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This paper examines how users and describers of digitized archival images perceive race and designate race as access points for retrieval from digital collections. The paper includes an overview of literature discussing race, representation, and bias in controlled vocabularies. Creation of classificatory space, integration of Critical Race Theory, and professional involvement in social justice are offered as methods to decrease bias in descriptive practices. A multi-method study was conducted consistent of a survey and a content analysis to analyze similarities and differences in how humanities scholars (users) and librarians and archivists (image catalogers) designate race through textual description and subject tagging. The results found that the 151 participants perceived race for African Americans through textual description 50% more than for White Americans. 80% of participants designated race for African Americans through subject tagging, while 12% designated race for White Americans, suggesting participants' acceptance of a default status of White Americans.

Headings:

African American Images (Firm).

Indexing vocabularies.

Metadata.

Racial stereotypes.

Classification.

Subject Cataloging.

RACE AS ACCESS: DESIGNATION OF RACE THROUGH USER-ASSIGNED TAGS FOR DIGITIZED ARCHIVAL IMAGES

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Introduction

Issues of identity and difference can create discomfort in the archive. And just when we as describers of archival material think we have found the most fair and sensitive way to acknowledge our awareness our social constructs represented in our resources, we are met with differing notions of what a socially acceptable access point is. I recall a conversation with Wilson Library's Head of Manuscripts in which she shared a story about a prominent North Carolinian lawyer interested in donating his papers to the Southern Historical Collection (SHC). Though the lawyer was interested in donating his papers, he knew that the SHC created subject access to collections by designating race. "I worked all of my life to be a lawyer. I don't want to be an African American lawyer in your collection." What *is* in a name? In the Information & Library Science professions (ILS), where the majority of archivists and librarians identify with the often assigned default status of White, most describers of archival material are aware of social constructs, but never felt confined or limited by them.

Still, we practice our description in a time when legacy finding aids representing outdated belief systems are still in need of updating; scholars are actively revising history to reflect more than the dominant White, affluent male perspective. As describers of archival material, we consider the problem of *otherness* and our practice of "calling out" materials pertaining to historically underrepresented groups of people on a frequent basis. But as a profession, there is a lack of active discussion surrounding what we see and why; what bias we bring to our descriptive practices; and, how our socially constructed perspective shapes access to archival image material. This study examines how the ILS community perceives the social construct of race in digitized archival images and how we as describers and users of digital collections categorize race for retrieval of images within digital collections through tagging. Since scholars of the humanities are strong users of digital collections, these researchers were surveyed as a potential group of users of digitized archival images. Since "Naming information is the special business of librarians and information professionals," (Olson, 2001) librarians and archivists—two groups of professionals historically vocal in diversity discourses—were chosen as hypothetical describers of digitized archival images. What I hope we gain in analyzing hypothetical users and describers is a better understanding of the retrieval lifecycle as it intersects with perceptions of race and desired access to primary resource materials for research. In so doing, we will examine social constructs users and describers self-identify with and ask what effect these biases have upon access.

Background

The idea for this study came about while working on metadata creation and collection-scale subject analysis for the William R. Ferris Collection at the Carolina Digital Library and Archives (CDLA) at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The digital collection consists primarily of black & white photographs created by Professor Bill Ferris, documenting his fieldwork as an ethnomusicologist and folklore scholar. The original collection is housed within the Southern Folklife Collection in the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library. The digital collection depicts many scenes of African American family, cultural, and artistic life in rural Mississippi in the 1960s. The collection features shots of prominent and lesser known blues musicians,

artists, and writers. Bill Ferris provided metadata for each image, recalling with amazing detail the circumstances of each shot and names for represented individuals.

It was while listening to Bill Ferris' details of each individual represented in each photograph that I realized not only how significant Professor Ferris believed each represented individual to be, but how much rich context is potentially lost through our standard descriptive practices for underrepresented persons. Assigning Library of Congress (LC) Subject Headings, such as *African Americans* or *African American musicians*, created subject access to these individuals, but also created a label—a category of people hierarchically nested under the term *American*, which is generally given a default value of *White*.

Another interesting issue presented itself while working on the Bill Ferris Collection—one that seemingly challenged this problem of hierarchical categorization. In 2010, the Library of Congress (LC) removed terms designating groups of people from its Thesaurus for Graphic Materials (TGM)—including racial designations. The TGM is used by the CDLA for its contentDM collections. As a thesaurus for graphic material, the TGM offers non-faceted, keyword subject access specific to description of visual materials. Ethnic, racial, regional groups, and classes are now considered *names* rather than *classes of persons*. The Library of Congress considers *classes of persons* to include: Children, Gays, Indigenous peoples, Men, Older people, People with disabilities, Teenagers, and Women (Library of Congress, 2011). The TGM suggests catalogers double-index objects with LC subject headings if they wish to capture subject matter of race. With these changes, the TGM does not fully function as a representation of knowledge, but instead offers suggestions for how to capture subject matter the TGM does not cover.

There is also a problem with the TGM's system of qualifying classes of people: each class is also a social construct, just as race is. Social constructions necessarily overlap, and can be quite confusing to hierarchically arrange, as Olson describes:

If gender is the first sorting category and then racial or ethnic background, all of the women are together and all of the men are together, but African Americans, Euro-Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanic Americans are each in two different places. However, if racial or ethnic background is the first characteristic in sorting, then African, European, Asian, and Hispanic Americans are each together, but women are in four different places and men are in four different places (Olson, 2001).

These sorting categories, described by Olson, change considering time and place. Smith similarly describes this process: "The terms of gender and race are always interwoven, and as one representation becomes dominant, it never fully effaces the other" (Smith, 1999). The social constructs represented by the TGM through controlled vocabulary terms are arguably some of the social constructs we are currently most comfortable perceiving as a society—gender and age. We are not as comfortable admitting our perceptions of differences in identity, such as race. The decision to remove groups of people from the TGM impacted repositories' practices for describing and creating subject access to their archival images.

