librarians were divided into two camps, based on whether they provided services for traditional programs (unionized) or online programs (not unionized). The unionized faculty librarians were described in ways that made it clear that some librarians identified more with faculty on campus and their union rather than with the library or the university. Their allegiance with the faculty union seemed to outweigh their library identification, solidarity, and support. One library administrator recounted the following story illustrative of this point:

I was in a conversation with one of our unionized librarians about an issue or dispute. I referred to the fact that we are one professional community of librarians. I said, "We have the same academic preparation, training, outlook on the world ... These are your colleagues [in reference to the non-unionized librarians]." The response I got from that individual was, "No, they are not my colleagues." I asked, "Then who are your colleagues?" This individual said, "Oh, the faculty in English and the faculty in Chemistry. The others [here] are people I work with, but they are not my colleagues."

Organizational identification played an important role in employees' interpersonal relationships at universities C and G as well, but the boundaries of "us" and "them" were less fixed and there was less apparent connection to unionization. At University C, the investigator found that participating administrators, librarians, and staff identified with and showed a commitment to the university far more than they identified with union-related or management-related roles. At University G, participating administrators and non-administrative librarians identified with and were committed to the library and to their roles as librarians, far more than

they identified with the university or with union-related or management-related roles.

Participants at both universities C and G described numerous opportunities they had to meet, discuss issues, and make decisions as part of teams in their organizations.

The strong institutional/library identification of library employees at universities C and G can be viewed in relationship to a separate, older study that examined the loyalty of unionized workers. Dean (1954) found that union loyalty did not preclude loyalty to managers or to the overall organization; in fact, dual allegiance to the union and to management was not just possible, but was common. Evidence showed that workers who were more satisfied with the treatment they received from managers might concurrently be the strongest union supporters, and ones who were most positive about their unions might be the most positive toward management, and vice versa, regardless of the level of conflict in the union-management relationship. Dean believed that this might reflect the employees' overall disposition as being positive or negative about organizations and people in general; that is, if a person is positive, then she or he views unions and management as generally favorable. If a person is negative by nature, then she or he sees both unions and management as generally negative. The only difference comes into play when there was high union-management conflict at an organization, and a unionized employee attended a greater number of union meetings. In these cases, the dual loyalty often broke down into a pro-union/anti-management stance. As Dean concluded:

The union meeting appears to attract ... the worker who does not see union and management as having compatible goals. This worker obtains further justification for this perception from what he [sic] learns at union meetings. ...

The union meeting then has a selection and reinforcement function. ... If union

management conflict prevails, the most active unionists are likely to be the conflict-oriented workers with strongly one-sided loyalty. (p. 536)

The strong union identification of some librarians at universities B and D can be viewed in the context of a study by Anderson, D'Amicantonio, and DuBois (1992), which explored the loyalty of academic librarians to their unions versus their professional organizations. Surveying more than 500 librarians employed in California's public universities, they found that, beyond the usual compensation issues, many unionized librarians looked to their unions to represent their professional interests, and that the majority of librarians were more loyal to their unions than to their professional associations.

On the union side of identification, Rosen (2003) maintained that social identity becomes a question of class consciousness. Academic workers are part of the "working class" in the sense that they are employees working for an employer to gain a paycheck, but Rosen (2003) cautioned that "bosses will try to get the workers to identify with the employer through teamwork schemes, fear of competitors, bonus plans, and other means" (p. 193). Rosen (2003) stated:

The appeal for "collegiality" in a university setting is the academic version of this propaganda war. In the end, it is the experience that teaches workers which side they are on, and it is probably generally true that the lessons are harsher in industrial plants than on academic campuses. ... Part of the task of the union leadership is to help their fellow workers see through the various veils that management uses to disguise the real differences of interests that exist between "them" and "us." (p. 193)

Union leaders have sometimes made the case that unionization improves academic quality within higher education, but Rosen (2003) warns that this argument can be perilous because it tends to

reinforce identification with the work organization by way of “encouraging identification with the purported mission of the employing institution” (p. 195). According to Rosen (2003):

Clever employers can sometimes find ways to co-opt these workers by manipulating these sentiments into identification with management itself.

While it is important to start a dialogue with workers where they are currently at (identification with mission), the union must move them beyond that to greater class-consciousness (identification with workers carrying out the mission with some interests not in common with management) or risk losing them in the end. (p. 195)

Salient to this emphasis on an “us versus them” approach, Tracy (2009) noted that, “because identification is strongest when there is something to identify against, leaders may also purposely create a company enemy (e.g., the big three American automakers vs. the Japanese)” (n.p.). Unions have likely learned this lesson, too, and it may benefit them to encourage members’ union identification by creating exaggerated adversaries in the form of academic administrators. Senior managers must, in these cases, compete with unions for the loyalty of their employees (Tannenbaum, 1965). One of the ways to do so would be to foster more librarian and staff participation in planning and decision making. Patchen (1970) suggests that more employee participation in decision making will lead to stronger perceptions of shared characteristics with management.

Impact on Organizational Effectiveness

As with the case of unionization’s impact on organizational culture, scholars agree that it is difficult to isolate the effects of unionization from other factors that may enhance or harm organizational effectiveness (Cameron, 1982; Julius, 2006; Tannenbaum, 1965). The concept of

effectiveness itself is highly complex, and, as discussed previously in this chapter, might relate to social, cultural constructs that can shift and change, depending upon the group that is evaluating or defining what *effectiveness* means at any given point in time. Nevertheless, many scholars have speculated about the ways that unionization brings disadvantages to and diminishes the effectiveness of institutions of higher education. Early examples of this type of speculation can be seen in a 1974 Academic Collective Bargaining Information Service report (Angell, 1974), in which a variety of administrators commented on the advantages and disadvantages of unionization. Disadvantages included: increased institutional costs, loss of administrative decision making and flexibility, undesirable power shifts from faculty senates to unions, increased occurrence of adversarial relationships, lack of ability to reward outstanding performance due to the standardization of compensation, and loss of full participation of faculty in governance, for example, when some faculty members (e.g., non-tenure-stream, non-teaching, or part-time faculty) were deemed to be outside of the main faculty bargaining unit (Angell, 1974, pp. 6-9). A lack of reconciliation of “professional values and ideals” with unionization, and a relegation of unionization to the “lower tiers of academe” were also predicted when the ranks of unionized faculty and staff first began to grow in the 1970s and 1980s (Julius, 2011, n.p.).

A better understanding of unionization’s impact could be achieved by ascertaining the historical reasons why academic employees turned to unionization in the first place. Causative details about unionization were not gathered specifically in the current study’s interview protocol, but one long-time librarian at University B and one long-time staff member at University G addressed the topic. The librarian at University B thought the original reasons for unionization at his workplace were the lack of trust brought about by “arbitrary decision making”

of administrators at the time, the need for job security for librarians who were not tenure-stream, and the desire for employees to gain access to grievance and arbitration mechanisms. The staff member at University G recalled that unionization at the institution was a method by which employees could address what they believed to be the unfair, preferential administrative treatment of some employee groups over others.

These causative perceptions about unionization at the sites, however sparse, matched the results of studies conducted by Blader (2007), who examined organizational members' decisions to support or oppose unionization at two different universities upon the conclusion of separate elections for union certifications related to graduate students. He found that, moving beyond the usual economic issues of better salaries and benefits, the respondents' concerns about "procedural justice" and their social identification with "the union-organizing group" were important predictive factors in the respondents' reactions to union certification. A greater level of perceived fairness in organizational procedures was related to decreased support for unionization, and vice versa. A greater level of belief in the ability of unions to improve fairness in organizational procedures was associated with a stronger approval of collective action through unionization, and vice versa.

Even when studies using standardized criteria have shown that unionized institutions were less effective than non-unionized institutions, two questions about causality remained unanswered in most cases: (1) Did the weak state of the organization cause unionization to occur in the first place, or (2) did unionization cause the weakness? Intuitively, scholars have suggested that the "initial impulse to organize typically reflects perceived weakness" (i.e., that "academics who are confident that they can protect academic and professional standards through their individual bargaining power, or [academics] who are confident in the effectiveness of

shared governance in their particular institution are less likely to pursue collective bargaining than faculty members in troubled institutions” (Benjamin, 2006, pp. 12-13)). The low level of unionization in the top research tiers of academe support the possible validity of these postulations, represented by the low numbers of unionized research universities in the United States that belong to the Association of American Universities (AAU), a group of 61 leading research institutions in the United States and Canada, (Ginsburg & Wion, 1998).⁷

In two related research studies published in 1982 and 1985, Cameron addressed the causation questions mentioned above. In the first study, he examined 41 unionized and non-unionized institutions of higher education, and found that unionized institutions scored lower than non-unionized institutions across eight of nine dimensions of organizational effectiveness.⁸ The one exception against the lower scores was the “student career development” dimension, for which both unionized and non-unionized institutions scored the same. Of the eight dimensions in which the unionized institutions scored lower, only three showed statistically significant differences, all of which Cameron described as falling into the academic or scholarly domain of the institutions:

⁷ This article from 1998 was the most recent to affirm the low numbers of AAU member institutions that also happen to be unionized. The membership of the AAU is quite stable, however; only three new members have been added since 1998. Of the three members added since 1998, only Stony Brook University-State University of New York was included in the list of institutions with faculty unions in the *Directory of Faculty Contracts and Bargaining Agents in Institutions of Higher Education* (Moriarty & Savarese, 2006).

⁸ The nine dimensions measured in the study were: student educational satisfaction; student academic development; student career development; student personal development; faculty and administrator employment satisfaction; professional development and quality of the faculty; system openness and community interaction; ability to acquire resources; and organizational health (Cameron, 1982, pp. 10-11).

1. Student academic development: The degree of academic attainment, growth, and progress of students and the academic opportunities provided by the institution.
2. Professional development and quality of the faculty: The degree of professional attainment and development of the faculty and the emphasis and opportunities for professional development provided by the institution.
3. Ability to acquire resources: The ability of the institution to acquire resources such as good students, faculty, and financial support. (Cameron, 1982, pp. 10-11)

According to Cameron (1982), unionized institutions were “significantly less effective than [were] nonunionized institutions in the degree to which students and faculty develop academically and professionally, and the degree to which the institution provide[d] opportunities for development in these areas” (p. 13). Unionized institutions were also “significantly less effective in resource acquisition activities than were nonunionized [ones]” and scored “lower than nonunionized [institutions] in effectiveness on morale-related dimensions” (Cameron, 1982, p. 13). From the results, he projected hypothesized relationships between faculty unionism and dimensions of organizational effectiveness. In studying these relationships, he found ratings for the “ability to acquire resources” and “morale dimensions” were lower in newly unionized organizations, but improved over time. In the area of “academic dimensions,” effectiveness declined. Cameron carefully noted that the cross-sectional data could not be used to examine causal effects. In discussing the results, he theorized that the “presence of unions complicates the decision making structure of institutions and involves faculty in more administrative matters and such involvement in administrative matters tends to drive out scholarly activity” (Cameron,

1982, p. 19). He further speculated that unions emphasize economic and satisfaction issues more than they do academic activity. He highlighted the point that unionized institutions seemed to differ in research activities as well (i.e., that “less research emphasis and lower effectiveness on academic dimensions are positively related”) (Cameron, 1982, p. 19).⁹

In a later study, Cameron (1985) investigated the causal association between unionism and organizational effectiveness in colleges and universities, using questionnaires to evaluate the effectiveness of four-year institutions in 1976, 1980, and 1983. Respondents consisted of administrators, faculty department heads, and trustees across 41 institutions in 1976; 29 of the same institutions in 1980; and 26 of the same institutions in 1983. Because of the difficulty involved in establishing the necessary controls for a study of this type, Cameron (1985) used a cross-lagged correlation procedure to identify which of the two variables, unionization and effectiveness, seemed to be “more powerful in affecting the other while eliminating alternative causal explanations” (p. 391). To meet the conditions necessary for cross-lagged analysis, the variables were determined to be reliable, synchronous (measured at the same point in time), stable (in this case, meaning some changes occurred “in one of the variables between two assessment points in order for a causal association to be determined”), and stationary (meaning that the same causal relationship was “present at the two points of measurement”) (Cameron, 1985, pp. 391-391).

⁹ Cameron (1982) determined that several organizational characteristics could distinguish a unionized organization from a nonunionized one. He found that the typical institution with unionized faculties was “public rather than private,” did not “emphasize research activities (as indicated by low revenues and low expenditures for research),” and operated in an “external environment that was lacking in needed resources (e.g., not enough potential students, grants, financial resources, service opportunities)” (p. 15). The subjects in the current dissertation were selected purposely and coincidentally because they exhibited many of these same characteristics. Of these 28 initial qualifying institutions, however, only eight had unionized libraries.

Cameron (1985) determined that “institutional ineffectiveness appears to lead to the formation of unions and that, over time, unionism does not have a positive influence on an institution’s effectiveness” (p. 404). He acknowledged that his methods only allowed for a determination of directionality or a “preponderance of causation.” As an example, he raised the possibility that a third variable, such as environmental changes (primarily increased state control) might affect the results in some way. For this particular example, he tested for the effects of environmental changes. With a variable constructed to measure the “extent to which the external environment fostered feelings of powerlessness as opposed to feelings of discretion and powerfulness,” Cameron (1985) found that “a supportive environment (i.e., one that supports direction and powerfulness) leads to organizational effectiveness,” and that “unionism leads to perceptions of a nonsupportive environment (i.e., one that fosters feelings of powerlessness)” (pp. 403–404).

Pertinent to the previous section on organizational identity in this chapter and to the causative factors for unionization, Cameron (1985) concluded:

Unionization is more likely to occur in institutions where the disciplinary community is weak and where energies and loyalties are more closely associated with the campus community. In highly visible research universities, the disciplinary community is often so strong that it is possible for faculty to feel very little involvement and loyalty for the campus community (i.e., the institution, per se) and to attach their loyalties to the profession. When the organizational effectiveness of the campus community decreases or is threatened, collective action is a reasonable response in institutions without a strong disciplinary community. (p. 405)

Considering the findings that indicated unionism does not lead to improved effectiveness over time, Cameron (1985) theorized that the cause was mainly related to the lower abilities of unionized institutions to acquire resources from the external environment. As he explained,

The formation of a union, which often leads to increased centralization and formalization, is unlikely to be influential in affecting conditions in the external environment or in improving institution-environment relations. ... Flexibility and adaptability, which generally are required to acquire external resources, may suffer in unionized conditions. The energy of faculty leadership and administrators is often focused mostly on internal concerns and bargaining relationships under unionized conditions, so increased effectiveness may be unlikely to occur. Under conditions of financial or enrollment stress, when environmental turbulence is especially acute, the most effective institutions are those whose administrators focus more on environmental relations than on internal concerns. ... In unionized institutions, quick decision making and decisive action are more difficult because of the multiple special interest groups needing to be satisfied and to grant approval. (Cameron, 1985, p. 406)¹⁰

Based on these theories, Cameron (1985) advised administrators in unionized environments to concentrate specifically on improving the academic domains of their institutions, as well as enhancing their institutions' external relationships and their ability to monitor and be responsive to the external environment, because these areas may be prone to being less effectiveness than other areas. He also recommended that administrators may want to

¹⁰ From "Investigating the Causal Association between Unionism and Organizational Effectiveness," by Kim S. Cameron, 1985, *Research in Higher Education*, 23, 4, pp. 387-411. Copyright 1985 by Springer. Reprinted with permission.

foster more collaborative, collegial relationships with faculty when issues of organizational effectiveness arise, as opposed to the more adversarial behaviors associated with negotiations, which he called the “traditional trade union issues,” meaning salaries, job security, and grievances.

Notably, in the current study, the senior managers at the four case study sites did not mention the strengthening of external relationships or any variation on this theme (e.g., community partnerships, donor relationships, and information policy advocacy) among their strategies, although several described their efforts to promote and protect the libraries’ interests within the internal realms of their respective universities. The perspectives of the participants about the need for more careful planning and delays attributed to unionization support Cameron’s point that unionization may lead to more internal rather than external focus.

The literature of library and information science contains many anecdotal or speculative articles written about the impact of unionization on academic library operations and effectiveness, but only a few research studies examined unionization’s impact on libraries’ assigned leaders and overall services and effectiveness. Most of the extant studies have addressed narrow or single-issue aspects of librarianship and libraries in unionized contexts, including such topics as librarians’ status and satisfaction levels (Hovekamp, 1995; Spang & Kane, 1997), librarians’ work values (Hovekamp, 1994); librarians’ loyalty (Anderson, D’Amicantonio, & DuBois, 1992), and issues related to academic support staff (Bielavitz, 2010; Kusack, 1986) .

Applegate (2009), who broadly examined the impact of unionization on overall library conditions, analyzed statistical data about the staffing levels, budgets, and user populations of 1,904 academic libraries; 334 of them were unionized. The data were collected in 2004, by the

National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), the NCES Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), and the National Center for the Study of Collective Bargaining in Higher Education and the Professions. She probed ratios that compared student population numbers to numbers of librarians, library budgets to university operating budgets, numbers of library staff members to numbers of librarians, and percentages of total library salary expenditures to percentages of salary expenditures devoted to library staff and/or librarians.

Applegate (2009) determined that better salaries, at least when compared proportionately to nonunionized academic libraries' overall budgets, were realized by unionized academic librarians, but mostly by those at masters-level institutions. She cautioned that any other conclusions about higher salary levels based on the study's data were "very tentative," because factors, such as higher librarian salaries in certain geographic areas or librarians' employment longevity, were not controlled and might skew the results. The higher salaries for librarians did not translate into other union-related benefits, such as higher ratios of librarians to students or higher overall library budgets compared to institutional operational budgets (Applegate, 2009).

A criticism of Applegate's study pertains to the use of broad, snapshot data to arrive at any conclusions, however tentative, that unionization produced the lower numbers of librarians in the ratios and the other differences that were described. These unionized libraries, for example, might already have had weak librarian-to-student and librarian-to-staff ratios, prior to unionization. The same critique becomes a cautionary note about the inherent limitations of the current dissertation. Any *a posteriori* insights gained about the effects of unionization on the libraries' performance, services, and functions, beyond the literal impact of clauses contained in the CBAs, must take into account the lack of substantial data about the *a priori* reasons for unionization at the sites and their possible presence and effect in the current environment.

Conclusion

The unionized environment presents administrators in academic libraries with a unique layer of complex issues and problems that leaders in nonunionized organizations are not forced to confront, yet research about managerial leadership within these environments is rare in the literature of library and information science. As this study found, unionization brought reduced flexibility to the management function and delays in planned changes. It removed some administrative autonomy, while at the same time it called for strong managerial leadership to ensure appropriate administration of collective bargaining agreements. Unionization seemed to be associated with more participatory management at the sites, but also co-existed with cultures that could be more adversarial and caste-laden. In the four case studies presented, the library administrators expressed support for unions, and confronted union-related issues and constraints with confidence, patience, and determination. They often used countermeasures to work around any negative effects of unionization as they restructured and realigned their libraries' operations.

The impact of unionization on academic libraries at the organizational level has been the focus of only a few studies to date, but was an important level of analysis to emerge in this study's consideration of the cultures and values of the libraries. Apparently, the use of Quinn and Rohrbaugh's (1983) Competing Values Framework has not been used previously to analyze unionization's impact on libraries' effectiveness, but that framework served as an interesting new model with which to explore libraries' values in the unionized context. When viewing the data through the constructs in this model, the investigator found that unionization may have had an impact on the structural values of the libraries. Stability and control may have been emphasized over flexibility and adaptability.

The next chapter examines the impact of the 2008-2009 recession and aftermath on the academic libraries in this study and explores how the libraries' administrators have adapted to and handled the fiscal stress and austerity measures that have been placed upon them. The responses of assigned leaders in these challenging situations will be discussed in relation to organizational decline, retrenchment, and cutback management during periods of economic difficulties.

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Chapter 6

THE ECONOMICALLY STRESSED ENVIRONMENT

In this study, a primary research objective was to “identify the changes occurring in unionized academic libraries as a result of the economic crisis,” according to the perspectives of university administrators and assigned leaders in the libraries. The investigator asked the administrators to describe any changes that were occurring in regard to the libraries’ political influence; budgets, resources, and staffing levels; organizational performance; and interactions between library administrators and unionized librarians/staff members.

Coping with financial hardship is nothing new to public institutions of higher education. A cursory review of the literature of higher education finds evidence of a consistent downward trend in public funding and an upward trend in fiscal stress throughout the last thirty to forty years. For example, a series of occasional papers by Polishook and Nielson appeared in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* in 1979, which observed that “the prognostications are for these hard times to get much worse before conditions get better” (referenced in Polishook, 1993, p. 13). Jick and Murray, writing in 1982, described “an atmosphere of austerity and retrenchment” that had “clearly replaced expectations of constant growth and development” for many public-sector organizations (p. 141). In 1993, the theme of the twenty-first annual conference of the National Center for the Study of Collective Bargaining in Higher Education and the Professions was “*Unions and Management: Working Our Way Out of Fiscal Stress*,” and was intended to address “perhaps the worst conjuncture of negative economic, political, and social forces to beset higher education in generations” (Annunziato, 1993, p. i).

Although this long period of economic stress was difficult enough for many public institutions of higher education, by many accounts, the global economic recession of 2008-2009 ushered in an even deeper financial crisis for them. The “Great Recession,” as it has been called in the popular media, was characterized as “the longest” (Hamill, 2010, n.p.) and “the worst” (Zumeta, 2010, p. 29) economic downturn since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Several authors used the word “unprecedented” to describe the crisis and its aftermath. Lowry (2010), for instance, believed the recession to be “unprecedented for anyone born in the last 75 years” (p. 38). Features of the recession included the “unprecedented ... persistence of high unemployment” and continued loss of revenues from sharply declining “sales, personal income, and corporate income taxes” (Zumeta & Kinne, 2011, pp. 30-31). This, in turn, caused “unprecedented declines in state revenues,” with states facing estimated budget gaps of \$215 billion in 2009 and 2010 (Keller, 2009, p. 4).

Given the loss of revenue, many states were unable to spare their public universities and student financial aid programs from large cuts in appropriations (Keller, 2009), just when donations and endowment values were also falling due to stock-market losses and other global economic woes. Keller (2009) summarized this disturbing state of affairs as follows:

Decreasing state appropriations are not a new experience for public universities. State contributions to public research universities have steadily declined in real terms by more than 15 percent in the last 20 years. However, the current financial situation is especially precarious due to the magnitude of the recent cuts and the cumulative effects of decades of declining financial support. (p. 3)

According to the National Bureau of Economic Research (2010), the recession officially ended in the United States in June 2009. Since then and to the present day, many authors have stressed that the economic downturn continues to affect higher education. For example, Ceasar and Watanabe (2011) reported that, in 2010, higher-education budgets were trimmed by \$1.2 billion in the United States; expected cuts in 2011 were \$5 billion. Zumeta and Kinne (2011) called 2010 “the most difficult budget year for states since the Depression” and indicated that Fiscal Year (FY) 2011 looked much the same, while total state support fell 7.6 percent from 2011 to 2012 (Kelderman, 2012). According to the Center on Budget Policies and Priorities, twenty-four states had already announced cuts in higher education for FY 2012 (Ceasar & Watanabe, 2011). These cuts would be exacerbated by the loss of \$787 billion from the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 (PL 111-5), known colloquially as “stimulus funding,” which included \$97.4 billion for education, and ended in 2011 (Ceasar & Watanabe, 2011).

