

INFORMATION TO USERS

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again — beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.
5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.

University Microfilms International

300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 USA
St. John's Road, Tyler's Green
High Wycombe, Bucks, England HP10 8HR

7821905

POLL, CAROL

NO ROOM AT THE TOP: A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL
PROCESSES THAT CONTRIBUTE TO THE
UNDERREPRESENTATION OF WOMEN ON THE
ADMINISTRATIVE LEVELS OF THE NEW YORK CITY
SCHOOL SYSTEM.

CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, PH.D., 1978

University
Microfilms
International 300 N ZEEB ROAD, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106

© COPYRIGHT BY

Carol Poll

1978

NO ROOM AT THE TOP: A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL PROCESSES THAT
CONTRIBUTE TO THE UNDERREPRESENTATION OF WOMEN ON
THE ADMINISTRATIVE LEVELS OF THE
NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL SYSTEM

by

Carol Poll

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
Faculty in Sociology in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Doctor
of Philosophy, The City University of
New York.

1978

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

7 July 1978
date

Manya Auer Kover
Chairman of Examining Committee

7 July 1978
date

William Kover
Executive Officer

Laurie Davidson Cummings

Judith Kover
M. W. Kover
Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

ABSTRACT

Carol Poll

Research Advisor: Dr. Murray Hausknecht

No Room at the Top: A Study of the Social Processes That
Contribute to the Underrepresentation of
Women on the Administrative Levels of
the New York City School System

Women are grossly underrepresented in management level positions. This pattern is evident in the elementary school system where, nationwide, women predominate in the classroom teaching positions (85 percent) and hold only 20 percent of the elementary school principal positions and 1 percent of the superintendent positions.

This study examines the social processes that contribute to the underrepresentation of women on the administrative levels of the New York City public school system. The study is intended to be exploratory and suggestive. Over ninety respondents were interviewed; the data is based on the depth interviews of the main sample of thirty-two elementary school teachers (17 males and 15 males) and thirty-one administrators (15 females, 16 males). Additional sources of data include interviews of school board members, Central Board officials, community district office officials, and union officials. The main sample of thirty-two teachers and thirty-one administrators focuses on white respondents in order that the effects of sex and race not be confounded in the findings.

None of the teachers entered teaching with the expectation of becoming administrators. Principals sort teachers by sex, placing females in the lower grades (K-3) and males in the upper grades (4-6). The tracking of teachers by sex continues throughout the teachers' careers. Females disproportionately fill the classroom teaching positions and males are disproportionately represented in the specialist position. The classroom teaching position with its excessive workload, isolation from colleagues, and severe restriction on autonomy serves to dampen administrative ambitions.

Six men and two women (25 percent) aspire to be administrators. A major difference between those who do and do not aspire is that the former were selected as proteges. Proteges developed a collegial relationship with an administrator, were encouraged to become administrators, and groomed for mobility. Teachers' ambitions also appear to be influenced by role partner relationships.

Two systems of selection of administrators have been used in New York City. Prior to 1969, a civil service exam selection system was used where candidates were appointed to administrative positions based on their rank on the exam. After 1969, a "credential" selection system was instituted, and candidates need only acquire a specified number of graduate credits. Vacancies in administrative positions are filled by a local school board. Now appointment to administrative positions requires the candidate engage in "political" behavior. A candidate must develop a social network of ties with parent association leaders, local politicians, union officials, school board members and Central Board officials.

All but three of the thirty-one administrators entered teaching without administrative aspirations. The aspirations developed as a result of work experiences and role partner influence. Female administrators appear to need more encouragement by superiors, while male administrators tend to see advancement as part of a "natural" career flow. There is a pattern of primary encouragement with males encouraging males and females encouraging other females.

Regardless of the type of selection system, females tend to be marginal to the "inner circles" of the administrative group in which males are numerically and culturally dominant. Women administrators have the status of "tokens" consequently they do not receive the same degree of support for mobility that males do. As tokens, females are inhibited from engaging in "political" behavior and do not receive "inside information" about vacancies or the professional socialization crucial for further mobility. Thus female administrators are more likely to be "stuck" on the assistant principal level and work as staff managers rather than line managers at the Central Board. The token status of female administrators may dampen their aspirations for mobility and represent a covert and subtle form of often unconscious discrimination contributing to the underrepresentation of women in administration.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge my deep appreciation for the support and guidance of my committee -- Professor Murray Hausknecht, Professor Judith Lorber, and Professor John Goering. As chairperson, Professor Hausknecht's direction and sociological insights were invaluable and crucial to the completion of this project. Because of all their efforts, this dissertation has provided me with a deeper understanding of sociology and the nature of intellectual scholarship. Equally important, their encouragement and kindness have helped me throughout my doctoral studies.

In deep affection, I would like to thank my mother who inspired me with the career-mindedness necessary to complete my studies. I also wish to acknowledge the kindness of the many friends who provided me with encouragement and sage advice. More specifically, I would like to thank Sandra Taylor and Carol Vericker for transcribing the tapes and Betty Barth for transcribing the tapes and typing the manuscript.

I am also grateful to the many respondents who took time from their busy schedules to share their career experiences with me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ABSTRACT	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF CHARTS	viii
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. METHODOLOGY	16
SECTION I:	
THE TEACHERS	
III. THE TEACHERS' DECISION TO BECOME AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHER	30
IV. BEING AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHER	58
V. THE CONTEXT OF ASPIRATIONS	87
VI. DEVELOPING ASPIRATIONS	104
SECTION II:	
THE ADMINISTRATORS	
VII. THE ADMINISTRATORS' DECISION TO BECOME A TEACHER	134
VIII. THE ADMINISTRATORS AND THE DECISION TO BE AN ADMINISTRATOR	154
IX. BECOMING A PRINCIPAL	180
X. THE PINNACLE POSITIONS: CENTRAL BOARD AND COMMUNITY SCHOOL DISTRICT ADMINISTRATORS	203
XI. THE ADMINISTRATORS AND THEIR ROLE PARTNERS	228
XII. THE FEMALE ADMINISTRATOR: SEX DISCRIMINATION AND BEING A TOKEN	246

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
XIII. CONCLUSIONS	266
APPENDICES	284
BIBLIOGRAPHY	323

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
II-1	Age of Teachers by Sex	20
II-2	Number of Years Teaching in the New York City School System by Sex	21
II-3	Marital Status of Teachers at Entry to Teaching by Sex	22
II-4	Marital Status of Teachers by Sex at Time of Interview	22
II-5	Most Recent Position Level of Administration by Sex	23
II-6	New York City Teaching Licenses Held by Administrators by Sex	24
III-1	New York City Elementary School Teachers by Sex for Period 1967-76	32
III-2	Period of Time by Which Decision Is Made to Be Elementary School Teacher by Sex	35
IV-1	Grade Placement of Teachers at Entry Into Elementary School by Sex	59
IV-2	Grade Placement of Teachers by Sex, 1975-77 School Years (At Time of Interview)	63
IV-3	Classroom Teachers and Perception of Adminis- trators' Type of Supervision by Sex	76
IV-4	Number of Years as Specialist Teacher by Sex	81
IV-5	Teachers Who Aspire to be Administrators and Guidance Counselors by Teaching Experience and Sex 1975-77	85
VI-1	Teachers Who Have Worked With Female Adminis- trators by Sex	107
VII-1	Occupations of Parents of Administrators by Sex	135
VIII-1	Primary Encouragement Toward Administration by Sex	172

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
Appendix VII-I	Total Number of Classroom Teachers in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools and Percent of Men Teachers	322

LIST OF CHARTS

<u>Table</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
X-1	The New York City Public School System	204

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Despite the fact the female labor force doubled between 1950 and 1975 and now women compose 40 percent of the nation's labor force,¹ two patterns have remained the same throughout the twentieth century. First, women workers are concentrated in occupations where the majority of workers are women. "Between 60 and 73 percent of the female labor force were in occupations where the majority of workers were women and between 30 and 48 percent were in occupations which were 80 percent or more female."² Second, regardless of the occupation, women tend to be concentrated in the lowest level positions that have the least financial reward, decision making power, and prestige. Women are almost totally absent from management level positions. "One out of twenty women as compared to one out of seven men in the occupational sector are employed in managerial or administrative occupations."³

¹United States Department of Labor, 1975 Handbook on Women Workers. Women's Bureau Bulletin 2970, 1975, p. 7.

²Valerie Kincade Oppenheimer, The Female Labor Force in the United States: Demographic and Economic Factors Governing Its Growth and Changing Composition (Berkeley: University of California) Population Monograph Series No. 5., 1970, p. 70.

³U.S. Department of Labor, 1975, op. cit., p. 86.

"Teaching is by far the largest 'professional' occupation for women. . . . In 1978 the more than two million women non-college teachers accounted for over 43 percent of the women employed in professional occupations."¹ More than half of all the teachers were employed in the elementary school teaching level, and 85 percent of the nation's elementary school teachers in 1973 were female.² Although elementary school teaching is a predominantly female field, women held only 20 percent of the elementary school principal positions³ and 1 percent of the 13,037 superintendent positions in the nation.⁴ These disparities are not accidental.

. . . The ban on the exercise of direct authority by women over male subordinates of comparable social status . . . is about as effective as might be expected if the two sexes were closed castes. . . . The tendency to deny authority to women is so strong that even in predominantly female occupations, there is an organized effort to find male candidates for supervisory functions. For the male social worker or

¹U.S. Department of Labor, 1975, op. cit., p. 95.

²Ibid.

³Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice L. Neugarten, Society and Education (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1975), p. 454.

⁴Patricia Ann Schmuck, "Sex Differentiation in Public School Administration," report prepared for National Council of Administrative Women in Education, 1815 Fort Meyer Drive, No. Arlington, Va., 22209, 1975, p. 9.

stenographer [or elementary school teacher], advancement is virtually automatic.¹

"A strong cultural norm exists in educational administration which encourages men to seek managerial positions and discourages women . . ."² This study will focus on the process which makes it relatively easy for males to rise to positions of authority and difficult for females to rise above the level of classroom teacher in an urban school system. School systems, and more specifically the New York City elementary school system, offer a particularly fruitful area of study for identifying the social processes that block females' upward mobility for two reasons. Firstly, urban school systems operate very much like other large complex organizations. Just as few female secretaries "trickle up" to management so, too, do few female teachers.³ However, unlike corporate managers, all school managers begin at the same organizational level, i.e., teacher, and thus the role of sex in separating the organizational line of teacher and management appears to be more crucial. Female teachers are not on the "fast track"⁴ to management, while most male

¹Theodore Caplow, The Sociology of Work (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1954), pp. 240, 245.

²Patricia Ann Schmuck, "Deterrents to Women's Careers in School Management," Sex Roles: A Journal of Research, vol. 1, no. 4, December, 1975, p. 340.

³Rosabeth Moss Kanter, Men and Women of the Corporation (New York: Basic Books Publishers, 1977), pp. 84, 83.

⁴Ibid., p. 87.

teachers appear to be able to step onto the "fast track" as soon as they enter the elementary school. By identifying the nature of the "tracking process" in the elementary school system, greater light will be shed on the nature of sex tracking in other large public and private bureaucracies.

Secondly, the New York City elementary school system represents a special area of interest to persons concerned with female management opportunities and experiences. In 1928 55 percent of the national elementary school principals were females.¹ Since the 1930's the nation has witnessed a steady decline in the percentage of female principals to its low point of 20 percent in 1972.² "The woman principal is a vanishing breed."³ However, New York City has shown less of a decline than the rest of the country. In 1950-51 females held 52 percent of the elementary school principals and in 1977 31 percent of the elementary school principals and 16 percent of the superintendencies were held by females.⁴ The reasons for the smaller decline of female participation in school management in New York City school system may suggest ways to increase the participation of females in management.

¹Nancy Frazier and Myra Sadker, Sexism in School and Society, (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1973), p. 97.

²Havighurst and Neugarten, 1975, op. cit., p. 454.

³Frazier and Sadker, 1973, op. cit., p. 97.

⁴All statistical figures cited for New York City Board of Education prior 1967 were compiled by this researcher. A statistical count and percentaging of females was done by an analysis of the names of the principals by sex listed in the official Director of the Board of Education of the City of New York, published every year until 1974-75. The 1977 figures were compiled by analysis of the list of names of principals and superintendents by sex issued by New York City Board of Education.

Theoretical Framework. In order to understand the nature of the work experiences as it affects mobility within complex organizations the analysis will draw most heavily upon theories of the sociology of occupations. The significance of "complex of auxiliary characteristics" which come to be expected of those occupying an occupational status is the main point of emphasis of this study.¹ Management is sex-typed as male work: the attributes thought to be crucial for the performance of the management role "define women as the 'wrong sex'."² Managers face uncertainty because they are unable to develop operating procedures for all possible events.³ Uncertainty leads to a heavy reliance on trust; trust among people stems from social similarity. Managers tend to choose others to join their group through "homosocial reproduction -- selection of incumbents on the basis of social similarity."⁴ New kinds of people create anxiety; they disrupt the sense of mutual trust, frequently present in a socially homogeneous group.⁵ Women as "new kinds of people" are not usually included in line management positions but are found in management positions facing less uncertainty such as in staff positions, i.e., technical specialist roles.⁶

¹Everett C. Hughes, "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status," in Sociological Theory: A Book of Readings, eds., Lewis A. Coser and Bernard Rosenberg, (London: Macmillan Co., 1964), p. 356.

²Ibid.

³Kanter, 1977, op. cit., p. 53.

⁴Kanter, 1977, op. cit., p. 54.

⁵Hughes, 1964, op. cit., p. 359.

⁶Kanter, 1977, op. cit., p. 55.

Patterns of "homosocial reproduction" have been identified as operative in other occupational settings. The "inner fraternity" of physicians functions like a "social group . . . because of their technical expertise, independence, their spatial proximity and their daily working relationships . . . personal factors play a part in determining who will be accepted."¹ A "dark skin" or the "wrong sex" may disqualify an applicant to a medical school.² Similarly big Wall Street law firms admit applicants to their core groups on the basis of "lineage, ability and personality."³ Female lawyers are aware that such firms are "too much like a male club"-- they do not want women in them and they have "little chance of becoming partners."⁴

Informal work norms that place a heavy reliance on recruiting and including people who are socially similar has important consequences for mobility, especially to high level positions. "Those who are excluded from informal work groups . . . are not sponsored for promotion"⁵ or even entry.

¹Oswald Hall, "The Stages of a Medical Career," The American Journal of Sociology, vol. LIII, no. 5, March 1948, pp. 335, 336, 332.

²Ibid., p. 332.

³Erwin O. Smigel, The Wall Street Lawyer (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), p. 37.

⁴Ibid., p. 46.

⁵Judith Lorber, "Trust, Loyalty and the Place of Women in the Informal Organization of Work," paper presented at American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, August 1975, San Francisco, California, p. 2.

Sponsorship is a crucial mechanism for entry into most professional groups whether it be medicine,¹ law,² college teaching,³ science research,⁴ or school administration.

Principals are almost universally unable to provide financial rewards because salaries are determined by systemwide schedules, but they can use sponsorship as a means of helping teachers advance in their careers.⁵

Sponsorship is "the means by which persons low in an occupational hierarchy are recommended by more highly placed persons for better positions."⁶ The protege learns the "crucial trade secrets" of the profession while at the same time performing services for the sponsor, and through this process the protege becomes a member of the

¹Hall, 1948, op. cit., p. 336.

²Smigel, 1973, op. cit., p. 100.

³Cynthia F. Epstein, "Encountering the Male Establishment: Sex Status Limits on Women's Careers in the Professions," in The Professional Woman, ed., Athena Theodore (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1971), p. 52.

⁴Howard S. Becker and James Carper, "The Development of Identification with an Occupation in Sociological Work: Method and Substance (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books), 1977, pp. 189-202.

⁵Robert Dreeban, The Nature of Teaching: Schools and the Work of Teachers (New York: Scott Foresman & Co., 1970), p. 66.

⁶Becker and Carper, 1977, op. cit., p. 200.

inner fraternity.¹ The process, however, "militates against the participation of women, [since] the sponsor is apt to be a man and will tend to have mixed feelings about accepting a woman as a protege. . . . He cannot easily identify her . . . as someone who will eventually be his successor."² The female, even if chosen as a protege, is less likely to be accepted in her sponsor's colleague group.

The norms of the school and society create a setting conducive to sex being used as criterion for the selection of a protege by administrator-sponsors. Management theory has equated managerial ability with the "masculine ethic . . . the traits assumed to belong to men with educational advantages to necessities for effective organizations."³ As a consequence women are seen as "temperamentally unfit" for management because they are "too emotional."⁴ Since, school administration patterns itself on business⁵ the same view of women appears in the schools as in the executive suites of the corporations. As one Oregon school superintendent stated it,

¹Becker and Carper, 1977, op. cit., p. 200.

²Epstein, 1971, "Encountering the Male Establishment . . .," op. cit., p. 55.

³Rosabeth Moss Kanter, "Women and the Structure of Organizations: Explorations in Theory and Behavior," in Another Voice: Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science, eds., Marcia Millman and Rosabeth Moss Kanter (New York: Anchor Books, 1975), p. 42.

⁴Kanter, 1975, op. cit., p. 42.

⁵Raymond E. Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency: A Study of the Social Forces that Have Shaped the Administration of the Public Schools (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 252.

If a woman goes into administration she must understand the workings of a man's mind so that when things are said they are not taken from a woman's angle because they are said from a man's angle. I would hate like hell to have a woman act out toward a man as some women do. They are moody. Some days they are happy and the next day they're bitching. An even keel is needed in this job.¹

According to Merton and Rossi one of the functions of "institutional norms" like the equation of masculinity and administrative ability, is to orient individuals toward reference groups, i.e., to identify those with whom one shares a common status.² The male teacher in the elementary school can easily take the administrative group, which is predominantly male, as his reference group. The equation also suggests to him, of course, that he possess "managerial ability." For the female the equation suggests the opposite and makes it difficult to make administrators a reference group. Aspirations are also affected by the individual's relationship with role partners. Role partner influence has been reported as having a significant impact on teachers' career decisions. "A teacher's perception of the career expectations held for him or her by his family and friends, and not necessarily the friend's and family actual expectations, are the

¹Schmuck, 1975, op. cit., pp. 93, 94.

²Robert Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957), p. 246.

major factors in the teacher's decision to leave or remain in teaching."¹ Acker and Van Houten report that female factory workers work patterns are significantly affected by the congruence of the work group and role partner's normative expectations. When "the sex power hierarchy in the home" and the workplace are "congruent . . . sex power differentials outside the organization act as a power multiplier, enhancing the authority of male superiors in the work place."² The impact of the role partner expectations and relationships such as the influence of siblings, parents and friends has remained an unexplored area in terms of the teacher's decision to go into administration.

Survey of the Literature. Studies of the upward mobility of male and female elementary school teachers into school administration have received limited attention; the studies tend to focus almost exclusively

¹Wilbur B. Brookover and Edsel L. Erickson, *Sociology of Education* (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1975), p. 220.

²Joan Acker and Donald R. Van Houten, "Recruitment and Control: The Sex Structuring of Organizations," Administrative Science Quarterly, vol. 19, no. 2, June 1974, p. 154.

on female teachers.¹ The central concern of the studies including male and female teachers has been the teaching experience.² Griffiths et. al. explored the upward mobility patterns of male and female teachers in the New York City school system working on all educational levels through senior high schools. One thousand and twenty-five

¹ Amitai Etzioni, "Preface," in The Semi-Professions and Their Organization: Teachers, Nurses, Social Workers, ed., Amitai Etzioni (New York: Free Press, 1969), pp. v-xviii.

Richard L. Simpson and Ida Harper Simpson, "Women and Bureaucracy in the Semi-Professions," in The Semi-Professions: Teachers, Nurses and Social Workers, ed., Amitai Etzioni (New York: Free Press, 1969), pp. 196-265.

Dan C. Lortie, "The Balance of Control and Autonomy in Elementary School Teaching," in The Semi-Professions and Their Organization: Teachers, Nurses and Social Workers, ed., Amitai Etzioni (New York: Free Press, 1969), pp. 1-53.

Sarah Lawrence Lightfoot, "Sociology of Education: Perspectives on Women," in Another Voice: Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science, eds., Marcia Millman and Rosabeth Moss Kanter (New York: Anchor Books, 1975), pp. 106-13.

Howard S. Becker, "The Career of the Chicago Public School Teacher," in Sociological Work: Method and Substance by Howard S. Becker (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1977), pp. 165-76.

Gertrude H. McPherson, Small Town Teacher (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1972).

Elizabeth G. Cohen, " 'Open-Space Schools', The Opportunity to Become Ambitious," in The Sociology of Education: A Book of Readings, Itasca, Illinois: F.E. Peacock, Inc., 1976), pp. 332-49.

² Dan C. Lortie, School Teacher: A Sociological Study (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975).

Willard Waller, The Sociology of Teaching (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1932).

Harry S. Broudy, The Real World of the Public Schools (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Janovich, Inc., 1973).

Dreeben, 1970, op. cit.

teachers were interviewed for data on "formal" and "informal upward mobility patterns,"¹ but no attention was paid to the significance of sex on administrative recruitment and selection priorities.

In the past the importance of sex was seen in terms of its impact on the decision to go into teaching and the commitment to remain in teaching.² But the national decline in the percentage of female principals, the woman's movement, and the Title IX Education Amendment barring sex discrimination in public education has sparked research on the impact of sex on mobility into school management. The typical research design gathers information mainly from female administrators using a survey instrument³ or interpreting

¹Daniel E. Griffiths, John S. Berben, Samuel Goldman, Laurence Iannacione, Wayne J. McFarland, "Teacher Mobility in New York City: A Study of the Recruitment, Selection, Appointment and Promotion of Teachers in New York City Public Schools." Report prepared by Center for School Services and School of Education, New York University for the New York City Board of Education, 1963, pp. 6, 1.

²Ward S. Mason, Robert J. Dressel and Robert K. Bain, "Sex Role and the Career Orientations of Beginning Teachers," Harvard Education Review, vol. 29, no. 4., Fall 1959, pp. 370-83.
Lortie, 1975, op. cit.
Cohen, 1976, op. cit.

³Dorothy Burns, Women in Educational Administration: A Study of Leadership in California Public Schools, unpublished dissertation in Educational Administration for Doctor of Education Degree at University of Oregon, 1964.

previously reported data.¹ Schmuck's in-depth interviews of thirty female administrators and ten male administrators in Oregon² and Gross and Trask's³ survey of seventy-one females and ninety-eight elementary school principals have pointed to the significance of sex on the decision to go into administration and their experiences working as an administrator. Mason et. al. coined the term "stepping stone" to describe the male teacher's rapid advance into administration.⁴ Timpano has identified the "filtering methods" discriminating against female administrators.⁵ However, no study has attempted to gather data from male and female teachers and administrators within one school system to determine the role of sex and gender on the path from classroom teaching to administrative positions. The assumption underlying the research to be reported here is that such a sample will further

¹Recruitment, Leadership Training Institute Women in Administrative Positions in Public Education," a position paper prepared by Recruitment, Leadership and Training Institute supported by U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, June 1974.

Suzanne Howard, "Why Aren't Women Administering Our Schools? The Status of Women Public School Teachers and the Factors Hindering Their Promotion Into Administration," National Council of Administrative Women in Education, 1815 Fort Meyer Drive, No. Arlington, Va. 22209, 1975.

Suzanne E. Estler, "Women as Leaders in Public Education in Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, vol. 1, no. 2, Winter 1975, pp. 363-86.

²Schmuck, 1975, op. cit., p. 25.

³Neal Gross and Anne E. Trask, The Sex Factor and the Management of Schools (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1976), p. 16.

⁴Mason, Dressel and Bain, 1959, op. cit., p. 374.

⁵Doris M. Timpano, "How to Tell if You're Discriminating Against Would-be Women Administrators, and What to Do About It," American School Board Journal, vol. 63, no. 6, June 1976, p. 20.

clarify the social processes contributing to and inhibiting the rise of teachers into administrative ranks. The relevant data needed to explore the question raised here was sought in depth interviews with male and female elementary school teachers and male and female administrators. There were additional interviews of Central Board Community District office administrators, school board members and union officials (United Federation of Teachers and Council of Supervisors and Administrators).

Chapter II describes the methodology of the study. Chapter III begins the section which focuses on the teachers. The chapter describes the reasons the teachers gave for becoming elementary school teachers. Chapter IV explores the nature of the work experiences of the teachers and how they influence the development of administrative aspirations. Chapter V delineates the context in which aspirations develop by describing first, the system used to select administrators from among candidates for supervisory posts, and, second, the gender-typing of administrative roles. Chapter VI describes the experiences of the eight teachers who have ambitions to become administrators and how they differ from those of non-aspiring teachers. Chapter VII begins Section Two and compares the subsamples of administrators and their reasons for becoming teachers with those who are non teachers. Chapter VIII describes the administrators' teaching experiences in relation to their aspirations. Chapter IX examines the "politics" of becoming a principal under the credential system. Chapter X describes the career paths of the Central Board and Community District office administrators. Chapter XI explores the influence of role partner

relationships on career decisions. Chapter XII examines the effect of overt and covert sex discrimination on female administrators and the special problems they face as "tokens." Chapter XIII concludes the study with a summary of the findings and how they lead to a rethinking of previously held notions of female mobility.

CHAPTER II

Methodology

This study is intended to be exploratory and suggestive; it is designed to tease out the subtleties of the social processes transforming a teacher into an upwardly mobile administrator.¹ The first step was a pilot study consisting of seventeen open-ended interviews. Included in the group were thirteen teachers, a special program director, administrative assistant, an assistant principal, and a district office coordinator. All the respondents were females; two were black, one Hispanic and the rest white. The preliminary interviews led to a decision to focus on only white respondents in order that the effects of sex and race not be confounded in the findings. While males were not interviewed in the pilot study because of the difficulty in locating male elementary school teachers at that time, they were included in the final sample.

As part of the pilot study a short, open-ended written questionnaire was distributed to thirty teachers in one school. The response rate was extremely low -- only three were returned. At one point the

¹The findings are not assumed to be a statistically reliable description because of the small sample. A larger sample drawn by a random sample method would present data of that kind. The percentages are not statistically significant but are geared to help understand proportions. However, the findings indicate general patterns of behavior occurring in the selection of administrators in the New York City School System.

principal confiscated the questionnaires before more could be distributed in the school. After much discussion he returned them saying they could be distributed, and he promised to fill one out. The principal never returned his questionnaires, and in informal conversations the teachers said that they would not fill out the questionnaires even though confidentiality was guaranteed. However, they said they would be willing to meet after school hours and talk about the issues raised in the questionnaires, i.e., teaching experiences and role partner obligations. This experience led to the second decision to gather data through in-depth, face-to-face interviews.

The Sample. Since there were no available citywide lists of teachers from which to draw a random sample, and because teachers are reluctant to talk about such school issues to a researcher who was not referred by a friend, it was decided that the best way to develop a sample was through a "snowball technique."¹ It was used to locate respondents who fell into the relevant categories, such as classroom teacher, specialist teacher, administrative aspirant, administrator, single, married, married with children.

To minimize bias numerous sources for referrals were used. Teachers and administrators were asked to recommend at least one person to interview to fill in the necessary social categories. People working outside of the school system were also used as

¹Nicholas Alex, Black in Blue: A Study of the Negro Policemen. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation in Sociology. New School for Social Research, 1968, p. 69.

referral sources, and they recommended teacher and administrator friends, neighbors, and relatives. Efforts were made to include school personnel from all age groups as well as those in teaching and administrative positions. School personnel were sought who worked in a variety of settings: district office, Central Board, schools in ghetto areas, and working class and middle class neighborhoods. However, the school population has become increasingly black and Hispanic. Of the 540,000 elementary school children in the New York City schools, only 160,000 (30 percent) are "other."¹ All but three male teachers and one female worked in predominantly black and Hispanic schools.

The sample of teachers and administrators was specifically drawn to include a near equal representation of married and unmarried teachers as well as those with and without children, but it was not intended to reflect the marital distribution of the universe of New York elementary school teachers and administrators. One goal of the research was to clarify the influence of marriage and children on career decisions and career paths of male and female teachers. However, finding single male elementary school teachers and single male administrators was extremely difficult, since both categories represent tiny minorities in the school system. Only four unmarried male elementary school teachers were found, and of those four only two were never married and two were

¹Board of Education of the City of New York, "Facts and Figures 1975-76 of New York City Public Schools" booklet. Table p. 71, "Ethnic Composition of Day School Population, October 31, 1975. The Board of Education uses the term "other" to include all persons who are not Black, Oriental, American Indian, Puerto Rican or Spanish surnamed.

divorced without children. Among the three unmarried male administrators who were found two were divorced with children.

Over ninety respondents were interviewed; thirty-five teachers (20 females and 15 males), thirty-one administrators (15 females and 16 males), three school board members (2 females and 1 male), thirteen Central Board officials (6 females and 7 males), eight union officials of the Council of Supervisors and Administrators and United Federation of Teachers (1 female and 7 males), eleven community district office officials including four community superintendents (2 males and 2 females), and two professors of school administration in New York City universities. The data to be analyzed is based on the depth interviews of the main sample of thirty-two teachers (17 males and 15 females) and thirty-one administrators (15 females and 16 males).

The Teachers in the Sample. The sample of thirty-two teachers includes kindergarten through sixth grade teachers, and specialist teachers such as bilingual, science, and special education teachers. All of these positions are "teacher line" positions carrying no official supervisory-administrative powers. As is true of the total New York City elementary school teacher population, the majority of the teachers in the sample are Jewish.¹ Of the women 65 percent (11) are Jewish, 29 percent (5) Catholic, and 6 percent (1) Protestant. Of the men 80 percent (12) are Jewish, 13

¹In the 1950's and 1960's the Jews became the most powerful white ethnic group in the school system, replacing the Catholics who controlled the system in the early twentieth century. David Rodgers, 110 Livingston Street: Politics and Bureaucracy in the New York City School System (New York: Vintage Books, 1969), p. 295.

percent (2) Catholic, and 6 percent (1) are Protestant. The male teachers were younger: 87 percent (13) of the males were younger than forty years of age compared to 59 percent (1) of the females. The oldest male was forty-five years old and the oldest woman was fifty-eight.

TABLE II-1

AGE OF THE TEACHERS BY SEX

<u>Ages</u>	<u>Females</u>		<u>Males</u>	
20-29	12%	(2)	27%	(4)
30-39	47	(8)	60	(9)
40-49	24	(4)	13	(2)
50-59	<u>18</u>	<u>(3)</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	101%	(17)	100%	(15)

The women tended to have spent more years as teachers. Sixty-seven percent (11) of the women in the sample have ten to twenty-four teaching years in the New York City school system, while only 47 percent (7) of the men had ten to twenty-four years of experience. The females' longer length of service is a reflection of the age of distribution and, possibly, the better opportunities of males to become administrators. The male colleagues of the older female teachers in all likelihood had moved into administration or left teaching.

TABLE II-2

NUMBER OF YEARS TEACHING IN THE NEW YORK CITY
SCHOOL SYSTEM BY SEX*

<u>Number of Years*</u>	<u>Females</u>		<u>Males</u>	
1-4	6%	(1)	7%	(1)
5-9	29	(5)	47	(7)
10-14	18	(3)	40	(6)
15-19	29	(5)	0	0
20-24	<u>18</u>	<u>(3)</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>(1)</u>
	100%	(17)	101%	(15)

*Since the interviews were done in the Fall of 1975 through the end of 1976 two women and one man have left teaching. Teaching experience includes elementary school teaching, junior high teaching and high school teaching, as well as working as a substitute on a regular long term basis.

The majority of the teachers, eleven men and eleven women, were single when they entered teaching. After entry the males' marital status changed more dramatically than women. Nine single male teachers (60) percent married; while only five (29 percent) of the females married. (See Table II-3, II-4.)

TABLE II-3

MARITAL STATUS OF TEACHERS AT ENTRY
TO TEACHING BY SEX

<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>Females</u>		<u>Males</u>	
Single	65%	(11)	73%	(11)
Married	12	(2)	20	(3)
Married With Children	18	(3)	6	(1)
Divorced With Children	<u>6</u>	<u>(1)</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	101%	(17)	99%	(15)

TABLE II-4

MARITAL STATUS OF TEACHERS BY SEX
AT TIME OF INTERVIEW

<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>Females</u>		<u>Males</u>	
Single	42%	(7)	13%	(2)
Married	12	(2)	33	(5)
Married With Children	35	(6)	40	(6)
Divorced With Children	6	(1)	0	0
Divorced Without Children	<u>6</u>	<u>(1)</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>(2)</u>
	101%	(17)	99	(15)

The Administrators. The sample of thirty-one administrators includes Director of Alternative School to Central Board Administrator.

TABLE II-5
MOST RECENT POSITION LEVEL OF
ADMINISTRATION BY SEX

<u>Position</u>	<u>Females</u>		<u>Males</u>	
Director of Alternative School	7%	(1)	6%	(1)
Assistant Principals D.E.S.*	20	(3)	6	(1)
Principals D.E.S.*	20	(3)	69	(11)
Community District Office Administrator	13	(2)	6	(1)
Community Superintendent	13	(2)	6	(1)
Central Board Administrators	<u>27</u>	<u>(4)</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>(1)</u>
	100%	(15)	99%	(16)

*Day Elementary School

The sample overrepresents high level female administrators, because most female administrators are in lower level administrative positions. In 1975-76 in New York City females comprised 43 percent of the Day Elementary School (D.E.S.) assistant principal positions, and 28 percent of the D.E.S. principals,¹ and 16 percent of the community superintendents. The sample deliberately overrepresents women in top management in order to identify their strategies for moving.

All the administrators had New York State certification which qualified them for administrative positions through the level of school

¹Martin H. Gerry, Director, Office of Civil Rights, "Letter to Board of Education of the City of New York," November 9, 1976. Office of Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Mimeographed Report, Appendix M, p. 25.

superintendent. Eighty percent (12) of the females and 88 percent (14) of the males had administrative licenses issued after successful passage of the Board of Examiners test.¹ Eighty percent (12) of the females and 63 percent (10) of the males were appointed to their present position after 1969 when the decentralization law went into effect. All the administrators began their careers as New York City teachers. (See Table II-6.)

TABLE II-6

NEW YORK CITY TEACHING LICENSES HELD BY
ADMINISTRATORS BY SEX*

Licenses

Elementary School	67%	(10)	38%	(6)
Elementary and Junior High School	7	(1)	13	(2)
Elementary and High School	0	0	7	(1)
Elementary, Junior High School and High School	13	(2)	13	(2)
Junior High School	0	0	19	(3)
Junior High School and High School	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>(2)</u>
	100%	(15)	103%	(16)

*All licenses were given by successful passage of Board of Examiners examinations.

¹See Chapter V for description of two selection systems: the Civil Service exam system used prior to decentralization and the credential system used after it.

The sample includes two retired administrators who were included because they had held very high administrative positions. Layne-M¹ had been a community superintendent and Island-F had held a high level management position at the Central Board. Both had been elementary school teachers, assistant principals and principals who had moved through the administrative ranks before and after decentralization. Ninety-four percent (13) of the females and 88 percent (15) of the males are between the ages of thirty to fifty-nine. One male administrator was below the age of thirty and three administrators (1 female and 2 males) were in the sixty to sixty-nine age group. Sixty percent (9) of the females and 88 percent (14) of the males are Jewish while forty percent (6) of the females and 13 percent (2) of the males were Catholic.

Married female administrators with children are overrepresented in order to identify the ways in which upwardly mobile wives and mothers cope with their problems. A very high proportion of female administrators are single. At the time of the interview only one male was single compared to over one third of the females. Eighty-one percent (13) of the males were married with children and two more were divorced with children. Sixty percent (9) of the females were married with children and one was a widow with a child.

¹"M" signifies male respondent and "F" female respondents. All the names of the respondents, except for non-confidential interviews, are pseudonyms.

The difference in the marital status of the men and women principals in our sample is striking; the men were predominantly married while the women were predominantly single. Over nine out of ten of the men were married but almost two thirds of the women are single, a difference that exists in all age groups.¹

Schmuck, in her study of ten male and thirty female administrators, found a similar distribution. All of the male administrators were married with children while of the thirty female administrators four had never married and six more were currently not married.²

The Interviews. Since the interviews were generally over two hours, most of the teachers' interviews were conducted in the respondent's home or my apartment. Interviews with most of the administrators who worked within the schools were conducted in their homes or in a convenient school office. Central Board, district office personnel, and union official interviews were conducted in their private offices. The interviews were tape recorded. Only two respondents objected to the tape recorder; one of them refused to be taped. The other respondents soon became unaware of its presence after being assured of the confidentiality of their statements.

¹Gross and Trask, 1976, op. cit., p. 22.

²Schmuck, 1975, "Sex Differentiation in Public School Administration," op. cit., p. 25.

The questions were open ended and, although a structured interview guide was used, questions were sometimes phrased or put in a different sequence so that the question "fit" the experience of the respondent and "picked[ed] out from the indefinite number of factors which determine a concrete action, the ones which are of interest to us."¹ Each interview was totally transcribed and the analysis was based on these transcriptions. The transcribed copies were cut up and grouped by categories. (See Appendix I for interview guide.)

Another source of data used to provide insights for follow-up questions for the interviews was the "folk talk" of the teachers and administrators. Waller found many of his "best clues to causal mechanisms" while listening to teachers' "folk talk . . . those bits of empirical insight which teachers have obtained in the course of their experience."² Teachers engage in "folk talk" in the teachers' room, while standing on hall duty, and after school. In the past thirteen years, including the period of time the interviewing was done, I have worked as an elementary school teacher in New York City schools. Being an elementary school teacher and a researcher gained me entry into settings few "outsiders" would have been able to enter easily. I was able to walk into union offices and speak to union officials and secure information otherwise kept confidential. I spoke to district office administrators who otherwise would have refused an

¹Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "The Art of Asking Why," in Qualitative Analysis: Historical and Critical Essays by Paul Lazarsfeld. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1972, pp. 190, 188.

²Waller, 1932, op. cit., p. 2.

interview. I also was able to sit down and talk to teachers in the teachers' lunchroom without being seen as an "intruder." As an "insider" I had almost instant rapport with the respondents. Since most teachers and administrators have done graduate work, the interviews were often seen as an extension of their own graduate studies.

Supplemental Material. Until 1968 the New York City Board of Education and the New York State Department of Education did not collect data on the sex and ethnic distribution of teachers and administrators working in the New York City school system. Prior to 1974-75, throughout the twentieth century, the New York City Board of Education published an "Official Directory of the Board of Education," listing all elementary, junior high school, high schools with the names of all the principals. Assistant superintendents and (after decentralization) community superintendents were listed by name. The percentage of female administrators was calculated by using the names of the principals listed in the official directory. For the period after 1967 Robert A. Scalise of the New York State Bureau of Educational Data Systems provided the sex distribution of the teachers and the administrators. The New York City Board of Education's Office of Educational Statistics refused to provide any data, but, in the last months of the data collection, Frank Arricale, Jr., Executive Director of the Personnel Division provided data upon request.

SECTION I
THE TEACHERS

CHAPTER III

The Teacher's Decision to Become an Elementary School Teacher

This chapter describes the reasons the teachers gave for becoming elementary school teachers. Sex and socioeconomic variables appeared to be significant factors. Their reasons provide possible insights why males cross sex-typed job lines and females chose female sex-typed jobs. The male teachers' reasons will be described first; followed by the female teachers' reasons.

MALES IN A WOMAN'S PROFESSION

Increase in Males in Elementary School Teaching. Elementary school teaching along with social work, nursing, and secretarial work are traditionally sex-typed as female jobs. Occupations are sex-typed when one sex is the "very large majority" of workers and there is "an associated normative expectation that is as it should be."¹ However, since 1950 the proportions of male elementary school teaching has dramatically increased.

In 1950, 91 percent and in 1960, 85 percent of all elementary school teachers were women. . . . The increase

¹Cynthia Epstein, Woman's Place: Options and Limits in Professional Careers (California: University Press, 1971), p. 152.

in the number of men in elementary teaching has been enormous in recent years; between 1950 and 1960, for example; there was a 132 percent increase in the number of male elementary teachers, compared to a 41 percent for females.¹

Nationwide, the percentage of men increased from 12 percent to 16 percent between 1961 and 1971.² Despite the recent increase of male teachers they still represent a relatively low proportion of the total elementary school teaching staff nationwide and in New York City. In New York City the percentage of men fluctuated between a high of 19 percent (1975-76) and a low of 15 percent (1967-68) with an average of about 18 percent.³ (See Table III-1.)

¹Oppenheimer, 1970, op. cit., p. 77.

²Havighurst and Neugarten, 1975, op. cit., p. 454.

³New York State Education Department, Bureau of Educational Data Systems; Figures for 1967-76 supplied by Robert A. Scalise, Bureau of Educational Data Systems, New York State Education Department (private communication, September, 1976).

TABLE III-1
NEW YORK CITY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS
BY SEX FOR PERIOD 1967-76¹

<u>Year</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1967-68	14.7%	85.3%
1968-69	19.1	80.9
1969-70	19.2	80.8
1970-71	18.7	81.3
1971-72	17.9	82.1
1972-73	18.0	82.0
1973-74	17.7	82.3
1974-75	17.6	82.4
1975-76	19.1	80.9

Males were used to supplement the female labor force when the school system needed additional elementary school teachers to accommodate the post-war baby boom which swelled the elementary school student population in the early and middle sixties. The New York school system offered an intensive teaching program which allowed college graduates to acquire sufficient credentials in one summer to qualify as beginning teachers in the fall semester. One of the men in the sample got his start as an elementary school teacher in 1966 by taking the summer course. (Over 60 percent of the people in the course were men studying to be elementary school teachers.)

¹New York State Education Department, Bureau of Educational Data Systems.

The increase of male teachers in New York City from 1970 and on is especially interesting, because in 1970 the nation and New York City had an unaccustomed surplus of beginning teachers.¹ More men were becoming teachers just when the demand for teachers was declining. In the keen competition for the decreasing number of available positions the women were losing out to the men in a field traditionally identified as a "woman's profession." Males, it would appear, have an edge over females not only in male sex-typed occupations but in female sex-typed occupations as well. Before discussing the respondents' reasons for becoming elementary school teachers a description of the structure of entry into public school teaching is in order to set the context for analyzing their reasons.

Public School Teaching Is a Readily Accessible Job. Lortie suggests public school teaching is characterized by the easy availability of teacher training programs especially in publicly supported college units of education which are not noted for their high selectivity.² Teaching is

. . . one of the most widely accessible types of vocational preparation conducted at the collegel level. Another characteristic of the system has facilitated entry -- the pattern of "contingent schooling" which

¹Havighurst and Newgarten, 1975, op. cit., p. 403.

²Lortie, 1965, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

has made many teacher preparation programs . . .
accessible to persons already teaching in schools.¹

The New York City school system parallels other educational systems. The City University colleges, which until 1977 were tuition-free, offered many programs in education qualifying people to be school teachers. It was also possible to earn education credits in private colleges in two and three week summer courses.