Thesauri, such as the TGM, are knowledge organization structures that facilitate information retrieval. The impact of the Library of Congress' decision ultimately impacts how describers and users of graphic material organize, conceptualize, search, and retrieve archival images representing social constructs such as race. Traditionally, Knowledge Organization (KO) scholars have argued that's these structures should represent how people—describers and users alike—think and what they see. Furner argues that knowledge organization structures should help users find labels for social identities and social groups and allow users—and ILS professionals—the opportunity to explore these relationships (Furner, 2008). Hjørland challenges this traditionally-held notion that knowledge organizations, like thesauri, should be passive systems, representing bias we recognize as limiting: "LIS is neither a passive reflection of this environment or an independent instance, but is an actor which can and should influence its environment by participating in it (Hjørland, 2008)." I see these recent changes to the TGM as a step toward eliminating this bias. As non-passive actors armed with the power to increase or decrease bias in knowledge organization structures, can ILS professionals' decisions ultimately affect what social constructs we do or do not *see*?

Race as Category

Scholars of ILS have long contemplated the problems of unfair racial bias in subject headings, offering suggestions for revised headings, ways of working within existing hierarchical classification schemes, and incorporating theories outside ILS into a discourse of race and representation. This discourse began in the late 1960s when Sanford Berman began creating alternatives for biased subject headings designating *White* as a default race. In his 1971 book, *Prejudices and Antipathies*, Berman noted that for African Americans (found under the heading of "Negroes" in 1971):

No comparable forms, like CAUCASIAN LIBRARIANS or ORIENTALS AS FARMERS, appear anywhere in the list. And the "Oriental" entry, by means of an *sa* note, seems to prefer forms for "individual peoples" (e.g., "Chinese, East Indians, Mongols") (Berman, 43).

Here, Berman touches upon the fact that a *White* farmer is simply a "Farmer" in LC Subject Headings, while the heading "African American farmers" is still a subject heading in 2011. Berman's remedy required replacing "Negroes" with a term chosen to reflect ethnicity or nationality. Today, this heading is "African Americans."

More recently, ILS scholars have recognized the need to work within classification schemes to better represent knowledge related to marginalized groups and topics within classification schemes. Olson has researched differences in bias in subject headings vs. thesauri, and differences and similarities in problems related to gender and race (Olson, 2002). In her work *Mapping Beyond Dewey's Boundaries: Constructing Classificatory Space for Marginalized Knowledge Domains*, Olson explores classification schemes as bounded, but permeable systems for knowledge created by and topics related to marginalized groups of people. Olson's discussion of creating paradoxical spaces does not involve the wrecking of preexisting classification schemes, but rather, the creation of spaces for marginalized knowledge within the mainstream structure:

All systems will exclude and marginalize in some way. However, it is possible to shift between mainstream and margin in our mapping, creating paradoxical spaces and defining the limits differently (Olson, 1998).

By deleting terms describing race, the TGM has chosen to ignore this aspect of knowledge organization from its hierarchy rather than restructure it.

Furner and Dunbar are two ILS scholars who have examined the application of Critical Race Theory (CRT) to library and archival science, respectively. Critical Race Theory "...challenges the privileges of dominant culture—particularly whiteness—as the normative benchmark of social acceptability (Dunbar, 2006)." CRT attempts to readjust conventional methods of academic research that position people of color as the subject of investigation, along with the identity of "the other" (Dunbar, 2006). Furner asks ILS professionals to look beyond their everyday descriptive practices and consider a type of pervasive racism which our current descriptive practices support:

Society in the US (and, by extension, Western society as a whole) is seen to be characterized by a pervasive set of power relations that systematically privilege the white population, and that generate a form of racism that is institutional, systemic, structural, everyday, and everywhere. Even though it is the white population whose supremacy is assured by this racism, the structure appears to most people (white and nonwhite) to be both just and natural (Furner, 2007).

A first step in incorporating CRT into our descriptive practices will involve rethinking the notion of *White* as a default race—or simply eliminating a default status altogether. As the results of my study show, people do see race—including the so-called default of *White*. Emerging studies in the humanities are considering whiteness as a field of study, positioning whiteness as a subject of investigation.

Dunbar discusses how CRT can be applied to archival theory by incorporating social justice strategies into their practices. Dunbar suggests repositioning the role of documenter and documented as a way of expressing marginalized narratives and perspectives:

Research initiatives must qualify and rectify the negotiated space between the documented and the documenter. In many instances research should be creative in determining who is positioned in each of these roles. Thus, bringing an understanding that the role of the documenter can and in many instances filled by the marginalized, in turn, allowing the individuals and organizations of the dominant culture to fill the role of the objectified or documented (Dunbar, 2006).

While the archival profession as a whole may not be willing to take on this task of repositioning these roles, archivists and librarians should at the very least be exposed to CRT as a way to challenge and consciously consider our assignment of *otherness* to identities outside the socially accepted mainstream default of *White*.

The question of whether or not describers and users perceive social constructs and consider terms associated with social constructs important in the retrieval of digitized archival images is the underlying question of this study. The question is not whether we as a society do and should see *beyond* social constructs, but rather whether or not social constructs, such as race, are currently used as categories of study and analysis by users of digitized archival images. Like Furner, I suggest the ILS professionals assign terms designating social constructs as long as they and their users consciously consider the meaning of these constructs and how they interrelate. I also do not see abandonment of terms designating race within our controlled vocabularies as a step toward eliminating this pervasive racism in our society, as "The reverse process---obsolescence of terminology resulting from revisions in ideas---would seem to occur more frequently (Furner, 2007). I see this study as a step toward a more open social discourse in ILS professions regarding what we see, who we are, and what our role as describers of archival material is in terms of social justice.

Research Goals

This study had two chief goals:

- To gain a better understanding of how users searching for digitized archival images and describers of these materials perceive race within images.
- 2. To communicate subject access preferences for digitized-archival images within digital collections.

For the purposes of this study, potential users were narrowed to those who self-identified as scholars of the humanities with the understanding that digital archives users are far more diverse than the chosen user subset.

Study Design

This study is comparative in several regards. First, this study compares differences in how image catalogers and scholars perceive race in digitized archival images, and in how they assign subject tags relating to race for images in this study. In comparing how these distinct participant groups consider race as the subject of images, we are able to see potential issues with our descriptive practices as librarians and archivists. Further, we are able to better interpret the type of subject access humanities scholars require for their research purposes. Though librarians and archivists are considered potential describers or catalogers—of digitized archival images, we consider them to be distinct professions within the information science field. Since the application of library-created controlled vocabularies to archival photographs has been raised as an issue within the Archival Science literature, this study examines differences between librarians and archivists' application of subject tags to images used in this study.

