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AN EXPLORATORY INTERVIEW STUDY OF RETIRED TEACHERS.

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, PH.D., 1978

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1978
CAREER PATTERNS OF SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS:
AN EXPLORATORY INTERVIEW STUDY
OF RETIRED TEACHERS

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Anne Allyn Rosher Peterson, B.A., A.M.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1978

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"... It seems a safe conclusion that, when the social history of the present-day school is written, the careers of teachers will make up a long and interesting chapter." Willard Waller.

The Research Problem

One of the most astonishing research gaps in the field of education today is the lack of studies which provide information about the career teacher in the secondary school and the manner in which that person's career develops and changes over time.

A career teacher may be defined as an individual who spends all or the majority of his or her working life in the classroom. Such a person would seem to be the typical secondary school teacher; and one would expect that a great deal of information would now exist indicating how the career teacher grows and changes within the occupation of teaching. However, such is not the case. There is no research which indicates when a secondary school teacher is likely to be most productive; or when he or she is likely to be most active in school activities or interested in and able to engage in

Footnotes will be listed at the end of each chapter.
curriculum development efforts. There is no information as to when such a person might need and most benefit from further training or when a change in job assignments and responsibilities would be most beneficial. It is not even possible to define with any precision when and how a teacher becomes "experienced" and masters the teacher role or when and how a teacher concludes his or her career and begins to prepare for retirement.

Despite the lack of information about the teaching career, many individuals both in education and in the public-at-large, continue to write and speak about teachers and their career development as if adequate information were available. Not only are many books and articles written each year which recommend the content and methods of pre-service and in-service education; suggest how teaching might become more professional; and describe the needs, problems, attitudes, and outlooks of "career" teachers; but, many individuals feel free to make assertions about the career teacher that are negative and unflattering. In other words, the information gap with regard to the career teacher and his or her career development has made it possible for people to continue to hold assumptions which may not be valid.

This researcher believes that the information gap can no longer be ignored by educators and that the time has come to follow Willard Waller's suggestion. It is time to begin to write the long overdue chapter on the
careers of teachers. An effort must be made to examine and describe the development of the entire secondary school teaching career so that individuals can come to write and speak with precision about the career teacher and his or her career development.

Problems Which Have Hampered Research on the Teaching Career.

The study of the lifetime secondary school teaching career pattern seems of such obvious value that a researcher cannot help but wonder why no substantial work has yet been done in this field. A review of related literature reveals three significant problems which have hampered research into this topic: (1) the problem of definition (2) the problem of bias and (3) the problem of research methodology.

Each of these problems functions separately, but they have interlocked with one another to limit inquiry into the lifetime teaching career. An examination of each of these problems will help to clarify the assumptions and research perspectives of this study; further, it should demonstrate why insights and methods garnered from the theory and research on career development and adult developmental psychology were used in this study to chart the course of the lifetime teaching career.
The Problem of Definition

Many researchers and observers in the field of education have wondered whether there is in fact a teaching career. Taking the point of view that career implies a sequence of defined steps which offer an individual progressively more responsibility, authority, challenge, and financial reward within some sort of occupational structure, these writers argue that teaching is not a true career at all. The concept of career also implies a sequence of job statuses or job titles which reflect an upward mobility pattern. By contrast, teaching is "unstaged." It does not offer a clear path of upward mobility; nor does the teaching job change over time. The person with one or two years of experience does basically the same thing as the person with twenty or thirty years of experience. Salary does increase with level of experience and education, but, as Lortie and others have noted, school district salary schedules tend to be charted only through the first ten or fifteen years of experience. There is no long-term salary scale that a teacher can refer to as a means of planning his career, even though an experienced teacher can look forward to modest, regular salary increments.

It must be noted that there is no real upward mobility pattern to teaching. An individual teacher can, in some school districts, achieve the rank of master teacher or become the chairman of his department. However,
other ways "up" involve leaving the classroom for the positions of guidance counselor, supervisor, curriculum director or librarian. A person can also elect to move "up" into school administration. The paths upward are paths away from teaching and outside of the occupational structure which teaching implies. This aspect of teaching places it in curious contrast to other careers in business, industry or government. In the absence of clear career ladders, it has been difficult to view teaching in traditional career terms.

Another reason that many find it hard to define teaching as a career is the fact that teaching represents only a temporary occupation for most of the individuals who choose it. Teaching has an abnormally high turnover rate.

Beginning five decades ago with Elsbree's pioneer study of teacher persistence in New York State, efforts made to chart the course of the "typical" teaching career have revealed that most people trained to be teachers will leave the classroom, usually by the tenth year of experience. Estimates vary as to the rate of turnover per year. Gordon, in a review of turnover literature, set the rate at between 7.3 and 17 percent per year. Lindenfeld and Metz and Fleishman set the turnover rate at 8 percent per year. W. W. Charters, Jr. has found that by the fifth year of teaching, the majority of women hired by a school district have left teaching. He estimated that
only 30 percent of all teachers hired within a school
district will remain for five years or more. Several
other researchers have noted the pivotal nature of the
fifth year of teaching. Their data indicates that more
than half of all teachers trained and graduated in any
one year will have left the classroom by that time, and
most of them will never return to teaching.

Constant, massive turnover of trained personnel is
not typical of career-oriented occupations. It is also
difficult to define a ten-year commitment to an occupation
as a career. Career has the implication of long term
commitment and development over time, and, thus it would
seem, that those who argue that there is no teaching
career may be on firm ground.

However, there are individuals who make a lifetime
commitment to teaching and who can be said to make a
career out of teaching. Furthermore, many turnover studies
mask the fact that a substantial number of individuals,
particularly women, re-enter teaching after a period of
time and go on to teach for twenty or more years, certainly
a length of time which qualifies as a career commitment.

This researcher strongly believes that an inquiry
into the teaching career is possible, even if it involves
examining the career patterns of individuals who are a
minority in the teaching profession. For this minority,
teaching is a lifetime career, and it seems a career
pattern worthy of investigation. Perhaps, when we obtain
more information about the development and unfolding of lifetime teaching careers, teacher educators can begin to take steps to stop the wasteful turnover of personnel which now characterizes the teaching profession.

The problem of teaching as an unstaged occupation is a more troublesome one. One could argue that certain careers such as that of physician or lawyer are similar to teaching in that the person continues to do the same sorts of things throughout his occupational lifetime. The financial rewards of these careers as well as the status rewards associated with them do increase more sharply and more obviously than those associated with teaching, but teaching has its hierarchy of rewards too. A teacher can progressively improve his teaching situation through a process of horizontal mobility.

The concept of horizontal mobility was crystalized by Howard Becker in 1952 in a study of the career patterns of sixty Chicago public school teachers. Becker found that he could define career in terms of movement from school to school in a progression of desirability. As a teacher's career unfolded, he would be able to request and receive assignments at schools with better working conditions, better pupils, a better class of people within the community and so on. While teachers might continue to perform exactly the same job, their increasingly improved circumstances of teaching represented a crude career outline.
Although Becker coined the term horizontal mobility, he was not the first to recognize that improvements in the teaching situation represented a measure of success within the teaching career that gave evidence of positive change in the status of the career teacher. Coxe and Soper noted that more experienced teachers tended to be in more desirable school districts. They obtained information from 13,000 teachers in New York State (but not New York City) and found that teachers tended to move from rural schools to small town schools and finally to urban school districts as their careers unfolded. With each move, teachers were likely to receive a higher salary and a reduced or more desirable teaching load. The most "successful" teachers under these circumstances were able to obtain the best teaching positions. Once a teacher reached a desirable teaching situation, he was likely to remain "as long as possible, or until some other occupation calls [him]." Turnover studies also confirm that there is horizontal mobility within teaching. Charters for example, found that larger school districts had lower turnover rates, indicating that many teachers had come to rest in these more desirable teaching circumstances.

Horizontal mobility or improvements in teaching situation can also be charted in other ways. A person can be assigned to teach his favorite subject to his preferred grade level of student. It can imply teaching older, rather than younger students; better, more
It can imply a reduced teaching load or a favorable grouping of subject preparations. Horizontal mobility also implies being assigned to one's "own" classroom, gaining privileges and seniority within a school, being _to avoid unpleasant or routine in-school and/or extra-curricular duties, and being able to arrive later in the morning or leave earlier in the afternoon. The teacher who has managed to maximize the possibilities of his position, may also be granted released time from teaching to assist with certain administrative duties or to order textbooks and audio-visual aids or to redesign aspects of curriculum. It can even mean being assigned to advise the most desirable school clubs.

All these aspects of horizontal mobility within teaching have been noted at various times by educational observers. Many people, used to more traditional definitions of career ladders, might scoff at these various improvements in teaching situation as too petty to be of significance. This researcher believes, however, that these various improvements in teaching situation do represent significant victories within the social world of the school and must be acknowledged as part of a career pattern. When one focuses on improvements in teaching situation, certain career stages do emerge which can be pinpointed and charted across time. No significant study of the aspects of horizontal mobility has been
undertaken since Becker's theory was put forward. This researcher believes that a teaching career pattern can be defined, in part, in terms of gains and improvements within the teaching situation.

The Problem of Bias

Bias against the career teacher has also functioned as a barrier to an inquiry into the course of a lifetime teaching career. The career teacher does not enjoy high regard within the field of education. This situation, more than any other, contrasts teaching to other professions where increased experience on-the-job is correlated with increased status and influence within the profession itself. Career teachers do not win these sorts of rewards and the lack of them may account, in part, for the apparently low motivation to remain in the classroom. Lortie summarizes the dilemma facing those who would like to see the establishment of a strong career commitment among teachers:

...[T]he career system in teaching continues to favor recruitment rather than retention and low rather than high involvement. ... [As a result] a 'natural elite' of highly experienced practitioners is missing.14

The largely negative assumptions about the career teacher are an outgrowth of the conditions which have led to the undefined nature of the teaching career, discussed in the previous section. There are three basic negative assumptions about the career teacher which have caused
researchers to avoid a detailed inquiry into the development of a full teaching career. These are (a) the assumption of failure (b) the assumption of deviance and (c) the assumption of decline.

The assumption of failure

Since the value structure surrounding the evaluation of desirable career patterns places a premium on upward mobility, teachers who leave the classroom and "move up" in some way are applauded, while those who remain in the classroom are assumed to lack normal, healthy ambitions. This pressure to leave the classroom is experienced more often by male, than by female teachers. Robert N. Bush indicates the nature of this pressure:

As matters now stand, the career status of teaching operates more to drive men than women out of the profession. If a woman is still teaching in the classroom at the age of 50, no one raises questions. For a man who still at 50 teaches the third grade, there are those who wonder what is wrong. Why did he not advance into some kind of 'higher' position?15

As teacher turnover studies have indicated, most people who enter the classroom either do not expect to or will not remain in teaching. Male teachers generally leave teaching for a job with higher salary and higher status (such as one in school administration.) Women leave teaching to marry or to raise a family. The curious aspect of these turnover patterns in teaching is not that they exist, but that they are expected to exist and are even encouraged. A "normal" man is expected to leave the
classroom for something "better." A "normal" woman is expected to prefer marriage and children to a long-term career commitment. Presumably, then, only the person who had failed to follow normal expectations would remain a career-committed teacher. As Charters asks:

"Is it not the healthiest and happiest teachers who are most likely to respond normally to the societal forces and leave teaching on schedule?" Lortie further summarizes the situation. He states: "To persist in teaching is, in a sense, to be 'passed over' for higher position or marriage." The aura of failure surrounding the career teacher undoubtedly has made an investigation of the teaching career seem an unrewarding area of study.

The assumption of deviance

Closely related to the issue of failure is the belief that the career teacher has certain deviant traits. As has been noted, the career teacher represents a minority among all teachers, and, thus, in a broad sense, is part of a deviant group. However, the idea of deviance is expanded and enlarged when individuals speculate on the motivations of the career teacher. There is the assumption of sex role deviation among this career-committed group of people which casts a shadow over the teaching profession as a whole.

*Italics added for emphasis.
Although rarely stated in blunt terms, primary and secondary school teaching is a female occupation. This aspect of teaching is reflected in the statistics which indicate that women outnumber men at every level of teaching, with the exception of college teaching. The female nature of teaching is also reflected, perhaps unconsciously, in the tendency of many writers to refer to the classroom teacher as "she" or "her."

Theodore Caplow, in outlining the characteristics of female careers in general, indicates why primary and secondary school teaching has been a predominantly female career:

... [A] woman's occupation must be one in which employment is typically by short term, in which the gain in skill achieved by continuous experience is slight, in which interchangeability is very high, and in which the loss of skill during long periods of inactivity is relatively small. ... [A] woman's job must be one which does not involve the subordination of adult males, or any close participation with male workers doing parallel jobs. ... Finally, it is characteristic of women's occupations that they cannot be effectively monopolized. Some of them demand a high level of general education with little specific training. In others, employment is intermittent and sporadic, or else the elasticity of demand is very great. ... Teaching ... [does] require substantial training, but it is notable that in the absence of fully qualified personnel, untrained teachers ... are readily substituted. ... Well-organized occupations have usually been able to prevent the entry of women. ... The occupations which women are able to enter freely are those which have low prestige and poor working conditions or are associated in some way with home and housework.18

As has already been noted, teaching meets most of these criteria and has long been considered an ideal career for
a woman to follow.

Other characteristics which make teaching attractive to women are the fact that it represents the highest ranking profession generally open to women, although this may now be in the process of changing. Teaching is a respectable middle class occupation which offers security and predictability. A teacher has a comfortable income, attractive working hours, and long vacations, making it an ideal "second career" for a married couple and freeing a woman to attend to her family responsibilities. Finally, the job of teaching conforms to the traditional and accepted female role which involves nurturing and mothering the young, assisting them in their growth and development.

The male teacher is thus in a precarious status position. Not only are "female" careers considered of less value than "male" ones, but since teaching involves aspects of the female role, the man who chooses to remain in teaching casts some doubt on the quality of his masculinity. A male teacher thus deviates from the accepted male role in our society. He embraces a "second rate" occupation and chooses to do "woman's work." Waller has summarized the situation of the male teacher: "School teachers, like negroes and women, can never quite enter the white man's world, and they must remain partial men, except in the society of others, who like themselves, are outcast. School-teacher prejudice is as difficult a thing to combat as negro prejudice."19
Another aspect of deviance associated with school teaching is the assumption that a teacher is not fully adult, does not fully embrace the adult role. This has implications for both men and women teachers and further aggravates the issue of sex role conformity. Again, the male teacher faces more negative role damage. A man is expected to be among other men in the adult world of work and success. A woman's claim to full adulthood is not damaged by her association with children. Indeed, her adulthood is enhanced by that association. There is, however, an element of adolescent immaturity in the teacher stereotype as it applies to men. Again, Waller summarizes commonly held outlooks: "The persons who are happiest... are individuals who have never wholly made the transition from their own adolescence, the college heroes, the football players, the track stars, and the debaters who have never quite forgotten their undergraduate conception of themselves."20

A final aspect of assumed sex role deviance applies to both male and female teachers, and this is the assumption that teachers are asexual individuals. In part, this view of teachers reflects some of the conditions of the occupation which have favored the recruitment and retention of the unmarried female teacher.

During the Depression and through World War II, it was common for a woman's teaching contract to be terminated as soon as she married in order to make her job available
to a male who presumably needed it more. We have noted that turnover among males is very high. Thus, the most persistent teacher has historically been the unmarried female.

Compounding the problem further has been the fact that American society has been characterized by a Puritanical insistence on the secrecy of sexual matters. Teachers were expected to uphold community standards in this regard and to avoid bringing sexual issues to the attention of the young. Teachers have thus reinforced the taboo against sexual discussion at the expense of their own female or male sexuality. As Waller again shrewdly observes: "It is part of the American credo that school teachers reproduce themselves by budding. . . . The community prefers its male teachers married, but if they are unmarried, it forbids them to go about marrying. . . . Women teachers are our Vestal Virgins."21

The assumption that the career teacher is deviant in several significant ways from expected adult and sex role behavior again has made research on the career teacher and the course of an entire teaching career seem unappealing.

The assumption of decline

Since the teaching career has been regarded as an unstaged one, it has been assumed that teachers reach performance mastery at an early point in their careers,
teach for a few years at peak levels, and then either leave teaching for something else or remain in the classroom to enter a period of prolonged decline. Most observers agree that doing the same sorts of things year after year must result in declining interest, boredom, and declining performance among teachers. Although reason alone would suggest that teachers would change in some ways over time and would perceive themselves and their jobs differently as they gained experience, the popular view is that these changes are largely in a negative direction towards decline.

The assumption of decline is also reinforced by studies which report turnover points for teachers. The career line which has evolved from this type of study indicates that most people, whether male or female, spend only a part of their working lives in the classroom. By pinpointing the turnover years, which occur fairly early in the teaching career pattern, these studies indicate the potential for an early and prolonged decline among those who choose to remain or have no choice but to remain in teaching for a lifetime career. Since turnover generally occurs by the tenth year of teaching, the assumption is that the majority of any career which lasts longer will be spent in a state of declining or perhaps spent performance.

Another aspect of this assumption of decline is the fact that Americans in general do not revere the aged but
rather place a great premium on youthfulness. One of the most negative attributes associated with older people in general is that of increasing conservatism, a tendency to hang on to old ways of doing things and to resist change or innovation.

This form of conservatism has long been associated with the teacher stereotype. Waller once again cannot resist adding to the negative image of the career teacher when he notes: "The older teacher . . . has achieved through age that ossification of the mind and social inflexibility which are of such value in getting one's way with the young." As an agent of socialization, the teacher is expected to reinforce and inculcate the values of the community rather than to serve as a change agent among young. This has long been an accepted aspect of the teacher role. Conservatism permeates the school, and teachers are participants in a system which values passing along the insights of history and cultural tradition to the young.

In this researcher's opinion, many critics of the school and of teachers have ignored the institutional function of education. They have preferred to see the school as an agent of change, confusing the effects of education with the process of becoming educated. This trend was particularly strong during the 1960's and early 1970's in American education when the career teacher's image appeared to reach a new low. The writings
of such educational reformers as John Holt, Jonathon Kozol, Paul Goodman, and Charles Silberman did a great deal to discredit the career teacher while making the long-term teaching career synonymous with a negative teacher stereotype. These writers reported their observations of the declining urban public school systems of Boston, Chicago, and New York. They deplored, often with justification, the narrow, bureaucratic orientation of these systems and called for educational reform. Each of these writers cited examples of veteran teachers in the various systems they had observed who exhibited insensitivity towards students, ineptness, and even cruelty in the course of performing their teaching duties. On the basis of several choice examples, all experienced teachers faced condemnation. Many school officials saw the solution to many of their school's problems in the hiring of youthful, new teachers who would bring with them energy and a drive toward innovation. This preference for the young, inexperienced teacher often did result in improved teaching environments in urban schools, but the unreflective assumption that experience was synonymous with declining performance did serious damage to efforts to build a genuine profession of teaching. Research studies concerning teachers often embodied negative assumptions about them as premisses and high turnover was encouraged rather than being seen as a source of concern among educators.
Some typical views of veteran teachers are expressed in the following quotations:

The last couple of years I've refused to take any experienced teachers, not because I don't need them but because they wouldn't fit into what we wanted to do. They were too traditional. So there are some hang-ups by taking only new people. We lose them. They're always getting pregnant, and many new teachers aren't really teachers. But I just made up my mind I prefer having a young person who is willing to change, to be innovative. The experienced teachers who can 'do the job' are dedicated to teaching the skills, without recognizing that they have to open the doors first. You have to get children to open up, to be secure, to have a good image, to love you. Magic things happen to people through love. You'd do almost anything for a person you admire and love and respect, so—why not do that? Doing the job in a traditional way has been a failure here.

Alfred Aliello, Principal, Cleveland, Ohio. 27

I don't mean that all the teachers are reactionary. Some of them are very dedicated. But there are two types of dedicated teachers: those who get frustrated and quit, and those who stay in and quit.

Cecil Whiting, Jr. Teacher, Cleveland, Ohio. 28

Thus, it is evident that the negative views of the career teacher expressed in the assumptions of failure, deviance, and decline have made a fresh and open-minded inquiry into the nature of the teaching career and the way that it unfolds appear unattractive to most researchers. Given the unappealing stereotype of the career teacher, it has seemed natural to allow to continue and even to encourage the system of teacher recruitment and utilization which has resulted in the selection of only a minority of individuals for a lifetime teaching career.
The Problem of Research Method

A final problem which has hampered inquiry into the development of the secondary school teacher's career has been the lack of an effective research method.

Mention has already been made of the teacher mobility studies, and, in particular, the work of Howard Becker, which have provided a framework for studying the external changes associated with the teaching career. Career development also implies internal changes in the attitudes and outlooks of an individual as he or she develops and grows within an occupation. To date, information about the internal career development of teachers has had to be inferred from studies which compare the attitudes and outlooks of a group of beginning teachers with those of a group of experienced teachers. Such studies are suggestive of the types of changes which may take place within an individual as he or she pursues a teaching career, but they also present several problems which must be considered before their results are accepted uncritically. Furthermore, many of these studies have had the unfortunate effect of adding to the already negative view of the career teacher.

Typically, the design of studies which have sought to determine the ways in which teaching causes inner changes in an individual are conducted in one of the following ways: (1) a group of "experienced" teachers
(variously defined) are surveyed or tested to determine their personal characteristics (2) the attitudes, outlooks or personality traits of experienced teachers are measured by some form of standardized instrument and then compared with the results from the same instrument of a group of pre-service or beginning teachers or (3) a group of teachers is identified and tested at the pre-service level of teaching and then contacted at intervals and retested in order to determine how teaching experience "changes" them. This latter is a longitudinal study which provides the most reliable information about how teaching changes an individual. However, such studies are expensive and difficult to complete within the lifetime of one researcher, making them a relatively rare form of research.

Studies which explore the attitudes and outlooks of experienced teachers represent a significant literature in the field of education, but they have the following drawbacks: (a) they have different definitions of experience; (b) they suffer from the problem of selective bias; (c) they use a wide variety of research measures and instruments; (d) they are inconclusive and; (e) they lack a developmental perspective which would place the teaching career within the context of career and life development. Let us turn to a brief examination of each of these.
Different definitions of experience

This problem is a persistent one with regard to research that attempts to describe "experienced" teachers. Some researchers regard an individual with only three years of experience as "experienced," reasoning that such a person has mastered the fundamentals of teaching and has begun to feel at ease in the classroom and within the school. Others use ten or more years of teaching experience as their criterion for an experienced teacher. Since teacher turnover studies reveal that individuals who have remained in teaching for ten or more years are the most career-committed, this researcher has felt that greater confidence can be placed in studies which define the experienced teacher as a person with ten or more years of teaching experience.

The problem of selective bias

Particularly in studies which attempt to determine how job morale among teachers changes over time, there is a problem with selective bias. As teacher turnover studies again indicate, individuals are likely to leave teaching in large numbers during their first ten years of experience. Not surprisingly, then, more experienced teachers appear to have higher levels of job satisfaction when they are surveyed. This is probably because individuals who were less satisfied or committed to teaching leave early in their careers, while those who
have been more "satisfied" (however that is defined) remain in the classroom. Real job satisfaction may not increase over time, but the number of people left in teaching after ten years who are dissatisfied with their jobs is likely to decrease. Thus, it is likely that many job morale studies represent surveys of a self-selected group of satisfied teachers.²⁹

Different instruments

The problem of different research tools which yield different perspectives on the same problem is characteristic of research in education in general. Various research instruments have been used to measure the same phenomena. It is conceivable that this overlap of instruments and measures will continue for some time to come, making it difficult to compare research efforts within the field of education and to evaluate individual research studies.

Inconclusive results

The problem of inconclusive results also reflects the immature state of educational research. In the case of studies of experienced teachers, this problem has resulted in conflicting images of the experienced teacher and conflicting interpretations of the same basic data. Some examples should illustrate this problem.

Yuskiewiez and Donaldson³⁰ surveyed 910 teachers in six Pennsylvania school districts regarding their level
of satisfaction with teaching and their attitudes about the best way to discipline students. They found that teachers with five or more years of experience (which was their definition of the experienced teacher) had a more custodial rather than humanistic outlook regarding pupil control. Edelman and Furst, on the other hand, in a study of 175 teachers at three different levels of experience, found that first and second year teachers tended to be more punitive toward misbehaving students than were the more experienced teachers groups (i.e., those with six or more years of teaching experience).

In an attempt to determine whether and when teachers become "conservative," Ryans surveyed more than 6,000 teachers in larger school systems across the United States in a five-year study. He found that teachers who were fifty-five years of age or older were less understanding, friendly, imaginative, and innovative than were their younger colleagues. He also found that teachers with twenty or more years of experience were more traditional and subject-centered. This group more often reported that they liked students less than did less experienced teachers. Griffiths, on the other hand, in an interview study of 1025 public school teachers in New York City with thirteen or more years of experience, found that older, more experienced teachers were more pupil-oriented than younger teachers.
Kuhlen and Kuhlen and Dipboye surveyed both pre-service and in-service teachers and found that the career-committed teacher, whether male or female, exhibited a high need to nurture young people and a low need for career advancement. They also found that the career teacher was concerned with being a good teacher, rather than with "getting ahead." Other personality traits, such as level of intelligence, did not distinguish the teacher group from other occupational groups or the persistent teacher group from those who were likely to leave the field. By contrast, Jackson and Guba administered Edwards' Personal Preference Schedule to 366 suburban public school teachers in the Chicago metropolitan area with ten or more years of teaching experience and reported:

From the standpoint of need structure the qualities which seem to characterize teachers as a group are their high deference, orderliness, and endurance and their low exhibition and heterosexuality. These characteristics appear to fit the stereotypic model of the teacher as sexually impotent, obsequious, eternally patient, painstakingly demanding and socially inept—the stereotype which is frequently portrayed in the mass media.

These examples of contrasting views of the experienced teacher could be presented indefinitely. However, they establish the fact that research on experienced teachers is inconclusive and that attempts to determine the qualities of the experienced teacher in the ways used to date are unsatisfactory. A wholly new research perspective clearly needs to be evolved.
Lack of a developmental perspective

As has been mentioned, most of the research in the field of education is of a cross-sectional nature; that is, a group of individuals are surveyed, tested or observed at one point in time. Very little research has been undertaken from a longitudinal point of view. However, the insights from various longitudinal studies, particularly in the field of adult developmental psychology, provides a valuable developmental perspective on the unfolding of a career pattern as well as the internal changes associated with aging. While longitudinal research may not be feasible, research which takes a developmental perspective would be useful in determining how and why teachers at different levels of experience have changed and feel the way they do. Very few studies of teachers have taken this perspective. Bernice Neugarten summarized this problem with regard to the teaching career and other careers when she wrote: "... there have been relatively few empirical studies in which the work career has been viewed as a whole, or in which the changing relations between the work role and other life roles have been seen from the perspectives of the life cycle.""38

There is growing evidence that all careers follow a common sequence of development which is tied to the process of adult development and aging. The teaching career (and other careers) are part of the broader life
career of an individual which in turn appears to have distinct stages of development. The theory and methods of research in career development and adult developmental psychology permit an exploration into careers like teaching which develop without dramatic change or apparent breaks or steps. Even if the role performance of a teacher does not change over time, it seems likely that a teacher will perceive himself and his job differently as time progresses and will perform his job differently in some way or another as a result. Studies of teacher mobility provide some evidence that this is in fact the case. Such studies cover the first one-third to one-half of the lifetime teaching career, and yet they provide evidence that there are years of commitment, re-evaluation, and recommitment to teaching which appear to fall in a common pattern for all teachers during their first years on the job.

If job performance and attitudes are interpreted with reference to life stages, rather than to external changes in occupational status, salary, or other more traditional signs of career advancement, different aspects of the teaching career could be revealed. Furthermore, it is likely that when the careers of teachers are viewed within the context of normal life development, some of the assumed negative qualities of teachers could disappear. For example, the issue of whether teachers become more conservative with age seems less critical when it is discovered that all people in all occupational groups
tend to become more conservative in their outlooks as they age.

Thus, a central assumption of this study has been that the methods and insights from the fields of career development and adult developmental psychology could be used as a framework within which to view the course of the teaching career.

To summarize this sub-section, there is a need to chart the internal as well as the external changes which are associated with career growth and development. To date, research which has focused on the experienced teacher has not been successful in accurately gauging such changes. This represents a problem of research method which includes the problem of defining when a person becomes an experienced teacher; which persons constitute a representative teacher group; which instruments are the best measures of teacher characteristics; and which research results to date are accurate. Finally, there is the problem of perspective. In the absence of longitudinal research, the results of cross-sectional studies of teachers can be interpreted with reference to the research in adult developmental psychology in order to reveal certain stages of career development among secondary school teachers which more traditional measures of career development have obscured.

In this section it has been argued that problems of definition, bias, and research method have hampered
research concerned with charting the course of the entire secondary school teaching career. Two complementary research perspectives have been suggested in this section which could be used to chart both the external and the internal changes associated with career development in teaching: Howard Becker's concept of horizontal mobility seems a useful way of viewing external career development; while the perspectives offered by the research and theory of career and adult development seem the best ways to describe the internal developmental changes of the teaching career.