Academic libraries in the United States fared no better than their parent institutions during and immediately after the recession. Lowry (2011) asserted that the decline in funding or at best the lack of regular infusions of new funding for academic libraries was the “new normal,” at least for institutional members of the Association of Research Libraries (ARL). In year one of the recession, according to Lowry, 55 percent of responding ARL members reported that their budgets were flat or reduced from the previous year, while in year two 61 percent reported the same. In year three, the trend improved slightly, with 47 percent reporting flat or reduced budgets. However, as Lowry (2011) pointed out, when one considers the negative effects of

inflationary pressures¹ on the libraries' budgets and the fact that many libraries had moved funds from other budget categories to protect acquisitions, "materials still took large hits three years running" (p. 761). Lowry (2011) concluded that the downward trend of these libraries' budgets was indicative of an "unprecedented period of budget constraint," and he described some of the cuts, which reached 20 percent or higher, as "truly draconian" (p. 758).

Many academic libraries relied heavily on institutional funding with relatively little monetary support derived from gifts, endowments, and grant funding. A study by Franklin (2007) found that "public university research libraries appear, on average, to generate less of their "revenues" through fundraising and endowment income" (p. 411). An unpublished study by Stoffle in 2009 showed that, on average, ARL-member libraries at public institutions relied on institutional allocations for up to 90 percent of their funding (as cited in Lowry, 2010, p. 39). Yet, for these and other libraries where the levels of institutional funding were lower, the quest for new or non-institutional funding had also become increasingly difficult. New gifts and income from existing endowments were down due to continuing problems in the broader economy, while at the same time, grant opportunities had become more competitive than they were in previous years, as government departments and agencies faced their own fiscal constraints and as more libraries scrambled to obtain the ever-more-coveted awards (Hunter & Bruning, 2010).

Most of these studies pertained to ARL libraries, but other, broader library studies were similarly pessimistic about funding prospects in the short term. A 2009 study of 835 libraries across the world, known as the Global Library Survey, revealed that academic libraries would be "the hardest hit" of all library types surveyed, with 34.3 percent of them expecting to receive

¹ Powell (2011) notes that serials prices have risen at rates of 7 to 9 percent over the past 10 years, faster than inflation.

smaller budgets in two years' time and 6.9 percent expecting their budgets to be more than 10 percent smaller than they were in 2009 (CIBER Research Group, 2009, n.p.). EBSCO Information Services found, in a survey of its largest customers, that 83 percent of 449 responding libraries reported decreased or flat budgets for FY 2009-2010, while 85 percent expected the same for FY 2010-2011 (Powell, 2011).

In late 2011 and early 2012, there were slight signs of a recovery for academic libraries, at least in regard to acquisitions dollars. Kolowich (2011) reported that, as of 2010, academic libraries' overall expenditures were higher than they were before the economic crisis began. This news of improved spending, however, was tempered by the fact that libraries' budgets have not kept pace with the growth of student enrollments and with the increase of research production. According to Kolowich (2011), in 2008, libraries spent an average of \$468.50 per student (\$538.78 in 2010 dollars), compared to \$438 per student in 2010. Hunter and Bruning (2010) described academic libraries' research-related spending as follows:

The number of researchers and the papers they publish have continued their century-old pace of 3-3.5% annual growth. Meanwhile, most university libraries have experienced a decrease in their share of their institution's budget. From 1998 to 2007, the library expenditure as a proportion of institutional expenditure has declined from 3.0% to 2.2%. The average library expenditure as a percentage of the average institutional R&D expenditure has also dropped from 2000 to 2007 from 12% to 10%. (p. 150)

A more recent report from ARL showed that the percentage of university funds dedicated to academic libraries fell below two percent in 2009, which was a downward trend for the fourteenth year in a row (Kolowich, 2012).

As reported in Chapter 4, all of the library administrators participating in the current study described flat or reduced budgets, with three sites placing the blame for the situation on the economic recession, and one site (University D) attributing the problems to statewide, chronic economic woes that preceded the Great Recession. All participants expected their libraries' budgets to be cut in the next year. The budgetary problems caused two of the libraries (universities B and C) to cut their operational hours, and led to the loss of acquisitions buying power and the reduction of staffing levels at all four case study sites. In some cases, the loss of positions was realized through attrition, when administrators opted to leave positions unfilled in an effort to obtain salary savings for other budgetary needs or when the departing employees were not replaced due to administrative cutbacks. At other times, the loss of positions occurred through layoffs, or when administrators felt unsure about the stability of their budgets and thus were unwilling to fill open positions when they were not entirely confident that the positions would be safe from cuts thereafter. The administrators noted that protecting existing staffing levels was important to them, because obtaining any new positions in the current climate would be a rarity. One library administrator at University G referred to the libraries' successful abilities to obtain one-time funding versus obtaining permanent investments in new positions, remarking, "It is hard, because we get the money for the work, but we don't get the help to do the work."

This tendency to hold existing, filled positions harmless was both echoed and contradicted in other library studies. The Global Library Survey found that, of 835 worldwide libraries, 52.5 percent were not planning to cut personnel costs over the next two years, and 30.6 percent responded that it was "too early to say." For the 17.3 percent that responded in the affirmative to this question, the methods by which they believed they would cut personnel were, in order of preference: non-replacement, freeze on recruitment, restructuring, or early retirement

(McKiel, 2010). On the other hand, an ARL study found that, in 2008-2009, “there was a decided effort to take reductions principally from staff and operations, sparing acquisitions,” and over 63 percent of 93 responding libraries made all of their cuts in these categories (Lowry, 2010, p. 44). Based on participants’ comments, two of the libraries in the current study were reluctant to eliminate positions because the administrators wanted to avoid initiating the “bumping” process that would result with layoffs. This specific form of reluctance would only be necessary in unionized environments where contracts specified layoffs of those with the least seniority. Another factor against layoffs as a strategy was the already low staffing levels at the sites, relative and proportionate to the staffing levels of ARL-member libraries.

Because staffing levels were stagnant if not declining, the administrators in the current study mentioned the need to make adjustments to their organizational structures and to individual positions. Many of them were merging teams to eliminate redundancies and streamline workflows, reallocating human resource investments from monographic cataloging functions to management of electronic resources and digital projects, and moving staff from technical services to public services. Some were reconfiguring positions to handle new and different types of work related to website management, multimedia services, and digitization of locally held, unique materials. The emergent leaders were accomplishing these changes in unionized environments that reportedly constrained and delayed their abilities to act decisively.

In the area of collection development, the libraries in the current study were grappling with their loss of acquisitions buying power in part by accelerating the shift from a focus on primarily owning print collections to primarily providing electronic access to scholarly content, and by focusing on highly relevant content in lieu of just-in-case purchases of materials. Participants at the sites mentioned various degrees of serials and database cancellations and

reduced purchasing of monographs, sometimes offset by infusions of small amounts of one-time institutional investments.

Many of these responses were among the *de rigueur* strategies of managerial leaders in academic libraries who have been intent on reforming their organizations in the wake of two decades and more of changes occurring in information and communications technology, according to scholars writing in the literature of library and information science (e.g., see Auster & Taylor, 2004, pp. 26-30; Miller, 2012; Wood, Miller, & Knapp, 2007). One library administrator at University D referred to the economic problems as an opportunity to correct long-standing problems in the libraries' organizational structure and operations, acknowledging, "Economic scarcity creates an opportunity to do something that we might have had a harder time doing without." Further, "If you have longstanding situations that need to change from the libraries' standpoint of meeting our mission and being successful, it's harder to rouse people that we need to do this, without economic pressures. The economic pressures can create a helpful backdrop to being able to make changes." However, in an era when economic scarcity may be prolonged and when libraries face increasingly intense external competition, the question remains as to whether these adaptations will be enough to stave off or reverse any damage inflicted on the libraries' abilities to carry out their missions successfully, or whether the leaders in these case studies will still be able to view the economic difficulties as opportunities for positive change in the future.

Organizational Decline

Organizational decline, according to Whetten (1980), refers to reductions in the size of an organization's work force, profits, budget, and clients. It also includes cases where an organization's "command over environmental resources has been reduced as the result of either

decreased competitive advantage (the organization has a smaller share of the market)” or when the organization finds itself in a situation with “decreased environmental munificence (the total market has shrunk)” (Whetten, 1980, p. 346).

Scholars writing in the literatures of public administration and organizational sciences have theorized that organizations undergo technical, political, and cultural adjustment cycles in their lives, as well as periods of growth, decline, and sometimes failure or death (Kimberly, Miles, & Associates, 1980). In the life cycle theory of Kimberly, Miles, and Associates (1980), decline is viewed as a natural, inevitable stage, one that may occur at any time in an organization’s existence. According to Bozeman (2010), decline was an especially popular research topic in the public administration literature in the late 1970s to the mid-1980s when inflation and unemployment were high in the United States. After the 1980s, the volume of work on this topic in the public administration literature decreased markedly, but continued to be addressed in the literatures of sociology and business management. Many of these works hold relevant insights and findings for public-sector academic libraries, most notably in relation to understanding the causes of organizational decline and the strategies that managerial leaders can use to combat or mitigate decline.

Causes of Decline

Levine (1978) outlined four causes of decline associated with public organizations, and categorized them into a typology. The causes were divided along two dimensions, one in which the causes were “primarily the result of conditions located either internal or external to the organization,” and the other in which they were products of “political or economic/technical conditions” (Levine, 1978, p. 318). These causes were identified as *problem depletion*, *environmental entropy*, *political vulnerability*, and *organizational atrophy*. Although Levine’s

causative framework did not address academic libraries specifically, the framework seems to be relevant to the analysis of the case study sites in an era of continued financial austerity and rapid technological change.

Within the internal/political quadrant, *political vulnerability* describes a situation where the organization has little clout to resist budget cuts and cannot extract new resources from the environment (Levine, 1978). Despite the fact that the libraries in the current study carry out a mission-critical function of supporting the university's programs and research (the universities in this study are Carnegie-ranked "doctoral/research universities"), all of the participants reported that the libraries' budgets were in a state of chronic fiscal instability, because inflationary effects were not ameliorated with more funding and/or because university administrations mandated outright cuts. In a time of diminishing state support, public institutions tend to prioritize investments in units that generate revenue (e.g., programs that conduct credit-bearing courses in the universities) over those that do not (e.g., libraries and other support units). Additionally, the library administrators did not mention raising funds through donations and external grants when they described their strategies for addressing the financial difficulties. They only mentioned attempts to obtain one-time, internal institutional grant awards. The emergent leaders in the current study were praised by their colleagues for their effective advocacy, but even so, the libraries encountered chronic or severe budget and/or staffing decrements.

Problem depletion, coming from the external/political quadrant, refers to a situation where a "political definition of a problem" associated with the "extensive commitment of resources" changes in reaction to the perception that the problem has been "solved, alleviated, or has evolved into a less troublesome stage or politically popular issue" (Levine, 1978, p. 318).

Problem depletion, according to Levine (1978), is often associated with demographic shifts, a redefinition of the problem, and/or termination of policies related to the problem.

In the current study, some administrators questioned the extent of the future role of the library in solving the “problems” upon which much of the libraries’ justification for existence was based. According to a study conducted by Long and Schonfeld (2010), library directors in the United States described the traditional role of the academic library as one providing the functions of a teaching facilitator, teacher of undergraduate information literacy, research supporter, buyer, archive, and gateway. However, according to a separate study by Schonfeld and Housewright (2010), faculty members at colleges and universities in the United States believed that the gateway, archive, and buyer functions of the academic library were not going to be as important in the future. Instead, many “envision the transformation of the library from an institution focused on acquiring, maintaining, and providing services centered on a local print collection into a more electronic hub offering a variety of services to support campus needs for research, teaching, and learning” (Schonfeld & Housewright, 2010, p. 9). Yet, the trends also show that the libraries’ teaching and research support roles were not valued as highly by faculty as the libraries’ infrastructural (buyer and archive) roles (Schonfeld & Housewright, 2010, p. 14).

Several examples illustrate this shift in perception about the academic libraries in the current study. For example, the provost at University B said, “I think there is a paradigm shift and that totally concerns me, if you look at the libraries and the rapidity in which technology is fundamentally changing things.” A library administrator at University G alluded to this phenomenon when he described the lack of support for the library by previous university administrations, saying, “It has been a struggle, because of the notion that libraries are dinosaurs;

everything is going online.” A current university administrator at University G expressed his support of the library, even as he acknowledged that perceptions about the library’s relevance in the future was shifting, “There is a perception, that ‘Geez, it’s all on the Internet so you guys should be able to slash your budgets dramatically.’” These changes in stakeholders’ perceptions have made it harder for the administrators to advocate for the prioritization of funding for the libraries in the current moment. Put another way, libraries at the case study sites seem to be undergoing, at minimum, a period of decreased competitive advantage, a condition that Whetten (1980) described as a major cause of organizational decline.

The third cause of decline, *organizational atrophy*, which is associated with internal and economic/technical dimensions, refers to a host of malfunctions that can result when an organization lacks strong, responsible leadership (at many levels), and when the organization does not have the will or ability to respond quickly when its position in the broader market changes. Levine (1978) lists several possible management and system failures that signal organizational atrophy, but the ones most pertinent to academic libraries in fiscal crises and unionized environments might be:

- Inconsistent and perverse incentives;
- Differentiation without integration and role;
- Stifled dissent and upward communication; and
- Lack of self-evaluating and self-correcting capacity.

Whetten (1980) described the conditions of deterioration as existing when an organization is “stagnant, bureaucratic, and passive, as evidenced by their insensitivity to new product developments, workers’ interests, and customers’ preferences” (p. 346).

In the current study, however, these malfunctions were not observed in the libraries to any noteworthy degree, with the following two exceptions:

- Inconsistent and perverse incentives. As noted in Chapter 5, administrators sometimes opted to retain minimally functioning employees to avoid “bumping out” newer employees, because this threatened to cause the loss of newer employees who would likely be more technologically adept. The usual union-related protection of employees due solely to their seniority over those who may be more meritorious or skilled seems inconsistent with an organization’s long-term health. Additionally, the time and energy lost in documenting poor performance and having to go through lengthy grievance procedures, may, in particular collective bargaining situations, become a perverse incentive for managerial leaders not to take action against minimally functioning or poor employees.
- Differentiation without integration and role confusion. Some of the case study sites were engaged in new endeavors, such as implementation of an information commons (University B), or providing classroom media services and digitization services (University G), without gaining new funding or staffing, and without integrating these services well into their library vision, mission, and functions. In relation to new classroom media services instituted with no new permanent funding, for example, one of the library administrators at University G remarked: “What should we be doing with media services? ... In absence of guidance or conversation [at the campus level], we just took our best shot.” He continued:

[University administrators] have seen the good work we have done
but it’s funny. When I talk to administrators, they still see media

services as separate from the library even though we merged them. They still see them as not merged. It's just this other thing that is in our building. It is hard to know whether the library has gotten its due attention or maybe its media services that has gotten the attention.

The fourth cause of decline, *environmental entropy*, comes from the external and economic/technical dimensions, and seems most obvious in its strong relationship to unionized, public-sector academic libraries coping with the economic recession and its aftermath. The concept of environmental entropy refers to times when the “capacity of the environment to support the public organization at prevailing levels of activity erodes” (Levine, 1978, p. 318). This chapter opened with a litany of economic problems facing public-sector higher education in general. A classic attribution of decline is the reduction of resources (i.e., the “diminution of the cushion of spare resources necessary for coping with uncertainty, risking innovation, and rewarding loyalty and cooperation”) (Levine, 1978, p. 316). All of the participants in the current study remarked upon the heavier use of the libraries’ services, resources, and facilities by their constituents, even as institutional allocations were falling, mainly due to their universities’ diminished state revenues. Levine described the political dimension of environmental entropy in this way:

...The capacity of a government is as much a function of the willingness of taxpayers to be taxed as it is of the economic base of the taxing region. Since the demand for services and the supply of funds to support them are usually relatively independent in the public sector, taxpayer resistance can produce

diminished revenues which force service reductions even though the demand and need for services remains high. (pp. 318-319)

Multiple operational definitions for the construct of organizational decline are found in the public administration, management, and organizational sciences literature, but Edwards, McKinley, and Moon (2002) noted that researchers converged on the idea of a decrease in an organization's resource base as an accepted measure, because other related constructs such as downsizing, restructuring, and layoffs were "generally conceptualized as intentional management strategies" (p. 56). In a study by Cameron, Whetten, and Kim (1987), for example, organizations were classified as "declining" if they experienced a more than 5 percent drop in revenue (adjusted for inflation); "growing," if they experienced an increase of more than 5 percent; and "stable," for other situations. A separate study by Cameron and Smart (1998) identified higher education institutions to be in financial distress or "decline" if their resource levels were stagnant or falling, based on measures of revenues available to the institutions.

While all four of the libraries in the current study seemed to be threatened by at least two of the causes of organizational decline, the libraries at universities B and D already seemed to be in a cycle of decline, following the construct of decline used by Cameron and Smart (1998) and based solely on data showing that their total library expenditures had fallen between six and 22 percent during the period of 2008 through 2010. At universities C and G, the libraries' total expenditures had shown an increase of 6 to 10 percent from 2008 to 2010, when adjusted for inflation, so they might plausibly be outside of a cycle of decline and inside one of growth. However, participants at all four of the case study sites expected their libraries' budgets to be cut in the next one to two years. They also complained that their libraries were often given one-time infusions of funding for short-term projects or initiatives, and yet were not awarded permanent

increases in base funding. Further, at the time of the investigator's visit, six library employees at University C had been issued layoff notices. This indicates that the use of total library expenditures as a measure may be misleading, especially as a way to rule out organizational decline for academic libraries at risk. The analysis of permanent, base budget funding versus one-time funding might reveal whether the increases in expenditures seen at universities C and G signified true growth or whether they were merely masking a cycle of one-time infusions of funding and a longer-term trend of disinvestment in the libraries' base budgets.²

Responses to Organizational Decline and Fiscal Adversity

The causes of organizational decline are not always under the control of managerial leaders or members of the organizations. For this reason, according to Levine (1979), public-sector organizations and their assigned leaders often find the best they can do in retrenchment situations is to resort to the use of strategic cutback management tactics, although some in do find opportunities for transformative change are possible in these situations (e.g., Miller, 2012). The organization-related literature tends to focus mostly on the tactics for managing decline, because as Bozeman (2010) points out, "once the manager is in the position of managing decline, it is the *fact* of limited resources that is paramount, not the *cause* of limited resources" (p. 559).

Retrenchment

Behn (1980) defined "retrenchment" as the need to reduce an organization so that it consumes fewer resources yet still is able to meet the organization's strategy in a functional and effective way. Auster and Taylor (2004) proposed that retrenchment connotes a "set of short-

² Although revenues were used as a measure in the study by Cameron et al. (1987), data regarding actual revenues or base-fund allocations for the libraries in the current study were not publicly available in a consistent manner. The expenditure levels could be skewed by stimulus-related funding. The investigator gathered data regarding the libraries' total expenditures from the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES), which did not allow for the teasing out of permanent base funding versus one-time funding.

term emergency measures undertaken in response to adverse conditions” (p. 26). The latter explication of the term adds an element of crisis that applies well to periods of economic recession. A crisis indicates a “*turning point* in the evolution of an organization; beyond this point the organization either continues along a generally desirable path or suffers a serious decline in capabilities and performance” (De Greene, 1982, p. 36). Yet, the “crisis” in the case of retrenchment caused by economic recession may be treated differently by assigned leaders than other types of fiscal crises. Recessionary periods may be viewed as temporary setbacks, not as long-term threats to the organization’s health or survival.

A study by MacManus (1993) affirmed this phenomenon. In a survey of assigned leaders working in government offices in Florida during periods of “fiscal adversity stemming exclusively from a recession” (p. 294), he found that their decisions differed during periods of recession compared to strategies used after statutes mandated permanent fiscal reductions. During economic recessions, expenditure reductions were the dominant approach used by a majority of managers, with many of those reductions achieved by using across-the-board cuts, followed by cuts in capital expenditures and in labor-intensive functions and activities. This was in contrast to more strategic approaches that were used after permanent fiscal reductions were experienced. In those circumstances, assigned leaders used revenue-enhancement techniques and made program-specific cuts or terminations to improve their organizations’ sustainability over the long term.

In the current study, all of the administrators spoke about the chronic budget reductions their libraries had endured for many years before the recession, compounded by the inflationary pressures on flat or declining materials budgets. The fiscal pressures of the Great Recession and its aftermath had worsened an already negative, long-term budgetary outlook. Thus, they did not

regard the recessionary effects as rising to the level of a “crisis,” but they considered them to be another blow among many that had been absorbed over the past several years, and from which they were sure the libraries would again recover through resiliency and adaptive changes. For libraries at universities B, C, and G, these effects seemed to be more severe than for the library at University D, but even in those cases, the administrators remained optimistic about their libraries’ prospects for continued good performance in the future.

Based on the relatively thin staffing levels at all of the libraries under study, combined with the evidence of restructuring efforts, and the implementation of new services and facilities-improvement projects, the question about long-term versus short-term strategies had been almost rendered moot at this juncture. Over a long period of time, the administrators had enacted a “mixed bag” of strategies both to absorb short-term cuts and to prepare for long-term fiscal adversity. Most perceived that their operations and acquisitions were lean and efficient. They had achieved a noticeable reduction in force through attrition, even as they had adjusted their operations to meet changing demands and to provide new services with little to no new, permanent institutional investments.

The only exceptions to the “mixed bag” of strategies were evident in the lack of participants’ responses that addressed external fundraising or entrepreneurial endeavors. In at least two cases (universities C and G), administrators were concerned that the libraries had been “spread too thin,” signifying that new services and initiatives had been implemented in the hopes that more institutional resources would be available for these programs in the long term. Only the library director at University B shared his belief in the severity of the economic situation and its probable worsening in the future; he was convinced that the library needed to pull back and concentrate on “core functions” to weather the economic difficulties facing it.

Behn (1980) explored the tendency for some leaders to deny a crisis exists. In addition to a managerial leader's need to be a positive, inspirational force, Behn argued that self-interest could be another reason for managerial leaders to deny the possible long-term nature of their organization's decline. He explained:

In this political environment, it is in the interest of few leaders to accept the reality of retrenchment, let alone to state that reality publicly. The messenger who attempts to explain that a long-term decline is beginning may be first ridiculed and then shot. The elected leader who reports that resources will no longer continue to grow and that cutbacks must be made may be voted out of office. The appointed administrator who disrupts his [*sic*] agency with similar news may lose the support of his staff, his effectiveness as an organizational leader, the confidence of his superiors, and finally his position. (p. 615)

Cutback Management

Directors and managers faced with chronic or severe budget reductions could make ad hoc decisions about how to absorb the cuts in the short term, or they could endeavor to manage the required changes in such ways that will preserve and reinvigorate organizational viability and effectiveness over the long term. Cutback management refers to political and operational strategies used by managers to address declining resources during retrenchment (Behn, 1980).