Second, this study compares differences in how participants linguistically express their perception of race in an image and how they assign subject terms to digitized archival images for retrieval from a digital collection. The online survey created for this study was modeled similarly to Lee and Neal's online survey for their study on semantic photograph description (Lee & Neal, 2010). In order to distance librarians and archivists from their descriptive practices, and in order to better understand humanities scholars' subject access preferences, users were not asked to assign terms from a pre-existing controlled vocabulary. Instead, participants were asked to assign folksonomic subject tags which they would find useful for retrieval of an image. This study is designed to compare linguistic representations of initial impressions of images against language used for retrieval through subject tags to decrease the semantic gap between thought and linguistic expression.

Methodology

A multi-method study consisting of a survey and content analysis was conducted to address the above goals. The method allowed for the analysis of all participants responses. A survey was created to measure how participants designate race through textual description and subject tagging. Since each participant's response was unique and textual in nature, a careful analysis of these responses was conducted. Responses were analyzed for terms designating race in subject tags and discussion of race in textual description for each participant group in order to compare similarities and differences between users and describers of digitized archival image material. The decision to allow unique, textual responses from participants—rather than having participants choose from a controlled vocabulary—reduced bias and allowed for interpretation of responses demonstrating how other social constructs overlap with race.

1.1 Survey Instrument and Procedures

The survey was completed online by following a URL link over listserv email. The online survey was created using Qualtrics survey building software through a grant with UNC Chapel Hill's Odum Institute for Research in Social Science.

1.1.1 Structure of Survey

The online survey was designed to separate tasks two separate tasks: 1.) of providing a textual description of participants' impressions of what an image communicates; and 2.) subject tags that would be useful for retrieval. The participant first describes in her/his own words what an image is *of* or *about*, or what the image communicates to them. The participant then submits her/his answer and is then presented with the same image and asked to provide up to five subject tags s/he would find useful for retrieval of that image. These tasks are separated so that the participant focuses upon a said image in relation to the separate requests. In separating these tasks, the goal is to separate as much as possible responses associated with perception and responses associated with assigning subject metadata for retrieval.

The online survey was structured in three main sections. First, participants were first presented with background of the study, context necessary for describing images in the survey, and a form of consent. Participants were informed that the study sought to research how humanities scholars, librarians, and archivists perceive images and assign subject metadata to digitized archival images through tagging. Participants were not informed of the experimental aspect of this study.

Second, for each of the six images in the online survey, participants were asked to describe the image in their own words (textual description) and assign up to five subject tags that they would find useful for retrieval of that image from a digital collection. Figure 1 shows how the tasks of describing an image in one's own words and assigning subject tags to an image for retrieval were divided into separate tasks per each image.

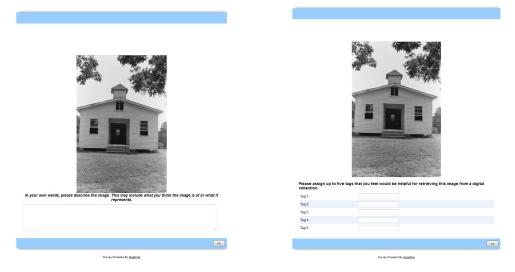


Figure 1: Division of textual description and tagging exercises in survey

Following completion of the image description survey, participants were asked to voluntarily supply demographic information: age, gender, race and geographic location. Participants were also asked to choose the participant group they identified with most closely: humanities scholar/researcher, librarian, or archivist.

1.1.2 Participants

For the purposes of this study, humanities scholars/researchers were described as graduate students in fields of the humanities or independent or institutionally affiliated scholars with doctorates in fields of the humanities. Archivists and librarians were considered graduate students in Information & Library Science or Archival Science programs or those working professionally as archivists or librarians.

Participants were contacted by email through listservs of their respective fields and professions to complete the online survey. Humanities scholars, librarians, and archivists followed a URL from email forms submitted to listservs to complete the Qualtrics online survey. To recruit librarians, Autocat and Metadatalibrarians listservs were contacted. Archivists were contacted through the Society of American Archivists (SAA) Metadata and Digital Object Roundtable Discussion List, SAA EAD Roundtable Discussion List, and SAA Visual Materials Cataloging and Access Roundtable Discussion List. Humanities Scholars were contacted through H-Net listservs, Duke University's History, English, and Literature Department listservs, and the UNC Chapel Hill English Department listserv.

1.1.3 Selecting Images from the William R. Ferris Collection



Image 1

Image 2

Image 3



Image 4

Image 5

Image 6

Figure 2: Images from the William R. Ferris Collection used in the survey. Since the idea for this project came about while working on a metadata creation

plan for the William R. Ferris Collection, six images were chosen from the future digital collection for use in this study. Because of the experimental nature of this study, images were chosen to address how study participants analyze subject matter for images with

competing social constructs and subjects of focus. Participants were offered enough context—decade, geographic location, and repository of origin—in order to analyze and tag images.

Figure 1 shows the six images used from the William R. Ferris Collection in this study. Image 1 shows a rural church in Mississippi belonging to a Black Baptist congregation. This image was chosen because of its lack of human subjects and its association with African American religion. Image 2 shows a family portrait of a group of individuals. This image was chosen primarily because of the lack of activity in the shot and its depiction of White individuals. Image 3 shows James "Son" Thomas seated at a dinner table, posing with his wife and child for Bill Ferris. This image was chosen because of its depiction of a well-known Blues musician and artist in a domestic scene, and also due the posed nature and relative lack of activity involved in the scene. Image four shows a farmer posing for Bill Ferris. This image was chosen due to the competing nature of social constructs represented in the shot—race, age, and occupation. Image five shows a group of men, women, and children gathered outdoors for a baptism. This image was chosen because it depicts an activity which could compete with the race of individuals depicted as subject matter of the image. Image 6 shows two young men driving a van following a hunt. This image was similarly chosen, as it depicts an activity which could compete with the race of the individuals depicted as subject matter of the image. These six images were randomized in the online survey to minimize bias imparted upon participants.

1.2 Content Analysis

Content analysis for this study involved textual analysis of participant responses divided into three parts: 1.) analysis of humanities scholar participants report; 2.) analysis of librarian participants report; and, 3.) analysis of archivist participants report. These reports were generated by Qualtrics survey building software. Textual responses for each group were analyzed to determine if and how each participant designated race in their textual description and assignment of subject tags for the six images.