Description of the Study Completed

This researcher determined to use the perspectives of horizontal mobility, career development theory, and adult developmental psychology to define and study the secondary school teaching career. While a longitudinal study would have been the best method of approach; this form of research would have been unfeasible for the purposes of this dissertation. A cross-sectional retrospective approach, utilizing as subjects former secondary school teachers who had completed a full teaching career, seemed the best alternative research method.

From August through October of 1977, this author interviewed fifty retired secondary school teachers (twenty-three males and twenty-seven females) residing in Franklin County Ohio, in order to obtain from them information about how
teaching careers unfolded. This group of retired teachers was able to look back over and recall a full teaching career. The average length of the teaching career for persons in this study was slightly less than forty years per person.

In the chapters which follow, there will be a review of the literature of career and adult development which served as a framework for this study; a detailed description of the research method employed and the subjects utilized in this study; a presentation of the results of the fifty face-to-face interviews; and a discussion of the implications of the research findings with suggestions for further research related to the teaching career of the person who elects to spend all or most of his or her working life in the classroom.

Goals of This Study

The following is a list of the research goals of this study:

(1) To obtain information about the phases of the teaching career and to relate the stages of career development to specific ages and levels of experience.

(2) To obtain information about the horizontal mobility patterns of career teachers.

(3) To discover and describe the life cycle of teaching and teachers.

(4) To identify common turning points and feeling states associated with various stages of the teaching career.
(5) To obtain information about the difference between male and female teaching career development.

Value of This Study

This researcher believes that a study of the career patterns of teachers will provide information which can be used in four ways: (1) to help to develop a profession of teaching (2) to help stop teacher turnover (3) to help to counter the negative image of the career teacher and (4) to help the prospective teacher make an informed career choice.

Professional Development

Information about the total teaching career can help to develop a profession of teaching by helping teacher educators set realistic training goals. The levels of performance of pre-service teachers can be more realistically formulated if the overall secondary school teaching pattern is known. Similarly, more effective programs of in-service education can be developed and offered at the appropriate times during a teacher's career so as to insure continued positive development.

Stop Teacher Turnover

The wasteful nature of high teacher turnover has been noted previously. Not only do we need to develop a group of experienced master teachers, but the teaching profession
must stop condoning the "natural" attrition of individuals trained to be teachers. An understanding of the career pattern could help to identify turning points and period of re-evaluation common to teachers of a certain level of experience. These periods could then be planned for and efforts made to counsel and train teachers to remain in the field.

Image of the Career Teacher

A study of the entire teaching career can hopefully combat some of the stereotyped notions of the career teacher which are found in education. These individuals may be found to have traits and behaviors which make them admirable individuals rather than conservative, unambitious "failures" such as they now appear to many. An enlightened view of the teaching career could also help to elevate the status of the career teacher. This person could come to be accepted as an expert and be made a positive role model within the field of teaching, someone able to help less experienced teachers master their occupation and grow and develop within it.

Informed Career Choice

The person who is considering becoming a teacher should find information about the likely career development he can expect in teaching of great value before making his final choice. If a person has adequate information
in advance of career choice, he is likely to make a more informed choice that will result in a more powerful commitment to the field of teaching.

Each of these aspects of information about the teaching career could make this study a valuable one.

Let us turn now to a review of the literature concerned with career and adult development across the life cycle.
FOOTNOTES


11. Ibid., p. 23.


Lortie, *School Teacher*, p. 89.


Ibid., p. 60.

Ibid., p. 45.

Ibid., p. 215.


Ibid., p. 272.


Daniel E. Griffiths and others, Teacher Mobility in New York City. (New York: Center for School Services and Off-Campus Courses, School of Education, New York University, 1963).

Raymond Kuhlen, Career Development in the Public School Teaching Profession. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Institute of Research, 1959).


Ibid., p. 189.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The crises and turning points of life are not entirely institutionalized, but their occurrence and the terms which define and help to solve them are illuminated when seen in the context of career lines. In so far as some populations do not have careers in the sense that professional and business people have them, then the focus of attention ought still to be positional passage, but with domestic, age and other escalators to the forefront.

Howard S. Becker and Anselm L. Strauss.

Developing Perspectives for Studying the Teaching Career

As was noted in the previous chapter, many researchers have doubted that the teaching career presents an identifiable career pattern for study. A career implies a sequence of different occupations, jobs or positions throughout a person's working life, but the teacher with one or two years of teaching experience appears to do the same things as the person with twenty or more years of experience. There is, in other words, no changing sequence of jobs to study in order to define a teaching career since there is no change in role or role performance over time.

Howard Becker disagreed with the idea that no career pattern could be discerned in teaching. He suggested that the teaching career can be described in
terms of improvements in job situation over time. He noted that teachers do not change their basic job status or their role performance and thus "move up" an occupational ladder, but that they do move horizontally to different schools in order to improve their teaching circumstances. These external changes in the teaching career have been documented and constitute one aspect of the overall career pattern which will be investigated in this study, but to use only the evidence of horizontal mobility as a means of describing the teaching career seemed too narrow a perspective to this researcher. Another way of seeing the teaching career was needed in order to reveal other changes of teacher role performance over time. Some way had to be found, in other words, to shape the otherwise "unstaged" teaching career into stages of some sort, since it seemed logical to assume that while teacher role performance remains the same, the persons performing the role of teacher do change in some ways over time.

The solution to this research problem came in the form of the research in the field of adult developmental psychology. Since the 1920's, several individuals have been studying the course of the entire life span in order to define stages of adulthood with the same precision as the stages of childhood and adolescence which have already been developed. The life course of both males and females has been studied, and it is now possible to
view the course of the human life from conception until death. The period from age twenty through age sixty-five has not been fully charted, however. Only a handful of researchers have begun to inquire into how the stages of adulthood unfold. The results of all developmental research to date indicate that a person undergoes a series of normal and predictable phases of development, moving in fairly regular sequences from childhood to young adulthood through middle adulthood until older adulthood and death. These stages of development have physical as well as psychological attributes and present changes in outlooks and behavior which occur at approximately the same ages for all people as they continue the process of structuring and restructuring their lives throughout the life span.

It was this researcher's idea, in the absence of other frameworks of study, to superimpose the arbitrary stages which have emerged from the research on adult development onto the otherwise unstaged teaching career in order to determine the ways in which the process of adult development affects the performance of the teacher role.

Thus, for the purposes of this study, the secondary school teaching career will be described from two broad perspectives: (1) as a sequence of changes in the external aspects of the teaching situation—which includes Becker's idea of horizontal mobility—and (2) as a sequence of changes which occur internally and which are reflected in
changed attitudes, outlooks and values related to different stages of adult development, as these stages have been defined to date, and which would be reflected further in varying levels of reported job commitment and performance throughout the course of the teaching career.

Research in the area of adult development has been undertaken from several points of view, three of which will be discussed in this chapter and used to build the framework for studying the teaching career reported in this dissertation: (1) general stages of adult development; (2) career development within adulthood; and (3) the impact of the family cycle on adult and career development. A section of this chapter will be devoted to a discussion of the theory and research relative to each of these topics. The final section of this chapter will include a description of the only study known by this researcher to have been done of the teaching career using an adult developmental perspective and will show how this perspective can be extended using studies of teacher turnover and teacher job satisfaction to begin the process of sketching the outlines of the teaching career.

**General Stages of Adult Development**

Attempts at defining broad stages of development in adulthood began in the 1920's with the work of Charlotte Bühler and her associate Else Frenkel-Brunswik. Using the biographies of prominent individuals, as well as
interviews with people of varying ages, these women were able to identify five life stages which they saw organized around the problem of goal-setting and self-determination. Their five stages combined the reproductive cycle with a general growth cycle. Stage I (0 - 15 years) was the pre-goal setting period. Stage II (15 - 25 years) was the period of tentative goal setting. Stage III (25 - 45 years) was the period when a person implemented his/her life goals. They saw this period as the most productive in a person's life and also the one associated with the most reported happiness. Stage IV (45 - 60/65 years) was characterized by reorientation and re-evaluation of life goals in the face of beginning declines in levels of productivity, energy and health. The final stage began between the ages of sixty and sixty-five. During Stage V, a person makes a final reassessment of his/her life, experiencing it as fulfilled or as a failure. This life assessment allows the person to put his or her life in perspective and make the necessary psychological preparation for the end of life and the transition into a future life of some kind.

The work of Bühler and Frenkel-Brunswik has been enormously influential in the field of adult developmental psychology. The basic life outline which they suggested has been used by most other researchers in the field, although some have preferred to take slightly different perspectives on adult development, while others
have preferred to focus on only one or two of the stages.

Erik Erikson in his book *Childhood and Society* focused on the psychological tasks which he felt were associated with different stages of life. He outlined eight stages of human growth, three of which refer to adulthood. According to Erikson, each stage of life presents a person with two basic options, one of which leads to further growth and development, and the other of which represents an unsatisfactory way of mastering the psychological task. The three adult stages present the following conflicts: Stage 6 - Intimacy vs. Isolation; Stage 7 - Generativity vs. Stagnation; and Stage 8 - Ego integrity vs. Despair.

As Erikson, and his interpreters see it, Stage 6 occurs in early adulthood (ages 18 to 26) and involves the decision to become committed to one person, to marry that person and begin a family. Stage 7 presents the challenge of generativity and implies the accomplishment of such tasks as marriage, parenthood, and the choice and successful pursuit of a career. This stage also implies that a person find an on-going focus of creative productivity which will insure his continued psychological growth. This stage corresponds to parts of both Stages III and IV in the Bühler/Frenkel-Brunswik scheme. Erikson's Stage 8 confronts the individual with the task of coming to terms with the process of aging and the certainty of his death. This is the task of achieving
ego integrity which involves "the acceptance of one's one and only life cycle as something that had to be and that, by necessity, permitted of no substitutions. . . . It is a comradeship with the ordering ways of distant times. . . ." The alternative to ego integrity is despair, the feeling of having failed in life, and this despair results in the fear of death because it makes a "second chance" impossible. Erikson's Stage 8 is thus remarkably similar to Stage V of Bühler and Frenkel-Brunswik.

Several researchers have focused more closely on the years from twenty until sixty-five in an attempt to define life stages and the psychological orientations associated with them.

Daniel Levinson, a student and associate of Else Frenkel-Brunswik, interviewed forty men in four occupational categories (hourly workers, business executives, novelists, and research biologists) beginning in January of 1969. He and his associates conducted follow-up interviews with each man until 1973. The men in his group were between the ages of thirty-five and forty-five when they were first interviewed. Levinson asked each of his subjects to recall the outlines of his life, utilizing a biographical approach developed by Erikson. Based on his research and on the insights of other researchers, Levinson sees three broad eras of adulthood: early adulthood (ages 18 to 40/45); middle adulthood (ages 40/45 until 65) and late adulthood (age 60/65 until
death). His work focused on the first two stages of adulthood.

Each stage of adulthood involves periods of stability, which Levinson labels "structure-building," and periods of transition, which he calls "structure-changing." There is thus a rhythm of decision-making, implementation of decisions, structuring, and reevaluation of decisions, restructuring, and change which occur within each era of adulthood in fairly predictable sequences. Levinson stresses that he and his associates did not plan to find the uniformity of life stages which they did. However, changes in outlooks, attitudes and behavior which were remarkably uniform were reported by each occupational group interviewed.

Levinson places a great deal of emphasis on the period from ages 40 to 45 which he labels the Mid-life Transition period. During this time, a man enters middle adulthood and prepares himself to assume new responsibilities within his job and his family. In contrast to the work of his mentor, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson sees the period from age 45 until 60 as one of high productivity and performance. This is middle adulthood and is the prime of a man's life, rather than an era of decline. The Mid-life Transition, however, involves a reorientation of values. During this period, a man's children have ordinarily reached adolescence and are preparing to leave home. His wife is faced with adjusting to a new role
within the family and within the marriage. His parents may be aging and require his care. His former dependence on them is reversed, and, often, he becomes responsible for their well-being. A man by the age of 40 has usually achieved his career goals and has achieved a position of prominence. He then begins to reexamine his goals, deciding which paths he will follow in the years to come. Often, a man becomes less concerned with money and success after the Mid-Life Transition. He begins to look within himself and become more aware of his emotions and those of others. Of key importance during this time, is the ability and willingness of a man to help other people accomplish their life goals. This involves becoming a mentor to other, younger individuals. Levinson found that many men in his sample reported having had a mentoring relationship that had sustained them and helped them to grow during early adulthood. These relationships were of short duration (three to five years) and resulted in the internalization of the values and habits of the mentor in the younger adult. The issue of mentoring is of key importance in a study of the careers of teachers, individuals who have chosen to become permanent mentors. According to Levinson, a man is only able to be an effective mentor once he has passed the Mid-life Transition:

If a man has had good enough mentoring, and if he can resolve some of the basic polarities of the Mid-life Transition, he will gladly take on greater responsibility for furthering the development of
young adults. A young man in his thirties may do an excellent job of teaching, supervising, and guiding younger persons. To be a mentor in a deeper sense, however, he must first have done the work of the Mid-life Transition.

* * * * * * * * *

Mentoring utilizes the parental impulse, but it is more complex and requires some degree of mid-life individuation. As he gains a stronger sense of self and of his own continuing development in middle adulthood, a man is more able to foster the development of other adults.

There is a measure of altruism in mentoring—a sense of meeting an obligation, of doing something for another being. But more than altruism is involved, the mentor is doing something for himself. He is making productive use of his own knowledge and skill in middle age. He is learning in ways not otherwise possible. He is maintaining his connection with the forces of youthful energy in the world and in himself.7

Levinson's study ends with the successful completion of the Mid-life Transition among his interview sample. He thus provides a clearer view of the years from age twenty to age fifty. A weakness of Levinson's study, which he acknowledges, is its exclusion of women whom Levinson feels follow a different life development pattern by virtue of their roles as wives and mothers. A man's career is the focus of the majority of his adult energies prior to Mid-life; while a woman may have a career along with the responsibilities of wife and motherhood.

Roger Gould8 of UCLA surveyed 524 white, middle class individuals who had been associated with the University of California at Los Angeles psychiatric outpatient clinic. These individuals were asked to provide biographical details of their lives. Their responses were categorized according to the life concerns which seemed to dominate their outlooks.
at different periods. Gould's data parallel Levinson's. Early adulthood is characterized by leaving home, establishing one's own family, choosing a career and concentrating on becoming competent in the everyday world. This era lasts until age twenty-nine or thirty. Gould also uncovered a period of transition, self-reflection and questioning beginning around the age of thirty and lasting for three to five years. During this period, the economic demands of having a young family, buying a house and other items make money a major concern. After a person has established himself, there is a period of crisis which is similar to Levinson's idea of the Mid-life Transition. This period lasts until age forty-three on the average, and is followed by a period of stability, self-acceptance and new productivity. At age fifty, a person begins to notice a decline in energy and performance, but the period from fifty until sixty is one of mellowing. A person generally feels a sense of accomplishment at the same time that he becomes aware that time is "running out." Gould's information carries us through age sixty, the end of middle adulthood and the beginning of Bühler's and Frenkel-Brunswik's Stage V.

Gail Sheehy, a journalist, attended several lectures given by Gould in the early 1970's. She became interested in the stages of life development and conducted her own research effort in order to determine the structure of adulthood. Sheehy interviewed 115 upper-middle class and upper class individuals of various ages and was able to
identify five adult stages between the ages of eighteen and fifty: \(^9\) (1) "Pulling Up Roots" (ages 18 to 22); (2) "The Trying Twenties," during which an individual makes several decisions which will have life-long consequences, such as the choice of a mate, the decision to have children, and the choice of a career; (3) "Catch 30," a transitional period lasting from the late twenties until the age of thirty-two or thirty-three; (4) "Mid-Life Crisis," which begins in the late thirties and continues until the early to mid-forties; and, finally, (5) "Self-Renewal," which marks the entry into mature adulthood at age fifty. Sheehy's framework closely parallels Gould's, and her research tends to confirm the insights which he developed about adulthood. Sheehy interviewed several women for her study and was able to group them into life pattern categories which will be considered in the section on the family cycle. Generally, however, she was interested in the way in which men develop and change, particularly with reference to their career and family interests.

The work of Levinson, Gould, and Sheehy suggests that the stage of adult development which has been labeled "middle age" need not be characterized by decline or crisis. In fact, their work suggests that aging brings with it new resources for productivity. The work of Bernice Neugarten\(^{10}\) confirms these findings about middle age. In an interview study with 100 prominent or successful
men and women between the ages of 40 and 60 years, she found that middle aged individuals saw themselves as a distinct group, no longer young, but not yet old. The individuals she interviewed saw themselves in the prime of life and at the peak of their capacities and judgment. Women in the group reported a new sense of freedom linked to their decreased parental responsibilities. Neugarten did not find evidence of an "empty nest" syndrome, a feeling of depression and purposelessness associated with having one's children grow up and leave home. Most members of the interview group reported increased self-assurance and a sense of positive autonomy. Neugarten acknowledges that she interviewed a special group of individuals whose life experiences may have biased the results of her interviews. However, her study seems to suggest a new view of middle age which other researchers have also uncovered.

Several researchers have focused on aging in late adulthood. In particular, they have wondered how a person ages with regard to the people around him, including his family, his work associates, and other members of his community. Some researchers have argued that aging brings increasing disengagement from the responsibilities of the social world. They suggest that as a person ages, he increasingly removes his attention from the outside world and focuses within himself instead. Disengagement helps a person prepare himself for older adulthood and impending
death. Some have suggested that the process of disengagement serves the needs of both the individual and his society. The aging person can prepare to set aside certain responsibilities at the same time that society no longer needs or wants his active social involvement. The process of disengagement has been seen to begin in late middle age, around the age of fifty.

The theory of disengagement owes a great deal to the Swiss psychologist Carl Jung. Although Jung never formally articulated a theory of aging, he did indicate in his autobiography and elsewhere that life was divided into two halves. The first half of life was devoted to such outer goals as marriage, child-rearing, and occupational and social achievement. At age forty, Jung felt that a man entered the second half of life when he became more inwardly oriented, more concerned with self-definition and understanding than with his place in the outer world.

Several researchers have attempted to determine whether individuals undergo the process of disengagement, and, if so, when it occurs. In a series of studies undertaken between 1952 and 1962 in Kansas City, Missouri, Neugarten and her associates contacted, interviewed, and tested several hundred adults between the ages of forty and sixty-five. The participants in the Kansas City study were all white middle class individuals who were in good health and who lived in their own homes, rather than in a hospital or other facility. Neugarten notes that the characteristics
of this sample group may not be typical of the elderly population as a whole and that the conclusions she reached must be interpreted cautiously.

Neugarten and her associates did find evidence of disengagement among the adults surveyed. Psychological tests revealed that the process of disengagement was underway during the fifties, even though the individuals gave no outward sign that they were preparing to withdraw themselves from the social world. Actual social disengagement appeared around the age of sixty-five, the traditional age of retirement for males. She summarizes her findings:

The direction of personality change, then, from middle to old age seems to be one of increased inner orientation, increased separation from the environment; a certain centripetal movement which leads to increased consistency and decreased complexity and in which synthesizing and executive qualities, in maintaining their centrality, also maintain the continuity of the personality.13

It should be noted that Neugarten and her associates discovered several different patterns of successful aging, and disengagement was only one of the successful patterns. Many individuals remained socially active and involved long after retirement, and those who did become disengaged socially did so in a positive manner. As Havinghurst, Neugarten and Tobin report:

As people age, they are less active and regret the loss of activity, but they retain a positive self-evaluation of themselves as well as satisfaction with their past and present life as a whole.14
Other researchers have found evidence of increasing introspectiveness as a person ages which does not necessarily result in psychological or social disengagement. Suzanne Reichard and others undertook a study of eighty-seven manual workers who ranged in age from fifty-five to eighty-four. About one-half of the research sample was retired. This group was interviewed extensively and was given several different psychological tests in order to determine how men make the transition from middle age to old age.

This study revealed that neither aging or retirement led to a decline in the social or leisure activities of the sample. There was even evidence of an increase in social activity after retirement. Although men in their late fifties indicated some anxiety about retiring, most were able to adjust to retirement without difficulty. Overall life adjustment seemed to be tied to health, financial circumstances and the quality of a man's marriage, rather than to psychological factors. Reichard and her associates did find evidence of a kind of disengagement among those they labeled the most successful aged. These individuals had managed to acquire an overall sense of detachment from the outer world and its rewards sometime during their late thirties and early forties.

The well adjusted tended to have developed a more detached outlook on life than when they were younger. Less involved in success or failure than earlier in life, they had become less dependent on outer rewards for a sense of well-being. . . . This is not to say that the well adjusted were more
isolated socially than the poorly adjusted or that they had become less interested in work or hobbies. Indeed the opposite was true. But they were less affected by the ups and downs of everyday life.16

Finally, the results of a longitudinal study cast some doubt on the assumption that an individual changes in any fundamental ways as he ages. In the late 1920's a group of healthy and affluent individuals with above average intelligence who had young children agreed to participate in a study of parenthood and how it changes over time. The study was sponsored by the Department of Human Development at the University of California at Berkeley. These individuals became the members of the Oakland Growth Study which is still active at the time of this writing.* Members of this group were first interviewed when their children were infants, sometime between 1928 and 1930. Follow-up interviews took place approximately eighteen years later, during the late 1940's. The group was contacted again the late 1960's for further interviews. Thus, data relative to forty years of adult development for the same individuals were available to researchers.

Maas and Kuypers reported the results of their most recent interviews with these individuals, ninety-five females and forty-seven males between the ages of sixty and eighty-two. They found remarkable continuity in the development of members of their research sample. Women

*1978
demonstrated a high degree of continuity of personality; while men showed a continuity of life style. The behavior and outlooks which this group had exhibited in early adulthood appeared to still characterize them in late adulthood as well. The authors concluded that physical facts, rather than psychological ones, accounted for changes observed among members of this group.

A substantial literature is beginning to emerge in the study of adulthood and old age which suggests that age and certain life cycle transitions, such as retirement and widowhood, relate to personal change. Our data provide no such evidence. Age, marital status and retirement status were not associated to personality for any of our groups.

On the other hand, health (superior or inferior healthy status, high or low stamina or energy output, concern for health matters) distinguished five of the seven parents' personality groups.17

The advantage of this study is that it was able to focus on the same individuals for a long period of time. By contrast the insights from cross-sectional research must always be viewed with some skepticism. Although Maas and Kuypers reject the idea of adult life stages, their research does indicate that adulthood is characterized by continued growth, provided that a high level of health is maintained. Maas and Kuypers and their associates focused on psychological outlooks and level of activity. However, they did not acquire extensive biographical information from their sample which might have caused their results to conform more closely to those of other developmental psychologists.
To summarize the results of the various studies cited in this section, it can be said that adulthood appears to be divided into a series of developmental stages. Early adulthood (age 20 to 40/45) requires an individual to make and implement a number of choices with regard to marriage, family and a career and place within the community. There is some sort of transition which occurs between early and middle adulthood which signals the beginning of new concerns and goals in life. This can occur during the period from the late-thirties until the mid-forties. A person in middle adulthood continues to build on the structure he established in early adulthood. Middle age is seen by many as the prime of life, a period of great satisfaction and productivity. During a person's fifties, there is a gradual decline in performance and productivity accompanied by a tendency to withdraw psychologically from the social world. Late adulthood begins around the age of sixty and is marked by retirement from work for men and by new social and psychological roles for women. If a person retains good health and has adequate financial resources, the period from sixty through late adulthood until death can be one of continued activity and growth, as well as of continued psychological well-being. A person in late adulthood is able to reassess his or her life and judge it fulfilled and successful or unfulfilled and a failure, although most people are able to find some degree of satisfaction with the life they have lived. Generally
speaking, individuals who adjusted well to other phases of their lives are able to make a successful adjustment to older adulthood as well and are able to see their lives from a positive perspective.

**Career Development Within Adulthood**

A career is usually defined as a sequence of occupations, jobs, or positions which a person fills throughout the course of his or her working life. Career development involves the study of how an individual changes and grows within a particular occupation or career throughout the course of his or her working life. The study of career development implies not only the study of what a person does during his working life, but also how he performs over time, his different levels of productivity, efficiency and creativity, his level of commitment, job morale, and attitudes towards his job and his changing self-concept of himself as a worker as he progresses from job entry to retirement. As Donald Super and others have noted, occupational development is a process which takes place over the course of adult development and which thus can be studied from that perspective. Super writes:

> . . . [T]he use of the term vocational development avoids giving the impression of instantaneousness and points up the unfolding developmental nature of the vocational choice and adjustment process.18

Thus, Levinson prefers to speak of "forming" an occupation, rather than choosing and pursuing one. He writes:
The imagery of deciding on an occupation is too narrow and superficial. It is far more useful to speak of forming an occupation, a complex social-psychological process that extends over the entire Novice Phases [i.e., ages 17 to 33] and often beyond. 19

The individual who has been most concerned with outlining a theory of career development has been Donald Super. While most research in the field of vocational development focuses on career choice, Super has inquired into the process of growth and development that occurs after a person chooses a particular occupation. Super's theory of career development is based on the work of Bühler and Frenkel-Brunswik regarding the stages of adult development and the work of Form and Miller 20 which attempted to tie career development to adult development.

Form and Miller studied the career patterns of 276 men in Canton, Ohio, in 1946, and found that there were four broad categories of career development: (1) an initial work period; (2) a trial work period; (3) a stable work period; and (4) a retirement period.

According to the findings of Form and Miller, the initial work period begins in adolescence when a person first entered the work force by taking part-time or summer work. This period lasts from fourteen until twenty, depending on the career decision that an individual makes. The trial work period is characterized by experimentation. A person formally enters the work force during this second period, but changes jobs and acquires new skills until he finds
a job that he can perform well and enjoys. This period lasts from age twenty until age thirty-five. The stable work period is the time when an individual makes a commitment to a particular job or occupation and develops within it. This period lasts approximately from age thirty-five until age sixty. The retirement period includes the ages of sixty to sixty-five or until the age of retirement occurs. During this period, a person prepares himself to leave work and enter a new lifestyle.

Super has elaborated on Form and Miller's scheme. He labeled the initial work period the Exploratory Stage. During this time, an individual is in the process of developing a self-concept which he will later implement in the occupational world as well as in other areas of life. Super believes that the Exploratory Stage lasts until age fifteen. From age fifteen to twenty, a person is in the Reality Testing Stage. At this time, he is in the process of making the transition from schooling to the work force. Occupational choice occurs at this stage, and an individual obtains his basic career preparation.

The years from age nineteen to twenty-five are the Trial Work Stage during which an individual begins to implement the self concept he has begun to develop while working and while participating in other aspects of life development.

If an individual successfully identifies an occupation which he can follow, he begins the period which Super labels the Establishment Stage. This lasts from age twenty-five
until age forty-five (the ages for this and other development schemes are flexible). Super feels that an individual does his most creative work during this time. This is the "prime of life" during which a person is at peak levels of performance and productivity. During this time, an individual continues to modify his self-concept as his personality stabilizes within an occupation.

The period from age forty-five until age sixty Super calls the Maintenance Stage. A person continues in his basic occupational category or within a particular job. Productivity remains high, but near the end of this era, a person begins to notice some decline in his job performance. This is the era when a person has the opportunity to enjoy his achievement or is faced with the task of adjusting to failure. Caplow shares Super's idea about the psychological outlooks of this particular stage of career development:

Not until late in his career will the average man be able to sum up his total expectations with some degree of finality and measure them against his remaining aspirations so as to arrive at a permanent sense of frustration, a permanent glow of complacency or an irregular oscillation from one to the other.21

The final stage in Super's theory is that of the Years of Decline, beginning at age sixty and lasting through retirement from the work force. During this stage, a person must prepare himself to give up his work role. He must find a new way of defining himself and prepare to adjust to his non-working lifestyle. For some men, this
stage presents considerable personal anguish, particularly for those whose adult lives have been organized largely through their work roles. There have been a number of different studies of the process of retirement, which will not be cited here, except to note that Super's theory remains the only substantial link between the period of career choice, which normally occurs in adolescence, and the period of retirement. While extensive research has been undertaken with regard to the entry and exit points from the work force, almost no research has focused on the period of career development which occurs between these two points.

Super's theory has not yet been verified by substantial research. In 1950, he and several of his associates, began a longitudinal study of career development. A group of junior high school boys who were in the eighth and ninth grades of a school in Middletown, New York, were identified and interviewed. Members of the group were given several psychological and aptitude tests. In addition, the parents of these boys were also interviewed. The plans were to contact this group again in 1975 when most members of the group had reached the age of thirty-five. To date, however, the results of the follow-up study have not been published.

