The Cost of Speaking Out: Do Librarians Truly Experience Academic Freedom?

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Introduction

Academic librarians might believe they are protected by academic freedom policies, but how extensive are their protections and what is their lived experience when it comes to freedom to speak and act in the workplace or in public? In the United States, the 2016 election and the rise of the Far Right and state oppression of marginalized communities brought urgency to these questions. Many librarians feel compelled to speak and act against oppression in and outside of the library. Academic freedom protection for librarians is far from settled practice, and is complicated by the profession's focus on the broader concept of intellectual freedom for library users. The authors are interested in studying the experiences and perceptions of academic freedom among academic librarians, a topic which has not been widely studied. We are also interested in studying the relationship of social identity and financial status to academic freedom for library staff. Doing so raises interesting questions about academic freedom more broadly, such as the extent to which academic freedom policies matter when library staff stay silent out of fear of negative repercussions. In order to study these questions, we developed and issued a survey to academic librarians in the Fall of 2018. We hypothesized that most academic librarians would value academic freedom but not believe they are completely protected by academic freedom policies. We also hypothesized that librarians who belong to socially marginalized groups and/or are economically insecure would experience fewer freedoms in the workplace. In this paper, we provide a preview of our overall findings and also a more detailed analysis of the relationship of race and financial security to freedom of expression and experiences of infringement. Our initial findings support our hypotheses: academic freedom is very important to a sizeable majority of academic librarians. However, the degree to which they experience or perceive their own freedoms varies by scenario and by their racial identity and financial situation. Indeed, we find that non-white librarians and financially precarious librarians feel less free and experience more infringements than their white and financially secure counterparts.

Literature Review

Librarians have never fit neatly within higher education academic freedom conversations. Academic librarians faced more barriers than faculty when they also sought to professionalize their positions on campus in the early

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† Note: We opted to use the term “librarians” to refer to anyone employed in an academic library. While our survey was open to anyone who worked in an academic library, 90% of respondents reported that their position required an MLS/MLIS degree.
part of the twentieth century. Among their unique obstacles were: their low numbers, work that included many clerical duties, skeptical colleagues, opposition from library administration, perceived poor quality of library degrees, and lack of support from the American Library Association (ALA). While ALA did issue a statement in the early 1940s in support of tenure for librarians, the scope was all librarians and the concept was thus the broader “intellectual freedom” (rather than strictly academic freedom). Since then, movement has been made on multiple fronts to define academic freedom for academic librarians, including formal welcome into AAUP in 1956 and ACRL’s statements asserting the value of academic status for academic librarians. ALA has issued a series of “interlocking policies” endorsing the AAUP 1940 Statement and a joint statement together with AAUP and the Association of American Colleges in 1973, the “Faculty Status of College and University Librarians.” The latter was updated in 2012 and stated that “academic freedom is indispensable to librarians in their roles as teachers and researchers.” Most recent is ACRL’s 2015 “Statement on Academic Freedom,” which “opposes any actions that limit the free expression of ideas of librarians and faculty on campus, in the classroom, in writing, and in the public sphere.”

Despite these formal proclamations, librarianship’s support for academic freedom has been inconsistent and lacked meaningful enforcement mechanisms. The profession has strongly rallied around intellectual freedom as a broad concept, but has been less concerned with academic freedom specifically. “The profession celebrates the free-speech rights of librarians only in cases when they use it to promote access to materials,” writes Noriko Asato in her history of librarians’ academic freedom and ALA since WWII. During the postwar era, the association solidified its defense of librarians fighting censorship battles, ultimately establishing the Freedom to Read Foundation as a non-profit outside of ALA but closely affiliated. However, ALA and its members never resolved their differences over the roles and responsibilities of the association when it came to defending the intellectual freedom of librarians in areas beyond resource access. Official ALA documents in recent years advocate for librarians to be permitted to speak out in the workplace in pursuit of providing better service, but the association overall maintains a narrow view of its role and does not enforce its codes of ethics in these areas. Asato writes, “For critics… ALA is not a librarians’ professional association but is greatly influenced by library administration and trustees who have interests different from those of librarians when it comes to questions like free speech in the workplace.” For academic librarians, this overwhelming focus on and support for intellectual freedom as a broad concept overshadows and neglects the narrower scope of academic freedom and why that matters for them in their roles. Academic librarians continue to focus on intellectual freedom when it is on behalf of others, with less attention paid to their own rights and experiences.