Content was analyzed to determine how *many* participants designate race in these exercises rather than how with what frequency race is designated. Frequency of race designation through textual responses and subject tagging was not the intention of this study, though it is of course related. Though participants sometimes used more than one subject tag designating race, measuring repetition of a term designating race through participants' textual description would skew results. Participants' responses were analyzed for any designation of race, as well as other overlapping social constructs, such as class, gender, and age. Since this study focuses upon race, not all overlapping social constructs were measured.

Participants' demographic responses were also analyzed to determine the race, gender, age, and geographic location of individual participants. Though these responses were voluntary, almost all participants chose to participate. It was particularly important to gather demographic information for race considering the nature of this study. Considering what race participants self-identified with in relation to survey responses offered insight into the diversity of ILS professions and fields of the humanities.

Findings and discussion

Of the 151 participants who completed the online survey and submitted demographic information, 39% self-identified as archivists, 27% self-identified as librarians, and 34% self-identified as humanities scholars/researchers. Participants' responses were evaluated according to the participant group most closely identified with.

Since this study studied how participants designate or do not designate race through textual description and subject tagging without suggestion, survey responses required textual analysis for terms designating race on the part of the researcher. To do this, participants' responses were read and analyzed for the single variable of racial designation of subjects in the photographs. Other social constructs of note—such as gender and social class—were also evaluated to offer a richer picture of how recognition of social constructs as subject matter in digitized archival photographs overlap and aid in constructing meaning in images.

Participants provided thoughtful textual description responses and provided, on average, between three and four tags per image. Figure 3 below shows the average number of tags provided for images in this survey for each participant group.

Figure 3: Average number of tags assigned per survey image			
Participant Group	Average Number of Tags Assigned		
Humanities scholars	3.7		
Librarians	3.9		
Archivists	3.8		

Participant Makeup and Demographic Background

The survey gathered 151 participants who completed the survey. Of those who chose to complete the demographic portion of the survey, 48 humanities scholars, 38 librarians, and 56 archivists supplied responses. 88% (130 respondents) of all participants described themselves as White. Two respondents (1%) described themselves as African American; two respondents self-identified as Hispanic; and, two respondents self-identified as Asian. Seven respondents (5%) described themselves as not belonging to any of the specified racial groups, while 3% (5% of respondents) declined to answer (*see Figure 4*).

Since this survey was distributed over listserv, this study gathered results from a national and international set of participants. Eleven respondents lived outside the United States. Six participants lived in Canada, two participants were from the Netherlands, and one respondent each lived in the United Kingdom, Austria, and Brazil. All other participants lived within the United States, with no regional area given preference.

For this study, race and geographic location were the most important demographic points to consider in content analysis. Since this survey was widely distributed and gathered many participants, we can reasonably argue that the ILS professions and field of the humanities lack racial diversity. The fact that 88% of humanities scholars, 89% of librarians, and 91% of archivists surveyed describe themselves as White arguably impacts how the fields of ILS and the humanities perceive race and expect access points to race for images in digital collections. This fact should be kept in mind while reading the findings below and accessing how important race is as an access point—and to whom.

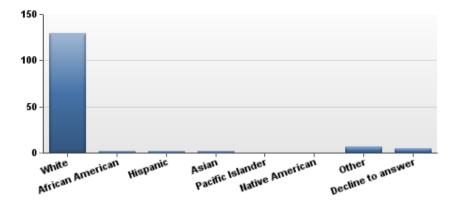


Figure 4: Graph of participants' racial self-identification

Discussion of Terms Used to Designate Race

Terms used to designate race varied slightly. Terms like *African American*, *African-American*, and *Black* were frequently used interchangeably, with some participants considering *Black* and *African American* as subject tags for images depicting African Americans. The terms *White* and *Caucasian* were also used interchangeably, though preference was given to *Whites*, which is the preferred LC subject heading term. The term *Anglo American* was used by some humanities scholars.

African American was also used as a descriptor for subject tags. Examples include: African American women, African American children, African American foodways, black community. This was rarely seen in subject tags for images representing White Americans, though humanities scholars were more likely to use White as a descriptor for terms. Some of these examples include: White Southerners, white American families, White Americans, and White farmers. The term Whiteness was also represented in some humanities scholars' responses—evidence of the emerging study of whiteness mentioned by Dunbar.

Humanities Scholars

Humanities scholars perceived race and considered race to be an important access point to discovery of images from digital collections. A surprising difference between responses of potential users and describers of digitized archival images was humanities scholars' designation of race beyond the default of "White," considering White a category of its own. Humanities scholars also thought more categorically about subject matter present in the images, considering other social constructs, such as class and gender with greater frequency.

Humanities scholars took the task of describing the photographs quite seriously, often offering very rich interpretation of what an image was *of*, *about*, or otherwise represented through textual description. These participants delved into the task of openly perceiving imagery with greater creativity and open-mindedness than librarians and archivists, often considering seemingly obscure details, such as textures, materials of architectural structures present in an image, point of view, and emotions associated with facial expressions of represented individuals. Humanities scholars were the most likely of the three participant groups to subjectively interpret the images and create subject tags for emotions and other higher level concepts associated with *Aboutness*.

Figure 5: Sample of Humanities Scholars' Text Responses for Image 2

2 males and 5 females stand outside home

Family (survivors) of a man

White family out side of ranch house in 1960s

This is a middle-class, white domestic scene in the small-town South in the mid-twentieth century. They are leaving their home to engage in some sort of consumer activity such as dining out, shopping, or sight-seeing. They actively participate in consumer culture and have many luxuries such as inside plumbing and the outdoor hose for watering a lawn and flower garden.

This appears to be a family gathered outside a vacation home on a windy, slightly cold day. My guess is that the four people on the left are a nuclear family.

A portrait of a family or a group of friends.

This is a photograph of a family on holiday. Their wealth and comfort are on display, both with their clothing and the location. These are likely cousins, members of an extended family, by the similarity in appearance but the discrepancies in age.

Group of people at a home.

A family (at left) with older friends (at right)

A family gathering ijn a rural or mountain setting.