In addition to the work of Super, a few other researchers have offered insights into the way in which a person grows and changes within an occupation throughout
the course of the adult lifespan. Bernice Neugarten has suggested that there are common marker events in the course of career development which could be identified and studied with some accuracy. She has suggested the following general stages of career development: an entry stage, a mastery stage, a retraining stage (presumably for those unable to follow a stable or conventional career pattern), a peak performance stage, and a stage of decline. Neugarten believes that both the career development pattern and the family cycle are affected by social age norms. Her research on the process of aging has revealed that individuals have a high consensus as to the correct times when major life events should occur. However, she feels that her own research and that of others regarding age norms is inconclusive and has called for more systematic study of the way in which socio-cultural expectations affect adult developmental patterns. She indicates her findings regarding age norms as follows:

Individuals themselves are aware of age norms and age expectations in relation to their own patterns of timing. In adults of varying ages, it has been found that every person can report immediately whether he was "late," "early," or "on time," in one life event after another.24

John Clausen reporting the results of the Oakland Growth Study which traced the development of children beginning in the 1930's through their era of middle adulthood reports finding an age norm regarding occupational choice:
The man who is still searching for the right occupation beyond 40 is likely to recognize that his career is in deep trouble. Indeed our longitudinal data suggest that he is likely to characterize himself as verging on being a failure.25

Becker and Strauss26 have also found the idea of defining age norms a useful way to approach the study of career development. They have suggested that organizations set age norms for career development in order to insure a desirable "flow" of individuals from the bottom ranks of an organization to the top. This implies a process of sorting which means that some individuals will be identified as those able to move up the hierarchy, while others, who are not meeting the organizational career timetable, must be moved sideways or out of the organization. As the process of sorting continues, groups are formed within the organization, ranked by age, which have distinct identities.

Much further research needs to be done in order to determine the forces which influence career development. It is likely that career development is the result of a combination of forces, both external and internal, which operate to cause changes in individual job performance over time.

In addition to concern about the stages of career development, efforts have been made to classify career patterns into broad general categories. Discussion of career development stages and types of career patterns has tended to focus on male stages and patterns only. A man's
career and his achievement within it have been tied to the performance of the male role in our society. A man uses his career to define himself as a person and to demonstrate, via his level of career performance and success, his "masculinity." A woman, on the other hand, has been expected to define herself and express her femininity within the roles of wife and mother. Historically, a woman who chose to pursue a career was considered odd and "unfeminine." Such a person was frequently pitied as someone whose feminine role performance had been hampered or flawed in some way such as the failure to marry or, if married to have children or a husband able to support her and his family. Women who have needed to work to support themselves because their marriages ended in widowhood or divorce were similarly regarded as unfortunate. This view of women and careers is now changing as more women prepare for a career and make the decision to have few or no children or even to not marry at all, but many people still believe that the ideal life pattern for a male is to marry and support his family by pursuing an occupation; while that for a woman is to marry, have children and help her husband pursue his goals and her children develop into productive individuals. The woman who makes the decision to pursue a career very much needs the cooperation of her husband and family, along with that of her employer, if she is to successfully balance the roles of wife and mother with that of worker. Even today, the
conflicting demands that these roles present keep many women out of the work force. As Caplow has noted:

... While the system retains sufficient flexibility to allow a number of real choices to women who insist on genuine occupational activity, the practical difficulties are of such a nature that only under exceptional circumstances can women pursue a vocation on substantially the same terms as men.27

Because of these differences in role definition and performance different general male and female careers have been identified which outline broad patterns of development in adulthood.

For males, there appear to be three basic types of career patterns:28 (1) stable or conventional; (2) multiple career and (3) unstable. A stable career pattern implies that a man chooses a job or occupation and develops within it for the entirety of his work life. A stable career usually has well defined entry and exit points and the amount of training or preparation for the career usually is specified prior to entry with further training and skill development acquired on-the-job. Professional careers and careers within business offer a stable career pattern. Teaching is an example of a stable career since both men and women can remain within the career for the entirety of their adult working lives.

A multiple career pattern is characterized by the pursuit of two or more different occupations. A man could begin in one career (such as the Army), retire from it at a relatively young age (i.e., in his 40's) and begin another
career altogether. A multiple career pattern also can be identified when a person makes a dramatic career switch at mid-life or at other times during his working life. An unstable career pattern is followed by the man who fails to establish himself in any one career. He drifts from job to job in no particular sequence of development. The unstable work career is most often followed by unskilled workers, although individuals who have had access to education and job training may also exhibit this career pattern.

A woman's participation in the work force varies according to her place within the reproductive cycle. Women appear to participate in the work force in large numbers in their twenties, prior to marriage or the birth of their children, and again between the ages of forty-five and fifty-four, presumably when their parental duties are completed. Thus, a woman who marries is very likely to exhibit an interrupted career pattern. As Caplow notes, "Even where allowance is made for maternity, the life cycle does not allow women to compete successfully with men in terms of occupational continuity." Thus, women can be expected to have career patterns which differ in significant ways from men and which reflect the need to balance career demands with the needs of wife and motherhood.

Super has identified seven female career patterns: (1) stable homemaking (2) conventional female career (3)
stable career (4) doubletrack (5) interrupted (6) unstable and (7) multiple career. The stable, unstable, and multiple career patterns are essentially similar to the male patterns already cited. The stable homemaking career is followed by the woman who marries and focuses exclusively on her roles as wife and mother. She does not work. The conventional female career pattern is one where a woman works for a time, marries and leaves the job market. The doubletrack pattern is followed when a woman has both a career and a marriage with children. The interrupted career is followed by the woman who works before marriage or the birth of her children, leaves work for a time, and then returns when her children are grown and when her income is needed for the household.

Gale Sheehy\textsuperscript{30} developed her own typology of female career patterns which parallels Super's but which focuses more sharply on the type of woman who follows the female patterns she identifies. Sheehy's perspective is also more "modern" than Super's. The adjustments in the female role since the 1950's are evident in her view of more conventional female patterns. She also identifies seven patterns: (1) Caregiver; (2) Nurturer who defers achievement; (3) Achiever who defers nurturing; (4) Late-baby superachiever; (5) Integrator; (6) Never-married woman and (7) Transient.

The Caregiver is comparable to Super's categories of stable homemaking and conventional female career patterns. This woman marries in her early twenties, has a family and
helps her husband achieve occupational success. Sheehy feels that this woman might return to work or to school, but that she would not desire personal achievement in either arena. The Nurturer who defers achievement follows Super's interrupted career pattern. She marries and raises a family, but intends to return to a career when her children are grown. Both the Achiever who defers nurturing and the Late-baby superachiever are more modern women than Super categorized, although both follow an essentially male stable career pattern. The former marries late in life and may or may not have children; while the latter may be married early in her career but for any of a number of reasons does not have children until her late thirties after her career is well established. The Integrator is similar to Super's doubletrack pattern. Sheehy feels that few women in their twenties are able to follow this pattern although many women are now being forced to because of divorce or widowhood which leaves them with the responsibility of forging a career to support their families. Sheehy seems to assume that the Never-married woman follows an essentially stable career pattern. She notes that only ten percent of all women never marry and that little is known about this group. She hypothesizes that members of this group might choose to become paranurturers, individuals who take jobs like teaching which involve essentially motherly tasks. Sheehy's description of the never married woman reflects her bias toward more traditional female
career patterns. Finally, the Transient pattern is similar to Super's unstable pattern, but Sheehy feels that this woman will eventually marry and follow one of the other five married patterns.

There is no substantial research which verifies any of these general male and female patterns. The goal of this study, in part, is to determine how the careers of men and women within a stable occupational category develop and change over time. These general typologies may prove useful in that respect.

To summarize this section, the work of Donald Super and others suggests that career development during adulthood follows a pattern which is roughly similar to adult development in general. There appear to be successive stages of development within an occupation. A person moves from career choice and initial experimentation with different careers in his late teens and early twenties, to a period of career commitment and development which lasts from the mid-twenties until the age of sixty. There is then a period during which a person prepares for retirement and then leaves the work force. This period can last from age sixty until age seventy. After retirement, a person takes on new roles and finds new outlets for his interests and abilities. In addition, it was noted that men and women have different career patterns. A man is normally in the position to follow an uninterrupted career pattern; while a woman must adjust her work life to the
demands of her marriage, particularly if she has children.

Research in the areas of career development and career patterns is still in the initial stages, and the work reported in this section is still largely theoretical, although suggestive of possible frameworks for analyzing and understanding growth within an occupation like teaching.

The Impact of the Family Cycle on Adult and Career Development

Development within the family cycle is another aspect of adult development. The family cycle includes the process of forming a marriage, making the decision to have children, having children and raising them through adulthood or until they are able to establish their own families and continue the cycle. The family cycle also refers to a person's on-going participation in his family of origin: first, as a child, then as an adolescent beginning to move away from the influence of his home, and then as an adult.

As an individual matures, so do those around him within his family. The changing age statuses within the family bring with them new roles and relationships. In the case of the adult individual there is the need to resolve childhood relationships with parents before they age and die. The dependent role of childhood must give way to new ways of relating to parents in adulthood. There is often the need to assume quasi-parental
responsibilities for one's parents as they age and decline in health and performance. Similarly, new relationships with siblings evolve as they marry and have children and establish themselves as adults. Thus, the cycle of generations and a person's place within that cycle are of great significance to adult development and result in different concerns and responsibilities at different stages of adulthood.

As has been noted, men and women experience the family cycle in different ways. The family cycle is organized around the female reproductive cycle. A woman is able to have children between the approximate ages of ten and fifty. Most choose to have children between the ages of fifteen and forty. This implies responsibility for children which extends from the ages of thirty-five to sixty, if the age of twenty is designated as that when a child reaches independent adulthood.

Traditionally, a woman has been expected to take the responsibility for nurturing children during their childhood years, while a man focuses his efforts on career development in part to support his family and to enable it to expand. Men do participate in the process of parenting at various points in their lives, but, as Levinson and Erikson indicate, a man is not able to devote a great deal of energy to mentoring or parenting or being generative until he has achieved some measure of career success. Often, a man becomes ready to parent at the same
time that his wife prepares to re-enter the work force (i.e., in his early forties). Generally, however, the demands of the family cycle keep a woman at home and a man on the job for the majority of their adult lives. As has been noted, the woman who chooses to work and to have a marriage and family is faced with a number of problems involving the best way to balance each of the roles she hopes to fulfill.

Neugarten has suggested several marker events for the family cycle. These include: marriage, birth of the first child, birth of the last child, departure of children from the home, birth of children's children, and death of spouse. As has been noted, she feels that there are socio-cultural age norms for each of these events in the family cycle which will be uncovered by future research. Generally speaking, in American society, a couple is expected to marry during their twenties; complete their family during their thirties; see their last child depart from home during their fifties; and welcome their first grandchildren during their fifties and sixties. More and more people are living into their seventies and eighties as married couples, and thus there is the expectation that a couple can enjoy "the empty nest" for fifteen or twenty years. Few individuals today expect to become great-grandparents, although this social trend is also changing.

Of interest in this section, is the research and theory which traces the way that the family cycle interacts
with career development and other processes of aging to produce different outlooks and behavior at different stages of adulthood.

Reuben Hill has defined nine stages within the family cycle which fall into three general orientations of the family itself. The first part of the family cycle he labels "Future Oriented." This includes four stages: establishment of the family through marriage, becoming new parents which takes a couple to the stage where their oldest child is age three; the pre-school family where the oldest child is age six; and the school-age family when the oldest child is between the ages of six and twelve. This first broad era of the family involves a tremendous amount of financial investment. The family is in debt for doctor bills, clothing, automobiles, and home mortgages. This period of economic outlay occurs at a time when a man is just beginning to establish himself in an occupation. His earnings have not yet reached peak levels and thus he is literally borrowing on his future in order to establish his family.

It is interesting to note at this point that studies of job satisfaction reveal that morale on the job appears to vary with the family cycle. An unmarried person beginning work tends to have high morale. Over job satisfaction then appears to decline during the late twenties and early thirties as marriage and the birth of children place significant salary demands on an individual. A man
whose wife is at home with the children is often forced
to take a second job in order to make ends meet. As
Clausen reports:

... [T]he moonlighter, above all, is a man
cought in the life cycle squeeze. He has many
dependents and family resources below what his
modest aspirations require.33

After the age of thirty-five, a person's job morale appears
to climb steadily with age with a slight drop in the fifties
until the pre-retirement and retirement eras. Wilensky
summarizes the cycle of satisfaction which is related to
the family and economic resources:

As family pressures mount, the demand for credit
in the product market and income in the labor
market begin their swift ascent. The appetite
for consumer durables and the demand for money and
job security reach a peak in the 30's among married
men with children. ... When children leave home
and debts are paid off, job morale, indeed all
satisfactions unconnected with child-rearing, should
climb.34

Hill labels the second era of the family cycle
"Present Oriented." There are two stages within this part
of the cycle: the family with adolescent children when the
oldest child is between the ages of thirteen and nineteen
and the family with young adult children. During this stage,
a man is called upon to finance his children's education and
entry into the adult world, including paying for their wed-
ings and, in some cases, for items which will help them estab-
lish their own families such as automobiles, appliances and
even houses. This part of the family cycle occurs at a time
when a person is in his forties and when his earnings are
beginning to increase toward peak levels.

The last era of the family cycle Hill calls the "Period of Financial Recovery." This era has three stages: the family as launching center for adult children; the post-parental family which includes the period of late middle age up until retirement; and, finally, the aging family which begins when the major bread winner retires. During this final part of the family cycle, a man reaches his peak earning levels. This era coincides with Super's idea of the Maintenance Stage on the job. The house and other major purchases are paid for. The children have left home and established their own lives. If all has gone well, and a normal, stable career was followed, a couple can make the transition to retirement with at least modest resources. Although Hill defines stages in the family cycle according to the age of the oldest child, others have felt that the age level of the youngest child would be more appropriate. Certainly, the lifestyle of a couple in the final era of the family cycle is affected by the time when the last child departs from home. Couples who continue to provide financial support for their children up until the time of retirement may not be able to save as much as they might need to for their retirement.

Hill notes that the relief from financial pressures during this last era of the family cycle allows the couple more resources for recreation and travel which may explain why many couples experience renewed satisfaction with their
marriage and marital partner in late middle age.\textsuperscript{35}

To summarize this section, the family cycle makes demands on the psychological as well as economic resources of an adult, requiring both men and women to take on new roles and to adjust themselves to the changing needs of those around them. During adulthood, a person must focus on the needs of his or her children as well as the changing needs of his or her parents—each of whom is in turn affected by his particular stage of development. The interacting phases of the general adult development cycle, career development and the family cycle all appear to affect the way an individual defines himself and his outlook and as well as how he behaves within his various social roles.

Adult Development and the Teaching Career

This researcher has uncovered only one study which makes use of adult developmental theory to describe the teaching career. In this section, that study will be described along with the results from several other unrelated studies of teacher turnover and teacher job satisfaction which, when viewed from the perspective of adult development, provide the emergent outlines of the teaching career.

Warren A. Peterson\textsuperscript{36} (no relation to this author), a student and associate of Bernice Neugarten, made use of research on the process of aging to define the career
pattern of high school teachers with interesting results. He interviewed 56 female high school teachers in 1953 and was able to establish three career phases associated with the process of adult development within the teacher role: (1) youth (ages 22 to 35); (2) middle age (ages 35 to 50); and maturity (ages 50 until retirement which was age 70 in the school district he used).

Peterson found that teachers perceive themselves and are perceived by their students in different ways at different times during their life cycle. He summarizes his findings as follows:

A teacher begins teaching children when her age position to them is like that of an older sister; in mid-career she is about the age of their parents, and if she continues teaching to the age of retirement . . . she may be older than their grandparents.37

Peterson found that most of the teachers in his sample recalled their early career as the "happiest" time teaching. As they began to age, many because sensitive about their loss of youthfulness. Since about two-thirds of his sample were single women, many reported that they had to come to terms around the age of thirty-five with the fact that they might never marry. These teachers came to accept their career and probable spinsterhood at that time. They then made a full commitment to teaching and entered a period in which they saw themselves as being their most productive and most active professionally. The middle aged teachers in this study saw themselves in the prime of
life and felt that they were the leaders of their schools. They also reported the highest levels of contentment with teaching.

Mature teachers showed several different patterns as they completed their careers. Many were unable to come to terms with the process of aging. Some looked back over their careers with regret that they had chosen to spend their lives tending to other peoples' children. This group felt that they had not received adequate recognition for their efforts. Differences of age and outlook separated this group from both their students and their younger colleagues. They often felt isolated and alone.

A few teachers were able to age more successfully. These women managed to retain their youthful appearance and high levels of energy. They continued to "fit in" to a younger age group. Other successful older teachers were those who were perceived as eccentrics or "old characters," and those who made use of their age and experience to become mother/grandmother substitutes for their students. Apparently, the women who aged in "normal" ways, from a biological and social standpoint, experienced a decline in energy and enthusiasm for teaching. They often left teaching with a great deal of bitterness and regret.

Peterson's study is quite suggestive of the way that adult developmental data can be used to uncover the internal aspects of the teaching career. Unfortunately,
his study focuses on female teachers, the majority of whom were unmarried in an era when a married female teacher automatically lost her job. Peterson's study has strongly influenced the development of this study and some of the questions which he used in his interview schedule were used in this study and refashioned to apply to men and married women as well as single women.

Aside from the work of Becker and Peterson, this researcher was unable to identify any other studies which have attempted to establish a life-long career perspective regarding the teaching career. However, two areas of research, studies of teacher turnover and of teacher job satisfaction, can be used to establish the outlines of the early teaching career if they are viewed from the perspective of adult development and, in particular, when insights relative to the family cycle are taken into consideration.

Studies of teacher turnover typically trace the job changes of teachers within teaching from one school to another or the movement of teachers from teaching to some other job or activity. Time and again these studies demonstrate that male teachers persist in teaching until the demands of their growing family and their own personal ambitions push them into a higher level job in education or into another job altogether, while female teachers exhibit an interrupted career pattern which reflects their involvement in the demands of marriage and motherhood.
Charters, Trinchero and Shavelson, Keeler and many other researchers report that teacher turnover is tied to the age and sex of the teacher and not to dissipations that teachers feel with regard to the teaching environment. In fact, Kuhlen found that there were no significant attitudinal differences between teachers who planned to leave teaching and those who planned to remain in the field. What these studies indicate is the extent to which the teaching career is tied to the demands of the family cycle.

Thus, Elsbree in his survey of the twenty-three largest cities in New York State (with the exception of New York City) found that the most frequently listed reasons for leaving teaching were "resigned to be married" and "resigned to take a better position." Incidentally, Elsbree conducted his study at a time when married women were forced to resign their positions when they were married. He recommended that this policy be changed in order to keep skilled teachers in the field. Metz in a survey of 4,442 teachers who had withdrawn from the Ohio Teacher Retirement System in 1958 discovered that women cited "marriage and homemaking" as reasons for their withdrawal from teaching, while men most often said they had left for "a better position or higher salary." The findings of Shea, Pedersen, Costa, and Greenburg and McCall only serve to confirm the findings of these early researchers. In a study of 780 teachers who had
withdrawn from the Kentucky schools, Alexander found that the highest turnover occurred among teachers between the ages of twenty and twenty-nine. Costa, using time series analysis of turnover in the twenty-two largest employing school districts in Iowa between 1965 and 1970, found that both single and married females under the age of thirty had the highest turnover.

Studies of teacher turnover also reveal the outlines of the early career pattern in teaching. Women appear to persist from three to five years; while men persist from five to nine years. Some researchers have found that the early career lasts for up to ten years for women and fourteen years for men.

Both males and females appear to need from one to three years to master the teaching job and complete their on-the-job training. After initial mastery, women are likely to leave teaching by their fifth year of experience in order to marry or raise a family. The female teacher is then likely to spend ten to fifteen years in the home, leaving her career in a suspended state of development. After that time, many women are likely to re-enter the field of teaching for a second long phase which is likely to last until retirement. This general female teaching career pattern assumes that a woman will marry and have children who will need her at home. Many, of course, do not and many who marry do not have children and are thus likely to have longer, more persistent teaching careers.
The male teaching career pattern is slightly different as indicated by these studies. A male will generally enter a period of career re-evaluation after the early mastery phase. As has been noted, the financial demands of the family cycle begin to escalate during a man's late twenties. Men will tend to move to school districts which offer them higher salaries and better benefits. Presumably when moves within the field of teaching no longer result in significantly higher salary levels, a man will begin to consider leaving teaching for another occupation. Charters found that the years eight through ten accounted for the highest dropout rates among male teachers. After the ninth year of teaching, most men have either left teaching for a career in another field or have chosen the path of upward vertical mobility into school administration. Single men, not surprisingly, appear to persist in teaching longer than married men. Married men with families persist in teaching the least amount of time.

Thus, for the first nine years or so after entering the field of teaching, men persist much longer than women. They are more career-minded and more economically motivated than their female counterparts largely because of the demands which their growing families are making on their economic resources. Female teachers have a high initial turnover rate, leaving teaching to marry, to follow their husbands to a new location or to have children. Females
are likely to reenter teaching and be persistent in the long run. Once a man leaves teaching, however, he is not likely to return.

Studies which attempt to determine the level and source of teacher job satisfaction also reveal the extent to which the process of adult development shapes attitudes and outlooks of teachers. Charters was among the first to recognize that studies of teacher morale, taken out of context, were basically meaningless. He writes:

Statistical compilations of immediate dissatisfactions or attractions expressed by heterogeneous groups of teachers are magnified into principal causes of turnover. Without regard for the long-run psychological context which gives monetary reasons their meaning, they appear random and superficial.52

As has been noted, levels of job satisfaction appear to vary with age, particularly for men caught within the economic squeeze of the early family cycle. Job satisfaction is initially high. During the late twenties and early thirties there is a sharp decline in levels of reported satisfaction in all occupational groups. The period from age thirty-five until age fifty appears to be one of increasing satisfaction, followed by a gradual decline until retirement. Job morale studies of teachers reveal that the teaching career appears to be characterized by these varying levels of satisfaction. More experienced teachers consistently report higher levels of job satisfaction. There are
probably two reasons for this: (1) individuals who do not enjoy teaching leave early in their careers and (2) teaching is characterized by increasing levels of job satisfaction in the same way that other occupations are.

Kuhlen interviewed 649 junior and senior high teachers and discovered that satisfaction and the sense of accomplishment and achievement increased with age and experience. He found no mid-career dissatisfaction among individuals in their thirties and forties as he had expected. Instead, he did find that as teachers entered their fifties they reported a decline in overall morale. Kuhlen attributed this to their sense of discouragement regarding their career success. He concluded that teaching is characterized by increasing stability.

Rabinowitz and Crawford in a six-year longitudinal study of 1953-1954 education graduates of the city colleges of New York City found that older teachers, especially men for whom teaching was a second career, and who were between the ages of thirty and fifty, were the most satisfied teacher group. Fuchel, using the same group of education graduates, interviewed 100 non-persistent teachers and 94 persistent ones. She interviewed female teachers only and found that the persistent group was not only older but less likely to report small children at home. Husbands of the persistent teachers made less money than did those of the non-persisters, but they also appeared to support their wives' decision more fully to have both a
marriage and a career. Finally, Rempel and Bentley administered the Purdue Teacher Opinionaire to 3,075 teachers in school districts in Indiana and Oregon and found that reported levels of morale were lowest in the age group twenty-six to thirty-five. After age thirty-five, morale appeared to increase causing these researchers to conclude:

Evidently the teachers lose some of their initial enthusiasm in the first years of teaching and then either regain such enthusiasm or leave the profession.56

To summarize this section, one study which has been undertaken of the entire teaching career using adult developmental theory reveals that teachers perceive themselves and are perceived by others in different ways as they mature within the teacher role. Adult development data can also be used to tie together several different research efforts regarding teacher turnover and teacher job satisfaction in order to establish an early teaching career pattern and a changing level of job morale which reflect normal aspects of career development and development within the family life cycle among teachers.

In this chapter three aspects of adult development have been discussed: general stages of adult development, career development within adulthood, and the impact of the family cycle on career and adult development. Each of these topics will serve as separate frameworks within which a perspective on the internal aspects of the teaching career will be described in this study. The reports of
the fifty teachers interviewed for this study will be interpreted with reference to the changes they reported in their career development which relate to the process of overall adult development. The teaching career will also be analyzed from the point of view of external changes which reflect aspects of horizontal mobility as described by Becker. In the next chapter we will turn to a description of the methodology used in this study.
FOOTNOTES


5 Ibid., p. 268.


7 Ibid., pp. 252-253.


87

13 Ibid., p. 198.


16 Ibid., p. 106.


22 This study is described in Donald E. Super and others, *Vocational Development: A Framework for Research. Career Pattern Study Monograph No. 1,* (New York: Columbia University Teachers College, 1957).


Types of career patterns are discussed by Form and Miller, "Occupational Career Pattern as a Sociological Instrument" and by Super, *The Psychology of Careers*, cited previously.


Sheehy, *Passages*, pp. 204-240.


Clausen, "The Life Course of Individuals" in Riley and others, (1972), p. 481.


Levinson (1978); Gould (1975); and Sheehy (1976) all note the improvement in marriages as couples enter late middle age.


Ibid., p. 270.
38. W. W. Charters, Jr.'s work was cited in Chapter I.


41. Raymond Kuhlen, Career Development in the Public School Teaching Profession. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Institute of Research, 1959).


43. Earl C. Metz, A Study of Factors Influencing the Withdrawal of Four Thousand Teachers from the Ohio Public Schools and the Possibility of Their Return. (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1962).


49. See previous citation of this study.


CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

However complete the instructions prepared by the organizer of a survey; however standardized and codified the questions and answers, the fact cannot be escaped that interviewing is a powerful human experience which leaves its mark on those who have practiced it. John Madge. 1

Introduction

It is important to emphasize at the outset that the study undertaken and reported here was an exploratory one. The study was not undertaken to prove or verify any set of hypotheses. It was undertaken with the hope that some framework of the typical secondary school teaching career, with its turning points and different phases, would be revealed. It was also hoped that, in the future, this researcher and others then might be able to elaborate on the findings reported here by studying specific phases of the teaching career, significant levels of experience for secondary school teachers, and the effects of aging on teaching performance and commitment. This study was, in short, a piece of inductive research.

This chapter will describe how the study was developed and conducted and how the data were obtained and analyzed. There also will be a section exploring the
sources of bias which were part of this study with the hope that some of these biasing factors can be avoided in similar future studies. It should be emphasized that every effort was made to insure that this study and the method of data-gathering and analysis used here would be conducted in conformity with established behavioral science research techniques. The problem of appropriate research procedures and the issue of ethical research will be commented upon in the course of this chapter.

This researcher believes that this study represents a significant initial attempt to describe the typical teaching career patterns of secondary school teachers, but she is very much aware of the tentativeness of this effort. She plans to make no attempt to gloss over some of the problems which she encountered at every stage of the research effort. It is her hope that a frank and open description of the study she undertook, coupled with the results she obtained, will serve as a guide to future researchers in this area. She believes that studies such as this one must be the necessary first steps towards developing sophisticated research and theory in the field of education.

Establishing the Research Framework

Once it had been established that there were few studies of the teaching career which offered information
about the development of an entire career, a series of decisions were made as to how this study would be conducted which were largely arbitrary and which subsequently affected every area of the research effort. Each of these decisions will be noted and commented upon briefly.

The Decision to Interview

The research method for this study was established at the outset. It was decided that the method of data-gathering would be interviewing. In part, this decision was based on the fact that similar studies, such as those of Becker, Peterson, and Lortie, previously mentioned, used interview techniques. The purpose of the study was to obtain information of a biographical nature and this required a high degree of participation on the part of potential subjects which interviewing insured. Interview techniques also insure that most questions asked will be answered and allow for greater detail than simple mailed questionnaire forms. It seemed unlikely that teachers would be willing to provide a full description of their careers in written form or by providing documentary evidence of how they had unfolded unless they felt directly involved in the data-gathering process. Interviewing seemed to be the only method which would generate the data needed for this study and very little time was spent evaluating other methods.
The Decision to Use a Structured Interview Form

The initial literature review coupled with the writings related to interview and survey methodology stressed that structured interview forms insured a high level of response and tended to minimize certain types of bias. The intention to use a structured form was established very early in the study. The researcher favored a structured interview format for another reason; namely, to minimize her own anxiety during the process of interviewing. She did not feel able to contact and interview people on an open-ended basis. A structured interview form would thus serve as a justification for contacting and involving individuals in the study. It should be noted, however, that in the process of developing the questionnaire, open-ended interviewing techniques were used and proved quite useful. This process will be described in further detail later on in this chapter.

The Decision to Interview Retired Teachers

Various potential interview groups were discussed with the researcher's committee and other experts in the field. Some recommended intervention at random points in the teaching career. Others suggested setting an arbitrary level of experience in teaching and then identifying and contacting individuals who met that criterion.
Finally, a member of the researcher's committee suggested using retired teachers. He had contacts with several individuals who were members of retired teacher groups and felt that retired teachers could present the perspective of a full and completed career. In addition, he felt that they would be eager participants. Again, the decision to use retired teachers was arbitrary, but it proved a very wise one. The nature of the sample subsequently affected other aspects of the research effort. The researcher was aware of no study which had used retired teachers, although some of the research in the area of adult development had been conducted with elderly and retired individuals with excellent results.