Until 1969, when the system was decentralized, twenty-four credits of education courses plus six months of student teaching qualified one to take the Board of Education's examinations. Elementary school teaching examinations included the "common branch" licenses for grades one through six and "early childhood" exams for pre-kindergarten through second grade. The tests consisted of general knowledge questions, a written essay, and multiple choice questions on educational theory, curriculum, and methodology. An alternative mode of entry into the system was as a substitute teacher. Examinations for a "regular substitute" or a "per diem substitute" required only twelve education credits and they were easier tests. While both substitute positions offered no tenure after three years and no pension, substitutes would choose the school they wanted to work in and avoid mandatory Central Board assignments.

Even more accessible than elementary school licenses were the junior high school and senior high school license which required only

¹Lortie, 1965, op. cit., p. 19.

twelve credits in education and thirty-six semester hours in the subject area. Foreign language majors could qualify with twenty-four credits in their major and mathematics majors with only eighteen. All but two teachers in the sample, one male and one female, became teachers before the teacher surplus began in 1970.

WHY MEN BECOME ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS

The interview data of the fifteen men offers insights into why men cross sex-typed job lines and take jobs in a field traditionally identified as women's work. As can be seen in Table III-2 the decision to be a teacher was made late in their young adulthood; fourteen of the fifteen decided to be teachers in their senior year in college or later. Becoming a teacher did not require extensive preplanning.

TABLE III-2

PERIOD OF TIME BY WHICH DECISION IS MADE TO BE
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHER BY SEX

<u>Time of Decision</u>	<u>Females</u>		<u>Males</u>	
High School or Before	53%	(9)	7%	(1)
Junior Year of College	24	(4)	0	0
Senior Year of College	0	0	33	(5)
While Working as JHS Teacher	0	0	20	(3)
While Working on Job Outside Education	18	(3)	40	(6)
After Children Born	<u>6</u>	<u>(1)</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	101%	(17)	100%	(15)

Elementary School Teaching Was a Draft Deferment. Ten of the men (67 percent) were thirty-four years or younger in 1977 and had been of draft age during the Vietnam War. Only three men specifically stated they went into teaching to avoid the draft.

I decided to go into teaching to stay out of the army.
My last year at City I took six credits of ed. each semester which was enough at that time to get a sub [substitute] license (Newcomb-M)

I decided to go into it, once I heard it was a draft deferrable job. (Uden-M)

I stayed in college an extra year to take education courses. That was just to avoid the draft. (Hooper-M)

More or less I wanted to get into education but I didn't want to get in full time, but at that time the draft situation was such that I went right into full time teaching in February. (Enden-M)

Those escaping the draft were not very different from the others upon entry; both groups appeared not to be committed to teaching as a career.

The Easy Accessibility of Teaching Positions Makes It Attractive Work.

A recurring theme is that elementary school teaching was a job that required minimal credentials and was easily accessible. Notably lacking from most of the responses were commitments to elementary school teaching because of a desire to work with young children, or because it involved "teaching," or because of an identification with teachers, or because it was a life long ambition.

I majored I guess about in everything. I minored in just about everything also. . . . When I came into it [teaching], you know, there was a place for everyone and so this is the sort of thing that people went into if they wanted the summer off. My original intention when I went into teaching was to work a couple of months a year and then to go somewhere. . . . I kept the sub license, because I had in my mind just to really be a drifter. (Omat-M)

I was at the seminary for a year. Although I liked the seminary, I just didn't think the priesthood was for me. So I came out and I was quite young. . . . I didn't really know what I wanted to do . . . so I decided to join the army. I think I was in service less than a year and I knew the service was not for me. . . . I guess in my second year in the army I decided I wanted to be a teacher. . . . You know what I think it might

have had something to do with it? I can sell; I am able to sell ideas and I can sell other people but I find it difficult to sell myself. . . . Part of the reason was that you wouldn't have to ask for a job. I never really liked to go around asking people to hire me for a job. When I went to school they just went for warm bodies. You got your degree and they would snatch you. . . . I knew I could pass the exam. (Keller-M)

Teaching and the Social Mobility of Men. Because of the easy accessibility of teaching positions, teaching appeared to be one of the few professions open to working and lower-middle class males graduating with mediocre college records and a liberal arts degree. Havighurst and Neugarten report "the overall majority of teachers come from lower-middle and upper working classes . . . teachers from working class families were somewhat more likely to teach in elementary schools than in secondary schools."¹ Lortie found teaching to be an "important medium of upward mobility for men."² This was true of the male teachers in our sample, for all but two of them teaching did indeed represent upward mobility. (See Table III-3.) Teaching offered them a professional job, one with greater prestige, salary, and security than those of their mothers and fathers.

¹Havighurst and Neugarten, 1975, op. cit., p. 406.

²Lortie, 1975, op. cit., p. 35.

TABLE III-3
OCCUPATIONS OF PARENTS OF TEACHERS BY SEX

Occupations	Females				Males			
	Mother		Father		Mother		Father	
Professional*	0%	0	6%	(1)	7% (1)		13%	(2)
Proprietor or Store Manager**	6	(1)	67	(10)	0	0	20	(3)
Clerical Worker	6	(1)	0	0	40	(6)	0	0
Government Worker	0	0	13	(2)	0	0	47	(7)
Factory Worker	12	(2)	0	0	13	(2)	0	0
Salesperson	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	(3)
Housewife	53	(9)	0	0	40	(6)	0	0
Elementary School Teacher	24	(4)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Administrative	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>(2)</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	101%	(17)	99%	(15)***	100%	(15)	100%	(15)

*Professional: lawyer, medicine, pharmacy.

**Proprietor or Store Manager: All the females' fathers in this category were self-employed small business owners. The males' fathers worked as managers for the stores (2) or bank (1).

***Two females' fathers absent due to death (1) and divorce (1), when females were very young.

Four of the men had fathers who were college graduates. Gillis was the only man in the sample whose mothers was a college graduate. Of the fifteen men only three men grew up in families with incomes over \$30,000, and these men were the only men to attend private colleges. The others, unable to afford tuition charges, attended City University colleges.

Sixty-seven percent (10) of the men came from working class or lower-middle class homes with fathers in either low prestige jobs or jobs with low incomes such as Transit Authority worker, salesman, x-ray technician, and low-level government office worker. The relatively small number of housewife-mothers is indication that the families needed two salaries. Most of the families of the male teachers lacked the financial resources to send them to graduate schools. The families also lacked the kind of information about professional occupations which would have helped their sons to become professionals. The sons, who were not outstanding students, having managed to enter college, were uncertain about the careers open to them, and the colleges did not fill the information gaps.

I studied to be an electrical engineer. I was having trouble with the math. . . . It wasn't a joy like it should be if that is going to be your life's work. . . . Teaching came up. And that is the other thing I am good at. Not teaching so much; that is subjective, but English, I am good and comfortable with. (Kaber-M)

After spending two years in pre-engineering and then transferring over to City College and knowing that I was going to flunk out . . . I went for advisement then. They guy looked at me . . . and he said, "How come you took engineering? Your tests show that you are not qualified to be an engineer." . . . That's the last

time I ever saw an advisor except to tell me to get this course or that course. (Rasen-M)

Upon graduation from college the men felt obliged to seek jobs which would make them self-supporting. But with only Liberal Arts degrees the men had few careers open to them. Teaching was one choice; compared to other professional workers the median earnings of school teachers are low but not when salaries of younger workers are compared. Among workers under twenty-five the median earnings of teachers are not lower than other professional level workers and are higher than blue collar workers. However, teachers earnings soon fall behind: male professional workers in the 35-54 age group have median incomes \$1,920 higher than elementary school teachers.¹

Becoming a school teacher for a working class or lower-middle class man meant choosing a career with a relatively acceptable beginning salary, status, job security, and job benefits not associated with blue collar or most white collar work. Teaching appeared to be the best of the available choices.

I did not really plan on being a teacher in college. I had feelings that I just wouldn't be happy in an office and that wouldn't be what I wanted. And teaching just sounded better and I knew I liked

¹Oppenheimer, 1970, op. cit., p. 85.

children. I was kind of vague. Everything about it just sounded much better than being behind a desk all day. (Oten-M)

Several men worked at other jobs before they went into teaching.

I was working at McGregors Sportswear, and one of the guys who worked there part-time was a teacher. So one day they needed a substitute in his school, a sixth grade teacher, so I went up there and taught that day. It was the first time I ever entered a classroom. I never had any practice teaching or nothing. . . . I had such a good time, so I said, maybe I will stick to that. Two or three days later the principal called me. He wanted to know if I'd come back and sub. So, I went a few days, and then he said, would you like a job next year, we need a teacher. I said, great, fabulous! So, that is how I got stuck in sixth grade, and I've been teaching ever since. (Owen-M)

Seven of the men had junior high licenses as well as elementary school (Common Branch) licenses, and one who switched to elementary school teaching had a senior high license. Junior high school positions were the easiest to get of all the teaching positions. Four of the men started as junior high school teachers but changed to elementary school positions to avoid the difficult behavior problems associated with pre-adolescent and adolescent children.

I worked as a junior high school teacher for one year;
it was very difficult because of the discipline. (Omat-M)

I figured . . . the teaching situation had to be better,
since JHS had many discipline problems. Many of the stu-
dents were behavior problems. (Kaber-M)

The other three men went right into teaching on the elementary school
level.

I accepted the elementary school position even though I
had those other licenses. My first appointment was on
the junior high license, and I turned it down because I
had worked with those age children one summer at camp.
I didn't care for that but I have always liked being with
little ones and it was fun and you know the hours were
excellent and vacation time and all that. (Hooper-M)

One man in the sample stood in sharp contrast to the other
fourteen men and most closely paralleled the female school teachers
in his reasons for choosing to be an elementary school teacher.

I always wanted to be a teacher. A good profession,
an important job, respectable job and it seemed like
it had a lot of breathing space to be yourself. My
parents were always encouraging me to go to be a

teacher. My mother did; my father was apathetic because I guess my father didn't have such great success in school. He was just apathetic to the school scene. (Hart-M)

Hart chose teaching not to avoid more unpleasant choices such as the draft or sales work but because his mother encouraged him to be a teacher; he grew up wanting to be a teacher.

WHY WOMEN BECOME ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS

Elementary School Teaching Is Long Time Ambition. In sharp contrast to the male teachers, most of the women grew up with the ambition to become teachers. Over half of them had already decided to be elementary school teachers by the time they were in high school, and four more had decided to be elementary school teachers by their junior year in college (see table III-2). By that time, then, thirteen of the seventeen women expected to be elementary school teachers, took elementary education courses, and thought of themselves as future elementary school teachers. This early choice is related to a perception that the occupations available to them were those within the realm of women's sex-typed work: nursing, social work, secretarial work, and school teaching.

Well, for a long time in the history of women, respectable jobs for women were teaching, nursing and very little else! There just was nothing else. A teacher was a professional and a clean job. Nursing was not as well paid

as teaching and it entailed things that were not so pleasant. If you didn't want that kind of thing you went into teaching. (Olin-F)

Number one, I think as they were growing up it was a nice thing for a girl to do. And besides, nursing and being a secretary, what else was open? Not much else was open to us. (Tome-F)

As pointed out earlier the women were older than the men, (see Chapter II, page 20), but even the two younger women in their twenties who had entered teaching in the early 1970's saw female sex-typed work as the only occupations available to them. The majority of the females in Lortie's study also thought only about entering the "semi-professions" (nursing, library work and social work), office positions, and the performing arts when they made their career decisions to become teachers. Only a "small number of women entertained hopes of working in the high prestige professions."¹

Teaching Is a Good Job for a Woman. In his discussion of why people chose to be teachers Lortie reported that "a category had to be included for those who said one way or another, that "teaching is a

¹Lortie, 1975, op. cit., p. 34.

good job for women."¹ The women's perceptions that teaching is better paid and has more pleasant working conditions than do other sex-typed female occupations is accurate. Teachers earn more, have better hours, vacations, job benefits, and greater social status than do secretaries or nurses or librarians. The highest paid secretaries working for top offices in larger corporations earned \$169 a week or approximately \$8,788 annually in 1971. Secretaries working for the smaller firms for manager of lower ranks earned \$132 a week or approximately \$6,864 a year.² Elementary school teachers earned at least \$2,000 more a year exclusive of fringe benefits. In the 1973-74 school year classroom elementary school teachers national annual average salary was \$10,341 or approximately \$198 a week.³ Teachers also fared better than nurses. In 1973 the median annual earnings of staff nurses in local health agencies was \$10,249 and \$9,062 in non-official agencies.⁴

Although the years are not the same and inflation and time have somewhat distorted the salary differentials, Oppenheimer's conclusions still seem valid.

¹Although originally absent from the questionnaires, 19 percent (men and women) of Lortie's sample said "one way or another that teaching is a good job for women" and had to be included as a category of reasons given why women enter teaching. Lortie, 1975, op. cit., p. 31.

²U.S. Department of Labor, 1975, op. cit., p. 145.

³U.S. Department of Labor, op. cit., p. 150. In 1974, New York City teachers' salaries began at \$9,700 and reached a \$20,350 maximum salary with eight years of experience and sixty graduate credits. This salary schedule is still in effect.

⁴U.S. Department of Labor, 1975, op. cit., pp. 153, 155.

Teaching appears to offer somewhat better economic opportunities than exist in other occupations. . . . Teaching offers, if not the opportunity for large economic rewards relative to the other professional occupations, a better chance of a moderate income. On this and many other counts, we can assume that teaching recommends itself to women.¹

Lortie's research lead to the same conclusions.

Viewed in the context of occupations with a large proportion of women, teaching salaries are not notably deficient, particularly when the relatively fewer working days per year are taken into account. The usual alternatives considered by women teachers normally offer no greater income and may, in fact, offer less. . . . More than half the women teachers saw money as a positive feature.²

The women were extremely aware of the advantages of working as teachers as compared to working in other female sex-typed jobs.

There are not so many jobs that women can get. For women it is a good paying job. . . . When you figure

¹Oppenheimer, 1970, op. cit., p. 82.

²Lortie, 1975, op. cit., pp. 30, 33.

on what women get paid as secretaries and salespeople and clerks or even junior executives today, then it's a fairly well paying job. The opportunities for women are not the same, monetarily they are not the same as opportunities for men. They never have been and they are not now. So, when it comes to money it is a fairly well paying job. It gives good holiday time. It gives you good hours. (Raye-F)

Parents Counsel Daughters to Be Teachers. The women were greatly influenced by their parents. About two-thirds were advised by them, particularly their mothers, to become elementary school teachers.

My mother said I should be a teacher; it was the best job I could get, she said. (Prat-F)

I know my mother wanted me to be a teacher. (Selt-F)

I can answer that right off the bat. My mother would not let me become a junior in college. I had straight A averages in my first two years, unless I promised to become a teacher. She wanted to make sure I was. (Olive-F)

I think it was a good secure job, which it was then. But I guess with my parents being products of the Depression. . . . It was their safety valve going into education. But

in terms of the type of performance that I used to do in school and all of that I was a lot smarter and I could have done a lot more. . . . I was very conditioned . . . like falling into the trap and believing a lot of stuff. . . . I never really fully explored all of the areas. (Newt-F)

Although their mothers counseled them to be teachers they did not always follow the advice without misgivings.

I'm supposed to have so much patience to be a teacher. How could I ever be a teacher? I didn't want to be a teacher just because she was telling me I should be a teacher. I meant it was like how could I keep doing something that she wanted me to do. (Pryor-F)

Nevertheless she went directly into elementary school teaching from college in 1969.

The Congruence of College Experiences and Home Experiences. Their college experiences did not expand the occupational choices of these women: they appear to have had limited career advice that encouraged them to look beyond the traditional sex-typed occupations.

I didn't have any good services in high school because I went to a small Catholic girls' school and the same thing happened at college. I guess I could have availed

myself of the services that they had but I didn't. And I just like kind of tried out classes to see what sounded interesting and what really looked good and I just sort of fell into teaching. For a while I was thinking about the law, political science and history. I went through a lot of different things. Part of the trouble was I didn't have any real good counseling. (Pryor-F)

I don't think that college really did very much of a job of encouraging people. As long as you went and paid the money, they didn't care. And I had originally been interested in psychology and I thought that I could teach emotionally disturbed children. I was going to go in for a special license. Then I decided that I didn't feel like teaching and then eventually went back to it. (Olin-F)

Up until the end of my seventh term I could have gone into teaching or I could have gone into sociology. . . . I chose to teach in the elementary school, I think partly because there was no subject that is taught in high school that I had any great interest in. (Crane-F)

Without encouragement to look at other careers the women appeared to fall back on their previous experiences and the advice of their parents. Their college and family experiences were mutually reinforcing.

Elementary school teaching appeared to be the most attractive and attainable job. Work with young children was traditional female work and some already had taken care of their younger siblings, had baby-sitting jobs, or had been camp counselors.

I wanted to go into psychology. And I took the teaching exam while I was in college and I passed, was appointed and that was it. I always liked to work with children. Even as a little child I liked to play with the babies, and the little children in the area. I enjoyed being a counselor. (Selt-F)

Teaching Offered More Attractive Benefits than Other Sex-Typed Work.

Two women upon graduation from college chose not to follow their mothers' advice, but their experience as secretaries soured them on that work.

I did everything in college except student teaching. I decided I wasn't going to teach. I worked as a secretary. . . . Then, I went to work for one of these very large mill companies. Of course, I was bored and wanted to go on to the next step. They gave it to a man, instead of me. I knew the job, because I used to take over when the supervisor was away. . . . They called in a man from another department, to promote to that job. . . . I took the sub license exam. . . . And then I left. (Olin-F)

I was a secretary in the New York Stock Exchange for two years. . . . In the business world, when I was there seven years ago, women were looked down upon and you are just there to help men. I found no way to further myself in business. . . . I came to the point where I said . . . it was not the way to live a life. Financially, as a woman, I got less than a teacher. Why did I choose teaching? Because my mother told me. (Tapt-F)

Elementary School Teachers as a Reference Group. Most of the women were from working class or lower-middle class families, and had little long term exposure to college educated, professional women except for those women in traditional female jobs. Elementary school teachers were a visible "comparison type" reference group; a group which provided a "frame of comparison" salient for young females.¹

Ever since I was in kindergarten, I always wanted to be a teacher. Plus, I loved my kindergarten teachers, and I always wanted to be a teacher, and I've always loved working with children. (Tome-F)

Four women had mothers who were elementary school teachers and also served as occupational role models. All of them decided to be

¹ Merton, 1975, op. cit., p. 283.

elementary school teachers including the woman whose mother urged her not to be a teacher.

I chose teaching, because my mother was so crazy about it. All the time she kept saying, don't do it. . . . It sounded fascinating when she described it . . . fascinating and challenging. (Rowe-F)

Teaching and the Social Mobility of Women. National studies report that female teachers come from slightly higher status background than do male teachers.¹ In the New York City sample the men and women appeared to come from similar social class backgrounds (see Table III-3). Most of the males and females came from families who did not have the financial resources to support them through graduate professional training. Ten of the women graduated from one of the New York City public colleges, and several said their families would not have been able to send them to college if they had to pay tuition. Only three of the female teachers would have been able to support themselves through medical school, law school or social work school. Most of the women, like the men, felt financially compelled to go into the job market as soon as possible after college in order to support themselves and to help their families. Teaching was available upon graduation.

¹Lortie, 1975, op. cit., p. 35 and Oppenheimer, 1970, op. cit., p. 89.

There was a period once when I was in college that I wanted to be a doctor, but it was so impactical and I was not doing terribly well in school anyhow. Sometimes I think I would have gone into a professional field had I really thought that I could do it, and finish the schooling. (Crane-F)

I took a soc course and I liked it. . . . I ended up majoring in that. I also thought about going on in that. Another thing I thought about was social work but the impression I was getting from most of the teachers was, first place, you had to have your masters before you could do anything with it. I really couldn't wait any longer to get out in the job market. (Pryor-F)

Teaching and Family Responsibilities. Four women who had always wanted to be teachers began teaching after having children. One had taken a job working for the Welfare Department because there were no teaching jobs available upon graduation. Originally she wanted to be a high school French teacher but switched to elementary school teaching.

I had young children and I had to work. I didn't have my masters in social work and it was even hard to get a masters even if I could afford it. . . . It was even very hard to get into social work school so it

seemed teaching was practical with young children.

. . . My friends said they really needed teachers very badly so I took the substitute license exam and passed it. I used to work one or two days a week. It was practical because I could get a babysitter for one or two days a week. That is why I went into teaching. (Hatk-F)

Another mother also wanted to be a high school teacher, but after moving to the West with her husband and returning to New York, she realized it would be easier to become an elementary school teacher. She also began as a regular substitue.

As an elementary school teacher I only had to take six credits in education otherwise I needed a master's in physical education. I had no trouble getting a job when we came back from the West because there was a shortage of teachers. When I started teaching, my children were six and ten years old. The younger boy was in the first grade. He only went to one o'clock so we hired a lady to sit when he came home at one o'clock. I always worked near the house. (Mond-F)

Elementary school teaching was one of the few jobs which gave women with children an opportunity to fulfill their family obligations as well as earn money.

Summary. Most of the men decided to become teachers to avoid being drafted or because they saw few other acceptable careers open to them. Their decisions were frequently made in their last year of college shortly before graduation or just after graduation. Most of the men decided to teach on the elementary school level because a job was available and it seemed like an easier teaching assignment than junior high school teaching. Yet what superficially may seem to be a "drift" into elementary school teaching may be rational decision making. Coming from lower-middle class and working class backgrounds and without exceptional college records, they realized there were few "professional" middle class positions available to them with a Liberal Arts degree. Elementary school teaching offered the best returns in terms of salary, hours and working conditions. The interviews reveal that males are willing to cross sex-typed job lines if they see opportunities for financial rewards and upward mobility.

Most of the women decided to become elementary school teachers because it was the most attractive and attainable traditional female sex-typed job. They saw the only jobs available to them as those within the realm of women's work. Their decision to become an elementary school teacher rather than a social worker, nurse, or secretary was based on their early identification with elementary school teachers, their socioeconomic background, the accessibility of positions, enjoyment in working with young children, and their parents; especially their mothers' influence. Unlike the men, many of the females decided to become elementary school teachers before entering

college. By their junior year in college over three quarters had already decided to be an elementary school teacher.

The women learned about the sex segregation of the occupational sector from their parents and from their own work experiences. Thus, frequently we see female teachers enter the school system "conditioned" to believe that sex is a salient status in the sphere of work and one that can affect their opportunities. In sharp contrast, the men enter teaching with little preconception that their sex will limit their career options. They enter teaching suffering from the constraints all working and lower-middle class people face, but women enter with the constraints imposed by both sex and class.

Career options for women have always been narrow, and within that limited range teaching represents a "top job." Men facing narrow career options in their senior year of college choose among a range of lower status jobs, less prestigious ones for men. It appears men "settle" for teaching whereas women are reaching up when they chose to become elementary school teachers.

Noticably lacking from all the respondents reasons for entering teaching was a desire to use it as a "stepping stone" to administration. Both the men and women entered teaching not expecting to be principals, assistant principals, or school superintendents. As will become evident in the following chapters the decision to be an administrator evolves out of the experience of working in the school system and with role partners outside the school setting.

CHAPTER IV

Being an Elementary School Teacher

This chapter will explore the nature of the work experiences of the teachers and how they influence the development of administrative aspirations. The influence of sex status on grade placement will be followed by a description of the structure of the work setting of classroom teachers, and a description of the specialist teacher position.

THE NEW TEACHER

The Principal as Sorting Agent. The type of reception the new teacher receives frequently determines the teacher's perception of her future career options. Sex status influences the assignment and reception of a teacher. Male teachers reported that they were preferred candidates when principals had the opportunity to choose the teacher to fill a vacancy.¹

¹Before decentralization, "regular" teachers were assigned to schools by the Central Board on the basis of their score on a competitive teaching examination. Substitute teachers were chosen by the principal. When unexpected vacancies arose in a school, especially at the time of the shortage of teachers prior to 1970, principals had an opportunity to fill those vacancies before the Central Board appointed a teacher to the vacancy. All but two teachers, one male and one female became teachers prior to 1970.

When I started to teach -- if you were a man you had a much better chance of getting a job. I think that principals took men in elementary school who might not have been as qualified as a woman. If they had a choice between a man and a woman most of them would take a man. . . . They just wanted more male images . . . which I believe is good, but I think because they wanted them so bad they just -- they might have taken any man rather than a woman. A woman might have been more qualified. (Keller-M)

Principals also have the authority to place the new teachers in whatever grade or type of class (bright or slow) they decide is appropriate. The principals tended to place new female teachers in the lower grades, K-3, and new male teachers in the upper grades, 4-6, and in specialist positions. (See Table IV-1.)

TABLE IV-1

GRADE PLACEMENT OF TEACHERS AT ENTRY
INTO ELEMENTARY SCHOOL BY SEX

<u>Grades</u>	<u>Females</u>		<u>Males</u>	
K-3	82%	(14)	13%	(2)
4-6	12	(2)	60	(9)
Specialist	<u>6</u>	<u>(1)</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>(4)</u>
	100%	(17)	100%	(15)

Sex and Grade Placement of the New Teacher. The use of sex as an important criterion for grade placement serves to reinforce the new teachers previous conditioning that sex is a salient status for their career options. Grades five and six, the upper grades, are often thought to be "tougher" requiring a "strong" teacher capable of handling the big children. Grades K-3, the lower grades, are assumed to require a "maternal touch" because the children tend to be younger (under nine years old).¹ Grade four is not as clearly sex-typed as the others. Male teachers are seen as being better disciplinarians and "stronger" teachers.

When I came to the school I was told by the principal he had just the class for me. The needed a big, strong man like me because they had several teachers that year and suffered from the teacher turnover. (Rasen-M)

In elementary schools a lot of people believe that a woman's touch is needed for the maternal figure. But when we get fifth and sixth graders a lot of people are a little bit reticent about how strong a female can be in controlling the school population especially in the older school population. (Hooper-M)

¹Up until 1977 the only restriction on the grade placement of teachers was the New York City Board of Education ruling that teachers with an early childhood license can refuse a class assignment above the second grade. Of the thirty-two teachers in the study only five females had an early childhood license and they were placed in grades K-3.

When I was teaching I had a third grade -- all right, so I was a beginning teacher. They gave me a third grade! But, then after a couple of years I said I would like a sixth grade, and the principal said, 'What do you mean a sixth grade? You're a woman! You know, you can't. Could you handle those big boys?' (Rawson-F)

The Context of the Prestige Ranking of Teachers by Sex. Violence is a real problem in the schools, and causes men to be prized over women. In 1975-76 there were 10,896 "incidents of violence" in the New York City school system.¹ Assaults against teachers and assaults by children against children are major concerns of school officials. Classroom teachers most often bear the brunt of the violence: they are expected to control their classes and break up fights among children. It is assumed that men are more willing and able to use physical force to control children. Since these valued qualities are culturally associated with males, their assignment to the upper grades, while the females get the lower ones, is symbolic of the evaluation of the relative worth of males and females. Those teachers who are viewed as physically powerful and capable of dealing with potentially violent children in their classes are ranked as the most valuable school teachers.

¹New York Times, 13 June, 1976,

Although the problem of violence is real, there is another dimension to the concern with it in the schools. The student population of New York City is primarily non-white while most of the professional staff is white. In 1975-76 whites composed 30 percent of the total elementary school population¹ and in 1974-75 87 percent of the professional staff including administrators and teachers were white.² (All but three of the teachers in the sample teach in predominantly black and Hispanic schools.) The school staff's concern with discipline may reflect not only the increase in reported incidents of violence but beliefs that non-white children are more likely to be violent than are white children.

THE EXPERIENCED TEACHER

Sex and Grade Placement and the Experienced Teacher. The association of sex and strength and the skill of the disciplinarian was reflected in the grade assignments of the experienced teachers. At the time of the interview only one male was working in the "lower grades" while eleven of the seventeen females were in the "easier to handle" grades.

¹Board of Education of City of New York, "Facts and Figures 1975-76, op. cit., table, "Ethnic Composition of Day School Population, October 31, 1975, p. 71.

²Board of Education of the City of New York: Office of Educational Statistics, "Ethnic Composition of Professional Staff 1970-71 to 1974-75, April, 1976 Statistical Memorandum Number 1," p. iii.

TABLE IV-2
GRADE PLACEMENT OF TEACHERS BY SEX
1975-77 SCHOOL YEARS
(At Time of Interview)

<u>Grades</u>	<u>Females</u>		<u>Males</u>	
K-3	65%	(11)	7%	(1)
4-6	18	(3)	33	(5)
Specialist	<u>18</u>	<u>(3)</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>(9)</u>
	101%	(17)	99	(15)

Several of the teachers reported being "pushed" into a grade assignment because it was congruent with the principal's image of sex status and grade placement.¹

I always wanted a low grade class. I would rather work with little kids. I really can't stand adolescence. I always wanted a third grade class, and I was pushed into a fourth grade because they told me they needed men in the higher grades. (Omat-M)

¹Teachers with one or more years experience in a school submit a grade preference form in June requesting three grades they would like to work in. The principal is contractually required to honor grade preference sheets on the basis of teacher seniority within the school. He can place them on any one of those three grades. Frequently females tend to choose the lower grades and males the upper grades. Experience in a given school instructs teachers about the likelihood of their requests being honored. After a while, the male teacher, for example, stops requesting a second grade.

Most of them [the men] don't request the younger grades.

I guess they feel there is more status in teaching the upper grades. . . . There was only one man teacher on the second grade. He has been taken off. He is going into a fifth grade. Men are mostly put in the upper grades. We have difficult children and I guess the men can handle them better in some instances when they become physical. (Hatk-F)

The size of the male teachers ranged from a slightly built 5'4" to a lanky 6'3", but regardless of their height and weight they were assumed to have greater "strength" than women who might be of equal weight or taller than the men.

The association of maleness with the ability to be a good disciplinarian has important consequences for the development of administrative aspirations. One of the important tasks of the school administrator is to maintain "discipline" in the school. Administrators are expected to handle difficult, obstreperous children who disrupt classes. Sending a child to the principal is one of the strongest sanctions of the classroom teacher. The association of administration with the skills of the disciplinarian and the identification of males as the best disciplinarians means that women are automatically thought of as less qualified to be administrators.

WORK SETTING AND AMBITION

Most female elementary school teachers are classroom teachers; and the structure of work in the classroom frequently discourages the development of administrative ambitions.

The Isolated Classroom. Most classroom teachers work in self-contained classrooms in which there are usually thirty to thirty-two children.¹ Being in a room alone all day with children has been seen as undermining psychological stability.

Nobody can enjoy good mental health -- a combination of stability and flexibility, of self-confidence, and self-criticism, of vigorous curiosity and subtle sensitivity -- while spending his working hours without interruption with children; with other adults issuing orders and acting as superiors; trying to play diverse and incompatible roles; in constant noise and under pressure which either lead either to the disintegration of personality or to the numbing of the mind.²

¹Union contract sets a class size limit of thirty-two children, but the fiscal crisis of the New York City school system has prevented the fulfillment of the contract in all cases. Classes sometimes go above thirty-two children.

²Alma Wittlin, "The Teacher," in The Sociology of Education: A Sourcebook, eds., Robert Bell and Holger Stub (Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1968), p. 285.

Lortie found teachers suffer from "diffuse anxiety."¹ Teachers tend to underestimate the prestige rank of their occupation indicating that teachers have a "deficit" rather than a "surplus of self-esteem."² These strains are evident in the interviews.

I don't find it challenging any more and I don't find it satisfying. I think that those kids have more of an effect on me than I have on them. And I just feel like the end of the day, I have two different personalities. My teacher personality and my normal personality. (Pryor-F)

Sometimes I feel my mind is rotting. (Hooper-M)

We've got teachers who are undeveloped in their personalities. You can't develop. If you can't interact with adults. . . . You take a teacher, put them in a classroom and they don't interact as adults because they are dealing only with children. (Rasen-M)

The self-contained classroom inhibits the sharing of mutual professional concerns and the development of a collegial community accompanied by a sense of self-respect and confidence. Dreeben reports the isolation of

¹Lortie, 1975, op. cit., p. 143.

²W.W. Charters, Jr., "The Social Background of Teaching," in Handbook of Research on Teaching, ed., N.L. Gage (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963) p. 748.

the teachers' work make it difficult for others to evaluate her work and for her to evaluate herself.¹

In the first place, there are some very good teachers.

But nobody else knows the good teachers. You really

don't know how good they are as teachers. (Pryor-F)

Excessive Work Expectations of the Classroom Teacher. The work load of the classroom teacher is excessive.² It is impossible for one person alone in a room all day with thirty-two children to fulfill all the work expectations. The classroom teacher regardless of grade level, is expected to teach reading, math, spelling, grammar, poetry, appreciation of literature, science, art, hygiene, music, gym, history, citizenship. In addition, she is expected to instill acceptable moral values into the children as well as an appreciation of their ethnic and racial heritages. Teachers are expected to identify abused children, those needing therapy, glasses, dental work, medical care, and refer them to appropriate outside agencies. It is also expected that she will place children in after-school programs and summer camp programs. She is expected to be available for conferences with parents during the official open school days and regular school days. Finally, the teachers expect to "reach" all the students. Lortie found the "core rewards" of teachers are

¹Dreeben, 1970, op. cit., p. 52.

²See Appendix III for "Report on Teaching Services" definition of work expectations of teachers.

tied to their perception of having "reached their" students.¹ The teachers in this study report a similar perception.

The teachers frequently expressed a sense of inadequacy and powerlessness, because they were not being able to "reach" all the children and teach them all the subjects.

What are we supposed to be doing in those classrooms?

. . . I would like these children to know how to get along with each other. You say . . . it would really be terrific if they could get along with each other but my God what are they going to do if they can't read or write or add. . . . I know I have felt myself [to be] a bad teacher, because I become very unprofessional. Just really reacting to the pressures of the job in an infantile kind of way. . . . You feel it's a failing in you. (Newcomb-F)

Education courses in college do not equip people with the knowledge and techniques necessary to teach all children how to read, write, and do arithmetic.

A science of education and a set of rules derived from it would constitute a rational order of instruction. But no such science exists -- if by science is meant a set of

¹Lortie, 1975, op. cit., p. 106.

generally accepted empirical theories. Teaching is not the application of scientifically validated theories. It is more like the preparation of meals in a restaurant; the menu is prescribed and so are the recipes. Neither the menus nor the recipes are grounded in a coherent theory of nutrition.¹

The teachers are aware they lack a reliable body of knowledge comparable to that of the classical professions; they are also aware that it affects the way they are perceived by others. They feel that they are held accountable for problems that no other teacher in a school can do much about.

The fact that teachers are blamed for all the reasons why children't don't learn, many of which they have no control over is an obvious disadvantage. . . . We don't know from day to day where we stand. We are under very great pressure and emotional strain. We have larger classes and no pre-periods and crazy lunch hours. They don't let us be proud of ourselves. I mean, people outside of the teaching profession. (Olin-F)

Constraints on Autonomy. Manifold rules serve to restrict the autonomy of the teachers and define teachers as followers, not leaders.

¹Broudy, 1972, op. cit., p. 43.

School operation is so rule-ridden that the teacher's autonomy is restricted to trivialities. All she can do on her own is make minor adoptions. . . . Major changes would almost certainly breed suspicion and new trouble.¹

Time cards record the teachers' punctuality, and lateness of one or more minutes are severely criticized.

Miss S. was such a rigid person that it could drive you right up the wall at times. . . . She would go beserk over people coming in late. (Selt-F)

Teachers must stand outside their doors at 8:40 a.m. and 1:00 p.m. when children come to school in the morning and return after lunch. Classes must be brought down for lunch and dismissed according to a schedule determined by administrators. Teachers are told which exits they are allowed to use for lunch and 3:00 p.m. dismissals. In order for a teacher to go to the bathroom during the morning or afternoon, she must ask a neighboring teacher to stand by the door of both classes.

Teachers are responsible for the tidiness of their rooms, and untidy rooms are reported to the principal by the custodian. Attendance roll books are expected to be up-to-date and always ready for inspection. Daily and weekly attendance sheets are sent to the school office and

¹Broudy, 1972, op. cit., pp. 39, 42-43.

and checked by the school secretaries. Marking books are expected to be kept up-to-date. Requests for supplies rarely are completely filled; school aides are instructed by the principal about the amount of supplies "appropriate for teachers."

Book orders are filled out by classroom teachers, but generally the classroom teacher has no influence on which sets of books are sent.

I found that I had to use the same reader as I did last year even though I was now teaching fifth grade and not fourth grade. I had no choice in whether to use the Economy book series or Scott Foresman series. I had to use the Economy book series. (Davis-F)

The classroom teacher is held officially accountable for the return of all books. Every teacher is expected to submit to the administrators a weekly plan book which details the aims, methods, and the time every lesson in all the subject areas will be taught. Schools have different lesson plan forms and rules depending on the principal's interpretation. The most immediate consequence of living with all these rules is a feeling of vulnerability: it is impossible to comply with all of them and therefore teachers are always subject to criticism for breaking a rule. A less obvious but more far-reaching consequence is that all these rules implicitly define the classroom teacher as one who is incapable of ordering her own professional work. Such definitions, of course, make it difficult for the classroom teacher to develop or maintain a self-image of one who is capable of managing the work of the class

by herself. And if she cannot manage the work of her own class without supervision, how can she think of herself as a potential administrator?

Arbitrary and Coercive Administration. Principals are "bosses" in their schools.¹ Etzioni points to a "tightly regulated" work situation² and Rodgers notes

Authoritarian and paternalistic supervision are prevalent in principal-teacher relations. . . . Teachers may be subjected to such administrative sanctions as extra chores, assignment to special classes, or continued visits to their classes by the principal. . . . Principals and teachers come into greatest conflict on the former's use of observations and ratings, which many teachers claim are artificial standards, often used as weapons to intimidate teachers who disagree with them. . . . Principal's ratings actually discourage creativity in instructional methods. . . . A good teacher will really come off badly, because he disregards many old traditions. . . .³

¹See Appendix V for Board of Education Duties of Elementary School Principal and Appendix III for Teacher Rating Sheets.

²Etzioni, 1969, op. cit., pp. xiv.

³Rodgers, 1969, op. cit., pp. 281-83.

Teachers report that supervisors assume that teachers do not possess adequate class management skills.

They check to see what is on the board. And what is on the board for your daily plan has to be what you are teaching at the time. . . . The aim has to be on the board. . . . That is the first thing they look at . . . and you have to be doing what it says. . . . The whole thing is very rigid. . . . They watch you as if you were one of the children in the class. And they really don't give you very much credit for knowing anything. They are constantly imposing their ideas without letting you try anything, because they just assume that their way is the only way. (Wallace-F)

The teachers perceive the administrators' criticisms as arbitrary, coercive, and intended to demonstrate their authority.

He came into the kindergarten class and the children were playing with blocks. . . . His first question was, 'Is this in the plan book?' . . . 'Why are they playing with blocks,' he said, 'somebody might get hurt.' I said, 'They're not going to get hurt.' He said, 'Is it in part of your program?' I said blocks are a part of any kindergarten program. He said, 'Well, I don't approve

of it. I don't think they should be playing with blocks.

I think somebody can get hurt." (Raymer-F)

He'll come in when you are very busy with the class, very involved with them and he'll say change the bulletin board right now. . . . I've asked him to send me notes in my box when he has something to tell me rather than telling me while I'm working with the children, or when you meet in the halls and he says something insulting to you.

. . . He'll say somebody did better compositions than your class did or he'll holler at you, 'Why is your class noisy,' right in front of the class. (Hatk-F)

The teacher constantly fears not only public humiliation but "trouble" with the principal. "Trouble" with the principal usually means extremely close supervision and bad letters in the teacher's file. The file is the equivalent to what Caplow calls the "dossier," and it has a similar consequence in terms of the teacher's relationship to the principal.

The more serious the individual's involvement in his occupational milieu, the greater will be his dependence upon his superior. In a permanent bureaucracy such as the army or the church the individual is accompanied through his career by a permanent dossier, so that any offenses against group discipline are remembered

forever. . . . The effect of this dependence is, in general, to magnify the consequences of errors and malfeasances, and to encourage a high degree of conformity to the will of superiors. This conformity need not be brutally exacted. Many industrial studies have described the exaggerated sensitivity to the boss's behavior.¹

The file, the surprise visits, the formal observation, and the rating sheets serve to make the teachers extremely sensitive to the administrators evaluation of them. (See Appendix III for rating sheets put in files.) The teacher is extremely dependent on the administrator's evaluation, because she is not able to adequately evaluate her own performance. A teacher is isolated from her colleagues and does not have an opportunity to compare her own performance with that of other teachers. She is burdened with very high and unrealistic work expectations. Thus, if a principal tells her she is a "bad" teacher or incompetent in class management skills she tends to believe the principal. If, in addition, the principal publicly humiliates her, supersedes her orders to the class and criticizes the plan book, the teacher questions her own competency. Teachers who feel incompetent as teachers are unlikely to believe they will make good administrators.

¹Caplow, 1964, op. cit., p. 69.

Supervision: The Double Standard. Rules and regulations are interpreted differently depending on the sex of the teacher. Time cards, plan books, ordering of supplies, and even "talking back" to the principal receive different responses depending on sex. Women more often than men report that the principal or the assistant principal act punitively towards them, i.e., supervised them very closely, verbally humiliated them if they did not follow orders, or threatened them with letters in the file. No one in the study was threatened with or received an unsatisfactory rating.

TABLE IV-3

CLASSROOM TEACHERS AND PERCEPTION OF ADMINISTRATORS
TYPE OF SUPERVISION BY SEX

	<u>Female Class-</u> <u>room Teacher</u>		<u>Male Class-</u> <u>room Teacher</u>	
Punitive Supervision	69%	(9)	50%	(3)
Supportive Supervision	<u>39</u>	<u>(4)</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>(3)</u>
	100%	(13)	100%	(6)

Punitive Supervision: principal or assistant principal verbally humiliated teacher, frequent observations with condemnatory comments, criticizes plan book and teaching style, gives or threatens letter in their file.

Supportive Supervision: principal compliments their plan book and teaching style, and expresses interest in their success.

Two experiences with the same principal show the female is supervised more punitively than the male. She is criticized for her approach to education while he is supported.

For the first year when I was teaching kindergarten he never came in to see what was happening because he felt it was all play. But the second year we had hassels constantly. . . . I had second grade then. . . . And he would come in and he would constantly be looking for something to complain about. The main thing was that I did not have all the children sitting in their seats, facing the board and me. . . . I liked the idea of different centers of interest. . . . I would have a National Geographic record over here and something else over there. I thought it was so good and he just complained that they should all be in their seats facing me and I should be up in the front of the room kind of thing. . . . I said, but I know what they're all doing. That wasn't good enough. It wasn't even a noisy situation. One day he couldn't find a single thing to complain about so he went over to the window sills and he said there's dust on the window sills and he walked out. (Pryor-F)

Well, the principal was great. He was the best principal I've had because he understood me. I like the kids to be relaxed. . . . So he would come in the room and I would have all the kids standing on the window sill, drawing a fire that was happening across the street. He said it's

against the law having kids standing on the window learning up against the window drawing. 'Is it safe? Is it okay?' and I would say, 'Yeah, it's okay' and he would walk out. (Omat-M)

The respondents perceive male and female administrators as frequently believing males to be more skillful and women to be child-like and emotional.