1940s or 50s photographic image of a group a group of people, possibly a family. It appears to have been taken near an ocean.

a group of teenagers gathered outside of a building in the 1950s (?)

old white family picture

White American family or families casually posing for a picture in post-WWII fashions. It appears to be two matriarchs, 1 with 4 kids on the left, one with 1 kid on the right. The body language does not suggest to me that the older women are partners with 5 kids. The long hose indicates concern for taking care of external items, cars, landscaping, etc. The background does not appear to be suburban.

A domestic scene outdoors with a group of white people. Four women of varying ages, one young man, and a boy and a girl. They stand at the side of a wooden clad single story house.

Family photo of a white family outside a house. Three adult women, one adult man, and three younger people (two girls, one boy). They are standing outdoors, beside a wood-sided house on a windy day.

Humanities scholars were also most likely of the three participant groups to

misjudge the activities of a scene. For example, in Image 5—the baptismal scene—

approximately 15% of scholars thought this scene was associated with a gathering outside

of a church gathering. Two participants thought the group in the photograph had found a

dead body, with one of these participants associating the scene with the death of a civil

rights activist. Further, participants created subject access to the image through tagging

based upon their initial impression of the event in the photograph. Some of these tags

included *African American protest*, *civil rights*, *Civil Rights movement*, *racial segregation*, and *hate crime*. This example illustrates some of the reasons why information professionals, as a rule, never assume to know more about an image than is shown—and why librarians and archivists typically avoid conceptual levels of *Aboutness* and interpretation of emotion represented in images.

Figure 6: Sample of Humanities Scholars' Text Responses: Inaccurate Judgments of Scene for Image 5

Someone has found something (a body?).

crowd of african americans looking at a dead body or at a funeral

memorial service for a civil rights-related violent event resulting in death(s) of friends/family

My first thought is to position the participants in space and time. This does not look like it is the United States, probably from the racial make up of participants, the heat (based on the umbrellas) and the terrain, either in the Caribbean or in Africa. The clothes look like they are from the 1960s - men in white button down shirts with a fedora in the lower left corner, a boy in suspenders, and women in linen dresses that zip up in the back. The attention of the crowd is centered around the men in conversation down by the creek with the children and women behind them. Several people in the crowd have flyers that appear to be in English but I cannot make out the words. There is a quiet seriousness to the crowd, they seem to be examining or searching for something. Several men are staring at the creek and two men are sitting down which indicates they have been there for a while.

African-American, congregation, racial segregation

The community is investigating a problem.

Race was designated within the open description text box for each of the six images, with images depicting African Americans having race mention with 42% greater frequency than images not depicting African Americans. Only one participant (2%) of the humanities scholars group assumed the church in Image 1 to be an African American church (which it is); this participant assigned the tag *African American* to the image. 31% of humanities scholars designated race in their textual descriptions for Image 2, with one respondent mentioning the possibility of an African American boy's presence in the shot. For Image 3—James "Son" Thomas and family seated for dinner—race was designated in the textual description by approximately 71% of scholars. 29% of scholars designated race in Image 4 of the elderly famer; and, 67% of scholars designated race in the photograph of the baptismal scene (Image 5).

Humanities scholars overwhelmingly considered race an important access point for retrieval from digital collections, with more scholars designating race in images depicting African Americans than in images depicting Whites. This fact suggests that humanities scholars—users of digital collections—also consider White as a sort of *default* race, and therefore less worthy as an actual access point. Still, scholars considered terms associated with *Whiteness* to more important as an access point than librarians and archivists. There was a 6% decrease in the number of humanities scholars who designated race within images depicting White Americans through their assignment of subject tags. Designation of race in subject tags for images portraying African Americans was approximately 79%--a 10% increase compared to participants' mentions of race within the open text description. With emerging topics of study within the humanities involving the notion of *Whiteness*, archivists and librarians may want to recognize how humanities scholars conceptualize these categories and social constructs as emerging areas of study rather than as the historical default.

Other social constructs emerged as potential access points to digitized archival image material in analyzing humanities scholars' textual descriptions and tagging behaviors. Of these social constructs, social class was frequently designated as an important access point for retrieval and as a way of enhancing context for images in the survey (*see figure 7*). 7% of scholars denoted social class through textual description, and 9% indicated social class in their assignment of subject tags. For images portraying African Americans, 6% of humanities scholars designated social class in textual

description, while 5% indicated social class in subject tags. Some of the tags associated with images showing African Americans included *Southern Poverty*, *lower class* and, *working class daily life*. While no humanities scholars indicated social class through tagging for Image 5 (baptismal scene), one participant suggested a connection between social class and race in this textual description:

This image is of a religious gathering, likely of a baptism. Of particular interest is the fact that the ladies are carrying parasols, thus connecting themselves to an idea of gentrified white womanhood unavailable to African-American women at this time.

Though a particular social class (e.g. middle class; lower class) for African Americans depicted in this image is not named, a lower socio-economic class to which these individuals may belong is implied through the scholar's suggestion that they seek to connect to an idea of gentrified white womanhood.^{*}

Figure 7: Selection of tags for Image 2 that designating class					
Middle class	White Southerners	Southern homes	Clothing styles	Consumer culture	
vacation	family	upper-class	leisure		
Family Photo	Mid-twentieth century	Whiteness	Middle-Class	Hugs	
American family	middle-class				
family	gatherings	middle class	clothing		
family	middle-class	group portrait	suburban	white	
family lie	affluence	clothing styles			

Social class was noted with greater frequency for photographs depicting White Americans. While language designating social class was mentioned at approximately the same rate for images depicting Whites and images depicting African Americans, social class was indicated in by 13% of humanities scholars in their tagging of images portrayed

^{*} While this scholar may possess subject expertise leading to this determination, it is important to note that this determination is ultimately subjective. When considering the context of the William R. Ferris Collection as a whole, one finds many similar scenes of African American women carrying parasols in religious and non-religious scenes. Parasols were used to cool oneself while in the hot, Mississippi sun.

White Americans, compared to 5% for images depicting African Americans. Some examples of subject tags used in images portraying White Americans included *Upper class*, *Middle class*, and *Affluence* for Image 2; *Peasant*, *Working class*, *Poverty*, and *Middle America* for Image 4; and *Subsistence culture* and *Working class sports* for Image 6. It is possible that these more varied terms designating social class for White Americans depicted in these photographs relates to the greater variance in social class associated with White Americans in the 1960s.^{*} Since social class was less varied and more stagnant for Southern African Americans in the 1960s, it is possible these scholars associated a default status of *lower class* to African Americans depicted in these images; thus, a less frequent rate of social class designation and less hierarchical social class structure ascribed.