The Decision to Interview Both Men and Women

The Peterson study, cited earlier, which is most similar to this one had used women only. Becker had a majority of women. This researcher felt that it was necessary to explore the careers of both men and women to determine whether there were significant similarities or differences. The literature on adult development had suggested that the life patterns of men and women were different and it seemed reasonable that career patterns would be different as well. As it turned out, the differences between men and women were marked, and the decision to interview both sexes thus also proved a good
The Decision to Interview
Fifty People

The target number of fifty interview subjects was established with reference to similar studies and after discussions with the researcher's committee. Surprisingly, there are few guidelines for the size of exploratory interview studies. Large survey research groups with teams of researchers and very carefully controlled questionnaires have interviewed 5,000 or more people. The financial and time resources of the researcher also helped to make this decision about the size of the interview sample. At the end of the study, the amount of data generated by fifty interviews proved more than adequate.

The Decision to Interview in
Franklin County, Ohio

This decision regarding participation in the sample was made on the basis of accessibility, convenience and economy. This decision resulted in certain biases in the sample, but since the results of this research effort have limited applicability, the decision to limit the area of sample participants did not prove unwise.

The Decision to Take Written Notes

The decision was made not to tape record individual interviews. It was felt that a tape recorder would make
interview subjects uneasy and less willing to speak about their careers and, particularly, about key people they had been associated with. There was also the consideration of the mechanics of interviewing with a tape recorder and having to transcribe tapes—a lengthy and costly process.

This is one decision that this researcher regrets a great deal. Portable and unobtrusive tape recorders are now available at reasonable cost, and the price of tape cassettes is also reasonable. Taped interviews would have been useful to recapture the tone of individual interviews, the level of response of the interview subject, and specific comments regarding particular questions. Tape recorded interviews also would have allowed a more careful analysis of the researcher's interviewing techniques which would have allowed for improvements in her performance. Thus, this researcher strongly recommends that tape recorders be used in future studies of this sort.

However, the method of using written notes proved to be very useful too. Key comments were taken down verbatim and the researcher was able to jot down impressions, facial expressions, slips of the tongue and other such notes during the course of interviews. Some data were "lost" as a result of the method used, but an enormous amount was gathered nonetheless.
The Decision to Interview Secondary School Teachers With Twenty or More Years of Teaching Experience

Once the interview group was defined as retired teachers, it was decided that only secondary school teachers would be interviewed. This researcher has specialized in secondary education and was interested in this group of teachers. No particular subject in secondary education was specified. However, it was also decided that only individuals who had been teachers for twenty or more years would be eligible for the sample. Individuals who had taught for a time and then entered school administration or university teaching were not eligible, unless, in the case of school administrators, they had continued to teach at least a half-time load. The twenty year experience level was set arbitrarily. Twenty years of experience in any field indicates a commitment to it. There were no studies of individuals who had taught for twenty years or more and that level of experience was well beyond the turnover points of the early career which some researchers had discovered.

The Decision to Limit the Interview Period to One Two-Hour Period in the Home of the Interview Subject

Once it had been determined that the research sample would be retired teachers, the research procedure was designed to conform to their needs and abilities. The
research procedure would have to be of such a nature as to
insure willing participation. It could not be long and
demanding for this particular group. Thus, it was
decided to limit the interview to a two-hour block of
time. It was felt that individuals would be willing to
participate in one interview but would not agree to follow-
up interviews. Thus, one visit was considered sufficient.
Later, this decision permitted a large number of inter-
views.

Because of the care taken to develop the question-
aire, the researcher feels that the quality of the data
obtained was good and sufficient. The decision to inter-
view in the subject's home was also made to insure
participation. The researcher did not feel that she could
expect or ask a potential and elderly subject to travel
to an interview site. No doubt certain individuals
refused to be interviewed because they were reluctant to
have a stranger enter their homes. However, most people
willingly invited the researcher to their homes and
several even took the time to give her a tour of their
home, showing momentos, hobbies and craft work and other
items of interest to them. The opportunity to spend time
in an individual's home also provided valuable clues to
that person's values and life style.

The above decisions were made very early in the
research effort and significantly affected the subsequent
development of this study. This researcher feels that most of these early decisions regarding the framework of the study were good ones and resulted in good data-gathering. It is important to note how often problems of accessibility, time, and finances significantly shape a research effort.

**Obtaining the Interview Sample**

All the participants in this study were unpaid volunteers. These individuals either volunteered to participate directly to the researcher or were referred to the researcher by those who had already been interviewed. All the participants resided in Franklin County, Ohio, and were interviewed in their place or residence. The majority of people in the sample lived in a single family dwelling or in an apartment. Five female participants were residents of a retirement home.

Participants in this study can be divided into two basic groups: the pilot group and the final interview group. The pilot group can be further subdivided into three groups which were labeled Pilot Group A, Pilot Group B and Pilot Group C.

Initial volunteers for this study were obtained during the June, 1976, meeting of the Franklin County Retired Teachers' Association. The researcher attended the meeting and gave a brief presentation describing the
nature and purpose of her study. She then passed out short forms asking potential volunteers to list their names, addresses, telephone numbers, and the nature of their teaching experience. Eighteen volunteers were obtained from this meeting. Several of these first volunteers did not meet the criteria for the sample; since, they had not been secondary school teachers or they had taught for less than twenty years. The people who did not meet the criteria were subsequently used for the pilot studies and became part of Pilot Group B. This will be described in more detail later in the chapter. The volunteers who did meet the criteria were catalogued and saved. They were contacted in July of 1977, after the questionnaire for the study had been developed.

As the interviewing progressed, each subject was asked to provide the names of other retired teachers whom he or she felt might be willing to participate in the study. This list of referrals was catalogued, and these individuals were contacted after the initial volunteer group had completed its interviews. The person supplying the referral was told that his name would be given when the referral was contacted. This was to insure that serious referrals would be given and that those who were among the referral group would understand how they had come to be contacted. There was also the possibility that a person referred to the study could contact the person who had referred him to discuss the study.
All interview subjects were contacted first by letter which was written on Ohio State University letterhead.\textsuperscript{2} The letter described the study and its purposes and gave very general information about the kind of information which would be asked for during the interview. The interview procedure was described and, in particular, the projected time limit of two hours was given to insure that potential participants would be fully informed about the probable duration of the interview. The group who had volunteered at the Retired Teachers' Meeting were reminded that they had done so in their letters; while those who had been referred to the study were given the name of the person who had referred them. The potential subjects also were given the telephone number of the researcher so that they could call her and ask any questions they might have. They were told that they would be contacted in a few days in order to discuss their participation in the study.

This method of initial contact was decided upon to insure that potential subjects would have some idea of the nature of the study before they were contacted directly. The lead time of several days allowed the potential subject to consider whether or not to participate. The researcher wanted to insure that all participants were willing volunteers who had agreed to being interviewed after some thought. The only telephone calls that the researcher received were from individuals who could not
participate in the study and who wanted to make their unavailability immediately clear. Other potential participants waited until they received a telephone call.

The use of the telephone for the first direct contact gave the potential participant another opportunity to refuse to participate in the study without personal cost. If a person said that he could not participate, no pressure was exerted to generate participation. By the time each person was contacted by telephone, he or she had made the decision whether or not to participate. Typically, the telephone conversation involved further questions about the nature of the study. The researcher specified her criteria for participation in the study and verified that the potential subject met these criteria. Then a date and time for interview would be arranged.

A total of seventy-six letters were sent out. The researcher sent out only a few letters at a time to insure that all those who had been contacted could be interviewed if they chose to be interviewed. From the seventy-six letters, fifty-three final participants were identified. Of this final group, three females were mistakenly included who did not meet the criteria. Two of these women were used in the final pilot test and became Pilot Group C. The third woman recognized her unsuitability in the initial minutes of the interview. That interview was immediately terminated by mutual consent, but this person subsequently referred the researcher to a number of former
female teachers who had proven difficult to obtain for the study. This person thus became a valuable participant in the study after all.

Of the remaining twenty-three individuals who were contacted but did not participate, six were individuals who could not be reached by telephone. The assumption was made that these individuals were on vacation or were otherwise unavailable. If a person could not be reached by telephone after three attempts, he or she was considered unable to participate in the study. Seventeen individuals who were contacted said they could not participate in the study. Five informed the researcher that they did not meet the criteria; five cited ill health, either their own or that of a relative or close friend; three were planning vacations and could not schedule an interview before they planned to leave; two said they were too busy, which they verified with a recitation of their commitments. Only two individuals refused to participate because they did not care to be interviewed. One said that she had been interviewed for a previous study and that the experience had embittered her. The other was not specific, but flatly refused to participate.

Just in case an adequate number of subjects was not obtained using volunteers and referrals, a list of eighty-five individuals who had retired from the Columbus Public Schools between 1972 and 1977 was obtained from the Columbus Board of Education Teacher Newsletter. This
publication lists retirements each June and also indicates the subject and grade level that the retiring teacher taught. As it turned out, there was no need to use this file. Many of the referrals were from this group; and, in fact, the process of referral involved a great deal of overlap. At the end of the study, there were still seventy potential interview subjects in the file who had not been contacted.

The researcher was aware that this method of obtaining interview subjects invited a great deal of selective bias. There was the possibility that subjects would be in touch with one another. Persons giving referrals no doubt provided the names of people whom they felt shared similar outlooks and experiences and would corroborate their own interview report. The researcher sensed, at times, an effort to contact the most desirable subjects and to "protect" her from potential subjects who might give an unfavorable or unpleasant interview. One man, however, seemed determined to provide examples of "poor" interview subjects and rather gleefully considered the names of people whom he felt had been rigid and conservative teachers. The final sample contained a large number of teachers from only two high schools in Columbus, but there were representatives from most of the other high schools and junior high schools in the area as well.

The researcher was never aware that the subjects discussed actual responses to the questionnaire among
themselves. Each person was insured confidentiality as part of the introduction to the interview. Occasionally, a teacher would pause before answering a question and ask: "How did other people answer that?" or "How did \(\text{name}\) answer that?" These responses were regarded as "tests" of the confidentiality of the interview and this researcher replied either: "I don't remember." or "I have done so many interviews that I can't recall." This was an evasive reply but considered more tactful than a stern: "I'm afraid I can't tell you that. These interviews are confidential."

Some teachers were initially uneasy in the interview because they were uncertain why they had been referred by a particular person. No one was mentioned by name during the interview. Occasionally, a teacher would comment on the teaching style or personality of another teacher, but the researcher would ignore these and attempt to maintain a neutral response, even if she had interviewed the person mentioned.

These techniques, while limited, seemed to be sufficient to impress upon each person that what went on in one interview would not become a part of another. In this way, the problem of group consensus answers may have been eliminated. It should also be noted that the participants in this study took the interviews very seriously. Many confided information to the researcher which they indicated that they had never told anyone. The
researcher feels confident that she did all that was possible to keep one interview separate from another and to ignore opportunities to allow the responses from one interview to overlap into or influence another.

**Developing the Questionnaire**

The purpose of this study was to identify and describe aspects of the career patterns of male and female secondary school teachers. In order to do this, interview subjects had to provide miniature autobiographies during the course of a two-hour interview, which meant that the interviewer would have to rely heavily on the ability of the former teachers to recall, in chronological order, significant aspects of their past careers. Thus, the development of an effective questionnaire was essential to this study; and a great deal of time and thought was devoted to this aspect of the study. The researcher wanted the questionnaire in final form before the members of the suitable final interview group were contacted.

Questions for the questionnaire were derived from several sources. The initial literature review had suggested the idea of focusing on the different teaching assignments and the activities that a teacher participated in during each assignment in order to determine that person's horizontal mobility career pattern. In addition, Peterson's study\(^3\) had suggested that focusing on the different attitudes of teachers at different ages would be
a useful perspective. As originally planned, the inter­
view schedule would focus on how a person had decided to
become a teacher and on his or her activities during each
successive teaching assignment. It should be noted at
this point that the researcher was handicapped in her
preparation of her questionnaire by the lamentable fact
that many researchers do not include their research
instrument in the final report of their study. This is
particularly true for interview studies reported in journal
articles and probably reflects the need to save space in
these publications. It is her hope that individuals who
undertake interview studies will insist that their
questionnaire be made a part of the data report in order
to save subsequent researchers time and effort.

In addition to the general questions asked, the
researcher spent a great deal of time reading material
relative to interview methodology and the design of
questionnaires. It became apparent immediately that
interviewing represents a very complex form of human
communication. Certain basic interview techniques can be
followed (and were for this study), but the potential for
bias, for misrepresentation, for misunderstanding, for
invalid questions and responses and many other research
difficulties is very great when interviewing techniques
are used. The decision was made, therefore, to begin the
process of interviewing directly and to learn from mistakes
made in the field. For this reason, the process of pilot-testing the questionnaire became crucial to this study. Not only did the researcher have the opportunity to learn and improve her interviewing techniques, but she also was able to establish what she considered to be the best form and sequence of her interview questions as a result of the pilot interviews.

There were a total of eleven pilot interviews for this study, and, as has been mentioned, the pilot group was subdivided into three groups: Group A, Group B and Group C.

Pilot Group A consisted of three instructors at a two-year technical college in the central Ohio area. There were two females and one male in this initial group. This group was interviewed during the Spring of 1976. Subjects were asked to recall the highlights of their careers and how they had decided to become teachers. Questions presented to this group were generally very open-ended, and subjects were encouraged to develop the interview as they felt appropriate. Later, these individuals offered their suggestions about the form and type of questions which might be asked in subsequent interviews. This was a very cooperative group, but the interviewer was inexperienced and unable to control the flow of information. The results from this initial series of interviews were very poor.
Pilot Group B was made up of six individuals who had volunteered to participate in this study at a meeting of the Franklin County Retired Teachers' Association in June of 1976. This group consisted of two retired secondary school teachers; two retired school administrators; one retired university professor; and one retired elementary school teacher. The elementary school teacher was the only female in this group. The refashioned interview schedule was tested on this group during the summer of 1976. Each interview brought further insights about ways in which the questionnaire might be improved. As a result, the interview schedule was literally revised and rewritten after every one of these interviews!

Results from the interviews with Pilot Group B were quite interesting. Subjects were able to recall quite effectively their careers in some detail, but they had initial difficulty structuring their time frame for doing this. There was clearly a need for a part of the interview to prepare participants to think chronologically about their past career performance. While it was evident from these interviews that different teaching assignments had generated different feelings in the subjects, no clear career stages seemed to emerge. There were no turning points. Direct questions such as "Could you describe for me the turning points of your career?" or "What were the stages of your career?" were met with baffled looks. The researcher was just beginning to read the material on
adult development and career development which establishes time frames for the unfolding of an individual's life and this background proved essential for analyzing the results of this study subsequently. There were questions which asked about mentor relationships and whether the person recalled a mid-life crisis. These questions tended to confuse respondents. It became apparent that aspects of adult development would have to be inferred from the intensity of memories surrounding a particular era and from the level of reported activity that a person could recall.

The researcher discovered that she had included far too many attitudinal questions which generated good responses but which did not relate to the teaching career. Similarly, questions regarding why and how a person became a teacher were answered in great detail but had the effect of fixating the subject on his early life. There was also the tendency to spend so much time on the early years of preparation for teaching that the recollection of the career itself did not begin until the two-hour period was almost over.

Thus, the decision was made to spend the majority of the interview recalling, in chronological detail, aspects of career development. Aspects of a person's early life were ignored; and the final interview form begins with the person's graduation from college or a teacher training institution. Inevitably, aspects of the
person's early life were included in the final interview, but these took on different perspectives when seen from the point of view of the entire career pattern and life pattern to the date of the interview.

The interviews for Pilot Group B proved invaluable. They directed the researcher to other areas of literature and helped her to perfect her interviewing style. She encountered several of the circumstances of interviewing which would occur later, the most unexpected being the participation of the subject's spouse. Some spouses made a point of leaving the room and doing other things while the interview was underway, but several sat in and were able to contribute valuable details and to correct historical perspectives and other things. The only problem occurred when the current spouse was a second husband or wife. In these cases, the subject would wait for an opportunity to comment on his previous marriage or on his or her experiences with the first spouse. In several cases, however, wives (but not husbands) of subjects were able to prompt their husbands about previous marriages and girlfriends and had a fund of great detail which they could offer! These "group interviews" were conducted in the same manner as the individual ones and with similar results.

Generally speaking, as a "guest" in the subject's home, the researcher was reluctant to insist on private interviews. There was an exception, however. Two
unmarried female teachers who were sisters wondered whether they could be interviewed at the same time. They had taught in different schools and were different ages, and the researcher felt that she could not take adequate notes or do either person justice. Subsequently, it was decided that only one of the sisters would be interviewed while the other listened in. Having a spouse, sibling, or friend participate in the interview no doubt reassured the subjects who allowed this to happen, and it proved no problem for the researcher.

Other learnings of value from interviews with **Pilot Group B** were the correct sequence and form of questions. The researcher came to see that she was not fully "tuned in" to teacher language of the era of her subjects and adjusted her questions accordingly. The timing of the interview was established and held at two hours, although interviews with the final interview group tended to average slightly longer than that. Many were three or more hours long, especially those which took place after dinner.

The sequence of the questions was adjusted after interviewing **Pilot Group B**. The final interview schedule was divided into four broad sections. The first section focused on details of the family cycle and asked about marriage, births of children, deaths of spouses and other relatives, and other details relating to the family cycle. This section also included information about
where and when a person obtained his or her education. The second section asked for information about aspects of career development without focusing on particular teaching assignments. This included information about professional activities, periods when a person was not in teaching, whether or not a person had considered leaving teaching, extra jobs which had been taken to supplement teacher pay, and other organizations and activities which had been important while a person was teaching.

The responses to the questions in these first two sections had the effect of focusing the interview subject on a chronological approach. Specific dates were asked for. As a result, when the more detailed recollection of the various teaching assignments was asked for, the subjects were prepared to think in chronological terms and had already established a framework within which key career events occurred. The final section of the questionnaire was a series of questions that asked the subject to take a broad view of his career and the changes he or she had noticed in his teaching, his students, his colleagues and other aspects of the school. Subjects were asked to identify their happiest time and to indicate why they had stayed in teaching when so many other people seem to leave the field. By the time that this section was reached in the interview, subjects were well prepared to provide brief and yet significant responses.\(^5\)
This interview structure which established a repetitive cycle of recollection was very effective in provoking sequential memory. The tendency to recall the early career in greater detail was still evident, but the middle career began to emerge and take on more substance. There was also the unexpected result that individuals who were reluctant to give certain ages were unable to conceal particular dates. One woman, in particular, insisted that she never gave her age, but, as the interview progressed and more and more detail about her career unfolded, her year of birth became evident—something that she reluctantly acknowledged, although it had not been of key importance to the study.

The final interview form was ready by the summer of 1977. The decision was made to use the first five or ten interviews as a final pilot for the questionnaire form. However, these first interviews went so well that no further pilot testing was called for. The final pilot group, Pilot Group C, consisted of two unmarried females who had been teachers and then were asked to become vice principals. They had spent the majority of their careers in school administration and were thus ineligible for inclusion in the final interview group. These two women were the first unmarried females to be interviewed using the questionnaire in its final form.

The researcher was uncertain about how to inquire about aspects of the family cycle with unmarried women.
There was a question about whether unmarried women should be asked if they had planned to marry and, if so, why they had chosen not to. There was also the possibility that these women could provide referrals of other unmarried teachers who were proving difficult to identify and include in the study. The interviews with Pilot Group C indicated that unmarried women would be willing to speak honestly about their plans for marriage and career. One of these teachers had had two fiancés, both of whom had died unexpectedly. The other had been an only child and had become responsible for the care of her parents in her late twenties. The results from these two interviews indicated that single women had probably been closely tied to their families of origin. Questions were framed to include this aspect of family cycle participation for both married and unmarried individuals.

Thus, by July of 1977, when the first letters were sent to the final interview group, the questionnaire had been developed and was in the final form that would be used for all the interviews reported in this study.

This researcher strongly endorses the idea of a period of pilot testing for interview studies. As has been indicated, the pilot test period provides an excellent learning experience in interviewing techniques and allows the researcher to perfect the research instrument.
Summary of the Research Procedure

As has been indicated, fifty individuals made up the final interview sample for this study. These included twenty-three males, all of whom were married; twelve unmarried females; and fifteen married female former teachers.

Teachers were contacted first by letter and then by telephone to ask for their participation in the study. The interviews were scheduled at the time of telephone contact and were expected to last two hours, although most ran for slightly more than that time. Subjects were interviewed in their homes either in the afternoon or in the evening. The times for interviews were given as between 1:00 pm. and 3:00 pm. and between 7:00 pm. and 9:00 pm. Morning interviews were not undertaken, except on weekends, since the researcher was working at the time of the study.

Only two interviews were scheduled per day, and, in fact, more than two would have been impossible to complete, since each interview represented an intense personal encounter. The interviews were conducted between August 9, 1977, and October 3, 1977.

Each interview typically involved a period of brief introduction to the study and some general conversation. The interview procedure was then to follow the prepared questionnaire form from beginning to end. Occasionally,
subjects were "prepared" for the interview with documents which gave the dates of various teaching assignments and memberships in organizations, awards, etc. Some teachers also provided letters from former students, Christmas cards and other evidence that they were still in touch with students and heard positive things from them. Some teachers had photo collections which they shared with the interviewer, newspaper clippings, and momentos from their teaching, including plaques, trophies, tributes, and the Columbus Public School Golden Apple Award.

Most teachers were highly cooperative and gave freely of their time. Only one interview was disrupted when the wife of one subject, who had been ill, became overwhelmed by the disobedience of her grandchildren and entered the interview situation and asked the researcher to leave. The interview was hastily terminated, but not actually damaged since most of the information had been obtained before the interruption.

Occasionally, a teacher would not respond to the questionnaire and insisted on providing a brief philosophy of education or other opinions about teaching and teachers. In these cases, the researcher would appear to write down her impressions and then would begin the questionnaire at a point which seemed to be suggested by the teacher's own concerns.

As the interview process continued, the researcher memorized the interview schedule and no longer referred
to it, although she kept it at hand for reference. Sometimes, it was given to the subject to help him or her respond to certain questions. Many subjects were reassured by the form and asked to see it to verify the seriousness of the research effort.

All but one interview took place in one sitting and in one visit. The exception was a very interesting but talkative woman who consistently ignored questions from the interview schedule. The researcher terminated the interview after almost four hours of discussion and left the form with her to review. She then visited the woman the next day and was able to receive answers to all the questions asked, but the subsequent interview lasted more than two hours! Two teachers called after the interview to provide further information about their extra-curricular activities, and one teacher spent time listing the years when his various sports teams (he coached three different sports) had won honors and sent this chronological list about a week after the interview.

All the subjects made every effort to insure that the researcher had a comfortable seat and place to write. They were particularly concerned that she have adequate light.

The interview experience was demanding, but highly rewarding and very intense. The individuals who participated were open, honest and willing to cooperate. However, the researcher came to feel, not long after the
research process was underway, that she was being carried along by the process and was being changed by it in ways that were entirely unexpected. The process of interviewing can never be adequately described or prepared for, as the quotation from Madge which begins this chapter indicates. The researcher came away from the experience definitely changed by her various interactions with the research subjects. She feels a great debt of gratitude to these fifty willing participants, as well as a tremendous obligation to each of them to report their life histories as fairly and objectively as she can. Inevitably, a great deal of the experience will be lost during the report of this study's findings, but it will remain with the researcher as a fundamental part of her evolving consciousness.

Analysis of the Data Obtained

As has been noted, interview responses were taken down in written form. Later, the results of each interview were transferred to an Interview Report Form developed specifically for this study. The process of transferring the material allowed the researcher to conform every interview in sequence so that they could be compared. Many subjects, as has been noted, were not able to follow the interview schedule sequence and had to be "brought around" to answering the questions that it included. Thus, a uniform data report instrument was needed.
Since the purpose of this study was to trace changing job assignments, aspects of the family cycle, and changes related to adult development—all of which were reflected within the overall pattern of career development—some form of visual display of these various sequences was needed so that subjects of different ages could be compared in their twenties, their thirties, and their forties and so on. Pages 4 and 5 of the data report form are divided into age sequences, and information given was noted within each age category, allowing for relatively easy analysis of each decade of life from age twenty through age seventy.

The final page of the data report form includes any direct quotes of significance and an evaluation of each research subject by the interviewer with regard to his or her attitude during the interview and other random impressions that were left by the interview experience. This last page also allowed the interviewer to make note of an unexpected group of data which were obtained from the interviews; namely, aspects of an informal history of schools and teaching conditions in the central Ohio area from 1920 through 1977. The many historical notes associated with this era will be reported in Chapter IV, since they provide valuable insights into the possible sources of teacher behavior reported by the interview group.
Basic mathematical procedures were used to analyze the data, i.e., averages to establish mean ages, age ranges showing the youngest and oldest ages when an event occurred among members of a teacher group, and group percentages. Averages were taken of such things as the ages when teachers completed their education, married, had their first and last children, experienced their most productive years of teaching, and so on. The results of these will be given in Chapter IV.

Another method of data analysis used in this study was that of theme analysis focusing on each decade of life. An attempt was made to establish common themes for each age decade from the twenties through the sixties and to determine when teachers felt they had been at their most productive periods; when they seemed to be happiest; when they indicated that they had begun to tire of teaching; and when they said they had begun to think of retirement.

In Chapter IV, data will be reported for three teacher groups: married males, unmarried females, and married females. The experiences of each of these groups proved distinct enough to merit separate discussion and analysis.
Sources of Bias in the Study

Although allusion already has been made to various sources of bias in this study, it seems appropriate to conclude this chapter with a discussion of the many ways in which the design and conduct of this study resulted in biases which could have affected the results obtained and reported. Four sources of bias seemed to be apparent in this study: experimental bias, situational bias, subject bias, and interview bias. Each of these will be discussed briefly.

Experimental Bias

Experimental bias refers to all sources of bias which are derived from the design of the study and the method of data collection and analysis. This represents a large segment of the bias in the study reported here and much of it was, perhaps, unavoidable given the parameters of this research effort. Experimental bias includes the broad category of difficulties associated with the use of interviewing. In this study, three areas of experimental bias were of particular significance: (a) flaws in the construction of the questionnaire (b) the use of retrospective recall and (c) the size and nature of the sample.

As has been noted, great care was taken in the development of the questionnaire used in this study and the researcher believes that it was a valid and reliable
instrument for obtaining the information sought in this study i.e., the chronological development of the teaching career. However, despite the care taken to construct the instrument, some flaws no doubt continue to exist, and these were not discovered and corrected for the purposes of this study. There will be some discussion of this problem in Chapter V.

Studies which ask respondents to recall aspects of their past are inevitably flawed by the tendency of people to reshape their past actions and present them to a progressively more favorable light. The problem of the "rosy glow of recollection" was no doubt a biasing factor in this study. The effects of this may have been minimized by the questionnaire format which held participants to a strict chronological framework of recall. The interviewer also had the opportunity to probe for further clarification when she suspected that a subject was presenting an over-idealized recollection of an aspect of his or her career. These precautions would tend to minimize but not eliminate problems of retrospective recall.

The sample size was small. This was justified by the nature of the study which was an exploratory one. However, generally speaking it is accepted that the larger the sample size the greater the likelihood of a representative sample.

The participants in this study were not selected randomly. They were volunteers and referrals, many of
whom knew one another. The initial volunteers were members of a Retired Teacher Group, indicating that they were perhaps more active and involved individuals than others of their age and background. It is likely that those who were recommended to the study were similarly more active and more able to participate than would be a "normal" group of retired teachers. There is always the difficulty with a cross-sectional sample that certain types of individuals will be over-represented in it. There can be no doubt that the group interviewed for this study was probably healthier and more active than the total pool of all retired teachers. It should also be noted that those who agreed to participate in this study were a minority among all teachers. As has been indicated, only a small percentage of all individuals who are trained to be teachers persist in the field. The individuals who participated in this study can thus be seen as the "survivors" of the teaching profession, and they probably represented the healthiest and heartiest examples of all teachers. These were individuals who had been able to retire successfully from teaching. No doubt those who agreed to be interviewed felt confident of themselves and their ability to recall their careers in a positive manner. Thus, the group who were interviewed for this study was a very special one, and the results of the study must be evaluated with that in mind.
Probably the best way of obtaining information about the development of the secondary school teaching career would be to identify a group of teachers who were beginning their careers and to follow that group throughout their careers until retirement. Such a longitudinal study would also be able to include extensive personal interviewing as well as the results of psychological tests. Researchers would be able to compare and contrast more effectively the persistent teacher to the non-persistent one. This would be the ideal form of study, but since it was not practical for the purposes of this research effort, the results of a limited cross-sectional retrospective study will have to suffice.