Levine (1978) proposed that the most effective cutback management tactics depended upon the causes of decline, and whether or not the organizations wanted to *resist* the decline or *smooth* the decline. "Resisting the decline" refers to attempts to "remove or alleviate the external political and economic causes of decline" and to strengthen the organization internally, whereas "smoothing the decline" refers to attempts to limit the decline's impact on the "organization's

most important functions, procedures, and long-term capacity” (p. 182). For the unionized academic libraries facing budgetary cutbacks in this study, the clearest connections to Levine’s advice can be seen in some of the recommended tactics aimed at resisting decline. Those tactics, as adapted from Levine’s list, included efforts to: *strengthen the libraries’ expertise, diversify the libraries’ work, educate users, mobilize dependent clients, and cut visible and widespread services just a little to demonstrate user dependence.*

The academic libraries were *strengthening their expertise and diversifying their work* in strategic ways. For example, the library at University B had just obtained funding to implement a new student computing center. The library at University G had developed new digital-image collections and a new e-book repository that would serve as a mechanism to publish original works created by faculty within the institution. The associate director at University C’s library described the libraries’ continued ambitions at diversification in this way: “We wanted to experiment with new initiatives and reach out to the university community. We didn’t want the library to become stagnant and be considered less important as an academic unit in the university. So we wrote our strategic plan with [new services] in mind.”

Some of the libraries in this study were deploying strategic marketing plans to *educate users* and promote library resources and services, in the hopes that outdated perceptions about what libraries offer and what librarians do could be corrected. The assistant director for public services at University G, for example, noted that people were often surprised by the portfolio of resources and services the libraries offered. “People said, ‘I didn’t think you did all that stuff’... we are on a constant marketing campaign.” The associate director at University G described the campaign as an attempt to maximize the use of the libraries’ existing resources and services in a time of scarcity. He said: “Marketing and outreach has increased in importance. ...The old

school thinking was ‘they know where the library is; they will come find us.’ ... We are always here to do more selling of what we do and reminding.”

The libraries were *mobilizing dependent clients*, by working directly with students and faculty on collaborative initiatives that would gain users’ support and demonstrate the libraries’ relevance to meeting broader academic goals. As one assistant director at University C pointed out, “The faculty senate has asked that our [materials budget] be kept harmless, and the university has honored that in many ways” The library director at University D noted that he worked with other administrators, deans, and faculty to argue that the library should be held harmless during budget cuts. He said, “To the degree that you have made the right case ... that you are representing the entire university environment, you are held harmless.” The library director at University B had not had time to mobilize clients yet, but asserted his plans to do so:

We have had no advocacy that I am aware of from the faculty individually or from the faculty senate to slow down library cuts. However, that is one of the things I have to work on. I have to explain what the library is up to, and come Spring semester, I plan on spending more time in the departments talking to them about these things and bringing up what we do, rather than hiding in my office and going, ‘what do you mean you don’t like us?’ I’ve got to go out and find out exactly what’s going on.

The assistant director for public services at University C recounted two technology-related projects that called for political and financial support from the student government, one involving the purchase and implementation of multifunction copiers/scanners/printers in the libraries, and one related to the creation of additional collaborative study rooms with technology. He described the way the projects would not have happened if not for student support.

Two of the libraries (universities B and C) enacted a slight reduction in operational hours, which matched the strategy of *cutting a visible and widespread service a little to demonstrate client dependence*. Overall, the tactics undertaken to resist decline were seen as a “means to revitalize eroded economic bases, reduce environmental uncertainty, protect niches, retain flexibility, or lessen dependence” (Levine, 1978, p. 320).

Some of the unionized academic libraries in this study used tactics to smooth decline as well, as delineated by Levine (1978), and these have been described in previous sections of this dissertation. The participants described *reorganizing* parts of their organizations to remove duplication of work and reallocate staff to higher-impact needs. Increased *automation and improved productivity* were being achieved through demand-driven acquisitions and shelf-ready cataloging, among other means. Connected to the anticipation of downturns and *forecasting techniques*, all of the libraries focused on strategic visioning, planning, and environmental scanning. At University C, and to a lesser extent, at University G, librarians used evaluation to improve *rational choice techniques*. These and other tactics were undertaken by the leaders to smooth decline and strengthen their organizations as much as possible.

Downsizing

Two participants in this study, one at University D and the other at University G, referred to “downsizing” of the libraries in their comments, but the investigator saw these references as imprecise, because the participants described the loss of positions mainly through attrition, not as the result of intentional strategies. Cameron (1994) defined downsizing as a “strategy implemented by managers that affects (a) the size of the firm’s workforce, (b) the costs, and (c) the work processes,” and further, he stipulated that downsizing was a “set of activities, undertaken on the part of the management of an organization and designed to improve

organizational efficiency, productivity, and/or competitiveness” (p. 192). He distinguished downsizing from organizational decline as follows:

Downsizing is not something that happens *to* an organization, but it is something that organization members undertake purposively. This implies, first of all, that downsizing is an intentional set of activities. This differentiates downsizing from loss of market share, loss of revenues, or the unwitting loss of human resources that are associated with organization decline. Downsizing is distinct from mere encroachment by the environment on performance or resources because it implies organizational action. (Cameron, 1994, p. 193)

Few researchers in the literature of library and information science have addressed the phenomenon of downsizing in academic libraries. When they have done so, they have used the term mainly to refer to a decrease in organizational size, especially in regard to reductions in the workforce and usually related to fiscal adversity (e.g., Auster & Taylor, 2004; Burgin, 1997; LaGuardia, Bentley, & Martorana, 1995). Sometimes this would involve downsizing as a strategic measure taken to manage decline, but other times it would not. For example, Burgin (1997) conducted a 1995 survey of academic and public library directors in North Carolina, and asked them whether they had experienced any downsizing in the past two to three years and to describe the outcomes of downsizing. Ninety-five of 193 directors responded, with 25 of the respondents indicating that they had experienced downsizing, and of those, 19 had experienced the downsizing as the reduction of personnel. There were no explicit questions in Burgin’s study, apparently, that gathered data explaining how the reductions in staffing had occurred (e.g., through downsizing strategies of the institution and attrition), or that conveyed the meaning of “downsizing” as an intentional management strategy. In fact, when one question asked the

respondents whether they were “prepared to deal with a major downsizing in the next 12 months,” more than half reported “feeling not well prepared,” with many of the necessary elements of a downsizing plan not in place ...” (p. 180).

Downsizing may be used as a deliberate defensive mechanism to manage decline (Cameron, 1994), but in the current study, the reductions taking place in the libraries were not typically occurring as the result of intentional strategies of library administrators. Instead, they were the unfortunate effects of financial adversity and organizational decline, realized in most cases through the non-strategic approach of attrition and layoffs of those with least seniority to close budget gaps. The library administrators used retrenchment and some cutback management tactics both to resist and smooth decline, but they did not seem to be engaging in deliberate reductions of staff and operations to achieve long-term, strategic, organizational goals. Instead, they were purposefully protecting filled staff positions to protect existing operations and capacity, as a high priority. The associate director of libraries at University D described the library director’s perspective on this issue, this way, “[The library director] has certainly [said] in many conversations that we have had about this ... that the most important ingredients in the library environment that we have... are the people who work here.”

Conclusion

The unionized academic libraries in this study experienced severe or chronic budget cuts, causing reduced financial capacity and either the threat or actuality of decline. Despite the fact that library administrators, librarians, and staff had adapted and consistently done more with less, librarians in leadership and on the frontlines were being told repeatedly by their stakeholders to “do more with less,” just as Martin (1998) had lamented 13 years earlier in the literature of library and information science. Yet, now, this same mantra could still be applied, as academic

libraries continued to absorb budget reductions and staffing decrements. As Martin further pointed out in 1998, “By giving our parent organizations the idea that we can do more with less, we are inadvertently preparing for a future in which we will constantly be asked to do more with less.”

The most promising theories, frameworks, and models with which to gain deeper understandings about organizational decline, retrenchment, cutback management, and downsizing, are embedded in the literatures of the organizational sciences, management, and public administration. An essay by Moropa (2010) hinted at the potential of using “decline” as a construct to analyze the effectiveness of academic libraries, when he advocated that librarians should study commercial businesses facing decline and the ways in which particular strategies used by these business had stopped or even reversed decline. Auster’s and Taylor’s (2004) was the only work to review two decades’ worth of library responses to financial stress and associate this explicitly with “retrenchment,” “cutback management,” and “downsizing.” The investigator asserts that, even in this treatment, however, the extensive insights of public administration and organizational sciences researchers on organizational decline and the strategies that managerial leaders can use to counter decline had only barely begun to be mined for library leaders in unionized environments. Much of that literature lends credence to the hope that, under the guidance of effective leadership, academic libraries can experience unionization, economic stress, and organizational decline, and yet can also remain flexible and responsive in their attempt to meet changing demands and ensure the libraries’ futures.

Although an examination of some aspects of management and leadership has been interwoven throughout preceding chapters, the next chapter will focus on the general impressions that were ascertained about managerial leadership at the case study sites. It will include an

exploration of the participants' general perspectives on leadership and will highlight several of the leadership strategies in use at the four case study sites, as viewed through the framework of the National Center for Healthcare Leadership (NCHL) Leadership Competency Model, Version 2.0, adapted, with permission, by Simmons College Graduate School of Library and Information Science (GSLIS).

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Chapter 7

MANAGERIAL LEADERSHIP

As discussed in Chapter 2, detailed insights into leadership and evaluation of one's effectiveness as a managerial leader were outside the scope of the study's objectives and research questions. Nonetheless, the study did provide some insights into leadership and, by extension managerial leadership, a term widely used but often ill-defined. For the purposes of this chapter, the term refers to the library directors and other members of the senior management team whom the investigator interviewed, be they assigned or emergent leaders. Emergent leaders, according to Northouse (2013), are those individuals who, regardless of the particular positions they hold, are perceived by others to be the most influential people in their organizations over time; this phenomenon occurs, among other ways, through the individuals' use of communication strategies and behaviors that are likely to impact the organization.

The administrators shared their general views on leadership, including their definitions of the concepts. However, the investigator did not explore or observe whether the leadership styles or strategies mentioned by the participants were actually being used by administrators at the case study sites or were unique to the unionized environment.

Perspectives on Managerial Leadership

Managerial leaders provide both leadership and management for an organization, act as leaders when they influence others, create vision for constructive change, develop shared goals and objectives for their organizations, and ensure that the goals and objectives are realized. At the same time, they serve as managers when they plan, coordinate, and control functions so that organizational goals can be accomplished effectively (Hernon, 2007). Bennis and Nanus (1997)

asserted that the differences between leadership and management are profound, arguing, “Managers are people who do things right and leaders are people who do the right thing. The difference may be summarized as activities of vision and judgment – effectiveness – versus activities of mastering routines – efficiency” (p. 20).

In this study, library administrators reported that they used many of the strategies of managerial leaders. The leaders in this study seemed to confront external competition for some of their libraries’ key functions, the challenges and opportunities of disruptive technologies, and the threat or actuality of organizational decline, all while they also faced the political conflicts necessary to implement important changes in their unionized environments.

Julius (2006) referred to the difficulty of leading in these types of turbulent, academic settings when he described effective leadership as an “essential ingredient in the management of collective bargaining in colleges and universities” (p. 209). He pointed out, however, that the leadership needed was “not leadership in the traditional sense,” which focused mainly on visioning and elaborate strategic planning in his view, but leadership that communicated well, knew the institutional culture, engaged in authentic behavior, demanded the bad news, agitated for excellence, and remained tenacious, patient, and focused on goals, along with other attributes (Julius, 2006, p. 209). Still, for the purposes of this dissertation, the leaders in this study seem to embrace both leadership in the traditional sense and Julius’s image of a leader. In other words, both perspectives do not seem to be mutually exclusive.

At University C, the library director stated that leadership should bring “motivation, consensus building, wide participation, and pride in accomplishments” to an organization. She asserted her view that the library existed to help the institution carry out its mission, and emphasized the importance of strategic visioning and planning, saying, “If you have a good plan

and it has been shared, and everyone has had a chance to contribute to the development of that plan, ... you can say, 'this is our roadmap, this is how we are going to get there.'”

The members of the library’s senior administrative team mentioned similar concepts in their definitions of leadership. The assistant director for public services said that managers needed to “embrace the vision of [the institution]. If you can’t embrace it, leave, because you can never manage it correctly. ...” To carry this out this work, she said, “You have a strategic plan, vision, policies, and procedures ... having that vision helps like a map, like an instruction manual for a piece of equipment.” A different assistant director noted, “I don’t think that people should just blindly follow you, you should have vision, goals, and objectives, and you should be able to present your vision, goals, and objectives to those that you lead.” The associate director agreed with this, saying, “I think good leaders must chart the future in a collaborative way and they must communicate that future. They need to be at the beginning of the train to say ‘come on, folks, this is where we are going.’”

A library administrator at University C referred to servant leadership in her remarks. She said, “I believe leadership is servant [*sic*]; if you are going to be a leader, you have to be willing to be a servant.” First named and explored by Robert K. Greenleaf in his classic essay entitled *The Servant as Leader*, the servant leadership model “emphasizes increased service to others, a holistic approach to work, promoting a sense of community, and the sharing of power in decision-making” (Spears, 2010, p. 13). According to Northouse (2013), when individuals engage in servant leadership, “it is likely to improve outcomes at the individual, organizational, and societal levels” (p. 232). Although other leaders at University C did not name this leadership model explicitly, their insistence on dedicated service to the university and commitment to each other as a community resembled the core values of servant leadership.

At University G, the library director's definition of leadership focused intensely on the personal relationships and human resources management components of leadership. She believed the best aims of leaders were to create "maximum opportunities for everyone to be stars, to be successful, to try something new, something different," and elaborated on this as follows:

I've spent my whole career studying cultures, studying organizations. How do you change a culture? How do you make things stick? I've learned a lot in my career about how you can work with people, how to find the ones who are willing to change. Some people are never going to change, but many are willing. ... It's been my greatest driving goal, to create an environment that everybody wants to come to. If you do that [as a leader], you're likely to do a better job.

She believed she was directly responsible for the emotional welfare of everyone who worked in the library, whether or not the workforce is part of a unionized environment.

Reiterating these points in their own comments, other library administrators at University G concentrated on people as well, far more than they focused on visioning, planning, structures, and roles. The assistant director for technical services, for example, said, "I believe leadership is a lot of listening, a lot of learning, and a lot of working with people. ... One thing that has increased my effectiveness is treating people with respect."

Library administrators at University G had also undergone training in appreciative leadership at the instigation of the library director, who expressed her adherence to and advocacy for such leadership within her administrative team. Appreciative leadership is a philosophy that adheres to the principles of appreciative inquiry (AI), a "social constructionist approach to organizational change and development that "begins by appreciating what is best within an

organization,” rather than “focusing on defining and fixing problems” (Schwandt, 2007, pp. 8-9). AI consists of four stages that are often called the “4-D Cycle.” According to Ludema, Cooperrider, and Barrett (2000), the 4-D Cycle includes *discovery*, *dream*, *design*, and *destiny*, as described below:

- The Discovery cycle allows an organization to “search for, highlight and illuminate those factors that give life to the organization, the ‘best of what is’ in any given situation. Regardless of how few the moments of excellence are, the task is to zero in on them and to discuss the factors and forces that made them possible.”
- The Dream cycle represents a process that lets organizational members generate “words, phrases and stories that illustrate the organization at its best” and “liberates organizational members from the constraining power of existing reified constructions and offers positive guiding images of the future.”
- The Design cycle provides an opportunity for organizational members to find “common ground by sharing discoveries and possibilities, dialoguing and debating, and finally getting to the point where everyone can say, ‘yes this is an ideal or vision that we value and should aspire to. Let’s make it happen.’”
- The Destiny cycle is an “invitation to construct the future through innovation and action,” and when “organizational members live into the systems they have designed in ways that translate their ideals into reality and their beliefs into practice.” (p. 192)

Since 1987, when Cooperrider and Srivastva wrote their founding article about AI, many different types of organizations have used AI and its dialogue-based model to achieve “positive, sustained change” (Babcock, 2005, n.p.).

Although the library administrators focused on appreciative leadership, the research did not examine whether it was the sole leadership theory applied or how it worked for particular leaders. The research did not probe how receptive the staff members and librarians were to such leadership and whether there are unique aspects that were associated with a unionized environment.

At University D, the library director and associate director provided definitions of leadership that integrated the inherent personal strengths of leaders with the extensive knowledge and skills that leaders gained through experience. According to the library director,

Leadership is the use of personal and professional knowledge, skills, experience and vision to assist an organization and one’s coworkers to grow ... and to achieve the organization’s mission at a higher level of effectiveness.

What I am not saying anything about is positional authority. Leaders operate at all levels of the organization. ... Leadership is using personal and professional resources of the leader. ... The person comes into play with the professional.

The associate director articulated a view that resembled the director’s definition, stating:

I believe leadership is the capacity of an individual to see beyond the superficial and ordinary; to effectively articulate a vision and purpose for action; and to mobilize the willing and active participation of subordinates and superiors to achieve success. You need to be visionary, you need to know things, and you need to be perceived as a resource person. I think it is

important to have been around the block. ... You have to be bold and take risks and be somewhat courageous in the library.

These definitions combine elements from the traits-based, skills-based, and process-based perspectives of leadership. Northouse (2013) described the traits-based perspective as one that views individuals to be imbued as “special innate or inborn characteristics or qualities that make them leaders, and that it is these qualities that differentiates them from nonleaders,” whereas the process-based perspective considers leadership to be a “phenomenon that resides in the context of the interactions between leaders and followers and makes leadership available to everyone” (Northouse, 2013, pp. 7-8). The skills-based approach emphasizes that leaders must have the required knowledge and abilities (i.e., experience and competencies) to accomplish an organization’s goals and objectives (Northouse, 2013, pp. 47-60).

The definition provided by the library director at University D alluded to the concepts of shared leadership and participatory leadership, with its reference to the concept that, regardless of positional power, leadership could be found within different levels of the organization. Shared leadership, according to Cawthorne (2010), “recognizes leaders’ influence throughout the organization, not just from the top down” (p. 151). Participatory leadership, on the other hand, refers to an approach where leaders invite subordinates to share directly in decision making. A participative leader “consults with subordinates, obtains their ideas and opinions, and integrates their suggestions into the decisions about how the group or organization will proceed” (Northouse, 2013, p. 140).

At University B, the library director provided a definition that acknowledged the complexity of leadership and combined multiple perspectives, as follows:

Leadership is complicated. ... It's flexible and adaptable. It's something you are born into. It's contingent. It is transient. It is fleeting. It may well be with someone else rather than with you, depending on the situation. ... That is what makes it complicated. ... It's not easy to define and describe, because there are so many machinations of it depending on the situation.

This explanation incorporated explicit references to the impact of contextual variables on leadership, which was not surprising given the fact that this library director had not been working at University B for very long.

The director at University B described leadership as both contingent and situational. Originating from a process-based perspective, the situational approach to leadership emphasizes the interplay of three components in the leadership process, namely, the leader, the follower, and the situation, and holds that leaders must be “flexible, able to diagnose the leadership style appropriate to the situation,” and “able to apply the appropriate style” in a variety of circumstances (Hersey & Blanchard, 1993, p. 117). In the situational leadership model developed by Hersey and Blanchard (1993), leader behavior occurs within a task dimension and a supportive dimension. The task dimension addresses the amount of guidance and direction that a leader gives to followers. The supportive dimension addresses the amount of social/emotional support (relationship behavior) that the leader provides for followers. According to this model, leaders should adjust their behaviors and styles based upon the “readiness” of followers, which Hersey and Blanchard defined as the extent to which followers are able and willing to accomplish specific tasks. If there is less readiness in followers, then leaders can increase their effectiveness by providing more direction to their followers. If followers are ready to perform

particular tasks, then leaders can increase their effectiveness by being more supportive rather than being more directive.

Fiedler's (1967) contingency theory of leadership proposed that three major variables will determine whether or not a situation is favorable to a leader. These variables are: (1) leader-member relations (i.e., the leader's personal relationships with followers); (2) task structure (i.e., the degree of structure in the task at hand); and (3) position power (i.e., the authority that the position of the leader position provides). This predictive theory is called *contingency*, according to Northouse (2013), because "effective leadership is *contingent* on matching a leader's style to the right setting" (p. 123). Fiedler reasoned that leaders who were working in mismatched situations experience stress and anxiety and, when they are under stress, they revert to less mature ways of coping; the less-mature coping style results in poor decision making and negative work outcomes (Northouse, 2013, p. 126).

For universities G and C, where the library directors had been in place for ten to twenty years, respectively, the general tone and concepts expressed in the directors' definitions were reflected in the comments of subordinates and focus group interview participants. This repetition of the leaders' tone and concepts seemed to attest to the both the leaders' credibility and the leaders' social influence within their organizations. Chemers (2003) stated that credibility was one of the most important aspects of leadership, and helped a leader establish legitimacy as a source of influence in the social realms of an organization in order to motivate followers to attain shared goals. On the other hand, it could also be argued that the subordinates or the culture had influenced the leaders' viewpoints instead. In other words, the organization's culture may have influenced the leaders' concepts and the leaders might have been merely restating what other organizational members already held to be true. Hogg (2001) proposed that social influence was

gained after the leader was established as a competent and trustworthy person, and theorized that effective leaders were the most prototypical – meaning that they exhibited conformity with the key characteristics of the group. Hogg thought this prototypicality made the leader more socially attractive to followers – they wanted to be with the leader, emulate the leader, and interact with the leader. At universities C and G, the social attractiveness of the administrators was evident in the comments of focus group interview participants when they made comments such as, “in terms of my relations with my superiors, I couldn’t be happier,” “I have kind of watched [the library director] since I came here ... and I think she is really a master,” and “I really appreciate [the library director].”

In summary, although the directors and their senior management teams identified particular theories or certain attributes associated with leadership, the research did not probe leadership in any depth and did not explore the participants’ understanding and application of the concepts. No attempt was made to monitor leadership during the site visits. Thus, this section is general in its coverage, and neither focuses on recovery from the recession nor the application of leadership in unionized environments (except for the general coverage in the next section).

Leadership Strategies¹

Leadership strategies have been defined as the tasks distinguishing leadership from other levels of the organization. According to Hambrick (1989), these tasks include:

- focusing on both the internal and external spheres, and aligning the organization with the current and expected environments;

¹ This section is based on self-reports of the participants only, not on observations or other evidence gathered from the case study site visits. Therefore, the coverage in this section pertains to general impressions and does not provide an in-depth analysis of the leadership strategies described, as this was outside the scope of the dissertation.

- being embedded in ambiguity, complexity, and information overload, far more so than leadership found at other levels;
- acting in ways that are multifunctional and integrative – cutting across marketing, operations, finance, and other activities – in contrast to the tasks of those with more specialized expertise in various components of the enterprise; and
- leading through other leaders who will serve as the leader’s conduits and agents. (p. 6)

At the four case study sites, the strategies of managerial leaders grouped into three main leadership areas, namely, transformation, accomplishment, and people. These strategies will be explored through the framework of the Simmons Leadership Model for the Information Professions, adapted from the National Center for Healthcare Leadership (NCHL) Leadership Competency Model, Version 2 (Simmons College, Graduate School of Library and Information Science (GSLIS), 2006).

Transformation

In the Simmons Leadership model (2006), the area of *transformation* encompasses “visioning, energizing, and stimulating a change process that coalesces communities, patrons, and professionals around new models of managerial leadership” (p. 2). The primary competencies in this area are achievement orientation and analytical thinking/problem-solving. The secondary characteristics are community orientation, financial skills, information discovery, innovative thinking, and strategic orientation. In this study, emergent leaders reported that they used strategic visioning and planning as organizational change strategies. Insights about the

leaders' community orientation and innovative thinking were gleaned from participants' comments. (Table 7.1 defines the competencies in this area.)