Librarians’ complicated relationship with academic freedom is all the more fraught when considering the field’s experiences with marginalized communities and social activism. Librarianship is a predominantly white field and has a complicated history with social justice and anti-racism work. Libraries’ proclaimed adherence to principles of “neutrality” has and continues to get in the way of librarians engaging in social justice work that matters to their communities. Academic freedom can be deployed by those in power to excuse microaggressions or avoid giving space to challenging beliefs. For instance, academics can use the deeply entrenched norm of peer review of their colleagues to exclude and undermine those who challenge them, “exercising their academic freedom by excluding others who are not like them.” Holley Locher’s dissertation on academic freedom and social identity draws on critical race theory and contends that the primary way faculty of color face barriers to their academic freedom is through self-censorship, when “discrimination and/or oppression wears them down to the point that they may no longer have the energy or the willpower to enact their academic freedom.” Librarians of color, who report experiencing and observing microaggressions that are unseen by their white peers, are similarly likely to self-censor. Locher also finds that tenure provides greater protection.
to faculty of color than academic freedom norms and policies, yet far less than half of academic librarians actually have tenure-track positions.16

**Methods**

Our survey was designed to learn more about academic freedom for academic librarians. The survey was created and implemented using Qualtrics. The 29 survey questions fell into three categories: job status and classification; academic freedom awareness, perceptions, and experiences; and socioeconomic identity. There were two standalone questions: an open-ended text box for further comments, and a question about willingness to be contacted for an individual interview.

Respondents were filtered out for two reasons: 1) they did not agree to our IRB-required consent form or 2) they did not currently work in an academic library. Some variables in the survey included type of academic institution, department and job status, and social identity categories on gender identity, sexuality, disability status, racial and ethnic identity, among others. We included questions that addressed both perception of academic freedom as well as the impact of actions.

We designed our survey questions based on our hypotheses, gaps we found in the literature, and also reviewing questions and language from a number of relevant surveys. Meghan Dowell's recent survey on academic freedom for liberal arts college librarians took a broad view of the role of self silencing and librarian agency over their instruction and reference, which we also did when writing our questions.17 We also modeled some of our question framing after a questionnaire used by Becky Barger for her dissertation on faculty experiences and satisfaction with academic freedom.18 We turned to the University of Arizona's Office of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and Questioning (LGBTQ+) Affairs’s “Inclusive and Functional Demographic Questions” best practice guidelines for wording social identity questions.19 Finally, we also adhered to best practices as guided by the Institutional Review Boards at the University of Minnesota and Macalester College.

Our survey was distributed via national library listservs, professional organizations, and personal networks. We made concerted efforts to reach a wide range of academic library staff by job type and social identity through posting to listservs that serve a variety of job functions and using social media hashtags such as #POCinLIS and #librarieswhere to attract librarians of color. We circulated the survey beginning on October 31, 2018 and ending on November 21, 2018, for a total of 21 days. 750 people began the survey. Of those, 737 participants met the screening requirements and completed some part of the survey, and 605 respondents completed the entire survey. Participation in the survey was voluntary and no questions were required in order to complete the survey. We also invited open responses and comments in a number of places on the survey, but will be reporting on those in a future paper.

It is worth acknowledging our own positionality, to the extent possible, as researchers conducting a study that investigates the experiences of marginalized groups. Both authors are white women currently working in research university libraries in faculty-like positions with continuous appointment potential. Both authors are currently in probationary status while on the track to secure continuous appointment, with significant research and professional service expectations. Danya Leebaw is in a department head position with supervisory authority over subject liaisons. Alexis Logsdon is a subject liaison with teaching and reference responsibilities. We both previously worked at four-year private liberal arts college libraries in annual appointment staff positions.