Situational Bias

This refers to circumstances surrounding the interview situation which changed the interview responses in subtle ways, most of which were unavoidable. All of the subjects in the sample had been born in Ohio and had concluded their careers in the Franklin County, Ohio area. Franklin County includes Columbus, Ohio, which is one of the larger cities in the United States and the state capital of Ohio. No doubt this situational factor affected the perspective and experiences of this group of people.

Most of the individuals in this sample had attended Ohio State University, although some had done so only at
the graduate level. It is hard to speculate on the ways that somewhat common experience may have affected their responses.

Finally, the interviews were undertaken during the summer and fall of 1977, just prior to a court ruling on the desegregation of the Columbus Public Schools. This event was very much in the news and may have revived for some of the subjects some unpleasant recollections they had regarding their encounters with Black students during the latter years of their teaching. Related to the desegregation issue was the discussion of a proposed school levy which many felt would be defeated. This, too, must have affected interview responses.

Subject Bias

The age of the interview sample was of particular significance for this study. The members of the interview sample represented a distinct historical category of individuals who no doubt shared common values, outlooks, and experiences. Also, since the group was older, the issue of their ability to recall the past and to reflect upon it was a factor in this study.

Many researchers have noted the problem of "cohort-centrism." For example, Riley comments:

Each new cohort, starting its life course at a unique point in time, has unique characteristics because of the particular historical events undergone or the particular knowledge and attitudes acquired
in childhood. The society with which each new cohort of individuals interacts is not the same, nor is the nature of the individuals constant. Hence, the sequence of cohorts, marked by the imprint of history and each in turn leaving its own imprint, is inextricably involved in societal processes of stability and change.7

Neugarten and Datan state the problem more succinctly:

The effects of historical events upon the individual can be said to be "filtered" through the age-status system. For example, the effect of World War II upon an 18-year old man is different from its effect upon a 25-year old man...8

The individuals interviewed for this study saw themselves as participants in a distinct historical era. They frequently reminded the interviewer that she was "too young to remember or appreciate" certain events or circumstances. Most of the individuals in this study had started to teach during the 1920's and 1930's. They had experienced the Great Depression, World War II, and the Cold War era, along with the social and political changes of the 1960's and 1970's.

Thus, the historical context of this group cannot be ignored, and the results from this study may not apply to any other age group in American society. The values and outlooks of this group had been shaped by their time and circumstances in ways which may never occur again. In a broad sense, the problem of historical context affects all research efforts, but seems to have impacted this one more than most. Certain changes have taken place in the teaching profession and in the laws surrounding it which
may make the issue of the development of the teaching career quite different for individuals who are now teaching or preparing to teach.

Since this group was made up of older individuals, there was the problem of their being able to recall their career and past lives effectively. In part, this issue has been discussed in a previous section referring to sources of experimental bias. There are few studies which have used retired persons as their subjects. Reichard and others interviewed eighty-seven individuals, forty-two of whom had retired from work. The results of that study indicated that elderly, retired people made effective respondents. It is difficult to determine how the age of the subjects affected their participation in this study, but this was undoubtedly a biasing factor which must be considered.

In several significant ways, the researcher felt that the group she interviewed was of an ideal age. Their age placed them in Erik Erikson's final stage of life; and, presumably, they were resolving the conflict which he has theorized between ego integrity and despair. They were ready for the "life review" perspective which Butler has described and also could be placed in the final or "retrospective" phase of life identified by Bühler and Frenkel-Brunswik. They were ready, in other words, to view their lives retrospectively and were probably predisposed to evaluate them in positive terms.
It is likely that most members of the interview group had already placed their lives in some sort of perspective. They may have agreed to the interview for that reason. Others may have been just beginning the process and might have found the interview experience a helpful way to assist them in clarifying their thoughts and viewing their lives. Frequently, a subject responded to a question by saying: "I never really thought of that before." Perhaps they continued to think about some of the issues raised in the interview long after it was over. These insights are offered to counter the criticism that this group was too old to offer an objective view of their lives. They were probably in fact just the right age to do so.

At this point it seems appropriate to note that every effort was made to end an interview on a positive note. It has been the interviewer's plan to send a follow-up letter thanking each participant which would include a brief summary of the findings of the study. Part of the interviewing process involves changing both the interviewer and the subject and it is this researcher's hope that any changes which occurred were in a positive direction. This would make an interesting follow-up study.
Interviewer Bias

This refers to bias which entered the study by virtue of the interviewer's own attitudes and behavior and by the way that the interviewer appeared to the interview subject group.

Prior to undertaking the study, the researcher made some efforts to assess her own personal biases. She was predisposed to view older people in a positive light. She had enjoyed a warm and rewarding relationship with her elderly grandfather, whose many stories of his early life had caused her to enjoy the recollections of older people. In addition, a significant number of her parents' friends, including one very influential woman, had been older people and had been retired teachers. It had been the interviewer's feeling, in addition, that experienced teachers had received unfair criticism during the 1960's and 1970's and were often too easily pushed aside in favor of younger teachers who presumably had "new" and "better" ways of teaching. Thus, she was likely to be sympathetic to individuals who shared these perceptions.

As has been mentioned, the interview experience was a very intense and fatiguing one. After a time, responses to certain questions became monotonous and the interviewer found herself encouraging her subjects to recall anecdotes and other reminiscences of their teaching to add interest to the interview. This resulted in interviews becoming
longer, and thus, even more fatiguing.

There was also the unexpected problem of hunger which affected the interview process in interesting ways. At first, afternoon interviews ended by the dinner hour, and the researcher was able to eat dinner before the evening interview session, but sometimes this was not possible. Interviews were often "rushed" somewhat in the evening because of hunger and fatigue. It should be noted that very few interview subjects offered the interviewer anything to eat or drink. This seemed puzzling at first since otherwise the interviewer was treated as a guest in the subject's home. Later it became apparent that this was a measure of the seriousness with which the subjects regarded the interview. If refreshments were offered, it was at the end of the interview as a signal that more informal talk could begin. Let future interviewers be prepared to combat this problem by packing lunches or snacks to tide them over!

As has also been mentioned, the intimacy of the interview procedure and the openness and trust which the subjects displayed deeply affected the interviewer and no doubt affected her responses to individual respondents. She continues to feel a deep sense of obligation to these people and hopes to report her findings in a way that will not offend or embitter anyone in her interview sample. Thus, there will no doubt be some bias in the reporting of these findings out of a desire to give back the sort of
decency which was shown to her during the process of interviewing itself.

The level of interviewing skill that the interviewer displayed is hard to measure. She worked alone and without coaching. She feels that she did an adequate job, but a review of some results indicate several instances when certain statements went unchallenged or when modesty or tact prevented her from pursuing a statement or subject raised during the course of an interview. Again, the availability of taped interviews would have allowed for a more objective assessment of interviewer skill.

The interview bias resulting from how the subjects responded to the interviewer is very difficult to determine, although aspects of it can be speculated upon. Subjects for this study were from thirty to fifty years older than the interviewer. Several times individuals referred to people in their forties and fifties as "young" men and women; and, thus, the interviewer suspected that she was regarded as a "young woman" by her subjects. She made every effort to dress in conventional female clothing and avoided wearing slacks to the interview in case certain subjects disapproved of these items of clothing on women.

In the absence of video-tapes, the interviewer has no idea how she appeared to her subjects. She tried to keep her face and other gestures from revealing her approval or disapproval of responses, but perhaps this was
not successful. Many of the subjects had had student teachers from Ohio State University who had proven difficult and unpleasant, especially during the 1960's and early 1970's. Several had other reasons to disapprove of Ohio State University. Inevitably, the interviewer was regarded as a representative of Ohio State University, and certain subjects may have responded to her with their own prior biases.

Balancing these biases was the fact that these individuals had been teachers and educators and valued education in and of itself. Many indicated that they had agreed to participate in the study to help the researcher obtain her Ph.D. degree because they had sought such a degree themselves or had children or other relatives who were working on advanced degrees and had shared with them some of the difficulties of such an undertaking. Thus, despite the university affiliation, their commitment to continued educational achievement seemed to be dominant.

No doubt there were many other sources of bias in this study which could be listed for several more pages. The important thing to note is that this study was a preliminary and exploratory one. Significant results were obtained, even from the limited and biased cross section of individuals who agreed to participate, which should prove useful to those interested in the study of the teaching career. The results of this study are suggestive
but cannot be generalized to all teachers in all parts of the United States. Hopefully, however, the results reported here will generate further ideas and further studies which will culminate in an understanding of the development of the teaching career for secondary school teachers in general.

The results of this study will be reported in Chapter IV and suggestions for improvements in research techniques and further areas of research relative to the teaching career will be included in Chapter V.
FOOTNOTES


2. See Appendix A for the format of this letter.


5. The questionnaire used in this study appears in its final form in Appendix B.

6. See Appendix C.


9. Suzanne Reichard and others, Aging and Personality: A Study of Eighty-Seven Older Men (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962). This was cited in Chapter II.
CHAPTER IV

RESULTS: THE CAREER PATTERNS OF SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS

Sustained emotional commitment to a role requires either that one receive continuing direct satisfaction from role performance or that one be constrained to perform the role in order to achieve some related goal. John A. Clausen

Introduction

The major underlying assumption of this study has been that the development of a person's career in teaching, or any other occupation, includes much more than the learning and performance of an occupational role in a variety of job statuses. A person's career development and performance are affected by a number of factors in his or her life including: the social roles that a person plays on the job and away from it such as male and female roles, role associated with marital status and status within one's family and community; the historical circumstances which shape a person's life and impact upon his or her attitudes and outlooks as well as his or her ability to perform a particular job role; and the psychological outlooks and attitudes of a person as they are affected by unique experiences and by the universal
processes of human development and aging. This study is an initial attempt to tie together all these components of career and to focus them in order to obtain a description of the career pattern or patterns of male and female secondary school teachers, including career stages and turning points, periods of high and low productivity, morale, and commitment to teaching, and the manner in which a teacher develops, sustains, and revitalizes his or her career, and how he or she prepares to disengage from the teacher role and retire from teaching.

To obtain this information, fifty former secondary school teachers were interviewed in their homes between August 9, 1977 and October 3, 1977. With one exception, each interview took place in one sitting and lasted between two and four hours.

Research and theory in the fields of career development and adult development reported in Chapter II suggest four general perspectives regarding career development: (A) the external pattern of career development (B) career development and the family cycle (C) career development and historical circumstances and (D) the internal pattern of career development. Therefore, the results of the fifty interviews will be reported with reference to each of these four perspectives. The chapter will begin with a general description of the interview group including their age at the time of the interview, their years of teaching experience, and the kind of teaching careers
that they demonstrated. Then, a section will be devoted to the results of the interviews regarding each of the four perspectives on the teaching career described above. The chapter will then conclude with a general summary of the results obtained.

The findings for this study will be reported with reference to three teacher groups: married males, single females, and married females. The results of this study indicated that these three groups had had very different experiences as teachers by virtue of their sex and marital status. Since sex and marital status strongly define basic social roles in our society, it seemed appropriate to report the results of each group separately within each section of this chapter.

**General Characteristics of the Interview Group**

In this section, the following general characteristics of the interview group will be reported: (1) age at the time of interview (2) level of experience (3) teaching fields (4) continuity of job performance and (5) type of career patterns.

A total of fifty individuals was interviewed for this study: twenty-three married males; twelve single females; and fifteen married females. Each of the individuals in this study has been a secondary school teacher for twenty or more years and had retired from
teaching between 1959 and 1977 (the year of the interview study). Members of the interview group had been retired an average of 7.6 years at the time of the study. Single female teachers had been retired for an average of 11.1 years; married female teachers for an average of 6.9 years; and married male teachers had been retired an average of 6.2 years at the time of the interviews.

Age at the Time of Interview

At the time of the interview, the members of the interview group ranged in age from fifty-eight to eighty-seven years of age. The average age of the group was 71.6 years. Single females were the oldest group, being an average of 74.8 years of age. Married females were an average age of 71.0 and married males averaged 70.3 years of age.

Nine members of the group had been born between 1890 and 1899. Thirty of the subjects (i.e., three-fifths of the sample) had been born between 1900 and 1909. The remaining eleven people were born between 1910 and 1919. The birth years of the sample group are summarized in Table 1.

Level of Experience

The teachers interviewed for this study reported their years of teaching experience with reference to the teaching credit they had received from the Ohio Teachers'
TABLE 1
BIRTH YEARS OF THE INTERVIEW GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMO&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>SFe&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>MFe&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year of Birth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890 - 1899</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900 - 1909</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910 - 1919</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Refers to the married male category.
<sup>b</sup>Refers to the single female category.
<sup>c</sup>Refers to the married female category.

Retirement program. For the purposes of this study, that figure was used to calculate the average years of teaching experience, even though the researcher was aware that several individuals in the interview group had taught in college or other school situations for which they were not given retirement credit.

The average years of teaching experience for the sample group as a whole was 38.4 years, with a range of experience from twenty-one to forty-six years. Single females in the group had had the longest careers, averaging 41.3 years of teaching experience. The range of experience for the single female group was very small: from thirty-nine to forty-four years. Male teachers had taught an average of 38.9 years, with a range of twenty-eight to forty-six years; and married females had taught an average of 35.3
years, with a range of twenty-one to forty-six years of experience. Thus, it could be inferred that a highly experienced teacher group was interviewed for this study.

Teaching Fields

The teaching fields of the subjects in this study included a sampling of most of the subjects offered in the junior and senior high school curriculum. The majority of the teachers in this group had taught standard academic subjects such as English, mathematics, science or social studies. Eleven teachers had been in technical/vocational fields such as business education, industrial arts, and home economics, or in such non-academic fields as physical education. Seventeen teachers (about one-third of the sample) had taught more than one subject, although usually one of the subjects they taught had dominated their teaching load. In this study, teachers of English and mathematics accounted for one-half of the interview group, if individuals teaching combination loads are classified under those two subject matter categories. There were ten teachers of social studies or social studies and another subject. There were three teachers of science and one music teacher in addition to the other fields cited. A summary of the teaching fields of the interview group appears in Table 2.
### TABLE 2
TEACHING FIELDS OF THE INTERVIEW GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMA</th>
<th>SFe</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching Field</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English + another</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subject</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics + another</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subject</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social studies</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social studies +</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>another subject</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Business education</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial arts</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home economics</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Continuity of Job Performance**

This section will explore whether the three teacher groups displayed continuous teaching careers or ones that were interrupted by other activities or jobs. Results will be reported for each of the three teacher groups.

**Married males**

Of the twenty-three male teachers in the interview group, ten had completed uninterrupted careers; while thirteen had experienced career interruptions of some sort. Four had left teaching to serve in the Army. Three
of these served in World War II, and one had served in World War I. Of the four who left teaching for the Army, three experienced only temporary war service. The fourth not only served in World War II but in the Korean War as well. Between service assignments, this latter individual completed a masters degree on the G.I. Bill which also took time away from teaching. It should be noted that War Service was credited as teaching experience by the Teachers' Retirement System of Ohio. That convention was followed in this study as well. A total of six of the males with non-continuous careers reported military service.

Of the remaining nine individuals with non-continuous careers, two took one year each in order to complete masters degrees and three remained in education but took different jobs within the schools. Of this latter group, one became a teaching principal, one became responsible for guidance and attendance in his school, and one was reassigned to do curriculum development work. Each of these three men returned to teaching from these positions.

The remaining four men with non-continuous careers interrupted their teaching by taking a job in another field. Two were out of teaching for brief periods of time and said they were glad to return to teaching. The remaining two individuals took jobs outside of education. One sold insurance and one sold industrial equipment. This group of four men were out of teaching from one to
eighteen years.

The average number of years away from teaching for all the male teachers with non-continuous careers was 7.5 years. It should be noted that all but four of the individuals who reported non-continuous careers spent their time away from teaching in education-related jobs or in the Armed Services. These individuals reported that they had intended to remain in teaching or in an education-related capacity for the duration of their careers. Only two of the men in the sample group indicated that they had left teaching for higher paying jobs which they had planned to keep. These two men exhibited a multiple career pattern. Ill health and the death of a spouse "forced" these individuals back into teaching.

Single females

In the single female group, nine individuals had continuous, uninterrupted careers and three reported some type of brief interruption. Of those who reported a non-continuous career, one cited illnesses which occurred at various points during her career, forcing her to remain out of the classroom; one had left teaching to take further coursework and retrain herself for a new teaching field; and one had left teaching to become an administrative assistant. This latter person had considered leaving teaching, but after two years of office work returned to the classroom.
The unmarried female group exhibited the most stable career patterns. The three who experienced an interrupted pattern did so for very brief periods of time, averaging 1.3 years per person. Of the three who left teaching for a time, only one had considered not returning to the field.

**Married females**

Of the fifteen married females in the interview group, the overwhelming majority reported a non-continuous career pattern. Thirteen of these women had left teaching for an average of 8.4 years. Twelve of the thirteen cited marriage and child-rearing as the reasons why they had left. One woman took a brief Civil Service job in order to be close to her husband prior to his service in World War II. Of the two women who had had uninterrupted teaching careers, one had had her only child while teaching at a private school and was able to leave the child with students while she was teaching. Later this same woman reported having live-in maids for virtually the entirety of her career and marriage. She said: "I could never have done what I have done without having had help." *(F-1)* The second woman with the continuous teaching career had married late in life (at age forty) and had had

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*Direct quotes from members of the interview group will be referenced by a letter which refers to their sex ("M" for male and "F" for female) and by a number indicating the sequence in which the interview occurred.*
It should be noted at this point that many married women were forced to discontinue their careers after they married as a result of hiring policies which made it impossible for a married woman to get a permanent contract in many school systems, including the Columbus Public Schools. Several of the married women who were out of teaching for a time reported becoming substitute teachers and moving from school to school. Several women also reported having been secretly married for a time or having delayed their marriages because they knew that their teaching contracts would be cancelled. One woman reported the experience of one of her friends who returned to school after her marriage and was told: "We don't have a contract for anyone by that name [i.e., her married name.]" (F-23). Thus, the interrupted career patterns exhibited by this group reflect historical circumstances as well as the demands of the family cycle. There will be further discussion of the role of women in the schools in the section on historical trends in this chapter.

Type of Career Patterns

In Chapter II, reference was made to the work of Donald Super and Gail Sheehy, both of whom developed typologies for classifying male and female career patterns. Super suggested three basic career patterns for men: stable/conventional; multiple; and unstable. He also
identified seven career patterns for women, five of which refer to working women: stable/conventional; double track; interrupted; multiple career; and unstable. Gail Sheehy suggested several female career patterns, five of which related to the working woman: never-married; nurturer who defers achievement; achiever who defers nurturing, integrator; and the late baby superachiever.

This researcher found it useful to combine these two typologies. Since virtually everyone interviewed for this study exhibited a stable/conventional career pattern, this researcher preferred to substitute the term continuous career pattern for stable/conventional. This career type includes Sheehy's never-married woman and integrator classifications. The continuous career pattern is one to which an individual makes an early and permanent commitment. A person was placed in the continuous career category if he or she exhibited an uninterrupted teaching career.

The second category of career classification used in this study combined Super's idea of the interrupted career pattern and Sheehy's late baby superachiever groups. This category was labeled the interrupted career pattern which was exhibited by a person who chose to leave, or was forced to leave teaching for a time and then returned. For the purposes of this section, males and females who were out of teaching for five years or less will be classified in this category.
The multiple career pattern refers to a person who had two different jobs during the course of his or her occupational history. For the purposes of this classification, males who were out of teaching for more than five years in another type of job will be classified in the multiple career category, even when their second job was related to education or teaching.

Super's doubletrack pattern can be combined with Sheehy's nurturer who defers achievement and achiever who defers nurturing into one career category which will be labeled the doubletrack career pattern. This pattern refers specifically to women who are married and have children and also hold a full-time job. Classification in this category implies that the responsibilities for homemaking and child-rearing are as demanding as a job and are carried concurrently with a job. Females who had children and returned to teaching after an absence of six or more years will be classified in this category.

The results of this classification appear in Table 3. As this table indicates, twenty-one of the teachers in the sample exhibited a continuous career pattern. This is approximately two-fifths of the sample group. Eighteen of the teachers had their careers interrupted for a brief period of five years or less. Thus, the majority of people in the interview group had had relatively continuous careers. Five male teachers exhibited a multiple career pattern. This included one man who had served for seven
years in the Army. Six of the married females pursued a doubletrack career pattern. Each was married and had at least one child and had defined herself primarily as a wife and mother for six or more years before returning to teaching. Members of this category were out of teaching from six to twenty-five years. No one in the interview group exhibited an unstable career pattern.

### TABLE 3

**TYPE OF CAREER PATTERNS EXHIBITED BY THE INTERVIEW GROUP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMA</th>
<th>SFe</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type of Career</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuous</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interrupted</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>multiple</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doubletrack</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To summarize this section, the interview group consisted of fifty former secondary school teachers who had taught an average of 38.4 years each. The group had been retired for an average of 7.6 years at the time of the interviews, and the average age at the time of the interview was 71.6 years.

Thirty-nine of the teachers in the interview group had taught traditional academic subjects in either junior or senior high school; while eleven had taught technical/
vocational or non-academic subjects. Teachers of English and mathematics, including those who taught these subjects in combination with others, accounted for one-half of the interview group.

Twenty-nine of the teachers reported that their careers had been non-continuous ones. Reasons cited for career interruptions included: service in the Armed forces, graduate coursework, a non-teaching job in education, a job outside of the field of education, marriage and family responsibilities, and illness. The thirteen married females who reported a non-continuous career were out of teaching for an average of 8.5 years. The ten married males with non-continuous careers reported an average career interruption of 7.5 years; and three single female teachers reported an average of 1.3 years away from teaching.

The career patterns of the teachers in the interview group were classified with reference to career typologies developed by Super and Sheehy. Twenty-one were classified into the continuous career pattern and eighteen individuals with brief career interruptions of five years or less were classified in the interrupted career pattern. Five married male teachers reported career interruptions of more than five years and were classified into the multiple career category. Six married female teachers exhibited a doubletrack career pattern by virtue of having had a teaching career in addition to family
responsibilities.

Career Development: The External Career Pattern

The external teaching career pattern can be defined as the various events during the career of a person which relate to a particular aspect of career development and which may be placed within a chronological sequence in the life of that person. The external career pattern does not refer to the attitudes and outlooks of a person which are related to general stages of career and adult development. Such attitudes and outlooks encompass the internal career pattern and will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

The data used in this section were obtained from the chronological recall of various events in the careers of the members of the interview group. For each teacher, career events were associated with a particular age or age range. Thus, the aspects of the external career pattern will be cited in terms of the average ages when members of the interview group reported having done (rather than having felt) something associated with career development.

The following aspects of the external career will be reported in this section: (1) ages of educational preparation for teaching (2) age of entry into teaching (3) average number of reported teaching assignments (4)
average duration of reported teaching assignments (5) mobility patterns of teaching assignments (6) ages of achievement of optimal teaching circumstances (7) duration of optimal teaching circumstances (8) ages of involvement in professional activities (9) ages at reported efforts in curriculum development (10) ages of involvement in extracurricular activities in the school (11) ages at reported teaching-related honors (12) ages when teachers reported first thinking of retirement and (13) age at retirement from teaching. In each sub-section, age information will be averaged and reported for each of the three teacher groups in the study as well as for the interview group as a whole.

Ages of Educational Preparation for Teaching

All of the members of the interview group had completed bachelors degrees. The average age at which members of the group reported completing that degree was 23.1 years. Married females were the youngest group, completing their bachelors degree at age 22.2 years of age. Single females were an average of 22.3 years old; and married males were an average of 24.0 years old when they completed their undergraduate degree.

Twenty-nine members of the interview group had earned masters degrees. The average age at which this group had obtained the masters degree was 30.4 years. Many had
earned this degree over the course of several summers' work. Married males were the youngest group at 28.9 years of age. Married females were an average of 29.4 years of age, and single female teachers were 33.4 years of age when they earned their advanced degree.

In addition to the earned masters degree, twelve teachers had masters equivalent degrees, representing forty-five or more course hours beyond their bachelors degrees.

Of the twenty-nine teachers who had earned masters degrees, twenty-two had taken further coursework beyond that degree. Some had planned to complete the Ph.D.; while others took extra coursework for personal enrichment or to enhance their salaries. In the early 1950's, the Columbus Public Schools made a policy of encouraging teachers to take additional coursework for improvements in pay, and many teachers took advantage of this opportunity to return to school.

All the teachers in the sample group reported that they took their last additional coursework at the average age of 39.5. Single females stopped taking further coursework at the average age of 38.5; while married females stopped taking further coursework at age 39.5 and married males were 39.9 when they stopped attending school. A summary of the educational background of the sample group appears in Table 4.
TABLE 4
EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF THE INTERVIEW GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher Category</th>
<th>NMa</th>
<th>SFe</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Level of Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelors degree</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some graduate work</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masters degree or masters equivalent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in credit hours</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate work beyond Masters degree</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Age of Entry Into Teaching

Several members of the interview group had been able to begin teaching without having had a bachelors degree. The average age at which members of the interview group took their first teaching job was 22.7. The youngest reported age was eighteen, and the oldest age at entry was thirty-three. Married females had been the youngest at entry at an average age of 21.8, with an entry range of eighteen to twenty-six years. Single females had an average age of entry at 21.9 years old, with an entry range of eighteen to twenty-five. Married male teachers were the oldest group at entry, averaging 23.7 years of age, with an entry range of twenty to thirty-three years.
In this sub-section, and the one that follows, we will examine the average number and duration of teaching assignments reported by each teacher group. For the purposes of these two sub-sections, teaching assignments were counted after the bachelors degree and prior to retirement. For married female teachers, a period of system-wide substitute teaching at any point in their careers was regarded as one assignment.

The average number of assignments for the sample as a whole was 4.5 per person. Married males had an average of 3.7 per person; single females had 3.9 per person; and married females had 6.1 assignments per person. One person in the group had had only one teaching assignment. Sixteen had had five or more. Thirty-three individuals (i.e., about two-thirds of the group) had had between two and four assignments.

For the interview group as a whole, each teaching assignment averaged 8.6 years. Married males averaged 10.6 years per assignment; single females averaged 10.5 years per assignment; and married females averaged 5.8 years per assignment. This latter group apparently had had more assignments of shorter duration than the other two
groups.

It is interesting to examine the duration of the first and last assignments for each group. For this group as a whole, the first teaching assignment averaged 4.7 years. Males taught the longest in their first assignment, averaging 5.6 years; single females averaged 3.9 years and married females 3.8 years. When the duration of the first assignment is compared with the total teaching career, it represents 11.9 percent of all the teaching experience reported by the group—a relatively small part of the total teaching experience.

By contrast, the reported duration of the last teaching assignment averaged 19.1 years for the group as a whole. Males reported an average of 18.8 years for the final assignment; single females averaged 22.0 years for the final assignment and married females 17.3 years for the final assignment. When the duration of the last assignment is compared with the total reported teaching experience of the group, it is found to represent 49.8 percent of the experience—almost half of the experience reported. Thus, we could conclude that this group as a whole experienced an average of three teaching assignments accounting for about one-half of their experience and one assignment which accounted for the other half of that experience. The results of these two sections are summarized in Table 5.
TABLE 5
THE NUMBER AND DURATION OF TEACHING ASSIGNMENTS
FOR THE INTERVIEW GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMA</th>
<th>SFe</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Group Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aspect of Teaching Assignment</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ave no. of assignments</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ave no. of yrs/assignment</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration of first assignment (in years)</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of total teaching experience: first assignment</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration of last assignment (in years)</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of total teaching experience: last assignment</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>49.1</td>
<td>49.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mobility Patterns of Teaching Assignments

Reference has already been made to Becker's concept of horizontal mobility within the teaching career. Although a teacher does not take on different role assignments throughout the course of his or her career, he or she is able to move horizontally into better teaching circumstances. Generally, better teaching circumstances are defined with respect to the location of the school and with respect to the grade level of the
students taught.

School location

Generally speaking, it is assumed that the most desirable teaching situation is in or near an urban area in either an urban or suburban school. Such schools are larger and have more resources for supplies and equipment and teachers' salaries. Schools located in or near a large urban area also offer teachers the advantages of living and working in a larger community with more resources and opportunities for personal, social, and cultural improvement.

The majority of individuals in the interview group began their teaching careers in either rural or small town schools. Only nine individuals reported that their first assignment was in either an urban or a suburban school.

By contrast, forty-four members of the sample group reported that their last assignment was in an urban school system, and five reported that their final assignment was in a suburban school. Only one member of the group had completed her career in a small town school. This information is summarized in Table 6.

Grade Level

Another aspect of horizontal mobility involves the grade level that a person is assigned to teach. It is
considered desirable to teach older students, preferably high school students. Presumably older students are more serious, more able to study and learn, and pose fewer discipline problems because of their maturity. Further, an informal hierarchy of teachers appears to exist which places senior high school teachers at the "top" of the teaching profession and kindergarten teachers as the "bottom." Presumably, a person who teaches older students demonstrates a higher level of intellectual development which is confirmed by his or her students' age.