Table 7.1

Area of Transformation, Simmons Leadership Model for the Information Professions

Competency	Definition
Achievement Orientation (Primary)	A concern for surpassing a standard of excellence. The standard may be one's own past performance (striving for improvement); an objective measure (results orientation); outperforming others (competitiveness); challenging goals, or something that has been done previously (innovation).
Analytical Thinking/Problem-Solving (Primary)	The ability to understand a situation, issue or problem by breaking it into smaller pieces or tracing its implications in a step-by-step way. It includes organizing the parts of a situation, issue, or problem systematically; making systematic comparisons of different features or aspects; and applying appropriate methods to explore fully and attack a problem.
Community Orientation (Secondary)	The ability to align one's own and the organization's priorities with the needs and values of the community, including its cultural and ethnocentric values and to move managerial leadership forward. It includes a service orientation to both external and internal "customers" and constituencies.
Financial Skills (Secondary)	The ability to understand and explain financial and accounting information, prepare and manage budgets, and make sound long-term investment decision.
Information Discovery (Secondary)	An underlying curiosity and desire to know more about things, people, or issues, including the desire for knowledge and staying current with disciplinary, organizational, and professional trends and developments.
Innovative Thinking (Secondary)	The ability to apply complex concepts, develop creative solutions or adapt previous solutions in new ways.
Strategic Orientation (Secondary)	The ability to consider the business, demographic, ethno-cultural, political and regulatory implications of decisions and develop strategies that continually improve the long-term success and viability of the organization. It includes assessing risk and regularly taking educated risks where appropriate.

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Strategic visioning and planning. Strategic visioning, according to Bennis and Nanus (1997), is the creation of collective focus by way of articulating and communicating a desired

future state of the organization, a commonly held view of a “realistic, credible, attractive future” (p. 82). The attention paid to establishing a vision for an organization further distinguishes leadership from management, in that the leader is operating on the “emotional and spiritual resources of the organization, on its values, commitment, and aspirations,” whereas the manager operates on the “physical resources of the organization, on its capital, human skills, raw materials, and technology” (Bennis & Nanus, 1997, p. 85).

Senge (1990) asserted that vision alone was not enough to motivate an organization to change; instead, the strong leader generates the energy for change by increasing awareness about the current state of the organization and thereby establishing a creative tension between what is desired and what is currently in place. Either the organization adjusts its present state to reach the vision, or the vision is downgraded to match the present reality. As Senge (1990) wrote, “The principle of creative tension teaches that an accurate picture of current reality is just as important as a compelling picture of a desired future” (p. 9). For unionized libraries experiencing a cycle of organizational decline cycle, Senge (1990) makes an especially relevant point when he reminds managerial leaders that “fear, the energy source behind negative visions, can produce extraordinary changes in short periods, but aspiration endures as a continuing source of learning and growth” (p. 14).

Ideally paired with visioning, strategic planning is a process whereby an organization adopts an agreed upon, consistent pattern of decisions and actions, including the allocation of resources, that will increase its chances of achieving major goals and objectives (Fulmer, 2000, p. 115). The process typically includes an analysis or scan of the environment to understand the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats to the organization; and a review of

stakeholders' and users' values and needs in order to comprehend fully the strategies needed to move the organization closer to its vision.

Behn (1980) advocated for a “corporate strategy” for those in the throes of public-sector decline (defined in this dissertation as those organizations experiencing a more than 5 percent drop in revenue, adjusted for inflation). He proposed that leading and managing an organization in retrenchment required strong centralized leadership adept at refocusing the organization on its revised mission and vision (i.e., what purposes will be retained, dropped, or changed). In his view, leaders should be capable of bringing “key issues to a tolerable resolution without interminable delays” (Behn, 1980, p. 619). They should have the courage to make hard decisions about targeted cuts to preserve or enhance organizational effectiveness, even if across-the-board cuts might avoid organizational conflict.

All of the administrators emphasized transformation of their organizations and attainment of enhanced performance through the use of strategic visioning and planning, but universities C and D were the only two case study sites wherein participants' comments reflected that the strategic visioning and planning processes had been inculcated deeply into the organization's culture and the participants' consciousness over time. At University C, library administrators referred to strategic planning frequently in their comments, and the library staff and librarians participating in the focus group interview agreed that the libraries continued to reprioritize their initiatives and seemed to be moving steadily, if more slowly, toward meeting strategic goals and objectives, despite the economic downturn. “It doesn't become a case of what do we stop doing, but what do we defer until maybe we can handle it later,” said one librarian at University C. The library director at University C shared these comments:

Actually, I was on the university strategic planning committee, so we prepared the university's strategic plan without regard to decreases in funding and we are looking ahead to establish new programs to do the kinds of good things that universities are supposed to do. After the university's strategic plan was approved, then we [in the libraries] embarked on doing our own. Just like the university, we did not want to see a decrease in services and we wanted to look forward. ... We wanted to experiment with new initiatives and reach out to the university community. We didn't want the library to become stagnant and be considered less important as an academic unit in the university, so we wrote our strategic plan with those kinds of things in mind. Now, are we going to be able to do everything that we have in our strategic plan? Probably not as fast as we want to do them.

At University D, both the director and associate director highlighted the need for a strategic vision and plan, and noted that progress was steady but slower than they would prefer as a result of the libraries' thin staffing and budgetary constraints. The associate director said, referring to the libraries five-year plan:

Well, this is my baby, [a plan] that we got started on a year ago when I started [working] here. We are working on the metrics now and the big deal for us is to make sure that assessment is an important part of this whole process.

Because the investigator was not permitted to conduct a focus-group interview at University D, she could not ascertain whether the strategic vision and plan had been communicated and had been understood by librarians and library staff.

Universities B and G seemed to be less developed than University C in the area of strategic visioning and planning. Both of these case study sites used strategic visioning and planning, but the process or the products of this planning were not often mentioned by participants other than by the library director at these institutions. In fact, two librarians at University G commented on their lack of knowledge about the plan. “I’m not sure I’m always aware of why [the director] is making some decisions,” said one librarian. Another librarian agreed: “[The director] has a vision in mind, but I’m not quite sure I know the whole thing. It might offend some people, if they did know the whole vision.”

At University B, this lack of employees’ focus on the strategic plan was attributed to the brief tenure of the new library director. Corresponding to the point from Bennis and Nanus (1997) that a vision must be realistic and credible, and to Senge’s (1990) reminder that a leader must also ascertain the true current state of an organization, the library director at University B was the only administrator in this study to mention an adjustment in the libraries’ strategic vision to match the decreasing fiscal capacity of the libraries. In this regard, it is important to note that the new director was working closely with a provost who is an accountant and was developing metrics to guide the fiscal reduction. The libraries’ prior vision statement had been downgraded, relative to an earlier strategic vision that was completed before the new director had arrived and which aspired to transform the main library into “that great third place.” Now, the language had been softened. The recently-hired director realized that funding levels would be inadequate for the libraries to create the great new learning spaces and high-quality collections as originally envisioned in the prior plan. Instead the new strategic vision aspired to create spaces that would be “comfortable and inviting for students,” and there was a shift in the collection-related goal to maintain core or “curriculum-supportive” resources. The director explained, “Now, we have

decided that the strategic plan will drive our budget decisions; in the past, when you have a lot of money, you can be so much more flexible and that has definitely changed.”

Community orientation. Although all of the case study sites were strong in their community orientation, University C was noteworthy in this area (i.e., in the administrators’ ability to align the libraries’ priorities with the needs and values of the larger institution, and in their service orientation to both external and internal constituencies) (see Simmons College, GSLIS, 2006, p. 2). The library administrators at University C were so successful at inculcating this sense of community into the culture that the library employees identified with the university more so than with their libraries or their unions. A focus group interview participant there said:

Our director – this is a big thing with her, it’s not just words – We always keep an eye on one thing: that we all work for the university. We don’t work for such and so library, we work for the university. Definitely I think we all have that spirit. I know I wouldn’t be here if it wasn’t for that, because I left and came back through a lot of obstacles. I love the university and that is why I’m here.

Another participant said: “We love the university. We don’t just graduate students. We have to move them. That’s our job.” A third participant said: “We don’t work for such and so library, we work for the university. ... I love the university and that is why I’m here.”

Innovative thinking. Most of the administrators mentioned that risk-taking and innovation in the form of creative resourcefulness were paramount to achieving success in their thinly staffed and resourced environments, and most of them seemed to be adept at obtaining one-time funding for new technology-related projects. However, University G seemed to be

surpassing other case study sites in this area,² to such an extensive degree that some of the administrators were concerned that the libraries had been “spread too thinly” with new endeavors. University G seemed to be relying on the sheer determination of its people, the resourcefulness of its leaders, and innovation throughout the library to accomplish many new initiatives as varied as e-book publishing of original institutional content and the merging of classroom technology and media services with the libraries. The assistant director for public services believed the challenge was to be more creative and adapt to having fewer resources through the innovative use of technology. The associate director referred to the environment as “exhilarating” and “like the wild, wild West.” A different administrator at University G also spoke about the emphasis on creativity, which matched well with the library director’s stated belief in the concept of work as “adult play:”

[The library director] allows people to have ideas and follow them. She supports this with time to play out an idea and see what it is. With regard to the e-books [publishing initiative] ... we are in the process of exploring ‘how do we make use of this in academic endeavors?’ ... We are exploring!

Accomplishment

In the Simmons Leadership Model, the area of *accomplishment* encompasses the “translating of vision and strategy into optimal organizational performance” (Simmons GSLIS, 2006, p. 2). Associated with *accomplishment* are the primary competencies of communication skills, organizational awareness, and library and information science (LIS) domain knowledge. The secondary characteristics in the model are accountability, change leadership, collaboration,

² Given the recent arrival of the library director at University B, that site must be exempt from this conclusion.

information technology management, initiative, performance measurement, and project management. In this study, the leaders emphasized the importance of effective communication and transparency as leadership strategies. Insights about the library administrators' organizational awareness, LIS domain knowledge, change leadership, and performance measurement were gleaned from participants' comments. See Table 7.2 for definitions of the competencies in this area.

Table 7.2

Area of Accomplishment, Simmons Leadership Model for the Information Professions

Competency	Definition
Communication Skills (Primary)	The ability to speak and write in a clear, logical and grammatical manner in formal and informal situations; to prepare cogent business presentations; and to facilitate a group. The ability to persuade, convince, influence, or impress others (individuals or groups) in order to get them to go along with or to support one's opinion or position.
Organizational Awareness (Primary)	The ability to understand and learn the power relationships in one's own organization or in other organizations (stakeholders, suppliers, etc.). This includes the ability to identify who the real decision makers are; the individuals who can influence them; and to predict how new events or situations will affect individuals and groups within the organization.
Library and Information Science Domain knowledge (Primary)	A broad knowledge of the operational components of libraries and information centers and the current research and best practices associated with these components and related issues in the field of Library and Information Science.
Accountability (Secondary)	The ability to hold people accountable to standards of performance or ensure compliance using the power of one's position or force of personality appropriately and effectively, with the long-term good of the organization in mind.
Change Leadership (Secondary)	The ability to energize stakeholders and sustain their commitment to changes in approaches, processes, and strategies.
Collaboration (Secondary)	The ability to work cooperatively with others, to be part of a team, to work together, as opposed to working separately or competitively. Collaboration applies when a person is a member of a group of people functioning as a team, but not the leader.
Information Technology Management Initiative (Secondary)	The ability to see the potential in, understand and use administrative information tools, including active sponsorship of system use and the continuous upgrading of information management capabilities.

Performance Measurement (Secondary)	The ability to understand and use statistical and financial methods and metrics to set goals and measure organizational performance; commitment to and employment of evidence-based techniques. Includes measurement of customer expectations (satisfaction and service quality).
Project Management (Secondary)	The ability to plan and execute a project with significant scope and impact as well as manage a team. Examples include the construction of a major building, or development of a new service.

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Communication and transparency. The strategies of effective communication and transparency were featured more often than any other concepts in the remarks of library administrators. They believed that these two factors were vital to establishing mutual trust and respect between administrators and librarians/staff members, and that only through mutual trust and respect could improved organizational and employee performance be achieved. Bennis and Nanus (1997) proposed that trust was achieved through positioning, which meant both establishing one's position through communication, and then proving credibility by staying the course. They asserted that, "all leadership requires this constancy" (Bennis & Nanus, 1997, p. 45). The library director at University B reinforced this point, saying:

In a bad economic environment, you've got to be totally transparent. You've got to show them everything down to the penny. We are not talking about rounding to the nearest thousand or something like that, [but down] to the penny, and be able to share the rationale for why things are being done. The other thing is we involve as many people as we can in some of the decisions. ... I think that instead of us [communicating] from the top down or instead of them doing it from the bottom up, we do it in both directions, so there is

rationale for what we do. I think that it is really important to have a rationale for [all] expenditures being made.

The library director at University C echoed these comments, stating:

Be in constant communication with them. Keep everything out in the open. Be flexible and willing to change. Be willing to accept the fact that just because you are the leader doesn't mean you know the answer. Somebody else might have a better solution than you.

At University D, the library director also agreed with this perspective:

An issue of leadership is you have to engage people so they trust you. I never think about two versions of the same story. I always tell them the same thing. I am careful about what I say. You can't "un-ring" a bell. Be careful with that. But think of credibility. Are you really thinking 'we are going to preserve positions as opposed to collections'? You have to make sure they believe you. Effective leadership means that people engage the library as their primary home at the university so that they feel attached. From my standpoint, it is just good communication.

The importance of good communication and transparency in one's relationships with external stakeholders was highlighted by the library director at University D:

As matter of fact, part of your job as a library administrator is that you have to make the case for the library ... regardless of the economic situation. To the degree that you have made the right case and represent that you are representing the entire university environment, you are held harmless if you have made that case effectively. If you are negligent in working with upper

administration, that includes provost, president and deans ... there is a stronger likelihood that in my judgment [you will] be finding yourself with cut budgets. If you can make the case and you are persuasive enough and you are inclusive enough in the decision making, people will be willing to take that burden with you, because a cut to the library budget is a cut to all of those academic programs out there.

The vice provost at University D emphasized the importance of honesty in communications, even to the level of bluntness, as he believed that this led to the appropriate and positive exchange of ideas for change between supervisors and employees. He said:

We've seen a number of new deans come and go over the years and when I think of the ones that are more successful, at least here, they are the ones, I think, who have been more engaged, more engaging of their faculty, more questioning of how things are and how they can be, more assertive of their own agendas.

According to Hersey and Blanchard (1993), leaders spend more time communicating than on any other activity, with this process including not just sending and giving messages, but also receiving or listening to messages from organizational members and others in return (Hersey & Blanchard, 1993, pp. 325-344). Bennis and Nanus (1997) noted that the management of meaning was conveyed through communication and was "inseparable from effective leadership" (p. 31). They believed that communication was the only way that groups could be aligned with the strategic goals of an organization. "Getting the message across unequivocally at every level is an absolute key," they asserted, adding: "Basically it is what the creative process is all about and what, once again, separates the managers from the leaders" (Bennis & Nanus, 1997, p. 40).

Organizational awareness. Many of the managerial leaders exhibited awareness of the differences between the functions of leaders and managers, and reported that they actively attempted to carry out both of these functions. This awareness is reflected, for example, in the diverse and sophisticated leadership definitions they provided for this study, and in the leaders' emphasis on strategic visioning and planning as tools for organizational change and development. In regard to organizational awareness, not only were the managerial leaders aware of their organizations as complex systems, each with its own set of power relationships, they also made it clear they advocated for their libraries, and as change agents, they were not afraid of making major structural and positional changes in their organizations if they believed these would improve their libraries' performance.

The library directors at universities C and D, in particular, were praised by university administrators, and subordinates in the case of University C, for their deft handling of political power and their advocacy for the libraries. The vice provost at University C described the influence of the library director at the university level in this way:

When the director comes to leadership meetings, which happens when all the deans meet, she is constantly advocating for the library. She did, in fact, say that with the downturn, it is putting a squeeze on some of things they wanted to do for the students, faculty, and other users of the library, and how they had to pull together and have employees doing multi-tasking, doing more things of that nature. ... She will stand on the table and say, 'we going to work with what we have, but you are not going to take away.' She is adamant about advocating for the library, for the faculty there, for the students, so that they have what they need when they come to use the library for various assignments

and other activities. Oh, she is a strong advocate! If she is not at the meeting and the library comes up, then others say, ‘you know, you better not mess with anything until you talk to [the library director] because we don’t want her over here saying stuff.’ They respect her highly and they want to make sure that she has what she needs, even if it is just the basic things she needs to help students meet with success when they come to the library.

The provost of University D provided comments that illustrated the library director’s influence as well:

The director puts together a very persuasive argument that takes into account what he calls purchasing power. Basically you just look at the change by inflation over the change in resources and it’s a marked decline in resources. So, we went from an environment in which we wanted to save the acquisitions budget, first and foremost, to focusing on access, which does have some cost-savings there.

LIS domain knowledge and change leadership. The managerial leaders in each of the libraries had gained long years of library experience working as administrators in both unionized and non-unionized environments. The LIS domain knowledge they exhibited in their comments was extensive and encompassed all of the functions and services in the libraries. This knowledge enabled them to advocate successfully for the libraries, and to act as change agents and make major operational, structural, and positional changes in their organizations, as needed. For example, at University B, the administrators were merging three work groups headed by unionized librarians, which would lead to a contentious new assignment for one librarian (contentious because she did not want the change in assignment to occur and it would be one

forced upon her). At University C, library staff members were being reallocated from technical services to public service areas as a technique to cope with the decrease in staffing. Other changes at University C were being made not for budgetary reasons, but to gain economic efficiencies and to adjust work commitments to changing priorities in the libraries. At University D, the library administrators were involved in the merging of two separate document delivery/interlibrary loan groups, and the potential joint management or merging of two separate reference service teams. These teams were originally separated into two sets of units because of past union-related considerations and the merging of the teams remained controversial even to the present day. At University G, technical services staff members were contributed to user support services on the public side of operations, and interlibrary loan processing had been moved from public services to technical services.

Performance measurement. All of the library directors stressed the importance of performance measures, but most did so in the context of internal measures, such as gathering statistics on inputs/outputs,³ or exploring service quality, such as conducting LibQUAL+™, and user satisfaction through institution-wide studies. These efforts remain important for program improvement efforts, but some scholars and accreditation organizations, among others, do not believe these efforts as applicable to student learning outcomes; however some of these efforts might apply to student outcomes (Hernon, 2002; Oakleaf, 2010).⁴ None of the library directors

³ These terms typically refer to the counting and/or reporting of resource allocations (inputs) (e.g., the number of instruction sessions held or the number of computer workstations available in the library); and the counting or reporting of the number of times the resource or services was used (outputs) (e.g., the number of participants in the instruction sessions or the number of times users logged into the computer workstations).

⁴ According to Hernon (2002), outcomes assessment in academic libraries focuses on the “extent to which exposure to the library, its programs and services, over a period time ... produced change” (i.e., had an impact on users) (p.1). Hernon and Dugan (2009) define student outcomes as metrics that “characterize effectiveness as a function of, for instance, graduation, persistence,

mentioned computation of “return on investment” (ROI) metrics,⁵ which quantifies, in economic terms, benefits and the expenditures required to produce them, and none of them mentioned conducting user-based qualitative studies.⁶ The purpose of these types of activities would be to demonstrate the impact and financial value of the libraries to their associated institutions (see Oakleaf, 2010),⁷

Comments shared by the library directors at Universities B and D expressed a more intense focus on the areas of financial stewardship. At University B, the library director came closest to addressing a ROI approach when he described his efforts to incorporate specific metrics and cost accounting figures for the libraries’ strategic plan, because this would drive library budgeting and staffing decisions. He had advocated to cap the print collection at a certain number, and to emphasize specific targets and increased allocations to build on the numbers of e-books and e-journals in the collection.⁸

retention, admissions yield, and employment rates,” while student learning outcomes are “statements of what students are expected to know and be able to do by the time they graduate” (p. 146).

⁵ Subsequent to the investigator’s visit at case study site B, the library director had produced a ROI document for the libraries and the libraries’ contribution to the university.

⁶ Neal (2011) argued that the use of ROI instruments and calculations could be a “miscalculated, defensive and risky strategy” (p. 424) unless this use was integrated into a more “market-based, customized and entrepreneurial approach to the packaging and delivery of information” (p. 427). Neal (2011) advised that ROI measures should only be used by academic libraries if combined with effective qualitative measures that would help libraries understand their “contribution to successful graduates, productive faculty, and institutional advancement” (p. 424).

⁷ For an example of this approach, Luther (2008) describes a case study at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign where the return on investment (ROI) approach identified the library’s contribution to institutional goals through a formulaic statement, “for each dollar invested in the library, the university received x dollars in return.” This statement “framed the question of value from an economic perspective and guided the development” of the case study (Luther, 2008, p. 3).

⁸ It merits repeating that the provost is an accountant and the new director was focusing on metrics most useful in communicating the library’s institutional role.

The new library plan at University B focused around two major goals, one about enhancing the user experience and the other about increasing institutional effectiveness. Some of the library director's remarks related to this plan were as follows:

What we are doing is replacing the strategic plan [with one] built directly on the infrastructure, but measurable and budget-able. So what do we mean by that? We are saying that we will cap the collection at [X number of] print volumes, which means we are going to have to discard some print volumes, and by 2014, we expect to have half or it would be a third by that point. We will add or have [Y number of] electronic monographs here, the real way, not using the Internet archive. ... We can budget that. We are going to be able to measure it. Did we hit [X and Y numbers]? ... However, we also have to have staff to process [items] ... to acquire [items], so we are pulling all that together in a spreadsheet that will allow us to document all of that. ... What I am going to be able to do is put their salary information in here and eventually along with shipping and postage, supplies, travel, and that kind of thing, come to a total of how much it costs us. ... We've got to get to the point in which we can demonstrate our value that, first of all, we are efficient, and we know what we are doing.

The library director at University D offered this perspective:

We constantly have to remind ourselves and make sure that message is out there, why we are doing what we are doing, because that gives the rationale for a lot of decisions that have to be made in terms of consolidation, in terms of being good stewards ... working smarter. It is because we have constituents

that are expecting us to do these kinds of things and [we should] never lose sight of that. Our budget is X million. We must deliver X million of value to the university. We have no right to the money. If the university were to give us less money instead, that is up to the university. We have to earn that X million every year and every semester and every day. My goal is to deliver more than X million dollars worth of value to the university.

People

In the Simmons Leadership Model, the area of *people* involves “creating an organizational climate that values employees from all backgrounds and provides an energizing environment for them,” and includes “the leader’s responsibility to understand his or her impact on others and to improve his or her capabilities, as well as the capabilities of others” (Simmons College GSLIS, 2006, p. 2). The primary competencies are professionalism and team leadership. The secondary characteristics are human resources management, relationship building, self-confidence, and self-development. In this study, library administrators reported that they used team leadership and shared/participatory leadership as strategies. See Table 7.3 for definitions of the competencies in this area.