Perhaps we cannot ascertain that participants *see* race based upon these statistics, but we can reasonably say that humanities researchers see and categorize potential research materials according to the social constructs they study—including race. It could be argued however that humanities scholars' respective fields of study affect how they approach not only research materials, but how they construct meaning in the world. What became evident quite quickly was the fact that humanities scholars seem to use social constructs as categories of study, and therefore, as clues to interpret meaning within digitized archival photographs.

^{*} Note that scholars tend not to agree upon which social class represented individuals belong to. Interpretation of social standing is incredibly subjective. Therefore, creating access points for social class involves a level of conceptual interpretation many image catalogers may feel uncomfortable delving into.

Librarians

As may be expected, librarians who participated in the online survey tended to stick to their cataloging and descriptive practices when evaluating the set of digitized archival images. Many used tags similar to Library of Congress Subject Headings, while some used actual subject headings—complete with punctuation. One participant—a cataloger from Canada—even wrote all of his textual description and subject tags in MARC 21 code. Similarly, textual descriptions written by librarians resembled natural language descriptions one may read in a metadata record for a digital object. Though librarians were given the same set of instructions and asked to describe what they see in their own words, most participants saw the images through the lens of a librarian. However, this is by no means a *bad* thing. Though librarians lacked the open curiosity and thematic approach many humanities scholars had, the librarians' training resulted in fewer assumptions of events, emotions, and other contextual points made to create inaccurate access points to digitized archival images. Librarians as a group also adopted similar library practices in terms of designating race within the set of images.

Librarians noticed and noted race in the digitized archival images used in this survey. With the exception of Image 1, which received no mention of race through textual description or tags, all librarians designated race in each image. Librarians' practice of treating Whites as a default race in bibliographic and special collections materials was followed in this exercise. While 25% of librarians designated race in images depicting White Americans, only 5% chose to make *White* or *Caucasian* an access point by assigning subject tags. Librarians clearly perceive race in images portraying White Americans; however, it is not a common practice in libraries to designate race for White Americans through subject headings. With 21% of humanities scholars designating race as an access point for White Americans depicted in this set of digitized archival images, librarians may wish to consider how to treat this assumed default in our description.

Librarians designated race in images depicting African Americans through their textual description at roughly the same rate as scholars—80%. However, some librarians did not consider race an important point of access for retrieval. There was a 2% reduction in race designation in subject tags from librarians' textual descriptions. This fact may reflect librarians' tendency toward attempting to describe the bare bones of what an image shows (e.g. man seated with woman and child at table) rather than what we have been societally taught to notice. Gender is often considered part of this basic form of description, even though we understand gender to be a social construct like race. Terms designating race of African Americans still occurred with 73% greater frequency than those for White Americans, suggesting that while librarians may not always consider race a necessary access point, librarians do consider calling out historically underrepresented groups of people part of their cataloging practice.

Figure 8: Sample of subject tags assigned by librarians to Image 4				
elderly	farm	agrarian	work	field
man	elderly	agriculture	overalls	hat
small farmers	rural areas			
Age	Farming	Life	Work	
Farmer	Rural	Older people		
farmer	old-timer	agriculture		
old man	farmer	overalls		
Men	Farmers	Outdoors	Overalls	Hats
Elderly men	Farmers	Straw hats	Bib overalls	Outdoors scenes
Photographs	People			
man	overalls	hat		
Straw hat.	Overalls.	Male.	Caucasian.	Middle- aged.
Man.\$edepicted.	Farmers.\$edepicted.	Hats.\$edepicted.	Overalls.\$edepicted.	

Figure 9: Sample of subject tags assigned by librarians to Image 3				
africanamerican	southernfood	food	family	meals
family	dinner	man	woman	baby
Family portraits	Meals on the table	Fried chicken legs	Everyday life	Indoor scenes
african americans	children	food	plates	
Meal.	Chicken.	African- American.	Table.	Child.
domestic scenes	black families	meals		
Family	Dinner	1950s or 60s	Black and white image	Crowded space
Family	Family meals	Home	Domestic scene	

Noticeably absent from librarians' responses were mentions of social class through textual descriptions and subject tags. One librarian noted that the family in Image 3 appeared to be a working class family; this participant created the tag *Working class* for this image. Image catalogers are for the most part trained to avoid assigning controlled vocabulary terms to images representing social constructs and higher level concepts of *Aboutness*. The reason being that interpretation of social class, race, age, gender, and emotion is highly subjective and based upon the cataloger's own subjective beliefs of where s/he falls into those respective categories.

Though the librarian's striving toward objectivity in description results in fewer, more precise access points to digitized image material, we must ask ourselves and our users whether or not we as a society agree upon common social constructs of race at present; and, whether or not creating access to materials by categorizing race is important, necessary, and reflects what we think and see.

Archivists

Like librarians, archivists tended to use descriptive techniques associated with their professional training in this exercise. Differences between librarian and archivist training were evident during analysis of textual and subject tag responses. On average, archivists tended to provide longer textual descriptions, resembling natural language descriptions found in metadata for digitized archival images or in notes tags of finding aids. Archivists, like librarians, found it important to name the number of individuals represented in the photographs. Archivists were also careful not to make assumptions about the activities and emotions represented in each photograph.

Percentage of Participants who Designated Race through Textual Description					
	White American African Americ				
Scholars	27%	69%			
Librarians	25%	80%			
Archivists	24%	76%			

Percentage of Participants who Designated Race through Subject Tagging					
White American African America					
Scholars	21%	79%			
Librarians	5%	78%			
Archivists	10%	83%			

Figure 10: Percentage of participants who designated race through textual description and subject tagging

Of the three participant groups surveyed, archivists assigned the greatest

importance to race for African Americans as an access point. While 76% of archivists identified African Americans through textual description, 83% of archivists used one or more subject tags designating race in subject tags. Archivists designated race for African Americans through subject tags more than any other participant group. Fewer archivists chose to describe race through textual description (76%). All archivists surveyed practice in North America, with the overwhelming majority of archivists practicing in the United States. This special recognition of graphic resources representing African Americans by archivists is likely the result of their training to identify research materials for historically underrepresented groups of people.