* Alexis Logsdon was employed at Macalester College when we began working on this project. Both Leebaw and Logsdon are currently employed by the University of Minnesota.
Results

Respondents’ Professional and Social Identities

To help readers understand our survey population as a whole, we will briefly share what we learned about our respondents’ professional positions and work environments. As far as our respondents’ job classifications, 90% are in a position that requires a master’s of library and information science (MLIS) degree or equivalent. Slightly more than one-third of our respondents are in supervisory roles over other staff. About one-quarter of our respondents are in unionized positions. Approximately two-thirds of respondents are faculty or faculty-like in their status. Around 70% of our respondents work at universities, with slightly less than 20% at four-year colleges, and the remainder at community colleges or other institution types. About one-third of our respondents work in reference and instruction, with the second highest number working in technical services. Slightly more than 60% of respondents said that their institution has a policy about academic freedom, with 34% answering that they were unsure on this point. We also asked about how important academic freedom is to our respondents, and—unsurprisingly given who might have been motivated to take the survey—over three-quarters said “very” and 23% said “somewhat.” Less than one percent said academic freedom was “not at all” important to them.

We also wanted to capture the social positionality of our survey respondents. The majority of our respondents are women, at 69%. Twenty-three percent are men and 7% are non-cisgender, with about 1% choosing not to respond to this question. Sixty-four percent of our respondents identify as heterosexual. Eight-five percent of our respondents identify as white or Caucasian, 4% as Asian American or Asian, 4% as Hispanic or Latino, and

* Note that for most of these questions, respondents could select more than one category in response. For this reason, we recognize that we will need to clean and analyze our data beyond what we were able to do for this conference paper in order to be as precise as possible in presenting our results.
2% as African American or Black. The other categories of racial identity that we listed were selected by around 1% or fewer of our respondents. Approximately half of our respondents identify as agnostic or atheist, slightly less than one-third as Christian of any denomination, 4% as Jewish, 2% as Buddhist, and the remainder as other religions or choosing not to respond to this question. Twelve percent of our respondents identify as someone living with a disability or impairment. As far as age, 56% of our respondents are 35-54, with 25% between 18-34, and 17% are 55 or older. We also asked about immigration and citizenship status: 83% of our respondents were born in the United States with U.S.-born parents. Less than 20% percent of our respondents live alone; the remainder live with partners or spouses (55%), child or children (21%), or other relatives or roommates.

Beyond social identity characteristics, we were also interested in the relationship between financial security and academic freedom. Sixty-two percent of our respondents are the primary financial provider for their household. Over 70% of our respondents reported a household income of $50,000 or greater, with 36% reporting a household income of more than $100,000. However, only about one-fifth of respondents had more than six months’ worth of income saved should they lose their job. Almost one-quarter of our respondents had less than one month of income in savings. Savings is complicated but rich measure of financial insecurity as it can signify unusually high expenses (for medical or mental health treatment, for example, or student loans), intergenerational debt, time worked in a professional job (those with less savings were also more likely to fall into the 18-34 or to a lesser degree 35-54 age groups), sole breadwinner status, among other things.
Freedom of Expression and Experiences of Academic Freedom, Overall

Due to space and time restraints, we are unable to report on the bulk of our data in this paper. We had several hypotheses when we embarked on this research: that many academic librarians are unaware of whether or not they are protected by academic freedom norms and policies; that academic librarians do experience infringements on their academic freedom; and that librarians’ expressions and experiences of academic freedom are related to their social identity. In this paper, we will focus on responses to two primary questions: freedom of expression and experiences of academic freedom. We will discuss these for the respondents as a whole, and then hone in on findings as they pertain to racial identity and economic security.

We asked a series of questions about how free academic librarians feel to express themselves in a variety of workplace scenarios, as well as non-work activities. We asked about some of the more commonly expected situations that would relate to academic freedom, such as activities and tasks that involve research, instruction, and collection development. We also asked about workplace activities that may not be performed by all of our respondents, hence some of the variables have large numbers of “N/A or unsure.” We were also interested in how free academic librarians felt to express themselves in interacting with coworkers, students, and faculty. Finally, we asked questions about outward-facing activities that are not directly tied to their professional role, such as expressing views on social media or participating in general activities off campus. In none of our scenarios did more than approximately one-third of respondents feel free to express themselves “all of the time.” Most commonly, respondents claimed they were “usually” free to express themselves in all of the scenarios listed except for collection development. For collection development, the most common response was “all of the time” at 33% of respondents. Interestingly, only 28% of respondents felt protected in their research and publishing activities “all of the time.” The scenario in which the greatest number of respondents claimed they never felt free to express themselves was social media when their identity is known, at 16%. There was never a scenario in which more than one-third of participants always felt protected.
We also asked about specific experiences of academic freedom infringements. We asked about four potential scenarios, where respondents were: (1) directed to change an aspect of one’s work, (2) formally penalized (e.g., demoted, written up, fired) for questioning something in the workplace, (3) informally penalized for similar reasons (e.g., scolded, shut out, lost opportunities for advancement), and (4) asked or told not to participate in an activity or organization. For these experiences, the most common infringement on academic freedom was being informally penalized for questioning superiors or a workplace decision, with 38% of our respondents responding that they had experienced this scenario. The least common experience was being formally penalized for the same behavior (questioning workplace decisions), with only 6% of respondents answering in the affirmative. Falling in the middle of these two scenarios, slightly more than 20% were asked or directed not to participate in a particular activity or organization and slightly less than 20% were directed to change instruction, reference, or another aspect of their work. We cannot tell from these results how frequent any of these experiences have been for individual respondents or if they are happening in a current workplace, only that they have happened at least once. We also do not know the degree to which librarians felt their freedom was under threat, except that it is arguably safe to characterize formal penalties as significantly silencing.