**TABLE 6**

**MOBILITY PATTERNS OF TEACHING ASSIGNMENTS FOR THE INTERVIEW GROUP: SCHOOL LOCATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMa</th>
<th>SFe</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First assignment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rural school</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small town school</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urban school</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suburban school</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last assignment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rural school</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small town school</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urban school</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suburban school</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Twenty-nine teachers in the interview group reported that their first teaching assignment had been in a small town general secondary school (i.e., teaching grades seven through twelve). Sixteen began their careers in
junior high schools.

Thirty-seven members of the group reported that they had completed their careers in senior high schools (i.e., teaching grades ten through twelve), and thirteen reported that their last assignment was in a junior high school. A summary of this information appears in Table 7.

**TABLE 7**

MOBILITY PATTERNS OF TEACHING ASSIGNMENTS FOR THE INTERVIEW GROUP: TYPE OF SCHOOL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMA</th>
<th>SFe</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First assignment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elementary school</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>general secondary school</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>junior high school</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>senior high school</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post-high school</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last assignment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elementary school</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>general secondary school</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>junior high school</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>senior high school</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post-high school</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ages of Achievement of Optimal Teaching Circumstances

An aspect of horizontal mobility involves a teacher moving from school to school until optimal teaching circumstances have been achieved. Presumably, when a teacher finally is able to locate himself or herself in a
desirable teaching situation, he or she will cease to look elsewhere for another job and will settle into the desirable school situation.

Teachers have different criteria for what they consider optimal teaching circumstances. Some value a school with academic students who apply themselves seriously to their work. They desire parental support, congenial colleagues, effective administrators and other social supports within the school. A desirable assignment can mean teaching a particular subject to a particular level of student. A desirable teaching load also implies a limited number of teaching preparations and a minimum of extra duties such as supervision of study halls, attendance or, in the case of some teachers, responsibility for sports events, managing the school library or cafeteria.

For the purposes of this section, each of the careers of the fifty subjects was examined to determine when they felt they had reached the teaching assignment which they had hoped for. Each teacher had different criteria for this assignment. As an indicator of when this assignment was achieved, teachers were asked: "What was the happiest time for you in teaching?" Usually, the happiest time and the best assignment from the standpoint of horizontal mobility coincided. Sometimes, a teacher spent the majority of his or her career in only one school, but gradually was able to move into a position of strength and
influence within the school. The results reported in this section are somewhat impressionistic, but an effort was made to identify the number of years of teaching it took teachers in each group to achieve what they reported as the beginning of optimal teaching conditions. The age at which each teacher group achieved these circumstances was also noted. The results of this are reported in Table 8.

**TABLE 8**

**AVERAGE AGES AND YEARS OF EXPERIENCE WHEN MEMBERS OF THE INTERVIEW GROUP REPORTED HAVING ACHIEVED OPTIMAL TEACHING CIRCUMSTANCES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMA</th>
<th>SFe</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Group Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ave. yrs of teaching before optimal assign.</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ave. age at optimal assignment</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Individuals in the sample were an average of 40.7 years of age when they achieved what they considered to be optimal working conditions. Single females achieved optimal working conditions at the youngest average age, compared to the two other groups; and married females were the oldest group when they reported achieving optimal working conditions.
It took members of the group as a whole an average of 15.6 years to achieve what they felt were optimal working conditions. Single females appear to have required the longest amount of time to do this, averaging 16.8 years of teaching prior to the achievement of optimal working conditions; while married female teachers appeared to have spent the least amount of time working, averaging 14.3 years of teaching experience before the achievement of optimal working conditions.

Duration of Optimal Teaching Circumstances

The careers of members of the interview group were examined and evaluated by the researcher in order to determine how many of them had been able to maintain optimal teaching circumstances until their retirement.

For this particular group of teachers, a range of events signaled the end of optimal circumstances. Some fell ill unexpectedly and found themselves unable to maintain the level of energy they had previously. Others experienced personal difficulties which impacted on their careers. For others, the changing socio-economic and racial composition of their school signaled an end to desirable teaching circumstances. Some experienced political reverses within their schools such as the retirement or transfer of a principal who had favored them. Others experienced the retirement of close friends
and found themselves isolated by their age from a largely younger faculty. Some felt that their teaching values and outlooks were no longer adhered to within the school. Some were unable to continue to teach their preferred subject because fewer students enrolled to take it (as in the case, for example, of Latin) or because they were no longer physically able to teach it (as in the case of physical education). Thus, although virtually everyone in the sample group was able to report having achieved optimal teaching conditions at some point during his or her career, not all of the teachers in the sample were able to maintain desirable teaching circumstances until their retirement. The results of the evaluation of overall career patterns appear in Table 9.

**TABLE 9**

**CAREER TREND FROM THE TIME OF ACHIEVEMENT OF OPTIMAL TEACHING CIRCUMSTANCES THROUGH RETIREMENT FOR MEMBERS OF THE INTERVIEW GROUP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMA</th>
<th>SFe</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Career Trend</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. who maintained</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>optimal teaching</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>circumstances</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>until retirement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. who were unable</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to maintain optimal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teaching circumstances</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>until retirement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
About two-thirds of the sample group was able to maintain and continue a desirable horizontal mobility pattern until they retired from teaching. Unmarried females as a group appear to have been most successful in maintaining desirable career circumstances. Many of these individuals reported that they were able to move late in their careers from a declining school to a more desirable and newer one; thus maintaining optimal teaching circumstances until their retirement from teaching. A large number of the married male teachers reported having retired from schools which they considered to have undesirable teaching circumstances. Some married female teachers also reported having had difficulty maintaining themselves in optimal teaching circumstances until their retirement. Generally speaking, two-thirds of the interview group was able to achieve and maintain optimal teaching conditions from the average age of 40.7 until the average age of retirement which was 63.7 years, indicating that the majority of the individuals interviewed enjoyed approximately two decades of optimal teaching circumstances. This finding coincides with the previous finding that the average duration of the final assignment for this group as a whole was 19.1 years.
Ages of Involvement in Professional Activities

This sub-section refers to participation in various education-related, professional organizations. Willingness to join and become active in a professional group represents a career event which signifies a commitment to the teaching career. For the purposes of this section, the careers of members of the interview group were examined to determine the average age ranges of their participation in three types of professional groups: (a) general teachers' organizations (b) teachers' union and (c) groups related to specific subject matter fields. In addition, the careers of the interview group were examined to determine whether and when they held formal offices in any of these three types of groups.

General Teachers' Organizations

Forty-six members of the interview group reported having been members of either the National Education Association (NEA) or the Ohio Education Association (OEA). Some school systems required teacher membership in one or both of these organizations. Some teachers reported that they would alternate membership in the two groups in order to save money on membership fees from year to year.

Members of the interview group reported joining either the NEA or the OEA at the average age of 29.8. Married males reported an average of 28.2. Single females
joined at the average age of 25.6, and married females
joined at the average age of 34.9. Members of the group
report having resigned from one or the other or both
organizations by the average age of 62.9. Three individuals
indicated that they had resigned as a protest to the more
militant policies of these groups in the late-1960's.
Married males reported having resigned at the average age
of 61.7. Single females resigned at the average age of
63.5, and married females were an average of 64.1 years of
age when they left one or both of these groups.

Teachers' Unions

The American Federation of Teachers (AFT) is a trade
union organization which has been affiliated tradition­
ally with the labor union movement. This group has
emphasized better salaries and working conditions for
teachers and has claimed the right of teachers to strike
in order to obtain better teaching contracts.

Only eleven members of the interview group reported
having been members of this organization: nine married
males, one single female, and one married female teacher.
Since the size of this group was small, the average age
at which a teacher reported joining and resigning from the
AFT will be given for the group as a whole. Teachers
reported that they joined the AFT at the average age of
42.5 years, and resigned from the AFT at the average age
of 54.7 It was typically the case that teachers who
reported having joined this group cited only a brief period of membership.

Groups Related to Specific Subject Matter Fields

In addition to general teacher groups, there are a variety of organizations which represent the interests of teachers in specific subject matter fields. Thirty-three members of the interview group reported having belonged to a subject-matter group at some point during their careers.

The average age at which teachers reported having joined the special group was 33.8. Teachers resigned from these groups at the average age of 59.2. Married males reported having joined such groups at the average age of 34.1 and resigning from them at the average age of 59.8. Single females joined such groups at the average age of 31.6 and resigned at the average age of 61.6. Married female teachers reported having joined special teacher groups at the average age of 36.1 and resigning at 55.0 years of age.

Age at Office-Holding in Professional Groups

Eighteen members of the interview group reported having taken office in one or more of the professional groups cited above at some point during their careers. The age at which they first reported holding such an office was averaged for each group of teachers. The group as a whole averaged 54.0 years of age when they first assumed
an office in a professional organization. Married males averaged 52.6 years of age. The one unmarried female reporting such an office assumed it at age 46.0. Seven married female teachers reported that they had taken an office in a professional group at the average age of 58.1.

The results of this sub-section are summarized in Table 10. Generally speaking, involvement in professional groups among the interview group in this study appeared to begin in the late twenties and to end in the early sixties, just prior to retirement. The average age of reported office holding in professional groups appeared to have been in their fifties. Members of the interview group joined the AFT and special subject matter groups later than they did either the NEA or the OEA.

Ages of Efforts in Curriculum Development

During the course of the interview, each former teacher was asked to indicate one or more curriculum innovations of which he or she was particularly proud. The responses to this question were surprisingly diverse. Seventeen teachers were either unable to recall or had not developed anything that they considered innovative in their subject matter field of teaching. Several of these gave evidence of small and continuous changes in their course content. Some preferred to describe their general philosophy of teaching without giving details of
TABLE 10

AVERAGE AGES OF PROFESSIONAL GROUP MEMBERSHIP AND ACTIVITY AMONG MEMBERS OF THE INTERVIEW GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMA</th>
<th>SFe</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Group Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional activity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joined NEA/OEA</td>
<td>28.2 (n=21)</td>
<td>25.6 (n=10)</td>
<td>34.9 (n=15)</td>
<td>29.8 (n=46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joined special subject groups</td>
<td>34.1 (n=14)</td>
<td>31.6 (n=11)</td>
<td>36.1 (n=8)</td>
<td>33.8 (n=33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joined AFT</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>42.5 (n=11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reported becoming an officer in a professional group</td>
<td>52.6 (n=10)</td>
<td>46.0 (n=1)</td>
<td>58.1 (n=7)</td>
<td>54.0 (n=18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resigned AFT</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>54.7 (n=11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resigned special subject group</td>
<td>59.8 (n=14)</td>
<td>61.6 (n=11)</td>
<td>55.0 (n=8)</td>
<td>59.2 (n=33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resigned NEA/OEA</td>
<td>61.7 (n=21)</td>
<td>63.5 (n=10)</td>
<td>64.1 (n=15)</td>
<td>62.9 (n=46)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

particular methods or materials. Others frankly stated that they had made few efforts at innovation or that their subject matter field did not lend itself to innovations in curriculum.

Thirty-three individuals reported some effort at curriculum development during the course of their career. Some of these cited a specific piece of material or teaching technique which they introduced during one particular year. Others gave an age range during which they had developed
many new teaching techniques or materials or when they had been particularly innovative in a general way. Female teachers, both single and married, seemed to be able to recall having been more innovative than married male teachers. Twenty-two of the thirty-three teachers reporting curriculum innovations were female. Whether this fact indicates that males were less innovative than females or that males interpreted and responded to the question in different ways is difficult to determine.

An age range of curriculum development was established by averaging the ages at which teachers first reported an innovation and when they indicated that they were no longer doing innovative work in the curriculum area.

For the group as a whole, the average age of initial curriculum innovation was 43.5 years. Males reported an average of 41.4 years; single females averaged 38.9 years; and married female teachers averaged 48.6 years at the time of their first reported innovation. The group as a whole reported having been an average age of 55.6 years when they ceased to innovate. Males averaged 50.4 years; unmarried females 56.1 years and married females 59.6 years. This information is summarized in Table 11.
### TABLE 11

AVERAGE AGES OF REPORTED CURRICULUM INNOVATIONS FOR MEMBERS OF THE INTERVIEW GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMa</th>
<th>SFe</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Group Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ave. age of first</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>43.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reported innovation</td>
<td>(n=11)</td>
<td>(n=9)</td>
<td>(n=13)</td>
<td>(n=33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ave. age of last</td>
<td>50.4</td>
<td>56.1</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td>55.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reported innovation</td>
<td>(n=11)</td>
<td>(n=9)</td>
<td>(n=13)</td>
<td>(n=33)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ages of Involvement in Extra-Curricular Activities in the School

Members of the interview group were asked to indicate the ages at which they had been assigned to or participated in extra-curricular activities in their schools during each of their teaching assignments. Such duties included coaching of sports, plays and debate teams; advising school clubs; organizing musical activities such as band or choir; acting in some quasi-administrative capacity such as departmental chairperson, school treasurer, or detention or office duty; organizing special activities within the school such as ceremonies or dinners; and assisting at sports or dramatic events in any of a number of capacities from announcing a game and collecting tickets, organizing concessions or supervising lighting and stage management. Any duty within the school which was assumed in addition to teaching was defined as an extra-curricular
activity—regardless of whether the teacher received extra pay or release time for performing that duty.

Forty-seven of the fifty teachers interviewed for this study reported having been involved in 126 different extra curricular duties, which translates into an average of 2.7 extra school duties per person. Age ranges of reported involvement in this extra-curricular duties were developed according to when teachers indicated they had first assumed an extra-curricular school duty and when they reported having concluded their extra-curricular responsibilities.

For the group as a whole, teachers reported taking on their first extra-curricular duty at the average age of 29.9. Married male teachers were an average age of 29.1; single female teachers were 27.7; and married female teachers were 33.2 when they first assumed such duties.

Teachers reported having concluded their extra-curricular responsibilities at the average age of 55.4. Married males were 54.9; single females were 58.8; and married females were 53.4 when they concluded responsibility for extra-curricular duties. It is of interest to note that the single female teachers were younger on the average when they assumed such duties, and older on the average than the other two groups when they concluded their extra school duties. This information appears in Table 12.
TABLE 12

AVERAGE AGES OF INVOLVEMENT IN EXTRA-CURRICULAR SCHOOL DUTIES AMONG MEMBERS OF THE INTERVIEW GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMe</th>
<th>SFe</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ave. age reported</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>29.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first extra duty</td>
<td>(n=21)</td>
<td>(n=12)</td>
<td>(n=14)</td>
<td>(n=47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ave. age reported</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>55.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concluding extra duty</td>
<td>(n=21)</td>
<td>(n=12)</td>
<td>(n=14)</td>
<td>(n=47)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ages at Reported Teaching-Related Honors

Teachers were asked to indicate whether and when they had received any teaching-related honors during the course of their careers. Thirty-eight individuals indicated that they had received one or more honors. Ninety-four different teaching-related honors were cited by this group which is an average of 2.5 honors per person.

Again, responses to the question asking for honors were quite varied as teachers interpreted this question in many different ways. Honors cited included election to an education honorary, receipt of money for research or study, honors won by students which reflected on the teacher's skill, awards for extra-curricular activities, having a yearbook dedicated in one's honor, being elected...
Teacher of the Year by any of a number of groups, being appointed to a special school committee or system-wide evaluation team, winning honors of a private sort associated with personal achievement whether in or outside of the school, and various recognitions such as having a place or scholarship named in one's honor.

TABLE 13

AVERAGE NUMBER AND AGE AT RECEIPT OF TEACHING-RELATED HONORS AMONG MEMBERS OF THE INTERVIEW GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMA</th>
<th>SFe</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Group Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of honors cited by members of group</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average no. of honors per person in group</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average age at receipt of teaching honors</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>47.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(n=17)</td>
<td>(n=10)</td>
<td>(n=11)</td>
<td>(n=38)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The average age at receipt of honors for each teacher group was obtained by totaling the ages of receipt for all the honors reported and then dividing them by the number of honors. Thus, thirty-eight individuals reported having received ninety-four honors. The average age of receipt for the group was 47.4 years. Seventeen married males reported having received forty-two different honors at the average age of 45.4. Ten unmarried female teachers
reported having received twenty-three different honors at the average age of 46.7. Finally, eleven married teachers reported twenty-nine different honors received at the average age of 51.0. Thus it appears that members of the interview group who reported having won honors or recognition related to their teaching did so during their forties and fifties. This information is summarized in Table 13.

**Ages When Teachers Reported First Thinking of Retirement**

Members of the interview group were asked to indicate when they had first considered retiring from teaching. Each of the fifty teachers supplied a response to this question. The range of age when teachers first reported thinking about retiring for the group as a whole was forty-three to seventy years of age with an average for the group of 61.4 years. Married males reported an age range of fifty to seventy years and an average age of 61.6 years when they first began to think of retiring. Single females ranged in age from forty-three to sixty-seven when they first considered retirement with an average age of 60.4 years. Married females were between the ages of fifty-one and sixty-eight when they first thought of retiring with an average age of 61.9 years.
Age at Retirement From Teaching

Teachers in the interview group retired at the average age of 63.9 years—slightly more than two years after they first started to think about retirement. The maximum retirement age in the central Ohio area was set at seventy years of age while this group was teaching, although three people taught until they were age seventy-one. Married males had a retirement range from fifty-eight to seventy-one, with an average age at retirement of 64.1. Single females retired between the ages of sixty-one and sixty-nine with an average retirement age of 63.7. Married female teachers retired between the ages of fifty-five and seventy-one and reported an average retirement age of 64.1.

Summary

This section has reported aspects of the external teaching career for the interview group of fifty retired teachers.

All teachers in the interview group report having received the bachelors degree at the average age of 23.1 years. Twenty-nine individuals received masters degrees at the average age of 30.4 years. All of the individuals who reported some coursework beyond the bachelors degree indicated that their last year of formal coursework occurred at the average age of 39.5.
Individuals in the interview group reported having entered teaching at the average age of 22.7. They reported an average of 4.5 teaching assignments per person, each one averaging 8.6 years. The average duration of the first assignment was 4.7 years per person, while the last assignment averaged 19.1 years per person.

The majority of the teachers in the interview group reported having moved from rural and small town schools to urban and suburban ones across their careers. Further, they reported having moved from general secondary and junior high schools to junior and senior high schools.

Teachers in the interview group reported that it took them an average of 15.6 years of teaching to achieve what they considered to be optimal teaching circumstances. Teachers were an average age of 40.7 years at the time of their optimal teaching assignment.

Thirty-three of the fifty teachers were able to maintain themselves in optimal teaching circumstances until they retired.

Forty-six of the fifty teachers interviewed reported having been members of either the NEA or OEA during their careers. They reported joining one or both of these groups at the average age of 29.8 and resigning from them at the average age of 62.9. Eleven individuals reported having been members of the AFT between the average ages of 42.5 and 54.7. In addition, thirty-three former teachers had been members of special subject matter
professional groups. They joined these groups at the average age of 33.8 and resigned from them at the average age of 59.2. Eighteen teachers reported having had offices in one or more of these professional groups. They reported that they were an average age of 54.0 when they assumed offices in these groups.

Thirty-three of the fifty teachers reported having made some effort at curriculum development between the average ages of 43.5 years and 55.6 years.

Forty-seven teachers reported that they had been involved in extra-curricular duties within their schools. These individuals averaged 2.7 duties per person and reported an average age range of involvement of 29.9 years to 55.4 years.

Thirty-eight of the teachers reported having received ninety-four different teaching-related honors during the course of their careers. The average age at which all honors were received was 47.4 years of age for the group as a whole.

All teachers reported that they had first thought of retirement at the average age of 61.4. Members of the interview group subsequently retired from teaching at the average age of 63.9 years of age.
Career Development and the Family Cycle

In Chapter II, the work of Neugarten and Hill was cited to indicate that the family cycle has a profound effect on a person's career pattern, largely by virtue of the financial pressures which result from the process of marrying and establishing a family and from the need, in many cases, for a person to take financial responsibility for his or her parents and other relatives as they age. The family cycle also involves aspects of psychological growth and development.

While the interview schedule used in this study did not contain questions which asked the interview subjects to comment on their psychological outlooks at various points in the family cycle, several individuals volunteered comments which revealed these outlooks at different stages of the family cycle. These remarks will be included in this section. However, it must be emphasized that such comments were received on a random basis and do not necessarily represent the thinking of every person interviewed for this study.

For this section, three aspects of the family cycle will be reported and commented upon: (1) marriage and child-rearing (2) care of parents and other relatives, and (3) supplementary work.
Marriage and Child-Rearing

In this section, the information reported relates to only two of the three teacher groups interviewed for this study; namely, married males and married females.

Thirty-eight of the teachers in this study had been married at least once. For all the married teachers, the average age at the first marriage was 27.4 years. Males had married earlier than females and were an average of 25.8 years at the time of their first marriages compared to 29.9 years for the females. At the time of the interviews, all the male teachers were married. Four of these were married to their second wives. However, only four of the fifteen married female teachers were married at the time of the interview. Ten had been widowed and one had been divorced forty-six years prior to the interview. The marital situations of members of the interview group at the time of the interview are summarized in Table 14.

Several teachers in the interview group reported that they had delayed marriage until they had been able to afford it. As has been indicated, this may have reflected the hiring policies of the era regarding female teachers, but several of the males also indicated that the financial pressures associated with the Great Depression had placed limitations on their ability to marry and begin a family.
TABLE 14
MARITAL SITUATION AT THE TIME OF THE INTERVIEW
FOR MARRIED MEMBERS OF THE INTERVIEW GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMa</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marital Situation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married more than once</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the thirty-eight married teachers in the interview group, thirty-five (or approximately ninety percent of the group) reported having at least one child. Twenty-three had had two or more children. The married teacher group as a whole averaged 1.9 children per couple. Male teachers reported more children than females. They had 2.4 children per couple as compared with 1.6 children reported by the female group. Fifteen of the married teacher group had either none or only one child. This represents approximately two-fifths of the married teacher group. Three of the married teachers had had no children. These were all female teachers. Six individuals in the group reported having three or more children.

The average age at the time of the birth of the first child for married teachers as a group was 32.6
years. Again, males were younger than females at the birth of the first child, averaging 31.8 years. Females were an average of 34.0 years when their first child was born. At the birth of the last child, married teachers were an average age of 36.3. Males were 36.8 and females were 35.0 on the average when their last child was born.

As was indicated in Chapter II, the process of child-rearing proceeds in stages which are related to the ages of the oldest and youngest children in the family. A family thus has landmarks of development which are related to the growth and development of the children within it. An especially important family landmark occurs when the youngest child reaches maturity and leaves home to establish his or her own independent life. Hill labeled the period of time after the departure of the youngest child The Period of Financial Recovery which, as the label implies, is a time when a couple begins to have more financial resources to spend on leisure time and recreation as well as to prepare for retirement.

The family cycles of the married teachers in this interview study were examined to determine when their youngest child reached independent status. For the purposes of this study, a child at the age of twenty was considered adult and ready to leave home. The ages of each of the married teachers who had had children were averaged at the time that their last child reached the age of twenty. The group as a whole was an average age
of 55.9 when this occurred. Males were slightly older, averaging 56.3 years; white females were an average of 55.1 when their last child reached the age of twenty.

Married males in the interview group retired from teaching at the average age of 64.1; while married female teachers with children retired from teaching at the average age of 65.3. Thus it appears that the Period of Financial Recovery for the married teachers with children was under-way approximately eight to ten years before their retirement from teaching.

A total of twenty-six individuals reported having at least one grandchild. In addition, two individuals, one male and one female, reported having great-grandchildren. It is of interest to note that individuals who reported having grandchildren indicated that the birth of the first grandchild occurred shortly after the last or only child reached the age of twenty. For the married teacher group as a whole, the first grandchild was born at the average age of 57.3. Males were an average age of 57.5 and females were an average of 56.8 years when they became grandparents. Thus, both male and female teachers with grandchildren assumed the new status of grandparent at approximately the same time, on the average, that their last or only child left home. Family cycle and career landmarks for the married teacher group are summarized in Table 15.
TABLE 15
AVERAGE AGES OF FAMILY CYCLE AND CAREER LANDMARKS FOR MARRIED MEMBERS OF THE INTERVIEW GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMa</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Group Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landmark</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First marriage</td>
<td>25.8 (n=23)</td>
<td>29.9 (n=15)</td>
<td>27.4 (n=38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth of first child</td>
<td>31.8 (n=23)</td>
<td>34.0 (n=12)</td>
<td>32.6 (n=35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth of last child</td>
<td>36.8 (n=17)</td>
<td>35.0 (n=6)</td>
<td>36.3 (n=23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement of optimal teaching conditions</td>
<td>41.9 (n=23)</td>
<td>42.5 (n=15)</td>
<td>42.1 (n=38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last child reaches age twenty</td>
<td>56.3 (n=23)</td>
<td>55.1 (n=12)</td>
<td>55.9 (n=35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth of first grandchild</td>
<td>57.5 (n=20)</td>
<td>56.8 (n=6)</td>
<td>57.3 (n=26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retirement from teaching</td>
<td>64.0 (n=23)</td>
<td>64.1 (n=15)</td>
<td>64.1 (n=38)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ten of the fifteen married female teachers were widowed at the time of the interview. In addition, one woman reported having been divorced forty-six years prior to the interview. Since this latter person was age eighty-seven at the time of the interview, she was classified in the widowed category.

Eight of the eleven widows reported that they had lost their husbands prior to their retirement from teaching. Each of these women had had at least one child.
Several members of this sub-group reported that they had left teaching not planning to return to the classroom. Apparently, the deaths of their husbands prior to the time when they would have retired from teaching "forced" them back into the classroom and made their career a necessity. These eleven women were an average of 48.4 years of age when they lost their husbands. They were an average of 56.0 years of age when their youngest child reached the age of twenty. Members of this group retired from teaching at the average age of 66.3 years, at an older age, on the average, than other married teachers in the interview group.

A final comment should be made regarding the three married female teachers who did not have children. The careers of these women did not appear to differ significantly from those of the married teachers with children. Two of these women reported having had extensive financial responsibility for the care of either their own or their husbands' parents. It appeared to the interviewer that this group reported greater satisfaction with their careers at the time of retirement and more concern with teaching methods and innovation than did the married teacher group as a whole. However, since there were so few individuals in this category, it is difficult to determine the extent to which not having children affects teaching career development.
Part of involvement in the family cycle implies an on-going care for the interaction with members of one's own family of origin, including parents, siblings and other relatives. During the courses of each interview, teachers were asked if they had either lived with or taken care of their parents, the parents of their spouse, brothers and sisters, or other relatives. The responses to this question provided a surprising insight into the nature of family cycle involvement among members of the single female teacher group.

Virtually every one of the twelve unmarried female teachers interviewed for this study reported having lived for an extended period of time with a member of her family of origin, and most of these also reported having taken responsibility—both personally and financially—for the care of at least one of her parents along with other relatives in the family. It was quite common for unmarried female teachers in the interview group to either continue to live with their parents and other members of their families throughout their college years and from the time of their first teaching assignment until the death of one or both parents; or for the teacher to spend several years away from her family home, perhaps living with a sister or in a rooming house, and then to return to the family home to care for one or both of the parents until the time of
their deaths.

For the purposes of this section, attention will be focused on the age at which a person ceased being financially and/or personally responsible for the care of parents or other relatives as a result of their deaths. It was this researcher's belief that this termination of financial responsibility for a parent or other relative could be seen as parallel to the termination of financial responsibility that a parent has for his or her child once they reach adulthood (defined as age twenty for the purposes of this study.) Both married and unmarried teachers indicated that they had taken responsibility for the care of a relative.

Single female teachers reported having cared for twenty-eight different individuals until these people died. Of these, twenty-one were parents, five were siblings, and two were other relatives. The average age at which financial and personal responsibility finally ceased for this group was 50.7 years, with a range of twenty-four to sixty-three years reported. Three of the twelve unmarried teachers cared for only one relative; four cared for two; and five cared for three or more individuals.

Members of the single female teacher group frequently reported that the care of their parents and other relatives had been a central focus of their lives for time. One woman reported that she had closed down five
households during a five-year period while she was in her fifties. She commented: "It really takes something out of you." (F-13) Other unmarried teachers reported that the care they had provided had been so expensive that it made their working essential. One woman, who had cared for both of her parents over a period of ten years during her fifties, expressed satisfaction that she had been able to provide the quality of care that she had for each of them. In a statement, which was perhaps prophetic, she said: "We were the last generation to take care of their parents." (F-11) Others in this group reported that the stress of family matters had been so great that they had suffered physically as a result. One woman reported having suffered a nervous breakdown after the death of her father; while another simply said: "I was pretty well at the end of my string when my father died. It was pretty rugged caring for him." (F-12) Another woman indicated that the serious and progressive illness of her sister was so painful to witness that she deliberately took extra work in order to get out of the house.