Just from the way the two A.P.'s [assistant principals] talk to me, I could see that if they had to choose to talk to somebody, they would choose another man. When I get upset about something, they will pat me on the head and talk to me like I am a little girl. They wouldn't do it to another man. . . . Two different principals said something about . . . 'How did your husband let you come to this neighborhood?' and 'Why does he let you do this? I think it is terrible and if you were my daughter I would never let you do it.' And these two men talked to me the same way. They pat me on the head, and say what are you getting so upset about, that kind of thing. But, basically, if I complain, I am complaining about something that all the men are also complaining about but they don't talk to them the same way. (Wallace-F)

The male teachers who report punitive supervision tend to perceive themselves as less vulnerable to coercion than the female teachers.

They report a sense of being needed and valued even though they were also often subject to arbitrary authority. Their value is related to their capacity to control classes.

I have been threatened by principals in a nice way, but they were threats. . . . This never bothers me. . . . I can laugh it off because I know in the position I'm in that they need me as much as I need them. Again, it's the fact that I am a male in the elementary school and that males are viewed as having more effective avenues to discipline than females. . . . I know that because of that I am accepted and I'm willing to do it, that they're not going to go too much further in pushing me and so I can push a little too. (Gillis-M)

Another male classroom teacher who felt he had a supportive relationship with the principal believed the principal used a "double standard of evaluation."

And I like him. I mean he likes me. But I say this in all fairness. . . . I remember several years ago we used to meet at lunch time in the library. We had one teacher who used to sit there and cry. A grown woman crying her eyes out -- because of the harrassment that she was getting from him, telling her she was no good, that she shouldn't be a teacher. Now, as a

principal he should have brought her into the office and discussed some of the things she could do positively. . . . It was maliciousness. He actually is sadistic, especially to women. He has a sadistic attitude to women. (Owen-M)

The different treatment of male teachers does not go unnoticed by the female teachers; the message it conveys is fairly unmistakable, and it acts as a damper on any ambitions a female may be nurturing: women are not as capable as men. The message is confirmed and ambition further subverted by the pattern of assignments to the position of specialist teacher.

THE SPECIALIST TEACHER

The specialist "covers" other classes, and generally teaches a specific subject such as music, art, or physical education. When the specialist takes a teacher's class the latter uses that time as a preparation period. Specialists generally have a more flexible work schedule than the classroom teachers, and they can be assigned to have periods with such non-teaching duties as clubs, supervision of lunch rooms, and ordering supplies.

As reported earlier, the males interviewed were more likely to be selected for specialist positions by principals (see Tables IV-1, IV-2). At the time of the interview, nine (60 percent) of the males as compared to only three (19 percent) of the females were specialist teachers. The males interviewed were more likely to be selected to be

specialist teachers at entry and later in their teaching careers. Males were likely to have had several different specialist positions: five (46 percent) of the men had two and three specialist positions compared to three (30 percent) of the females. Males also were more likely to have worked as specialists for longer periods of time (see Table IV-4).

TABLE IV-4
NUMBER OF YEARS AS SPECIALIST
TEACHER BY SEX

<u>Years as Specialist</u>	<u>Females</u>		<u>Males</u>	
1-3	60%	(6)	27%	(3)
4-6	10	(1)	45	(5)
7-9	30	(3)	0	0
10-12*	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	100%	(10)	99%	(11)

Maximum number of years as specialist was ten years. One female teacher was a specialist teacher for only four months when she worked as a regular substitute but included in group.

Specialist teacher includes teachers not assigned to a self-contained classroom all day long such as music, art, physical education and science teacher or who has special class designation such as intellectually gifted, special education.

The specialist teacher is significant because it is viewed both as an easier position and a "step up" from the regular classroom.

The classroom teaching is much harder than the science job. Well, you have more work. You have to come in

earlier. You know, to really prepare work you have to be in there by 8 o'clock to put the work on the board and all that. Sometimes you have to work through your lunch hour for extra clerical work or if you want to do any individual work with a child. . . . Then you have to stay in after school sometime to get the work done. Whereas with a specialist job, you don't have to. . . . These little cushy jobs they seem to have around, they seem to leave exactly at three. (Hatk-F)

The specialist position is a "favored status": it is responsible for only one curriculum area, it is not bound to one group of children, and specialists have more time during the day to interact with other teachers and administrators. They are also less vulnerable to the criticism a classroom teacher may expect when her class behaves "badly" and when her class scores low on standardized tests. Since it takes teachers out of the ordinary classroom situation it is seen as the first step toward higher status.

Other teachers would say to me, why don't you take administration? . . . What do you want to stay in the classroom for? That's for women. . . . The bottom rung of the ladder is the classroom teacher. That's the lowest of the low. (Owen-M)

Those who told Owen-M that staying in the classroom was "for women" were drawing a conclusion from the disproportionate number of men who are selected as specialists. It also is one basis for the conclusion that

. . . it seems they push men more, when it comes to promotions. The principals push men more -- even women principals push men more. (Hatk-F)

The principal selects the specialists from among teachers in the school using criteria that are vague and subjective. Frequently teachers are selected less for their expertise in a curriculum area than for their expected ability to perform non-teaching tasks for the principal.

I think one of the reasons I didn't get the planetarium job is because I was a woman. Because they wanted Mr. C. to help Mrs. H. with the discipline they gave him the planetarium job because it was right opposite Mrs. H.'s office. They felt he could be able to help her if she ever got a very difficult child. (Hatk-F)

He asked me if I wanted to be a cluster teacher. I was in a sixth grade class. He said what do you want? I said I would really like to take science. . . . He felt because he was getting pressure from the parents or from the district that he needed a gym teacher too. I took the

gym and I taught the top fifth and the top sixth grade science. . . . I liked it. . . . I did it because I wanted to get out of the classroom. . . . I felt stifled and restricted in some way in the classroom. . . . I think he asked me to do that job because I took over things. . . . So I got to be the expert. (Rasen-M)

Griffiths, et. al., suggest that being selected as a specialist is an "informal promotion" and is further evidence to an administrative aspirant that they are "steps closer to their personal objectives."¹ But being selected to be a specialist is more frequently a stimulus to aspirations than a consequence of them. The aspirations that are developed are not only to be an administrator but also to be a guidance counselor, another non-teaching position offering about \$600 more in salary a year. None of the teachers, including the administrative aspirants, reported they had administrative ambitions before becoming specialists. As is evident in Table IV-5, female specialists were less likely to aspire to be administrators or guidance counselors than male teachers. Eight of the eleven male specialists, desire to leave the teacher position. Of the eleven male specialists five aspired to be administrators and three earned graduate degrees as guidance counselors. It is quite probable in the case of the men that the next degree will be in administration. Of the three men who did not aspire to either position, one is working toward his Ph.D. in education and aspires to be a college teacher and educational consultant. The two

¹Griffiths, et. al., 1963, op. cit., p. 152.

other men aim only to become specialist teachers. In sharp contrast, only two of the eleven female specialists developed aspirations to be future administrators and none to be guidance counselors.

TABLE IV-5

TEACHERS WHO ASPIRE TO BE ADMINISTRATORS
AND GUIDANCE COUNSELORS BY TEACHING
EXPERIENCE AND SEX
1975-77

<u>Aspirations</u>	<u>Classroom Teacher*</u>				<u>Specialist Teacher**</u>				<u>TOTALS</u>
	<u>Females</u>		<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>		<u>Males</u>		
Aspiring Adminis.	0	0	0	0	20% (2)		45% (5)		25% (8)
Aspiring Guidance	0	0	0	0	0	0	27 (3)		9 (3)
No Non-Teaching Aspirations	<u>100%</u>	<u>(7)</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>(3)</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>(8)</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>(3)</u>	<u>66</u> <u>(21)</u>
	100%	(7)	100	(4)	100%	(10)	99	(11)	100% (32)

*Classroom teacher included teachers who have never had specialist teacher assignments.

**Specialist teachers includes teachers who worked as a specialist, prior to or at time of interview.

Summary. A good deal of the daily experience of the classroom teacher, starting from her first day in school, acts to discourage aspirations for administrative positions. Principals serve as sorting agents and frequently place new teachers on grade levels based on the sex of the teacher. Females are placed in the "lower" grades (K-3) and males in the "upper" grades (4-6), and the tracking of teachers by sex continues throughout the teachers' careers. For example, females disproportionately

fill the classroom teacher positions and males disproportionately fill the specialist positions.

The classroom teacher position is the most difficult and the least prestigious teaching position in the school. Alone in the self-contained classroom all day with thirty to thirty-two children, the teacher is expected to teach all the children reading, writing, arithmetic, social studies, science, art, and at the same time create an atmosphere conducive to their psychological development. Isolated from her colleagues, it is difficult for the classroom teacher to evaluate her own performance and develop successful strategies for dealing with her excessive work load. The elaborate system of checks on autonomy makes the teacher extremely sensitive to the principal's authority. Female classroom teachers more often than male teachers report that they were subject to punitive and coercive supervision.

The day to day situation of the classroom teacher tends to discourage the development of administrative ambitions.

Females are less frequently chosen by the principal to be specialist teachers. The specialist teacher position is a "favored status" position which has a lighter teaching load and a release from the constraints of being tied to one group of children all day. The specialist teacher has less teaching periods and is assigned among other duties to some administrative tasks. For males especially, assignment to specialist positions stimulate administrative aspirations.

CHAPTER V

The Context of Aspirations

Aspirations must be examined within the social and cultural context in which they develop and are nurtured. In this chapter two dimensions of that context will be described: first, the system used to select administrators from among candidates for supervisory posts, and, second, the gender-typing of administrative roles.

THE CONTEXT: THE SELECTION PROCESS

Two systems of selection of administrators have been used in the New York City school system in the twentieth century. Prior to 1969 a civil service exam selection system was used. After 1969 the school system was decentralized by the New York State legislature and a "credential" selection system was instituted.

The Civil Service Selection. Before decentralization appointments to all positions in the New York City school system, except for the superintendencies and some attendance bureau positions, required passing an examination prepared and given by the Board of Examiners. The Board of Examiners was under the jurisdiction of the Board of Education and was composed of people who were former New York City administrators. Principals served as part time assistant examiners and also helped prepare and administer the exams.

Periodically the Board of Examiners would call up the superintendent and say, "Hey, have you got any guys for us?" . . . In the old days it was the superintendent who got you on the Board. (Lura-M, part time assistant examiner and principal)

The Examination process had nine parts. 1) The written test consisted of two parts -- a short answer test on curriculum and general background (three hours) and a test on handling practical problems, two papers of three hours each. The written test took nine hours and was administered on three separate days. 2) The supervisors test: each candidate observed two different classroom lessons. After each lesson the candidate had two hours to write a paper discussing the strengths and weaknesses of the lessons and making recommendations for improvement. 3) The interview: the candidate was given a description of a "difficult situation" and was allowed one hour to study it and prepare to answer questions asked by a panel composed of three or more principals and a speech consultant. 4) Rating of Training and experience: the candidate's experience and education was rated using a standard schedule. 5) Appraisal of record: the administrative staff, i.e., the principal with whom the teacher or assistant principal worked with, rated the candidate on a rating scale devised by the Board of Examiners. 6) Medical examination: the Board of Examiners' doctor examined the candidate for psychiatric as well as medical problems.¹

¹Griffiths et. al., 1963, op. cit., p. 113.

The minimum requirements for taking the exam included five years of teaching in or outside New York City; two years in a "difficult" school anywhere; and one year of graduate study including courses in administration and supervision.¹

Rodgers says that the Board of Examiners selection system "perpetuated the status quo" and "led to much in-breeding."² Two aspects of the selection system perpetuated the status quo: the examination itself and the style of studying for the exam, i.e., the coaching course. By using "insiders" to develop the exam and grade it, the system kept reproducing a similar administrative type. One administrator said the examination system produced the "nit picker." "the more you nit picked, the higher score" (Dale-M, Central Board official). The administrators who found the most things wrong with the lessons they observed scored highest, even if they were trivial suggestions for improvement. Because the candidate had so many questions to answer and essays to write, "you never had enough time" (Layne-M, former community superintendent and principal).

People who had in-depth knowledge of the area and wanted to develop the nuances of the subject had no time to do it and were indirectly penalized if they spent time to give in-depth answers in the written essays. . . . Because of the examination, very

¹Griffiths et. al., 1963, op. cit., p. 109.

²Rodgers, 1969, op. cit., p. 285.

unfortunately, people had two characteristics. One characteristic was that they thought they were tremendously smart. . . . Their vanity became a problem and, second, was that they knew that what was best for their promotion was to give what the other person wanted to hear and what the Board of Examiners wanted to hear, so they developed this as a kind of art form. They expected it from their teachers and they gave their superintendents what the superintendents wanted to hear. (Layne-M)

The second aspect of the examination process that led to the perpetuation of an administrative type was the coaching course. Studying for the exam became a major focus of the administrative candidates' lives sometimes for a year or two, and the candidate would pay several hundred dollars to principals who organized courses on how to pass an exam.

There were about twenty guys who used to come and some young ladies -- very sharp -- who went into the basement of his [a principal] home. You had assignments, you did your homework and you performed and sometimes very rigorously too, especially when it came to the oral parts where you were on the stage for nineteen of your colleagues. It was quite a harrowing business. But it was tremendous training and I believe twenty out of twenty passed. It was a reflection of the man.

Of course, those who felt comfortable with each other, three or four of us, when it came close to the exam worked together in each other's homes and simulated tests and examinations. (Al-M, principal)

Free coaching courses were frequently given to favored teachers by principals or assistant principal who wanted to see them pass the examination. Candidates who passed the exam were placed on a list and as administrative positions opened the candidates were appointed according to their rank order.

The examination system was criticized for over twenty years by public administration specialists and various civic groups for being too limited in scope, favoring insiders, and subtly discriminating against minority applicants.¹ When the Board of Education began to collect ethnic staff data in 1970-71 they showed that only 9.8 percent (6,625) of the school's full time professional staff were from minority groups. By 1974-75, five years after decentralization, the figured increased to 14 percent (8,546).² The increase on the principal level went from seven-seven in 1970-71 to 217 in 1974-75, a 181.8 percent increase. The number of assistant principals increased from 269 in 1970-71 to 329 in 1974-75, a jump of 22.3 percent.³

¹Rodgers, 1969, op. cit., p. 285.

²Board of Education of the City of New York, 1976, Ethnic Composition of Professional Staff, op. cit., pp. ii, iii.

³Ibid.

In 1969, the issue of the underrepresentation of females in administration was not a concern of the critics or the supporters of the civil service system. It is worthy of note, however, that in 1968-69, the last year of the centralized school system, females held 24 percent of the elementary school principal positions, 15 percent of the junior high school principal positions, and 9 percent of the senior high principal positions. At that time 81 percent of the elementary school teachers were female. In 1975-76 females still were 81 percent of the elementary school staff and held 28 percent of the elementary school principal positions. They also fared slightly better on the other levels. In 1975-76 females held 16 percent of the junior high principal positions and 11 percent of the senior high principal positions.¹ Thus it appears females were grossly underrepresented in administration under both selection systems although their representation improved slightly under the credential selection system.

The Credential System. "In 1971, a court ruling enjoined the Board of Examiners from issuing lists of supervisors, holding that the low proportion of black and Puerto Rican supervisors in the school system was evidence that the entry tests were discriminating."² This decision was an outgrowth of a suit brought against the Board of Examiners by Chance,

¹Figures from New York State Bureau of Education Data Systems.

²Diane Ravitch, The Great School Wars: New York City, 1805-1973: A History of the Public Schools as Battlefield of Social Change (New York: Basic Books, 1974) p. 388.

a black man, and Mercado, a Puerto Rican man, on the grounds that the selection process discriminated against them because of their ethnic and racial backgrounds. The decision plus decentralization led to the development of the "credential system." Now administrative aspirants no longer have to pass a Board of Examiners test but need only meet New York State requirements to be an assistant principal.¹

The first certification a candidate receives is "provisional," it allows him to work as an assistant principal and principal. To gain a "provisional certificate" the candidate must have completed (1) three years of teaching or administrative or pupil personal services; (2) thirty semester hours of graduate study including eighteen hours in the field of school administration and supervision; (3) an approved administrative/supervisory internship under the supervision of a school administrator and a representative of the sponsoring colleges or one year of satisfactory full time experience in a school (K-12) in a supervisory position. Two years as an administrator on the "provisional certificate" and the completion of a master's degree earns the candidate a "permanent certificate."²

The requirements for the superintendent level are not very different, except that a candidate needs total of sixty graduate semester hours of which twenty-four must be in the field of school administration

¹Since this was written this decision is no longer in effect. A principal's examination is to be reinstated in the Fall of 1978. New York Times, May 24, 1978.

²The State Education Department of New York, "Amendments to the Regulations of the Commissioner of Education: Pursuant to Section 207 of Education Law," Effective January 1, 1978, p. 2.

and supervision.¹ The actual selection of a candidate to fill a vacancy is now made by a local board using its own criteria and consultation with a parents' committee from the school with the vacant position. The criteria, however, must conform to the general guidelines laid down by the Central Board (see Appendix VI for Circular 30 Regulations in effect now).

Typically, a vacancy is advertised for thirty days at the Central Board, district offices, public schools, and newspapers. A selection committee consisting of representatives of the parents' association and a representative of the community superintendent is named by the community school board. When an assistant principal is being selected the principal also sits on the selection committee. After interviewing candidates the committee submits three names to the community superintendent. He chooses one of the three to submit to the community school board for approval. The superintendent may, if he chooses, reject all three candidates and start the process over again.

The consequences of decentralization and the new selection process have not been adequately studied. The most common criticism of the credential system is that it has become "overly politicized."

The community board has constituents too, and parents are involved. It is really a local decision. . . . You should realize that all kinds of pressure are put

¹The State Education Department of New York, 1978, op. cit., p. 1.

upon community boards and there are all kinds of interest groups, concerned with one person over another. (Diana-F, Central Board Personnel Division)

.. member of the school board who participates in the personnel selection process described how it works.

I think since decentralization a number of districts are more susceptible to political pressure. You have a number of inexperienced people who are coming in and who are political appointments. In many areas of the city the school boards are dominated by the political clubs and there are many politicians who establish a base in school districts as a patronage outpost. . . . All you need is to control five votes on a school board. You can appoint an assistant principal at a salary of twenty-five grand. You can appoint a principal at a salary of nearly thirty grand with all of the fringe benefits and you can appoint a superintendent at a salary of forty thousand dollars. The only reservation or the only qualification on the appointment of an assistant principal or principal or superintendent is that they must have the license. But there have been a number of people who I believe have been appointed and even though they have their piece of paper, they're still incompetent. I notice in some of the places you have,

for example, I think it's district . . ., you've had five superintendents in the last six years. (Bell-M, school board member for two terms)

Administrative positions are frequently typed by race, ethnicity and gender.

On what criteria are these principals selected? . . .
I know that in many instances that it is not the professional competency of individuals that other factors enter into it. There are some schools and some districts that have law suits going against them {because} if you are in a Greek school they want a principal who has a Greek background. Or if you're in an Italian school, an Italian background, a Spanish school, a Spanish background. I am not saying that they are not qualified to be a principal but when the overriding factor becomes one's ethnicity then this seems just not fair. I met candidates who have come to our district for interviews. . . . Some of them have gone through like ten or fifteen interviews and have found out in many of them they are just being used to go through the motions of having an interview but the candidate has already been selected beforehand. (Bob-M, Assistant to Community Superintendent, who has sat in on personnel selection committees)

Ironically, the system has been subject to the same problems of in-breeding for which the Board of Examiners was criticized. Candidates from within the districts are more likely to be selected as administrators than are "outsiders" from other districts.

Basically it's through displayed competence as a teacher or an administrator or through political connections or through nepotism or through cronyism or through racism. . . . Now in an area where your competence is known where you work as an assistant principal, they'd be more likely to pick you than somebody coming from another district. This tends to make the selection process a little bit parochial and to put walls around selecting "our own." (Supervisors Association union official who screens selection process)

You really don't have a chance unless you are from within that district. I applied to one, and fortunately I happened to know somebody who worked in the office, and she told me that there were two drawers, one drawer for those applicants from within the district and the other drawer for those applicants from without the district, I will be very honest with you, I never even got the courtesy of an acknowledgment of the receipt of my application, and there were eleven vacancies for principal in that district. (Nend-M, principal)

In-breeding and politics means candidates have to establish their own social networks within a district, and these network ties rarely extend beyond district lines. Consequently, moving up under the credential system often entails performing services for a variety of influential people or those who sit on the selection committee of the district in which the candidate works. Strategies for moving up have to vary by districts because within each district there are different political coalitions. In some districts, primarily white middle class neighborhoods, the U.F.T. and C.S.A. are very powerful because teachers and supervisors live there. In other districts anti-poverty agencies join forces with local political bosses to influence school board elections and the selection of administrators. In still other districts religious groups form coalitions to insure that school boards are attentive to the special needs of Catholic and Jewish parochial schools. The successful candidate has to know his district and determine a strategy on the basis of that knowledge. In this kind of situation having a sponsor, a mentor, who has ties in the district and can advise a person is of critical importance. Sponsorship is particularly critical for women, because administration is typed as fit for males only. Being selected as a protege by a sponsor who is a member of the administrative "inner circles," increases the likelihood that the female aspirant will be seen as a credible candidate for an administrative post and will learn how to attain the position. The typing of administration as male work represents another dimension of the context in which aspirations are nurtured.

ADMINISTRATION AS MALE WORK

Nationally 99 percent of the superintendents,¹ 80 percent of the principals, and 69 percent of the assistant principals are males.² New York City figures parallel the national figures: since 1967 over 70 percent of the elementary school principals have been male (see Table Appendix VII-I).

Administrators are the "managers" of the school system. Performance in management level positions in industry has traditionally been associated with the "masculine ethic" which "elevates the traits assumed to belong to men with educational advantages to necessities for effective organizations."³ The association of the "masculine ethic" with management creates an atmosphere in which women are seen to be "temperamentally unfit" for management because they are "too emotional."⁴ School administration traditionally has been patterned on that of business,⁵ and it appears to encourage a similar view of women. As one official stated it:

I have found, when I was a superintendent, that the inclination of the local people, the lay people, is to favor men over women. When I would ask them for

¹Howard, 1975, op. cit., p. 9.

²Havighurst and Neugarten, 1975, op. cit., p. 454.

³Kanter, 1975, op. cit., p. 48.

⁴Ibid., p. 47.

⁵Callahan, 1962, op. cit., p. 525.

recommendations, they would give me no women candidates -- you know, just in their own screening. So, this tells me that they probably have some kind of prejudice, some kind of myth that they're operating under which says that the man is one who should be the administrator, should be the leader. They are relying on their subjective feeling that possibly a man can provide stronger leadership than a woman. The teacher can be a female, but the principal has to be a man, the leader, the person who runs things. (Alfred Mathew, Jr., Head of the Division of Community School District Affairs at Central Board and former community superintendent, August 11, 1976)

In New York City other "masculine" traits have tended to become associated with being a competent principal -- physical strength, a powerful voice, the capacity and willingness to physically punish children and to break up fights -- and these tend to become criteria of administrative competence.

People have an image of what an assistant principal should be and what a principal should be. And security and behavior problems and violence in the schools are all things that people think a great deal about. And they look at a woman and a woman does not fit their image of a burly guard, you know, a policeman. They're

looking at the principal not only as a pedagogical leader, but the principal as a policeman. They look at a woman and they say, 'That's not my image of the policeman.' (Dr. Bernard Gifford, former Deputy Chancellor of New York City Schools, August, 19, 1976)

But women are not only "the wrong sex" for school boards, they tend to be "wrong" as well at lower levels where cultural prejudices intersect with the nature of modern complex organizations. A feature of modern organizations is that mobility occurs through a sponsor-protege process "functional for the organization in recruiting able and loyal people and the individual in achieving mobility."¹ Another feature of bureaucratic organizations, as Kanter has recently emphasized, is the pervasiveness of "uncertainty" among managers. They cope with uncertainty by choosing subordinates who can be "trusted," and those who qualify as trustworthy are those who have the same social characteristics as the sponsor.² Women are "wrong," because they cannot help mitigate the structurally induced anxieties of managers. Males, though, are undubitably "right," and in the next chapter we shall see how the gender-typing of roles and the credential system affect aspirations.

¹Becker and Carper, 1977, "The Development of Identification . . .," op. cit., p. 200.

²Kanter, 1977, op. cit., p. 49.

Summary. Two systems of selection of administrators have been used in the New York City school system in the twentieth century. Before decentralization the civil service selection system prescribed an examination prepared and given by the Board of Examiners. Candidates who passed the examination were appointed from a ranked list. The examination system was criticized for being too limited in scope, favoring insiders, and subtly discriminating against minority applicants. Two aspects of the civil service system perpetuated the status quo, the exam itself and the style of studying for the exam, i.e., the coaching course.

The Chance-Mercado case in 1971 and decentralization led to the development of the "credential system." Administrative aspirants no longer have to pass a Board of Examiners test but need only meet New York State requirements to be an administrator. The actual selection of a candidate to fill an administrative vacancy is now made by a local school board using its criteria in consultation with a parents' committee from the school with the vacant position.

The most common criticisms of the credential system are that the system has become "overly politicized" and that positions are frequently typed by race, ethnicity and gender. The system, like the one it replaced, fosters in-breeding; candidates from within the districts are more likely to be selected as administrators than are "outsiders" from other districts. In-breeding and politics means candidates have to establish their own social networks within a district. In this kind of situation having a sponsor, a mentor who has ties in the district and can advise a person is of critical importance, especially for females

who have a greater need for someone to vouch for them since they do not match the occupational image of an administrator.

Administration is male work; since 1967 over 70 percent of the elementary school principals have been male and "masculine" traits have tended to become associated with being a competent principal. Females are seen as being the "wrong sex." The difference in sex does not allow them to help male administrators cope with the structurally induced anxieties.

CHAPTER VI

Developing Aspirations

Six men and two women (25 percent) in the sample aspire to become administrators. Aspirations in the context of this study means more than a fleeting desire to be an assistant principal or principal. Of the eight people with aspirations six have earned state certification, i.e., they have met the official requirement for appointment to supervisory positions. The other two are very close to fulfilling the state requirements, and one is already working as a co-director of a school. Three of the aspirants with state certification have worked as acting assistant principals for almost a year. Since the interview, one of the aspirants has been appointed principal of an elementary school. The following pages will describe the experiences of the eight teachers who have ambitions to become administrators and how they differ from those of non-aspiring teachers.

SELECTION AS A PROTEGE

A major difference between those who aspire and those who do not is that the former were selected as proteges.¹ Reference group theory

¹The sample actually contained nine males who at one time were proteges, but at the time of the interviews three were not aspiring to become administrators. Since the interviews one has actually moved into an administrative position and given up his ambition to earn a Ph.D. in counseling, while the other two aspire to non-classroom teaching positions.

helps explain why some individuals and not others are selected as proteges.

Male Administrators as a Reference Group. "Reference groups can be characterized simply as those groups to which the individual relates himself as a part or to which he aspires to relate himself psychologically."¹ It is implicit in the theoretical perspective that it works two ways; just as the aspirant can take a future membership group as his reference group so can a group identify a future member on the basis of another shared status.

According to the principal, and as we were talking years later, he had decided the day he met me that this young man should be an administrator. He says he had that in the back of his mind all of the time. I didn't really have it in my head until the end of my second year of teaching. (Hooper-M)

The school norms that associate "masculinity" with administrative work are "institutional norms" which "evcke comparisons with others similar in particular aspects of status -- others in his shoes -- thus encouraging common reference groups."² The male teacher can

¹ Muzafer Sherif, "The Concept of Reference Groups in Human Relations," Readings in Reference Group Theory and Research, edited by Herbert Hyman and Eleanor Singer (New York: Free Press, 1968), p. 86.

² Merton, 1957, op. cit., p. 246.

easily identify with administrators, because most of the latter are males and the equation of administrative behavior with the traits of masculinity. Similarly, the administrator is more likely to identify the male teacher as a future administrator. This process of male mutual identification reflects male "homosocial reproduction -- selection of incumbents on the basis of social similarity."¹

He [the principal] learned it pretty much the same way. You have to have a mentor, become a protege. How do you get to be a protege? By taking on things. Showing an interest in things and doing them well. And also there has to be a certain thing between people. You sort of like somebody and you don't like them. Everyone in authority needs someone to have a discourse with. To air views, to think out loud with. And that is how it happens. Also, if you really feel competent in something, you want to share it with someone . . . you know. You usually want to explain how it will work. (Roberts-M)

Roberts was selected to help a new male principal even though both of them were new to the school. One would expect a principal to choose one of the more experienced teachers to help him, but in this case the experienced teachers were females. "A certain thing between people" illustrates the reference group identification they both felt.

¹Kanter, 1977, op. cit., p. 54.

Female Administrators as Reference Group. Sharing sex status with an administrator was not a sufficient condition for motivating administrative aspirations of female teachers. As can be seen in Table VI-1 seven of the female teachers worked with female principals and another four worked with female assistant principals.

TABLE VI-1
TEACHERS WHO HAVE WORKED WITH FEMALE
ADMINISTRATORS BY SEX*

<u>Administrators</u>	<u>Female Teachers</u>		<u>Male Teachers</u>	
Female Principal	41%	(7)	20%	(3)
Female Assistant Principal	24	(4)	40	(6)
No Female Administrator	<u>35</u>	<u>(6)</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>(6)</u>
	100%	(17)	100%	(15)

*This includes the entire teaching career, not only the present position of the teacher.

The relative scarcity of female principals carries a message: it is extremely difficult for women to become principals. In addition, the female administrators, working in a field sex-typed as male and isolated from their "fellow" male administrators, may have been viewed as a negative reference group, i.e., ". . . one which the person is motivated to oppose or in which he does not want to be treated as a member."¹

¹Harold H. Kelley, "Two Functions of Reference Groups," in Readings in Reference Group Theory and Research, eds., Herbert H. Hyman and Eleanor Singer (New York: Free Press, 1968, p. 79.

Female administrators were frequently less esteemed by teachers because they did not match the "masculine model" of a competent administrator. Even the words used to criticize them reflect stereotypical criticisms of females.

He [an A.P.] has a problem with his boss. And Mrs. H. is more of a bossy woman than the usual woman. So, he might have special trouble getting along with her. She might pick on him a little more than the average woman would.
(Hatk+F)

Miss D. had lily white gloves. It was a very white glove school. She was very prissy. She came from a very, very well-to-do family; and I believe if she were still a principal she would very strongly to this day resent women coming in with pants on and so on. . . . This is what I meant by prissy. . . . The two schools I have dealt with where there were men I found it much more open. (Selt-F)

The male assistant principal is seen as being "picked on" by a "bossy woman," and Miss D. is "prissy." It is the sex of the principals that is salient; their inadequacies as principals were attributed to their feminine characteristics rather than to their style of leadership.

Women are not the only teachers who viewed female administrators as negative role models; male teachers frequently viewed female administrators as less competent than male administrators.

I went for an interview at one school. The principal was a woman. A nice woman, but I just knew something was wrong in the school. People just didn't look you straight in the eye. I decided I just couldn't work for a woman. (Roberts-M)

I found the female administrators more aggressive in their approach to the faculty than the male administrator. My impression is that the female of the species is more aggressive in that position. (Gillis-M)

Ironically, the female administrator is criticized for aggressiveness, a quality women are said not to have and which disqualifies them for administration. Female principals are faced with conflicting demands and are destined to be seen as incompetent no matter which sets of demands they attempt to meet. Thus, the female administrator finds herself in the world of marginality; caught between the male world of the administrator and the female world of the classroom teacher. For neither males nor females is she a positive role model. The mere presence, then, of a female administrator appears not to be sufficient to stimulate aspirations; although eleven female teachers worked at some point in their teaching careers with female administrators only two of them became administrative aspirants. This is true also of men; although all the men worked with male administrators at some point in their teaching careers only six of them became administrative aspirants. It is more important to be selected as a protege, and it

appears that female administrators are more likely than male administrators to identify female teachers as future administrators than were male administrators. Four women aspired to be administrators at some point in their teaching careers, and three of them were originally encouraged by female administrators. However, the decision to become an administrator involves more than encouragement; regardless of the sex of the teacher it also requires exposure to a series of experiences which nurture the aspiration.

BEING A PROTEGE

A protege is a teacher who develops a peer-like or collegial relationship with an administrator, his sponsor, and is assigned to and taught a range of administrative tasks including managing lunch duty, ordering supplies, constructing schedules, disciplining children other than his own pupils, and responsibility for maintaining order on a floor. The protege is a confidant of his sponsor and learns how to see the school from the managerial perspective. The protege is also introduced by the sponsor to persons who can help him in getting an administrative position.

Accepting "Extra" Work. The complexity and subtlety of the interaction between the administrator-sponsor and teacher-protege is most evident in the early stages of the relationship. Although several of the teachers were assigned to administrative tasks early in their teaching careers, the mere assignment did not, by itself, signal a sponsor-protege relationship. "Until a newcomer has been accepted, he will

not be taught crucial trade secrets."¹ Often the early stages of the relationship were periods of conscious and unconscious bargaining between the administrator-sponsor and teacher-potential protege.

The subtle negotiations were evident in the administrators' testing of the potential proteges' willingness to take on additional tasks not contractually required of teachers, even specialist teachers. Some teachers were asked to handle difficult discipline cases, to order and give out supplies, and take on lunch duty and other assignments. Teachers who willingly accepted these extra tasks, beyond the duties contractually required of teachers, and demonstrated some competency in handling them became proteges.

I got it [administrative duty] within the first six months that I was there, but then again since I was a music person I almost automatically became responsible for things like assemblies . . . most of what I did that was administrative related to the musical things that I was doing . . . whereas with Bob [another principal] it branched out into all areas of administration. (Horten-M)

¹Howard S. Becker and Anselm L. Strauss, "Careers, Personality and Adult Socialization," in Sociological Work: Method and Substance by Howard S. Becker (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1977, p. 250.

. . . when I was a science teacher he used to let me order all of the science supplies. Pretty much carte blanche. . . . He also put me in charge of things like standardized tests . . . because it was easy for me to say just cancel my classes . . . and that's how I started to do a lot of these things. I had a lot of free periods. (Newcomb-M)

It was implicit, if not explicitly, made clear to the teachers that if they did these extra tasks they would be rewarded. Rewards took the form of being kept as a specialist teacher and learning "the trade secrets" of administrators. At the same time, administrative work was "demythologized;" the proteges began to realize that being an administrator was not beyond their ability and that it might possibly offer increased work satisfaction along with more prestige, power, and money.

Sometimes women actively signal their readiness to do extra work, but are ignored.

I was willing to do extra tasks assigned to me but none were offered. When I got the IGC [gifted class] I told him I would do extra work but he never took me up on it. (Tapet-F)

This may have been too "assertive," an illustration of a threat to the solidarity of the "inner fraternity" of a profession by a

"new kind of person."¹ The initiative, it appears, must come from the administration.

Collegial Relationships. Female specialists rarely developed collegial relationships with the administrators, but many of the men did. They are introduced as colleagues of the sponsor to other administrators, school board members, district office officials, and community leaders at after-school meetings. Meeting school officials and local politicians is an important advantage of being a protege, for it is they who "put in a good word" when the protege seeks an administrative position. Acceptance as "one of the boys" by these groups often means hearing about an administrative opening and being selected as an "acting" administrator in the position before the vacancy is publicly announced, and therefore the edge associated with incumbency. Becoming part of the network also affects the commitment and the identification of the protege.

He feels obligated to act as a true member of the occupation and to remain in it, because of the trust placed in him by his sponsor. The creation of this obligation solidifies occupational attitudes and loyalties -- the individual feels that he must remain what he has become in order not to let down his sponsor -- and thus

¹ Hughes, 1969, op. cit., p. 359.

strengthens the identification with occupational title and ideology.¹

In the meetings with other administrators and officials the protege learns who are the important and powerful people in the district.

I go to political dinners with John. I know it's important to be visible. Sometimes it's difficult for me because I'm kind of shy in those situations. But a person has to show the political big whigs you're on their side. (Roberts-M)

I think I could get a job [administrative] in this district. The school board knows me. . . . The superintendent knows me. . . . In most districts they don't hire assistant principals from other districts. They hire their own. That's a political reality. (Keller-M)

The protege is on exhibit at these gatherings, and is aware that he must not embarrass his sponsor.

¹Becker and Carper, "Development of Identification with an Occupation," 1977, op. cit., pp. 200, 201.

He always teases me about the way I dress. He says he knows a good haberdasher he can recommend me to. But at this point, I don't want to give up wearing my jeans. I don't let him down in other ways. (Larken-M)

Extra-professional contacts, helps cement collegial ties between the male sponsor and male protege.

Sometimes on the weekend we get out and go fishing together. It's a good way to unwind and talk. (Roberts-M)

He and I get out with our wives together. We do see each other socially. (Keller-M)

A sense of "we-ness" or mutual identification was evident in the responses of many of the male proteges.

We philosophically believe the same things. We're basically the same kind of person and can work very well together. I believe I can work very well with the principal because both of us are a lot alike. (Keller-M)

We see eye to eye on things. He knows he can count on me. (Rasen-M)

Sexual Bonding. In contrast, female teachers are less likely to establish bonds of collegiality with male and female administrators. A female protege may disrupt the solidarity of the male collegial group of the male sponsor simply because she is female. But there is an additional difficulty. Since the male sponsor-female protege relationship is still very rare there is risk that it will be defined by others, i.e., parents and community leaders, as less than a professional relationship, as a cover for a sexual liaison. Male colleagues may object to his choosing a female protege, because "when sexual relations are a possibility, the comfortable intimacy of colleagues relations is disrupted by the threat of seduction, pursuits, rivalries, jealousies, and the private intimacy of the couple."¹

The female teacher may interpret collegial behavior on the part of the principal as sexual in nature and be frightened away.

I think . . . Mr. D. got along better with men. He would tend to be friendly on a social level with the men and therefore he would give them something better. Most women were not able to be friendly with him on a social level because it usually meant more than you would have wanted to give. (Pryor-F)

¹Judith Lorber, "Trust, Loyalty and the Place of Women," 1975, op. cit., p. 8.

Teachers, male and female, tend to interpret a male principal's relationship with a female protege as a sign not of collegiality but of sexual bonding.

I think she has a sexual relationship with the principal.

She's very pretty and young and he's a real ladies man.

It's true she's very smart but he's always making passes

at women. She is probably sleeping with him and that's

how she got that administrative assistant position. (Pryor-F)

Enveloped in rumors of illicit sex, male sponsor-female protege relationships result in the female protege's failing to receive the same professional recognition male proteges do.

I know people think I'm sleeping with Jim but I'm not.

It's against my values to sleep with a married man.

But it bothers me people don't think he chose me for

the administrative job because of my competence. (Crane-F)

Inviting a male superior to have a drink, going fishing, or playing tennis with him raises an eyebrow, still, when done by a female. Thus women, unlike men, cannot use extra-mural situations to strengthen collegial bonds with male administrators.

Sustaining Aspirations. In the sample there were only two women who planned on being administrators at the time of the interview. In

addition, there were two women who had considered being administrators in the past. Olin-F had gone on to take and pass the assistant principal's exam, but later refused the position. Rawson-F was acting assistant principal and found she did not like it. In three of the four cases the women had been encouraged to become administrators by women.

Mary was a teacher there. Mary was also in my study group. Mary was very, very hungry to be an A.P. I would have never gone for the exam if it hadn't been for Mary. She wanted a study group and she wanted me to work with and she worked! She really put in the time. I never worked except when I went to the study group or when I went to the Saturday sessions. . . . So I passed the exam and so I was at the bottom of the list. I didn't get a chance to get appointed at the beginning when there were good jobs available. . . . By that point community control had come in and I said this is not what I needed. . . . I haven't got the ambition. And I find that since I've been back in the classroom, I don't think I would like working with children mostly as a disciplinarian. (Olin-F)

But Olin was never a protege, and, consequently, what she takes to be a failure of ambition may be, in fact, a lack of opportunity for professional socialization. For example, she views administrators as merely being disciplinarians in their relations with children. In reality it is

the classroom teacher who is most directly and most extensively involved in discipline. Proteges who work closely with principals know that administration frequently involves, among many other tasks, developing school policies affecting all children, evaluating and developing curriculum and materials, and working with parents, teachers, and district office personnel. Disciplining children is a relatively minor task. Olin's fear of community control also reflects the disadvantage of not being a protege. Proteges learn how to work within the framework of a decentralized school system, i.e., how to court politicians, school board officials, and parents. She feels ill-equipped to be an administrator and possibly rightly so, since she has never had the learning experiences of a protege.

In sharp contrast, a protege feels confident that he will be a good administrator.

I was very happy teaching but I think I could do a better job as a principal. As a teacher I was in control of approximately thirty children and effective. I know a school may have as many as 650 children but in a sense you can run it like a classroom. . . . There are certain standards you can set and a certain way you lead your class. . . . You can do the same thing as a principal. . . . You can expect certain things from your teachers who in turn can expect things from their children. (Keller-M)

Rawson worked with a female principal who actively encouraged women, but her own experiences working as an administrator under a male principal proved disappointing. She did not develop a collegial relationship with him nor was she eased into doing administrative tasks. Not having a sponsor to sustain her, Rawson returned to classroom teaching.

I took the acting A.P. job when Mr. X. was principal after Miss O. had left. I guess she inspired me. But I hated the job. It was all paper work and handling discipline cases. The school wasn't the same without Miss O. Mr. H. didn't know what he was doing. Everything fell on me. I hated it so the next year I went back into the classroom. (Rawson-F)

Her relationship with the male principal never encouraged a redefinition of herself as an administrator or an enjoyment of doing administrative work.

Crane was encouraged to become an administrator by many people. It began when a female assistant principal told her she could be an administrator if she wanted.

She [an assistant principal] said 'I went to this meeting and they told us, that if there are any women on our staff we felt had potential we should encourage them.' So that is what she did. I then started thinking about administration. (Crane-F)

That same year the principal called her into his office to offer her a specialist teaching position as Reading Improvement Teacher.

Mr. Z. sent for me, asked me would I take that job.

I said, no, I didn't think that I could do a good job. . . . And he was the one who said, 'No, I really think ~~that~~ you can do it. If I think that you can do it, then I know that you can do it.' It was really . . . his buttressing my confidence. . . . It is true -- there are really competent women who have very little confidence compared to very minimally competent men. (Crane-F)

Crane found that her self-confidence grew with her protege experiences; she found herself doing things that earlier she thought were beyond her abilities.

Now that I am the administrative assistant I can't believe I'm doing the work of four assistant principals. When I look back I think about how impossible their jobs seemed to me. . . . I handle 99 percent of the discipline which is really a difficult part of the job and the overwhelming number of sensitive parent interviews. I really know how to be an administrator. Now I am ready for the real administrative position with its formal power and the money. (Crane-F)

Rand, too, received encouragement of her aspirations.

Mr. P. suggested I go into administration before I even thought of becoming an administrator. . . .

He was most helpful and encouraging when I was his [administrative] intern. (Rand-F)

Crane and Rand were the only women who received long-term support nurturing their ambitions. Being selected as a specialist teacher and identification with an administrator were not sufficient for maintaining administrative ambitions. Several experiences supporting administrative ambitions were necessary. There must be in addition a succession of experiences which reinforce the ambitions.