We also asked about various scenarios in which librarians may have ever felt silenced by complaints about their academic or non-academic activities and beliefs by others at work (colleagues, students, faculty, or others on campus) or the public. We asked respondents if they had ever felt silenced by threats or harassment from others at work or from the public. Respondents were more likely to feel silenced by others on their campuses than by the public. Around one in ten respondents felt silenced by complaints from colleagues, students, or staff about their academic or non-academic activities and beliefs. Approximately 8% reported feeling silenced by threats and harassment from coworkers, students, faculty, or others on their campus. Relatively few cited any experience

| TABLE 1 | Experiences of Infringement |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| "I have experienced the following infringements on my academic freedom, by anyone at my current or previous institutions:" | Yes | No | N/A or Unsure |
| Informally penalized for questioning an institutional policy or decision, or otherwise questioning my superiors (e.g., scolded, experienced hostility, shut out of decision-making, lost opportunities for advancement, etc). | 38% | 57% | 6% |
| Asked or directed not to participate in a particular activity or organization. | 22% | 71% | 7% |
| Directed to change instruction, reference, or other aspect of work. | 18% | 76% | 6% |
| Formally penalized for questioning an institutional policy or decision, or otherwise questioning my superiors (e.g., demoted, reprimanded, written up, or fired). | 6% | 90% | 4% |

| TABLE 2 | Experiences of Feeling Silenced |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| "I have ever felt silenced by..." | Yes | No | N/A or Unsure |
| Complaints from colleagues, students, or staff about my academic activities and beliefs. | 11% | 83% | 7% |
| Threats and harassment from coworkers, students, faculty, or others on my campus. | 8% | 86% | 5% |
| Complaints from colleagues, students, or staff about my non-academic activities and beliefs. | 8% | 85% | 6% |
| Threats and harassment from the public due to social media presence, posts, and online activities. | 3% | 90% | 7% |
| Complaints from the public to my institution about my academic activities and beliefs. | 3% | 92% | 6% |
| Complaints from the public to my institution about my non-academic activities and beliefs. | 2% | 92% | 6% |
of threats, harassment, or complaints from the public about either their academic or non-academic beliefs, or social media activities and presence.

**Perceptions of Free Expression and Experiences of Academic Freedom by Race and Financial Security**

For this paper, we have constrained our reporting on librarians’ perceptions of their right to free expression at work to two categories: racial identity and financial security. While there are notable results for other categories, such as sexuality and gender identity, we will discuss these in a future paper.

Since the vast majority of academic librarians are white, we were interested in decoupling their experiences from those of non-white librarians. Because the number of responses from librarians from non-white racial identities was fairly small, we grouped responses into two categories: white and non-white. We asked respondents to rate how protected they felt in expressing their views in a variety of work and non-work settings. In the vast majority of categories, non-white librarians felt much less protected in making independent decisions and questioning library policy. For example, 70% of non-white librarians felt protected in interactions with other staff “usually” or “all the time”, while 76% of white librarians felt protected. Similarly, 45% of non-white librarians felt protected in their programming decisions usually or all the time, with 53% of white librarians reporting they felt this way. The biggest disparity showed up in off-campus activities, with only 57% of non-white librarians feeling protected usually or all the time, and white librarians feeling protected 69%, a more than 12-point divide.