Figure 11: Sample of archivists' text responses for Image 3

African-American family at meal time.

This image is a black and white photograph of a family eating a meal. Three persons are pictured, however, one additional person is semi-captured in the shot. The persons pictured are darkly complected, however there is no other indication of their location meaning that the image alone cannot be used for research purposes examining African- life. The clothing of the woman indicates that this image may come from the 1950s however that conclusion is not guaranteed to be accurate. They are eating a meal that contains fried chicken and a variety of other foods. This photo is most likely a family photo due to its seemingly unplanned qualities.

This image includes a table covered with food inside a house. The table includes fried chicken, biscuits, and other food. There is a man in a white shirt sitting at the table, not looking at the camera. A bed is directly behind the man. A smiling woman is standing next to the man, dressed in a printed dress and has her hair in curlers. She is looking directly at the camera and holding a young child. It is unclear whether this is a family or not.

family life, social structure, African Americans

Domestic scene of negroe man, woman, and infant seated around a table featuring dinnerware and prepared food.

Figure 12: Sample of subject tags assigned by archivists for Image 3				
Tag 1	Tag 2	Tag 3	Tag 4	Tag 5
Food	curlers	Blue Ridge china	infant	
Family	Sunday dinner	Fried chicken		
family	dinner table	chicken	african american	food
black and white	photographs	african americans	food and dining	family
family	dinner	material culture	food history	African American
Food	Families	African Americans		
Fried chicken	biscuits	canned peaches in syrup		
african american	dinner	family	poor	food
African American	Curlers	Fried Chicken	Bisquits	Infants & babies
African-American	Food	Family		
family	African Americans	1960s; 1950s	food	hair curlers
African Americans	African-American families	African-American foodways	African-American family rituals	Southern foodways
House	Food	African-Americans	Family	
meal	interior	adults	children	
Infant	Food	Eating	Table	
African Americans	African American women	African American men	African American families	
African Americans	family life	social history	food history	historic furnishings
African Americans	Food	Families	Children	
African Americans	African American foodways	Black Foodways	fried chicken	bisquits
Families	Eating and drinking	Intants	African Americans	
African-American	family	interior	mother	food
African Americans	mealtime	fried chicken	baby	family
African Americans	children	food		
dinner	African Americans	family	food	
Domestic life	Negro family	Fried chicken	Peaches	Biscuits

Archivists designated race for White Americans depicted in the photographs less than humanities scholars, but more than librarians. 24% of archivists mentioned race for images depicting White Americans through textual description, while only 10% of archivists used tags, such as *White* or *Caucasian*, while tagging these images. Also, archivists did not designate race for White Americans through textual description as frequently as humanities scholars and librarians. More than twice as many humanities scholars assigned tags designating race to images depicting White Americans. Archivists seem to follow library practices of assuming *White* as a default race.

Two of the 55 archivists surveyed seemed somewhat conscious of their acknowledgement of race within these images. Following a textual description for Image 3, which made no designation of race to the family represented, one participant wrote: "Really, is that a cliché? How staged is this photograph?" This participant was referring to the family's meal of traditionally Southern, African American food items (peaches and fried chicken). Fifty of the 55 archivists who completed the survey self-identified as White in the demographic portion of the survey, with no archivists claiming African American descent. One must consider the context of the photograph (1960s rural Mississippi) and one's own bias—even one's attempts to not project bias. Does the scene in Image 3 portray a cliché or a truth about everyday life in 1960s Mississippi captured by Professor Bill Ferris? If the image *does* depict something we associate as a cliché of another culture, why are we uncomfortable recognizing this; what would we rather see in its place? This archivist reminds us that we must always consider our personal bias and attempts to eliminate that bias when interpreting the context of archival material.

Another archivist recognized their unconscious assignment of a default of *White* throughout the course of the survey when textually describing Image 4:

Seeing this picture, I realize that I did not mention race or ethnicity in the photographs of the white people. I was unconsciously assigning "default" status to whites, which I should not have done. I have done a fair amount of reading about race and representation and yet I still did this!

This participant went on to assign the tags *African American* and *Black* after making this realization. We can argue this archivist considered race as an important access point important for retrieval through her/his assignment of two tags.

Conclusion and Suggestions for Future Research

What I hope the reader gains from this study first and foremost is a greater recognition that the terms we do or do not use to designate race in our descriptive practices matter. This study attempted to understand how users and catalogers of archival image material visually perceive and textually interpret the social construct of race; and, how important race is considered as an access point for retrieval of digitized archival images. Humanities scholars—while influenced by the default status of *White* assigned to information resources in the ILS professions—still categorize race, class, and other social constructs beyond this default. I suggest the ILS professions reconsider this default status of *White* as it pertains to the "calling out" of resources for underrepresented groups of people. This default status is part of a pervasive racism we societally share, regardless of color.

With 88% of participants in this study identifying with this default status of *White*, the ILS profession needs to become more aware of a cultural bias it shares with scholars who frequently use library and archival holdings. Bias inherent in our descriptive practices may very well limit accessibility to these resources for underrepresented groups of people—and may inhibit growth and diversity within the archives and library professions. I also hope this study encourages other ILS professionals to consider practical application of Critical Race Theory (CRT) to our descriptive practices. If the ILS professions begin to carve its role within the larger,

interdisciplinary discourse on social justice, we will learn we are not alone in our endeavors, but rather gain fresh insight into the emerging scholarship we seek to support.

I hope this study inspires future research into who we are—individually and collectively—as ILS professionals, and who our users are. Research into how non-academic researchers from traditionally underrepresented groups of people search and retrieve archival material from digital collections was outside the scope of this study; however, future research into how researchers of these underrepresented groups create subject access to archival material would complement this study and help stimulate a broader discussion on diversity and issues of language in description. In closing, I would like to suggest that we as ILS scholars and professionals think outside the box of popularly-used, library-created controlled vocabularies as they are applied to archival image material, and try creating thesauri *with* scholars based upon theories like CRT.

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Appendices

1.1 Recruitment Email Form for Humanities Scholars

Dear Scholar,

I am a master's student in the Information and Library Science program at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. I am currently writing my master's paper and am researching how humanities scholars, librarians, and archivists perceive images and assign subject metadata to digitized archival images through tagging. My study will evaluate how potential users of digital collections, and those who describe and manage these collections, interpret the subject matter of images to learn how information professionals can improve access to digitized primary source image material.