Union Chairperson Position. The development of a sponsor-protege relationship is facilitated when the protege is a specialist teacher. The program of the specialist teacher is more flexible than the classroom teacher, and this allows the principal to more easily assign the teacher administrative duties. The specialist position, then, represents a favorable point of departure for ambitious teachers or a position which stimulates ambition. Another position in the school conducive to developing aspirations is the U.F.T. chapter chairperson position. The union is aware that the positions often serve as launching pads for administrative jobs.

We find very capable people who are very active in the union . . . and a lot of them ended up in administration and for the same reasons . . . economic reasons, status reasons and it's just too bad because teaching is short changed in both of these areas.

(Sandra Feldman, U.F.T. Vice President, Interview, December 17, 1976)

The administrative chairperson position may stimulate the development of administrative aspirations when there is a collegial relationship with the principal. Eight people in the sample were chapter chairpersons, and three who had hostile relationships with their principals were planning to leave teaching. Of the five chapter chairpersons who had collegial relationships with principals four are administrative aspirants and one wants to be a guidance counselor.

The chapter chairperson positions can serve to reinforce administrative aspirations and complement a sponsor-protege relationship. Hooper was the only classroom teacher, i.e., not a specialist, to become a protege and an administrative aspirant.

I think it's very helpful being a chapter chairman. You learn to deal with people. . . . I also represent the union in the district personnel committee. So I sit with people who set policy. I've learned a lot about how people get principalships and make friends. All of this should help me when things

easy up and the school system starts hiring assistant principals again. (Hooper-M)

An aspiring chairperson also develops ties with the U.F.T. which can be extremely important in getting an administrative position. (Both Keller and Hooper were the proteges of principals who had been U.F.T. chapter chairpersons as teachers.) Having the approval of the U.F.T. when applying for a principal's position is usually an advantage, especially in those middle class areas where teachers form a large proportion of those voting for school board members. School board members and school superintendents are very aware of their constituencies and its U.F.T. allegiances. Nor is the union shy about exercising its influence when necessary.

In terms of actual participation and selection process, as long as there isn't somebody being considered whom we consider someone who would be out to really violate the rights of teachers or is an enemy of teachers, we don't play a role. It's only informally, sometimes, that if a name comes up, it's an old enemy that we know. . . . And then I would say a local person would get involved to at least to make it known that there is an objection here and we don't think that this is the person who would be able to establish the kind of relationship with teachers that a principal needs to have. (Sandra Feldman, U.F.T. Vice President, December 17, 1976)

ROLE PARTNER OBLIGATIONS

The preceding pages have focused on the work setting as being the arena for developing administrative aspirations, but teachers' ambitions are nourished or destroyed at home as well as at work.

To understand a teacher's behavior and decisions in a given role one must also take into account certain relationships which impinge on the teacher. . . . For a teacher to violate what he or she perceives to be the spouses expectations concerning his or her career is also to jeopardize many other role relationships with the spouse, i.e., husband, companion and so forth. A teacher's perceptions of the career expectations held for him or her by his family and friends and not necessarily the friends and family's actual expectations are the major factors in the teacher's decision to leave or remain in teaching.¹

A parallel situation is moving into administration and it is pertinent in the careers of the eight administrative aspirants. Of these only Crane-F was single, and four others had children.

Much has been written about how women must manage family and work obligations and how the role overload impedes their careers. Simpson and Simpson report that the typical semi-professional woman

¹Brookover and Erickson, 1975, op. cit., p. 220.

has a traditional conception of the feminine role which creates a roadblock to career mobility.

Regardless of their initial orientations toward work careers, married women workers are apt to find that the family role competes with the work role. When home and work obligations conflict, the home has to take precedence. Women's self-images are built chiefly around their family roles, whereas men are conditioned more by occupational roles. Moreover, women have more household tasks than men have. Such household duties as men have can usually be routinized, scheduled, and, if necessary, postponed when work obligations intrude, but a woman cannot so easily postpone cooking dinner, nor can she schedule the times when her children will need her attention.¹

Although it may be difficult to juggle family and work responsibilities it appears that Rand-F developed a strategy enabling her to do both.

I started teaching full time when the children were six and ten years old. . . . I always made sure I worked near the house and because I worked near the house I

¹Simpson and Simpson, 1969, op. cit., pp. 206, 207.

could get home faster by the car than the children would walk home from school. I was always there to meet them. . . . My husband or I took a day off if they were sick. I could also call the woman who took care of them. (Rand-F)

Rand decided to become an administrator when her children were already in college, thereby avoiding having to face childcare obligations and heavy work obligations.

What appeared to be a greater problem for Rand was persuading her husband that she could be an administrator. In response to the question, "Did someone prevent your career advancement?" Rand replied:

No one has prevented it but I guess my husband did. He wanted to protect me -- not prevent me. He didn't want me to have a career for that reason so that I wouldn't have to work too hard and too many hours. He is protective. He was cooperative about the hours I went to school when I went for my P.D. [administration degree] but he thought I had enough of a burden with my household responsibilities which he did share with me but not on a fifty-fifty basis. (Rand-F)

The "protectiveness" of the husband may be explained by Epstein's remarks that a husband may "feel threatened by the possibility that a working wife could outrank him in occupation or levels of success.

"In American society, the man whose wife is more prominent than he is, is usually pitied."¹

Crane, a single woman, does not face the classical dilemmas of family and career. She does share an apartment with a friend who is a source of support for her.

I know that if something good happens to me, I know that I can go home and say, 'Hey, I got this or I did this.' She is happy for me. She won't discourage me. We don't have a close relationship, but she would never put me down if I got a promotion. So there would be approval in my being successful. (Crane-F)

All of the six male administrative aspirants are married, and five to elementary school teachers. The six men report that their wives are very supportive.

She has a sense of what I can do. . . . I mean like I get a lot of support. (Horten-F)

Enden, who has two children and a wife who is an elementary school teacher, reported his wife is supportive in a very special way. She, plus her mother, actively motivated him to move up. Ended attributed his ambition to become an administrator to his wife and his mother-in-law.

¹Epstein, 1971, Woman's Place, op. cit., p. 128.

I was urged to continue in my education and to seek -- more or less to go into administration. I had it in my mind, in the back of my mind somewhere but they helped bring it out. Jane's mother is a principal so she has been urging me into administration and Jane herself. . . . I'm not an over-ambitious person in terms of material growth and I was never a person to accumulate money or something. Jane has been pushing me to be more ambitious. (Enden-M)

It is worthy of note that Enden's mother-in-law did not encourage her own daughter to become an administrator. She chose to encourage her son-in-law who was not especially interested in moving up into administration. Three of the other men are married to elementary school teachers who worked in the same school as their wives. Their presence of their wives in the same school and with the same job title, may have further encouraged the men to become administrators, since cultural norms prescribe husbands work at higher prestige, power, and income positions than their wives.

In addition, it appears not to be coincidental that five of the six male administrative aspirants are married to elementary school teachers. It may well be the congruence of the work and family norms have a "multiplier effect" similar to that found by Acker and Van Houten in their study of female factory women.¹ Female factory workers coming

¹Acker and Van Houten, 1974, op. cit., p. 154.

from families where they are expected to "obey males in positions of authority" responded in a similar way on the job; the "congruence of the sex power differentials" in their homes "act as a power multiplier enhancing the authority of male superiors in the workplace." Similarly, the congruence of the family and work place expectation of male elementary school teachers married to other elementary school teachers may stimulate males to become administrators. The effects of congruence may also explain why Enden's administrator mother-in-law encouraged her son-in-law rather than her daughter. At the same time the congruence of the work and family expectations may have deterred the wife of a male aspirant from moving into administration in at least one case.

She took a second masters in reading. She was deciding whether she should take it in administration or reading. She thought she would go into administration too. I advised her against it. I told her no. I'd said you're not going to get a job. Things are stacked against you. You ought to go into reading because you can find those private positions and special reading teacher positions which are sort of quasi-administrative.² It's an administrative position but it's out of the classroom and it's advancement. This year, she's not really working with children. She's supervising the paraprofessionals. I

¹Acker and Van Houten, 1974, op. cit., p. 154.

²A special reading teacher is a teacher line position with a teacher's salary and no official supervisory power.

thought she could get a position that way and I was right because she'd got that position three years ago and here I am still without a position. (Keller-M)

Although Keller's advice seems to be based on a sound assessment of the realities of the job situation, it may very well be that it was motivated less than by the realities of the situation than by his pre-conceived notions of a proper women's role. Keller may be responding to a perceived threat to his status in the same way that Rand reports her "protective" husband acts.

In addition to their status as proteges and support from their families there was another factor at work. Administrative jobs would significantly increase their salaries.¹ Teachers on maximum salary earn \$20,000 but supporting a middle class family in a period of inflation on that salary is difficult. The additional salary, as well as their conception of themselves as breadwinners, served as another impetus to propel them into administration.

Summary. The primary difference between respondents who aspire to become administrators and the others is that the former were selected as proteges. The equation of administrative behavior and traits of

¹The salary in 1975-76 for an elementary school assistant principal began at \$24,680 and after three years reached \$25,480. The salary for a principal begins at \$28,545 and after five years reached \$29,845. In addition, in the late sixties and early seventies the job market in New York City was declining reducing the likelihood they could have switched to another job offering equal or better pay.

masculinity makes it easier for male administrators to identify males rather than females as suitable candidates for future administrative positions. Selection as proteges is particularly important, since the mere presence of a role model is not sufficient to stimulate aspirations.

Proteges develop collegial relationships with sponsors in the course of which they acquire critical knowledge, skills, and an introduction to a broad social network which will aid them in getting administrative appointments in the future. Specialist teachers and union chapter chairpersons are in the best positions to develop the required collegial relationships with administrators. However, female specialist teachers rarely did develop these relationships, but those who did received the training and encouragement necessary for sustaining their ambitions.

Other relationships also help reinforce ambitions. The male aspirants, all but one married to teachers, were supported by their wives. The congruence of workplace and family expectations appears to have a "multiplier effect" on aspirations.

SECTION II

THE ADMINISTRATORS

CHAPTER VII

The Administrators' Decision to Become a Teacher

Up to this point we have been discussing the experiences of the subsample of teachers. Now we turn our attention to the administrators, those men and women in our sample who now hold administrative positions in the school system. In this chapter we compare their reasons for becoming teachers with those who are now teachers.

THE MALE ADMINISTRATORS' REASONS FOR BECOMING A TEACHER

The socioeconomic background of the male administrators and teachers are very similar. Most of the males from both groups came from families with fathers in working class or lower-middle class occupations.¹ Only two of the male teachers and two of the male administrators had fathers who were professionals and, within each group, only four males had college graduate fathers. The tuition-free City University system enabled both groups to attend college. Twelve of the teachers and eleven of the administrators earned their degrees at a City University college.

¹The male administrators had a higher proportion of foreign born fathers than the male teachers, 56 percent (9) compared to 20 percent (3). This reflected the older age of the administrators.

TABLE VII-1
OCCUPATIONS OF PARENTS OF
ADMINISTRATORS BY SEX

	Females				Males			
	Mother		Father		Mother		Father	
Professional	0%	0	40%	(6)	0%	0	13%	(2)
School Administrator	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	(1)
School Teacher	0	0	0	0	6	(1)	6	(1)
Proprietor of Store	13	(2)	33	(5)	31	(5)	50	(8)
White Collar	21	(2)	0	0	0	0	19	(3)
Skilled Worker	20	(3)	20	(3)	6	(1)	6	(1)
Semi-skilled Worker	0	0	0	0	6	(1)	0	0
Housewife	<u>47</u>	<u>(7)</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>(8)</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	100%	(15)	100%	(15)	99	(16)	100%	(16)

Professional includes: physician, dentist, pharmacist, musician, optometrist, engineer.

White Collar Worker includes: clerical worker, (2F), salesperson.

Skilled Worker includes: milliner, telephone supervisor, house painter, seamstress, furrier

Junior High School Teaching As Career Choice for Males. Unlike the male teachers, six, or a little over a third, of the administrators never taught on the elementary school level; they moved from only junior high school teaching experience to administrative positions on the elementary school level. On the other hand, we should remember that seven of the male teachers also had junior high school licenses as well as elementary school licenses, and four had actually taught in junior high school before switching into elementary schools.

To all but two of the administrators junior high school teaching was an occupation that offered them more security and prestige than their fathers' occupations and other jobs available to them. For example, Lura's parents were grocery store owners, and his first job after being graduated during the Depression was in the Department of Welfare. In 1945, when the first teaching examinations in many years were given, he became a junior high school teacher. Only two of the six fathers were college graduates. Dale, whose father was an optometrist, majored in accounting at City College, but upon returning to college after World War II he changed to education (see Appendix VIII for periods of male involvement in teaching after World War II). Mason's father was a high school teacher, and the son followed in his footsteps.

Elementary School Teaching as Career Choice for Males. The remaining ten male administrators began their teaching careers as elementary school teachers. Only two men had college graduate fathers, one of whom was a professional; Hame's father was a dentist, and Hame became an elementary school teacher to avoid the Vietnam War draft. Pepper's father was a school administrator, and, after working two years as an accountant, he decided to follow in his father's footsteps. For the other eight men of working class and lower-middle class backgrounds becoming a teacher was not a life long ambition; teaching was an alternative career choice. All the male administrators, like almost all of the male teachers, decided to become teachers in their junior year of college or later.

The late decision reflected the constraints imposed by socioeconomic background. Teacher was a compromise career choice made because they lacked financial resources or knowledge of alternative possibilities. The accessibility of elementary school teaching positions was an incentive to becoming a teacher.

My father wanted me to go to work with him in his fruit and vegetable store but as long as I could stay at City College I was all right. . . . Actually, I wasn't an excellent math student in high school and when I got to college I majored in math initially and I didn't know what to do with it. . . . I majored in math and I minored in pinochle in those days. . . . You can't do pinochle all the time and pass differential calculus so I gave up math and I went into elementary ed. . . . actually I think because it was the easiest thing to do. (Kron-M)

I don't think that my parents spoke to me about my career except that they were very insistent that I go to college but never to the point of going for a particular thing. I was going into foreign trade and I was very unhappy. . . . I took professional preference tests and they said you ought to be in teaching, so I said I'll try that and I liked it. (Miller-M)

Everybody decided I would be a doctor. . . . I couldn't get into medical school. Teaching was an alternative

career choice -- totally unexpected. It was a job that was available in the early 1950's when teachers were needed.

. . . I found out that you could become a teacher quickly.

If you had told me I was going to be a principal I would have said that's insane. (Atkin-M)

Most of the administrators and the male teachers had similar reasons for becoming a teacher. In addition to its accessibility, it was clearly an occupation that did not require outstanding college records and extensive pre-planning.

One male's reasons for entering teaching was different from those of the others. Although he came from a similar lower-middle class background, he chose to go into teaching when it was an extremely difficult occupation to enter. Layne was graduated during the Depression.¹

We needed jobs badly in the Depression. . . . The banks, insurance companies, telephone company -- no way could a Jew get a job in a utility company. So the only 'utility' left was the school system. (Layne-M)

¹Ravitch reports from the late 1920's to the mid 1940's, "The scarcity of jobs made the teaching profession highly desirable. . . . Teachers competed to work in the school system, the staff included men and women of unusual caliber, who in better times might have become college professors." Ravitch, 1974, op. cit., p. 239.

Layne's statement also gives a clue as to why a high percentage of New York City's teachers and administrators are Jewish: it was one of the few professional level occupations open to them in the thirties and forties.

THE FEMALE ADMINISTRATORS' REASONS FOR BECOMING A TEACHER

Eight of the fifteen female administrators come from working class and lower-middle class families (see Table VII-1). Compared to the teachers and male administrators, however, the female administrators have a fairly high percentage of college graduate fathers, 47 percent (7), six of whom worked in professional occupations.¹ Only one of the female teachers, two of the male teachers, and two of the male administrators had fathers who were professionals. The higher socioeconomic background of the female administrators is consistent with the findings from national samples: "Women teachers typically originate in higher status homes than men in the occupation, for example, more men teachers' fathers were blue collar workers."² Despite the difference the female administrators, too, had a high proportion who attended the City University. Twelve of the female teachers and twelve of the female administrators attended a City University college compared to eleven of the male administrators and ten of the male teachers.

¹As in the case of the male administrators they have a high percentage of foreign born parents (75 percent) compared to the female teachers (29 percent). This is again a reflection of the age differences of the two groups.

²Lortie, 1975, op. cit., p. 35.

The Middle Class Women. Seven females came from families where their fathers were college graduates of which six had "professional" occupations. Two of them, James and Lukas, were the only females who did not begin teaching on the elementary school level. Lukas, whose mother was also a college graduate entered teaching in the early forties and reflected the "high caliber" personnel recruited during the Depression era.

In my day and age for a woman to go to college was something. . . . My father did not believe in education for girls . . . the only way I got to college was a scholarship. . . . He wouldn't give up the scholarship money. Otherwise I would never have gotten to college. But I had my choice of what I could study. I would have studied medicine . . . but I was interested in research. So, I was a math and a science major. (Lukas-F)

James began as a junior high school teacher, and she was the only female who went into administration without having any elementary school teaching experience. James had been a pre-med undergraduate but she switched from medicine to teaching.

As far back as I can recall, I've always enjoyed communicating ideas and have someone challenge them. And I think teaching is probably one of the best means of having both happen. (James-F)

Among the other five women who have college graduate fathers only one decided to be an elementary school teacher before high school. Duke's family like those of the female teachers influenced her career decision.

I went into teaching because it was one of those things that just happened. My aunts had been teachers. My mother was school secretary and it was just expected somehow. I had always thought I would be. (Duke-F)

Nugan, Dawson, and Fosdick did not plan on becoming elementary school teachers; their decisions came after marriage and children. Nugan was a science major in college but became an elementary school teacher in a parochial school, because the shorter work day allowed her more time to be home with her young son. When he came of school age, she returned to her original teaching career choice and became a public school junior high school science teacher and, later a high school science teacher. Nugan attributed her ability to shift from one teaching level to another and her career orientation to her college graduate father's encouragement.

My father's responsible in a way. I was the oldest. I was automatically sent to college. My father wanted a boy. I was always given everything and I was always told I could do anything I wanted. I was never treated like it was expected that I would get married and all

that stuff, I was given wider opportunities as a girl, wider horizons. We talk about, today, girls having choices. That was very important. I don't know how that happened, how my father felt that way. Except I was the idol of his eyes. (Nugan-F)

Dawson and Fosdick did not pick up their original career goals after their children reached school age. Dawson's original goal was to be a high school science teacher, and Fosdick originally expected to become a college teacher. Both came from upper-middle class families who encouraged their career-mindedness.

My parents were disappointed when I became an elementary school teacher and not a college teacher. I had grown up in an environment that . . . naturally assumed that I'd get a doctorate. (Fosdick-F)

Boone's father died when she was quite young, but her mother supported the family and was an important career model for her daughter. Boone was graduated during the Depression and entered teaching because other jobs were not available.

My aunts and uncles said: 'What are you going to college for? You're not going to get married? You're not going to have a family? Women shouldn't go. Men should. Learn how to take care of a husband. Learn how to be a woman.' My

major was French and my minor was Latin. I was going to be a translator. . . . My mother was a great influence -- also a liberated woman. She did what she wanted. (Boone-F)

Four of the female administrators made career decisions which conflicted with their relatives' expectations. Dawson became an elementary school teacher, not a high school teacher. Fosdick became an elementary school teacher even though her parents hoped she would be a college teacher. Lukas went to college against her father's advice. Boone did not follow the advice of her aunt and uncles and used her mother's "liberation" as a model for making her own independent decision to go to college. In contrast, only one of the female elementary school teachers did not follow her relatives advice, even when she had misgivings about her career counseling. Only Rawson became an elementary school teacher although her mother, who was a teacher, urged her not to.

The Lower-Middle Class and Working Class Woman. The remaining eight female administrators came from working class and lower-middle class families. Only three of these administrators had reasons for going into teaching similar to those of the female teachers. For Engel, Spet, and Aden elementary school teaching was a lifelong ambition because it helped children and was good, respectable, women's work. Engel was especially determined to be a teacher, and supported herself by working at an office job while she completed her B.A. degree at night.

I had a very miserable elementary school and high school experience. It was dull. Teachers were nasty. It was an era when parents were dirt. . . . I had to work; there was great economic need. I never thought I would go to college, but as a youngster I wanted to be a teacher. I wanted to be nice to kids -- to see that they enjoy school and have a good everyday experience. . . . I had friends in the field and I liked what I heard and what I saw, and I went toward it. (Engel-F)

Spet and Aden believed that elementary school teaching was the best job they could get.

My parents always respected teachers. Teaching is a good job for a woman. . . . It's helping children . . . and teaching them. . . . It pays well and it's got good benefits. (Aden-F)

The remaining five female administrators had reasons for entering elementary school teaching which were different from the female teachers' reasons. Teaching was not a lifelong ambition. Rather it was an alternative career choice because of its accessibility.

I was in 'SP'¹ in junior high school but I squeaked through in high school. I might have been interested in science in college but all my friends were going into teaching.
(Hilton-F)

I started out being an engineer, because somebody said I was pretty good in math. I went to Bronx High School of Science. For lack of direction I decided that might be a swell thing. It didn't pay out too well as far as physics or integral or differential calculus went. So I decided I would become a high school English teacher which I promptly then forgot about and took all elementary school courses. It was not my burning ambition but I was career oriented. . . . My mother had seen the value of having a career since she had to bring me up. . . . I was scared of high school teaching. I felt I didn't want to deal with the discipline I thought would be integral to high school teaching and junior high school. (Oakes-F)

Heron moved while in college, dropped out, and had children, but soon found herself unsatisfied.

¹"SP" is a rapid advance program for intellectually gifted children.

When I got married and I was home with the young children I felt a little depressed. I felt out of it completely and a lot of my friends decided to teach and they seemed to be having exciting things to do and I thought I'd go back and get my courses and I've never been sorry. (Heron-F)

Her mother lived in one-half of the two family house and provided the necessary childcare.

Faret and Island are examples of people who shifted their aspirations after some experience with another career line. Faret, a former nun who had finished college after entering the convent, was a teacher and administrator in parochial schools. After she left her order she became an elementary school teacher in the public school system. Island found a job in a social work agency. She became an elementary school teacher expecting to change to still another career.

I started by not wanting to teach. I thought of it as a temporary stop gap . . . I got into elementary school and began to think of the next career. I was very career-minded. . . . That was the Depression and -- they didn't give exams so we couldn't go anywhere. I decided that I would use my English training and I took the high school English license exam which at that time was a grueling exam -- I also took the junior high English exam. (Island-F)

A comparison of the female teachers and female administrators points up dramatic differences. Only half of the female administrators had majored in elementary education; rather, they majored in subject areas compared to one-fourth of the teachers. The female teachers appeared to have been more influenced by their parents' images of the sex-segregated occupational world; they saw few job options other than elementary school teaching, nursing, or social work. The female administrators appeared to be less influenced by their parents' career advice. Four of the women made career decisions which conflicted with their relatives' expectations. Most of the female administrators did not report that they or their parents saw the occupational sector sharply circumscribed along sex lines. For the female teachers, without adequate career guidance and financial resources, elementary school teaching appeared to be almost the only occupation open to them. They identified with female elementary school teachers, and rather happily resigned themselves to becoming teachers themselves. In sharp contrast, female administrators appeared much more career-oriented. Only six or less than half of the female administrators decided to be elementary school teachers by their junior year in college, while thirteen, about three fourths, of the teachers had. The teachers' earlier decisions reflected their parents' and their own acceptance of stereotypical notions of women's place in society. At least equally important, however, is that their choice of career also reflected their lower socioeconomic background. Only one of the female teachers had a father in a profession compared to six of the female administrators. Lacking parents who themselves represented the advantages of professional careers, female

teachers had few people who could serve as models and who could help them.

Nine of the female administrators came from working class and lower-middle class backgrounds, but nonetheless, appear to have had an orientation to a career. Among the sixteen female teachers of working and lower-middle class origin, seven had working mothers, while a somewhat higher proportion of administrators, seven of the nine with those origins, had working mothers. Although only Oakes specifically points to her mother as encouraging a career orientation, the mere presence of a working mother may have made it easier to perceive an alternative to stereotypical views of appropriate aspirations and behavior. The influence of the working mother on the daughter's career orientation has been reported by Angrist and Almquist. The college women they studied who had working mothers were more likely to be career-oriented than those whose mothers did not.

Fully half of the non-career oriented students report that their mothers never worked. This is true for only one-fifth of the career aspirers. Over half the mothers of career oriented girls worked while the students were in school, providing for them a vivid demonstration of how to combine family and work. Perhaps girls with working mothers learn a more favorable definition of

the working mother's role, especially since their fathers do not object strenuously.¹

Portraits of women who early in their lives were willing to take risks and independent actions emerged from the interviews with the administrators. They saw work outside the home as psychologically rewarding and not over-taxing. The three women who became elementary school teachers after having children were married to men who could support them in a middle class life style without the additional income. They became elementary school teachers not only because it was a readily accessible job but because they also saw work as a satisfying activity. Not one of the women foresaw, while in college, a need to choose between family roles and a career. Although they might interrupt a career, none of them wanted to stop working permanently.

Quite possibly, a comparison of adolescent career aspirations of the female teachers and administrators is not valid or fair; those who are successful remember their early great ambitions and the unsuccessful selectively forget their earlier aspirations. However, assuming that the female administrators did not greatly exaggerate their early career interests, their interviews suggest that these women parallel the "pioneers" identified by Jessie Bernard in her analysis of a survey of 180,684 female college students.

¹Shirley S. Angrist and Elizabeth M. Almquist, Careers and Contingencies: How College Women Juggle with Gender (New York: Dunellen Publishing Co., 1975), p. 155.

Pioneers . . . consisted of all those who gave evidence of role-transcendence . . . that is, they did not conform to the stereotyped pattern of feminine behavior. They were, in brief, aggressive, ambitious, achievement oriented, independent and not interested in full time domesticity.¹

Whereas the female teachers more closely approximated the "traditionalists."

The traditionalists . . . women . . . who gave evidence of conformity to traditional sex stereotyped role conceptions. They (1) wanted to marry within five years, (2) wanted to raise a family and (3) believed a woman's place was in the home.²

Both Pioneers and Traditionalists still tended to gravitate towards being elementary and secondary school teachers but not in the same proportion. Twenty-five percent of the Pioneers and 40 percent of the Traditionalists planned on being teachers. More Pioneers than Traditionalists "selected such male-typed occupations as medicine, engineering, law and scientific research. Many more Traditionalists

¹Jessie Bernard, Women, Wives, Mothers: Values and Options (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1975), p. 49.

²Ibid., p. 48, 49.

. . . chose housewife as their probable occupation."¹ Thus, the female administrators in our sample may be a quite different population from the female elementary school teacher, one being predominantly Pioneers, the other Traditionalists. This fact may be of some importance in explaining their ultimate success. Male administrators may choose as their proteges, if no eligible male candidates are available, those people who most closely approximate themselves. That is, they will choose Pioneer women, "sex role transcendents;" women who are aggressive, ambitious, achievement oriented."² However, it may be that males who select aggressive females as their proteges are also "pioneers," in their own right, because they are willing to deviate from traditional sex role conformity and work with aggressive ambitious females.

Summary. The male teachers and administrators have much in common. Seventy-five percent of both groups came from families with fathers in working class or lower-middle class occupations. Both groups decided to become teachers in their junior year of college or later. Most of the males became teachers because it is an occupation that offers more security and prestige than their fathers' occupations. Teaching also has better working conditions, higher prestige, and salary than other jobs available to them.

¹Bernard, 1975, op. cit., pp. 48, 49.

²Ibid., p. 49.

Most of the female administrators came from working class and lower-middle class families. However, compared to the teachers and male administrators, the female administrators have a fairly high percentage of professionally educated fathers. Of the seven middle class female administrators only one decided to become an elementary school teacher before graduating from college. Similarly, of the eight lower-middle and working class origin female administrators, only three decided to become elementary school teachers before college. For the remaining five it was an alternative career choice because of its accessibility. Female administrators appeared much more career oriented, and, equally important, unlike the teachers, they did not perceive their own occupational choices as those only within the female sex-typed fields of teaching, social work, nursing. Instead, they considered entering male sex-typed occupations including science research, engineering and translation work, non-traditional female occupations. The administrators appeared to correspond to Jessie Bernard's role-transcending "pioneers," who "were aggressive, ambitious, achievement oriented, independent and not interested in full time domesticity."¹ In contrast the female teachers appeared to parallel the "traditionalists . . . who gave evidence of conformity to traditional sex stereotyped role conceptions."²

The female administrators, regardless of class background appear to have had a higher proportion of working mothers than the female

¹Bernard, 1975, op. cit., p. 49.

²Ibid., pp. 49, 50.

teachers. The women may have learned from their working mothers that it was possible to combine work and family roles. It appears the male administrators and male teachers are much more similar to each other than the female administrators and female teachers were to each other. The female administrators appear to be women who in their early lives were less affected by the stereotypical notions of their place in society than the female teachers were. The female administrators, because they may correspond to Bernard's "aggressive, ambitious, achievement oriented,"¹ pioneers are chosen by male administrators as proteges, if no eligible male candidates are available, because they are people who most closely approximate themselves. However, it may be that males who select aggressive females as their proteges are also "pioneers" in their own right, because they are willing to deviate from traditional sex role conformity and work with aggressive ambitious females.

¹Bernard, 1975, op. cit., p. 49.

CHAPTER VIII

The Administrators and the Decision to be an Administrator

As suggested in earlier chapters, the teachers' experiences as teachers were crucial to developing aspirations, since none of the teachers went into teaching expecting to become an administrator. Their aspirations evolved out of a series in the school. The same pattern is evident among administrators; all but three said they went into teaching without the intention of becoming an administrator. And, for even those three, their teaching experiences were crucial for nourishing that ambition. In this chapter we will examine these experiences and their relation to aspirations.¹

School Level and Length of Time as Teachers. The school level at which the administrators worked on when they were teachers varied by sex. Twelve of the fifteen females spent most of their teaching careers on the elementary school level while less than half of the males did. Of those seven males, four worked as special education teachers. Three taught classes for children with retarded mental development (CRMD) and one taught in a 600 school, a school for emotionally disturbed

¹Another important factor on career plans is the influence of role partners which will be discussed in Chapter XI.

children.¹ Females had greater experience teaching "normal" children than did males.

The other eight males spent most of their teaching careers as junior high school teachers. Included in this group are Miller and Lawson, who spent a short period on the elementary school level before moving to junior high school teaching. Two women worked on two levels: Engel moved from elementary school teaching to the elementary school level. Island and Nugan taught on all three levels.

Although the school level teaching experience of the teachers varied somewhat by sex, the length of time spent as teachers did not. Eight of the females and nine of the males, half of each category, spent from five to nine years as teachers before moving into their first administrative position. Similarly, the next most frequent length of time spent as teachers was almost the same: four of the females and five of the males spent ten to fourteen years as teachers before becoming administrators. Four administrators, two males and two females, spent fifteen to nineteen years as teachers. One female spent the longest time as a teacher, twenty-one years.

All but two of the males and four of the females earned an administrators' license through the civil service exam selection system. They were teachers when the "career flow"² was well defined, teacher to assistant principal to principal. To move through a

¹Working as CRMD teacher or in a 600 school meant a higher salary of several hundred dollars more a year. The extra salary was an incentive to take on that position.

²Becker and Strauss, 1977, op. cit., pp. 245.

"sequence of positions, achievement and responsibility"¹ a candidate passed tests. The candidates who became administrators under the civil service selection system will be discussed first, followed by the credential selection system candidates.

THE MALE ADMINISTRATORS

Civil Service System. Three males decided to become administrators because they were encouraged by male administrators and selected as proteges. Miller called his principal his "rabbi," and that sponsor assigned him to out-of-classroom administrative tasks.

When I moved to the junior high school, I was only there a year when I was removed from the classroom to do teacher training, then guidance work, and finally I became a dean. I felt that I was the classiest teacher around. I knew administration was the way to get the salary for doing the same work. (Miller-M)

Similarly, Sheldon was given special assignments by his sponsors. He worked as a guidance counselor, though he did not have the license, and as a dean in his junior high school. These assignments, along with encouragement and advice from two male A.P.'s, persuaded Sheldon to become an administrator.

¹Everett C. Hughes, "Career and Office," in Organizational Careers: A Sourcebook for Theory, ed., Barney G. Glaser, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968). p. 17.

I was approached by the two assistant principals in my school, who told me about the test . . . the fact that there would be openings, and the advantages of going into supervision. It was only at that time that I began to consider it. When I first came into the school system, it was the furthest thought from my mind. I thought no further than getting into the classroom. . . .

We [the two assistant principals] weren't personal friends, but we were very close and the two from my school together with a third from another school, who happened to be a neighbor of mine by coincidence organized a coaching course and I signed up for it. (Sheldon-M)

Kron also had a helpful sponsor, the principal of his elementary school.

My first principal . . . from the very first years that I started teaching . . . gave me many administrative opportunities and helped me in many ways and talked to me about the fact that there is a way up in the system and that I should be taking courses and beginning to study and all of that kind of thing. (Kron-M)

All three were taught how to take and pass the exam, and, of course, implicitly being instructed in the dominant style of administration.¹

Four males were encouraged to go into administration by teacher friends. The need for people to study with prompted teachers to encourage one another to study together for the exam. Lawson and Land appeared to need persuasion to decide.

I never looked upon myself as an administrator and never really was interested in becoming an administrator.

. . . We [my wife and I] rented a bungalow in the mountains and there was a fellow there who ran a day camp. . . . He was studying for the assistant principal's examination and insisted that I study with him and I told him I wasn't interested. He put it on a basis that if he didn't have someone to study with, he would never be able to do what he felt he had to do and wanted to do. So, would I do him a favor and work with him and study along with him . . . since I was up there for an entire summer . . . it gave me something to do as well, so I studied with him. When the examination was given he asked that I take the exam with him. . . . I didn't particularly want to either, but I took the exam and got the license. (Lawson-M)

¹See the discussion about the then dominant style of leadership in Chapter V, pp. 89-90.

Learning how to become an administrator under the old civil service system did not necessarily require an administrator as a key gatekeeper, since passing the exam was the critical hurdle. Teachers could motivate other teachers to start on the road to administration simply by pulling them into a study group.

Dale, a specialist teacher was invited to move to the Central Board by a female administrator, and he ultimately achieved a director's position. Administrators of small divisions at the Central Board often know the teachers in their divisions better than most other Central Board officials.

Two males reported they were advised to become administrators by their fathers who worked in the school system. One had attempted unsuccessfully to become an administrator, and encouraged his son to do better.

As soon as I started teaching I felt that I might someday want to go for a higher license. . . . Ambition and ego . . . are tied together. Another one is economical, but that really should be the last. . . . I was a good teacher, the job became a little easy. I guess I was looking for more of a challenge. . . . Ego more so than ambition. . . . My father was a history teacher. He was a fantastic teacher. We talked about my career. He hoped that I would take supervisory exams. . . . My first principal also encouraged me when I taught in the junior high school. (Mason-M)

Pepper's father had successfully mastered the civil service exam system' and moved into an administration position.

I don't know that I ever decided that I wanted to become an administrator. That goes back to the old middle class bit . . . you take every exam you're eligible for. There was more money, because when I started teaching my salary was, I think, the magnificent sum of \$2,600 a year. . . . It was in part dollars. . . . In part, the upward mobility syndrome. . . . It was the thing to do, you know. It was also part of my family. My father did it, so why shouldn't I do it? I didn't do it to escape the classroom. . . . My father suggested that I take the first available exam that I was eligible for. And I did. (Pepper-M)

Both men also were encouraged by the principals in their schools, and they took on non-contractual tasks including handling difficult children other than their own students.

Another theme alluded to be several male teachers and explicitly stated by some was that they moved up because they were the sole providers of their families.

I definitely went into administration because of the money to maintain a style of life I wanted to have. I had a wife and three children. I also wanted to share things with other teachers. (Massey-M)

Administration meant more money. That was part of it. (Layne-M)

But another part, as we have seen in Mason's emphasis on "ego" and Pepper's "upward mobility syndrome," is related to less material and more social psychological factors, which tend to go together.

I went into administration, this was a way to lead to a career. I observed principals working and assistant principals, and I just felt very much capable of doing their job. The other very good thing, it was a raise in salary. (Atkins-M)

Most of the men took as administrative exams as they could in the hope that they would pass at least one and receive an appointment wherever there was a vacancy. Their reference group was other male teachers who were studying for the exam and male administrators. The ever present theme was the careers of their fellow male exam-takers. Moving up was the "natural career flow."

. . . When I became a teacher, among the people I worked with the thing to do was take the exam. Not that we ever consciously expressed a desire to do great [things] for the world, to become an A.P. or a principal. . . . I would have been perfectly happy staying as a teacher. It was money. I guess the ego factor to a limited

degree. I think mostly it was an unconscious . . . the thing to do. At least among the people I knew. (Pepper-M)

All a teacher had to do was to pass the exam. Of course, if he did not get along with his principal, he could fail the rating report, and most likely the entire exam. On the other hand, the teacher did not have to rely as heavily on the principal for making contacts crucial to being appointed as an assistant principal as he does under the credential system. If a teacher passed the exam for assistant principal he was automatically appointed off the list. Now a protege is in a much more dependent position, because the graduate programs leading to state certification require an internship with the principal. More importantly, in order to get an administrative position he is dependent on his sponsor for learning crucial "trade secrets" and inducting him into the network approving his appointment.

Credential System. Two males became administrators under the credential system. Hame, an elementary school teacher, was the protege of a male principal who gave him special assignments such as working as the gym teacher, handling "difficult" children, and lunch duty assignments. He also was a U.F.T. chapter chairperson. He was encouraged to become an administrator by his principal, and earned his M.A. in administration. Now he is working on his Ph.D. in administration. Nabet, a junior high school audio visual teacher, became the protege of the male principal, was slowly eased into administrative assignments, and went on to get a state certification as an administrator.

Both Hame and Nabet were interns of their principals who introduced them to the superintendent and school board members in their district. Both enhanced their "visibility" in the district by working on district level projects on the advice and encouragement of their sponsors. Hame organized a district basketball tournament and Nabet developed audio-visual materials for the district.

THE FEMALE ADMINISTRATORS

Civil Service System. Eleven of the females earned an administrator's license through the civil service exam selection system; and four of them were proteges. Lukas's relationship with a female principal, though it lacked the usual degree of warmth, groomed her for administration; it provided her with administrative experiences, supported a redefinition of herself, and taught her to understand a school from a managerial perspective.

I really didn't decide. I got into it accidentally.

. . . The principal decided she wanted to take leave.

. . . She decided I would be acting principal and I

didn't want the job. She said take it or take a

transfer. . . . The principal's reason for encouraging

me were personal rather than professional. It was her

personal antagonism towards some of the senior teachers.

I think it may also have been professional, since she

felt I was a very good teacher and she did use me in

the office. Small schools didn't have assistants, so

that even during that period of time before I came the acting principal I was working in the office with her and knew the routine of operating the school and all of that. (Lukas-F)

But she did not take the exam until her husband did.

I was acting principal for three years and my husband at the time was going to take the assistant principal's exam. I had not planned to take it because I was not interested in administration . . . he said to me "As long as you're doing the job why don't you take the exam." So, I took it, we both took it. (Lukas-F)

Heron was initially encouraged to be an administrator by a female assistant principal, and later,

When I transferred to my second school, the principal there really encouraged me. He was giving a coaching course and he invited me to take the coaching course and in fact as a courtesy he didn't even charge me. He really encouraged me. Because otherwise I might not have thought I could do it. (Heron-F)

Boone and James were proteges of male administrators. They were assigned administrative tasks, encouraged to become administrators,

and taught how to be a manager in much the same manner as the males.

I was asked [by the male principal] to assist in the training of new teachers. . . . I was almost from the start given administrative tasks in spite of the fact that I didn't have a license at that point other than a teacher. . . . Shortly after it all I began to think about becoming an administrator. (James-F

Four of the remaining seven females who moved up under the civil service selection system decided to become administrators because they were encouraged by female assistant principals.¹ They are not characterized as proteges, because the relationship they had with the female A.P. did not include an on-going relationship and administrative assignments. The administrators only acted as stimuli to aspirations, and additional experiences along the way nourished that initial encouragement.

I really didn't think of it at all, until I was a teacher about six years. . . . I was walking with my assistant principal one day and she asked me what

¹Seven of the eight females encouraged by a female were encouraged by assistant principals. Female administrators tended to be assistant principals. In 1971-72, 48 percent of the assistant principals were female, compared to 27 percent of the principals. (Figures from Howard, 1975, op. cit., p. 40.)

was the matter and I said I was bored . . . and she
said if you want excitement become an administrator.
And that was sort of like the big push. (Engel-F)

The exam system did not require a candidate to become a member of an administrative inner fraternity; after passing the exam she was appointed off a list. The significant factor was encouragement. The mere presence of a "role model" of the same sex is not sufficient to raise administrative aspirations. In other words, an administrator had to say "you should become an administrator." Once encouraged, Engel and Hilton joined study groups with other female administrative aspirants. Duke and Spet who were initially motivated by female A.P.'s began studying for the exam on their maternity leaves. Their aspirations were nourished by friendly administrators who helped them study.

Mary was the A.P. and from the very beginning, from the very day she walked in . . ., she asked me to think about becoming an assistant principal and becoming an administrator. At that point I said no. But when I took off for maternity I was home and began studying for the A.P. exam. . . . I had help from a friend of mine who was an assistant principal. . . . But it was Mary who put the idea in my head and said you can do it. You're capable of it. (Duke-F)

Male administrators frequently see females as ill-suited to be administrators because they believe women cannot manage mother, wife, and career roles. Female administrators, having managed to fulfill the roles themselves, do not see marriage and motherhood as barriers.

One of the people who was very encouraging to me . . . was a woman, Mrs. F. who was the assistant principal. When I was going out on maternity leave she . . . said you must take the assistant principal's exam. 'Don't come back as a teacher. Come back as an assistant principal,' she said, 'because there are times you are going to have to get to the telephone and see if they are all right. You are going to have to run out, and when you are a teacher you can't do that. When you are an assistant principal you will have a little more flexibility.' (Spet-F)

Another woman, a superintendent, helped her while she was on maternity leave.

At that time superintendents felt they should encourage teachers who were taking supervisory positions. . . . So the lady who was the superintendent . . . called together those people who had passed the written and prepared those people by giving us a couple of sessions. . . . The next part was the interview . . . by which

time I was pregnant again. She suggested to me that I write to the Board of Examiners and ask if they could schedule me early. . . . They did schedule me early. I was among the first people to go. (Spet-F)

It is apparent from Spet's statement that female administrators can help female aspirants by developing strategies with them to overcome the hurdles that may subtly discriminate against women. Both administrators showed Spet how to cope with her wife and mother roles while at the same time fulfilling her occupational role. Here encouragement is something more than mere "psychic or moral support;" it is practical advice in coping with the realities of potential role strain.

Being able to study while on maternity leave points to an advantage of the civil service system. The credential system requires their active, almost full-time, participation in district level activities to gain the first administrative position. Under the civil service system, teachers were on a list and when their maternity leaves were over they were immediately placed in schools as assistant principals. Duke's five year maternity leave and Spet's seven year leave did not disqualify them from going into administrative positions as assistant principals.