It is interesting to note that members of the single female teacher group were able to enter the period of Financial Recovery in their early fifties. Members of this group retired at the average age of 63.7 years, and thus had approximately a decade to prepare themselves financially for retirement.
Ten of the fifteen married female teachers reported having cared for twelve individuals until their deaths. Of these, seven were parents and five were in-laws. The average age at which financial responsibility for relatives ceased for this group was 58.6 years, with a range in age from forty-two until sixty-eight. Seven of the teachers cared for one person and three cared for two. No one in this group reported having cared for more than two relatives.

The impact of caring for parents and in-laws appears to have been less striking for the married female teachers. Although there was an occasional mention of the financial responsibility incurred, most members of this group did not dwell on these particular care-giving experiences. Members of the married female group were older, on the average, than the other two groups at the time that their responsibility for a relative ceased. Several had also experienced the new status role of becoming a grandparent by that time and, perhaps, were able to view their care for their parents and the parents of their husbands from a different life cycle perspective.

Four married males reported having cared for four relatives. Each person cared for one person, and the relatives cared for were either their own or their wife's parents. Financial responsibility for relatives ceased for this group at the average age of 52.8, with a range in age from thirty-two until age sixty-seven. Generally
speaking, the four married males who reported having cared for relatives until their deaths did not report extensive care-giving experiences. Married males in general appeared to be the least likely to participate in the care of members of their families of origin. This may have reflected the fact that they were forced to focus their energies and resources on the families that they had established through marriage.

To summarize this section, it is clear that the demands of the family cycle can affect a person whether he or she is married or not. Individuals in this study who did not marry often faced significant financial responsibility for their parents and other relatives which paralleled the responsibility for children among the married teacher group. Single females in this study were able to conclude their responsibility for relatives and other members of their families in their early fifties— at a slightly younger age than the married group was able to launch their children from home and enter the Period of Financial Recovery. A majority of the married females also reported caring for either their parents or those of their husband until their deaths. Those women who were married and had children in addition to responsibility for parents or other relatives indicated that they held this responsibility for a longer period of time. Both their children and other relatives ceased to be dependent upon them in their mid- to late-fifties. The married male group
interviewed for this study was the least involved in caring for their parents and other relatives.

Supplementary Work

As must be apparent, the significance of the family cycle, apart from its strong psychological components, appears to be in the financial demands it makes upon a person. Not only does participation in the family cycle increase the need for income, but it may serve to inspire career development by making it necessary and desirable for a person to seek increasingly better paying and more prestigious jobs. Thus, as has been noted, the teacher turnover pattern appears to be tied to the family cycle. Female teachers leave teaching to bear and raise children; while males leave to seek a higher paying job.

Members of the interview group in this study remained as teachers perhaps, in part, because of the way in which the demands of the family cycle interacted with the nature of historical reality. As has been mentioned, the majority of the male teachers in this group had entered teaching during the Depression era. Many then found themselves forced to remain in teaching which presented to them a safe and secure field at a time when other jobs were either non-existent or uncertain. Once entrenched in teaching, the males in this group reported that they came to like their work, even though twelve of the twenty-three males interviewed reported having had a "lost
dream" of some kind that was related to a career outside of teaching.

The interesting thing that the interviewer observed was that many members of the male teacher group were offered different and higher paying jobs in education and in other fields while they were in their forties. However, most of these preferred to remain in teaching. In part this seems to have occurred because the male teacher group had been able to devise a number of successful ways to supplement the income earned from teaching during their evening, weekend, and summer hours. In some cases, these second jobs became the central job focus of their lives; and some of the male teachers in the sample group reported that they had remained in teaching just long enough to earn a satisfactory retirement income and complete the educations of their children. Thus, the pressures of the family cycle had impelled members of the male teacher group to develop a pattern of "moonlighting" that enabled them to meet the financial needs of their families. In some cases, it was not clear whether the second job or teaching had become the "moonlighting" job for this teacher group.

A comparatively small number of either the unmarried or married female teacher group took evening or summer jobs during their careers. This was significant in light of the fact that many reported having had full financial responsibility for their children and for other relatives. It should be noted that the interview schedule did not
inquire closely into the nature of each teacher's finances. It may have been that the women who reported having been widowed were left with modest pensions as well as property which made an outside job unnecessary for them. It may have been that other family members, including their children, helped them financially. The researcher did not make a detailed inquiry into these matters and did not receive many comments relative to the issue of finances. Unmarried female teachers had tended to live with other family members including brothers and sisters who themselves held jobs and contributed to the household. These individuals were often left with considerable property which they were able to continue to live in without paying either rent or mortgage or were able to sell for a significant sum. Generally speaking, then, both married and unmarried female teachers in this study were somewhat vague about their financial status and few had taken significant evening or summer jobs to help them meet expenses.

Twenty-nine members of the interview group reported having had significant evening and summer work experiences. Among the male teachers, twenty-two out of twenty-three reported such work. Of these, eleven had jobs which were of such significance that they competed with teaching for the teacher's time and energy. Several of the males who had held significant second jobs retired from teaching in order to devote themselves fully to this second career
interest. The second jobs which competed with teaching included: ownership of a private business or service; sales work; evening teaching outside of the public school system; and work as a musician. Teachers also reported summer work in business and industry; home maintenance and building work; recreational activities; and various odd jobs. In addition, several of the male teachers had worked briefly as teachers in the evening division of the public high schools and in some of the colleges in the area. Males reported that they had taken up their supplementary jobs at the average age of 28.8 years and had left them at the average age of 55.8. Thus, the period of most intense commitment to supplementary work activity appears to coincide with a period just prior to the birth of children and just prior to the time when the last child reaches the age of twenty.

Many of the male teachers were able to recall their exact salaries at various teaching assignments and exactly when and what they had been doing for supplementary income. This accuracy of this recall may indicate the great concern that married male teachers had had for financial matters. One man for example, paused during the course of the interview in which he had been detailing the range of different odd jobs he had taken across the course of his career and apologized: "I'm sorry to describe to you all this scrounging for money, but there was a time when things were pretty tight." (M-13) In addition to the
supplementary income that male teachers earned from evening and summer jobs, seven members of this group reported that their wives had worked to supplement the family income, particularly while their children were in college.

Retirement from teaching did not mean an end to the work life of this teacher group. Fifteen reported having taken some sort of paying job after retirement. These included substitute teaching, administrative work, work in business and industry, management; and one man even reported having become a model in advertisements! This latter individual took the time to show the interviewer several examples of his modeling career. He was especially amused to have been photographed as an ailing and elderly hospital patient.

Only three of the single female teachers reported a significant second job. Each of these women had taken extra work to help defray the costs of medical and other family-related responsibilities, and each had taken some form of office work. Four members of this group reported having had scattered and brief supplementary work experiences, largely in the areas of evening and summer teaching and tutoring; and five reported having neither evening or summer work. Two of the women had continued to work after retirement at part-time jobs. It should be noted that both the unmarried females who sought supplementary work and several of the married males indicated that their work
experience had been undertaken in part to build social security benefits. The three single females reported that they took on their supplementary work at the average age of 33.3 and discontinued working at the average age of 51.3.

The married female group had been able to depend on their husbands' incomes, at least for a time during their marriages. One woman's husband became unable to work while she was in her late twenties. From that time on, she became the major breadwinner in the home while he gradually regained his health and was able to take up a new career which he could pursue at home. Despite the fact that many of the married women were part of a two-income family group, four of the fifteen women in this group reported having had significant supplementary work experiences. Seven of them continued to work after retirement; seven reported having had scattered jobs in the fields of education and market research; and four indicated that they took no supplementary work at all during their careers. The four married females who had evening work or summer work started it at the average age of 37.0. These same women concluded their supplementary work at the age of 59.0. As a group, these women entered supplementary work and left it later than the other two teacher groups. The results of this section are summarized in Table 16.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMA</th>
<th>SFe</th>
<th>MPe</th>
<th>Entire Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. with significant supplemental jobs</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ave. age at start of supplemental work</td>
<td>28.8 (n=22)</td>
<td>33.3 (n=3)</td>
<td>37.0 (n=4)</td>
<td>30.4 (n=29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ave. age left supplemental work</td>
<td>55.8 (n=22)</td>
<td>51.3 (n=3)</td>
<td>59.0 (n=4)</td>
<td>55.5 (n=29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reported some supplemental work</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reported no supplemental work</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reported that spouse supplemented income</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>15*</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reported work after retirement</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Spouse supplemented income until time of death or divorce.

Thus, it can be seen that the family cycle, and in particular the financial demands that it presents for care and nurture of either children or other relatives, had a significant effect on the interview group in this study. Many individuals apparently remained in teaching when they might have preferred to pursue a different career because they needed the secure income that teaching provided to support their families. Whether married male, married
female or unmarried female—each group in this study reported that significant financial demands were made on them during the course of their careers. Generally speaking, all teachers in the sample group were able to enter a period of financial recovery during their fifties. Almost half of the sample group reported having taken a post-retirement job of some kind.

The majority of individuals interviewed for this study appeared to have been able to retire from teaching amid relative comfort, despite the financial difficulties which they reported at points in their careers. For many members of the interview group, family concerns became pre-eminent, and they reported that there were sustained periods—some lasting through retirement—when they viewed teaching as merely the means to the attainment of their various family-related ends. This was particularly true for married male and female teachers in the sample group.

Career Development and Historical Circumstances

This section will report the composite historical background that was obtained from all the former teachers during the interview process. Some of these individuals had a keen sense of history and gave a great deal of information about how the role of teachers and the school had changed in American society over the course of their careers. Other teachers gave evidence that certain
historical circumstances surrounding the teacher role had affected their careers and their attitudes towards teaching, but were otherwise not oriented toward an historical perspective. The information reported in this section is of a general nature and represents the interviewer's interpretation of data provided by the interview group.

Inevitably, the structure and course of an individual's life are affected by the social, economic, and political circumstances within which he or she lives and works. For the group of individuals interviewed for this study, historical circumstances represented an important aspect of their career patterns. These individuals had experienced a period of unusually rapid social and political change which encompassed World War I and World War II, the advent of the so-called Cold War, the Great Depression of the 1930's, the various efforts of Blacks and other minority groups to win full civil rights within American society, and the so-called Youth Revolution of the 1960's and early 1970's. As teachers in the social and political environment of the public school system, this group of people was in constant contact with young people who frequently acted as the vanguard of new social and political outlooks in American society.

For many of the individuals in the sample group, the effort to adapt to rapidly changing value structures was an exhilarating one. For others, the pressures of
change and the processes of aging came into conflict, causing them at first to resist new ways of thinking and doing things and subsequently to isolate themselves from all that was "new" within the school. Several members of the interview group retired from teaching expressing bitterness and regret because they had been unable to adapt themselves to change.

As Table 17 indicates, the majority of the individuals in this sample had entered teaching between 1925 and 1934.

TABLE 17
YEARS DURING WHICH MEMBERS OF THE INTERVIEW GROUP ENTERED TEACHING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMA</th>
<th>SFM</th>
<th>MFM</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Years of entry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910 - 1924</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925 - 1934</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935 - 1950</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These included some of the critical years of the Great Depression, and many individuals reported that they had had great difficulty finding their initial teaching job and subsequently were very concerned about continuing to work in the face of increased financial responsibilities within their families. Several of the teachers recalled not being paid for entire years during this period and
having to live on credit while their school systems made efforts to raise the necessary operating funds. It was this researcher's opinion that the economic uncertainty of these early years of teaching had made a great impression on members of the interview group. Twelve of the twenty-three male teachers, for example, reported that they had hoped to pursue a career other than teaching, but found themselves "locked" into teaching by a combination of the uncertainty of the job market and financial pressures generated by growing family responsibilities. It was this researcher's opinion that several of these men regretted having been teachers and did not regard teaching as a worthwhile male career. One unmarried female teacher, who also expressed regret at having been a teacher, reported that the financial pressures of the Depression had forced her to remain in teaching when she might have preferred another career.

Members of the interview group retired from teaching during the complex period of upheaval encompassed by the 1960's and 1970's. As Table 18 indicates, slightly more than one-half of the individuals in the interview group retired between 1970 and 1977.

Seven broad themes referring to changing historical circumstances will be discussed in this section: (1) the changing economic and legal status of teachers; (2) the changing nature of the teacher group; (3) the changing value structure of the school; (4) the changing role of
TABLE 18
YEARS DURING WHICH MEMBERS OF THE INTERVIEW GROUP RETIRED FROM TEACHING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMa</th>
<th>SFt</th>
<th>MFt</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year at Retirement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959 - 1969</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970 - 1977</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the secondary school in American society; (5) the changing status of the secondary school teacher; (6) the changing status of Blacks and other minority groups in American society; and (7) aspects of change within the urban school system of Columbus, Ohio. The majority of the individuals interviewed for this study had completed their careers in the Columbus Public School system. Their various observations about the ways that that particular urban school system changed between 1930 and 1977 are offered to illustrate the way that teachers perceive the growth and change in an urban school system over time.

The Changing Economic and Legal Status of Teachers

The economic status of teachers refers not only to their salaries, but to what they were expected to provide in the way of services for the schools that employed them. The generally low salaries of teachers compared to other
occupational groups with comparable educations has been written about in great detail in many other books and articles about teachers. There is thus no need to belabor the point that teachers have been poorly paid for their services. For the members of the interview group, however, the period from 1920 through 1977 was one which saw both a remarkable increase in teacher salaries and a decrease in the number of activities that teachers were expected to perform in exchange for the money they received.

Most of the teachers in the interview group started teaching in rural or small town schools. As teachers in such schools, they were expected to perform janitorial duties, chaperone dances, and attend sports events, keeping score, collecting tickets, and providing refreshments. Some were even called upon to maintain sports fields, facilities, and equipment as part of their teaching load. Many members of the interview group emphasized that there was no personal choice involved. A teacher was assigned to these various duties and expected to perform them—or lose his or her job. Certain teachers, such as those in science, were tacitly expected to provide some of the materials used in their classrooms. Several reported contacting members of the school community for teaching supplies or having to buy certain books, maps, and equipment out of their own pockets. Teachers of physical education, music, and home economics were expected to devise money-making schemes to buy the uniforms and
equipment they needed to teach their subjects. Teachers of business subjects were often called upon to audit school accounts and collect and deposit school monies. Home economics teachers were expected to manage the school cafeteria and, on occasion, organize large community dinners in the evenings. Not only did teachers perform all these extra duties, but they often found themselves teaching four or more different subjects to several different grade levels. In the early parts of their careers, many of these individuals had been very busy and reported spending a great deal of time in the school after hours.

Despite the expectations of teachers, there were few districts which had regularized salary schedules. Each teacher negotiated his or her own contract and seldom was aware of what others in the school were making. Occasionally, a person would discover that another teacher with less experience or education was making a higher salary and would go to his or her principal or superintendent and demand a raise. These demands were usually met in an effort to keep salary issues of a confidential nature. Men and women were regularly paid at different rates. One woman called her efforts to equalize male and female salaries in her school system during World War II "one of the great victories of my career." (F-11) She and the other female teachers in the school were able to have their salaries raised to that of male teachers—a situation
that was certainly not typical in other systems which tended to pay women less than men.

Not only did salaries rise during the teaching era of the interview sample, but published district-wide salary schedules became the rule. Teachers began to enjoy substantial salary increases, especially during the 1960's in the central Ohio area. Teachers who retired prior to 1965 were often bitter about the improved economic conditions of teachers, since their retirement income was figured on the basis of the average of their five highest paid years. More than one teacher commented that he or she finished a teaching career earning the same amount that a beginning teacher with a bachelors degree was offered to start. Other teachers benefitted from the increased salary levels and were able to retire with some measure of comfort. As one woman who retired in 1975 said: "It would have taken a whale of an office job to pay what I got when I left teaching, (i.e., $17,000./year)." (F-18)

Further, many of the extra duties which teachers had performed *gratis* as beginning teachers became the source of extra income as the overall economic circumstances of teachers improved. Teachers were able to add to their income in their after school hours and they were not considered obligated to spend extra time or money for the benefit of the school. Especially during the 1960's, a great deal of federal money became available to schools to purchase additional supplies, and several teachers
recall with satisfaction that they were called upon to make decisions about which books, films, and other teacher aides the school should purchase.

Another aspect of the improved economic status of teachers was the provision for paid sick leave in teaching contracts. Many of the teachers interviewed reported missing no more than ten days of school during careers of thirty and forty years! Many members of the group, as has been noted, were in remarkably good health, but they also indicated that sick leave was not paid for in the early years of their career and extensive leaves of absence from the school often resulted in the termination of a contract. One woman recalled that a friend of hers had been fired from her job for observing the Jewish holidays. Several teachers indicated that they had gone to school many mornings when they had felt ill or otherwise unable to teach because they and their families needed the money from every day of work.

The legal status of teachers improved largely as a result of the advent of tenure laws during the 1950's and 1960's. When many of the teachers in the interview group started their careers, teaching jobs were scarce and teachers were in oversupply. Teaching contracts were renewed each year and there was no guarantee of continuing employment. A great deal of a teacher's job security depended on his or her relationship with the principal or superintendent and members of the local board of education.
A teacher who was unable to establish a good relationship with these individuals often found himself or herself without a teaching contract. Not only was the renewal of contracts uncertain, but teachers who were fired were often not told the reason why their contracts had not been renewed. They were thus forced to obtain this information "through the grapevine." Hiring and firing policies were often reported as quite eccentric. One woman was fired from an early teaching job because she had been accused of "gambling" during a bridge game where she bet 25-cents on a hand. Another woman found out that she had been fired for failing the son of a board of education member.

The early uncertainty of teacher tenure made a strong impression on many of these teachers. When they were asked if they had considered school administration as an alternative to teaching, many were emphatic in their insistence that they had wanted no part of being a school official. Principals were often refereed to as "dictators" or "paper pushers" surrounded by "sycophants" and "puppets." One man remarked: "You had to have a religious overlay and a Masonic streak, but not have very many brains [to be a principal]. The progress in education in the last few years shows that." (M-19) Another man added: "Teachers who are really up on things are naturally at odds with administrators." (M-1) After teacher tenure laws became instituted, many teachers took satisfaction in being "fireproof." They confided that they would
refuse administrative requests and ignore tedious meetings or feel free to speak out strongly on behalf of teacher rights once they knew that their jobs were secure.

As the legal status of teachers improved, the overall status of women in teaching improved also. Prior to the early 1950's, the legal status of women in teaching was very uncertain. Reference has already been made to the practice of terminating the contract of a woman once she married. Many teachers were uncertain about the origin of this practice. Some felt that it dated from the post-World War I period when returning men found jobs quite scarce. Others attributed it to the Depression era, seeing it as an effort to insure that at least one member of a family would be able to earn money and that a woman would not "take" a teaching job from a man who needed it to support his family. During World War II, many men again left the classroom. Members of the interview group recall that it was during this period that women made significant gains with the schools. Some married women were contacted and asked to return to teaching to help meet the teacher scarcity of the era. Many of them did so, thinking that they might be able to win a permanent teaching contract as a result of this service in time of need. However, rules making it difficult for married women to obtain a permanent teaching contract continued through the Korean War period.
In the Columbus Public Schools, a married woman was eligible to teach as a permanent substitute from the 1930's onward. If a woman taught in the same school for three years, she was entitled to a permanent contract (at a higher salary) in that school. This practice enabled school districts to have the services of many female teachers at much reduced salaries. It also made it quite difficult for the woman who was forced to work to support her family. One woman recalled that she had had to file a series of documents certifying her husband physically unable to work before she was eligible for a permanent contract. For several years, until her husband recovered his health, she was the sole breadwinner in the family and still harbored resentment about the school policies which kept her from a higher paying, permanent position. Another woman was forced to divorce her husband, and thus become "single" again, before she was eligible for a permanent contract. She had hoped to avoid the stigma of divorce (during the 1930's) by remaining separated from her husband, but was forced to take this legal step to insure her job. As it turned out, she taught for more than ten years in the same school before finally winning a permanent contract. Several women who had been widowed reported that they were transferred to many different schools before they obtained a permanent contract. One woman had been promised a contract as a result of her teaching during the World War II era. This promise was
not honored. Later, she taught for two and a half years in the same school and was suddenly transferred, just before she would have become eligible for a permanent contract. During the interview, this woman recalled and expressed bitterness about the treatment she had received.

An unfortunate by-product of this policy toward married female teachers was the fostering in many of them of role distant attitudes. Many of these women reported that they learned to follow school textbooks, since they saw no point in developing their own curriculum materials when they had no idea where they would be next. By the time many of these women received permanent contracts, they saw themselves as "war scarred veterans" of various classroom encounters who viewed teaching as little more than a necessary source of income. Few of them were able to transcend their experiences as permanent substitutes and commit themselves fully to teaching. As one woman noted: "I was never happy in teaching after my husband's death. Teaching was just a job to help the girls through school."

The policy toward pregnant teachers was that they were expected to leave the classroom at the time when their pregnancy became obvious and they were forced to wear maternity clothes. Most of the women in the sample group who became pregnant while teaching expected to take time off to have their children. Teachers who had established themselves within a particular school could
usually depend on returning to it, although this was not always the case. One woman in the sample became pregnant at the age of forty, after almost twenty years of teaching experience. At the time of her pregnancy, she was teaching in a school that she particularly liked and where she had established herself as a leader among the faculty. She was therefore unwilling to leave her position. She told no one of her pregnancy and wore loose fitting clothing to conceal her pregnancy and was able to complete the school year five months pregnant. She reported that many people were shocked when they learned that she had had a baby. She did not return to her former school, but did return to teaching after two years at home with her child.

A final aspect of the status of female teachers should be commented upon. Women often reported having been treated very paternalistically by school administrators (who were predominantly male) and by their male colleagues. Several reported that they had been expected to give up teaching favored subjects or supervising favored clubs to male colleagues or that their wishes had been ignored when they came into conflict with those of a male teacher. One woman reports having been "silenced" in her protest at being transferred to a school in which she did not wish to teach by being told: "If you object to change, it means you are getting old." (F-21) Many of the female teachers reported their dread of aging or of appearing old. As we shall see, this comment was deliberately designed to
highlight a particularly feminine aspect of the process of aging, and, as such, was an example of the way that women in teaching were subtly discriminated against.

To summarize this section, teachers in the interview group reported that the economic and legal status of teachers improved significantly between 1920 and 1977. There were improvements in the salaries and working conditions of teachers. School districts adopted public and standardized salary schedules. Non-teaching duties in the school were reduced or became paid duties. Teachers were granted paid sick leave and personal days. Teacher tenure laws increased job security.

The legal status of married female teachers improved significantly. A married woman was no longer forced to leave teaching after she married and was eligible for a permanent teaching contract on the same basis as unmarried female and married male teachers. Provision was made for maternity leave. As the legal status of married women improved within the field of teaching, many of the subtle ways of discriminating against female teachers in general were discontinued.

The Changing Nature of the Teacher Group

Teachers in the interview group reported that during the period 1920 through 1977, there were significant changes in the characteristics and attitudes of individuals who
chose teaching as a career.

As teaching salaries and working conditions improved, a much wider spectrum of individuals was attracted to the field. In particular more males were attracted to teaching. Teachers became less inclined to view themselves as public servants who had set themselves above economic concerns and more as employees hired to do a relatively well-defined job within the bureaucracies of various school systems.

In Chapter I, reference was made to the fact that teaching has been considered a predominantly female profession and an occupation particularly well-suited to women. Many individuals believe that a woman is particularly able to provide patient nurture of young people by virtue of her experience and socialization in the feminine role. Many women in the interview group reported that their sex had been a limiting factor when they prepared themselves for an occupation. Teaching and nursing were the only two "professional" fields which women could enter without difficulty. Several women indicated that if they were starting their careers again today, they would consider other career areas such as law or business which are now more open to women. It was quite common for women to comment that they stayed in teaching because they did not "know" any other way of earning a living. The prestige and autonomy of teaching made it superior to office work or other jobs also open to women at the time.
Hiring policies which made it difficult for married women to obtain permanent contracts had the effect of accentuating an aspect of the sex stereotyping of teachers. For many years during the era of the interview group, schools were dominated by a clique of unmarried women who enjoyed great privileges and prestige in their various schools by virtue of their total commitment to teaching. Several members of the interview group had been among these women; others recall the efforts they made to be accepted by this group. Many acknowledged the dedication of this group of single women; others called them "the old maids" and indicated that their own careers had been stifled until this group of women retired. The stereotype of the unmarried female schoolteacher seems to have been confirmed to some extent by several members of the interview group. One man (age seventy-one at the time of the interview) recalled with great discomfort the "dressing down" he had received after he inadvertently left the homeroom of one of these women in disorder. One woman recalled asking a member of this group what had been covered in a ninth grade course, so that she could plan the course of study for the tenth grade. She was told: "When you've been here a while, you'll learn not to ask about things that don't concern you." (F-18) This same woman later married while teaching in the same school. Her husband's job took him away on frequent business trips. Hearing of this, another unmarried teacher and member of the old
guard of the school commented: "I could get along with a man if he was away as much as your husband!" (F-18)

Many other anecdotes regarding unmarried female teachers were offered by the interview group, and the overall impression that they left was that of a formidable group of individuals who were sure of themselves and, once entrenched, able to say and do largely what they wanted to within their various schools. It appears as if few dared to challenge them and most saw them retire without regret. It should be noted that the members of the interview group who had been among this clique of unmarried females, but had retired after 1960, saw their role within the school decline a great deal. It seemed to this researcher that many had expected to enjoy the privileges of unmarried female teachers before them, but found themselves in an era when these privileges were no longer available. This group experienced isolation, rather than influence in their later years.

As hiring policies changed and salaries increased, younger men and women began to enter the field of teaching. These individuals did not see teaching as a form of public service. They did not share the outlook of noblesse oblige which might be said to have characterized earlier teacher groups. They were very conscious of "bread and butter" issues related to the teaching job. Most refused to perform extra duties within the school unless they were paid for them. Many were willing to join more militant
teacher organizations, including the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). Many of these individuals entered teaching in the late 1950's and early 1960's, during a period of teacher shortages. As a result, they were given many extra inducements to enter teaching and stay in it. Female teachers were not required to sacrifice themselves to teaching, avoiding marriage and child-rearing; and male teachers no longer expected to be a part of a "poor but noble" calling.

In light of their own experiences, members of the interview group were very critical of the younger teachers whom they had seen come into the schools. A frequent comment was: "They will do just what they have to do and that's all." (M-20) One man referred to this group as "marshmallow teachers, unprepared for the realities of the classroom." (M-3) Newer teachers were called "less dedicated," "lazy," "misfits," "not too bright," and "boon-doggler" by various members of the interview group. One unmarried female teacher recounted to the interviewer a confrontation she had had with a younger male teacher in the late 1950's. He was in the teachers' room complaining about teaching and students and other things when she asked him: "Why don't you do something else?" He replied: "I guess I'm just too dumb and lazy to do anything else." Her retort to this was: "I'm glad you said that!" (F-10) She recounted this incident to illustrate the attitude of younger teachers toward teaching and the school, and was
implying that she felt teaching required intelligence and energy to be successful.

However, not all of the teachers interviewed were critical of younger teachers. Male subjects in particular saw newer teachers as more vital, vigorous, humane, and open-minded than teachers of the past. Many of these male teachers had resented the power and outlooks of the "old maid" teacher group and felt that their dedication to teaching and children was greatly over-rated. One man recalled talking with a "spinster" teacher who told him: "I've taught school for forty years and I hate kids." He then asked rhetorically: "How could someone go on like that?" (M-23) Many males also resented the popular image of the school teacher as "dry" and "sexless." They were glad to see the end of what was termed the "Miss Dove" and/or "Mr. Chips" syndrome. One man noted with satisfaction: "You can't lie to young teachers. They call you on it." (M-23)

During the era of the interview group, teachers apparently became more militant and more willing to stand up for their rights within the school. Higher salaries and better working conditions attracted individuals to teaching who saw themselves as employees, rather than magnanimous public servants. Teaching also began to attract more males and married females. The once powerful unmarried female group which had represented the teacher stereotype passed from the scene.
Protestant Christian ethical and moral outlooks seemed to characterize the interview group. Many of the individuals had grown up in rural and small town America where church participation was part of community life. The homes of many individuals in the sample had religious objects, plaques, and pictures testifying to their continuing faith. Two aspects of Protestant Christianity seem to have impacted this group and been a part of their teaching orientation: (a) a concern for certain types of moral behavior and (b) a strong sense of the Protestant work ethic.

At the time that many of the members of the interview sample were hired to be teachers, teaching contracts specified that a teacher would not drink alcoholic beverages, smoke cigarettes, swear, or engage in illicit sexual activity. These same prohibitions became their definition of moral behavior within and outside of the school. In rural or small town schools, a new teacher was contacted by the church which represented his religious denomination and asked to teach Sunday school. To refuse this request was regarded as an unwillingness to become involved in the community. Many male teachers in particular recall being pressured to take on Sunday school classes in addition to their other duties. Thus, in rather subtle ways, school and church were closely tied together in
smaller school systems.