Table 7.3

Area of People, Simmons Leadership Model for the Information Professions

Competency	Definition
Professionalism (Primary)	The demonstration of (and commitment to) ethics, sound professional practices, social accountability, and community stewardship. The desire to act in a way that is consistent with one’s values and what one says is important.
Team Leadership (Primary)	Sees oneself as a leader of others, from forming a team that possesses balanced capabilities to setting its mission, values, and norms, as well as to holding the team members accountable individually and as a group for results,

	socialization, and professional development. Includes cross-cultural sensitivity and an ability to interact productively with different personality types. Also includes taking a personal interest in coaching and mentoring high-potential leaders.
Human Resources Management (Secondary)	The ability to implement employment practices that comply with legal and regulatory requirements, and to represent contemporary approaches to human resources policies.
Relationship Building (Secondary)	The ability to establish, build, and sustain professional contacts for the purpose of building networks of people with similar goals and that support similar interests.
Self-confidence (Secondary)	A belief in one's own capability to accomplish a task or select an effective approach to a task or problem. This includes confidence in one's ability as expressed in increasingly challenging circumstances and confidence in one's decisions or opinions. It also includes an ability to demonstrate emotional intelligence in regards to one's self and others.
Self-development (Secondary)	The ability to have an accurate view of one's own strengths and development needs, including the impact that one has on others. A willingness to engage in regular self-assessment and to regulate needs through self-directed learning and trying new approaches.

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Team leadership and shared/participatory leadership. All of the managerial leaders in the current study emphasized that teamwork, collaboration, and varying degrees of shared or participatory leadership were strategies to achieve optimum results in the libraries. Several leaders said these strategies were even more crucial to carry out during times of economic crisis. These aspects were highlighted more often in comments from participants at universities C and G, however, where unionized librarians and library staff members also exhibited more identification with the institution and the library, respectively, than they did with their unions.

As described by Blake and Mouton (1985) in the Managerial Grid model,⁹ the team-based approach is achieved when a leader attains high degrees of both task accomplishment and development of personal relationships in her or his organization. In a team-based environment, according to Blake and Mouton, work is accomplished by committed people who develop mutual trust and respect through working together on a shared vision, and shared goals and objectives. In the current study, participants at the case study sites described numerous opportunities they had to meet, discuss issues, and make decisions as part of teams in their organizations. For example, a unionized librarian in the focus group interview at University C said, “We work as a team. ... It helps us get a lot of things done. ... It is a team effort. If a person’s not there, the other person picks up the slack.”

In regard to shared or participatory leadership among administrators and faculty librarians, the assistant director of public services at University G said:

I really think that we have usually had collaboration between management and unionized librarians. Not much has changed [in this regard] because of the economic situation. We have a library faculty meeting once a month where we look at issues together. Hiring issues are voted on by the library faculty, but the director, of course, makes the final determination. I think it’s a way to make

⁹ The Managerial Grid model is a visual representation of the various ways to use authority in exercising leadership. Concern for production and concern for people are dimensions of the Grid, with “concern” indicating the character and strength of assumptions present behind any given leadership style. Depending upon the ratings indicated, managerial leaders might fall into five possible benchmark styles, including: authority-obedience (9,1), country club management (1,9), impoverished management (1,1), organization [man/woman] management (5,5), and team management (9,9). Team management is a “goal-centered, team approach that gains optimum results through participation, involvement, commitment, and conflict solving of everyone who can contribute” (Blake & Mouton, 1985, pp. 10-18).

everyone feel they are part of the decision making. But this doesn't have anything to do with the union situation.

The provost at University G broadened this collaborative concept to the larger institutional level, and said:

My sense is that faculty members have strong opinions, strong views. They are smart people. They are thoughtful people. They are well-educated. It is important to listen because they may be smarter than you so they may help you make a better decision, and my view is that, generally speaking, if they are given ample opportunity to give input and express their views, even if you make a contrary decision, they may disagree with it, but they will respect the decision because most people respect the authority or responsibility that you have.

Participants at universities C and G highlighted the importance of people first in most of their remarks and stressed the strategic benefits of professional and personal development for all employees, more so than participants at other sites. The associate director for information technology echoed this philosophy as it affected human resources management, explaining:

The library has a reputation of helping people with their careers. We try to develop people. Actually, it is interestingly effective and we get a lot of appreciative, hard-working people that way. ... There is always this idea, that to make a difference, you have to get some new blood from outside, but it's not necessarily true. There is plenty of talent right here that may not have had an opportunity. There is something to be said for people who have devoted 15 years of their life to this place and that they care about this place and they are

going to work hard for it. If we can develop whatever specialized skills required, we are going to have a good person there. ... I guess I believe leadership is helping the people you lead be successful.

The library administrators at University D expressed their beliefs that teamwork and shared or participatory leadership were critical for successful performance, but paradoxically, they also did not authorize the investigator to meet with unionized faculty and staff so there was no corroboration possible regarding these remarks. The associate director at University D said, for example:

You have to be sincere. To the degree that you can do that within the scope of your responsibilities, sometimes giving power away [to subordinates] is a much more potent way of getting power and of getting people to be persuaded that this is the right course. You have to realize, you look at the faces of those people ... they are all professionals. You can't have a top-down environment. It astounds sometimes the expectations of a new director or department head, suddenly the expectations [are] that they are going to have all this power vested in them. But the power that they have is the power to succeed and that power to succeed is only on the willing assent of those individuals.

Overall, the participants reported that the libraries' cultures seemed to embrace teamwork, collaboration, continuous improvement, and evaluation efforts, which matched well with the emergent leaders' people-focused statements about leadership. Managerial leaders in all of the cases reported an awareness of and a commitment to personal values. They expressed a belief in treating employees with professionalism and respect. When asked to describe important qualities for leaders of people, the common themes of honesty, fairness, credibility, optimism,

and the courage to make the right decisions were raised by both leaders and followers alike. As the associate director at University C stated, “I think a leader has to instill confidence in the staff and demonstrate to staff that they are valued, and I believe a good leader has to make sure that people have purpose and understand how they are connected to the university.”

Conclusion

There is a lack of evidence in this study to conclude that serving as an assigned leader in a unionized, fiscally stressed environment shapes an individual’s view of leadership in any particular way, or that it leads to an administrator’s understanding about the best strategies to use in these circumstances. However, the leaders in this study described their determination to achieve ever higher standards of excellence in their libraries’ services and resources, even when they were facing serious, long-term budgetary and staffing challenges. Their reported focus on the libraries’ staff and librarians as valued human beings, and their efforts to appeal to organizational members’ aspirations, values, and passion for the libraries were reminiscent of transformational leadership. Transformational leadership is “the process whereby a person engages with others and creates a connection that raises the level of motivation and morality in both the leader and the follower” (Northouse, 2013, p. 186). Although transformational leadership is often described in contrast to transactional leadership, which focuses on series of transactions or exchanges between leaders and followers in order to accomplish goals (Giesecke, 2007), Bass (1998) believed that the transformational and transactional lived on a single continuum (pp. 5-6). Given the practical realities of leading in unionized environments, this continuum seems to fit the case study sites as described, in which a foundation of transactional components related to human resources were addressed in formal contracts and where the

transformational components could then be stressed by leaders in strategic visioning and planning processes, and in everyday interactions and operations.

As Bass (1998) described it, leaders are critical to organizational success as they develop organizational norms, become role models, stress what is important, demonstrate how to handle challenges and crises, and attract other committed professionals and staff members to join them in their organizations. Perhaps the provost at University G said it best, when he shared the following points:

We could have a long exercise about what leadership is, but whether it is the president of the United States, the president of the university, or the president of the local Kiwanis club, it really does matter who is there, and how he or she leads the organization. It can change an institution, even a large and very complex institution in a relatively short period of time, because I think it affects people's morale when they feel they are being led by capable, honest, concise leaders. It makes them do their jobs better, it makes them feel more enthusiastic. I guess what I have to say is, leadership matters. Leadership is important.

Chapter 8 concludes the dissertation by drawing together the important themes and reiterating the value of the research. The investigator then reflects on the possible implications of the study's findings for unionized, fiscally stressed academic libraries, and recommends areas for further research, including, for instance, the further exploration of the Competing Values Framework (CVF) as a tool to study unionized environments in libraries; longitudinal and comparative studies of libraries threatened by or in actual organizational decline; examination of retrenchment and cutback management tactics in economically stressed libraries; union-

administration cooperation in libraries; and leadership and morale in chronically stressed, library environments.

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Chapter 8

SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

This study examined unionized academic libraries at the time of the economic recession of 2008-2009 and its aftermath, and explored, in general terms, the abilities of assigned leaders to transform their organizations. In the context of intensifying, almost daily national media attention on collective bargaining rights in public-sector higher education, the study provides an important overview of a topic that has been largely ignored by most research in the current literature of library and information science. As stated in Chapter 5, generalization of this study's findings to broader populations was not an aim, but generalization to theoretical propositions is a feature of this study's qualitative design and is carried out in the following sections. An inherent limitation of the study derives from the fact that interview participants were volunteers and formed only a small subset of the libraries' employees; therefore, the perspectives shared may not be representative of the larger population groups at each site. Where possible, the investigator tried to use documentary sources and corroborative statements of participants to confirm remarks. The perceptions of participants may not be objectively accurate, but they reflect the beliefs of those individuals who participated in the interviews.

The following sections provide a brief summary of the findings as they relate to the study's research objectives, along with the theoretical and practical implications of the study, and general conclusions about the value and insights gained regarding academic library leadership in unionized, fiscally stressed environments.

Summary of Findings

Institutional and Library Context

Primary Research Objective 1. This objective focused on the identification of “changes occurring in unionized academic libraries as a result of the economic crisis,” according to the perspectives of assigned leaders in the libraries. The investigator asked them to describe any changes in regard to the libraries’ political influence; budgets, resources, and staffing levels; organizational performance; and interactions between library administrators and unionized librarians/staff members.

Political changes. Associate and assistant directors of the libraries at two of the case study sites praised the abilities of the library directors to advocate for and safeguard the libraries from drastic financial damage, while their counterparts at the other two other case study sites reported that no changes had occurred politically, for either better or worse.

Changes in budgets, resources, and staffing levels. In an era of chronic fiscal stress for public-sector institutions of higher education and their libraries, the library administrators described the loss of funding through repeated permanent and one-time cuts to the libraries’ budgets, which then resulted in the loss of acquisitions buying power and librarian/staff positions, mainly through attrition and the loss of unfilled positions. None of the participants mentioned external fundraising or entrepreneurship as a strategy, or described any other alternative ways to generate revenue to recover these budgetary losses. The lack of focus on these issues in their comments may have been an oversight, because no research question probed directly into these areas; but the absence of attention was still an interesting finding, given the depressed state of public-sector financing. The participants noted instead that the library

directors had built successful records of obtaining one-time institutional investments, mostly to shore up acquisitions budgets, or to make improvements to facilities or technological resources.

All four institutions exhibited various degrees of retrenchment and cutback management, but results seemed to differ based on geographic location and size. Universities B and C fared the worst during and after the economic recession, and they were also the two sites with the smallest student populations, located in the same region of the United States, and they perceived the loss of stimulus funding as a devastating blow to their overall financial health. Universities D and G, the two sites with the largest student populations, are located in the same region of the United States, and they experienced fewer direct effects from the economic recession than the other two sites. Instead, they had received chronic budget reductions well before and after the recession, and perceived new cuts to be almost a matter of “business as usual.” They did not believe that these recent cuts provided evidence of a major financial shift.

Several participants at universities D and G expressed their concerns that dire cuts in the future could not be avoided if the economic recovery continued to falter and their states’ deficits did not improve. Participants at each of the four sites believed that the full effects of the recession, compounded by additional losses in the housing market, high unemployment, and lower tax revenues, would not be felt in their entirety until the next one to two years. All of the library administrators believed that the libraries’ budgets would be cut again in the next year.

Due to the elimination of positions, library administrators mentioned the need to make broad adjustments to their organizational structures and to individual positions. For example, library departments, teams, and individual employees were asked to handle new and multiple types of work, teams were merged, and existing positions were converted into new job classifications to accommodate growing and/or changing service needs. Library directors agreed

that protecting librarians and staff members from layoffs was a high priority for them, because they believed there was little to no chance that the libraries would retain the positions and/or obtain new positions in the future.

The loss of acquisitions buying power was addressed by greatly accelerating the shift from a focus on primarily owning print collections to primarily providing electronic access to scholarly content, and by obtaining highly relevant content in lieu of just-in-case purchases of materials. Various degrees of serials and database cancellations and reduced purchasing of monographs occurred.

Changes in performance levels. All of the participants believed that the libraries' performance levels were high, despite the economic challenges. At the time of the investigator's visits, participants at two case study sites (universities C and D) described efforts to gather input/output statistics, and conduct satisfaction and service-quality studies to measure performance, which they called "assessment," but upon closer examination, these efforts did not seem to include outcomes-based assessment that would address the institutional need for more accountability. Participants at the other two case study sites did not collect performance-related data regularly, and when they did, it rarely went beyond gathering input/output statistics.

Changes in interactions between library administrators and unionized librarians/staff. The participants believed that the economic downturn had resulted in no noticeable differences in the interactions between library administrators and unionized librarians/staff members. Except for University B, participants described interpersonal relationships as mostly collegial, team-based, and bearing the hallmarks of shared or participatory leadership, but they believed that these modes of behavior had nothing to do with fiscal adversity or unionization. Participants at universities B and D attributed some adversarial characteristics of their interactions and the

union-based identification of some faculty librarians, to the legacy of unionization rather than to any recent changes in fiscal conditions.

Primary Research Objective 2. This objective examined the “perceptions that university administrators have about the changes occurring in academic libraries as a result of the economic crisis, and the effects of unionization on assigned leaders’ attempts to handle the crisis.” The investigator asked university administrators (i.e., provosts and vice provosts) to describe the changes that were occurring, and to address the ways that unionization helps and/or hinders library administrators during difficult financial situations.

Changes occurring in the libraries. All of the provosts and vice provosts seemed well aware of the libraries’ overarching staffing and budgeting challenges, but none seemed optimistic in regard to their abilities to increase the libraries’ base budgets and staffing levels in the near or distant future. In fact, the university administrators at three of the case study sites voiced grave concerns about the universities’ abilities to meet broad, institutional needs over the next several years.

The provost at University G and the vice provost at University D seemed well versed in library-related issues, and made references to the arguably exorbitant pricing models of some publishers (e.g., one administrator used the term “price gouging” to describe the situation). They acknowledged the inflationary pressures on the libraries’ acquisitions budgets and the shift in emphasis from ownership of collections to online access to scholarly content. The same two provosts described the impact of new information technologies on the libraries in regard to the need for skilled technologists, “better educated, more sophisticated” librarians, and more computing equipment and systems. The provosts at universities B and G, and the vice provost at University C acknowledged that the loss of library positions had resulted in heavier workloads

for remaining librarians and library staff members, and they perceived that keeping employees' morale and commitment levels high in these circumstances would be a difficult challenge for the libraries' leaders.

All of the university administrators asserted that the libraries' performance levels had remained high, despite the trying circumstances in which they were operating. However, only one administrator, the vice provost at University C, indicated that her positive perceptions about the libraries were based on data (i.e., the consistently positive ratings that the libraries had garnered in that institution's annual exit surveys of undergraduate students).

Ways that unionization helps or hinders library administrators. The provosts and vice provosts believed that unionism brought both positive and negative effects to the institutions and the libraries. The negative effects were said to include less managerial flexibility especially in regard to human resources issues and more overall bureaucracy, which caused delays in the planning and implementation of organizational changes. At University D, the vice provost noted that the union-related concept of "communities of interest" caused problems for the libraries when groups of librarians who performed many of the same functions were thought to be in different communities of interest only because some of them provided services and instruction for traditional courses, and some of them carried out these same services and instruction for online courses. All of the university administrators believed that the negative effects of unionization were amplified in times of economic crisis, because this was when administrators needed to increase efficiencies, cut costs, and otherwise act quickly and decisively in an era where the total resources available for all needs were shrinking.

The positive effects were said to include the standardization of many human resources issues and decisions in a process that might be less fair if checks and balances against

“overzealous” administrative power were nonexistent. Several of the administrators noted that the positive effects of unionization also paradoxically became negative effects depending upon the situation. For example, they each noted that the standardization of some human resources policies and procedures saved time and effort, but this standardization hindered administrators’ abilities to issue merit-based pay increases and made it more difficult to address the substandard performance of some employees. Two of the administrators believed that having third parties involved in negotiations and grievances helped to ensure fairness, but that these third parties also served as unfortunate filters that constrained administrators’ abilities to communicate and work directly with employees on many important issues.

At University C, the vice provost was the only administrator to assert that collective bargaining served as a form of shared governance, whereas the university administrators at the other case study sites noted the differences between shared governance and unionism. In their view, shared governance brought administrators and faculty together to address institutional issues and problems, and unionization necessitated an approach where administrators and faculty were placed into adversarial roles. At universities B, D, and G, the university and library administrators named as a downside to unionization the tendency for some unionized personnel to identify more strongly with their unions than with their institutions, their functional units, or their positional roles.

Union Context

Primary Research Objective 3. This objective identified “the benefits and constraints that library administrators encounter as a result of working within unionized contexts during economic recessions,” according to the perspectives of library administrators. The investigator asked them to describe their involvement in collective bargaining, and their level of shared

governance with librarians/staff members. She also asked them to consider the effects of unionization on their abilities to make decisions related to budgets, human resources, and organizational structures. Their answers provided insights about the ways in which unionization might be affecting the libraries' organizational values.

Involvement in collective bargaining. Only two library administrators (at universities C and D) reported that they had served on institutional negotiating teams, but the involvement was sporadic and infrequent. Instead, they and other administrators noted that their influence in collective bargaining matters was expressed mostly through informal means. While some administrators described the informal means as adequate with which to protect the libraries' interests in negotiations, other administrators decried their lack of formal involvement in collective bargaining and asserted that the libraries' needs had been overlooked in recent collective bargaining agreements.

Benefits and constraints of unionization. All of the library administrators reported that they used their full administrative decision-making power most of the time in regard to controlling budgets and operational matters. They perceived that unionization and the stipulations in collective bargaining agreements (CBA) forced them to plan and implement changes more carefully and that this sometimes impeded and delayed their change initiatives, but had never stopped them from implementing the changes altogether.

In many ways, library administrators held viewpoints that were identical to the ones expressed by university administrators in regard to the benefits and constraints of unionization on the managerial function (i.e., less flexibility especially in regard to human resources issues and more overall bureaucracy), but they tended to be more optimistic than the university administrators. They did not think that fiscal adversity held the potential to damage their

relationships with unionized personnel or to damage the performance levels of libraries substantially. All of the library administrators agreed that any negative effects of unionization (which they said were limited mainly to delays and human resource management constraints) were amplified in times of economic crisis, but two of the library directors noted that the backdrop of fiscal scarcity had made it easier for them to carry out their change initiatives. The sense of *crisis* conveyed urgency to librarians and staff members, and the library administrators encountered less employee resistance as a result.

Similar to the university administrators' views, the library administrators described the positive effects of unionization to be the standardization of some human resources policies and procedures, but paradoxically, this standardization was also described as an undue constraint on their managerial functions. Other operational pitfalls of unionization were included in their remarks versus those of university administrators, such as the threat of losing newer employees due to *bumping* procedures if layoffs occurred, the greater need to *pick one's battles* in the time- and energy-consuming task of disciplinary actions against unionized employees, the inability to issue merit pay, and the inability to offer higher salaries to outstanding job candidates because of controlled pay ranges for certain positions. These human resources-related constraints seemed to cause the library administrators more frustration than any other problems or constraints they mentioned. All of them agreed that the unions in place had not contested any technological changes in the libraries, so long as union-protected jobs were protected.

Impact on shared governance. An examination of the librarian-related collective bargaining agreements (CBAs) revealed that all of the CBAs contained management rights clauses, but the existence of these clauses did not correspond with any observed themes or patterns related to managerial leadership at the case study sites. The CBAs reflected union

advancement in the area of faculty appointments, but none of the CBAs contained articles on long-range planning and/or retrenchment, which both Chandler and Julius (1985), and Williams and Zirkel (1988) believed indicated encroachment on areas typically reserved for management. All of the participants expressed their beliefs that the libraries' typical practices incorporated the principles of shared governance, team leadership, shared leadership, and/or participatory leadership, but they perceived these practices to have been put into place voluntarily by library administrators, regardless of the unionized environment.

Impact on organizational values. Participants experienced unionization's influence on organizational values in ways that corresponded with the focus, structural, and means/ends dimensions of the Competing Values Framework (CVF) of Quinn and Rohrbaugh (1983) (see Table 5.1). As viewed through the lens of the CVF, unionization seemed to be associated with the organizational values of stability and control, over flexibility and adaptability. Formal contract negotiations, ratifications, grievances, and arbitration reflected a shift in emphasis toward internal processes, more so than they reflected a focus on external results, such as organizational growth and resource acquisitions. The leaders' attempts to improve the organizations' adaptability and flexibility through collaborative strategic visioning and planning, team leadership, shared or participatory leadership, organizational restructuring, redesigning of positions, and more risk taking with new or enhanced services, might be viewed as countermeasures against a union-related shift toward more internal focus, stability, and control.

Leadership Context

Primary Research Objective 4. This objective identified the "strategies for handling change in unionized, financially stressed environments," in very general terms, according to the perspectives of assigned leaders in the libraries. The investigator asked them to consider the

managerial leadership strategies they used, the strategies they found to be most effective, and whether the economic crisis had caused them to change any of their strategies, plans, allocation decisions, organizational structures, and communication methods or messages. However, she did not explore or observe whether the leadership styles or strategies mentioned by the participants were actually being used by administrators at the case study sites or were unique to the unionized environment.

Managerial leadership strategies. The library administrators described strategies for organizational change that fell into the areas of transformation, accomplishment, and people within the framework of the Simmons Leadership Model for the Information Professions (Simmons College, Graduate School of Library and Information Science (GSLIS), 2006). However, no research questions probed into the strategies and the investigator did not use narrative inquiry¹ to examine those strategies in any depth. The leaders reported that they used strategic visioning and planning, effective communication and transparency, team leadership, and shared/participatory leadership as organizational change strategies. Their comments indicated they were strong in community orientation, innovative thinking, library and information science (LIS) domain knowledge, organizational awareness, change leadership, and performance measurement. Notably, the need for institutional accountability seemed to be weakly presented in most of the participants' comments, because assessment as a concept was mentioned mostly in the context of internal performance measures intended to improve services,

¹ A form of qualitative research methodology, narrative inquiry is the study of stories or descriptions about events as lived and told by subjects, with an underlying assumption that the story represents the foundational unit of human experience (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). Differentiating narrative inquiry from positivist research methods are its relational, subjective, and interpretative stance; its use of words as data rather than numbers; its value of the local and particular instead of the general; and its acceptance that there are multiple ways of knowing beyond the establishment of facts (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007, pp. 3-34).

not outcomes-based measures. One case study site, for example, had a well developed “assessment plan” in place, but this plan contained mostly internal service measures, not those connected with student outcomes or student learning outcomes that would meet demands for institutional accountability.

Adjustments in strategies and communication methods or messages as a result of fiscal difficulties. Participants reported that adjustments in the libraries’ vision and mission statements (to keep them aspirational, but not “pie in the sky” as one library director described them), and reprioritization of initiatives in strategic plans were critical to make during economic downturns, in order to enable the libraries to move steadily, if more slowly, toward meeting realistic goals and objectives. They emphasized that innovative thinking, paired with resourcefulness, helped their organizations adapt to having less funding and reduced staffing levels. Several leaders said that using team leadership and shared or participatory leadership as strategies, and focusing on increasing communication and transparency were more crucial to achieve during times of economic crisis. The library directors agreed that protecting librarian and staff positions from layoffs was a high-priority strategy that they used to protect the libraries’ service and instructional capacity.