The importance of same sex influence networks was further documented by one woman who reported that her female friends and colleagues encouraged her. Oakes was a friend of Hilton's, and when Hilton was accepted into the Hunter College administrative program Oakes followed with the help and encouragement of Hilton.

We taught together and she suggested we take the A.P. exam. . . . We heard about the thing at Hunter which is how we took the six year certificate [in administration]. (Oakes-F)

Oakes failed the test the first time, but "once I got the taste of it, I had to go ahead." The second time she was in a coaching course with her male principal who was very helpful.

Nugan was unusual in that she was self-motivated. Nugan went directly into an administrative program upon graduation from college. Her ambition was strengthened along the way by her experiences with male administrators who encouraged her aspirations.

I had taken my work immediately after getting out of college. Inadvertently, I was allowed into an administration program. Usually they say you have to have a few years experience. And I got into a very fine program with Bob and Jim, someone who is very well known in administration circles, and they were very instrumental in my thinking. And then I had the audacity to have a child at the end of that year. . . . [Several years later] I decided . . . to finish up the doctorate. . . . Why did I decide to go into administration so early in my career? I was always an organizer, ever since I was six, four. . . . It was only very natural. I had no idea in my

life, until after I got my doctorate, that there was any discrimination against women in administration. (Nugan-F)

Island decided to move into administration when her husband decided to do so, but when he died she postponed taking the exam for a while.

What happened was that my husband, who was a high school teacher and I, who was an elementary teacher . . . simultaneously decided we would go for promotions. Then when the war started he was drafted and he was killed, and I was very depressed for a long time. . . . After a long time I was able to think -- well, I'm going to survive so what should I do. So I decided that I might study for the exam. (Island-F)

Credential System. Four females became administrators under the credential selection system. All four of them were proteges. Aden's female special education¹ supervisor helped Aden move to the Central Board, advised her where to get her administrative degree, and helped her learn the ropes of administrative work.

I was a special ed. teacher and my special ed. administrator said 'I have a place for you at the Central

¹Special education teachers work with emotionally and physically handicapped children.

Board. You'll become a coordinator. Get your administrator's credentials and earn an administrators salary.'

She was very encouraging and supportive. (Aden-F)

Fosdick worked closely with female administrators in a special program, and with their encouragement earned her degree and moved into the administrative ranks. Dawson and Faret were sponsored by male principals and learned "trade secrets" in the course of performing their new duties.

Mr. L. asked me if I'd like to take over the job of administrative assistant. I really didn't want it. I asked him to give me a little time to think it over. . . . The next day I said thank you but I don't think at this particular time I am interested. I had personal problems at home. . . . And I felt that I was not ready to take a different position. I felt I wouldn't be able to put the effort into it I wanted to. He wanted me to do it. And I said, well, if I take it with the understanding that I may not be able to devote my full energies to do it. He transferred to another school after a few months. . . . A new principal came in and I became the acting assistant principal. (Dawson-F)

The first principal wanted her to be the administrative assistant, because she had developed a close relationship with parents of the

school by working as a head teacher for Head Start, an early-childhood education program. After becoming an acting assistant principal she started working towards her degree in administration. Faret was in slightly a special situation; she had held administrative level positions in parochial schools when she was a nun. Moving from the role of teacher to that of an administrator was not very difficult with the encouragement of the administrators in the school.

WHO ENCOURAGES WHOM?

In analyzing all the respondents' reasons for becoming administrators it is apparent that females rely more heavily than males on primary encouragement by administrators to develop administrative aspirations. About a third of the males compared to four-fifths of the females report encouragement by an administrator stimulated their aspirations.

TABLE VIII-1

PRIMARY ENCOURAGEMENT TOWARD ADMINISTRATION BY SEX*

Encouraged by Same Sex Administrators	53%	(8)	31%	(5)
Encouraged by Sex Sex Friend	7	(1)	25	(4)
Encouraged by Opposite Sex Adminis.	27	(4)	6	(1)
Influence of Relative	7	(1)	13	(2)
Self-Motivated	7	(1)	6	(1)
Breadwinner Pressure	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>(3)</u>
	101%	(15)	100%	(16)

* Table VIII-1 describes the source of primary or initial encouragement given to the respondents. This does not mean to suggest that these were the only sources of encouragement.

What appears essential in the case of the females is the explicit recognition by an administrator that they are capable of being an administrator and experiences that nourish that initial stimulus.

Females are not decision-makers about their place in the occupational system and they do not 'choose' an occupation as males do. They usually wait for signals from others, whether these signals consist of outright approval or disapproval, encouragement or discouragement.¹

Gross and Trask report that encouragement to be a principal was more significant for women than men. Eighty-nine percent of the women versus 78 percent of the men pointed to encouragement as the reasons they sought the principalship of an elementary school. Thirty-eight percent of the women and 6 percent of the men reported that encouragement was from immediate superiors such as the principal in their school and "other higher administrators."² Burns' study of sixty-nine female administrators in California further documents the importance of encouragement from superiors in the decision to become an administrator.

¹Athena Theodore, "The Professional Woman" Trends and Prospects," in The Professional Woman, ed., Athena Theodore (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1971), p. 15. See also Estler, 1975, op. cit., p. 396.

²Gross and Trask, 1976, op. cit., pp. 77, 78.

This sample of women reported two major factors which influenced their decisions to attain leadership placement (1) the influence of a superior (2) their own interest in the particular field. They reported that their formulation of goals relative to administration assignments was a slow outgrowth which occurred after experience as teachers. A majority of the women obtained their present assignments through an offer from a superior from within their present districts.¹

Similarly, Schmuck found in her study of thirty female administrators in Oregon,

One of the most formidable barriers to women's entrance and advancement in managerial positions is their own lack of self-confidence, their self-depreciation, and their doubts about their ability to do a good job. . . . Many women were pushed, cajoled, persuaded, and even driven to their managerial positions by male administrators. . . . Almost half of the women . . . had been persuaded to take their jobs by male supervisors.²

¹Burns, 1964, op. cit., p. 165.

²Schmuck, 1975, "Deterrants to Women's Careers," op. cit., p. 343.

Of the twelve females encouraged by an administrator, eight were encouraged by female administrators. Thus we see same sex identification operating among females as well as males. Sex is a salient status in the school, as in the wider culture, and fosters reference group identification around sex. Four females were proteges of female administrators (Lukas, Fosdick, Aden, Heron). In four other cases the female assistant principal planted the seed of the idea of becoming an administrator, and the idea was nourished by female friends and other female administrators working in other schools (Spet, Engel, Duke, Hilton). Still another female, Oakes, was encouraged and helped to move into administration by a female friend who was herself moving up. Several of these women were able to develop, with their female sponsors, strategies for meeting their wife and mother obligations. In contrast, as in the case of Dawson (see p. 171), male administrators were less likely to be sympathetic to the familiar obligations of the female aspirant.

Overall, eight or half of the women were involved in sponsor-protege relations. Of those eight, four had female sponsors and four had male sponsors. One ought not to underestimate the importance of a male sponsor. Henning and Jardim found in their study of twenty-five women at high levels of middle management in industry and business a "critical make or break factor" was the good boss.¹ Through a "deep and abiding friendship with the man for whom they worked," twenty women "moved progressively up to higher positions" as he moved up.

¹Margaret Henning, and Anne Jardim, The Managerial Woman (New York: Anchor Press, 1977), pp. 127, 129.

When asked to describe their boss and their relationship with him the women likened him to their fathers and described their relationship with him in similar terms. To each woman he was her supporter, her encourager, her teacher and her strength in the company.¹

The men present a contrasting picture. A smaller proportion were involved in a sponsor-protege relationship, and more were encouraged by friends. The men, with the possible exception of Lawson and Land (see p. 158), appear to need less encouragement than the women; they more readily accede to the initial suggestion or push. Although the initial push is a necessary condition, most of the men see movement into the administrative ranks as something "natural." There is, after all, the cultural expectation that men will try to improve their incomes and "get ahead" in their occupation. The encouragement by peers and superiors showed them the way to realize those expectations -- the career ladder created by the civil service system was theirs to climb.

In formal terms it was open to the women as well. But the climb was "unnatural," and the women needed more encouragement, a stronger push. Because women within the school system are not expected to "better themselves" occupationally, they are probably less responsive than males to suggestions about mobility from peers. They seem to respond more readily to encouragement from superiors who

¹ Hennig and Jardim, 1977, op. cit., p. 129.

in the schools, as elsewhere, tend to be males. The latter, though, are more likely to encourage males, and so women, who need more encouragement and who rely on superiors for it, are less likely to receive that initial help. Men, for whom strong encouragement by male superiors is not as crucial, are more likely to receive it. This seems to be another instance of what Merton calls "the Matthew effect."¹

The patterns of primary encouragement remain the same in both selection systems. Of the eleven women deciding to become an administrator under the civil service system, slightly more than three quarters (9) reported encouragement was crucial to their decision. Eight of those nine women were encouraged by an administrator, and six of those were encouraged by a female administrator. Males advancing in the system show a different pattern: of the fourteen men deciding to become an administrator slightly more than half (8) reported encouragement as a significant stimulus. But of those eight males four reported encouragement by an administrator as the crucial factor. Like the female administrators, most of the male administrators (3) were encouraged by an administrator of the same sex. Thus we see that under the civil service system females appear to rely more heavily than males on encouragement by superiors and same sex encouragement is the general pattern.

The four females who moved up under the credential system also reported encouragement by a superior was crucial to their decision.

¹Robert K. Merton, "The Matthew Effect in Science," in The Sociology of Science, ed., Norman W. Storer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), p. 443.

Two were encouraged by female administrators. However, under the credential system both sexes' mobility appeared to rely heavily on actions by superiors. The two mobile males were encouraged by male superiors.

The careers of the six teachers (4 females and 2 males) who moved up under the credential system are a further demonstration of the importance of the sponsor-protege system since all were proteges under the credential system. Now encouragement alone is not sufficient; a person must be guided through the maze of the interlocking power groups operating in the school network. Unless the candidate, especially the female candidate, has someone to vouch for her, she will never achieve her goal.

Summary. Females compared to the males were far more likely to have done most of their teaching as elementary school teachers, but both males and females spent about the same length of time as teachers before becoming administrators.

Of the fourteen males who were mobile under the civil service system, only four, who were proteges, relied exclusively on administrators for help and encouragement. The two men who became administrators under the credential system were proteges and, hence, dependent on administrators. The females relied more heavily on encouragement by an administrator with twelve of them reporting encouragement from this source.

There appears to be a definite pattern of primary encouragement: females encourage females and males encourage males. When females receive encouragement from successfully mobile females the encouragement

includes receiving advice about overcoming or coping with balancing family and work responsibilities. The heavy reliance upon encouragement by females has been found in other studies as well. Career advancement into administration seems more "natural" for men, while women need to be directly prodded into advancing their careers.

CHAPTER IX

Becoming a Principal

The expected career path of the mobile teacher is classroom teacher -- assistant principal -- principal.¹ As will become evident in the following pages it is frequently not that direct in a large urban school system.² This chapter will focus on the "politics" of becoming a principal under the credential system.

THE PRINCIPAL

In the sample, eight males and two females became principals under the credential selection system but without following the same route.

Stepping Into the Shoes of the Former Principal. Stepping into the shoes of the previous principal is one important way of becoming a principal. Moving up to the principal's position within the same school in which the candidate worked as an assistant principal enabled

¹See Schmuck, 1975, "Sex Differentiation in Public School Administration," op. cit., p. 15. The "career paths" of male school administrators in Oregon is a "straight line move up the hierarchy from teacher to principal to superintendent." This pattern typifies "most school districts in the nation."

²The four administrators who became principals before decentralization on the basis of their test score on a civil service exam will not be discussed since that selection system is no longer used.

the candidate to build upon the network he established as an A.P. By becoming the acting principal he is able to consolidate his position and further demonstrate his ability to run the school.

My principal put in a word for me . . . the first time as the acting. And he wrote very glowing reports during my probation. Very strong recommending letters but that preceeded the appointment.

Was that very important in terms of when one becomes an acting principal? . . . There is no much that has gotten involved politically, I really don't know. I could just tell you that some schools, some districts want very much to get what they feel is best for the community. And so they'll say they don't want to stick to just the person who has gotten the acting job and I think that's more P.R. than truth. In the main, probably, most supervisors, in this district have been in acting positions. (Land-M)

Kron was appointed juast as decentralization began. He moved from assistant principal to appointed principal. His friendship with the superintendent facilitated his appointment.

First of all, I became a principal before the present power structure. The very first thing that happened after decentralization. . . . John Doe became the

superintendent and I was picked as principal . . . and then parents through input [selected me]. . . . I knew all of the people on the school board. I certainly had been active in the district for a number of years, not only through the union but any educational activities I was active in. And, aside from that, I was good. But I could not become a principal today. Given that I still have the same excellent contacts and the same excellent reputation and my same complete confidence in myself that I could take over my school and really do a bang-up job, there is no doubt in my mind I could not become a principal today because the power structure has changed. . . . The system then was educational proteges or educational politics; it's not educational politics any more. It's power politics. It's money politics . . . community corporation, real politics. (Kron-M)

Kron's statement reveals how the "politics" of becoming a principal operates and how the system has changed since the inception of the credential system. Being a member of the administrative inner circles was essential prior to decentralization and remained important after decentralization. But after decentralization, if political leaders, school board members, or powerful parent groups lined up behind another candidate, then personal ties with the former principal or superintendent would not be sufficient to see one through. Kron became a principal in a minority neighborhood during the early

stages of decentralization before indigenous political groups were fully mobilized. The principal's position in that district has since become race-typed as non-white. Similarly, there is a tendency in other areas of the city for principals to be selected in terms of their congruence with the dominant ethnic characteristics of the population.¹

Those candidates who moved up in the early stages of decentralization are aware that there has been a shift in criteria emphasis, demonstrating competency as a principal or having the support of the administrative inner circles are no longer sufficient attributes to secure an appointment. Now candidates have to persuade parent-group leaders, local politicians, and school board members that they are desirable candidates.

"Locked Up" Principals: The Advantage of Incumbency. Two males become acting principals with almost absolute guarantees they would get the appointment (Lawson, Miller). In other words, the position was "locked up" even before the district went through the motions of the search process.

The school board has the right to say what the situation is. We'll pick any one that we want. If they're three names they don't want they send them all back.
 . . . In the meantime their person is in there as acting principal and drumming up a salary and making

¹See Chapter V, p. 96 for role of ethnicity in selection process.

friends. Suddenly the parents change their minds because
they've seen this person. (Kron-M)

Miller moved from one district to another: the only A.P. who did and who became a principal. He had been interviewed for the position at another school and had impressed the school board and superintendent. Although he was not appointed there, he was asked to become an acting principal in another school. Miller did not report having "political" ties to the board; he claims to have impressed them in the interview and with his credentials. Although Miller did not know the school board members in the district he moved into, he had been a former U.F.T. chapter chairperson, a junior high school assistant principal, an acting principal, and a district office aide in his former district. Thus, he obviously had social network ties to his former district office gatekeepers. District superintendents, school board members, and U.F.T. district representatives check with each other, and an excellent recommendation from another district's decision makers carries heavy weight. (See Chapter V, p.124 for role of U.F.T. in selection process.)

Lawson moved from an A.P. position to being director of a special program in which he developed a reputation for his outstanding work. He was asked by the superintendent to become his assistant. In that post he became known to the school board and parent groups, and the latter demanded he be appointed a principal when an opening occurred in the district. Lawson was pulled into the position although he liked his district level office.

I think there are set-ups. There are some people who are in the inside -- take myself and the position that I'm in now. Let's say the position is opened up now and I decide to apply. This can work for somebody or against somebody if that individual is liked by the parents group, and if the parents' group has made up its mind already on wanting that individual I would say that the individual has an inside track, because parent association members talk to community board members. So there are things that are going on in advance of the interview, and, of course, the same things apply if they don't like an individual that's in that school and who is applying for the job. They will inform their liaison members on the community school board. We don't want this fellow for this role. So that's one kind of set up. In other districts the set up may be much more flagrant. The community school board may have made up its mind already on who they want and they know it . . . the decision has already been reached by the community school board, but they have to go through the format of having interviews. In this district I think the former may have been done, having known when the community school board met, having been privy to community school board meetings. (Lawson-M)

A third candidate, Nend, was asked to fill an acting principal's position by the superintendent but was not guaranteed the position. Nevertheless, being an incumbent is important; it places a person on the "inside track."

I applied to two or three other schools, too. At that time the superintendent assigned me to the school at the beginning [as an acting principal] because it was a quick need to have someone here and there I applied formally. And it wasn't until six months later that it was made official by the school board. And a year later, I was appointed by the school board. . . . The superintendent had asked several people and we were screened by parents. It wasn't automatic. It was a formal screening on the Circular Thirty,¹ but neither was I sent here just on the superintendent's approval. Several other people were asked and I guess the parents wanted me to come here at that time. Then it became a formal thing. Then it was advertised and about seventy-five people applied for it and they screened, and I was selected on that basis. (Nend-M)

¹See Chapter V, pp. 92-94 for Circular Thirty guidelines and Appendix VI.

The Direct Appointment. Of the remaining two male A.P.'s who became principals, none moved into acting positions before being appointed. Mason and Massey appeared to have the extensive social network ties within their districts.

I was one of the more prominent assistant principals in the district. That was because I had been involved by now with the Assistant Principal's Association. I had gained a little reputation for innovation in education in a rather conservative district. When decentralization gave the right of selection, that was the '70's, I was the second or third principal selected outside the old licensing requirement . . . in that district. I guess I was the second one picked from the district . . . that same district in which I had served as assistant principal. (Massey-M)

Mason moved up on the basis of the interview and ties with the superintendent.

I went up the ladder so to speak. I did my quote, "apprenticeship," as an assistant. . . . I did what I thought obviously was important. The superintendent at that time was Bill. I did more than a credible job as an assistant principal. My credentials were good. I had introduced a number of innovations as

an assistant principal. I was known in the district. I applied and I came across well at the interviews. (Mason-M)

Mason became principal in a minority district. He was selected while there was still a white superintendent who had been his colleague when they were each administrators in that district.

The Female and the Politics of Becoming a Principal. Three women moved into the principal's position under the decentralized system. Engel stepped into the shoes of the former principal, but, unlike the males Kron and Land did not become the appointed principal. Engel was an A.P. in a junior high school moved as an A.P. into an elementary school and became an acting principal when the former principal left. She worked closely with the parents and staff and formed other alliances.

I serve on many professional committees, met with the superintendent. I'm in very close contact with my colleagues especially now, but I always have been. I joined the C.S.A. [Council of Supervisors and Administrators] immediately and I have been active -- policy making, decision making . . . I served four years in a school that shared the building with the district office. So I made very close contacts with all the people in the superintendent's office. And very often if the superintendent had a question or wanted to see someone . . . he would call me up. . . . I'm also

very active in the A.P. association. . . . It was home --
 that's how I felt when I walked into administration. For
 me it was a natural sequence of events. I know I'm doing
 a good job. (Engel-F)

Since the interview, she was not permanently appointed as the principal and was replaced by a male. Engel was politically active in the professional educational inner circles, but did not appear to have been able to become equally involved with local political leaders, grass roots community groups, or school board members.

Being a female may be an added obstacle to appointment because females may have less access to political groups.

Women are excluded from public decision-making domains
 . . . the exclusion of women from the political forum is
 evidenced by the underrepresentation of women in national
 legislatures.¹

The exclusion of females from district level politiking may be subtle and self-imposed as well. A female candidate may be reluctant to ask a male school board member out for a drink or to attend predominantly male after school meetings with local political leaders; such behavior on the part of a female may be seen as inappropriate. For example,

¹Jean Lipman-Blumen, "Toward a Homosocial Theory of Sex Roles: An Explanation of the Sex Segregation of Social Institutions," in Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, Spring 1976, vol. 1, no. 3, p. 2, p. 21.

a female administrator reported that when she was an assistant principal, "the teachers in my school thought I was having an affair with Mr. P. [the principal] because we both went to the same conference in California during the summer." Similarly, male politicians or school board members who initiate after school meetings with female candidates risk having their meetings labeled as sexual rather than professional in nature. The female administrator faces a situation like that of the female teacher who is not chosen as a protege of a male principal (see Chapter VI, pp. 116-17). That is, without opportunities to engage in district politics, female administrators may not be able to secure permanent appointments to principals' positions and higher level administrative posts.

The job [of the principal] has become more political, and maybe women are less inclined to get involved in the politics of the job. There's more of a political component to the relations with community and parents and the whole process of selection is much more political. . . . You've got more men in politics than you have women. (Alfred Mathew, Jr., Head of Division of Community School District Affairs, August 11, 1976)

Duke's ascent to the principal's position illustrates the politics of appointment and the fact that being a female can become an overt problem. Duke was an assistant principal in the school and had the support of the former principal as his replacement when he retired.

B. Smith came in and I would say he really trained me as an assistant principal. . . . He was really excellent in showing me all aspects. I really felt when the time came, when he stepped out, I would step in for that job. (Duke-F)

Duke did move into the principal's office when the principal left. She knew the community, the superintendent, and the school board. Both the superintendent and school board wanted her to be permanently appointed, but an outspoken small group of P.T.A. mothers did not want her.

They were very vociferous that they wanted a man. They said it was something about my personality also. . . . It was not ethnicity or religion. It was not even a question of competence or creativity. . . . As a matter of fact the cry was, 'We know she's competent. We know she runs a terrific school but we want a man.' (Duke-F)

The parents spread rumors that a child was mugged in the school and that another was strangled. One mother who was especially determined to get a male principal got in touch with the local press and politicians and made public speeches. Duke attributed the woman's personal hatred of her to the fact that Duke, as an assistant principal, had recommended therapy for the mother's child. Although the campaign of the vengeful mother was ultimately unsuccessful, she was able to mobilize others

because of the prejudice in favor of a strong male principal. This kind of prejudice becomes especially salient when the issue of violence in the schools is raised.

People don't have that belief . . . that women can really do the job [as principal] because of the problems we have had in some of our schools. . . . I believe they may think they're bright, and they know and everything else, but they don't believe they can handle difficult situations. (Faret-F, Deputy Superintendent who sits with parent selection committees)

Not surprisingly, the male A.P.'s and principals did not report facing sex discrimination.

James was the only one who reported no ties with a superintendent, the school board, local groups, or the parents. James successfully passed the interview, and moved from a junior high school A.P. position to the elementary school principal's office. She gave no details about the selection process. She noted "it was interesting to see the percentage of women and men at this level." James appeared especially guarded in her interview. She asked to have the tape recorder shut off several times. Even with the tape recorder off she would not give any details about how and why she was selected, other than "the parents probably thought I was the best candidate." James's refusal to talk fully suggests how political the process is.

The "Stuck" Assistant Principal. Becoming a principal is the "natural" next step in the career sequence for an assistant principal under the civil service exam system and under the credential system. Male and female A.P.'s are not different in their aspirations.

Once you became an A.P. and you had the realization that you are still following someone's dictims on how a school should be run and still have the feeling that you could do a better job -- then there is no place for you to go except for you to try for the principalship. (Miller-M, principal)

I felt I probably could set the direction that I'd like to see a school go if I were in that position to try to effect that kind of change. (James-F, principal)

Unlike the teacher stage of the career path, the A.P. has already defined himself as a full fledged administrator, and all the administrators in the sample had sufficient credentials to be a principal. Four A.P.'s, three females and one male, appear to be "stuck" on the A.P. level and unable to take the next step; that is, their "movement has stopped for a long time and the probability of movement has also declined."¹ Estler suggests that the A.P. stage often

¹ Kanter, 1977, op. cit., p. 136.

acts to "filter" women.¹ Only one of the four, Dawson-F, appears not to plan on being a principal. The other three have ambitions, but are unable to progress. Age, New York City's fiscal crisis, exclusion from a professional and political network in a district, and sex appear to be affecting their upward mobility.

Two of the A.P.'s, Sheldon-M and Dawson-F, are in their mid-fifties and their careers may be affected by their age. There is a great deal of evidence that in large bureaucratic organizations age is important for mobility; the older a person in a lower level management position is the less likely he is to be defined as an appropriate candidate for promotion.² There is no reason to assume that the school systems have a different orientation. All the A.P.'s in the sample who became principals under the credential system were in their early or middle forties.

All four A.P.'s were victims of the city's financial crisis; they were declared "excess personnel" and replaced by administrative assistants who are teachers earning a teacher's salary. For Dawson the major concern is simply to retain the present position.

¹Estler, 1975, op. cit., p. 364. In 1972-73, 31 percent of the nation's elementary school assistant principals were females while only 20 percent of the principals were females, a difference of 11 percent. In New York City in 1972-73, 48 percent of the assistant principals in the elementary school level were females while only 27 percent of the principals were females, a difference of 21 percent. Howard, 1975, op. cit., p. 50.

²See William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man (New York: Doubleday Co., 1975), pp. 70, 148, and Kanter, 1977, op. cit., p. 136.

The whole district has gotten rid of their A.P.'s and the whole New York school system is shrinking away. The population is shrinking and the financial cuts have reduced the system from both sides. The district is getting rid of the A.P.'s to save money and the schools are getting smaller and not needing any. . . . We are getting bumped from district to district. I wouldn't advise any one to go for it anymore. (Dawson-F)

Hilton, Oakes, and Sheldon had successfully passed the Board of Examiners' principal test, but the rules of the game suddenly changed and they were caught midstream. Securing a principal's position now requires learning the politics of becoming a principal in the district, whether it includes performing services for local politicians and parent association leaders, helping to elect a school board, working with community groups or working closely with the U.F.T. and C.S.A. Being new in a district frequently means that the candidate does not know which groups to woo, and without such information the candidate may rely on courting the administrative inner circles, a tactic no longer sufficient for gaining a principal's appointment. Having a sponsor solves this problem, but neither of the three candidates appear to have had sponsors in their former or new district. They lack a network of people who can recommend them for "acting" positions, tell them about vacancies before they are advertised, or influence parent leaders and school board members on their behalf. They appear to rely solely on the formal procedures. All three have been interviewed on several occasions.

You send your resume directly to the school board. If they are interested in you, from your resume, they invite you down for an interview. And they invite down X number of people for interviews. Member of the local school boards question you. Member of the parent association may question you although I don't think they have the right to vote. There is sometimes a person who will represent the teachers, from U.F.T., and the superintendent is usually there, and you are badgered with questions from anywhere from fifteen minutes to half an hour. And then they let you know subsequently if they want to offer you a position. . . . I do know that if they have a choice they would in many cases prefer to hire candidates from minority backgrounds, and I can't say I blame them really because the majority of the people are minority group backgrounds, so it's not a personal prejudice against me that's operating here. (Sheldon-M)

Sheldon is studying Spanish to improve his appeal to Hispanic committees. There may be, however, a more fundamental reason for Sheldon's lack of success. Proteges and applicants with an "inside track" are much more knowledgeable about how the credential system works; they, unlike Sheldon have been taught the mechanics of the system. For example, Sheldon does not seem to know that parents do have a voice in the selection of the candidates to a superintendent and the U.F.T. representatives do not sit on selection committees.

Oakes and Hilton feel they face an additional form of prejudice, sex prejudice, which works to select them out of the interview process.

I think that as far as teaching in elementary school there is no prejudice against women and I think even as far as being an assistant principal it is still okay. It is the principal role, the Big Daddy role which is where I think there is the prejudice. I think probably you would find that the percentage of the assistant principals in the elementary school is very close to 50 percent. It may be even higher. . . . It is all right for a woman to be in an authority position but not in the ultimate authority.

(Oakes-F)

Hilton did not see herself as a "female administrator until she had a series of experiences drawing attention to her sex. Hilton encountered sex prejudice when she sought another A.P. position in a school in another district after learning she was going to be excessed in her former district.

The principal selected a third male A.P. when there were four male supervisors in the school -- in an elementary school which is amazing. . . . It may have had to do with the fact that I was a female but it did hurt anyway. (Hilton-F)

Hilton secured another A.P. position which she likes. She is now in a district where she is "hugely outnumbered as far as being a woman . . .

and it's going to get worse." Oakes, who is a close friend of Hilton's reported in her interview that Hilton had heard she could never become a principal in her district because she was white, Jewish and a woman.

Sheldon, Hilton and Oakes find themselves "stuck" in the A.P. position; without sponsors in their old and new districts and without entree into the "inner circles of the social networks of their districts they neither hear about vacancies ahead of time nor have their names put forward by interested friends. Hilton and Oakes appear to face an additional barrier to their upward mobility: as females they are less likely than males to be seen as credible candidates for a principal's position by district gatekeepers. The principal's position is sex-typed as male work, and females who engage in the district politics necessary to achieve the position are more likely to be subject to social sanctions than males. Females who engage in the necessary "political" activity are likely to have their behavior misinterpreted. For example, one female administrator who was friendly with a male school board member was said to have owed her appointment to the fact that she had a sexual affair with him. Such perceptions not only discourage women from the necessary political activity but promote doubts about the competency of women who do succeed in gaining administrative positions.

AN ALTERNATIVE ROUTE TO BECOMING A PRINCIPAL

Director of Alternative School. Another possible route to the principal's office is the Director of Alternative School position. The alternative schools are specialized public schools organized to cater

to the needs of atypical children such as children with emotional problems or artistic talent. Alternative schools also include schools with non-traditional teaching approaches, i.e., open classroom schools and weekend camping programs. They are smaller than regular schools and are run by two co-directors. Directors earn a teacher's salary but have full supervisory power, although the schools are organized in a less hierarchal way than regular schools.

Directors of alternative schools are selected by community superintendents. Parent groups and community groups tend to have less influence in the selection process than in the selection of assistant principals and principals. Teachers can become directors of alternative schools by developing a proposal and finding a public or private agency to fund it. The directors choose their own staff and do not have to accept Central Board or district office appointed teachers.

Two respondents in the sample were directors of alternative schools. They were state certified administrators and had the credentials to work as A.P.'s or principals. Fosdick, a middle aged woman, did not expect to use the director's position to become a principal; she objected to the nature of the work obligations of the principal's position in a regular school setting.

As a principal you spend 90 percent of your time on non-educational matters and you begin to think that those are the most important. You begin to evaluate people on how well they're doing those parts of the job which is making life easier for you to manage your end. (Fosdick-F)

Fosdick's school specialized in individualized student instruction. She expected to remain as the director or work as teacher using this specialized approach.

Hame, a young male director of another alternative school, saw the director's position in a different way. He appeared to be ready to move into a principal's position and was aware of the politics of that move.

The principal is picked by members of the local school board. . . . To become a principal you have to be a fair haired person in the sense of what the district is looking for. That means the right color, the right influence -- the public view is important -- then they'll look at credentials which are not all that important. That's the reality. (Hame-M)

The director's position offered one other way a candidate could show district gatekeepers that they were "what the district is looking for."

Summary. In the sample eight males and two female assistant principals became principals under the credential selection system. Their move up to the principal position showed the changes the credential selection system has brought; no longer is acceptance by the administrative inner circles sufficient for securing a principal's position. Now candidates need to engage in the "politics" of becoming a principal which frequently includes developing social ties with local politicians, community

organization leaders, parent association spokespersons, the U.F.T. and C.S.A. and, of course school board members. Stepping into the shoes of the former principal facilitated an A.P.'s consolidation of their position; that is, working as the acting principal frequently allowed the candidate to broaden the power base of supporters. Three male A.P.'s were invited to become acting principals because they had succeeded in impressing district gatekeepers, i.e., parents, school board, and the superintendent of their desirability as principals. Two of these men moved into "locked up" positions with almost absolute guarantees of permanent appointment. The remaining two male A.P.'s were directly appointed to the principal's position after having had achieved "prominence" within their districts as A.P.'s.

Women appear less knowledgeable about the need to engage in the political activities necessary to become a principal. The principal's position is sex-typed as male work, and females who engage in the district politics necessary to achieve the position are more likely to have their actions misinterpreted as sexual in nature.

Three females and one male appear to be "stuck" in the assistant principal position. In addition to all four being victims of the City's financial crisis, the two females face the additional barrier that females are less likely than males to be seen as credible candidates for the higher positions by district gatekeepers.

Two administrators work as directors of alternative schools. These positions offer another way to become a principal. The female appears unlikely to seek a principal's position. The male is aware of the politics of becoming a principal and may use his position to move up.

CHAPTER X

The Pinnacle Positions: Central Board and Community School District Administrators

This chapter will describe the career paths of the Central Board administrators and where women are found in management positions in a large bureaucracy. The description of the career paths of the community district office administrators will help clarify the advantages and disadvantages associated with being a protege especially in terms of the attainment of top echelon positions.

THE CENTRAL BOARD

The school system became centralized, bureaucratized, and professionalized in 1901 as a result of attempts to remove it from politicalization by local political groups.¹ In a strange twist of fate, the centralized system that had been developed by "reformers" to make the system more "efficient" was decentralized over fifty years later for the same reasons by other "reformers."² By decentralizing services and "locating the decision-making agencies closer to hand" efficiency would be improved as well as a reduction of the "deadening effect on the initiative and creativity of personal . . . of morale in centralized

¹ Ravitch, 1974, op. cit., p. 185.

² Ibid.

decision making on all matters."¹ Proponents of decentralization believed that it would make the school system "responsive and accountable to its clients."²

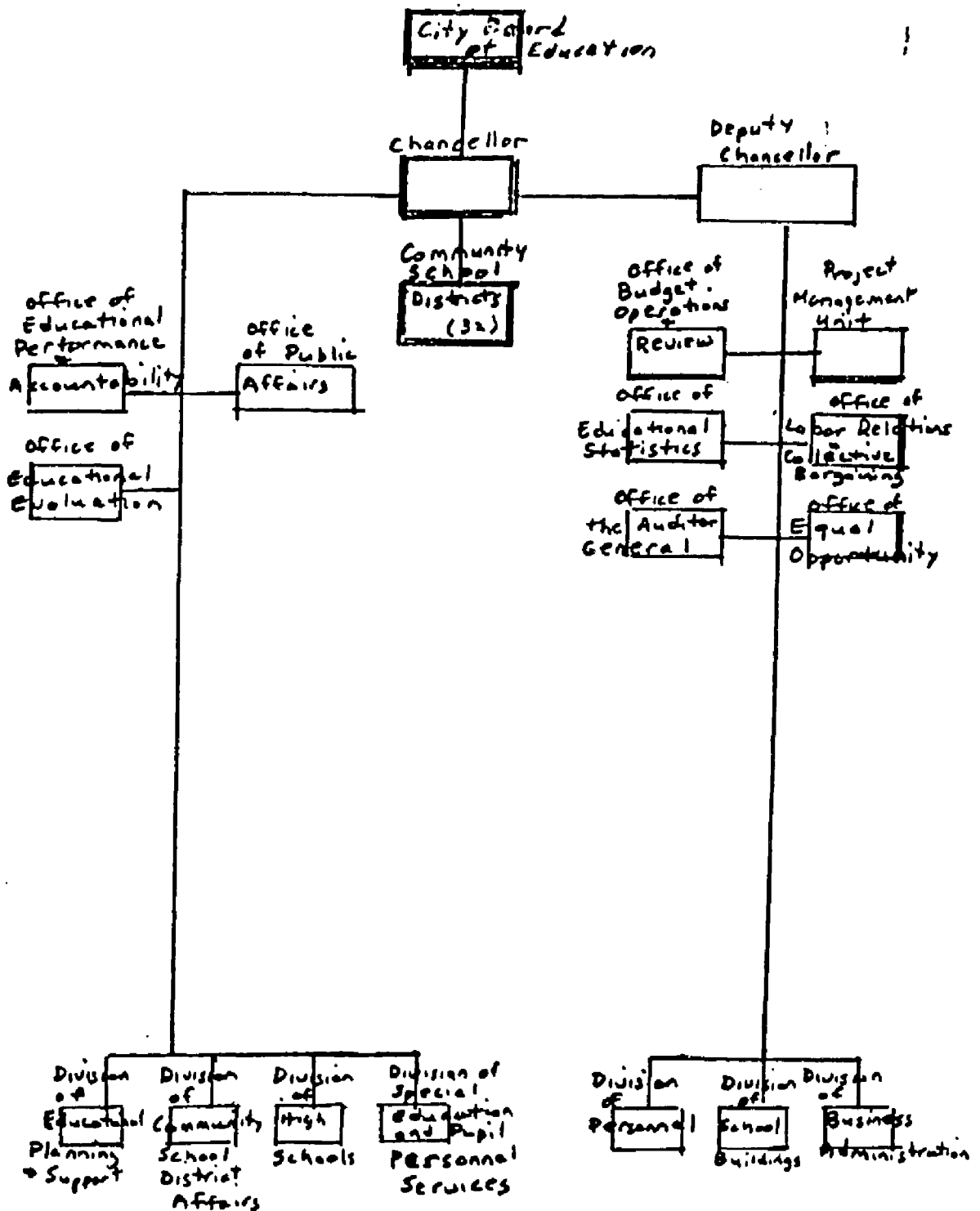
Nevertheless, under the decentralized school system, the Board of Education and the Central Board officials still remain extremely powerful. The seven person appointed Board of Education selects the Chancellor, the Chief Executive Officer of the school system, who has the "power and duty to control and operate all schools and programs under the jurisdiction of the City Board of Education and to implement city-wide policy."³ They also approve the appointment of the Deputy Chancellor, the chief fiscal officer of the system, who manages the \$2.8 billion expense budget and the \$290 million capital budget.⁴ The seven executive directors are also under the Board's direct control (see chart). The thirty-two community boards are officially mandated to "set major policy for elementary, intermediate and junior high school operations, both educationally and administratively."⁵ However, the community boards budgets and decisions are frequently subject to approval by Central Board officials and the Board of Education. In addition, the school system's one hundred high schools and schools and classes for the handicapped are totally under central control.

¹Mario Fantini, Marilyn Gittel and Richard Magat, Community Control and the Urban School (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), p. 13.

²Rodgers, 1969, op. cit., p. 477.

³New York City Board of Education: Facts and Figures 1975-76, op. cit., p. 3. Only one member of the Board of Education is female.

⁴Ibid., p. 4. ⁵Ibid., p. 5.



Source: Board of Education of the City of New York

The Central Board executives including the Chancellor, Deputy Chancellor, and the seven executive directors occupy the pinnacle, management positions. These "line" managers along with the directors of bureaus have the formal authority. They are supported by "staff" managers who provide the "specialized and technical advice to the appropriate line officials in the organizational hierarchy."¹

An analysis of the Central Board organization reveals that females are almost totally absent from the line or executive management positions. There has never been a female head of the school system; only one of the present nine top executives is a female. Female managers are more likely to be found in the "staff" positions.

CAREER PATHS TO THE CENTRAL BOARD

The sample contains five Central Board administrators. None of the five is a top executive, but the career paths illustrate the routes used to move to the Central Board. Island-F, Boone-F and Nugan-F will receive the most attention, because their career paths illustrate the special skills high level staff management women are expected to exhibit.

The Direct Route to the Central Board. Dale-M and Aden-F, followed the most direct route; they went there directly from teaching positions at the invitation of a Central Board official. Their cases illustrate the

¹Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott, Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1962, p. 172.

importance of superiors for mobility and how "marginal" areas of education are frequently less rigid than mainstream areas. The paths were similar although they led through different selection systems and at the invitation of different supervisors. Both began as "special education" teachers working with physically and emotionally handicapped children.

I was asked by the director . . . if I wanted to be an acting supervisor. I said yes. . . . We had both taught in the same borough. . . . She became a supervisor and visited me periodically. . . . [after I became an acting supervisor] I took the exam and was appointed. Moving from the acting status to the full status meant more money. . . . Then seven years later they asked me to take over as acting director. . . . I passed the exam and was appointed as director. (Dale-M)

I was a special education teacher, the director would visit me occasionally. She liked my work and asked me to come to the Board as a coordinator. . . . I went on to earn my masters in administration and supervision, and I recently moved to an administrative line although I was doing that work before. (Aden-F)

Special education has always had more female administrators than other areas. Teachers of the emotionally and physically handicapped

do extensive graduate work in their area of specialization. They may be among the most highly "professional" group of teachers. Among all the Central Board administrators they have the most direct contact with the teachers working in their divisions. Because the line of authority and supervision bypasses the usual structure and runs directly between classroom teacher and Central Board administrator, it allowed the latter to act as a sponsor for the special education teacher.

Indirect Paths. Island-F, Boone-F and Nugan-F took more circuitous routes to the Central Board. All three had credentials to work as directors; two had Ed.'D's and the three of them had extensive teaching experience at different school levels and administrative experience at supervisors in the schools, district offices, and Central Board. All three women earned their administrative licenses under the civil service selection system, but only Island moved to the Central Board before decentralization.

Island went from a teaching position in an elementary school to a junior high later to a high school, and then became an elementary school principal by passing the Board of Examiners exams. She was appointed to a school in Harlem, "one of the most difficult schools in the area." She remained three years and was

invited to become the principal in another school because they were opening a . . . reading . . . clinic and they wanted a certain young, forward looking principal to run the program. . . . That

is, by special request of the Superintendent of Schools to the Deputy in charge of personnel. . . . (Island-F)

Ten years later she "was invited to head up a federal project" at a local college. The project lasted two years.

Then I was invited to become the Executive Assistant to [a new Deputy Superintendent]. . . . She and I had been colleague principals before she became superintendent, before I became the head of my project. When she became Superintendent she asked me to become her Executive Deputy and Executive Assistant and be in charge of curriculum development in that agency for two years. Working at headquarters was very exciting, because as deputy I was in charge of twenty bureaus each of which was concerned with some different aspect of curriculum. (Island-F)

Nugan and Boone arrived at the Board during the early stages of decentralization in the middle sixties. Nugan also began as a short term elementary school teacher, moved to junior high school as a science teacher, and then to a high school teaching position where she was involved in a summer science study program.

My principal called me in one day and said, 'I heard from people in that program that you coordinate very well. I need an audio visual coordinator.'

And there I was. He had learned about my scheduling ability and that sort of thing as a result of that program. [Later] I learned a position was available in a junior high school as director of an audio-visual communications. . . . I had been highly recommended for it. I learned about it through a male friend. . . . I was very active in national science activities. . . . I was also active in the audio visual field, nationally as well as state wide. . . . (Nugan-F)

Nugan developed an extensive social network of males and females who helped her mobility. She was adept in GASing behavior (Getting the Attention of your Supervisors)¹ without being labeled as an overly aggressive female.

I try to smile before I say anything. . . . I've gone to conferences at my own time and expense throughout my life. I could learn more about what was going on professionally. . . . The contacts are very key. I was active in all kinds of things. (Nugan-F)

Professional networks are where strategies for moving up are learned. Nugan learned about the importance of attending conferences, keeping abreast of the latest educational technologies, and meeting people who

¹Griffiths et. al., 1963, op. cit., p. 137.

knew about vacancies. In addition, by having these experiences she built up not only her repertoire of technical and social skills but also increased her self-identification as a manager.