If you identify with any of these groups and are a graduate student, professional, or one seeking a profession in your field, I would greatly appreciate your participation in my online survey. You can participate in the online survey by following this link: https://uncodum.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_56GMex0CoLXM8Pa.

The online survey takes between 10 to 15 minutes to complete. The survey is anonymous, and no identifiable data will be retained to ensure privacy. If you are interested in the results of this study, you may anonymously include your email at the conclusion of the survey, and I will email you my findings. The survey will close November 10, 2011.

Thank you for your time. I greatly appreciate your willingness to participate. Please feel free to email me with any questions or concerns regarding the survey.

Sincerely, Jessica Mlotkowski MSLS Candidate, December 2011 UNC Chapel Hill School of Information and Library Science jmlotkow@live.unc.edu

1.2 Recruitment Email Form for Archivists

Dear Archivist,

I am a master's student in the Information and Library Science program at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. I am currently writing my master's paper and am researching how humanities scholars, librarians, and archivists perceive images and assign subject metadata to digitized archival images through tagging. My study will evaluate how potential users of digital collections, and those who describe and manage these collections, interpret the subject matter of images to learn how information professionals can improve access to digitized primary source image material.

If you identify with any of these groups and are a graduate student, professional, or one seeking a profession in your field, I would greatly appreciate your participation in my online survey. You can participate in the online survey by following this link: https://uncodum.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_56GMex0CoLXM8Pa.

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Thank you for your time. I greatly appreciate your willingness to participate. Please feel free to email me with any questions or concerns regarding the survey.

Sincerely, Jessica Mlotkowski MSLS Candidate, December 2011 UNC Chapel Hill School of Information and Library Science jmlotkow@live.unc.edu

1.3 Recruitment Email Form for Librarians

Dear Librarian,

I am a master's student in the Information and Library Science program at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. I am currently writing my master's paper and am researching how humanities scholars, librarians, and archivists perceive images and assign subject metadata to digitized archival images through tagging. My study will evaluate how potential users of digital collections, and those who describe and manage these collections, interpret the subject matter of images to learn how information professionals can improve access to digitized primary source image material.

If you identify with any of these groups and are a graduate student, professional, or one seeking a profession in your field, I would greatly appreciate your participation in my online survey. You can participate in the online survey by following this link: https://uncodum.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_56GMex0CoLXM8Pa.

The online survey takes between 10 to 15 minutes to complete. The survey is anonymous, and no identifiable data will be retained to ensure privacy. If you are interested in the results of this study, you may anonymously include your email at the conclusion of the survey, and I will email you my findings. The survey will close November 10, 2011.

Thank you for your time. I greatly appreciate your willingness to participate. Please feel free to email me with any questions or concerns regarding the survey.

Sincerely, Jessica Mlotkowski MSLS Candidate, December 2011 UNC Chapel Hill School of Information and Library Science jmlotkow@live.unc.edu

1.4 Survey Instrument

Dear Participant,

Thank you for taking the time to participate in my research study. The following exercise takes between 10-15 minutes of your time to complete. This study examines the application of subject metadata to digitized archival images by humanities scholars and Information & Library Science and Archival Science graduate students and professionals. All photographs represented were captured in Mississippi in the 1960s and 1970s (given this context, use of terms such as "Mississippi" and "1960s" should not be used as tags by participants). The digitized photographs used in this survey are part of an archival collection housed in the Southern Folklife Collection in the Louis Round Wilson Library at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

In this exercise, you will be asked to briefly describe in your own words indicating what the image is about, what is being communicated. You will also be asked to tag a set of images with language that you feel will be useful for retrieval of these images. Tagging can involve using a word, multiple words, or perhaps a short phrase to describe what you find to be the important subject matter of the given image. You may provide up to five tags.

Following completion of the exercise, you will be asked to provide some demographic information. This information is being gathered to aid the exercise evaluation. Please know that the demographic portion of the survey is completely voluntary. Your personal responses and answers to the demographics portion of the survey are anonymous and not personally identifiable. You may volunteer to be notified by email regarding the conclusions drawn in this research study upon its completion if you so choose. Your responses to the survey are kept separate from submission of your email address to ensure your anonymity and confidentiality.

Participants who wish to contact the principal investigator of this study can do so by emailing Jessica Mlotkowski at jmlotkow@live.unc.edu. The faculty adviser of this study, Dr. Jane Greenberg can be contacted by email at janeg@email.unc.edu, or by phone: 919-962-8066. Those who wish to contact the UNC IRB may call 919-966-3113 and refer to IRB study #11-1966.

- Yes, I consent to participate in the survey.
- No, I would not like to participate in this survey.

>>



>>



Tag 1	
Tag 2	
Tag 1 Tag 2 Tag 3 Tag 4 Tag 5	
Tag 4	
Tag 5	

Survey Powered By Qualtrics



>>



Tag 1	
Tag 1 Tag 2	
Tag 3 Tag 4 Tag 5	
Tag 4	
Tag 5	

Survey Powered By Qualtrics



In your own words, please describe the image. This may include what you think the image is of or what it represents.



Tag 1	
Tag 2	
Tag 1 Tag 2 Tag 3 Tag 4 Tag 5	
Tag 4	
Tag 5	

Survey Powered By Qualtrics



Survey Powered By Qualtrics



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Survey Powered By Qualtrics



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Tag <mark>4</mark>	
Tag 4 Tag 5	

Survey Powered By Qualtrics



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Tag 1	
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Tag 1 Tag 2 Tag 3 Tag 4 Tag 5	
Tag 4	
Tag 5	
	>>

What US state or	country do you live	in?		

Thank you for your participation! In order to better aggregate and analyze data gathered from this survey, participants can provide basic demographic information. No information collected is personally identifiable.

- Which group of participants do you most closely identify with?

- Archivist

- Librarian

None of the above

- Humanities Researcher/Scholar

- Survey Powered By Qualtrics

African American Hispanic

Asian Pacific Islander Native American Other Decline to answer

- White

- How do you describe yourself?

Female Male O Decline to answer

60 or over

What is your age? 0 21-29 30-39 0 40-49 50-59

O Decline to answer

Do you identify as female or male?

Please provide your ei completely confidentia Email	mail address if you would like to be receive this study's findings. This information is I and separate from your survey responses.	
		>>