Non-white librarians also reported more infringements on their freedom than white librarians in all areas except for complaints from the public, and the differences for that scenario are small. In other scenarios, the

![FIGURE 4
Librarians’ Perceptions of Free Expression by Race](image-url)

**Legend**
- Non-White
- White
differences were notable: 22% of non-white librarians report being directed to change aspects of their work compared to only 17% of white librarians; 12% of non-white librarians reported being formally penalized for questioning workplace policies compared to only 5% of white library staff. That is more than 1 in 10 librarians of color reporting significant ramifications for questioning their workplace or superiors. Further, non-white library staff experienced threats and harassment on social media at triple the rate of white library staff. Non-white librarians were also 60% more likely than white librarians to report experiencing threats and harassment from others on their campuses.

We also saw that librarians who were financially insecure felt less free to express themselves and more likely to report infringements. Although we asked a number of questions about economic security, we will focus on savings in this paper. We asked respondents how many months income they had saved “to carry you and your family” were they to lose their job, and for this analysis we grouped the responses into two categories: those with more than 6 months saved (22% of all respondents) and those with less than that saved (the remainder, except the 7% who chose not to respond). Compared to all other identifying characteristics, financial security had the strongest effect on perceptions of free expression. In every scenario except cataloging activities, those in our financially precarious category reported feeling less protected across the board, at rates seven to fourteen percentage points lower than their more financially secure colleagues. Notably, the financially precarious group reported feeling protected in the instruction and research activities usually or all the time at rates of 61% and 62%, respectively. Our financially secure respondents, by contrast, felt protected in these activities at rates of 75% and 73%. The largest gap between financially precarious and financially secure respondents was in the rate of
FIGURE 6
Librarians’ Perceptions of Free Expression by Months of Savings

FIGURE 7
Librarians’ Experiences of Academic Freedom Infringements by Months of Savings
librarians who felt protected in their programming activities. 49% of financially precarious librarians said they felt protected usually or all the time, while 63% of financially secure librarians felt protected.

For every scenario we asked about, those respondents we define as financially precarious experienced more infringements on their freedom. For the most part, these differences were not as pronounced as for white versus non-white librarians. Some of the greater differences were for being directed to change an aspect of their work and for being informally penalized for questioning workplace policies. Nineteen percent of financially precarious librarians reported being directed to change instruction, reference, or another aspect of their work compared to 16% of financially secure librarians. Almost 39% of financially precarious librarians were informally penalized for questioning workplace policies, compared to 36% of financially secure librarians. Similar gaps surfaced for complaints from coworkers and students. Twelve percent of financially precarious librarians reported complaints from colleagues, students, or staff about academic activities or beliefs compared to 9% of financially secure librarians. Similarly, 9% of financially precarious librarians reported complaints from these groups about their non-academic activities and beliefs compared to 5% of financially secure librarians. Finally, while rare overall, twice as many financially precarious librarians reported threats and harassment from the public due to social media activities, compared to financially secure librarians.

**Discussion**

**Findings Overall**

We learned that academic librarians in general do experience academic freedom, but to varying degrees depending on the scenario. Our respondents feel most protected when they are performing clearly job-related tasks and with coworkers in the library. It is perhaps unsurprising that collection development is the task in which respondents were most likely to say they feel protected all of the time, since this role for librarians is discussed frequently in the profession. Librarians defending their collection development decisions in the face of bans and complaints is one of the higher-profile scenarios we hear about in the news and are even taught in library school. On the other end of the spectrum, social media was perceived to be, and experienced as, the least protected activity. This finding is also expected, given the relative newness of the activity, the lack of clarity or understanding around employment protections for speech online, and the well-publicized cases in recent years of academics or other workers being targeted for online activities. While the 6% who experienced formal penalties is a small number, it is disappointing that even that many librarians were punished for questioning workplace decisions.