I was hired [as an assistant superintendent] . . . for eight working days, and prepared a three year objective, two year objective and one year. . . . Presented it to the superintendent for his approval. He thought it was fantastic and then he called me into a meeting of all the math people in the district, fired the head [director] of math in the district and put me in charge of it. . . . I found myself against seeking a position because the superintendent was not renewed. . . . So I started to look for a job and I found one in August as assistant to the superintendent down at the Board of Education. . . . A woman superintendent, helped me find the way to get this job. . . . I kept in touch with her [while Nugan worked as district director of math]. That's another good point always to do. She was very kind to me. I handed her my resume. And she said, 'It just so happens that I'm considering I may have an opening in my office.' This is the best kind of opening because it wasn't announced. . . . She hired me. Nobody else was interviewed. And what impressed her most was my well organized resume. . . . That was her initial factor, and, of course,

she had heard about some of my work and she did check. She called a few people. (Nugan-F)

Boone began as an elementary school teacher and became an assistant principal in an elementary school under the civil service exam selection system. She passed the principal's exam and earned an Ed.D. in administration. Instead of moving directly into an appointed principal position, she taught education courses at a City University college. From that position she went back into the system to become an acting assistant principal, an acting principal, an executive assistant to the assistant superintendent,¹ a director of a district program, and then a director of a program at the Central Board. Her route to the Central Board position demonstrates how gatekeepers operated under the centralized system. Her Ed.D., university credentials, and a specialization in curriculum made her attractive to district superintendents and to the Central Board.

Somebody called you and said I'm going to be superintendent in . . . and I've been watching what you're doing and would you like to take the job. I said I'd love it. Met with the superintendent. I didn't know him from Adam. But he knew me and we met and I took the job. It was to work in a district under

¹In the middle 1960's, before the decentralization law was passed, the Central Board expanded the role of district offices and established district superintendents. After decentralization, community superintendents replaced assistant superintendents.

decentralization plan. Not with elected officers. I stayed here until I was called out to become the director and I became a director with a state license. Director of . . . Programs, that was the first job I had under a title and there I was paid a director's salary. (Boone-F)

Boone moved from there to the Central Board.

They wanted somebody to get back on curriculum. Also administration. . . . You get a reputation, you get known. . . . They don't forget that you're a woman and a good woman will produce. Production is part of it. . . . (Boone-F)

From the curriculum position, Boone moved up to become the head of a bureau under the authority of an executive director.

The "Overachiever": The Female Manager. Concern with "production" and "a good woman will produce" are clues explaining why the women were able to move up to staff positions at the Central Board. Kanter found the "overachiever" work style was one option female corporate managers used to maintain their positions and to get ahead.¹ Hennig and Jardin found "technical skill and competence were the linchpins"² of the female executives' success.

¹Kanter, 1977, Men and Women of the Corporation, op. cit., p. 219.

²Hennig and Jardin, 1977, op. cit., p. 132.

[Their] strategy was to achieve mastery of a given job task. . . . They had overqualified themselves to continue in it and they were already capable of filling a position at the next level up.¹

And, in the words of one of the female Central Board managers,

My plans are to become the very best in my job and all the other plans will come next. . . . I've always done that on every job. I work as hard as I can to make the very best thing possible and the next step has always been there. (Nugan-F)

Staff managers are the technical experts whose expertise is needed by line officers, and the "overachiever" work style makes them valuable.

The three women's career paths demonstrated this work style. They were extremely hard workers, efficient, and had outstanding credentials and expertise in their area. Island had taught on three levels and was a director of a federal project in curriculum development with a New York City college before being invited to the Central Board. Nugan had also worked on three different school levels and had been active on national and state science and audio visual projects. She was known as a communications specialist as well as having an Ed.D. in administration. Boone had worked as a college teacher, an executive

¹Hennig and Jardin, 1977, op. cit., p. 131.

assistant to a district superintendent, district director of innovative programs, and had her Ed.D. in administration. In addition, they were all extremely ambitious.

One of the respondents described a female staff manager who exhibits the "overachiever" style of work and therefore exercises a great deal of formal and informal power.

She's actually assistant superintendent. . . . She has more than the responsibilities of a superintendent. She handles \$300 million worth of programs. That's a tremendous responsibility. . . . She went up through the ranks. . . . She was a principal in elementary school. She was brought to the Board because of her curriculum work. A man brought her to the Board. . . . Her work is fantastic, and she has a few other habits which are excellent to cultivate. You will not find her late. You'll never find her out of the office, therefore, she finds out everything. Nothing is ever slipshod. She has a fantastic file system. Never misplaces anything. She always knows where things are. Anyone at the Board who wants to know anything, checks with her. I don't care how far back, she can pick out anything. So those things help to make her indispensable. . . . In the informal network she has as much power as in the formal network possibly because of her control of . . . programs. Everyone wants to be friendly. She has both formal and informal power. (Central Board Official)

Even though female Central Board managers are extremely diligent and often possess outstanding credentials, they rarely became executive directors; they are found most often in staff positions.

CAREER PATHS OF COMMUNITY DISTRICT OFFICE STAFF

Community superintendent positions are the pinnacle line management positions on the district level, and in 1977 five of the thirty-two superintendents were women (16 percent). Six of the respondents held community district office positions: included in this six are two former superintendents and one present superintendent. The other three respondents included a director of media services, executive assistant to the superintendent, and a deputy superintendent. Their career paths are examined in order to explore the dynamics of a district office career and the influence of sex on the achievement of management level posts.

Social Networks. Nabet started as a junior high school science teacher, became audio visual coordinator first in the school and later for the district, and at the time of the interview was director of district media services. While working in a school in which the district office was located, Nabet became acquainted with the superintendent. By acting as an intermediary for the superintendent with a local anti-poverty agency, Nabet developed a close personal relationship with the superintendent with the superintendent who became his sponsor.

Nabet's career path illustrates the importance of social network ties or what he called the "political element" in upward mobility.

Although he is highly qualified for the director's position he holds --
 he did graduate work in education technology and had earned state ,
 certification as an administrator -- it was his service to the superin-
 tendent which led to the administrative position.

Mr. X. is a fantastic man and educator. I became
 friendly with him . . . when the district office was
 in my school and by being active in the community
 . . . the political element . . . at the time in
 1967 when there was more emphasis on community
 involvement in the schools . . . the beginning of
 decentralization . . . I worked towards a smooth
 transition of the community voice in education . . .
 a go-between between the superintendent and his staff
 and the antipoverty agency. (Nabet-M)

The superintendent has since moved on to another district, but by then
 Nabet was already well established as a director with important political
 ties of his own to community groups.

Heron's move to the district office position also was sponsored
 by a superintendent. She began as an elementary school teacher and then
 became a junior high school assistant principal through the exam system.
 When the principal moved to another school he invited Heron to move
 with him and she became the A.P. in the new school. At the same time her
 work was not noticed by the female superintendent who invited her to work
 at the district office on a six month special assignment. It became a

permanent assignment when the superintendent appointed her coordinator of special programs on an administrative line. When a new superintendent came in Heron became his executive assistant. "It is a purely administrative position, not supervisory at all." She is a staff officer who exercises no direct authority over principals. Her entire career illustrates the importance of sponsorship:

Along the way, there's always been somebody. As I say, Mrs. V., the first assistant principal, then Mr. S., the principal of the school and when I became an assistant principal there was an excellent trainer so that I learned a lot of supervisory administrative skills from him. And then the superintendent. (Heron-F)

At the time of the interview Heron was trying to become a principal in the district -- "It was my original ambition" -- and since the interviews she has succeeded. Heron's career path points to another route to becoming a principal. District office personnel get to know the parents, school board members, and, of course, the superintendent, and so build the "political" network required to secure a principal's position.

Heron's description of the executive assistant position again points to a reason why women are more likely to be found in staff positions at the Central Board or middle management positions within the districts. These positions involve less "supervision," i.e., exercise of direct authority over staff, and are more concerned with a technical specialization such as curriculum development, or, as Nugan described

it, they are "paper jobs." It is not an uncommon pattern. "The majority of women at supervisory levels are found to have only women subordinates or to be engaged in technical or staff jobs which require little authority to be exercised."¹ Nevertheless, females like Heron who moves up under the sponsorship of a male superior appear to be able to cross sex-typed lines. Similarly, Henning and Jardin found a female was able to go into line positions under the tutelage of a male boss who "used his reputation to develop hers, and his respect from others to gain acceptance for her . . . he was the protector and she the protected."²

Faret after leaving the convent and the parochial school system, became a specialist elementary school teacher. She worked hard, "You see in parochial school and being in the convent -- that was your whole life so you really participated night and day . . . I just carried that over into the public school." The parents and superintendent "put her into run a school until [they] decided who was going to be a principal." Faret had state certification to be an administrator and was made acting-principal. Later she became an assistant to the superintendent who became her sponsor.

When I worked with him he shared everything there -- not just with me but [with the other] four assistants there. . . . Work was shared equally . . . he sent us on

¹Theodore Caplow, 1954, op. cit., p. 293.

²Hennig and Jardin, 1977, op. cit., pp. 129, 130, 131.

trips . . . he sent us for professional training at conventions and then he expected us to report back to him. He brought people into the district for lectures and for practicums on running the schools and programming different things in curriculum. (Faret-F)

Three years later she moved to a deputy superintendent's job in another district when a new superintendent asked her to be his deputy.

It is like an unwritten law, the school board allows [superintendents] to choose their number one person, even though you go through an interview and everything else. . . . In my working relationship with Bob, I have always had his trust. I really feel I can accomplish my responsibilities. He doesn't breathe down my back. He waits for me to come to him with a problem. When we meet in executive sessions we exchange information, but he lets me run the area and does not interfere. It's my show, I run it. He makes suggestions after when we sit down later to talk. (Faret-F)

The influence of superintendents appears to cross district lines. Miller, an assistant principal in another district, and Faret were the only two candidates who were upwardly mobile across district lines, and both had worked in a district office and knew the superintendent.

THE COMMUNITY SUPERINTENDENT

The following three respondents are community superintendents. As one district assistant pointed out, the community superintendency is generally a short lived career stage. Layne and Spet are former superintendents; Layne's protege replaced him when he retired. Their career patterns as superintendents illustrate the advantages and disadvantages of the sponsor-protege relationship for both members. Layne, began his career as a special education teacher, earned a doctorate in history, and soon became a principal in a school in a minority neighborhood. Layne is a self-described "maverick": he took independent positions and publicly disagreed with Central Board policies. He was an early believer and advocate of decentralization, and his school became a showplace. He caught the attention of an out-of-state university which invited him to direct a new teacher education program. After several years he returned to the city to become a assistant superintendent. When the decentralization law was passed the community selected him as the community superintendent. He served one three year term, and then retired to assume an academic post.

As the community superintendent Layne took public stands that antagonized Central Board officials.

It always seemed as if the real control was still with central headquarters. . . . We would talk with the community and with the teachers and we would try to develop the appropriate request for budget. Then we would go down to the Board of Education and we would

bargain and negotiate. . . . After we had agreed on exactly what we were going to get . . . all of a sudden they would find a new formula. . . . The whole thing turned out to be a charade. . . . Every district would get their monies according to this formula. There was no point in negotiations. The last two years I refused to participate. . . . You'd call in the teachers, the professional staff, paraprofessionals, parents, everybody. . . . You have all kinds of meetings to try to work out what you think is advantageous and then you come back with the old story . . . after a little while they don't believe you . . . one of the advantages for the headquarters is that they make you a scapegoat. (Layne-M)

Spet started out as an elementary school teacher and became an acting principal of a small school. Spet was asked by Layne's predecessor to become his executive assistant, and continued in the position when Layne arrived.

He [Layne] has helped me more than anybody. He's a particularly brilliant man. . . . He has the ability to see relationships, make observations, that don't occur to anybody else. . . . I really have been very, very fortunate. (Spet-F)

Four years later when Spet became the Deputy Superintendent, i.e., left her staff position for a line position, she began to notice a change in her relationships with the principals.

When I was executive assistant we were all still so friendly, all of us, all of the principals and I, because I in no way presented a threat to them. I was the executive assistant to the superintendent, and I was a good gal to know and be friendly with, and we had nice relationships. But when I became Deputy Superintendent, people I had been so friendly with changed. . . . By becoming Deputy Superintendent, they would not have as much of a chance at becoming superintendent even though becoming superintendent was the last thing in my mind. (Spet-F)

An alternative explanation for the principals' hostility was that now they had to take orders from a woman; "the ban on the exercise of direct authority by women over male subordinates of comparable social status" is found in all occupational fields including the professions.¹

When Spet had become Deputy Superintendent she resigned from a supervisory association, because it had a "philosophy about schools, centralization, decentralization, communication, children, parents and community, I didn't agree with it all." The association had worked along

¹Caplow, 1954, op. cit., p. 240.

with the teachers' union and Central Board against decentralization. The association proved to be an important force in her removal. It did not tangle with Layne because

They feared him . . . he represented to them a person who did have good relationships with the community, with parents, who had this certain point of view and as his successor I had this similar point of view. They disagreed with his point of view and mine. . . . So the hierarchy of the association in the district became closely aligned with the hierarchy in the city. Not only did they not support me, but worked to get me out of the position behind the scenes. (Spet-F)

In addition, the head of the association engaged in a personal rivalry with Spet which she ascribed to the fact that

It became a very personal kind of thing. I think it was very difficult for him to accept me, one, as a person who had been a teacher with him, and two, as a woman. (Spet-F)

At the same time she came into open conflict with Central Board officials in her attempt to implement the philosophy and policies of Layne. In effect she allied herself with the parents and the community as a whole against the bureaucratic hierarchy. This earned her the enmity

of the administration fraternity. In the last year of her contract Spet¹ began to lose the confidence of the local school board and, despite significant support in the community, her contract was not renewed. Spet then completed her Ed.D. in administration, and at the time of the interview, was engaged in an unsuccessful search for a position as a principal. As an ex-superintendent she faces special disadvantages.

What happens is that the superintendent of the district recognizes this person coming into a principalship in the district could very well become my competitor. . . . The superintendents probably don't select them when they have some leeway. (Layne-M)

She faces the additional disadvantages of being the protege of a "maverick" and a female. Layne was able to stand up to the establishment, but his protege lacked Layne's local prominence, his outstanding credentials, and was a female besides. Spet's career path, points to one of the major handicaps of being a protege. The protege enters the professional fraternity under the wing of the sponsor; as a protege she acquires both the good will associated with the name of the sponsor and the ill will he has earned. Spet as Layne's protege and successor was left with the task of maintaining her position against the onslaught of Layne's political enemies.

Lukas, now a community superintendent, had been successively a high school teacher, in private employment, an elementary school teacher,

and an acting principal. By that time she had earned a Ph.D. and left the system to become a college dean.

I was going to stay at . . . [the college] . . . but that was the year that they passed the regulation about pensions. I needed two more years to vest my pension. . . . I figured after putting in so much time it would be foolish not to put in two more years. So I really only went back to P.S. . . . for two years. (Lukas-)

She returned to the school as a principal, and her work was noticed by the female superintendent who asked her to become Deputy Superintendent.

I really didn't know what it would be like to be a deputy, and quite honestly, I had reservations about it. But it was a new experience and it would make my pensions quite a bit more substantial. So I came in and I loved it. (Lukas-F)

When the superintendent retired, Lukas was appointed to the position. Lukas has been a community superintendent for seven years, and has been able to maintain her position for several reasons. First, she builds on her local reputation as the former principal of a well regarded school. Second, she has impressive formal credentials: she is a Ph.D. and a former dean. Third, she still maintains her academic affiliation by teaching at a local college. Fourth, unlike Spet, she works smoothly with the Central Board and regularly consults the

supervisors' association on issues affecting supervisors. Finally, she has responded to parents' demands for special programs and makes herself readily available to parent groups in the district.

Spet's and Lukas's careers demonstrate that females are able to get line management positions with the help of a sponsor. However, maintaining oneself in that position frequently requires that the protege establish her own extensive network of support and not rely solely on the network of the sponsor. Spet faced the additional burden of inheriting the political enemies of her sponsor. Lukas has had a smoother course in replacing a retired female superintendent. It is possible that being female is less of a problem when a woman replaces another woman in a line position than when she replaces a man. On the other hand, we cannot ignore the possibility that any protege of Layne's, male or female, would have run into the same difficulties Spet experienced.

Summary. The seven executive directors and bureau directors are the line managers who are supported by staff specialists. Females are most likely to fill the latter positions; only one of the executive directors is a woman.

Of the five respondents who have Central Board staff positions two were special education teachers who were selected directly from teacher positions by female supervisors for their initial Central Board appointment. The other three, all women, came to the Central Board in more round-about ways. In addition to excellent formal credentials and

technical knowledge all three were extremely hard workers; as "over-achievers" they were highly desirable personnel.

The careers of respondents holding managerial positions in district offices was considerably aided by sponsors. Although proteges tended to be of the same sex as their sponsors it appears that similarity of sex is not as important as the fact of sponsorship itself. The key to each stage of career advancement was in almost all instances a sponsor.

Sponsorship, though, can be a two edged sword. One of the respondents succeeded her sponsor, a community superintendent, who had made a number of powerful enemies. She inherited those enemies when she assumed her sponsor's position. On the other hand, another female superintendent also followed her protege into the position and has successfully maintained herself in it. She, however, had a well established reputation as a principal in the district before coming to a district office position, and, as superintendent, she has assiduously tended to her relationships with local groups. She may also benefit from the fact that she followed a female into office.

CHAPTER XI

The Administrators and Their Role Partners

Up to this point we have been discussing mainly the relationship of the work setting to the development of career aspirations. But those aspirations are also affected by the individual's relationship with role partners, and it is to be the latter variable we now turn.

MALE ADMINISTRATORS AND THEIR ROLE PARTNER OBLIGATIONS

At the time the sixteen men decided to become administrators all but one were married. (At the time of the interviews two of them had been divorced.) Only four men had working wives. Miller's wife had a management position in a cosmetics firm, Lura's and Mason's wives were elementary school teachers, and Parr's wife was an insurance broker. All the women had returned to work after their children were school age. Undoubtedly, the males saw an administrative position as a means of becoming better providers for their wives and children, but only three of the men indicated this was a primary reason for their decision. The need for the additional money also was a recurring though subsidiary theme among the other men; all of whom except for one, had children. In 1975 the maximum salary of a teacher was \$20,350 compared to an elementary school A.P. salary of \$25,480 or a principal's salary of \$29,845. None of the men reported his wife pressured him to go into administration. A typical

response to the question, "How do your wife and children feel about your moving up? was

Always been very supportive. I think it was important to her because it was important to me. (Miller-M)

Several men reported that providing their families with a middle class life style meant either extra jobs after work or going into administration. But their persistent attempts to move to higher administrative levels was a response more to their reference group identification with other males in their schools and their administrative friends than to the need to earn the additional \$5,000 an A.P. received when he became principal.

I'll tell you what is a big factor. That was peer pressure. In the group I knew as a young teacher I started seeing this one and that one and the other one starting to move up in the ranks of administration. This I think was the biggest spark to me. It bothered the hell out of me, that people that I had known, people that I had gone to college with were assistant principals, and in a few cases principals, and I was still in the classroom. This sort of acted as a spark. (Mason-M)

. . . the old middle class bit. There was more money because when I started teaching my salary was the magnificent sum of \$2,600 a year. . . . And when I became an assistant I increased my salary by 150 percent. . . . So it was in part dollars. In part the upward mobility syndrome. . . . Among the people I worked with the thing was to take the exams. Not that we ever consciously expressed a desire to do great [things] for the world as an A.P. or a principal. I would have been perfectly happy staying as a teacher. It was money. I guess the ego factor to a limited degree. I think mostly it was an unconscious -- the thing to do. At least among the people I knew. (Pepper-M)

The males appeared to have been interested in maintaining or increasing their prestige among other upwardly mobile male colleagues.

When I became a teacher I decided I wanted to be the youngest principal in New York City. (Miller-M)

Only one male reported his wife enjoyed the increased prestige associated with his being a principal; however, it is likely that the other men believed the same of their wives.

[She's] very pleased. It's the -- what shall I call it -- it's the status. (Parr-M)

Not all the men were able to reconcile family and work demands. One of the divorced men, Atkin, attributed the divorce to the efforts he put into building his career, becoming a principal, and earning his Ph.D.

The career plans took a tremendous toll in terms of time, energy, and certainly redirected a lot of my personal efforts, like being home and being out and studying and being isolated within the home situation. . . . The career plans effected the relationships at home in terms of the amount of time. (Atkin-M)

Only one man reported he reduced his career involvement to meet his perceived obligations to role partners.

They have changed my career plans. I would much rather spend my time at home with my wife and kids. I used to go to meetings all of the time and be very active in all kinds of things and I've just given them up because my preference is to be home. . . . I actually went for a couple of superintendency interviews because that was before the kids were older and I was still planning on becoming a superintendent. (Kron-M)

Only one man regretted going into administration and longed for his teaching days, but caught up in the breadwinner role he felt compelled to go on.

I would say that I was happiest as a teacher. But because of family obligations I was attracted to the supervisoryship, and because of further family obligations I got attracted to the directorship. . . . If anything it has pushed me on. I may have been happiest in decreasing order of financial reward. One feels more frustrated the higher up you are on the so-called ladder. . . . In my career I enjoyed and had fun in the classroom. I enjoyed my work as a supervisor, also, not quite as much, but I enjoy helping teachers and helping kids, and as a director you get less and less opportunity for that. You get mainly problems, and you don't always have solutions to all the problems, or at least solve them to my satisfaction, and therefore there is less happiness in the work I do now than in the work that I used to do at the other two jobs. (Dale-M)

The emphasis men put on moving up for their self-definition as men and as adequate fathers and husbands suggests that they may be caught up in what Brenton calls the "masculinity trap," i.e., ". . . masculinity is very strongly tied up with the success motive and . . . status becomes the validation of success."¹ Hame was not married or engaged, and yet one of the reasons he gave for going into administration was to better be able to support his wife and children.

¹Myron Brenton, The American Male (Connecticut: Fawcett Publications, 1966), pp. 52, 138.

The male administrators are not unlike other executives. Like the organization man he feels that

. . . psychologically he can never go back or stand still and he senses well that the climb from here on is going to involve him in increasing tensions. Just when a man becomes an executive, it is impossible to determine . . . sometimes thirty, sometimes as late as forty-five -- when he feels that he has made the irrevocable self-commitment . . . the possibility of a top position becomes increasingly provocative. After all he got this far by being a little quicker on the uptake. Perhaps . . . maybe . . . and why not?¹

The principal's office is the top position in the school and the men appear driven to hold that top position. Several talked of becoming superintendents and have gone for interviews. None expected to be able to attain a superintendency but none had fully given up all hope. All the men appeared satisfied to have become principals, although they all talked about the excessive workload and how the job had become even more difficult under decentralization.

Again, like the organization executive, they find their climb to the top has impinged upon their family life; their "home life becomes shorter" and their wife increasingly detached from their

¹Whyte, 1957, op. cit., p. 174.

'struggle'."¹ They too "quash their loneliness and work tensions" to maintain their self-image as executive type men.² The situation is not without its ironies. The men suggested that they moved up in order to be better husbands to their wives and better fathers to their children, but the movement to management positions means increasing isolation from their familial obligations. Their increased work load does not allow them to be companions to their wives and children. It appears that in many ways the occupational role of the male manager "conflicts" with familiar roles; it is not only females who face family "conflicts" when they have careers.

Two men appeared to have a great involvement in the careers of their wives. The men spoke of their wives frequently during the interview and about their wives' careers in greater detail than the other male administrators. Both Lura and Layne had also studied on their own and did not take coaching courses. They were self-described "mavericks."

I think basically the combination for the need for raising a family, and having a better income, plus . . . I could see a lot of the principals that I worked with . . . I could see that they didn't have the kids' point of view. . . . I felt that if I get there I can do what I want to do. I think that this is what brought me into administration, because I hate

¹Whyte, 1957, op. cit., p. 174.

²Ibid.

administration. . . . It was simply self-propelled in terms of what I thought I ought to do. With the nudges, as Jane puts it: 'Look, you can do this and go ahead. I will suffer with you through whatever process you go through.' (Lura-M)

For Lura the male administrative group was not a reference group to the same degree as it was for other male administrators; it did not set the norms for his style of leadership. His wife, Jane, appeared to be a colleague as well as a spouse. Layne, as an unorthodox community superintendent, also felt marginal to the administrative fraternity. As marginal people in the system, both men appeared to rely more heavily on their wives for emotional support than did the mainstream who could rely on their peers.

THE FEMALE ADMINISTRATORS AND THEIR ROLE PARTNER OBLIGATIONS

The American cultural setting supports male occupational achievement while "women's occupational status is never quite legitimate."¹ As female administrators, a marginal status, the women, like the marginal men, need greater "validation" from their role partners. They all were deeply involved with a spouse, a parent, friends, or their children who served to sustain a definition of social reality in which their career roles were accepted and approved. With these role

¹Rose Laub Coser and Gerald Rokoff, "Women in the Occupational World: Social Disruption and Conflict," in The Family: Its Structures and Functions, ed., Rose Laub Coser (New York: St. Martins Press, 1974), p. 509.

partners in their "private spheres . . . segregated from the immediate controls of the public institutions"¹ they were able to derive the strength necessary to fortify their administrative ambitions.

Nine of the women had children when they decided to become administrators. All but one of the women spent time at home with their pre-school children, either because they took a maternity leave (6) or because they started to teach after their children were of nursery school age (2). The eight women needed help with their childcare responsibilities, and the childcare strategies they developed were the ones they also tended to use after they became administrators. All used more or less the same methods except for Island, a widow, who arranged to have someone solely responsible for childcare live with her as opposed to hiring a part time housekeeper.

I had to support a child. . . . I was very fussy about childcare arrangements. . . . I always tried to have someone living in the house with me. I had an army wife during the war. . . . After her I had a wonderful gal from college who lived with me for three years. I lived right near the college. I taught right near the college. Then she graduated and another girl who was in high school lived with us. That took us up to his tenth year. Then we moved to [Manhattan]. . . . Then I had

¹Peter L. Berger and Hansfried Kellner, "Marriage and the Construction of Reality," in Recent Sociology, no. 2., ed., Hans Peter Drietzal (New York: Macmillan Co., 1970), p. 54.

a niece live with me until he was twelve. I was put on afternoon sessions, so then I prevailed on the high school to transfer him from junior high school to the high school I worked in. I didn't need anybody else after that. (Island-F)

Three key methods were used to help with childcare obligations. The first was living near where they worked; the second involved using relatives including mothers, aunts and sisters, in the care of the children, and the third was employment of a housekeeper.

In the beginning we had a five day a week housekeeper when they came home for lunch. She would stay until I came home from work. . . . It was very good living near the school they went to and the school I worked as an A.F. it was right nearby also. (Spet-F)

When Barbara was school age, Jack was two years old. Not quite two years old, the housekeeper was there for two years. . . . Then I had an aunt take care of them for a year and then I would meet them after school. I never have lived far away from where I work. (Duke-F)

Nugan was divorced at the time she was teaching. While her son was very young she was the sole provider, and she drew upon a variety of sources to work out arrangements.

There was always a problem. In the beginning it was a housekeeper at home. Later on it was a private nursery for four years until the age of six. And then after that it was whatever he managed to handle by himself until I got home. And as you know, education lends itself to that kind of thing and that helps a great deal. I'd get home a little after 3:00, he would be there by himself or there would be a neighbor. (Nugan-F)

Heron's mother lived upstairs in their two family house, and cared for the children where Heron was at work. Dawson, who had four children, used her mother and her sister who lived next door.

I have a very close family. My parents always lived next door, and they went to private school or to nursery school or my sister helped out, we worked it out, so that the children were never neglected in any way. When I took courses the same thing was true. We helped each other out. When my sister took courses -- she also went back -- I took care of her children. (Dawson-F)

A considerate, cooperative husband was an indispensable prerequisite for a successful career.

We decided we would stay in the city. . . . What happens when the children are sick? Well, he was more in a

position to take the time off. When you're in a school it is hard. . . . I never took any time off to stay home. . . . But he would stay with them. . . . As my daughter said, "As far back as I can remember you've been a liberated woman all of your life because you weren't tied down by the house. You weren't tied down by a husband" . . . a marital relationship is important. (Boone-F)

Lukas adopted children after becoming a teacher and deciding to move into administration. Her husband was an administrator by the time she became one.

My husband and I saw to it that we never took courses on the same night, so that he was either home with the children or I was home. . . . When I took afternoon courses I would take the children with me, because I had a friend who was a professor at the university and one who was in the library. The children would go into the library and they used to love it. . . . But the evening courses, we always alternated. (Lukas-F)

All but one (Dawson) of the ten married women talked about their husbands' deep involvement in their careers: how the husbands encouraged their ambitions, offered them advice, helped with childcare duties, and expressed pride in their wives' achievements. Before Island's husband was killed in World War II, he had encouraged her to take the exam. Nugan, Spet, Boone and Lukas also said that their husbands encouraged

them to take the assistant principal and principal exams and to complete their doctorates.

I think the person who has been most helpful has been my husband. We were both in the same line of work, both interested in the same things. . . . There was a different kind of feeling I think in the home because of that and greater support and understanding of the problems that I faced. . . . But I think it worked both ways, . . . I was also supportive for him. (Lukas-F)

My husband has always encouraged me to go on to school.
(Boone-F)

My husband had been very supportive and understanding and of course I suppose without his support and assistance with household chores I guess, maybe, I would have had a problem. But I had no problem at all. (Duke-F)

He's a junior high school teacher and working on his doctorate. We both support each other's moving up. (Aden-F)

It is not always easy for husbands to accept the amount of time and energy their wives devote to their careers. It frequently meant that the husband and children had to take on what traditionally has been the wife's responsibility, but none of the women reported her husband refused to help with household responsibilities. An area of possible

conflict was the salary discrepancy between the women and their husbands. Three women earned more than their husbands, but none of them reported that this affected her aspirations. However, two women reported that it was a sensitive area in the marital relationship.

How has my husband felt about my moving up? He's enjoyed it. We had only one argument. He didn't want me to work when we were first married and when I did go back to work it was an emergency situation. I was called into a school where a teacher had just been taken out with appendicitis. I went in and I liked it. . . . He went along with it, but we agreed that we would never live on my salary because we felt it wasn't good to live on two salaries. So the only agreement was that we would save my salary and we would live on his and it's been wonderful. It's a wonderful arrangement. (Lukas-F)

At the beginning we were making commensurate salaries. When mine started shooting ahead and it would have shot ahead tremendously, I decided not to go for it. His started to go ahead when he changed jobs and I decided at that point to go ahead. (Duke-F)

In the marriages of these women there seemed to be more than the usual amount of trust between husband and wife. Trust is especially important when the wife is a protegee of a male sponsor. "When the woman

is accepted as a protege, her other role partners -- husband, father, child, etc. -- may be jealous and suspicious of her loyalty to the sponsor and her dependence on him."¹

He encourages me a great deal. . . . If I say I'm going to New Orleans he says okay . . . I'm going with so and so. Fine! He trusts me. You have to have a lot of trust in each other. I can go away and not worry he's going to go off with somebody while I'm away. You have to have certain beliefs. And we do. (Boone-F)

None of the women reported their husbands prevented them from going to conferences, working late at night, or working closely with a male sponsor because they were jealous or suspicious of infidelity.

Four of the eight married women with children derived additional support from other relatives. Spet's brother and Dawson's sister encouraged them and gave them advice and Nugan's and Heron's mothers encouraged their daughters' mobility. Nugan's mother acted as Nugan's secretary when necessary, and Heron's mother lived in the same two family house and helped her care for her children.

Several of the women talked about the effects of their careers on their children.

¹Epstein, 1971, "Encountering the Male Establishment . . .," op. cit., p. 56.

I was talking to Jim just a few months ago, really kind of reminiscing and talking about how he felt about my having been at work all these years. He learned to do a lot of things for himself and he feels that he was much better that way. . . . They kind of enjoyed all the excitement, too. (Spet-F)

Nugan and Boone also believed their work schedules led to their children's early independence and contributed to their children's professional achievements as adults.

It's funny but I feel that was much involved in his becoming a scholarship winner, that amount of socialization -- that amount of preparation in nursery school was very helpful. (Nugan-F)

He was telling an uncle who was visiting . . . he said, "My parents never looked to me for something they couldn't accomplish. They each accomplished what they wanted to. They didn't look for it in me. They didn't look for it in myself or my sister. "So we were free to do what we wanted to do. They didn't say, oh, my son has to be a doctor or he has to be a professional. He has to go to college." . . . We felt good. (Boone-F)

Four of the five single women had role partners who supported their careers. Engel was the only unmarried woman who lived alone. Faret and James lived with parents and both received support from them and from siblings as well. Hilton and Oakes each shared an apartment with a friend who was an administrator in the school system. The friends support each other in their careers, share administrative knowledge and frequently travel together. The single women offer one another the support and encouragement the married women receive from their husbands and other relatives.

It appears that role partners are crucial to the career development of both male and female administrators. Female administrators, often defined as deviants because of their careers, frequently derives support from role partners who may or may not be employed in the same field. What is most important are the benefits derived from having a role partner at home who understands the nature of the daily work pressures encountered on the job.

Summary. The male administrator's ambitions to attain the highest possible position reflect his perceived obligations to his role partners and a wish to satisfy "ego" needs. The males used upwardly mobile peers as a reference group for self-evaluation. Only three of the male respondents explicitly stated that their ambition was primarily motivated by a need to be better providers for their families.

Not all the men were able to reconcile family and work demands. One man attributed his divorce to the amount of time and effort he put into building his career, and two other men modified their career

involvement to meet their perceived obligations to role partners. The emphasis men put on mobility for their self-definition as men and as fathers and husbands suggests that like other male executives their occupational roles may conflict with familial roles. Their involvement with their occupations frequently interferes with their relations with wives and children.

For two males, self-described "mavericks," the male administrative group was not a reference group to the same degree as it was for the other males. As relatively marginal people in the system both men relied more heavily on their wives for support than had the mainstream administrators. Like these mavericks, all the women require validation of their ambitions from their role partners.

Almost all of the eight women with children stayed home with their pre-school age children. When the children were of school age the respondents returned to work and used a variety of strategies to care for the children.

The married women believed that the support of their husbands was a crucial element in their own careers. Husbands not only helped with household and parental tasks but encouraged their wives by taking pride in their achievement. The husband-wife relations was alone one of great trust, and enabled the wife to commit herself to professional activities without having to fear her husband's jealousy or suspicion.

Other role partners -- parents, siblings, children -- also provided support and encouragement these role partners and friends were particularly important for the single woman.

CHAPTER XII

The Female Administrator: Sex Discrimination and Being a Token

Sex discrimination is a complex issue; for the Office of Civil Rights (O.C.R) it means the way supervisors are selected, i.e., "vague criteria," discriminated against women.¹ For the Board of Education discrimination means "underrepresentation" of women in administrative ranks, and, therefore, New York City "has one of the best records in the nation and in the State of New York."² In this chapter we are going to examine sex discrimination in terms of selection not representation; we will examine the informal structure affecting the representation of women in administration.

¹ Martin H. Gerry, Director, Office of Civil Rights, "Letter to the Board of Education, November 9, 1976," op. cit., pp. 1, 10.

² Board of Education of the City of New York, "Response of the Board of Education of the City of New York and the November 9, 1976 Letter from the Office for Civil Rights United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare." A report prepared by the Board of Education of the City of New York, April 22, 1977, p. 11.

The Board of Education reports New York City has 10 percentage points more female assistant principals than New York State and 18 percentage points more than the nation. However, only 32 percent of New York City's assistant principals are female. On the principal level, New York City has 10 percentage points more female principals than the State and the nation; however, only 24 percent of the city's principals are females. Ibid. (The Board of Education figures do not specify the school level; it appears to combine elementary, junior high school and high school principals together.)

Focusing on the selection system may not fully reveal how sex discrimination operates. Nevertheless, most of the female administrators explained the low percentages of female administrators on the introduction of the credential selection system.

Under the Board of Examiners system, I knew if I passed the exam I would get appointed to a position. Today I have the principal's license, but I can't get a job as a principal. It's impossible under the new system; parents, school boards, just don't see women as capable of being a principal. They see it as a man's job. (Hilton-F, A.P., looking for a principal's position)

Since decentralization, since the community school boards are selecting their own principals and assistant principals, I think that it is harder for a woman to be selected. . . . The school board has the responsibility for making the selection, but they are very much influenced by the parents. . . . Very often parents seem to be more inclined towards wanting a man. They see a man as a leader. They don't think of a woman as a leader. (Heron-F, District Office Executive Assistant)

One female administrator saw both selection systems as equally discriminatory.

I found the Board of Examiners was a very discriminatory group of people for race and for sex and for systems people. . . . Because you're in the system twenty years and you'll get a school, whether you could actually run the school or not. For example, in the interview you had three men interviewing you for the oral interview; although I didn't experience it myself I can just surmise the way the questions were directed at a woman. The way the questions were directed at a male would be completely different. Right away when they see a male walk in they assume he can do at least half the job. (Faret-F, deputy superintendent)

Faret was the only respondent who saw sex discrimination in the civil service exam system, even though one woman reported experiencing "male chauvinism" during the exam.

In taking the junior high principal's exam I was examined by three men, three junior high school principals, they had a feeling that a woman could not be a junior high school principal. The only thing that saved me was I worked with trainable [mentally retarded] children in the school. . . . One junior high principal said to me quite frankly that he didn't believe in junior high women principals but if I could teach trainables to read I could probably teach junior high school children. He said that to me during the exam.

That's one of the few times that I felt there was real male chauvinism. (Lukas-F, community superintendent)

Sex discrimination was particularly apparent, according to female administrators in the selection of principals, community superintendents, and other positions having the highest salaries, visibility, decision-making power, and prestige.

People making the selection of supervisors for top level high paying jobs feel that it is a lot of money for a woman to be getting. I've heard that many times myself. I'm making a good salary. Almost \$30,000 a year. People say a man with a family should be getting that. (Boone-F, Central Board Official)

Despite the fact that we talk very seriously to parents about giving equal recognition to minorities and to women it is rare that the parents group will favor a woman for their choice. They seem to have an image of a big, strong health ed. teacher is the ideal man to run a strict school. They're more concerned now with the size and the strength of an individual than they are with the professionalism. (Lukas-F, Community Superintendent)

Since most of the female administrators successfully passed the civil service system, they are more likely to see it as non-discriminatory.

The question of whether the civil service system in fact was more or less discriminatory than the credential system is almost impossible to answer. Even a statistical analysis of the change in the percentage of female administrators does not answer the question. It appears that under both selection systems females were underrepresented in administration. For example, in 1967-68 when the administrators were selected by the civil service exam selection system 26 percent of the elementary school principals were females.¹ In 1975-76, seven years after the civil service exam selection system was no longer used, 28 percent of the elementary school principals were females a 2 percent increase.² However, the percentage of female assistant principals

dropped dramatically from 34.2 percent in 1971-72 to 28.2 percent in 1975-76 and their number has been reduced by fifty-seven during a period in which the total number of assistant principals increased by 190.³

The drop in the distribution of the female A.P.'s occurred under the credential system, but so did the rise in the percentage of the female elementary school principals.⁴ Thus it may be misleading to

¹ New York State Bureau of Educational Statistics.

² Ibid.

³ Gerry, 1976, op. cit., p. 11.

⁴ Throughout these time periods at least 80 percent of the elementary school teachers were females.

look at the type of selection system alone to determine the degree or presence of sex discrimination; it is necessary, to look at other factors affecting the representation of females in administration.

Chilling Effect of Sex Discrimination. Almost all of the female respondents knew of female administrators who had experienced sex discrimination, and these stories had a "chilling effect" on them. Other studies of female administrators report that "women don't even apply for top jobs because they feel it's a forgone conclusion they won't get them."¹

I personally never felt discrimination against me because I always felt I worked for an equal opportunity employer. But there was a principalship that came up in the school where I was the assistant principal. They had had a pretty shrewish woman as a principal for twelve years, and I was told, 'No woman is going to get that job. The greatest female educator in the United States could walk into their room but that job was going to a man.' That wasn't in writing, but it did go to a man. Some excellent people, some of my colleagues applied for the position, and they were just given short shrift. I didn't even apply, because I knew the futility of it. . . . It wasn't discrimination against me. . . . But I know that some districts I can go

¹ Recruitment Leadership Training Institute, 1974, op. cit., p. 18.

into as an applicant for a principalship and they wouldn't consider a woman. (Engel-F, acting principal)

Engel's response is typical of the female administrators' view of how sex discrimination affects them; they did not report personally experiencing sex discrimination. At the same time most of them reported incidents in which they received "special treatment" because they were female administrators. Frequently they did not characterize this "special" treatment as discriminatory, but it may have influenced their mobility and may, in fact, be "subtle" sex discrimination.

Discrimination of a more subtle nature is evidenced in the exclusion of females from the informal networks of cliques, clubs and other peer relationships where professional decisions are made, knowledge shared, and favors exchanged.

. . . Sex status operates strongly against their involvement in these 'inner circles.'¹

Female administrators experience subtle discrimination and face special situations because they are "tokens" in a male dominated occupational group.

¹Theodore, 1971, op. cit., p. 30.

THE TOKEN FEMALE ADMINISTRATOR

In many "skewed" groups one can distinguish dominants, i.e., members who are "homogeneous with respect to salient master statuses such as sex, race or ethnicity," from "tokens," i.e., members who are few in number and "of another type . . . often treated as representative of their category, as symbols rather than individuals."¹ Tokens are not simply "window dressing"; they perform real work but their difference in sex, race or ethnic status creates a work situation in which they face "special situations."²

In this study "token" applies to female administrators because within the administrative group males are the "numerically dominant group. Who controls the group and its culture in enough ways to be labelled dominants."³ Female administrators do not have the "auxiliary characteristics"⁴ which have come to be expected of administrators: since most administrators are male, the characteristics associated with administrative work are "masculine" behavioral attributes. In other words, female administrators are often seen first and foremost as females, and their femaleness may "blot out"⁵ aspects of their professional performance.

¹ Kanter, 1977, op. cit., p. 208.

² Ibid., p. 210. For a discussion of the psychology of the female token academic and her male sponsor see Judith Long Laws, "The Psychology of Tokenism: An Analysis," Sex Roles: A Journal of Research, vol. 1, no. 1, March, 1975, pp. 51-68.

³ Kanter, 1977, op. cit., p. 202.

⁴ Hughes, 1964, op. cit., p. 358.

⁵ Kanter, 1977, op. cit., p. 216.

Although none of the females reported their performance was affected by their sex status, they did point to the additional pressures they experienced as administrators. It appeared that they were inducted into "stereotypical roles: these roles preserve the familiar form of interaction between the kinds of people represented by the token and the dominants."¹ For example men may "adopt the role of protector . . . in the guise of 'helping' her self-designated protectors may actually put up further barriers to a solitary woman's full acceptance by inserting themselves, figuratively speaking, between the woman and the rest of a group."² From Lukas's description of her treatment it appears that the women involved in this behavior may not be aware of its subtle consequences.

I had been very fortunate as a community superintendent. I had men who . . . don't . . . even think any more in terms of my being a woman and not being a woman except when it comes to something where there's a protection involved. When we thought we were going to have a serious school closing and [there] may be trouble in the district, the men were concerned about protecting my personal safety. But I think if it had been a man they would have been concerned about his personal safety too. I don't think that was as chauvinistic as

¹Kanter, 1977, op. cit., p. 233.