Evaluation of change initiatives. The participants focused mainly on performance measures, such as input/output statistics, and surveys related to users’ perceptions about satisfaction or service quality, when they responded to this question about the evaluation of their change initiatives. Most likely, change initiatives were probably not being evaluated or assessed at the case study sites, and no documentary evidence examined contradicted this conclusion.

Assigned and emergent leaders. Despite the monumental fiscal and staffing challenges they face in this difficult era of public education defunding, assigned leaders at these four large,

public academic libraries seemed to be *emergent leaders*, based on the descriptions of their strategies and actions. Emergent leaders, according to Northouse (2013), are those individuals who, regardless of the particular positions they hold, are perceived by others to be the most influential people in their organizations over time – a phenomenon that occurs through the individuals’ use of successful communication strategies and behaviors. In this study, the emergent leaders also acted as managerial leaders (i.e., leaders who are influencing others, creating visions for constructive change, and developing mutual purposes, while at the same, serving as managers involved in the effective planning, organizing, staffing and controlling of their organizations). These emergent/managerial leaders seem to be actively attempting to change the libraries so that they can move forward with new and revitalized services. Thus, the library administrators at these case study sites were assigned leaders in some contexts when their emergent leadership was not evident, such as in the case of the missing emphasis on assessment of student outcomes and student learning outcomes, and they were emergent/managerial leaders in many other situations where their influence seemed to be evident and acknowledged by others. It seemed that the library administrators embodied these leadership concepts in ways that were not mutually exclusive.

Librarian/Library Staff Context

Secondary Research Objective. This objective identified the “perceptions that librarians/staff members have about the changes occurring in academic libraries, and the effects of unionization on assigned leaders’ attempts to handle the economic crisis.” The investigator asked unionized librarians and staff members to describe any changes occurring, and to consider how unionization helps or hinders the abilities of library administrators during difficult financial situations.

All of the unionized employees acknowledged that the libraries were undergoing difficult economic and staffing challenges, most of which, according to them, had resulted in increases in the workloads of current employees. None of them perceived that unionization had any negative effects on library administrators. Instead, most of them viewed unionization to have brought benefits to them personally as employees. One participant believed that unionization resulted in the benefit of improved relationships with management, and another mentioned the positive role that the union played in slowing down any radical changes management might want to implement, which she deemed to be only a positive effect for all considered. Only one long-term unionized librarian at University B and one long-term staff member at University G expounded on the historical reasons for unionization at the institutions and the libraries. The staff member from University G attributed any adversarial components of the relationships between administrators and faculty to earlier, union-related conflicts. The librarian at University B blamed the existing “us versus them” nature of current relationships on the difficult contract negotiations and impasse process that had just occurred prior to the investigator’s visit.

The participants described the ideal attributes of library leaders as demonstrating honesty, openness, vision, creativity, respect, and trust, which seem to be characteristics that are desirable in leaders in any environment, unionized or not. At University C, where leaders focused on establishing shared and participatory leadership more so than was evident at other sites, the librarians and staff felt the leaders genuinely cared about them.

Implications of the Study and Future Research Needs

This study aimed to fill a gap in the literature of library and information science by addressing the changes occurring in unionized libraries situated in fiscally stressed environments; and exploring if (and how) administrators try to ensure that strategic or

operational changes still occur as needed. The study asked broadly: What types of leadership strategies do the libraries' leaders use to bring about change, and which do they consider most effective? Do they perceive unionization as aiding them in coping with the recession? If yes, in what ways? If not, why not?

The explicit answers to these questions would seem to be relatively straightforward, based on the summary of findings provided at the start of this chapter. However, many of the responses from the leaders were perplexing because of the inconsistencies they presented. For example, out of a total of 17 leaders interviewed, 13 of them stressed that they considered it a paramount duty to "honor the contract," with several pointing out that they consulted the collective bargaining agreements regularly whenever personnel or organizational-change issues arose. Yet, they also noted that other administrators heavily controlled the negotiation and administration of these contracts, and they acknowledged that library administrators rarely had opportunities to provide formal input into those processes. If the CBAs loomed so substantially in the library administrators' interactions with unionized personnel, might it not be detrimental if the libraries' personnel needs were not addressed in a direct, sustained way during negotiation and administration of the CBAs, as some library administrators reported? If the CBAs were the "bibles" for many types of transactions between administrators and followers, might not the lack of direct control over the "bibles" indicate an associated lack of control over the transactions?

In other examples, all but one administrator dismissed the likelihood of any substantial constraints, other than delays, on managerial functions when it came to redesigning jobs, reassigning work, and restructuring the libraries, yet some of these same leaders subsequently described long-standing problems in the libraries' organizational cultures, structures, and job classifications that they attributed to the legacy of unionization. Some described frustration at not

being able to offer the salaries they needed to attract top candidates to their libraries, and all mentioned the frustration of not being able to give merit pay raises to high-performing employees. If there were mere CBA-related delays affecting the managerial leaders, might not the administrators at University D, for example, have acted to resolve long-standing structural redundancies by this date? Might not the delays encountered in reshaping the mix of skills and expertise of their staff or the inability to offer higher salaries to top candidates, or to reward high-performing employees, be affecting the libraries' performance levels?

Leaders at universities B and D acknowledged adversarial "us versus them" relationships between some administrators and librarians, among some faculty librarians, and among some unionized librarians and non-unionized librarians and staff members, but they regarded these as unfortunate legacy effects from the original unionization movements at the institutions. In their comments, they minimized the possibilities that the combination of unionization and fiscal stress might also affect relationships and reactions in the libraries now and over the next few years, as new change initiatives moved forward and if fiscal conditions worsened as anticipated.

The investigator proposes several possible explanations for these and other inconsistent responses, along with implications of the study and recommendations for further research, in the sections that follow.

Unionization as a Controversial or Sensitive Topic

The investigator recalls the initial reluctance that several library directors expressed about allowing the study to take place at their sites. Out of eight libraries in the unionized subject population, only four library directors agreed to participate in the study, with two of them doing so only after voicing reluctance and with one of them relenting only if none of the unionized staff or librarians were involved. Two of the four library directors who opted not to participate

gave as the reason for their negative responses the sensitivities of ongoing or imminent contract negotiations. Two other library directors expressed interest initially, but then did not confirm a date for the site visits, despite several follow-up requests.

There seemed to be an institutional and professional assumption that union matters were controversial, sensitive matters, not to be discussed openly with others, sometimes even internally. There also seemed to be a desire to avoid revealing union-related dynamics to outsiders. Because of this, even when the library administrators agreed to participate in the study and were assured of anonymity, they might have responded intentionally or unintentionally in a more circumspect manner than they would have done if the study were focused on a less sensitive topic. For all of these reasons, unionization was a particularly difficult topic to address in this study and presumably will continue to be so in future studies. The rates of participant recruitment versus refusal, however, might be improved if the recommendations found in the literatures of other disciplines were followed. For example, Records and Rice (2006) increased participant recruitment rates for a study of abuse during pregnancy by using Dillman's (1978) recruitment methods, which are based on the premises of Social Exchange Theory and use relationship building, tokens of appreciation, and research designs that minimize costs (time and effort) and maximize rewards for participants, to earn the trust of potential participants so that they will be more likely to participate in studies of sensitive topics.

Perceived Levels of Control and Instrumentality

A second explanation for the inconsistent responses could relate to the leaders' coping styles, which are the psychological processes that affect individuals' beliefs about their levels of personal control in stressful situations. According to Lazarus and Folkman (1984), coping is expressed through attempts to control stressful situations, "whether by altering the environment,

changing the meaning of the situation, and/or managing one's emotions and behaviors" (p. 170). The leaders' belief in a greater level of personal control over the unionized library environment might be a form of coping related to secondary control beliefs, such as *illusory control*, in which the person aligns with the forces of chance to share in the control exerted by those powerful forces; *vicarious control*, achieved by associating with powerful others; and *interpretive control*, the ability to interpret events so as to better understand them" (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 171).

The perceptions about high levels of personal control might also relate to the theory of instrumentality. Pertinent to understanding work motivation and role attraction, instrumentality is defined by Graen (1969) as the "degree of belief that the attainment of a particular work role will be followed by the attainment of one or more role outcomes" (p. 3). Put simply, this could translate into a leader's belief that, once attaining a library directorship, she or he will be able to "make a difference" in the libraries and achieve the transformational outcomes now expected of effective library leaders. Would perceptions of higher levels of instrumentality motivate a leader to minimize the impact of any negative forces, including the constraints brought by unionization? As another example, would perceptions of lower levels of instrumentality in situations related to external fundraising and entrepreneurship affect a leader's motivation to engage in those activities? Investigation of the leaders' perceived levels of control and instrumentality would be fascinating areas of further research, not only in relation to unionized environments but also in relation to leading libraries in economically austere situations.

Unionized Environments as Inherited Legacies

All of the library administrators in the current study inherited the unionized environments at their institutions. Because of this, the investigator proposes that many of the contextual

variables that may have precipitated unionization and any resulting effects of unionization might be less obvious to the administrators in this study when those attributes had already become accepted parts of the organizational landscape, especially at three of the sites where unionization had been in place for several decades. The assigned leaders at universities B and D attributed some detrimental effects to the legacy of unionization (e.g., the exclusion of administrators from operational/functional meetings held by library faculty (University B)), and the redundant teams and functions that were in place to separate bargaining unit librarians and non-bargaining unit librarians (University D). But beyond a few obvious legacy problems, time delays, and some personnel-related constraints, all but the library director at University B believed that unionization had little power to affect their workplaces in the present moment. A comparative study probing organizational change initiatives in both unionized and nonunionized libraries, for example, might begin to reveal the precise differences in characteristics and change processes that would be evident in both environments.

Lack of Research on Unionization in Libraries

A third explanation for the inconsistent responses revolves around the fact that the topic of unionization has been absent from most recent discussions in the library profession, and has been rarely addressed in research studies as a phenomenon at the organizational level of analysis in the literature of library and information science. Other than a spate of decades-old anecdotal or speculative articles, there have not been many research studies conducted to examine unionization's overall impact on academic libraries, and fewer still on assigned leaders in unionized environments, and on unionized library staff members. Most of the extant studies have addressed narrow or single-issue aspects of librarianship in unionized contexts. Perhaps

contributing to the void, there are few research tools or datasets in existence with which to aid in identification and study of unionized academic libraries.²

This lack of attention on unionization in the library profession might cause erroneous assumptions about the impact of unionization on organizational leaders, followers, cultures, values, and effectiveness in libraries. Rather than being considered a “non-issue,” as one participant in the current study described the topic, the library profession should recognize that unionization is a complex social and organizational phenomenon affecting many library workplaces, and that these libraries might be well served by examining how unionization has been considered in the literatures of higher education, organizational sciences, psychology, business administration and management, and public administration. These other disciplines offer a range of theories and models that could be used to analyze unionized libraries. Studies investigating the application of these theories or models to libraries might provide library administrators with new insights about the contexts in which they are operating, so they can be better informed when they lead and manage in these environments.

Need for Comparative Studies

Some of the findings of this study, particularly those related to leadership strategies when faced with organizational decline and economic stress, may be germane to nonunionized libraries as well. However, as an exploratory, qualitative study, this dissertation did not compare

² The *Directory of Faculty Contracts and Bargaining Agents in Institutions of Higher Education*, produced by the National Center for the Study of Collective Bargaining in Higher Education and the Professions (2006), contains information about academic library unionization, but only when the librarians in that particular institution are included in the institution’s faculty bargaining unit, whether or not the librarians are actually classified as faculty. The Association of Research Libraries (ARL) has published reports about unionization, but typically these reports only include data about ARL members. To the investigator’s knowledge, there are no comprehensive data sources available that would help to identify, quantify, and track the different types of bargaining agents and bargaining units in academic libraries across the United States.

unionized libraries with nonunionized libraries. It also did not attempt to discover the different ways that unionization might be experienced by academic libraries of varying sizes and characteristics. Conducting comparative studies of this type would be challenging, because as described in Chapter 5, “it is difficult to isolate the effects of employee unionism from the consequences of other intellectual, political, economic, and social forces that have transformed the academy” (Julius, 2006, p. 197). Yet, at the same time, a comparative study of unionized and nonunionized libraries that are greatly similar in most other respects might provide some foundational insights about differences between unionized and non-unionized libraries, and important revelations might be gained by examining the effects of unionization as experienced by dissimilar institutions. The same might be true of a study examining the differences between unionized public-sector libraries versus private-sector libraries. Considerable effort would have to focus on finding these comparable case study sites.

The current study has proposed that unionized environments may be strengthening the managerial leadership abilities of administrators, as it seems to cultivate within them a high level of determination and adaptability. In order to verify this supposition, a comparative study could examine directly the leader’s skills and strategies, focusing on whether or not serving in a unionized environment seems to be associated with enhanced abilities and strategies, according to the perspectives of librarians and staff members in the libraries. Complicating matters, a number of variables would have to be controlled and the leaders would have to be matched on certain criteria.

Need for Longitudinal Studies

Using a quantitative research design, Cameron (1985) studied unionized institutions of higher education and determined that “institutional effectiveness appears to lead to the formation

of unions and that, over time, unionism does not have a positive influence on an institution's effectiveness" (p. 404). He theorized that the cause of unionism was mainly related to the lower abilities of unionized institutions to acquire resources from the external environment, and he believed that unionization was more likely to occur in institutions where the disciplinary and academic communities were weak.

In Chapter 5, the investigator cautioned against the use of broad, snapshot data to arrive at conclusions that were deemed generalizable to larger populations in academic libraries, because without understanding the original state of the organizations and the causes for the original union certification, it would be almost impossible to isolate the actual impact of unionization on the libraries and derive a conclusion that would not be dependent upon contextual variables. However, a longitudinal study of academic libraries might begin to reveal whether unionization is associated with marked changes in the libraries' leadership, cultures, shared governance, values, and effectiveness over time. Such a study might provide enough theoretical insights with which to help build a model to test the effectiveness of libraries in different contexts.

Need for Single-Case Studies

Qualitative case studies are not intended to generalize findings to broader populations, but they are useful for developing descriptive narratives and for generating theoretical insights, models, and constructs, which can later be tested in controlled, hypothesis-testing research. There are debates in the literature of management and other disciplines about whether using a single-case (one context) or multiple-case (many contexts) approach is more effective in theory generation. Dyer and Wilkins (1991) argued that, despite the opposite claims of some scholars (e.g., see Eisenhardt, 1989), the utility of an in-depth, single-case study in classic research has

led to “some of the more important studies that have advanced the knowledge of organizations and social systems” (p. 614), and remains an effective method by which to arrive at better theory through deeper understandings of cases. In other words, there is a paradox: The “more contexts a researcher investigates, the less contextual insight he or she can communicate” (Dyer & Wilkins, 1991, p. 614). Benefits of using a single-case approach, compared to a multi-case approach, were described by Dyer and Wilkins (1991), in this way:

Theory that is born of [single-case studies] will be both more accurate and more appropriately tentative because the researcher must take into account the intricacies and qualifications of a particular context Those who would attempt to use [comparative, multi-case studies] are necessarily constrained by the number of cases that will be studied, and descriptions will be rather ‘thin,’ focusing on surface data rather than deeper social dynamics. Although such studies can provide certain flashes of insight and can raise important issues and questions, they tend to neglect the more tacit and less obvious aspects of the setting under investigation. They are more likely to provide a rather distorted picture or no picture at all of the underlying dynamics of the case. (p. 615)

The investigator argues that this dissertation has led to some findings and questions that could be explored more effectively through the use of in-depth, single-case studies. For example, the insights gained about unionization as a possible exacerbation of organizational identity problems, that is, “caste systems” or “tribalism” among different types of employees, could be used to design a single-case study in which the investigator looks for identity patterns that are occurring within one institutional context, rather than among a variety of contexts. A study of organizational identities and interpersonal relationships at one site, among unionized librarians

with unionized library staff members, nonunionized library employees with unionized employees, and unionized librarians with other university employees within the same bargaining unit, might be instructive to gain theoretical understandings about unionization's effects on interpersonal relationships and organizational identities in libraries.

Leadership Attributes and Strategies

Chapter 7 summarizes the library administrators' general definitions of leadership. Their strategies for leading and managing organizational change in unionized, fiscally stressed environments were also discussed, and revealed an intriguing array of attributes related to the constructs of transformational, managerial, and appreciative leadership. Yet, in this dissertation, leadership attributes and approaches were not probed in any depth. A follow-up study with the same library directors would provide an opportunity to examine the relevance of these constructs. The methodology of narrative inquiry might be applied to study how the directors use these attributes and strategies, and whether some were perceived to be more successful than others in unionized environments. The methodology might also be applied to address questions such as:

- Was the library director's emphasis on people over planning, vision, and structure successful at University G?
- Was the consensus-building approach at University C successful?
- Were the shared and participatory leadership approaches at University D effective?
- Was the application of situational leadership helpful to the library director at University B?

- Were the highly developed vision statements and strategic plans at universities C and D effective as tools used by library directors to transform their organizations?

Additionally, two other leadership models would be interesting to explore in regard to their application in unionized environments. Although not mentioned explicitly by the participants, *everyday leadership* and *authentic leadership* were concepts that could hold possible relevance for the leadership of unionized academic libraries in this study. Everyday leadership is conceptualized as a sense-making and event-driven process consisting of “interpretations, constant adjustments, and formulations of temporary solutions” as one carries out daily managerial tasks and functions (Holmberg & Tyrstrup, 2010, p. 353). Contrary to notions that try to define neatly the differences between leaders and managers, Holmberg and Tyrstrup (2010) argued that, in practical experiences, leadership emerges in the context of everyday events, through a “far more complicated interplay between current activities, historical events, expectations, and the perceived need to exercise leadership” (p. 356). Its most distinctive characteristics are that it is “triggered by unexpected occurrences,” “develops as a reaction to some urgent situation,” and “leads to firm actions” that become the exercise of leadership (Holmberg & Tyrstrup, 2010, pp. 368-369). Authentic leadership, according to Northouse (2013), focuses on “whether leadership is genuine and ‘real,’” and is a complex process encompassing three perspectives: the *intrapersonal*, which “incorporates the leader’s self-knowledge, self-regulation, and self-concept”; the *interpersonal*, which is relational and reciprocal, and comes from the “interactions between leaders and followers”; and the *developmental*, which holds that authentic leadership is “something that can be nurtured in a leader, rather than as a fixed trait” (pp. 253-255).

Effectiveness of Leadership Strategies

The findings of this study suggest that more reliance on team leadership, shared or participatory leadership approaches, better communication and transparency, diligent strategic visioning and planning, and a strong focus on human resources management may result in improved organizational cultures, identities, and effectiveness in unionized, economically stressed libraries. All of them merit examination, perhaps using methods not based on self-reporting. Although the investigator observed what she believed to be better relationships between administrators and librarians/staff and more anecdotal evidence of transformational change at universities C and G, this qualitative study was designed only to explore what the administrators perceived to be the most effective strategies, not to evaluate the actual effectiveness of these strategies. Therefore, further research which operationalizes “effectiveness” in a way that could be standardized across these libraries would be valuable as a first step. Then, additional studies could use these standards as a framework to evaluate the effectiveness of these particular leadership approaches over time compared to other approaches.

Intersection of Leadership, Unionization, and Economic Stress

The interrelationships among the phenomena related to leadership, unionization, and economic stress in this study led to many insights. Leaders reported that adjustments in the libraries’ vision statements (to keep them aspirational, but not “pie in the sky” as one library director described them), and revision and reprioritization of initiatives in strategic plans were critical to make during economic downturns. They emphasized that innovative thinking, paired with resourcefulness, helped the libraries adapt to having less funding and reduced staffing levels. They did not think that fiscal adversity held the potential to damage their relationships with unionized personnel or to damage the libraries’ performance levels substantially, but that

the steady decrements in staffing, over time, might continue to have a negative impact on employee morale and commitment.

University and library administrators believed that the negative effects of unionization were amplified in times of economic crisis, because this was when they needed to increase efficiencies, cut costs, and otherwise act quickly and decisively in an era where the total resources available for all needs was shrinking, but the library administrators tended to be more optimistic than university administrators about their abilities to overcome union-related challenges. They perceived that unionization and the stipulations in collective bargaining agreements (CBA) forced them to plan and implement changes more carefully and that this sometimes impeded and delayed their change initiatives, but this had never stopped them from implementing the changes altogether. Two of the library directors noted that the backdrop of fiscal scarcity had made it easier for them to carry out their change initiatives. The sense of *crisis* conveyed urgency to librarians and staff members, and the library administrators encountered less employee resistance as a result.

The positive effects of unionization were said to include the standardization of many human resource-related matters, related to salary ranges, pay raises, and disciplinary actions, among others, that might be less fair if checks and balances against “overzealous” administrative power were nonexistent, but several of the administrators noted that the positive effects of unionization also paradoxically became negative effects depending upon the situation. For example, they each noted that the standardization of some human resources policies and procedures saved time and effort, but this standardization hindered administrators’ abilities to issue merit-based pay increases and made it more difficult to address the substandard performance of some employees. Two of the administrators believed that having third parties

involved in negotiations and grievances helped to ensure fairness, but that these third parties also served as unfortunate filters that constrained administrators' abilities to communicate and work directly with employees on many important issues. Administrators named as a downside to unionization the tendency for unionized personnel to identify more strongly with their unions than with their institutions, their functional units, or their positional roles. The leaders' attempts to improve the organizations' adaptability and flexibility through collaborative strategic visioning and planning, team leadership, shared or participatory leadership, organizational restructuring, redesigning of positions, and more risk taking with new or enhanced services, might be viewed as countermeasures against a union-related shift toward more internal focus, stability, and control.

A follow-up study at the case study sites could examine more thoroughly the ways that the economy, unionism, and library and leadership phenomena interrelate and impinge on each other. The study could analyze specific examples of techniques leaders were using to mitigate the negative effects of unions on organizational flexibility, and could address questions such as: Where specifically were noticeable delays in planned changes and restructuring encountered? What were the details involved in the countermeasures used by leaders to work around the negative effects of unionization? Not only would the answers enhance the library profession's understanding about managerial leadership generally, they would also help to expand the conversation about best practices to use in these environments.