**Academic Freedom, Race, and Financial Security**

We hypothesized that librarians from socially-marginalized identities would differ in their perceptions and experiences of academic freedom. We did find that racial identity can be correlated with academic freedom. Non-white librarians felt less free to express themselves and were more likely to report infringements in almost every scenario, but especially so when performing particularly visible activities and ones that involve making independent judgment calls. For instance, some of the scenarios where non-white librarians seemed to be particularly vulnerable were in programming and social media posts, which could involve selecting controversial speakers or taking a stand on a contentious issue. These are activities in which one makes hard choices and is most at risk of pushback and consequence, and ideally, should be most protected by academic freedom policies and practices. Based on anecdotes and the literature, we also hypothesized that non-white librarians would be more subject to penalties for questioning workplace policies and speaking out in public or on campus. We did find that more non-white than white librarians have been formally penalized for questioning workplace policies. Non-white librarians might be called upon to comment with a particular perspective on their libraries’ workplace culture and
practices, but when they speak up, could be seen as troublemakers. Even more troubling, our survey found that non-white librarians are experiencing threats and harassment on campus and social media at far greater rates than white librarians. These findings add to the growing body of literature referenced earlier in this paper finding that librarians of color inhabit a distinct and less hospitable work environment than their white colleagues.

We did expect to find financial precarity to negatively impact academic freedom. Our results for this group were interesting, though, because there was a wider gap between perceptions of being protected and experiences of being punished or targeted. Financially precarious respondents reported much higher rates of feeling unprotected than they did of being censured for their activities. We might presume that librarians relying on their employment for income are more sensitive to their academic freedom overall and keenly aware of those situations where they would want to speak up but feel they cannot risk losing their jobs. They might be more careful in what they choose to teach, collect, or research. In other words, these librarians may self-censor for self-preservation. The financially precarious group comprises 71% of our sample, so it is difficult to determine what other factors might impact experiences of academic freedom with this group: age, income, and intersectional social identities are just some of the ways we might break down the data in future research. It is possible that there is significant overlap between financial precarity and, say, time in the profession, intergenerational wealth, and/or degree of power in the library’s organization. This might help explain why some librarians feel they cannot freely critique their libraries’ policies, choose what content they can have in their classroom instruction, or what type of programming they can design. They might dissemble more in their interactions with faculty, or defer too much to others’ views for fear of being reprimanded or fired. This self-censorship sets librarians up to cede their power, to avoid but necessary conversations, and to limit the ways in which they connect with their campus communities through instruction, programming, and other activities.

Future Research
This paper is a preliminary preview of our findings. In the future, we plan to engage in advanced data analysis to better understand the significance of the relationships between our variables. We also plan to do a qualitative analysis of the open-ended comments we received, including the nearly 200 comments respondents wrote in response to our question asking for “other thoughts.” We will be conducting interviews with some of our respondents (we received contact information for over 100) in order to deepen our understanding of the topics we studied. We are particularly interested in understanding how and why academic library staff might silence themselves, even when they might be technically covered by academic freedom policies. We also have results about how our respondents have been affected by these experiences that we did not have space to share in this paper.

Conclusion
We began this research anticipating that academic librarians might consider themselves to be protected by academic freedom policies and values, but that specific experiences and degrees of freedom would vary. We are writing at a moment in which many librarians feel compelled to be politically and socially active in ways that are integrated with, rather than compartmentalized from, our professional identities. Our profession has also made little to no progress diversifying its ranks, and the systemic pressure to be civil or neutral gets in the way of progress and inclusion. Therefore, the authors were interested not only in librarians’ academic freedom, but especially the relationship between librarians’ socioeconomic status and their lived professional experiences. This paper is only a preview of what we hope to study and discuss further, when we have the opportunity to deepen our understanding of our survey data and add qualitative layers. Our preliminary findings tell us that our initial hypotheses were largely correct. While librarians do feel and experience some academic freedom, certain
scenarios are less free than others and it is rare for librarians to feel completely protected in their work. Further, non-white librarians and financially precarious librarians feel and experience less freedom than either white or financially secure librarians. We believe our initial findings add to the growing body of literature on race and class in library workplaces, specifically through the lens of academic freedom: how much can one speak out at work, be oneself as a professional, pursue research and teaching independently, all free from consequences? We are eager to study these issues in a deeper way and grapple further with the implications of our findings.

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Endnotes
20. These racial demographics align with the reported statistics for the profession as a whole among credentialed librarians working in higher education. However, academic library workers who are not MLIS-holders tend to be more diverse. See “Diversity Counts Tables 2012,” ALA, accessed January 25, 2019, http://www.ala.org/aboutala/sites/ala.org/aboutala/files/content/diversity/diversity-counts/diversitycountstablestables2012.pdf