²Ibid., p. 235.

it may sound. . . . Yet they did watch their language. That's the one big difference that you find. . . . I still find that the majority of men don't use the same kind of language in front of a woman that they use in front of a man. (Lukas-F)

Female administrators are also defined in terms of other preexisting stereotypes, as a classroom teacher or a secretary, both familiar female sex-typed positions in the school system.

Male chauvinism happens even with women. I have a physical handicapped unit in my school and we had a therapist coming in without arms to work with a child without arms. They asked me to come in. I walked in with my custodian, and they said to her [the therapist] I want you to meet the principal. She looked over at him. He said, 'Mrs. Duke,' and her head squirmed back. That was an automatic reaction on her part, and that happens many times. If I'm standing with a man and no matter who the man is, it can be the custodian, it can be the assistant principal, it can be another teacher -- it doesn't matter. The automatic reaction is that the man is the principal, if they don't know that it's a woman principal. . . . And I get this from women secretaries. Sometimes I make my own phone calls to other executive positions. And I'll call and I'll say, "May I talk to so and so, Mrs. Duke." And

they'll say, 'Mr. Duke,' and I'll say, 'No, Mrs. Duke speaking.' This happens very, very frequently. The assumption is that it's a secretary on the phone for a man. (Duke-F, principal)

Experiences like these may serve to remind the token female administrator that she does not "fit" the occupational image. She may have to publicly assert her official position and authority in many situations where a man would not have to call attention to his status.

I can remember when I first became an assistant principal where some of them on the staff thought the only purpose for a woman assistant principal on the staff was to tell dirty jokes -- you know, you had to put them in their place which a man would never have to. (Lukas-F, community superintendent)

The necessity of frequently "putting people in their place" may make the female administrator self-conscious and insecure in a new situation, because she does not know how people will react to her. Much of our social interaction depends on the taken-for-granted understanding that we will be recognized and treated according to the norms of behavior surrounding our status. When each new situation becomes unpredictable it is disturbing and may dampen aspirations towards mobility.

Female administrators may find their authority is questioned more frequently than male administrators. A female deputy superintendent reported she found her directives "double checked" with the male superintendent, a procedure generally not done with male deputy superintendents.

I would say maybe three, when I tell them what to do -- they call the [male] superintendent to check it out [and approve my directive]. Except that he is good to work with and he told the principals when I tell them something that it is like him telling them. How do they respond to my directives? They get red in the face; walk away from me. Usually I can remain cool even though I may be burning inside. I usually remain cool and that really throws them because they just expect a woman to be all nervous and upset and flustered. Most of the principals are older than I am but I never see it as an age thing. I think it's having a woman tell them. . . . They just don't like a woman telling them. (Faret-F, deputy superintendent)

Male subordinates may object to taking orders from a "woman."

I don't have any problems with kids. But I had it with my new A.P. I had a great deal of problems with him for the first year. A great deal and it was about a month ago that I finally got everything out on the table and I said to him 'I'm sure that you have problems because you

have to take orders from a woman.' And at that point he almost broke down. He said, 'Funny you should say that -- because it's true.' It was difficult for him to take orders from a woman. Since then things have been calmer, because we brought it out in the open. (Duke-F, principal)

Similarly, colleagues may avoid working with the token female because they may feel she does not have the full authority normally associated with the position. "Those who are excluded from informal work groups are at a disadvantage. . . . They find it extremely difficult to find loyal subordinates or exert their authority should they gain a formal position of power."¹

In talking to other professionals . . . in dealing with the superintendents or deputies I know that many of the men in those positions [like to] deal with the superintendent rather than myself. At meetings downtown at Central Board -- they have monthly meetings for the superintendent and for the deputies and many times we interchange and represent one another -- people just don't like dealing with the women. Men don't, and many times you get women that don't either. (Faret-F, deputy superintendent)

¹Lorber, 1975, "Trust and Loyalty and the Place of Women," op. cit., p. 3.

Female administrators reported they were treated as sex objects rather than viewed as administrators or colleagues.

I feel strongly people's reactions. They do things with me as a woman I feel would never otherwise be done. But you get it in the sex leer, in the flirting and all of these things, from anyone who walks into the school. I get it, a great deal from outsiders who walk into the school with a "you're the principal kind of thing." And it really carries through to me. I get some policemen who come in for a police call who'll stand there with the eye. You know 'you're the principal kind of thing.' I get it, surprisingly enough from my superintendent, who is very supportive. But I know darn well that he does things with me that he would never do in a million years to a man. . . . I'll give you an example. There was a political cocktail party. And I had gone over to say hello. First of all, it's always with the arm around my shoulder kind of thing. That I really don't know how to handle. . . . But this particular time he was standing with a higher official at the board. I think he wanted to show off so he called me over with a crooked finger. . . . He would not do that to a male principal. I don't think he would do that to a male teacher. . . . Then he said to me, 'I want a drink.' And he was standing with this other man . . . he said to Chuck [the other man], 'Do you want a drink? She'll get

you a drink too.' Chuck said, 'Yes, I would like a drink.'

So I took the orders for the drinks and went to the bar, and brought them the drinks, and I just made some comment, or statement, 'I'm a pretty good gofer. We'll make another position for it.' . . . I walked away. But I know that . . . he wouldn't do it to anybody but me. That's just a very strong indication of the kinds of situations. But they happen in mild forms too. (Duke-F, principal)

Being cast as a sex object or "gofer" by a community superintendent may serve to prevent a female principal from being seen as a colleague by other principals. She may find herself in "quarantine,"¹ cut off not only from the professional updating and exchange of favors that goes on in a professional group but also excluded from information essential to maintaining her position or mobility to a higher administrative position. Principals rely on one another when faced with criticism and "isolation on the job" as a result of marginality in the administrative colleague group means "women who are promoted are rarely given the kind of support routinely offered to men."² When Hilton changed districts a "fuss" was made over her being a woman.

¹ Hughes, 1964, op. cit., p. 361.

² Recruitment Leadership and Training Institute, 1974, op. cit., p. 23.

It's very interesting. When I first came into the district I had this delightful feeling of having a huge fuss made over me because I was a woman. . . . It was very complimentary but not on a professional level. It had to do with my being a woman, and a fairly young woman for that district, which is amazing because I had been around so long in District. . . . Here they made a fuss over me for being a woman. (Hilton-F, assistant principal)

Professional invisibility has important consequences for upward mobility, as Lorber notes in her study of the female physician's mobility. As invisible professionals female physicians are frequently not included in the system of professional patronage and sponsorship which is crucial for movement into the most highly paid and prestigious specialties.¹ As we saw in earlier pages, the school administrators also emphasized the importance of being known by the "inner circles" of the school district and Central Board. The invisibility of female administrators may mean that their names do not come to mind when the administrators make suggestions to the school board or to a superintendent who has to fill an "acting" position. A woman may not be thought of when the principal goes on sick leave and requests an A.P. to fill his position. Timpano has identified the "informal buddy system" way of passing the word along about jobs as another "filtering method" inhibiting women.

¹Judith Lorber, "Women and Medical Sociology: Invisible Professionals and Ubiquitous Patients," in Another Voice Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science, ed., Marcia Millman and Rosabeth Kanter Moss (New York: Anchor Books, 1975), pp. 75, 82.

administrators advancement. Women administrators may not be invited to "inner circle" get togethers with Central Board and district office staff. They are less likely to have access to inside information exchanged in these "meetings" and so lack the preparation for situations their male colleagues receive at a formal party or over a drink in a local bar. Full members of the administrative fraternity learn from each other the "inside" information about how to speak to school board members, Central Board officials, Parent Association presidents and local politicians.

The colleague group may not be the only group to whom they are invisible professionals. Parents and school board members may not see females as administrators and see them only as embodiments of femininity. Female tokens may be assumed to have those stereotypical "feminine" qualities which make her unlikely to perform competently as an administrator:

When I went for the interview [for deputy superintendent] one of the questions I was asked when I was interviewed here is what kind of control would I have in difficult situations and would I feel very threatened by people screaming, shouting and becoming overbearing. They were very concerned that maybe a woman couldn't do that and also how would I feel if I had to tell a male principal how to run a school or that he was running his

¹Doris Timpano, 1976, op. cit., p. 20.

school in the wrong manner. They thought I couldn't do that. They didn't realize that the problem would not be in me telling, but the people listening no matter who told them. (Faret-F, deputy superintendent)

Several of the female administrators were no longer aspiring to higher administrative positions.

I may be switching. There are not too many big jobs in administration for women. . . . When I went for some advice he [graduate school professor] told me that since I'm really so close to the top it is really foolish for me to pursue my degree in administration and supervision in education. . . . Realizing the problems there are for women . . . he said, "You really have only one more step to go to become a superintendent and he said you should probably broaden your horizon to get into some other area also." [Did he suggest an area?] Well, I was thinking of law myself and he said that at -- it's very difficult for a woman to get into the law [school]. He's an honest man. The others would just say yes, it's good, stay here, but he wasn't looking for the money or the tuition. . . . He knows education a long time because he has been a superintendent and now he is teaching in graduate school. How far am I along in the doctorate program? As far as consideration of my dissertation

I'm miles away from it, but I have sixty credits over my master's right now that I could use for it. (Faret-F, deputy superintendent)

Hilton and Oakes, the "stuck" A.P.'s, said that they felt it was unlikely they would get a principal's position, and have almost given up trying. Duke, a principal, said, "I am waiting for retirement age and then I will get out." Since the time of the interview, one of the Central Board females has left school administration for another management position.

Functioning as a token appears to affect the mobility of female administrator. They appear to be subject to special strains on the job that males do not face. They appear to be excluded from the same type of professional socialization male administrators experience. Thus they may be cut off from learning how to move higher on the administrative career ladder while at the same time experiencing subtle messages they do not belong in the upper echelon administrative positions.

Summary. The apparently conflicting evaluations of the New York City school system reflects the complex nature of sex discrimination. It may be misleading to look only at the type of selection system alone to determine the degree or presence of sex discrimination. It is necessary to look at other, more covert factors, affecting the representation of females in administration.

Sex discrimination does not have to be practiced directly against an individual to affect her career decisions: almost all of the female respondents knew of female administrators who had experienced sex discrimination. These stories had a "chilling effect;" it seemed to dissuade them from applying for positions. Other forms of sex discrimination of a "more subtle nature" also affected female administrators. They were subject to special treatment because of their "token" status. Female administrators may be inducted into stereotypic "feminine" roles requiring them to be "protected" by males. Female administrators reported that their directives to male subordinates were not accepted or either "double checked" with a higher echelon male administrator. They tend to be treated as sex objects and "wives" rather than as colleagues. Experiences like these remind the token female that she does not match the occupational image and at the same time she is excluding them from full participation in collegial groups. As tokens, female administrators face the paradoxical situation of being both highly visible and invisible, and both qualities may affect mobility. They are highly visible in contrast to the sex status of the dominants. At the same time, they are frequently invisible, their sex status "blots out" their professional status. Their professional invisibility to the "inner circles" of the school board and Central Board may mean their names do not come to mind when a candidate is sought to fill an administrative vacancy. Thus, the token status of women administrators implies a covert and subtle form of often unconscious discrimination contributing to the underrepresentation of women in administration, especially in the highest echelon positions.

CHAPTER XIII

Conclusions

The previous pages have attempted to describe the social processes contributing to the underrepresentation of women in school administration by comparing the career experiences of male and female teachers and administrators. None entered teaching while the expectation of becoming an administrator. Teaching itself represented mobility and, frequently, was a better job than their parents had. However, females entered teaching believing that the only career choices available to them are those within the realm of women's work, i.e., social work, nursing and secretarial work. They decide to be teachers relatively early in their lives, while males decide to become teachers much later and as a compromise career choice.

Sex is an important factor affecting careers. On the first day of work principals sort teachers by sex, placing females in the "lower" grades (K-3) and males in the upper grades (4-6), and the tracking of teachers by sex continues throughout the teachers' career. For example, females disproportionately fill the classroom teaching positions and males are disproportionately represented in the specialist positions. The classroom teaching position with its excessive work load, isolation from colleagues, and the elaborate system of checks on the autonomy serves to dampen administrative ambitions. In addition, female classroom teachers more often than male teachers report that they were

subject to punitive and coercive supervision. The specialist position / on the other hand, is a "favored status" with a lighter teaching load and a greater likelihood of assignment to administrative tasks. Assignment to specialist positions tends to stimulate administrative aspirations among males.

Aspirations must be examined within the social and cultural context in which they develop and are nurtured. Two systems of selection have been used in the New York City school system in the twentieth century; prior to 1969 the civil service examination system was used and after that with decentralization the credential selection system. Both systems favor "insiders," though who qualifies for that status has changed. Under the civil service selection system the style of studying for the exam, i.e., the coaching course and the exam itself, favored those who did not question the prevailing philosophies and subtly discriminated against minority applications. The credential selection system has enabled more minority candidates to attain administrative posts, but candidates from within the districts are more likely to be selected than are "outsiders" from other districts. Candidates must develop social networks which include linkages with school board members, local political leaders, parent association leaders and district office staff. In this kind of situation having a sponsor, a mentor, who has ties in the district is of critical importance.

Regardless of the type of selection system used, women remain among the "outsiders"; since 1967 over 70 percent of the elementary school principals have been male and "masculine" traits have tended to

become associated with being a competent principal. Females are often seen as being the "wrong sex" because they have different social characteristics and, therefore, cannot mitigate the structurally induced anxieties of managers.

Six men and two women (25 percent) in the sample of teachers aspire to become administrators. A major difference between those who do and do not aspire is that the former were selected as proteges. The male teacher can easily identify with administrators, because most administrators are males and because of the equation of administrative behavior with the traits of masculinity. Female specialists rarely developed a sponsor-protege relationship with the administrators while many of the men did. Similarly, the administrator is more likely to identify the male teacher as a future administrator. The mere presence of female administrators is not sufficient to stimulate aspirations; it is more important to be selected as a protege. Male proteges develop a collegial relationship with the sponsors. In their company they meet school officials and local politicians, an important advantage, for it is they who "put in a good word," when the protege seeks an administrative position. A protege is assigned to and taught a range of administrative tasks, and consequently proteges, especially female proteges develop leads to a redefinition of themselves as potential administrators. The union chairperson position, like the specialist position, helps in developing administrative aspirations, especially among males, where it facilitated formation of a collegial relationship with a principal.

Teachers' ambitions are nourished or destroyed at home as well as at work. Of the eight aspirants only one was single and four had children. The single female did not face the dilemmas of family and career and had a female friend supporting her ambitions. The married female with children decided to become an administrator after her children were in college. She had to persuade her husband that her decision was a good one, because he wanted to "protect" her from the additional work responsibilities. The six male aspirants were married and reported that their wives supported their ambitions. Five of the men were married to elementary school teachers, and the congruence of the workplace and family expectations that male teachers become administrators appeared to have a "multiplier effect" on stimulating aspirations in husbands.

A comparison of the experiences of the subsamples of teachers and administrators indicates that the male teachers and male administrators have much in common. Both male groups largely came from working class or lower-middle class origins, and decided to become teachers in their junior year of college or later. Although most of the female administrators came from working class and lower class families, when they are compared to the teachers and male administrators, the female administrators have a fairly high percentage of professionally educated fathers (47 percent). Female administrators appeared much more career-oriented; less than half of the female administrators had decided to be elementary school teachers by their junior year in college, while about three-fourths of the female teachers had. Equally important, the administrators, unlike the teachers, did not perceive their own occupational choices as only those within the

female sex-typed fields. The administrators appeared to correspond to Jessie Bernard's role transcending "pioneers," who "were aggressive, ambitious, achievement oriented, independent and not interested in full time domesticity."¹ The female teachers appeared to be like the "traditionalists . . . who gave evidence of early conformity to traditional sex stereotyped role conceptions."² A possible explanation of the early "career-mindedness" of the female administrators, may be the presence of a working mothers. Holding socioeconomic variables constant we find female administrators had a higher proportion of working mothers than the female teachers. The women may have learned from their working mothers that it was possible to combine work and family roles. The female administrators appear to be women who all their lives were less affected by the stereotypical notions of their place in society. Male administrators may choose them as their proteges, if no eligible male candidates are available, because they are people who most closely approximate themselves.

For females, receiving primary encouragement by administrators is more crucial than for males. Twelve of the females compared to six of the males reported that an administrator stimulated their aspirations. Females appear to need an administrator to say "you should become an administrator," while males see their mobility as part of a "natural" career flow. There is a patterning of primary encouragement with males encouraging males and females encouraging other females. Still, it is

¹Bernard, 1975, op. cit., p. 49.

²Ibid., pp. 49, 50.

worth noticing that among the women who were selected as proteges, four in both selection systems, in each system two were proteges of male administrators.

The change in selection procedures has created new requirements for aspirants to administrative positions and new difficulties for females. Successful mobility now requires "political" behavior and a learning of the "political" ropes of a district; a candidate for a principal's position, for example, must develop social network ties with local politicians, community organization leaders, parent associations, the U.F.T., and C.S.A., and, of course, school board members. Working as an acting principal in a school appears to facilitate permanent appointment, because it frequently allows the candidate to broaden his support within a district. In this situation female assistant principals are at a disadvantage, because they seem to be less knowledgeable about how to go about establishing and cementing the needed relationships. They may lack the requisite knowledge and skills as a result of the traditional expectations that politics is not an appropriate activity for women. Females, of course, face the additional barrier that district gatekeepers simply do not see women as credible candidates for principal's positions.

When the focus shifts to administrative positions at the Central Board and district levels we again find some significant influences between career patterns of the sexes. Females are almost absent from line positions and are more likely to work in staff positions that provide specialized and technical advice to the line executives. Women are

attractive candidates for staff positions, because of an "overachiever" work style; they are extremely hard workers and very expert in their specialized areas. At the same time, staff positions involve exercise of indirect authority and the roles, therefore, are more congruent with traditional images.

The career paths of the six community district office staff demonstrate the importance of sponsorship for mobility. Although of the five who were proteges, three shared sex status with their sponsor. The shared status seems less important than the sheer fact of sponsorship. The career of one of them demonstrates that the protege can "inherit" the good-will of others toward the sponsors as well as his enemies; sponsorship does not mean that a school administrator can neglect building his own base of support.

Aspirations are affected not only by relationship in the work setting but also by other role partner relationships. The males' ambitions reflected their perceived obligations to their role partners as well as a wish to satisfy "ego" needs. Upwardly mobile peers were an important reference group for them and a critical factor in stimulating and maintaining their aspirations. The activities required to fulfill these aspirations could not always be reconciled with familial obligations. One man attributed his divorce to the amount of time he put in building his career and one other modified his career involvement to meet his perceived obligations.

Eight of the fifteen women has children. All but one of them spent time at home with their pre-school age children and developed

childcare strategies they used after they became administrators. Almost all of the ten married women talked about how their husbands encouraged their ambition, offered them advice, helped with childcare duties, and demonstrated pride in their achievements. The single women were also deeply involved with role partners, relatives or close friends, who supported their careers. The women appear to need greater validation for their career involvement from their role partners than most of the male administrators.

Women's heavy reliance on role partner support may be a consequence of their marginality at work. Women administrators have the status of "tokens". As such female administrators are marginal to the administrative fraternity and social world in which males are numerically and culturally dominant, and, consequently, do not receive the same degree of support at work that male administrators do.

Women are constantly reminded at work that they are "different," they are "protected" because of their sex, have their authority questioned, and are frequently treated as "sex object." These experiences tend to remind women they do not make the administrative type and may dampen aspirations for mobility. Women's marginality to administrative inner circles may also mean that they do not hear about administrative vacancies or do not acquire other in-group information crucial to mobility. Paradoxically, the female administrator is both highly visible, in contrast to the dominants, and invisible, by exclusion from the inner circles of the colleague group. Thus, the token status of women administrators may represent a covert and subtle form of often

unconscious discrimination contributing to the underrepresentation of women in administration.

A Revaluation of Notions. In light of the findings of this study several accepted notions appear to require modification. In 1958 Mason, Dressel, and Bain maintained that "most men . . . see teaching as a stepping stone to some other position in or out of education. . . . Many men hoped to move from classroom teaching into administrative and supervisory positions."¹ Later research has tended to assume that the "stepping stone" pattern clarifies why males become administrators at a greater rate than females. This characterization, however, glosses over the process by which teachers became administrators and may overstate male aspirations. Mason et. al. assume that beginning teachers² are unaffected by their initial work experience; and, therefore, if males aspired to become administrators, they did not develop these aspirations while working as teachers but came into the school system with those intentions. Our findings indicate that this is a faulty assumption. All of the teachers and all but three of the administrators reported that they did not aspire to become administrators before entering teaching. Furthermore, it appears that starting with their first day on the job, teachers learn the schools' normative expectations that males will aspire to administration. Equally important, beginning teachers in their first months of teaching tend to

¹Mason, Dressel and Bain, 1958, op. cit., pp. 374, 382.

²Mason et. al.'s sample included 2,602 male and 4,548 female "beginning" teachers who had held a "regular full-time paid position for a full term "prior to the survey." Mason et. al., 1958, op. cit., p. 372.

be identified by potential sponsors as future administrators and this has a direct influence on their aspirations. Thus the notion that males enter teaching with the intention of using it as a stepping stone to administration requires rethinking.

Another notion that appears to oversimplify the process by which teachers become administrators is that "merit" systems provide equal opportunity for women, that if women are not equally represented in administrative positions it is because they lack "what it takes" or the ambition to be administrators. This emphasis on the formal structure of the selection system ignores the informal and subtle processes that sort people into tracks decreasing the likelihood they will compete for entry into administration.

The sorting of teachers by sex begins on the first day a teacher reports to work, and continues throughout the teachers' career. Women tend to be given the "lower grades" while males tend to receive the "upper" grades thought to require a "strong" teacher capable of handling the older children. The association of maleness with the ability to be a good disciplinarian has important consequences for the development of administrative aspirations. One of the important tasks of the school administrator is to maintain "discipline" in the school; the identification of males as the best disciplinarians means that women are automatically thought of as less qualified to be administrators.

The findings indicate females are less likely to be assigned specialist teaching positions, and more often are placed in classroom positions. The classroom position is the most difficult and least prestigious position in the school. The elaborate checks on a teacher's autonomy and the more punitive and coercive supervision of the female

teacher make her extremely sensitive to the principal's authority and evaluation of her work. Alone in the self-contained class, isolated from her colleagues, it is difficult for the classroom teacher to evaluate her own performance. The day to day situation of the classroom teacher tends to discourage the development of administrative ambitions. It is not surprising, then, that females appear to rely more heavily than males on the direct encouragement of others, for female teachers frequently have a different type of teaching experience than males. It is one which discourages the development of administrative aspirations.

As we saw earlier women are also less likely to be selected as proteges by administrators; most administrators are male and school norms associate "masculinity" with administrative work. The male administrator is more likely to identify the male teacher as a future administrator, and the male teacher can more easily identify the male administrative group as a reference group. Regardless of the type of selection system, selection as a protege stimulates administrative aspirations. The mere existence of a "merit" system does not mean the absence of social processes and cultural assumptions that hamper individuals from taking advantage of the system and demonstrating their "merit." It is true that women, regardless of type of selection system, tend not to acquire the prerequisite credentials for administrative posts. In New York City, for example, only 10 percent of the female teachers compared to 25 percent of the males have administration and supervision course credits.¹ Nationally

¹Board of Education of the City of New York, "Response to Martin Gerry," 1977, op. cit., p. 12.

women hold only one-fourth of the masters and one-tenth of the doctorates in school administration.¹ But just as one may argue that the lower class ghetto child's experiences in the stereotypical public school discourages the child from taking advantage of "equal opportunity" so one may say that the experiences of the female teacher (in perhaps, the same school) discourages her from taking the first step toward administration.

A third notion that appears to need rethinking is that the presence of role models is a sufficient condition for the development of aspirations. For all teachers, but especially for females, aspirations were developed by an administrator telling a teacher "you should be an administrator," and, at the same time, taking an active interest in the teacher's career. This was especially true under the credential system, where administrators, as sponsors, help the protege acquire managerial skills and perspective on the school and introduce the protege to persons who can help her get an administrative position. The same point is applicable to those who are already female administrators; the mere presence of other female administrators in a system does not necessarily mean that females will aspire to or be able to achieve higher echelon positions. If the female (or male) administrators in those positions do not reach down to female administrators and help pull them up, it is quite likely that the latter will remain "stuck" in those positions. Equally important, if the proportion of women holding high-level administrative posts is extremely small, they suffer the consequences of tokenism. As tokens they tend to lack the authority and power associated with their

¹Estler, 1975, op. cit., p. 364.

official title, and are less able to serve as effective sponsors for lower level females. Sponsorship and active help are necessary conditions, because female administrators at all levels are frequently marginal to the inner circles of the administrative fraternity. As marginal people females have less access to the "inside information" their male colleagues receive over a tennis game or a drink with a chum. Full members of the administrative fraternity learn from one another how to speak to school board members, Central Board officials, Parent Association presidents, and local politicians. Equally important, female administrators do not have access to vacancies before they are advertised, thereby decreasing their ability to move at the same pace as men. Thus, the mere presence or absence of a role model is less important than how the work norms of a system function to promote the mobility of some and impede the mobility of others.

A fourth notion that appears to require rethinking is that women do not achieve high echelon positions because they enter the occupational sector with lower aspirations than males. Females' lower aspirations are often said to have two sources; first, early socialization which does not foster an interest in occupational achievement, and, second, a psychological "fear of success."¹ We suggest that these explanations are used to ignore the structural reasons for women's absence from management partners by blaming the victim. Both reasons place undue emphasis on the early socialization of females and ignore the importance of adult socialization.

¹Matina Horner, "Fail" Bright Women," in The Professional Woman, ed., Athena Theodore (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Co.) 1971, p. 258. Horner's sample was composed of female and male undergraduate students.

Our findings indicate that adult socialization is also a crucial phase of life influencing aspirations and career patterns. Women upon entry into an occupation, frequently are tracked into positions which dampen aspirations, while males are placed in positions which foster ambition. All the teachers, and all but three of the administrators, entered teaching without administrative ambitions; yet six of the teachers and all of the administrators developed administrative aspirations. This was a direct result of their work experiences and, to a lesser extent, the influence of role partners. Even among the female teachers who appeared to be "traditionalists," when selected as proteges they aspired to become administrators. Similarly, the three administrators who entered teaching with administrative aspirations needed to have these ambitions sustained by their work experiences. Female teachers are less likely to aspire to administration than males, because they are usually assigned to the lower grade classroom teaching positions which dampen aspirations. Men are more likely to be assigned to specialist teaching positions, selected as proteges, and thus encouraged and taught how to become administrators.

What is true of the teachers holds for female administrators. They do not apply for the position not out of lack of ambition but as a result of other factors. They are excluded from administrative "inner circles" which prevent them from making the necessary political contacts, and they suffer the chilling effect of the knowledge of sex discrimination. Thus more attention needs to be paid to the structure which tracks people on the basis of sex and the professional socialization process that discourages female aspirations.

Where Do We Go From Here? Several questions remain unanswered by this study. This was an exploratory study; to fully understand and establish the breadth and depth of the identified patterns a larger study with a more representative sample is necessary. Such a larger study should include blacks, Hispanics, and Asians in the sample. Decentralization has led to a slight increase in the percentage of female administrators, but have minority women benefited equally from this increase? Do minority candidates face the "special problems" female tokens encounter? What additional problems do they have?

This study focused primarily on elementary school teachers, but does a tracking by sex also occur on the secondary school level? The low percentage of female high school principals (11 percent, 1976-77)¹ indicates that it may. A similar study of secondary schools is warranted.

The female administrators' accounts of the special problems they face suggest that much more research is needed in the area of tokenism and its consequences for performance and mobility. Such research would help clarify how women and minorities fare when they enter areas from which they have been traditionally absent.

Ameliorative Changes. The findings suggest that several kinds of changes are necessary to increase the proportion of female administrators. A modified version of the sponsor-protege system should be instituted in every school and should follow the six steps suggested by Burns.

¹ New York State Bureau of Educational Statistics.

- 1) Early identification of women with potential leadership ability and active encouragement to pursue graduate study at an early age . . .
- 2) More opportunity at the teaching level for leadership experience and more opportunity for in-service and intern training for prospective administrators . . .
- 3) More organized programs at the school district level in which future opportunities for leadership service are made known and educational requirements are specified . . .
- 4) Wider publicity, especially through professional women's organizations, of outstanding women administrators and their accomplishments . . .
- 5) Provision of more opportunity for graduate study through scholarship provisions supported by professional women's organizations and universities and through more liberal financial arrangements in leave-of-absence policies in the school districts . . .
- 6) Better counseling for girls and women at both the high school and college levels . . . the counseling of many of

the young women should encompass the concept of interrupted career patterns.¹

Equally important is a measure suggested by Lorber. "Women must develop or strengthen inner circles of their own within male-dominated occupations and professions."² Female administrators have begun to do that. Dr. Doris M. Timpano spearheaded the development of "Career Women in Education" (C.W.E.) a "grassroots" organization of female administrators committed to equalizing "opportunities for women to assume leadership roles in education."³ C.W.E. functions as a communications "network" to inform female administrators about vacancies and prepare them for the positions.⁴ The New York State Education Department developed a "Job Network Information Service" patterned on C.W.E.⁵ Another organization also involved in developing female administrators' inner circles is the New York City Administrative Women in Education (N.Y.C.A.W.E.) which holds meetings to keep its member up to date on educational technologies and

¹Burns, 1964, op. cit., pp. 175, 176.

^{1a}See Timpano, op. cit., for another thoughtful program of action to eliminate sex discrimination in the selection of administrators.

²Lorber, 1975, op. cit., p. 14.

³Doris M. Timpano, "Channel 'Women Power' to Eliminate Sex Discrimination in the Selection of Educational Leaders." Unpublished paper prepared by Doris M. Timpano, Director of Career Women in Education, 1975, p. 1. Available from C.W.E., 65 Central Park Road, Plainview, New York 11803.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Doris M. Timpano, Chairperson, Commissioner Amback's Statewide Advisory Council on Equal Opportunity for Women Newsletter, March, 1978.

and job vacancies.¹ The next step female administrative groups need to take is to teach the women how to take "political" action to make local politicians, school board members, and community leaders receptive to female candidates as does the U.F.T. and C.S.A. and other organized groups who influence the choice of the administrators.

¹New York City Administrative Women in Education, 2120 St. Raymond Avenue, Bronx, New York 10462, (212) 892-1006.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I
Interview Schedule

Department of Sociology
City University of New York

Carol Poll

May 4, 1976

THE INFORMATION GIVEN IN THIS INTERVIEW WILL BE KEPT STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

The following questions are an attempt to locate the social factors affecting teacher's career advancement in the New York City elementary school system.

Code # ____ Name _____ Age ____ Sex Male () Female ()

Present address _____ Neighborhood name _____

Religion: Catholic () Protestant () Jewish () Other _____

Ethnic-Racial Background: Black () Anglo () Hispanic () Other _____

Present Job Title _____ Grade level if classroom teacher _____

State Education Licenses held _____

New York City Licenses held _____

Present school you work in _____ District No. _____ Salary _____

School Principal's name _____ Black () Anglo () Hispanic ()

Male () Female () Catholic () Protestant () Jewish () Single () Married ()

Assistant Principal's Name _____ Black () Anglo () Hispanic ()

Male () Female () Catholic () Protestant () Jewish () Other _____

Administrative Assistant's Name _____ Black () Anglo () Hispanic ()

Male () Female () Catholic () Protestant () Jewish () Single () Married ()

Educational Background of Respondent

College _____ Major _____ Minor _____

Date of Graduation _____

Work Beyond B.A. Degree _____

<u>College Name</u>	<u>Courses taken</u>	<u>Degree earned</u>	<u>Dates</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

Work Experience After B.A. Degree (include military service, Peace Corps work and experience as paraprofessional)

<u>Place of Work</u>	<u>Job Title</u>	<u>Salary</u>	<u>Dates</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

Total number of years as teacher _____

<u>Grades taught</u>	<u>No. of years on grade</u>	<u>School No.</u>	<u>Dates</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

Total number of years as administrator _____

<u>Administrative Job Title</u>	<u>No. of Years in position</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Salary</u>	<u>Dates</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Perception of Obligations to Role Partners

Mothers place of birth _____ Age _____ No. of years deceased _____

Educational level _____ Present Occupation _____

Her occupation while you were growing up _____

Fathers place of birth _____ Age _____ No. of years deceased _____

Educational level _____ Present Occupation _____

His occupation while you were growing up _____

Brothers No. _____ Ages _____ Occupations _____

Educational Levels _____

Marital status _____

Sisters No. _____ Ages _____ Occupations _____

Educational Levels _____

Do any of your relatives give you advice about your job and career plans?

Which relatives and what kind of advice do they give you? _____

Marital Status: Married () No. of years _____

Divorced: No. of years married _____ No. of years divorced _____

Never married () Widowed () No. of years _____

If not presently married:

Who do you live with? _____ male () female () age _____

occupation _____ nature of relationship _____

If presently married:

Spouses age _____ Educational level _____ Occupation _____

Spouses yearly income _____

Children: _____ Schools Attending Now (If in college, major) _____

Daughters Ages _____

Sons Ages _____

Women: How long was your maternity leave? _____

Did you find it difficult to get a job in education after maternity leave?

Do you feel your maternity leave hurt your job advancement? _____

Do you expect to have more children? _____ When? _____

Who takes care of your children while you are at work? _____

When children were pre-school age who took care of them? _____

Division of labor at home: Who does shopping? _____

Who does cooking? _____

How do your children feel about your job? _____

How does your spouse feel about your job? _____

How do you feel about your job and meeting your family obligations? _____

For single people:

Do you expect to get married? _____ When? _____ Have children? _____

Career Aspirations

Do you like your present assignment? _____ Job title _____ Yes () No ()

Why or why not? _____

Is there a job you would rather have outside education? _____ Why? _____

In education? _____ Why? _____

Have you taken any steps to get that preferred job? _____

What steps? _____

When did you start making plans to change jobs? _____

When did you start taking action to get that job? _____

If you think back what events precipitated your actions to change your present job? _____

Has decentralization affected your job plans? _____ How? _____

How has the school's financial crisis affected your career plans? _____

What do you expect you will be doing in five years? _____

Sponsor-Protege

When did you first decide to become a teacher? Elementary school ()

High school ()

College ()

Graduate School ()

Work after college ()

What person most influenced your decision to become a teacher? _____

How? _____

For specialist teacher or administrator:

You are presently working as a _____ What person influenced
your decision to become a _____? How? _____

(include job title, sex, age, ethnic race, marital status of influential
person)

For everyone:

Has anyone advised you on which graduate school to attend and which program
to enroll in? _____

Did you seek out that advice? _____
(include the job title, sex, age, ethnic race, marital status or advisor)

Occupational Image

Are there teachers in your school who you think are going to become principals?

Why? _____ their age _____ sex _____ race _____ credentials _____ marital status _____
personal qualities and experience _____

Are there teachers in your school who would make good principals but will
never get appointed as principals? Who? Why? age _____ marital status _____
sex _____ race _____ credentials _____ personal qualities and experience _____

Knowledge of Formal and Informal Selection Processes of Administrators

In thinking about your experience in the education system how would you
describe the people who have become principals since decentralization in 1972
and the end of the citywide principals examinations system?

age _____ sex _____ race-ethnicity _____ experience _____ credentials _____
friends _____

How do you think they got their appointments? _____

Sex Typing

Describe the qualities you think an elementary school teacher should have. _____

Describe the qualities you think a principal should have. _____

Role Models

In thinking about your career in education and your career plans have there been any persons you have looked up to and who you have tried to emulate?

"Role models" age _____ sex _____ job title _____
 race _____ marital status _____ Why? _____

Sex Prejudice

Have you ever worked with a female administrator? Yes () No ()

If yes, what was their job title? _____

Do you find it any different working for a female administrator as compared to a male administrator? Yes () No ()

If yes, in what way is it different? _____

Do you prefer working for a male or a female principal? Or doesn't it matter? Please explain. _____

Discrimination

In your career as a teacher did you feel you suffered discrimination because of your sex, race or ethnic background or religion? Please explain.

Do you think there is discrimination based on sex, race, ethnic background, and religion that hinders some teachers from becoming administrators? Please explain and give specific cases you know about. _____

Discrimination

Why do you think only 18 percent of the elementary school principals are female when 84 percent of all elementary school teachers are women? What do you think prevents more women from becoming principals? _____

Do you think there is equal opportunity for all sex, racial and ethnic groups in the New York City school system's staffing policies? Explain. _____

Do you think there is equal opportunity for all sex, racial and ethnic groups in the occupational sector of the total society? Explain. _____

APPENDIX II

Soliciting Letter

Dear Colleague:

I am a doctoral candidate in the Sociology Department of the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York. My dissertation research is concerned with the social factors that affect teacher's aspirations toward and achievement of administrative positions in the New York City elementary school system. I am attempting to interview people who represent important aspects of teaching and administration. I would be most grateful to talk to you about your ideas on this area. Any and all of the information will, of course, be held in the strictest confidence.

An opportunity to talk to you will be of most importance to the success of this research. You are probably extremely busy. In the near future, I will be calling you to set up an appointment to meet with you at a time and place convenient to you. I very much look forward to meeting and talking with you in person.

Very truly yours,

Carol Poll
232 East 89th Street
New York, New York 10028
(212) 876-8592

APPENDIX III

BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
DIVISION OF PERSONNEL AND TEACHER TRAINING-BUREAU OF TEACHERS
RECORDS REPORT ON TEACHER UNDER PROBATIONARY
APPOINTMENT FOR CONTINUED SERVICE¹

Name.....School.....District.....
(Last Name) (First Name) (Initial)

License..... Appointment to Present rank 19...

(Read instructions on reverse side of blank)

PRINCIPAL'S REPORT

	1st Year	2nd Year
Number of times late (Not present twenty or ten minutes before morning or afternoon sessions respectively).....		
Time lost through lateness.....		
Number of times absent.....		
Time lost through absence (number of days).....		

A. PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL QUALITIES

1. Personal appearance.....
2. Voice, speech, and use of English.....
3. Professional Attitude.....
4. Sympathetic understanding of children.....
5. Resourcefulness and initiative.....
6. Evidence of professional growth.....

B. PUPIL GUIDANCE AND INSTRUCTION

1. Effect on character and personality growth of pupils.....
2. Control of class.....
3. Maintenance of a wholesome classroom atmosphere.....
4. Planning and preparation of work.....
5. Skill in adapting instruction to individual needs and capacities.....
6. Effective use of appropriate methods and techniques.....
7. Skill in making the class program attractive and interesting to pupils.....
8. Extent of pupil participation in the class and school program.....
9. Evidence of pupil growth in knowledge, skills, appreciations and attitude.....
10. Attention to pupil health, safety, and general welfare.....

C. CLASSROOM OR SHOP MANAGEMENT

1. Attention to physical conditions.....

¹Year 1965

2. Housekeeping and appearance of room.....
3. Care of equipment by teacher and children.....
4. Attention to records and reports.....
5. Attention to routine matters.....

D. PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

1. Maintenance of good relations with other teachers and supervisors.....
2. Effort to establish and maintain good relationships with parents.....
3. Willingness to accept special assignments in connection
with the school program.....

E. HAS RED CROSS FIRST AID COURSE BEEN COMPLETED?.....Date.....

F. ADDITIONAL REMARKS:.....

Principal's estimate of general fitness.....

Is continued service recommended?.....

.....19..... Signed.....
Principal.....

I have read the foregoing report

.....
(Signature of Teacher

Director's Report

(To be filled out for teachers of special subjects or supervisory teachers)

.....
.....19.....
Director

Assistant Superintendent's Recommendation

.....
.....19.....
Assistant Superintendent

Associate Superintendent's Recommendation

.....
.....19.....
Associate Superintendent

APPENDIX IV

BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF EXAMINERS
110 Livingston Street
Brooklyn, New York 11201

19__¹

Report on Teaching Service

Name of Applicant..... License applied for

Home Address.....

1. Applicant's total experience in your school (s):

(a) as regular teacher.....
(Number of years) (Weeks Each Year) (Hours Per Week)

(b) as substitute teacher.....
(Number of Days Each Year)

(c) in any other capacity.....
e.g., laboratory ass't, librarian, etc. (Nature of work and details
as to period of employment)

2. Places and dates of such teaching experience:

.....From.....to.....	
(No., Name, Address) (Date) (Date)	(Subject or Grades Taught)
.....From.....to.....	
(No., Name, Address) (Date) (Date)	(Subject or Grades Taught)

3. Please set forth in detail, on the reverse side, the applicant's record of attendance and punctuality, indicating the number of days absent and the number of times late during the periods referred to in item 2.

4. If your answer to any of the following questions is "YES," please give the essential details on the reverse of this blank. Has the applicant ever --

(a) failed of reappointment Yes ____ No ____

(b) been discharged from any position as a teacher,
or been asked to resign, or resigned or retired
as an alternative to having charges preferred
against him? Yes ____ No ____

¹Year 1967

- (c) been made defendant under charges before any school authority? Yes _____ No _____
- (d) had any controversy with the principal or other school authorities or with teachers? Yes _____ No _____
- (e) failed to show integrity, self-command, courtesy, regard for democratic ideals, or respect for lawful authority? Yes _____ No _____
- (f) evidenced any physical, mental, moral, or social defect, disability, or weakness? Yes _____ No _____

.....

5. If your answer to either or both of the following questions is "YES," please give essential details on the reverse of this blank.

- (a) Has the applicant ever given evidence of a disloyal attitude toward the government of the United States? Yes _____ No _____
- (b) Do you have any information as to whether the applicant is now or ever has been a member of the Communist Party of the State of New York or the Community Party of the United States of America? Yes _____ No _____

6. Using the scale: 5-"superior"; 4-"good"; 3-"satisfactory; 2-"not quite satisfactory"; 1-"deficient," rate the applicate in the following particulars. If the rating for any item is less than 3, please substantiate your rating in concrete terms on the reverse side of this sheet. If you do not have the information necessary to record a rating of any item, please so state.

- (a) Sympathetic understanding and interest in children. _____
- (b) Capacity for developing character and securing the respect and cooperation of pupils. _____
- (c) Capacity for winning and holding the respect of adults (co-workers, parents, etc.) _____
- (d) Willingness to cooperate with supervisors. _____
- (e) Success in maintaining a satisfactory degree of competence in the instructional activities. _____
- (f) Conscientiousness in the performance of essential duties. _____
- (g) Willingness to render service beyond the minimum required of teachers generally (extra-curricular activities, visiting homes, extra help to pupils, etc.) _____

7. Check the nature of the work to which the applicant was as a rule assigned --

Extremely difficult.....Difficult.....Normal.....Easy.....Very Easy.....

8. Specify on the reverse side any specially strong points or any notably weak points in the applicant's service not covered in the preceding items.
9. Mention any strengths or shortcomings as to character or personality not covered in the preceding items that should be considered by the Board of Examiners before the issuance of license
10. Is the applicant's habitual speech in any way faulty?.....
If the answer is "YES," please give particulars on the reverse of this sheet.
11. Please indicate the basis of your answers to the questions on this blank by a check placed after one or more of the following:
- (a) Your personal first-hand knowledge.....
- (b) Official records or reports on file.....
- (c) Other evidence (explain).....
- 12.. Is this a public institution? Answer Yes or No..... If not, please fill out (a) or (b) below:
- (a) This institution is approved by the Department of Public Instruction of the State of
- (b) This institution has been approved by the following accrediting or standardizing body.....
as of
- (Signature).....(Position).....
- (Institution).....Address.....
- (Date).....