Education of Academic Library Leaders

The paucity of research on unionization in the literature of library and information science suggests that the topic of working, leading, and managing in unionized environments has also not been addressed adequately in graduate library programs and leadership development

institutes for librarians in the United States. Anecdotally, the investigator points out that this topic was not addressed in the courses she took in library school in the mid-1990s, even though one of those courses dealt specifically with academic library administration and unionization had been proliferating in libraries for more than two decades by that point. It was also not broached in a national, higher-education leadership institute completed by the investigator in 2005. A study of 48 graduate library programs accredited by the American Library Association (ALA), conducted by Mackenzie and Smith in 2009, demonstrated that only 43.8 percent of the programs required management-related courses. A subsequent phase of the same study revealed that, of the 24 program syllabi reviewed, only 58.3 percent of the management courses included human resource management, and only 54.2 percent included strategy, planning, and process. With these surprisingly low statistics for coverage of broader management issues, the investigator speculates that the narrower topics of labor relations and management in unionized environments are probably not included in these offerings. Yet, as described in Chapter 1, unionization might be affecting approximately 34 percent of public and academic libraries, according to the statistics gleaned from a 2005 report based on the *Survey of Librarian Salaries* (American Library Association, Allied Professional Association, 2006). Schmidt (2012) also reported on a recent study by the National Center for the Study of Collective Bargaining in Higher Education and the Professions that showed “14 percent more college faculty members, or nearly 50,000, belong to recognized collective-bargaining units than was the case in 2006, when the report’s most recent previous version was published” (n.p.). As unionization numbers continue to grow in higher education, these rates also have the potential to continue increasing in academic libraries. For these reasons alone, it would seem an unfortunate, if not detrimental,

oversight not to address the topic of unionization and labor relations in educational programs and institutes for library leaders.

Additionally, in Chapter 5, the observation was made that operating within a unionized environment called for a strong management function, because managerial leaders of unionized libraries must be able to defend their actions as fair, reasonable, and contractually allowable if a grievance is made and moves to arbitration. An Association of Research Libraries (ARL) (1973) report noted that managing in unionized environments will “require more time than before and will require considerably more attention” (p. 3). Slichter, Healy, and Livernash (1960) asserted that unionization had created “superior and better balanced management, even though some exceptions must be recognized (p. 951), and that specialized management knowledge and experience were needed to administer the contract and handle the complexities of a union environment. Freeman and Medoff (1984) pointed out that good managers can substitute improved planning for the loss of flexibility introduced as a result of unionization, the loss of which many administrators in the current study mentioned as one of the disadvantages of unionization. In the current study, more of the leaders’ time and attention were needed for planning and managing in nonunionized environments, based on their recollections about their own personal experiences in both types of environments.

With the need for specialized management knowledge and experience, the topic of unionization should be incorporated into graduate library program curricula and into the leadership development initiatives and institutions for current and future library leaders, if it is not included already. To begin investigating this issue, a study of library and information science programs and leadership development initiatives and institutes in the United States could be conducted to ascertain if the lack of studies on unionization in the disciplinary literature

translates into a gap in the education of current and future library leaders as well. If such a gap exists, this could indicate a need to enhance educational efforts to include the areas of labor relations, unionized personnel management, and leading and managing in unionized environments, given the fact that, despite the attacks from a few state legislatures, unionization seems to be firmly established in public-sector higher education institutions for the foreseeable future and may even expand into more universities (e.g. see Basu (2012) regarding the recent petition for union certification at the University of Oregon).

Position Classifications

In the current study, administrators expressed their opinions that only contract-related delays affected them when they wanted to implement structural changes and revisions in individual position descriptions. A detailed analysis of position classifications and descriptions was beyond the scope of this dissertation, but because one assumes that academic libraries are in greater need of a diversity of skills and backgrounds in the workforce, and perhaps employing a growing number of professional staff members who do not have the master's degree in library and information science, one begins to question how accurate it is that union-related position descriptions and salary ranges are reflective of the need for new skills and technological expertise in libraries.

Many of the administrators were merging teams to eliminate redundancies and streamline workflows, reallocating human resource investments from monographic cataloging functions to management of electronic resources and digital projects, and moving staff from technical services to public services. Some were reconfiguring positions to handle new and different types of work related to website management, multimedia services, and digitization of locally held, unique materials. If the position descriptions are reflective of these changes, then a content

analysis of unionized and nonunionized library position classifications and descriptions might begin to offer substantial insights into the similarities, differences, and trends occurring with regard to staffing in academic libraries.

Organizational Cultures, Values, and Effectiveness

Participants experienced the influence of unionization on organizational values in ways that corresponded with the focus, structural, and means/ends dimensions of the Competing Values Framework (CVF) of Quinn and Rohrbaugh (1983). As viewed through the lens of the CVF, unionization seemed to be associated with organizational values of stability and control, over flexibility and adaptability. Formal contract negotiations, ratifications, grievances, and arbitration reflected a shift in emphasis toward internal processes, more so than they reflected an emphasis on external results, such as growth and resource acquisitions. The attempts to improve the organizations' adaptability and flexibility might be viewed as countermeasures against a union-related shift toward more internal focus, stability, and control.

The use of the CVF as a tool with which to study organizational cultures, values, and effectiveness of academic libraries specifically in unionized contexts has not been previously proposed, to the investigator's knowledge, but further insights as to its utility in this context require additional, targeted data. Only a few studies in the literature of library and information science have used the CVF to study the overall effectiveness and organizational values of academic libraries. One study, conducted by Kaarst-Brown, Nicholson, von Dran, and Stanton (2004), used the CVF to explore the organizational cultures of libraries as a "strategic resource" and suggested that "there are characteristics of organizational cultures in information-based organizations that lead to increased collaboration, collegiality, and organizational effectiveness" (p. 33). Two dissertation studies, one by Varner (1996) and one by Brooks (2007), examined the

culture types of academic libraries as viewed through the CVF, and determined that the diagnosis of culture types, values, assumptions, and roles would lead to better strategies to improve effectiveness. These studies further illustrate the potential relevance of the framework to understand and improve the organizational effectiveness of academic libraries, both in unionized and nonunionized contexts.

Additional research could determine if the pattern seen in this study appears at other unionized libraries in comparison to nonunionized libraries. For example, perhaps many academic libraries tend to shift organizationally toward internal focus, stability, and control, and unionization merely exacerbates that existing tendency. If this is the case, additional studies could identify the best strategies to reinforce organizational flexibility and an external focus, and these strategies might be relevant in both unionized and nonunionized environments.

Organizational Decline

The information provided by the participants led the investigator to observe that all of the case study sites seemed to be threatened, to some degree, by at least two of the four causes of public-sector decline, *problem depletion* and *environmental entropy*, if not also *political vulnerability* and *organizational atrophy*, described by Levine (1978). Further research attempting to apply Levine's model to a larger subject population might serve to support or negate this use of the model.

The investigator asserts that, based on an operational definition of decline of more than 5 percent in revenue (adjusted for inflation), two libraries (universities B and D) already seemed to be in a cycle of decline in 2008 through 2010. This assertion is based upon total expenditures, however, not revenues, which might be skewing the results to minimize the actual occurrence of decline, due to the possible inclusion of one-time monies and stimulus funding in the published

figures. Additional research in this area might lead to a better understanding about the variables that characterize organizational decline in libraries, while more data-gathering and analysis of the permanent base budgets of public-sector academic libraries might reveal more accurately the extent of organizational decline among academic libraries. If greater numbers of public-sector libraries are in organizational decline, then the library profession would be well advised to name this issue in a deliberate, conscious way, and to take advantage of the research on decline in the literatures of public administration, management, and the organizational sciences. Facing the issue head-on may help library administrators learn from the experiences of other leaders in the public-sector and about the leadership strategies that seem to work best in these situations.

Cutback Management Strategies

Cutback management refers to political and operational strategies used by managers to address declining resources during retrenchment (Behn, 1980). In Chapter 6, some of Levine's (1980) cutback management strategies were explored, which might be relevant to unionized academic libraries experiencing decline, although those strategies were originally intended for governmental agencies. Levine (1978) proposed that the most effective cutback management tactics depended upon the causes of decline, and whether or not the organizations wanted to *resist* or *smooth* the decline. *Resisting the decline* refers to attempts to "remove or alleviate the external political and economic causes of decline" and to strengthen the organization internally, whereas *smoothing the decline* refers to attempts to limit the decline's impact on the "organization's most important functions, procedures, and long-term capacity" (Levine, 1978, p. 182).

Admittedly, however, the data were sparse in this area and only some of the tactics shown in Chapter 6 could be addressed adequately with evidence from this study. Additional

research could identify a group of unionized academic libraries that are in organizational decline, and then could attempt to determine the cause(s) of the decline. Next, the research could analyze the strategies in place at each site for coping with the decline, to see if they match the recommended cutback management tactics, and if they were are perceived to be effective at either smoothing or resisting the decline.

External Fundraising and Entrepreneurship

This study revealed that external fundraising was not at the forefront of administrators' minds when they were asked to name strategies for managing fiscal stress in unionized academic libraries. Although the participants did not mention fundraising through external donations and grants, an assumption was made by the investigator that this type of strategy, while logical in times of fiscal scarcity, could also be more difficult for some libraries at public-sector, non-prestigious universities to achieve successfully. The libraries would have to compete for donations with other academic units, such as colleges, schools, and departments in universities, which inherently have a steady supply of alumni, faculty, and disciplinary partners to treat as potential donors.

Additionally, the investigator notes that participants did not mention entrepreneurship as a strategic response during organizational decline in libraries, despite the fact that scholars writing in the literature of library and information science have called upon academic librarians to consider new business initiatives that will generate income (e.g., see Neal, 2001). Perhaps there are perceptions of low levels of control and instrumentality in place that might inhibit the motivation of assigned leaders to focus on external fundraising and entrepreneurial initiatives. Further exploration of these issues as they relate to unionized libraries is warranted, as it is critical for library administrators, particularly in public-sector universities, to be involved in

revenue-generating activities and to overcome any barriers, psychological or otherwise, in regard to these functions.

Collaboration with Other Libraries

Similar to the issues of external funding and entrepreneurship, the remarks of library administrators did not include the concept of developing deeper collaborative working relationships with other libraries as a way with which to manage reduced resources, extend collections, and improve services in times of fiscal scarcity. However, the strategic plans of three case study sites included objectives that addressed this topic broadly, with a theme related to cooperating with other institutions throughout the libraries' respective states. The absence of this topic from the participants' remarks may therefore be more indicative of accidental omissions in their verbal descriptions of their strategies during economically stressed periods, or perhaps could illustrate an acceptance of this type of collaboration as "business as usual," more so than it may lead to any meaningful revelations, especially because the investigator is aware that each of the states involved have strong resource-sharing programs. Further research in this area would clarify whether or not academic libraries are using deeper collaborative relationships with other libraries as a deliberate technique with which to tackle organizational decline and/or economic austerity.

Politically Intelligent Leaders

The investigator suggests that the library directors at universities C and D exhibited many of the strategies of politically intelligent leaders. According to White, Harvey, and Kemper (2007), the politically intelligent leader analyzes the situation at hand, knows how to formulate strategies and how to apply the most effective ones in any given situation, readjusts strategies that do not have the desired effects, uses a moral compass to guide her or him in politically

turbulent times, and knows that no matter how good a plan may be, sometimes the best plans do not succeed and special strategies are needed to help the organization survive the tough times (p.

6). White et al. (2007) addressed political intelligence in unionized environments in this way:

Perhaps no other community group calls for more of the leader's political intelligence than unions in the public sector. ... Unions are not going away, and by now, you know they have political power. It is imperative for the politically intelligent leader to accept the union as a legitimate community group. With acceptance comes mutual respect and the building of relationships that result in mutual problem solving. (p. 103)

White et al. (2007) defined the politically intelligent leader as one who leads "the organization in the right direction while considering the wants, needs, values, motivations, and emotions of followers and stakeholders" (p. 4), and asserted:

In most public sector organizations, resources are scarce, but goals are plentiful and diverse. Setting priorities is frequently riddled with conflict because there is immense competition for resources. But somehow we continue to assume that decision making is nonetheless logical, factual, and data driven. Alas, it is not. It is full of power influences, and the use of power is another name for politics. (p. 5)

Further research on the topic of unionization and academic library leadership could be conducted using the construct of the politically intelligent leader and the Inventory of Political Styles, an instrument designed by White et al. (2007). The research might determine if there are quantifiable similarities and differences in leaders' political styles within unionized and nonunionized environments, and whether the characteristics of politically intelligent leaders are

associated with successful change initiatives, as perceived by library employees. Future research might also use the framework for academic leadership, developed by Bolman and Gallos (2011), especially the construct of the leader as compassionate politician,³ to study the political functions and skills of library directors in unionized, fiscally stressed organizations. The findings from such studies could have bearing on the content included in the educational programs and leadership development efforts within the library profession.

Administrative Strength, Accountability, and Evaluation/Assessment

Public universities are faced with increased expectations for accountability linked to the achievement of institutional objectives. Pressures for the justification of resources by way of evaluation/assessment measures are mounting from stakeholders and members of the public who question rising costs, and from legislators who want to ensure that public funds are managed in appropriate and effective ways. As Arum and Roksa (2011) found:

... large numbers of U.S. college students can be accurately described as academically adrift. They might graduate but they are failing to develop the higher-order cognitive skills that it is widely assumed college students should master. These findings are sobering and should be a cause for concern. (p. 121)

Academic librarians increasingly are writing about and conducting evaluation and assessment at their institutions to meet the demands for accountability, but in the current study, while some of the participants mentioned assessment, they talked about it mainly in terms of input/output statistics, and service-quality or user-satisfaction surveys, not in relation to return-

³ The Bolman and Gallos (2011) model for academic leadership conceptualizes the diverse skills, strategies, and understandings of successful leaders into four distinct frames as follows: the leader as analyst and architect who “builds clarity and capacity;” the leader as compassionate politician who “respects and manages differences;” the leader as servant, catalyst, and coach who “fosters a caring and productive campus;” and the leader as prophet and artist who keeps the faith and celebrates the mission (pp. 47-126).

on-investment measures, qualitative data, or outcomes assessment (student outcomes and student learning outcomes). In the libraries examined in this study, positions had been lost through attrition and layoffs, leaving behind what might be argued to be skeletal staffing levels relative to the size of the user populations. Are the libraries in the current study and perhaps other libraries in states of organizational decline slipping behind on assessment activities because they lack the available resources to carry out these efforts? Do they view these activities as less crucial to their libraries' success within their particular contexts, and if so, why? Do they see opportunities to change dramatically what a library is and what roles it performs?

A study by McKinley (1987) suggests that perhaps some of the blame for the minimal focus on evaluation and assessment activities at some of the libraries might be placed on organizational decline and its effects on administrative structures and intensity. According to McKinley, during cycles of growth, administrative strength usually intensifies (expands) when an organization's internal complexity grows, but during cycles of decline, administrative intensity tends not to expand, even if internal complexity grows. Internal complexity refers, in part, to technical sophistication and to structural complexity. These concepts seem to apply to academic libraries, even if they were originally intended for manufacturing and production organizations. In libraries, structural complexity can be seen in the differentiation of tasks among subunits (e.g., technological leadership and assessment being two new complex tasks among others being added to librarians' duties, even as many traditional library tasks continue to be performed by public service and technical service units), types of employees (e.g., technicians, librarians, clerks, and technologists), different hierarchical levels (e.g., student workers, hourly workers, middle managers, faculty librarians, and administrators), and dispersion of subunits into different spaces throughout the organization. McKinley's study highlights the possibility that

decline might negatively affect the administrative structures and positions in libraries as well, and, by extension, weaken the libraries' evaluation and assessment efforts, which the investigator proposes library administrators may perceive as needing more time and attention than they can realistically muster in unionized, fiscally stressed environments.

Although administrative structures in the libraries were not examined in the current study, several library administrators mentioned that they felt overworked, and in some cases, "burned out," merely trying to maintain stretched-thin, current operations. More research is required to examine the possibility that organizational decline may negatively affect the administrative intensity in libraries, and then, if this is occurring, that the weaker administrative intensity may be associated with the lack of attention to evaluation/assessment activities in academic libraries and their use in planning. If evaluation/assessment is being de-prioritized in lean times, does this translate into a vicious cycle, that is, less evaluation/assessment = fewer resources = less evaluation/assessment linked to planning? Can it be shown that libraries in decline are able to turn around that decline over time with the development of strong evaluation/assessment programs connected to meaningful planning processes? Related questions arise, such as: What happens to the libraries' strategic plans, if they exist, during fiscal problems? In the absence of measures/metrics associated with outcomes assessment, how do these libraries determine whether any progress or lack thereof is being made, and how do they stay focused on their priorities?

Union-Management Cooperation

There are several factors that can lead to increased tension between library administrations and unionized library staff and librarians, but an underlying, critical one, according to Tannenbaum (1965), is the issue of control:

Control as an issue at stake between a union and its management may represent for several reasons a more threatening source of conflict for management than that implicit in substantive economic issues. First changes in control are likely to have more general and pervasive implementations than changes in wages or other economic perquisites. Second, control is a traditionally sacred management prerogative, having vital emotional as well as pragmatic implications. The management function itself is a control function, and any undermining of this function implies a serious personal threat to managers. (p. 722)

Additionally, Tannenbaum (1965) noted that, in times of prosperity, the metaphorical “pie” can be expanded to benefit all parties, whereas in times of economic scarcity, the “pie” is fixed, if not shrinking, and this, of course, could cause more conflict. The need for union positioning could also lead to more conflict, because “some members and leaders may not feel that the union is playing its role effectively unless conflict with management is apparent” (Tannenbaum, 1965, p. 723). As Tannenbaum (1965) explained, “Grievances may also be part of the skirmishing between the union and its management in creating issues or *causes celebres* for future contract negotiations” (p. 727). He was quick to point out, however, that unionism did not introduce conflict into the relationship, but that conflict had always been a part of organizational life.

To ameliorate this kind of inevitable conflict in leaner times, administrators and unionized employees may wish to consider a type of formal collaboration, known as “union-management cooperation,” that could be used in addition to a heavier reliance on team

leadership, and shared or participatory leadership as exhibited by the libraries at universities C and G.

Gray (1984) defined union-management cooperation as a “series of actions taken by unions and employers in recognition of mutual interest and collaboration toward a common goal” (p. 210), and maintains that this cooperation is not a new phenomenon, but one that is cyclical. She further describes the typical expression of this cooperation as including formal mechanisms for joint decision making, employee participation in long-range planning, and employee assistance in oversight of safety and health issues and everyday work conditions. Gray cautions, however, that there must be necessary conditions for successful union-management cooperation, namely:

- For sustained union cooperation, there must be management acceptance of collective bargaining and union security;
- For management participation, there must be freedom to innovate and a belief that the union is able to deliver on its commitments;
- Union and management support for cooperative efforts is normally associated with a mature relationship characterized by a relative balance of power and mutual respect between the parties.
- Strong commitment to cooperation at all levels of the participating organization, including top management and supervisors, union officials, and members.
- For workers, participation depends on gain-sharing (financial incentives) and a feeling of job security.

- Successful cooperation calls for unusual personal skills in decision-making and problem-solving on the part of all participants, which has led to intensive training in these skills.
- Continuing cooperation must produce results that are satisfying to all participants. This is possible only in a “benign” environment in which attractive rewards are available and no sudden changes are expected. (p. 218)

Slichter, Healy, and Livernash (1960) listed conditions that might lessen an administration’s interest in fostering union-management cooperation, as follows:

1. Managements underestimate what workers can contribute;
2. Managements fear loss of prestige and authority and want to have the sole voice in determining how operations shall be conducted.
3. Some managements fear that giving unions a voice (even if only an advisory one) in making decisions now exclusively made by management would build up the prestige and strength for the union. (p. 842)

Yet, if an organization establishes that the proper conditions are present, union-management cooperation could be beneficial for organizations. It could help gain efficiencies, inspire new ideas and the willingness of employees to accept technological change, and create a better place of work and avoidance of lost time. It could generate enhanced interest in the quality of work, encourage more flexible administration of contractual agreements, and provide a better climate for contract negotiations (Slichter, Healy, & Livernash, 1960, p 866-867).

Yale University, for example, developed a program called “Best Practices,” designed to promote union-management cooperation (“Yale University,” 2009). The program allows each side to “learn more about each others’ interests, develop new habits of problem-solving,

experience success in this new and different way of working together, and as a result, build more constructive relationships that expand to other areas” (“Yale University,” 2009, n.p.). Hallmarks of the program include two key joint leadership groups, the “Officer-Level Policy Board,” which provides directions and helps resolve issues that escalate above the department level, and the “Initiative Steering Committee,” which guides and fosters joint initiatives across the campus.

A website describing the Yale initiative, at <http://www.yale.edu/bestpractices/>, contained news articles about five library staff members who received Interest-Based Problem Solving (IBPS) Facilitator’s Training in 2009 to assist with the “library’s alternative dispute resolution initiative, which encourages each party to generate solutions to conflicts that will meet everyone’s interests” (“Library Staff Receives Facilitator’s Training,” 2009, n.p.). An IBPS Facilitator’s Training spokesperson described the training as follows:

Sometimes they need someone to help the conversation along, and that’s where the facilitators will come in. They’ve learned about the stages of group development, coaching and keeping meetings going, and the end result should be improved communication overall among the library staff. (“Library Staff Receives Facilitator’s Training,” 2009, n.p.)

In other words, the library staff members received training in negotiation in order to help facilitate compromises and win-win solutions in everyday operations.

Further research could first determine if there are any universities other than Yale using these types of mechanism to facilitate union-management cooperation. Next, depending upon the number of universities engaged in these practices, either a multi-case study or a single-case study of Yale University’s program could be conducted to determine its effects on the libraries’ operations, effectiveness, and interpersonal relationships. The results of the study might provide

insights that would either support or recommend against these types of formal union-management cooperation programs in other university or library settings.

Organization Dysfunctions and Morale

All administrators in the current study believed that their libraries were performing well, despite the economic and staffing problems they were facing. The unionized librarians and staff members who participated in the focus group interviews agreed with this perspective, but believed that high performance levels were being achieved mainly because they, as employees, were asked continually to do more with less, and they were complying with these demands due to their own high levels of commitment and dedication to their organizations.

As a result of the rapid changes and economic pressures, negative effects on librarian/staff morale and stress levels were mentioned by participants at three of the case study sites (universities B, C, and D). The library director at University B described the staff as “tentative” and “anxious,” which he attributed to the fear of not knowing which of them might be targeted if layoffs occurred. At University C, the assistant director of public services lamented that she had no “thinking time” due to the heavier workload attributed to lost positions, saying, “Really, I have no thinking time. And I think that in itself is what gets people frustrated and burned out.” These and other comments indicated a high level of stress and heavy workloads throughout these libraries, even as the pressure for innovation and enhanced or new services intensified. However, this was in direct contrast to University G, where two participants framed the staffing situations in positive ways, that is, that staff members were allowed to develop new expertise in exciting areas of work in ways that they were not able to do before the economic pressures necessitated the changes.

The negative effects on some employees' morale were not surprising, because as Levine (1978) asserted, the contraction and restriction of resources in an organization will almost always increase conflict, especially when the use of targeted cutbacks requires that some employees suffer the pain of reductions more than others. He noted that managerial leaders operating in organizational decline will first be confronted with employees who refuse to believe that anything but minor, temporary cuts are necessary. Then, when the cuts come, these employees will likely react with "resistance, cynicism, and sarcasm" (Levine, 1979, p. 181). Behn (1980) acknowledged that it was psychologically painful for organizational members to realize that they would not be able to achieve all of the goals that they had hoped to accomplish, and that leaders would no longer be able to create "win-win" solutions as they were able to do in prosperous times. According to Cameron, Whetten, and Kim (1987), these realities typically developed into the common problems encountered during periods of decline, which included "increases in conflict, secrecy, scapegoating, self-protective behaviors, rigidity, and turnover, and decreases in morale, innovativeness, participation, and long-term planning ..." (p. 126).

Leaders in these retrenchment situations have the dual tasks of not only engendering employees' trust and empowerment in order to increase morale, organizational identification, and productivity, but also having to "take the heat" that comes with making cutback management decisions.