INSTRUCTIONS

1. The principal, upon completing the report after the teacher shall have signed it, will forward it to the Director, if any, or to the Assistant Superintendent, who, after entering his estimate and recommendations, will transmit it to the Associate Superintendent.
2. The following terms shall be used by Principals in rating teachers on this blank: Satisfactory, Unsatisfactory or Doubtful.* The terms Excellent, Good and Needs Improvement may be added in parenthesis.
3. In recording absence and lateness, do not include non-attendance.
4. PENALTY FOR EXCESSIVE ABSENCE

Permanent appointment shall be postdated if a teacher is absent in excess of:

- (a) 10 days for a one year probationary period;
- (b) 20 days for a two year probationary period;
- (c) 30 days for a three year probationary period.

TENURE OF APPOINTMENTS AND OF LICENSES

Section 100 -- Subdivisions 3-7-8 -- By-Laws of the Board of Education.

*NOTE: The rating "D" (doubtful) may be used by principals in the case of a beginning teacher (during the first year of service) whose probationary period will extend MORE than one year.

On both teachers rating sheets notice on how much attention is given to the teachers willingness to "respect" or obey authority. These teacher rating sheets were used every year the teacher is on probation, which lasts three years. After that period the teacher is still subject to the same rating schedule but receives only a small sheet recording if the teacher is Satisfactory or Unsatisfactory.

APPENDIX V

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPAL'S
EXAMINATION ELIGIBILITY BULLETINThe Duties of Elementary School Principals

Eligibility Bulletin (S.329)

September, 1970

DUTIES OF THE POSITION

The duties of the position include such activities as the following:

1. The Principal's Role as Responsible Head and Professional Leader of the School
 - 1.1 To assume major responsibility for effectively carrying out the accepted system-wide policies formulated by the Board of Education and Chancellor and District-wide policies formulated by the local school board and the District Superintendent.
 - 1.2 To assist his superior officers (when called upon) in the formation of educational policies.
 - 1.3 To lead the school in the implementation of basic educational policy and philosophy.
 - 1.4 To budget school time so as adequately to carry out supervision and administration and to promote public relations.
 - 1.5 To encourage group participation in the identification and definition of school problems, and in the development of plans for their solution.
 - 1.6 To work to build and maintain high teacher morale.
 - 1.7 To work for self-improvement.
 - 1.8 To work with a school council of parents, community and staff in order to be aware of their aspirations and to provide leadership and information as to the school program.
2. The Principal's Role in the Organization and Administration of the School
 - 2.1 To be ever aware of, and to maintain the healthful, safe, and efficient operation and maintenance of the school plant.
 - 2.1.1 To provide for fire and civil defense drills.
 - 2.2 To arrange for grouping of children so as to provide for the bright, the normal, the slow, the atypical, the non-English speaking, the intellectually gifted, those gifted in other

respects, the mentally retarded, the physically handicapped, as well as for opportunity classes, junior guidance classes, and health conservation classes.

- 2.3 To provide and supervise special programs for children in need of remedial reading, speech correction, etc.
- 2.4 To organize and administer a modern audio-visual program.
- 2.5 To organize and administer a co-curricular and extra-curricular activities program.
- 2.6 To provide for articulation with the neighboring intermediate or junior high schools.
- 2.7 To encourage a reasonable degree of participation on the part of teachers in formulating school policy in which teachers and pupils are involved.
- 2.8 To encourage participation by Parents Association and/or School Council in activities of school.
- 2.9 To establish and maintain procedures for studying pupils and interpreting regulations for promotion and retention.
- 2.10 To acquaint the staff with the content of official circulars and to implement them.
- 2.11 To maintain adequate and meaningful records pertaining to professionals, para-professionals, pupils, building, textbooks, supplies, equipment.
- 2.12 To utilize effectively services of personnel not directly attached to the school: Bureau of Child Guidance, attendance, district office, doctor, nurse, school lunch program assistants, etc.
- 2.13 To institute and maintain modern, businesslike, efficient office procedures.
- 2.14 To requisition, store, distribute and maintain inventories of books, supplies, and equipment.
- 2.15 To supervise, or to delegate the supervision of, after-school and evening activities.

3. The Principal's Role in the Supervision of the Instructional Program

- 3.1 To secure staff cooperation in the requisitioning of the most suitable textbooks, supplies, and materials of instruction, and in their effective use.

- 3.2 To provide orientation and assistance to new teachers.
- 3.3 To provide leadership and supervisory assistance to all teachers in such areas as: instructional procedures, curriculum-making, special education, special services.
- 3.4 To keep abreast of the best in new professional materials and make them available to teachers wherever possible.
- 3.5 To encourage and facilitate the in-service growth of teachers and educational assistants.
- 3.6 To evaluate: teachers, pupils, courses of study, equipment and materials in the light of accepted objectives, and to recommend changes where needed.
- 3.7 To keep accurate records of supervisory assistance to teachers, recommendations made, and follow-up of such recommendations.
- 3.7.1 To bring to the attention of the proper authorities the teacher whose work remains doubtful or unsatisfactory after repeated efforts have been made to assist her.
- 3.8 To interpret and adapt official curriculum programs and policies in terms of local school needs, and to establish necessary training of the staff to insure their implementation.
- 3.9 To take the leadership in planning staff, grade and group conferences within the school.
- 3.10 To provide for and supervise a student-teaching program.
- 3.11 To provide for and supervise the in-service training of educational assistants, school aides, etc.
- 3.12 To establish a testing and evaluation program.
- 3.13 To establish an effective guidance program.
- 4. The Principal's Role in Building Good School-Community Relations
 - 4.1 To encourage the use of school services and facilities by responsible, interested people and agencies of the community.
 - 4.2 To utilize community resources in implementing, enriching and improving the school program, and to train teachers in doing so.
 - 4.3 To provide democratic and competent direction in assisting the people of the community to cooperate with the school in its efforts to attain worthwhile goals and improve the educational program and in keeping them informed of the work of the school.

- 4.4 To encourage and sponsor a Parents' Association and a School Council.
- 4.5 To cooperate with other agencies in protecting the health, moral well-being, and safety of children.
- 4.6 To recognize valuable resource persons in the community and to interest them in giving of their special talents to the school.

SCOPE OF THE EXAMINATION

The scope of the examination is as follows:

1. A written test which may consist of essay-type questions and short-answer questions relevant to the duties of the position as set forth by the Chancellor and reproduced above.

A rating of "satisfactory" in written English will be required.

2. An interview test to evaluate the applicant's insight into and ability to discuss problems relevant to the duties and responsibilities of a principal of an elementary school, his ability to communicate his ideas effectively, and those aspects of personality as to which an interview test affords a basis for judgment.
3. An appraisal of record (See General Regulations.)
4. A physical and medical test (See General Regulations.)

In the interest of expedition, any part of an examination may be conducted before the rating of a previous part of the examination has been completed or acted upon.

PASS MARKS

The pass marks in the various parts of the examination are as follows:

<u>Part of the Examination</u>	<u>Weight</u>	<u>Pass Mark</u>
Written test	50	60 percent on the weighted average of the written test and the interview test as weighted in Column 2, with a minimum of 50 percent on each of these two tests.
Interview test	50	
Written English		Satisfactory
Appraisal of record		Satisfactory
Physical and medical test		Satisfactory

Elementary School Principals License Exam

PASS MARKS AND SCHEDULE OF WEIGHTS

The pass marks and schedule of weights in the various parts of the examination are as follows:

<u>Part of the Examination</u>	<u>Weight</u>	<u>Pass Mark</u>
Written test	30	60 percent on the weighted average of the written, supervision, and interview tests as weighted in Column 2, with a minimum of 50 percent on each of these tests.
Supervision test	20	
Interview test	20	
Training and experience	30	60 percent
Written English		Satisfactory
Physical and medical test		Satisfactory
Appraisal of record		Satisfactory

Salary: Effective January 1, 1965, \$12,525 to \$12,925 by two annual increments. The Board of Education provides Social Security coverage, in addition to a pension, for its regular employees.

The Board of Examiners

(The salary in 1975-76 was \$28,545 first year going up at intervals to \$29,845 at fifth year.)

APPENDIX VI

SPECIAL CIRCULAR NO. 30, 1972-73¹BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
OFFICE OF THE CHANCELLOR

October 25, 1972

TO: COMMUNITY SCHOOL BOARD CHAIRMEN,
ALL SUPERINTENDENTS,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS, DIRECTORS,
HEADS OF BUREAUS AND
PRINCIPALS OF ALL DAY SCHOOLS

Ladies and Gentlemen:

REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE ASSIGNMENT
OF ACTING SUPERVISORS

These regulations incorporate and supersede regulations contained in SPECIAL CIRCULAR NO. 42, 1971-1972 dated January 17, 1972 and the Supplement to Special Circular 42, 1971-1972 dated May 31, 1972. They set forth required procedures and standards governing the assignment of acting supervisory personnel. They also contain suggested procedures which will help Community School Boards and Central Units to insure that the selection process is equitable and is based on the principles of merit and fitness. Collective bargaining agreements may also contain provisions pertinent to the selection process.

- I. In accordance with the resolution, Assignment of Acting Supervisory Personnel, adopted by the Board of Education on October 6, 1971, the following regulations shall apply effective January 17, 1972 in the assignment of acting supervisory personnel in the city school district when such assignment is for a period of three calendar months or more.*
 - A. This circular is intended to require fair and objective procedures to be developed for selecting candidates where a position is actually being filled. The three month rule is not intended to require full notice and selection procedures in the cases where positions are being filled temporarily (as for sick leave, sabbaticals, etc.). Nor is it intended to rush bona fide selection procedures that may take longer than three months to complete.

¹In effect through 1978.

B. Assignment of persons to supervisory positions on an acting basis in order to fill vacancies temporarily for emergency periods of less than three calendar months may be made by appropriate authorities in accordance with previously established policies and regulations. The temporary filling of an opening caused by the absence of the incumbent on sick leave, sabbatical, etc. may continue to be filled, as in the past, by appropriate local selection procedures and without references to the procedures outlined herein.

C. Assignments made prior to January 17, 1972 and which complied with applicable policies and regulations, and assignments made on the basis of selection processes underway as of that date, are not affected by the regulations contained herein.

*For this purpose, a position shall be declared to be a vacancy when a person leaves a budgeted position permanently as in the case of transfer, resignation, retirement, terminal leave, leave in lieu of sabbaticals, promotion, termination or death.

II. The system of assignment which shall pertain to assignments to vacancies exceeding three calendar months:

- A. Is a process which is subject to continual review and periodic refinement and improvement at both the citywide and the community levels.
- B. Is dependent on consultation with parents and staff at both the citywide and the community levels.
- C. Consists of citywide standards developed and promulgated by the Chancellor as minimum citywide requirements, and community standards developed by the individual Community School Boards and appropriate Central Units (in the case of centrally operated schools).

III. Required Procedures and Standards

A. The following citywide standards shall apply:

- 1. Eligibility. Candidates are eligible if they possess appropriate state certification or if they meet eligibility requirements for the most recent appropriate supervisory examination.
- 2. Public Notice of Vacancy. A minimum of 30 days public notice of the vacancy to be filled is required for the purpose of notifying potential candidates of vacancies and allowing reasonable time for the filing of applications.

- a. The advertisement or notice shall include the eligibility requirements for the position or, if this is not possible because of space, costs or other limitations, a clear indication of the place where the requirements may be obtained.
 - b. The Office of Personnel shall issue circulars listing vacancies to all school heads, Community School Boards and Community Superintendents, and shall also make use of other centrally-issued publications for this purpose.
 - c. All vacancies shall at a minimum be posted centrally by the Office of Personnel at 110 Livingston Street and at 65 Court Street.
 - d. The principal of each school under central jurisdiction shall post all vacancy notices received on the official bulletin board(s) of the school.
 - e. Vacancies shall be posted in each district office as well as in all schools. The posting of all official circulars upon bulletin boards in order to make them available to staff is required under the terms of various collective bargaining agreements.
3. Parent Associations. Assigning authorities shall involve Parent Associations in the selection process in accordance with the policy statement of the Board of Education entitled Parent Associations and the Schools.
 4. Interviews. A minimum of three eligible candidates shall be interviewed.
 5. Selection Criteria:
 - a. shall be developed in consultation with parents, staff and others agreed upon by the Community School Board or Central Unit.
 - b. shall be available in written form after agreement is reached.
 - c. shall be related to job competence.
 - d. shall insure that there is no discrimination because of age, race, creed, color, national origin, sex, union or non-union affiliation, and shall conform to public law.

- e. are intended as a framework for overall use on a district-wide basis. Community School Boards and Central Units may develop additional, specific criteria for individual schools.

6. Written Procedures:

- a. shall be available to the public, on request, after adoption at a public meeting of the Community School Board or, for schools under central jurisdiction, upon approval by the Chancellor.
- b. shall be distributed periodically to Parent Associations, community groups and other interested parties to insure that all are kept apprised of current regulations.

7. Candidates. Each applicant, upon request, shall be informed of eligibility requirements and job descriptions prior to the submission of resumes and prior to the holding of interviews.

8. Equal and Fair Consideration. All persons interested in filling supervisory vacancies whether application is made through transfer procedures, on an acting basis, or, in the case of elementary principal vacancies, as auxiliary principals, shall be given equal and fair consideration by the screening and interviewing committees. In essence, the same procedures shall apply to all candidates for the purpose of fairness.

- B. Community Standards. Community School Boards and appropriate Central Units shall develop written procedures governing the assignment of acting supervisory personnel, which procedures may be modified from time to time. Such procedures and all modifications shall be filed for review with the Chancellor's Advisory Council on the Selection of Acting Supervisory Personnel, and are subject to approval by the Chancellor to ensure compliance with minimum standards and applicable laws, policies and agreements.

Such procedures shall include at least the following:

- 1. General description of procedures and basic criteria to be used in making selections. (Criteria may vary according to the nature of the supervisory position and community priorities, but should include such factors as the candidate's teaching record relative to student growth and achievement; empathy for children and youth; the recommendations of supervisors, peers and students; evidence of community involvement; evidence of ability to translate general community objectives into educational programs; evidence of supervisory ability (in both school and non-school activities); evidence of receptivity to new concepts and ideas, and performance in interviews and such other evaluative processes as may be used.)

2. Description of performance objectives for the position to be filled. Such descriptions shall be made available to each candidate before the interview. (Objectives may vary in number and content according to the nature of the vacant position and community priorities, but should include such objectives as leadership of staff; development of productive and harmonious student-staff relationships; involvement of parents and community in planning, implementing and evaluating educational programs; use of available non-school resources and institutions for educational purposes; provision of varied learning opportunities to meet the individual needs of students; and clarification of staff roles for the purpose of fixing responsibility and accountability.)
3. Description of a performance-based method for evaluating acting supervisors within six months of date of assignment and at least annually thereafter. Such evaluations shall include a fair assessment of on-the-job performance against the performance objectives established for the position. Copies of all evaluation reports shall be provided the supervisor so evaluated. (Evaluation instruments may include such techniques as on-the-job observation by superiors; visits by designated professionals from outside the school or school district; the assessment of peers, parents and students, etc.).

IV. Suggested Procedures for the Selection of Acting Supervisory Personnel

- A. Procedures should include criteria for screening out ineligibles as well as for selecting those who will be given further consideration.
- B. Notification of Vacancy
 1. Notification of the vacancy should be made by the Community Superintendent to the Community School Board, the Office of Personnel and the Parent Association of the school involved.
 2. Notification of the vacancy should be made at the next following public meeting of the Community School Board.
 3. The Parent Association of the school involved should make the announcement of vacancy at the first open meeting following the initial notification of the vacancy or through Parent Association newspapers or flyers.
- C. Developing of Selection Criteria for Specific Vacancy
 1. These criteria should include citywide standards, provide for district-wide needs and relate to specific priorities of the individual school where the vacancy exists. (See Section III above.)

D. Advertising the Vacancy

1. The position should be advertised in accordance with agreements between the Council of Supervisors and Administrators and the Board of Education.
2. Public notice should include the use of centrally-issued circulars, bulletin boards, announcement at open meetings of the Parent Association or through Parent Association newspapers and flyers.
3. This notice should state where applicants may receive a copy of the job description, eligibility requirements, selection criteria and standard application form. It should state the deadline for receipt of applications and where applications should be filed. This information should be made available promptly to all applications and other interested persons, on request.

E. Suggested Additional Media For Use By Community School Districts

1. Newspapers of general circulation, ethnic and local press and other media
2. Civil Service Newspapers: The Chief, The Civil Service Leader
3. Appropriate professional journals
4. Community and school publications, conference notes, PA Bulletins, etc.

F. Recruitment

1. Procedures should be developed for broad and intensive recruitment, including the following:
 - a. Communicating with college placement directors
 - b. Advertising in media other than those outlined in item D. and E. above
 - c. Working through community organizations
 - d. Utilizing professional placement services
 - e. Making use of conventions and conferences
 - f. Utilizing the resources of the Bureau of Educational Staff Selection at Central Headquarters

2. The Community School Board and the Community Superintendent have the right to submit additional names to the selection committee for consideration.

G. Selection Committee

1. The selection committee named by the Community School Board to screen resumes, interview candidates, and make recommendations to the Community School Board should include the Community Superintendent or his designee, representatives of the Community School Board and representatives of the Parent Association of the school involved. When an assistant principalship is being filled, the principal of the school should be included on the selection committee. For other positions, persons employed in schools in which vacancies exist should not be permitted to serve on the selection committee; they may however, be consulted by the selection committee.
2. All applications and other written communications from candidates should be referred to the selection committee.
3. The selection committee should decide which community organizations or students, if any, are to be included on the committee. (See "Parent Associations and the Schools.")

H. Initial Screening Process by Designees of the Community School Board

1. Applicants should be provided confidentiality in all matters related to job applications.
2. The Community Superintendent should review resumes and applications.
3. A check list should be used for the purpose of insuring that minimum requirements are met. (See Attachment A)
4. Resumes should be examined against the established selection criteria.

I. Interviewing Process

1. Written records should be made of each interview (See Attachment B).
2. Following the close of interviews, the selection committee should discuss the merits of all applicants interviewed.
3. The selection committee should recommend at least 3 names to the Community Superintendent.

4. The Community Superintendent should submit the names of finalists to the Central Office of Personnel for a final eligibility check.
5. The Community Superintendent should select from among the finalists and submit his recommendation to the Community School Board.
6. If the choice of the Community School Board is not from among those names submitted by the selection committee, a meeting should be arranged with the committee to discuss the reasons for the Board's choice. This should be done prior to the public meeting at which the Community School Board votes on the matter as required by law.

V. Services Provided by Central Headquarters

Community Boards wishing to avail themselves of assistance provided by the Office of Personnel should contact:

Dr. Gerald Brooks, Director
Bureau of Educational Staff Selection
65 Court Street
Brooklyn, New York 11201

Phone: 596-8060

The Bureau of Educational Staff Selection is available for consultation and advice on the use of advertising media, information regarding vacancies, use of bulletin boards and special circulars, etc.

VI. The Chancellor's Advisory Council on the Selection of Acting Supervisory Personnel shall:

- A. Act as the agent of the Chancellor in providing consultation with citywide groups and representatives on citywide standards and related matters.
- B. Advise Community School Boards and appropriate Central Units, on their request, in the development of community standards or clarification of related matters.
- C. Promulgate model procedures and such other information as may be useful to Community School Boards and appropriate Central Units.
- D. Make recommendations to the Chancellor for improvement of citywide standards.
- E. Make recommendations to the Chancellor regarding the approval of community standards.

- F. Hear and consider such complaints as the Chancellor may direct, and provide the Chancellor with appropriate recommendations.
- G. Periodically review the validity of all procedures.

Very truly yours,

HARVEY B. SCRIBNER
CHANCELLOR

ATTACHMENT ASuggested Check List for Initial Screening by Community Superintendent

COMMUNITY SCHOOL DISTRICT # _____

Position Sought _____ School Where Vacancy Exists _____

Date of Screening _____

Name of Applicant _____ Male _____ Female _____

Complete Mailing Address _____

Date application was received _____

Does applicant meet minimum eligibility? Yes _____ No _____

Teaching experience: No. of years _____

Supervisory experience: No. of years _____

Preparation:

_____ Meets the requirements for the most recent appropriate
supervisory examination._____ Holds a New York State permanent certificate for school
administrators and supervisors.

_____ Possesses Division of Personnel Certificate of Eligibility.

Sample criteria for a specific vacancy should be developed according to the
needs of each school.

_____ Experience on school level of vacancy

_____ Experience with a specific educational innovation

_____ Broad, general experience in different positions

_____ Experience outside the public schools

_____ Educational background commensurate with the job

_____ Participation in professional conferences

_____ Membership in professional organizations

_____Community affiliations

_____Evidence of skill in teaching

_____Evidence of skill in administration

_____Evidence of ability to establish rapport with parents, teachers and
children

ATTACHMENT B

Suggested Interview Record

INTERVIEW RECORD

FOR POSITION AS _____

SCHOOL WHERE VACANCY EXISTS _____ CSB# _____

DATE OF INTERVIEW: _____

TIME: FROM _____ A.M. TO: _____ A.M.

_____ P.M. TO: _____ P.M.

PLACE OF INTERVIEW: _____

A. PERSONAL DATA

1. NAME OF APPLICANT: _____ FEMALE _____ MALE _____

DATE OF BIRTH _____

2. PRESENT POSITION: _____

3. IS APPLICATION ON FILE? YES _____ NO _____

4. TO WHOM WAS APPLICATION SUBMITTED? (NAME AND POSITION)

5. DATE SUBMITTED: _____

6. BASIS ON WHICH APPLICANT WAS CALLED FOR INTERVIEW.

a. AT REQUEST OF SELECTION COMMITTEE _____

b. ON BASIS OF TRANSFER PLAN _____

c. AT REQUEST OF COMMUNITY SCHOOL BOARD _____

d. AT REQUEST OF COMMUNITY SUPERINTENDENT _____

e. OTHER _____

7. Does applicant meet all requirements for position?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, by what standard?

State Certification _____ Appropriate Board of
Examiners' Announcement _____

If no, explain _____

B. Interview Data

1. Members of selection committee present
(Names and positions)

Chairman: _____

Co-Chairman: _____

Others: _____

2. Observers present: _____

3. Recorder (Name and Position)

Is interview being taped? Yes _____ No _____

Now is record of interview being kept?

4. Number of applications scheduled for interview this session: _____

Order of interview of this applicant: _____

5. Other comments: _____

6. Recommended for additional interview. Yes _____ No _____

7. Rejected by vote of _____ in favor

8. Name to be submitted to Community Superintendent for nomination.

Yes _____ No _____

9. Summary of Interviewers' Rating Forms [0] is the lowest rating;
[5] is the highest rating

C. Professional Characteristics

	0	1	2	3	4	5
1. performance record relative to student growth and achievement.						
2. evidence of community involvement.						
3. recommendations of supervisors, peers and parents (has gained the approval and respect of his colleagues and his professional superiors)						
4. evidence of supervisory ability in both school and non-school activities.						
5. evidence of ability to translate general community objectives into educational programs.						
6. evidence of receptivity to new concepts and ideas.						
7. satisfactory performance in interviews and such other evaluative processes as may be used.						
8. evidence of having gained the confidence and cooperation of parents.						
9. demonstrated ability to relate to people from all backgrounds.						
10. evidence of awareness of social, educational, political, economic and urban issues.						
11. commitment to and understanding of high standards of learning.						
12. general philosophy of education.						
13. knowledge of current issues and practices in education.						
14. evidence of professional growth (involvement in professional activities, membership in organizations, attendance at conferences, etc.)						

15. views on patterns of school organization (e.g., Open Classroom, Heterogenous grouping, departmentalization)

D. Personal Qualities

1. empathy for children and youth
2. objectivity
3. critical thinking
4. enthusiasm
5. sense of humor
6. personal maturity
7. warmth and understanding
8. diplomacy
9. flexibility
10. commitment to public education
11. appearance
12. voice and speech quality
13. poise
14. ability to establish rapport
15. ability to defend point of view
16. ability to demonstrate leadership qualities

0 1 2 3 4 5

SUPPLEMENT TO SPECIAL CIRCULAR NO. 30, 1972-1973

BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
OFFICE OF THE CHANCELLOR

January 4, 1973

TO: COMMUNITY SCHOOL BOARD CHAIRMEN, ALL SUPERINTENDENTS, EXECUTIVE
DIRECTORS, DIRECTORS, HEADS OF BUREAUS AND PRINCIPALS OF ALL
DAY SCHOOLS

Ladies and Gentlemen:

REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE ASSIGNMENT OF
ACTING SUPERVISORS

Special Circular No. 30, dated October 25, 1972, applies to all budgeted supervisory positions for which a New York City license exists. The procedures set forth in Special Circular No. 30 are to be used by all district and central headquarters offices in selecting personnel for assignment or for promotion to all supervisory (pedagogical) positions whether the position is located in a school, district office or a central headquarters office.

The transfer plan of the collective bargaining agreement currently in effect is applicable if the supervisory position is located in a school.

Very truly yours,

HARVEY B. SCRIBNER
Chancellor

2nd Supplement to Special Circular No. 30, 1972-73

BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, N.Y.

March 29, 1973

TO: COMMUNITY SCHOOL BOARD CHAIRMEN, ALL SUPERINTENDENTS, EXECUTIVE
DIRECTORS, DIRECTORS, HEADS OF BUREAUS AND PRINCIPALS OF ALL
DAY SCHOOLS

Ladies and Gentlemen:

1. ADDITIONAL CITYWIDE CRITERIA

the following item is to be included among the criteria used city-wide for the selection of acting supervisors (Special Circular 30, III., B., 1.)

Candidates for acting supervisory positions should be aware of the special needs of a typical children and, where possible, make appropriate provisions for the inclusion of such children in regular school programs.

2. INTERPRETATION OF SECTION III A-4 INTERVIEWS AND III B COMMUNITY STANDARDS (to ensure compliance with . . . policies and agreements)

When a sufficient number of candidates apply for an acting supervisory position, interviews by the selection committee may be limited to the ten considered best qualified according to all of the requirements stated for the position. The selection committee shall then recommend at least 3 names to the community superintendent, or for central headquarters' positions, to the assistant superintendent.

Very truly yours,

HARVEY B. SCRIBNER
Chancellor

APPENDIX VII

Males Entry Into Teaching:
Into Historical Context

Males involvement in teaching rose slightly during the depression (from 17 percent in 1929-30 to 22 percent in 1939-40). It dropped to 17 percent by 1944-45 and rose again after World War II in 1949-50 to 21 percent. After 1950 it began a slow but steady increase to its peak in 1973-74 of 34 percent.¹ These nationwide figures include all teaching levels: elementary, junior high school and high school. They reflect the patterns of entry into teaching of the male administrators. The Depression years and the years after World War II (1941-45), and the Korean War (1950-53) and the Vietnam War period 1966-73 were the periods of entry of many of the males. Veterans were able to go to college under the G.I. Bill and during the Vietnam War teachers received a draft deferrment.

The wars directly affected the work histories of twelve of the administrators: four were veterans of World War II, five were veterans of the Korean War, one was in the National Guard and two went into teaching to avoid the Vietnam War drafts. G.I. Bill benefits helped the veterans either finish college (1) or paid for graduate school studies (8). Under the civil service selection system veterans were given an additional ten points. These extra points were frequently significant in helping males pass or score high on the administrative tests because there was a narrow range of grades of all candidates.

¹Howard, 1975, op. cit., p. 47. See Table 1, Appendix VII.

APPENDIX VII-Table-1

TOTAL NUMBER OF CLASSROOM TEACHERS IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND
SECONDARY SCHOOLS, AND PERCENT OF MEN TEACHERS

Year	Total	Men	Women	% of Men Teachers
1869-70	200,515	77,529	122,986	38.7%
1879-80	286,592	122,795	163,789	42.8
1889-90	363,922	125,525	238,397	34.5
1899-1900	423,062	126,588	296,474	29.9
1909-10	523,210	110,481	412,729	21.1
1919-20	679,302	95,654	583,648	14.1
1929-30	854,263	141,771	712,492	16.6
1939-40	875,477	194,725	680,752	22.2
1941-42	858,888	183,974	675,694	21.3
1943-44	827,990	126,672	701,318	15.3
1944-45	826,373	127,102	699,271	15.4
1945-46	831,026	138,209	692,817	16.6
1946-47	833,512	153,297	680,215	18.4
1947-48	860,678	161,913	698,765	18.8
1948-49	878,804	172,720	706,084	19.7
1949-50	913,671	194,968	718,968	21.3
1950-51	944,036	214,966	729,070	22.8
1951-52	963,000	235,000	728,000	24.4
1953-54	1,032,138	253,518	778,620	24.6
1955-56	1,133,903	294,170	838,923	26.0
1957-58	1,237,849	331,663	906,186	26.8
1959-60	1,354,958	392,670	962,288	29.0
1961-62	1,457,964	436,575	1,021,389	29.9
1963-64	1,567,974	487,967	1,080,007	31.1
1965-66	1,710,888	543,768	1,167,120	31.8
1967-68	1,863,967	587,808	1,276,159	31.5
1969-70	2,008,432*	652,586*	1,355,846	32.5*
1970-71	2,062,243*	677,286*	1,384,975*	32.8*
1971-72	2,086,201*	693,738	1,392,463*	33.1*
1972-73	2,108,846*	704,325*	1,404,521*	33.4*
1973-74	2,124,150*	718,014*	1,406,136*	33.8*

Source: 1869-70 through 1969-68 -- Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare; 1969-70, 1970-71, 1971-72, and 1972-73 -- estimates of NEA Research Division (marked with asterisk); Figures for the years before 1969-60 do not include Alaska and Hawaii. (Data from National Education Association, Research Division, April 1973.)

¹Table from Suzanne Howard, "Why Aren't Women Administering our Schools? The Status of Women Public School Teachers and the Factors Hindering their Promotion into Administration," National Council of Administrative Women in Education, 1975, mimeograph, p. 47.

Bibliography

- Acker, Joan, and Donald R. Van Houten. "Recruitment and Control: The Sex Structuring of Organizations." Administrative Science Quarterly 19(June 1974):152-63.
- Agreement Between the Board of Education of the City School District of the City of New York and the Council of Supervisors and Administrators of the City of New York, Local 1, School Administrators and Supervisors Organizing Committee AFL-CIO.
- Agreement Between the Board of Education of the City School District of the City of New York and United Federation of Teachers Local 2 American Federation of Teachers AFL-CIO Covering Day School Classroom Teachers Per Session Teachers, WYNE Teachers, WIN Teachers, WEP Teachers, and Counselors and MDTP Employers, September 9, 1972 to September 9, 1975.
- Alex Nicholas. Black in Blue: A Study of the Negro Policemen. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation in Sociology, New School for Social Research, 1968.
- Angrist, Shirley, and Elizabeth M. Almquist. Careers and Congingencies: How College Women Juggle with Gender. New York: Dunellen Publishing Co., 1975.
- Becker, Howard S. "The Career of the Chicago Public School Teacher," in Sociological Work: Method and Substance. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1977, pp. 165-76.
- Becker, Howard, and James Carper, "The Development of Identification with an Occupation," in Sociological Work: Method and Substance Essays, by Howard Becker. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1977, pp. 189-202.
- Becker, Howard S., and Anselm L. Strauss, "Careers, Personality and Adult Socialization," in Sociological Work: Method and Substance by Howard S. Becker. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books 1977, pp. 245-60.
- Becker, Howard S., and James Carper, "The Elements of Identification with an Occupation," in Sociological Work: Method and Substance by Howard S. Becker. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1977, pp. 177-88.
- Berger, Peter L., and Hansfried Kellner, "Marriage and the Construction of Reality," in Recent Sociology No. 2: Patterns of Communicative Behavior, ed., Hans Peter Dreitzel. London: Macmillan Co., 1970, pp. 49, 72.
- Bernard, Jessie. Women, Wives, Mothers: Values and Options. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1975.

- Blau, Peter M., and W. Richard Scott. Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1962.
- Board of Education of the City of New York, "Facts and Figures, 1975-76 of New York City Public Schools," booklet, 1976.
- Board of Education of the City of New York. "Ethnic Composition of Professional Staff 1970-71 to 1974-75, April, 1976, Statistical Memorandum Number 1," Office of Educational Statistics.
- Board of Education of the City of New York. "How to Secure an Assignment as an Acting Supervisor in the Public Schools of the City of New York. Special Circular 30, 1972-73.
- Board of Education of the City of New York. "Official Directory of the Board of Education of the City of New York": 1950, 1950-51, 1960-61, 1965-66, 1966-67, 1974-75.
- Board of Education of the City of New York. "Records Report on Teacher Under Probationary Appointment for Continued Service," Division of Personnel and Teacher Training Bureau of Teachers, 1965.
- Board of Education of the City of New York. "Report on Teaching Service." 1967 evaluation form.
- Board of Education of the City of New York. "Response of the Board of Education of the City of New York to the November 9, 1976 Letter from the Office for Civil Rights United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare." A report prepared by the Board of Education of the City of New York, April 22, 1977.
- Board of Education of the City of New York. "The Duties of Elementary School Principals." Eligibility Bulletin S.329, September 1970 mimeograph.
- Brenton, Myron. The American Male. Greenwich, Connecticut: Fawcett Publications, 1966.
- Brookover, Wilbur B., and Edsel L. Erickson. Sociology of Education. Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1975.
- Broudy, Harry S. The Real World of the Public Schools. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Janovich, Inc., 1972.
- Burns, Dorothy. Women in Educational Administration: A Study of Leadership in California Public Schools. Unpublished dissertation in Educational Administration for Doctor of Education Degree at University of Oregon, 1964.

- Callahan, Raymond. Education and the Cult of Efficiency: A Study of the Social Forces that Have Shaped the Administration of the Public Schools. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.
- Caplow, Theodore. The Sociology of Work. New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1954.
- Charters, W.W., Jr. "The Social Background of Teaching," in Handbook of Research in Teaching, ed., N.L. Gage. Chicago: Rand McNally, pp. 715-813.
- Cohen, Elizabeth. "Open-Space Schools: The Opportunity to Become Ambitious," in Sociology of Education: A Book of Readings, ed., Ronald M. Pavalko. Itasca, Illinois: F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1976, pp. 332-49.
- Coser, Rose Laub, and Gerald Rokoff. "Women in the Occupational World: Social Disruption and Conflict," in The Family, Its Structures and Functions, ed., Rose Laub Coser, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974, pp. 490-511.
- Dreeban, Robert. Nature of Teaching: Schools and the Work of Teachers. New York: Scott Foresman & Co., 1970.
- Epstein, Cynthia. "Encountering the Male Establishment: Sex Status Limits on Womens Careers in the Professions," in The Professional Woman, ed., Athena Theodore. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Co., Inc., 1971, pp. 52-73.
- Epstein, Cynthia. Woman's Place, Options, and Limits in Professional Careers. University of California Press, 1971.
- Estler, Suzanne. "Women as Leaders in Public Education," in Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 1(Winter 1975):363-86.
- Etzioni, Amitai. "Preface" to The Semi-Professions and Their Organization: Teachers, Nurses, Social Workers, ed., Amitai Etzioni. New York: Free Press, 1969, pp. v-xviii.
- Fantini, Mario. Marilyn Gittel, and Richard Magat. Community Control and the Urban School. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970.
- Frazier, Nancy and Myra Sadker. Sexism in School and Society. New York: Harper and Row, 1973.
- Gerry, Martin H., Director, Office for Civil Rights, "Letter to Board of Education of the City of New York," November 9, 1976, Office of Civil Rights Department of Health, Education and Welfare mimeographed report.

- Griffiths, Daniel E., John S. Berben, Samuel Goldman, Laurence Iannacione, Wayne J. McFarland. "Teacher Mobility in New York City: A Study of the Recruitment, Selection, Appointment, and Promotion of Teachers in New York City Public Schools." Report prepared by Center for School Services and School of Education, New York University for the New York City Board of Education, 1963.
- Gross, Neal, and Anne E. Trask. Sex Factor and the Management of Schools. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1976.
- Hall, Oswald. "The Stages of a Medical Career." The American Journal of Sociology LIII(March 1948), pp. 327-36.
- Havighurst, Robert, and Bernice Neugarten. Society and Education. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1975.
- Hennig, Margaret and Anne Jardim. The Managerial Woman. New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1977.
- Horner, Matina. "Fail: Bright Women," in The Professional Woman, ed., Athena Theodore. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1971, pp. 252-59.
- Howard, Suzanne. "Why Aren't Women Administering Our Schools? The Status of Women Public School Teachers and the Factors Hindering Their Promotion Into Administration." National Council of Administrative Women in Education, 1975. Available from NCAWE, 1815 Fort Meyer Drive, North Arlington, Virginia 22209. Mimeograph.
- Hughes, Everett C. "Career and Office," in Organizational Careers: A Sourcebook for Theory, ed., Barney G. Glaser. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968, pp. 17-20.
- Hughes, Everett C. "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status," in Sociological Theory: A Book of Readings, eds., Lewis A. Coser and Bernard Rosenberg. London: MacMillan Co., 1964, pp. 355-65.
- Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. Men and Women of the Corporation. New York: Basic Books, 1977.
- Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. "Women and the Structure of Organizations: Explorations on Theory and Behavior," in Another Voice: Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science, eds., Marcia Millman and Rosabeth Moss Kanter. New York: Anchor Books, 1975, pp. 34-74.
- Kelley, Harold. "Two Functions of Reference Groups," in Readings in Reference Group Theory and Research, eds., Herbert H. Hyman and Eleanor Singer. New York: Free Press, 1968, pp. 77-83.

- Lazarsfeld, Paul F. "The Art of Asking Why," in Qualitative Analysis: Historical and Critical Essays by Paul Lazarsfeld. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1972, pp. 183-202.
- Lightfoot, Sarah Lawrence. "Sociology of Education: Perspectives on Women," in Another Voice: Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science, eds., Marcia Millman and Rosabeth Moss Kanter. New York: Anchor Books, 1975, pp. 106-43.
- Lipman-Blumen, Jean. "Toward a Homosocial Theory of Sex Roles: An Explanation of the Sex Segregation of Social Institutions," in Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 1(Spring 1976): 15-32, part 2.
- Long Laws, Judith. "The Psychology of Tokenism: An Analysis," in Sex Roles: A Journal of Research 1(March 1975):51-68.
- Lorber, Judith. "Trust, Loyalty and the Peace of Women in the Informal Organization of Work." Paper presented at American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, August, 1975, San Francisco, California.
- Lorber, Judith. "Women and Medical Sociology: Invisible Professionals and Ubiquitous Patients," in Another Voice Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science, eds., Marcia Millman and Rosabeth Moss Kanter. New York: Anchor Books, 1975, pp. 75-105.
- Lortie, Dan C. School-Teacher: A Sociological Study. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.
- Lortie, Dan Co. "The Balance of Control and Autonomy in Elementary School Teaching," in The Semi-Professions and Their Organization: Teachers, Nurses, and Social Workers, ed., Amitai Etzioni. New York: Free Press, 1969, pp. 1-53.
- McPherson, Gertrude. Small Town Teacher. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1972.
- Mason, Ward S., Robert J. Dressel, Robert K. Bain. "Sex Role and the Career Orientations of Beginning Teachers." Harvard Education Review 29(Fall 1959):370-83.
- Merton, Robert K. Social Theory and Social Structure. Illinois: Free Press, 1975.
- Merton, Robert K. "The Matthew Effect in Science," in The Sociology of Science, ed., Norman W. Storer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973, pp. 439-59.
- New York City Administrative Women in Education, 2120 St. Raymond Avenue, Bronx, New York 10462, (212)892-1006.

New York State Education Department, "Amendments to the Regulations of the Commissioner of Education: Pursuant to Section of Education Law." Effective January 1, 1978. Mimeograph.

New York State Education Department. "Article XV Teacher Certificates." Effective September 1, 1969. Includes Section 119(80.4). Certificates valid for Administrative and Supervisory Service.

New York State Education Department Bureau of Educational Data Systems Table, "New York City Percentage of Principals and Teachers by Sex 1967-76." Prepared by Robert J. Scalise, Assistant in Educational Data Systems, September 1976. Unpublished Table.

New York Times. June 13, 1977, May 24, 1978.

Oppenheimer, Valerie Kincade. The Female Labor Force in the United States: Demographic and Economic Factors Governing to Growth and Changing Composition. University of California. Population Monograph Series No. 5, 1970.

Ravitch, Diane. The Great School Wars: New York City 1805-1973, A History of the Public Schools as a Battlefield of Social Changes. New York: Basic Books, 1974.

Recruitment, Leadership Training Institute. "Women in Administrative Positions in Public Education." A position prepared by Recruitment, Leadership and Training Institute supported by U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, June, 1974.

Rodgers, David. 110 Livingston Street Politics and Bureaucracy in the New York City School System. New York: Vintage Books, 1969.

Schmuck, Patricia Ann. "Deterrants to Women's Careers in School Management." in Sex Roles: A Journal of Research 3(December 1975): 339-54.

Schmuck, Patricia Ann. "Sex Differentiation in Public School Administration." National Council of Administrative Women in Education, 1815 Fort Meyer Drive, North Arlington, Virginia 22209, 1975.

Sherif, Muzafer. "The Concept of Reference Groups in Human Relations," in Readings in Reference Group Theory and Research, eds., Herbert Hyman and Elanor Singer. New York: Free Press, 1968, pp. 84-94.

Simpson, Richard L. and Ida Harper Simpson. "Women and Bureaucracy in the Semi-Professions," in The Semi-Professions and Their Organization: Teachers, Nurses, Social Workers, ed., Amitai Etzioni. New York: Free Press, 1969, pp. 196-265.

Smigel, Erwin O. The Wall Street Lawyer. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973.

- Theodore, Athena. "The Professional Woman: Trends and Prospects," in The Professional Woman, ed., Athena Theodore. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1971, pp. 1-38.
- Timpano, Doris M. "Channel Woman Power" to eliminate Sex Discrimination in the Selection of Educational Leaders." Career Women in Education, 65 Central Park Road, Plainview, New York 11803. Unpublished manuscript.
- Timpano, Doris M. "How to Tell if You're Discriminating Against Would-be Administrators and What to Do About It if You Are," in American School Board Journal 63(June 1976):19-24.
- Timpano, Doris M. Chairperson, Commissioner Ambach's Statewide Advisory Council on Equal Opportunity for Women Newsletter, March, 1978.
- United States Department of Labor. "1975 Handbook on Women Workers," Bulletin No. 297, U.S. Department of Labor, Employment Standards Administration, Women's Bureau, Washington D.C., 20210, 1975.
- Waller, Willard. The Sociology of Teaching. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1932.
- Whyte, William H., Jr. The Organization Man. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1957.
- Wittlin, Alma. "The Teacher," in The Sociology of Education: A Sourcebook, eds., Robert R. Bill and Holger Stub. Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1968, pp. 273-87.