Pertinent to at least two academic libraries in the current study if not all institutions threatened by or experiencing decline, Cameron, Whetten, and Kim (1987) identified twelve negative attributes, named "The Dirty Dozen," that can plague organizations in decline, particularly those losing employees, revenues, or market share in an unmanaged way (i.e., where

managers were not counteracting decline with proactive cutback management strategies; see Table 8.1). Factors that help to instigate and reinforce these negative attributes were found by Cameron (1994) to include cutbacks characterized as across-the-board and non-targeted, that is, loss of positions via attrition; mandated downsizing; more work required of employees (i.e., no planned work reduction or redesign); no improvement in quality; less advanced quality culture; downsizing via layoffs, outsourcing, and early retirements; and changed reward and appraisal systems (p. 205).

Cameron (1994) described strategies that served to combat the organizational dysfunctions, and noted that they were related predominately to the management of human resources. These strategies included: increased communication and participation; systematic analysis of tasks and personnel in advance; increased employee effort regarding downsizing; coordination with outside organizations in downsizing; increased hourly and salaried teamwork; gradual, incremental implementation of downsizing; advanced quality culture; excellence in error detection quality; and excellence in creative quality.

Cameron and Smart (1998) found, in a national study of 334 colleges and universities, that institutions exhibiting signs of the 12 negative attributes performed less effectively than others. However, declining resources alone were not always associated with “The Dirty Dozen,” nor were they necessarily associated with less effectiveness. In fact, some institutions with declining revenues maintained good performance levels as long as they were able to avoid the emergence of the twelve negative attributes. According to the researchers, strong administrators helped their institutions avoid the negative attributes when they controlled “the extent to which factors such as conflict, centralization, and politicking” escalated; managed innovation and planning so that decreases in these areas did not occur; maintained “open lines of

communication;” involved employees in changes and decision making so that “morale and commitment remain high;” and influenced the change process so that resistance and scapegoating were minimized (Cameron & Smart, 1998, p. 81).

Table 8.1

Negative Attributes Associated with Decline, or “The Dirty Dozen”

Attribute	Explanation
Centralization	Decision making is pulled toward the top of the organization. Less power is shared.
Short-term, crisis mentality	Long-term planning is neglected. The focus is on immediacy.
Loss of innovativeness	Trial-and-error learning is curtailed. Less tolerance for risk and failure associated with creative activity.
Resistance to change	Conservatism and the threat-rigidity response lead to “hunkering-down” and a protectionist stance.
Decreasing morale	Infighting and a “mean mood” permeate the organization.
Politicized special interest groups	Special interest groups organize and become more vocal. The climate becomes politicized.
Non-prioritized cutbacks	Across-the-board cutbacks are used to ameliorate conflict. Priorities are not obvious.
Loss of trust	Leaders lose the confidence of subordinates, and distrust among organization members increases.
Increasing conflict	Fewer resources result in internal competition and fighting for a smaller pie.
Restricted communication	Only good news is passed upward. Information is not widely shared because of fear and distrust.
Lack of teamwork	Individualism and disconnectedness make teamwork difficult. Individuals are not inclined to form teams.
Lack of leadership	Leadership anemia occurs as leaders are scapegoated, priorities are unclear, and a siege mentality prevails.

Note. Reprinted from “Strategies for Successful Organizational Downsizing,” by K. S. Cameron, 1994, *Human Resource Management*, 33, p. 195. Copyright 1994 by John Wiley & Sons. Reprinted with permission.

Research on the topic of unionized employees’ morale levels in academic libraries could determine if the factors that help to cause and reinforce the “Dirty Dozen” attributes are present in library organizations in decline and/or whether or not the recommended managerial leadership

strategies are in place and helping the libraries avoid the dysfunctions. It would also be interesting to determine how the libraries were faring in relation to experiencing the dysfunctions and deploying avoidance strategies compared to other units within the same institution.

Resiliency in Leadership

Stressful situations such as economic downturns and the associated periods of retrenchment and cutback management require leaders to be resilient. Resilience, in this case, refers to the consistent ability to “recover, learn from, and developmentally mature when confronted by chronic or crisis adversity” (Patterson, Goens, & Reed, 2009, p. 3). According to Patterson, Goens, and Reed (2009), resilient leaders use three broad skill sets to overcome adversity, namely:

1. *Resilience thinking skills.* Resilient leaders think about the adversity facing them, and want to understand as accurately and clearly as possible, both the bad news and the good news. They want to hear from diverse and even dissident voices so they can act from a comprehensive picture of reality. Resilient leaders demonstrate an optimistic view about what’s possible. They strive to make something positive out of a negative situation, and they maintain high expectations that something good can come from the adverse circumstances confronting them. They have a positive outlook about the future in the face of adversity. At the same time, they don’t deny the constraints posed by reality. (pp. 8-9)
2. *Resilience capacity building skills.* Four fuel sources comprise the resilience capacity of leaders: personal values, personal efficacy, personal well-being, and personal support base. As leaders get stronger by successfully

confronting adversity, they expand their fuel tank and, by definition, their capacity to successfully weather future storms. (p. 9)

3. *Resilience action skills*. Resilient leaders act on the courage of convictions, especially during difficult times... perseverance, adaptability, courage under fire, principled action, personal responsibility for mistakes and corrective action in those situations where he or she contributed to the adversity in the first place. (p. 11)

Based on their work with educational leaders throughout the United States, Patterson et al. (2009) expounded on the qualities of resilient leaders by emphasizing that they do not hesitate to share problems, doubts, and fears with those they trust, and that they were emotionally intelligent. Resilient leaders “demonstrate perseverance in the face of adversity when they voluntarily and relentlessly pursue a course of action, consistent with their core values about what matters most, and without regard for discouragement, barriers, or previous failure – unless it is absolutely clear all realistic strategies have been exhausted” (Patterson et al., 2009, p. 106).

Although this dissertation did not attempt to monitor or evaluate the leadership strategies, the investigator suggests that the library administrators exhibited many of the characteristics of resilient leaders, as described in this model. Using the construct of the Resilient Leader and an instrument called the Leader Resilience Profile, developed by Patterson et al. (2009), a comparative research study could determine if the assigned leaders working in these environments have higher resiliency levels than those who do not, and if there is an empirical relationship between the leaders’ resiliency levels and the effectiveness of the change initiatives they implement, as perceived by the librarians and staff members with whom they work.

Conclusion

This study affirmed the importance of leadership to the successful operations and futures of four large, academic libraries, and emphasized an overarching need for effective leaders with the determination, resourcefulness, and optimism to carry out positive change initiatives in unionized, economically stressed environments. All public-sector academic library administrators must know how to lead fiscally stressed organizations and must transform their libraries during this age of new user demands, stagnant or shrinking budgets, rapid migration from print/analog to digital formats, and technological innovation. Yet with their libraries' complex human resource issues, ranging from tenured, unionized faculty to unionized clerical staff, and with the threat or actuality of organizational decline, the administrators in this study faced many unique challenges. This realization, along with the study's findings and its implications, brings new insights and intellectual, theoretical, and professional curiosity about unionization's effects on leadership back into the literature of library and information science, where coverage of the topic has been virtually non-existent for the past few decades. The topic becomes even more important as public-sector unionism continues to expand in higher education and attract national media attention, and as one recalls a 2008 government report which noted that "workers in education, training, and library occupations had the highest unionization rate at 38.7 percent" compared to other segments of the working population (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2008, n.p.).

While institutions of higher education and their libraries adapt to the negative, perhaps long-lasting effects of the recent national recession, one seemingly daunting challenge for the library administrators in this study was the need to meet demands for accountability and revenue attraction, even as they restructured their organizations, redesigned positions, and implemented

new services with meager staffing and resource levels, and within the constraints of collective bargaining agreements negotiated by others. Despite this, however, several of the administrators in this study provided evidence that, through the application of transformational leadership approaches, perseverance, and strong visioning and planning, it does seem possible to lead unionized, fiscally stressed libraries in ways that ensure many critical changes occur, while at the same time, maintaining collaborative, supportive environments where those working in the libraries continue to feel respected and valued for the important work they do. Vigorous assessment, external fundraising, entrepreneurship, and deeper collaborative working relationships with other libraries also hold the potential to help administrators as they combat fiscal scarcity, but the full realization of these and other benefits must be achieved through expanded awareness and application of the concepts in the library profession.

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Appendix A
Online Survey Instrument

Unionization in Academic Libraries

This is a pre-dissertation survey that explores the unionization status and details associated with eight academic libraries under consideration for inclusion in a dissertation research project conducted by Adriene Lim, Ph.D. student in the Simmons College Managerial Professions (MLIP) doctoral program. This survey was adapted, with permission, from a 1985 Association of Research Libraries (ARL) survey entitled "Unionization in ARL Libraries." If you have any questions about this survey, please contact Adriene Lim at [email address].

1) Your Name

2) Your E-Mail Address

3) Library Name

4) University Name

5) Does your institution have union(s) associated with Library employees?

- | | |
|---|---|
| ☐ Yes (Specify | ☐ No (Proceed to |
| ☐ Unions in Next | ☐ End of Survey |
| ☐ Questions) | ☐ and Submit) |

6) If your library is unionized, how many unions are involved?

7) Describe union(s) associated with professional employees (e.g. librarians, faculty), if applicable.

Name of Union(s)

How Many Professional Employees in Union(s)

Duration of Current Contract (e.g. 2 years, 3 years)

8) Describe union(s) associated with support staff members (e.g. library technicians, technology assistants), if applicable.

Name of Union(s)

How Many Support Staff Employees in Union(s)

Duration of Current Contract (e.g. 2 years, 3 years)

9) Describe union(s) associated with clerical employees (e.g. administrative assistants, office clerks), if applicable.

Name of Union(s)

How Many Clerical Employees in Union(s)

Duration of
Current
Contract
(e.g. 2
years, 3
years)

10) Describe union(s) associated with any other employees not included above (e.g. Library Security Officers, Carpenters, etc.).

Name of
Union(s)

How Many of
These Other
Employees in
Union(s)

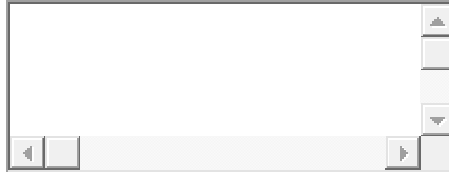
Duration of
Current
Contract
(e.g. 2
years, 3
years)

Year
Union(s)
Established

11) Please comment on any other union-related situations not covered by the questions and answers noted above.

12) Who is responsible for labor relations in the Library? Please provide name and title.

13) Who is responsible for labor relations at your University? Please provide name and title.



14) General Comments, if any:



Thank you for participating in this survey!

[Submit Survey](#)

Appendix B

Email Invitation to Participate in Focus Groups*

Assigned Leaders in Unionized Environments:
Coping with the Economic Recession and Its Aftermath in Academic Libraries

Dear [potential participants]:

I am a doctoral student in the Managerial Leadership in the Information Professions program at Simmons College. My dissertation study explores the impact of the economic recession on unionized academic libraries and assigned leaders' ability to lead and reform their organizations. To gather information on this topic, I will be conducting case studies at academic libraries, including yours. While I am visiting on [date], I will be interviewing people in the academic administration and library administration, as well as conducting two focus groups, one with 5 to 7 unionized librarians, and one with 5-7 unionized library staff members.

This note is an invitation to you to participate in the library staff focus group on [date]. This interview, which will last about an hour, will consist of me asking questions related to my topic and listening while you discuss your thoughts with your colleagues. I am planning to digitally record the discussion, with your permission. I will not link your name to any information that comes from this discussion. (Please see the attached letter of informed consent that I will ask you to sign the day of the focus group interview. It has more information on methods I will use to protect your confidentiality.)

If you would like to participate, please fill out the Focus Group Volunteer form, attached, and e-mail it to me by [date]. Ideally, I hope to have a focus group of five to seven people in each group. If there is very strong interest, I will use the demographic information on the form to choose a diverse group from different departments and supervisory status.

As a small token of my thanks for your help, I will be providing refreshments and gift cards of \$10.00 each. Please let me know on the form what you prefer, such as baked goods, salty snacks, fruit, coffee/tea, pop, etc.

Thanks for considering my request and please contact me in advance if you have any questions.

Adriene Lim
Doctoral Candidate
Simmons College

*Adapted with permission from Casey (2011).

Appendix C

Focus Group Volunteer Form*

**Assigned Leaders in Unionized Environments:
Coping with the Economic Recession and Its Aftermath in Academic Libraries**

FOCUS GROUP VOLUNTEER INFORMATION FORM

Please fill out this form and email it to Adriene Lim (email address omitted) by [date]. You may also fax the form to me at [fax number] if you prefer.

The focus group will be held on [date]. I will let you know the exact time in advance.

Name:

Department:

How long have you worked in this library?

Please check all that apply:

Librarian ☐

Union Member ☐

Staff Member ☐

Supervisor ☐

Preferred Refreshments:

I will be using the information on this form to select a diverse group of participants, if more than seven people volunteer in each group. As soon as the group is assigned, I will destroy the forms so there will be no link with your name on it to the group discussion.

*Adapted with permission from Casey (2011).

Appendix D

Informed Consent Letter for Interview Participation

Assigned Leaders in Unionized Environments:
Coping with the Economic Recession and Its Aftermath in Academic Libraries

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Adriene Lim, an Associate Professor at Portland State University in Oregon, and a doctoral student at Simmons College, Boston, Massachusetts. You were selected as a possible interview participant because you are an assigned leader at a large, public, doctoral/research university where librarians and/or library support staff are unionized, and where state fiscal support of higher education has declined for the past two years. The interview will take approximately one to 1-1/2 hours or less to complete.

ABOUT THE STUDY

This research study explores the impact of the economic recession on unionized academic libraries and assigned leaders' ability to lead and reform their organizations. The first phase of the project involves analysis of relevant documents, e.g., collective bargaining agreements, library mission/vision statements, budgets. During the second, final phase of the project, site visits to selected campuses and formal semi-structured interviews of assigned leaders will be completed. The interviews will be audio-recorded with participants' consent, and the transcripts of the audio files and the researcher's notes will be analyzed, interpreted, and summarized by the researcher for any trends, patterns, and themes in responses to the research questions.

RISKS AND BENEFITS

You will not receive any direct benefits from taking part in this study, but the information you provide may help the library profession better understand how library administrators try to ensure that necessary strategic or operational changes occur in economic downturns, and whether or not these changes can be implemented efficiently and effectively. The results of this study will provide the library profession with insights into the effects of unionization and economic crises on academic libraries and their assigned leaders, which are important to understand if libraries are to be led and changed successfully in all circumstances not just in the non-unionized paradigm that dominates the profession. Examining the real-world situations of administrators in these environments may also contribute to current theories about leadership in higher education, including recent scholarship related to the types of leadership styles and behaviors that work best in turnaround situations at financially stressed institutions.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Any identifying information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be linked to participants will be kept confidential; therefore, any personal risks involved by participating in the interviews will be minimal. Confidentiality of institutions serving as case studies in the project will be

protected by disguising university names and identifying information. No one will ever be able to identify participants in any reports that are created from the data. Confidentiality will be protected by coding names that correspond to comments or other remarks in the interview and focus group transcripts. Once transcripts have been analyzed and summarized, digital files of the sessions will be deleted after a three-year period. Coded transcripts will be stored on a secure server and access will be password protected at Portland State University for at least three years after the completion of the study.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION AND YOUR RIGHT TO WITHDRAW

Your participation in this study is voluntary. Your willingness or unwillingness to participate will not affect your relationship with Portland State University or Simmons College. You may also withdraw from this study at any time without affecting your relationship with Portland State University or Simmons College.

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STUDY

If you have any questions about this study, please contact the investigator for this study, Adriene Lim, Associate Professor, Portland State University Library, 1875 SW Park, Portland, Oregon, 97201, [email address omitted]. You may also contact the study's faculty advisor, Professor Peter Hernon, Simmons College. If you have concerns or problems about your participation in this study or your rights as a research subject, please contact either the Human Subjects Research Review Committee, Office of Research and Sponsored Projects, 600 Unitus Bldg., Portland State University, (503) 725-4288 / 1-877-480-4400; or the Human Protections Administrator in the Office of Sponsored Programs at Simmons College at (617) 521-2415.

SIGNATURE

Your signature indicates that you have read and understand the above information and agree to take part in this study. Please understand that you may withdraw your consent at any time without penalty, and that, by signing, you are not waiving any legal claims, rights, or remedies. The researcher will provide you with a copy of this form for your own records.

Signature	Date
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CONSENT TO BE AUDIO RECORDED DURING INTERVIEW SESSION

The interview session will be audio recorded and transcribed. The recordings and the transcripts will be kept confidential. Upon completion of the study, audio files will be archived for three years and then destroyed. Please sign if you are willing to be audio recorded during the session.

Signature	Date
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Appendix E

Informed Consent Letter for Focus Group Participation

Assigned Leaders in Unionized Environments:
Coping with the Economic Recession and Its Aftermath in Academic Libraries

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Adriene Lim, an Associate Professor at Portland State University in Oregon, and a doctoral student at Simmons College, Boston, Massachusetts. You were selected as a possible focus group participant because you are a unionized library employee at a large, public, doctoral/research university where librarians and/or library support staff are unionized, and where state fiscal support of higher education has declined for the past two years. The focus group will take approximately 1 hour to complete.

ABOUT THE STUDY

This research study explores the impact of the economic recession on unionized academic libraries and assigned leaders' ability to lead and reform their organizations. The first phase of the project involves analysis of relevant documents, e.g., collective bargaining agreements, library mission/vision statements, budgets. During the second, final phase of the project, site visits to selected campuses and focus groups sessions with library employees will be completed. The sessions will be audio-recorded with participants' consent, and the transcripts of the audio files and the researcher's notes will be analyzed, interpreted, and summarized by the researcher for any trends, patterns, and themes in responses to the research questions.

RISKS AND BENEFITS

You will not receive any direct benefits from taking part in this study, but the information you provide may help the library profession better understand how library administrators try to ensure that necessary strategic or operational changes occur in economic downturns, and whether or not these changes can be implemented efficiently and effectively. The results of this study will provide the library profession with insights into the effects of unionization and economic crises on academic libraries and their assigned leaders, which are important to understand if libraries are to be led and changed successfully in all circumstances not just in the non-unionized paradigm that dominates the profession. Examining the real-world situations of administrators in these environments may also contribute to current theories about leadership in higher education, including recent scholarship related to the types of leadership styles and behaviors that work best in turnaround situations at financially stressed institutions.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Any identifying information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be linked to participants will be kept confidential; therefore, any personal risks involved by participating in the interviews will be minimal. Confidentiality of institutions serving as case studies in the project will be protected by disguising university names and identifying information. No one will ever be able to

identify participants in any reports that are created from the data. Confidentiality will be protected by coding names that correspond to comments or other remarks in the interview and focus group transcripts. Once transcripts have been analyzed and summarized, digital files of the sessions will be deleted after a three-year period. Coded transcripts will be stored on a secure server and access will be password protected at Portland State University for at least three years after the completion of the study.

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SIGNATURE

Your signature indicates that you have read and understand the above information and agree to take part in this study. Please understand that you may withdraw your consent at any time without penalty, and that, by signing, you are not waiving any legal claims, rights, or remedies. The researcher will provide you with a copy of this form for your own records.

Signature

Date

CONSENT TO BE AUDIO RECORDED DURING FOCUS GROUP SESSION

The focus group session will be audio recorded and transcribed. The recordings and the transcripts will be kept confidential. Upon completion of the study, audio files will be archived for three years and then destroyed. Please sign if you are willing to be audio recorded during the session.

Signature

Date

Appendix F

Interview Questions

INTERVIEW – LOCATION AND TIME TO BE DETERMINED

Interview Questions for Assigned Library Leaders (Library Directors/Deans and Associate/Assistant Directors/Deans):

1. What changes have been experienced in regard to the library's role within the institution, if any, expressed in the ability to garner campus and external attention, support, and advocacy to improve the library's situation, as a result of the economic crisis?
2. What changes have occurred to the library's budgets, resources, and staffing levels?
3. What changes have been seen in the library's organizational performance?
4. What changes have occurred in library administration/unionized staff interactions, in regard to increased collaboration between management and labor, higher number of grievances, etc.?
5. How much control, participation, or input do library administrators have in the collective bargaining process, and has any of this changed as a result of the economic crisis?
6. To what degree are library administrators able to redesign job classifications, assign work, and decide salary levels?
7. How does unionization affect your ability to control or adjust the library's operating and acquisitions budget?
8. What are the union-related issues concerning human resource management (promotions, disciplinary actions, layoffs, grievances, staff development) that affect your decision-making?
9. What are the union-related issues related to organizational development and change (restructuring, workflow redesign, automation, and outsourcing) that affect your decision making?
10. How does working in a unionized context and experiencing economic crises affect your own perceptions about your career, advancement, and accomplishments?
11. Has unionization increased faculty/staff participation in policy making and operational decision making, and if so, does this help or hurt the organization? In what ways?
12. How have you adapted your leadership/management strategies to adjust to the economic crisis?
13. How have the Library's vision, mission statements and strategic plans and priorities been modified or adjusted by you as a result of the economic crisis?
14. What changes have been made in the organizational structure and design (units merged, teams eliminated, new units created), and how do they relate to the library's strategic mission and vision?
15. How have you evaluated the results of your change initiatives, to ensure that your organization is meeting institutional goals and objectives?
16. Have your internal and external communication methods changed during the crisis and, if so, in what ways?
17. What are effective leadership strategies to use in unionized environments, based on your perspective? (Effectiveness is defined as the leader's ability to improve organizational performance and establish shared organizational vision with followers.)
18. How would you complete this sentence, "I believe leadership is..."?

Questions for Provost or Vice Provost:

1. What have been the changes experienced by the institution and the library as a result of the economic crisis?
 - a. Follow up: Has the library's role changed on campus?
 - b. Follow up: Aware of library budget or staffing reductions?
 - c. Follow up: Increased or decreased faculty support for the library, expressed in what ways?
2. What have been the changes in the library's organizational performance as a result of the economic crisis, in your perspective?
3. What are effective leadership strategies to use in your institution's unionized environment, based on your perspective? (Effectiveness is defined as the leader's ability to improve organizational performance and establish shared organizational vision with followers.)

4. In your view, what are the ways that unionization can help library administrators during difficult financial situations?
5. In your view, what are the ways that unionization can hinder library administrators during difficult financial situations?

Appendix G

Focus Group Questions

FOCUS GROUP MEETING – LOCATION AND TIME TO BE DETERMINED

Focus Group Questions:

1. In your view, what changes have occurred in the library as a result of the recent economic crisis?
 - a. Follow up: Have there been any furloughs, layoffs, work outsourced, staff reallocated?
 - b. Follow up: Have the library's strategic vision, mission, and priorities changed?
2. What changes have occurred in the relationship between library administration and unionized staff, if any, as a result of the economic crisis?
 - a. Follow up: Increased collaboration between management and labor?
 - b. Follow up: More conflicts, grievances?
3. What are some of the ways that unionization can help library administrators during difficult financial situations?
 - a. Follow up: Can you provide some examples of the ways that you think unionization helps library administrators make decisions?
4. What are some of the ways that unionization can hinder library administrators during difficult financial situations?
 - a. Follow up: Can you provide some examples of the ways that you think unionization blocks or constrains library administrators as they try to make decisions?