It is not surprising, therefore, that many members of the interview group voiced disapproval of the behavior of both younger teachers and students from this particular moral standpoint. These teachers were both bewildered and shocked by such things as open displays of affection between students in schools, the frequent use of "vulgar" language, and even the evidence of smoking and drinking among staff members. One woman, who had retired earlier than she might have from teaching because she was at odds with her principal, reported that this man (who was still a principal) "throws parties for teachers at which liquor is served." (F-16) Others complained of the short skirts or "sloppy" dress of newer teachers.

The value structure of the school as it had existed in the 1920's and 1930's had an amusing aspect as well. One man told the interviewer that: "I always wrote down that I was a Methodist and didn't smoke" (M-19) when he was applying for a new job. A woman recalls that she and her friends had gone to special lengths to conceal the fact from local school people that she smoked cigarettes. Another woman reported that she was taken aside and admonished for wearing a bright red vest which her principal felt was "too daring" for the school.

Some of the teachers in the interview group welcomed the privacy and freedom of behavior that they found in the larger school systems of central Ohio, but many reported
having been unable to adjust to newer and more casual ideas about alcoholic beverages, drugs, sex, and modes of dress.

Another aspect of the value structure of the school which most of the teachers felt had changed was the erosion of the habits associated with the Protestant work ethic. Many of these individuals had personally experienced the economic difficulties of the Depression. Several had had to work quite hard to win secure and better-paying jobs. Thus, in the 1950's and 1960's, they were surprised to encounter students who did not value academic achievement and, in fact, seemed to them to be motivated to do very little of anything.

Many attributed the new outlooks of students to the advent of television, which they felt encouraged student passivity. One man said that students with "TV glazed looks" began to appear in the school in the mid-1960's, making it impossible to teach in more traditional ways. (M-3) Others blamed the social welfare system which made success in school and in a job obsolete. More than one teacher recalled a student saying that he or she didn't have to worry about finding a job after school, since they planned to go on welfare. Teachers saw themselves working much harder to achieve the same results in the face of growing student apathy. One woman commented: "You felt as if you were driving them, rather than leading them." (F-27) Another teacher reported that she had requested a
school transfer to the suburbs, feeling that students from more economically advantaged homes would show more interest in school work and achievement. She found the attitudes of students in the newer school largely similar to the ones in the school she had left. "I think I was expecting too much. I thought there was going to be a big change" she reported. (F-15) One man had retired from teaching but still had a son living at home and attending high school. He commented that the different work values were illustrated by the behavior of members of his own family. He cited the achievements of his older children, individuals in their thirties, and contrasted them with those of his youngest son. He commented on the prospects of this individual by saying: "If there is ever another Depression, he will be among the first to starve to death." (M-18)

Thus, during the period from 1920 to 1977, many teachers saw great changes in traditional moral behavior and in the willingness to work hard to achieve success in school and later on the job. They cited the erosion of traditional moral values as part of the reason for the changes they had witnessed.

The Changing Role of the Secondary School in American Society

It appeared to the interviewer, based on the comments she received from members of the interview group, that the overall status of the secondary school had declined during
the teaching period of the interview group.

Educational statistics indicate that prior to 1950, graduation from high school usually marked the end of a person's schooling. After 1950, however, more and more individuals began to continue their educations in college. In part, this may have reflected the value structure of returning American soldiers in the post-World War II era who were encouraged and enabled to attend college on the G.I. Bill. It also may also have reflected the fact that more people began to look to post-secondary school training in light of the "knowledge explosion" which made it impossible to master a subject without several years of further specialized education. Finally, further education was advocated as a job advantage. Many students were thus encouraged to attend college in order to obtain better-paying jobs.

As more and more individuals attended college, the secondary school lost prestige and became almost exclusively, in some communities, a sorting institution for colleges and universities. Several teachers interviewed for this study reported their resentment at having courses or programs in their schools changed to meet the needs of the college bound student group or the requirements of particular colleges and universities.

At the same time that these changes were occurring, the system of public education in the United States began to come under critical public scrutiny. During the
1950's, several books and articles appeared condemning various aspects of school practice. When the Russian satellite Sputnik was launched in 1957, the public outcry against the secondary school reached a climax. Many people attributed the Russian space advantage to the superior system of Russian education and called for basic reform of public education. These circumstances have been documented by Lawrence Cremin in his book *The Transformation of the School.*[^3] and they also were confirmed by members of the interview group. Members of the interview group reported that they felt that the secondary school had lost considerable prestige by the early 1960's.

At the same time that individuals began to demand that the secondary school prepare young men for college, another group came forward who saw the school as the place to prepare individuals for practical job skills. The interviewer was quite impressed by the contrast between individuals who taught more "traditional" school subjects such as English or history and those who had taught business skills and other technical/vocational subjects. This latter group reported that they had had difficulty winning acceptance within the regular school structure, but that once they did so they found students generally eager to take their courses and to respond to the training they were receiving. Those who taught technical and vocational subjects were more likely to stress the need to "keep up" with their fields. Many of these made a practice
of attending workshops and conferences which would improve the course of study they could offer in their courses. This group was also more likely to retire from teaching feeling that their careers had been successful and meaningful.

The cry for "relevant" course material during the 1960's apparently referred most often to more traditional courses, and several of the teachers interviewed who had taught these subjects indicated their resentment at having to refashion them to make them more interesting or meaningful to students. One man commented that at some point in the 1950's, "school became a 'fun' place rather than a place of work." (M-3) Teachers became obligated to "sell" and justify their subjects and some, as has been noted, found that their teaching field was no longer attracting students. This latter situation occurred most often to teachers of ancient and/or foreign languages.

A final aspect of the changing role of the secondary school in American society was the fact that during the 1960's and 1970's, the school became the site or focus of protest movements which were occurring in the wider society. Teachers reported that students threatened or held strikes to oppose the Vietnam War; to obtain the right to wear more casual clothing to school; to protest policies towards Blacks and other minority groups; and to obtain changes in other aspects of school program and policy. They reported that many school administrators were unable
to deal with these disruptive incidents in effective ways, and, in fact, it took some years for several different groups in American society to "learn" how to handle protest in a fair and effective manner. As a result, many administrators were perceived as "giving in" to protestors. Teachers called them "weak," and reported that they felt many school administrators lacked the courage to deal effectively with student dissent and disruption.

According to several of the teachers in the interview group, school officials appeared to have become preoccupied with preventing any incident which would bring poor publicity to their respective schools. Several teachers reported that they were told to ignore certain forms of misbehavior. One teacher characterized the change by noting: "Students, rather than adults, began to run the school." (M-6) Teachers appeared to have felt pressured to pass and promote students whom they would have failed in former times. Paper work increased as teachers were forced to document and defend their actions regarding difficult students or those who needed special help. One person summed up what he felt had happened to the school while he was a teacher by saying: "There is a considerable breakdown in the whole scheme of things. We are involved in trivia and trappings and minutiae." (M-15) Thus, several teachers in the interview group reported that they felt that during their teaching career, the secondary school had lost its ability to lead American opinion and had become a
victim of it instead.

As if to symbolize the declining status of the secondary school, students were reported as more and more likely to commit acts of vandalism against school property. A majority of the teachers interviewed had at least one story demonstrating the disregard of school property among students. One man had had his shop broken into and scattered on three different occasions. After the final incident, he made no effort to replace the shop tools which were stolen or which he found rusting in the grass surrounding the school. Another woman reported that students in her home economics class would use "magic markers" to write on the appliances in her kitchen area and that several appliances were scratched with student initials. Library books were destroyed or defaced. Audio visual materials and equipment was stolen or broken. One man reported coming to his car at the end of the day and finding a cement block from the parking lot thrown through his windshield.

By the time that many of the teachers interviewed for this study retired, they had witnessed changes in the role of the secondary school which made them question the value of their own commitment to teaching and whether teaching should or could be recommended as a career to others.
The Changing Status of the Secondary School Teacher

As the prestige of the secondary school declined, so, too, did that of the secondary school teacher. Teachers in the interview group report that teachers lost academic and moral/social authority both within the school and within the wider society as a whole.

The secondary school teacher had enjoyed a measure of prestige when many of the members of the interview group started teaching largely by virtue of their greater academic achievement as compared with the academic backgrounds of most of the adults in the rural and small town communities in which these individuals started their teaching. The teacher was thus "looked up to" by members of the community, and parents were apparently eager to ally themselves with teachers and the schools to insure the proper upbringing of their children. However, as the overall educational level of American society increased, the secondary school teacher was no longer regarded as the academic authority that he or she once had been. Riley summarizes this aspect of the changing teacher group:

Parents with children in school in 1960 may well have reared their own children more permissively than did the earlier cohorts to which the teachers belong. Moreover, these parents, as members of the more recent cohorts, have received more formal education, on the average, than did the earlier cohorts of which teachers are members so that, in contrast to past historical periods, a sizeable
proportion of parents today are the educational equals or superiors of their children's teachers. Since the age difference between parents and teachers . . . can index such differential exposure to historical trends and events, this difference may also distinguish parents from teachers in their values and their definitions as to the nature and purposes of the family and educational institutions. Thus it may be possible that parents and children are now closer together in many respects than are parents and teachers, creating the potential for a coalition of home against school. In such a situation, parents may be the partners, whether silent or vocal, in their children's disobedience or in demands for educational change resisted by teachers and school authorities.¹⁴

Many members of the sample group indicated that at some point in the 1950's and 1960's, they had felt that parents no longer stood as advocates of the school, but had become opponents of it. They indicated that the alliance of teachers and parents had been disrupted in favor of the alliance between parents and students to which Riley refers. As an illustration of the strength of the former parent-teacher socializing bond, one woman recalled that during the 1940's a parent had telephoned her school to ask that her daughter be sent home to make her bed. The student was sent home as requested!

The loss of quasi-parental legitimacy may have been one of the most significant changes in the teacher role which occurred during the era of the interview sample. Many deeply resented the loss of this form of authority which they felt both undermined their effectiveness in discipline and eroded the status of the occupation of teacher. One man seemed to summarize the feelings of many
in the interview group when he said: "The 1940's and 1950's were the golden age for teachers." (M-8)

One result of the new parent-student alliance was increased concern for student rights within the school. Several teachers reported having had the experience of having a parent protest a classroom procedure on the grounds that it was illegal. Some teachers were threatened with legal action. One teacher had devised a system of discipline which he felt was quite effective. It consisted of requiring an unruly student to sit on a two by four-inch board for a certain period of time. The teacher felt that both the pain and the humiliation of the experience were effective in discouraging discipline problems in his classes. During the 1960's, this teacher had several confrontations with parents who demanded an end to this form of punishment. He said that one parent had called the system "something out of the Inquisition." Eventually, he gave up this system of discipline and relied on detentions and other methods which he felt were less effective.

Another teacher had been a visiting teacher for the major part of his career. It was his job to locate truant students or those who had broken the law and bring them back into the school. Early in his career, he made friends with several police officers who would arrest a truant student and detain him for several nights in the juvenile detention center. The teacher felt that this
system enabled him to confront a student with his truant behavior or wrong-doing at a time when the individual would be especially eager to resume a more normal life. He called this "bedeviling" students and reported that such experiences often resulted in immediate and positive changes in behavior among the difficult students he dealt with. During the 1960's, new guidelines emerged specifying the treatment of all individuals accused of breaking the law, most of which included juvenile offenders as well. Detaining a person without cause was no longer possible. The teacher complained that as a result, his "tools" had been taken from him, and he felt that he was significantly less effective in his later years.

Although some of the teachers in the interview group seemed to indicate a nostalgia for a period of teaching which perhaps at times was unnecessarily harsh from the point of view of students, this interviewer believes that the teachers in the sample group were less committed to particular methods of discipline than they were to the idea that the teacher had a natural and unquestioned authority in the classroom. In one way or another, teachers did appear to have had the "tool" of authority removed from them during this era. As one woman summarized: "Teachers used to tell students what to do. Now they ask them to do things." (F-10)

Not all teachers in the interview group regretted losing aspects of the parental role. Several welcomed the
new possibilities of an inquiring and independent student group. One woman commented: "Students today are more self-sufficient and want to express themselves more freely." (F-25) She indicated that she encouraged this sense of self-sufficiency with excellent results in her classes. Another woman felt that the new student group had ushered in a new aspect of the teacher role which was more interesting and challenging than that of quasi-parent. She said: "Teachers today no longer have to work to broaden student experiences. Television and other experiences do that now. What teachers have to do is to structure experience and make it understandable." (F-9) She said she had adapted her teaching style to these new role requirements.

Another way that members of the interview group felt teachers had lost prestige was in their willingness to adopt more militant methods of obtaining better salaries and working conditions. The majority of the members of the interview group had been members of various teacher organizations, including the National Education Association and its related state and local groups. Approximately one-fifth of the members of the sample group had been members of the American Federation of Teachers, a more militant group affiliated with the trade union movement which advocated teacher strikes for higher pay and better working conditions. During the 1960's and 1970's, the NEA and its affiliates became more militant and some
teachers in the interview group resigned from them in protest to their new policies.

Many members of the interview sample indicated that they felt teachers had lost prestige because they had abandoned their former service role in favor of concern for "bread and butter" issues regarding salaries and benefits. To many in the interview group, this sort of militance among teachers was "unprofessional." They felt that the overall standing of teachers had eroded once one faction became involved with trade unionism. Thus, they felt that teachers had no one but themselves to blame for their poor standing in the community. In 1974, there was a teacher strike in the Columbus Public Schools. Many of the members of the interview sample who were still teaching at the time reported that they had been strike-breakers. After the strike was over, many of these same people found themselves actively isolated from younger faculty members, further strengthening their opposition to teacher militance.

A final way in which the status of the secondary school teacher declined over the period 1920 through 1977 was reflected in the response of members of the interview group to the question: "Why did you remain in teaching?"

It soon became apparent that many teachers themselves held a low opinion of the teacher role which no doubt served to confirm and enlarge the negative stereotype of the secondary school teacher apparently held by a
considerable part of the wider American public. Male respondents in particular seemed to regard the teacher role as a nonprestigious one. It has already been noted that almost half of the males interviewed for this study reported having been locked into teaching by economic circumstances. Many of these reported a "lost dream" career in another field. They were also more likely to say that if they were starting a career in the present era, they would not choose teaching. Many men half-jokingly said that they had remained in teaching because they were "lazy" or "unambitious" or because teaching was "easy;" thus giving evidence that they may have felt somewhat ashamed at having ended their careers as teachers. One man noted that "teaching was a semi-honorable job." (M-19), but went on to report that he never tells anyone that he was once a teacher. He feels that he would be negatively stereotyped if he admitted to his former occupation. One man was particularly blunt in his opinion of teaching and teachers. He said: "Teaching is a stop-gap or interim career people follow until they find themselves. The right woman can persuade a man to get out and do a better job." (M-21) This latter individual had had a non-continuous teaching career.

Thus, for several members of the interview group, the overall decline in status of the secondary school teacher was reflected and confirmed in their own comments evaluating the meaning and significance of their teaching
careers. It is possible that the feelings that they had regarding themselves as teachers and the overall image of teachers was subtly communicated to their students and the parents of their students; thus perpetuating and perhaps aggravating the declining prestige of the secondary school teacher.

To summarize, during the period 1920 to 1977, the secondary school teacher appears to have experienced a decline in prestige and authority within the school and the wider community. As a result, many teachers came to accept a negative evaluation of the teacher role and perhaps unwittingly further contributed to the declining status of the occupation.

The Changing Status of Blacks and Other Minority Groups in American Society

During the era of the interview group, the status of Blacks, women, and other minority groups improved significantly in American society. Civil Rights legislation made it illegal to deny a person educational or job opportunities on the basis of race or sex or ethnic background. Many members of minority groups experienced a new sense of pride in the uniqueness of their heritages. The public school responded to these developments by offering new courses designed to highlight the achievements of various minority groups; by observing minority-related holidays during the course of the school year; and by revising
teaching materials and techniques so that they would be more responsive to the needs of minority group students. In addition, money from the federal government became available during the 1960's to help meet the needs of the socially and economically disadvantaged student within the urban public schools. In many instances, disadvantaged students were also members of minority groups.

The changing status of Blacks and other minorities within the society as a whole and the public schools in particular created complex and extensive changes. Hundreds of books and articles have been written detailing this process of change. For the purposes of this section, this researcher can only note the basic nature of the changes which occurred and the fact that the new roles of Blacks, females, and other minority groups within the public schools resulted in significant attitudinal changes among several teachers in the interview group.

It should be noted at this point that the interview questionnaire did not ask teachers to comment on their perceptions of any particular minority group. As a result, only a portion of the group did make comments and these represented the expression of particularly strong and usually negative feelings about the changes which had occurred in the status of various minority groups. Thus, the probable range of opinion regarding Blacks and other minority groups was not represented by the comments received. It is likely that those who felt most strongly
took the opportunity to express themselves; while those who said nothing either had no strong feelings or did not feel comfortable sharing them with the interviewer. It should be mentioned again that the interviews took place at a time when the Columbus Public School system was involved in a law suit alleging deliberate policies of segregation in schooling. The ruling on that suit was pending at the time of the interviews and was very much in the news. It is likely that that particular circumstance highlighted the feelings of those who commented.

The teachers who took the opportunity to comment about the changing racial and ethnic quality of the public schools were usually those who had completed their careers in schools which were either predominantly Black or in which there had been major disruptions in the student body which was only partially Black. The teachers who commented expressed a range of negative feelings towards Blacks which ranged from bewilderment and a sense of failure to resentment, anger, and even racism. It was not uncommon for this group of the subjects to refer to Blacks as "colored people." One man even used the pejorative term "niggers" in the presence of the interviewer to refer to Black students.

Four points of view regarding Blacks and other minority groups seemed to be represented in the comments of teachers: (a) American elitism (b) selective perception (c) reverse racism and (d) alienation from the young in
American elitism

American elitism refers to the tendency among some of the teachers in the group to view all non-native-born Americans or distinct ethnic groups, such as Jews, as individuals outside of the mainstream of American culture. This point of view was reflected in the comments of teachers who had come from rural or small town backgrounds where they had been a part of a fairly homogeneous community. Individuals who came from upper middle class urban backgrounds also reflected this perspective. The tradition of using the public school to "Americanize" the sons and daughters of immigrants is associated with this point of view. During the 1960's, when Blacks and other minority groups demanded to be perceived and respected as distinct groups in American society, as opposed to becoming assimilated within it, teachers holding the American elitist point of view were bewildered and indignant. Their comments to the interviewer indicated that they could not understand the desire of any group to stand outside of the American mainstream.

Selective perception

Selective perception refers to the fact that many teachers who taught in schools which were characterized by considerable social disruption tended to attribute that
disruption to Black students only, even when Blacks represented only a part of the student body. Several schools experienced small, but effective, strikes organized by Black groups during the late 1960's and early 1970's. Often the incidents involved no more than a handful of Black students and some supporters—both Black and white—but they were perceived as significant threats within the schools where they occurred. One of the interview subjects, who was Black, recalled his role during one of these incidents. He had been angered at both the rigidity of the response to Black demands and the over-publicity which the incident received. He continued to maintain that media coverage of such incidents had aggravated their impact and made them more serious than they in fact were. In many schools, a significant number of disruptive students were Appalachian whites, but this interviewer was surprised at how infrequently this group was mentioned when "problems" in the school were discussed.

Reverse racism

Reverse racism occurs when members of a group which has experienced prejudice or racist feelings begin to attribute equally stereotyped and negative characteristics to the group that it perceives as originally having been prejudiced against them. Many of the teachers who commented negatively about Black students remarked that their own lack of experience in dealing with Blacks
initially predisposed them to a neutral stance. They insisted that they had not had anti-Black feelings prior to having taught in Black schools. After this group experienced rejection and hostility, coupled with defiant, insulting and rude behavior, they began to harden their opinions into stronger and more prejudiced ones. One woman commented: "I used to think I wasn't a racist, but after a few years at (school), I wasn't sure anymore." (F-21) This same woman went on to say that she had resented the fact that people simply assumed her to be anti-Black because she was older. She had spent the major part of her career in small town schools and was unprepared for some of the experiences she encountered in the Columbus metropolitan area. It is difficult to determine in retrospect the extent to which an individual was predisposed to hold an opinion regarding a minority group, but this researcher feels that many of the individuals who expressed anti-Black feelings did so in reaction to the way they were treated. She is convinced that many of the individuals who expressed this point of view were expressing frustration at their inability to "reach" Black students, rather than entrenched racism.

**Alienation from the young**

As has been mentioned, rapid social and cultural change characterized the teaching era of the interview group in this study. Many individuals who expressed
anti-Black feelings also indicated that they felt alienated from the value structure of young people in general. They reported instances of rudeness from whites as well as Black students—whether in urban or suburban schools. The anti-Black comments they offered were coupled with an inability to understand and work with secondary school students in general.

It should be noted that there were some teachers in the group who did make a point of saying that they had had no racial difficulties in their classes. One man, who was one of the two black teachers interviewed in this study, indicated that the student population in his school was a combination of Blacks and Appalachian whites. He noted, however, that he frequently "forgot" which students belonged to which race. "When I come home at night, I can't remember whether a certain student is Black or white. That is because they are all the same to me." (M-2) His remark was echoed by other teachers in the interview group. Thus it seems to have been the case that some members of the teacher group were predisposed towards anti-Black outlooks prior to their experiences with Black students in the 1960's; some groups were at first neutral but became anti-Black as a result of their experiences with Blacks and other minority groups in the school; and some teachers were either untroubled by the changing status of Blacks in the public school system or were able to continue to maintain their teaching style regardless of
the racial or ethnic compositions of their classes.

Before concluding this section, it should be remarked that the two black teachers who were interviewed for this study differed in no significant ways from the interview group as a whole. Both had progressed in their careers at the same rate as other teachers in the group, although each had initially been assigned to predominantly Black schools. One of these two men had been the first Black teacher at one of the major high schools in the Columbus Public Schools, and the other had spent one-half of his career in an all-Black school and the final half in a predominantly white school where he was immediately appointed the chairman of his department—a job he held until his retirement. Both these men indicated that they felt they had had to work harder to prove themselves not only as teachers but while they were in college and in other areas of life. They felt that significant and positive changes had occurred in the status of Blacks in the United States, and both held strongly to the idea of integrated education. They had opposed special programs for Blacks, such as Black studies, on the grounds that these tended to promote segregation of the races, and thus would prove to be harmful to the interests of Blacks in the long run. Since these two individuals were not otherwise different from the wider teacher group, and since their race did not appear to have impacted on their career development patterns as teachers, this is the only
special mention that will be made of them.

Teachers of traditionally sex-segregated subjects such as home economics, typing, and wood and electrical shop and drafting, indicated that they had had a sprinkling of demand for their courses from members of the sex which usually did not take them. Typing teachers began to have male students when typing became a desirable part of the college preparatory program. One man indicated that his wood shop courses had always been open to women, but only a dozen or so females had registered for them before he had retired. One home economics teacher said that the course she had designed for a male/female class of ninth graders was "nerve-racking". (F-19) She was not opposed to having a class specifically for male students, but found that when boys and girls were together in her class, neither group took the course seriously. She also reported that the male students would throw food and would refuse to leave the kitchen areas in the condition of cleanliness which she desired. Generally speaking, comments regarding new roles and relationships of males and females in the school were few and of low intensity.

Thus, the changing status of Blacks and other minority groups in American society and within the school had profound effects on the attitudes and outlooks of some of the teachers interviewed for this study. Several individuals interviewed indicated that they had been unable or unwilling to adjust to the new status of Blacks, in
particular, and to the new militance and racial pride which this group began to display in the 1960's and 1970's.

Changing Aspects of the Urban School System of Columbus, Ohio

The majority of the teachers interviewed for this study had ended their careers within the Columbus Public School system. All the changes in schools and teaching reported in this section were evident in that school system. This final sub-section will focus on the general changes in the quality and organization of the Columbus Public Schools as they were perceived by the members of the interview group.

Many of the teachers interviewed for this study indicated that they had applied repeatedly for a position in the Columbus Public Schools before they were offered one. For many, the notice that they had been hired by the system represented a major career triumph. Most had come into the system between 1925 and 1950. Their reasons for applying to Columbus had been various. Some wanted to be closer to families and friends. Others wanted to be located near Ohio State University so that they and members of their families could attend classes there. Some wanted to leave their smaller districts for what they saw as the opportunities of a major urban school system.

The group of schools within the system was initially rather limited. There were four major high schools within
the system: Central, North, South, and East. West High School was built later than the other urban high schools in the city. Major schools were built in the 1920's. Some teachers indicated that they had come to one of the high schools when they still "smelled new." Associated with each high school was at least one junior high school, but some schools had two or more attached to them.

The most significant change which occurred during the teaching careers of the interview group was the tremendous population increase of the city of Columbus which was reflected in the growth of the city to the north and east during the 1940's and 1950's and to the west during the 1960's and 1970's. As growth occurred, new schools were built and the districts were redrawn for the older high schools and junior high schools—a measure which often resulted in significant demographic changes in the student populations of some schools. There was explosive growth in the suburban areas as post-World War II prosperity enabled families to purchase their own homes.

While growth was proceeding on the outer rings of the city of Columbus, the inner city was undergoing rapid change as well. Appalachian whites and Blacks began to buy or occupy the housing vacated by families seeking to move further from the center of the city. Large, elegant homes were remodeled into rooming houses and much of the property was owned by "absentee landlords." Major stores
in the city of Columbus began to build branches in the shopping centers located in the new areas of the city, further blighting the downtown area which increasingly relied on the activities of State government to keep its vitality. The construction of major Interstate highways around and through the city of Columbus had the effect of isolating certain neighborhoods and destroying others, at the same time that it made it possible to live further from the center city and commute to work.

The former teachers interviewed for this study reported that as the economic conditions of the central city area eroded, so did the educational interests of the groups who were left to live in that area. They felt that the quality of the original urban high school began to decline. The teachers who taught in these central city schools indicated that they had watched them change in character. Many subsequently requested transfers to one of the newer schools in the system.

As the system grew larger, it also seemed to many of the teachers to have become more impersonal. Many commented that they had been unable to maintain a sense of belonging within the large system. Their ties to colleagues were eroded; and as their class sizes increased with the size of their schools, they felt greater distance between themselves and their students. Many reported that they had tended to maintain friendships only with a limited number of fellow teachers, most of whom they had met when they had
first come into the school system. During the later years of their teaching, most teachers reported that their schools were characterized by high turnover rates of both teachers and administrators, making the relative stability of the teacher population of their earlier years in teaching seem quite desirable in retrospect. Some teachers reported being overwhelmed by the growth of the school system, and several of these said that their happiest times in teaching had been when they were in small town schools where they had known not only their colleagues but members of the community as well. There can be no doubt that the size of the Columbus Public School system helped to foster role distance for certain teachers in the interview group.

Another big change in the school system which appears to have occurred from 1945 onwards was the tremendous increase in the bureaucracy of the school system and, in particular, in the number of individuals who held administrative jobs of one kind or another. Several teachers in the interview group reported that they had been offered the chance to enter this rapidly growing body of school administrators, but that the offer had come too late in their careers for them to take advantage of it.

Apparently, the administrative demands on teachers increased as the school system became more concerned with documenting patterns of behavior. Many teachers reported their resentment at the increase in paperwork which they
experienced in the latter parts of their careers. Many felt that they should have been relieved of much of it by the growing body of non-teaching personnel in the school. School principals apparently gave up all of their teaching duties in the 1940's and spent more and more of their time in public relations efforts within their particular school community. This role became especially important during what one teacher referred to as "the roaring and rioting 1960's. (M-17) Many teachers discovered that administrators, caught in some of the public relations binds of that era, were willing to compromise some of the traditional values of the school in order to keep peace within their communities. Teachers found themselves called upon to explain why they were failing a larger and larger percentage of students in their classes. Incidents involving parental or student complaints against teachers were increasingly resolved at the expense of the teacher. Many teachers complained of "weak" administrators within their schools who no longer "backed" them in the face of student and community pressure. Thus another traditional alliance, that of the school administrator with his faculty, was disrupted during this period, and teachers were increasingly isolated without an independent power base of their own. Several teachers in the interview group reported that they had been in schools which had had new administrators every two or three years. They indicated that this uncertainty of administrative
leadership undermined teacher morale in their schools and made it difficult to formulate consistent school policy. Members of the interview group indicated that this breakdown in the system of school administration, particularly in the 1960's, was one of the factors which may have accounted for the apparent inflexibility and lack of imagination that they felt the school system as a whole demonstrated in meeting the challenges of the various changes reported in this section.

Thus, the rapid growth of the Columbus Public School system, as perceived by members of the interview group, coupled with changes in the character of the population of the city of Columbus, resulted in what members of the interview group felt were significant changes in the character of student bodies in certain schools in the system. Further, the former teachers reported that the growth of the school system appeared to have spawned a large bureaucratic network which in their view had been unable or unprepared to deal effectively with the changes which rapid growth and underlying social and cultural changes brought with them, particularly in the 1960's and 1970's.

This very lengthy section has detailed seven aspects of changing historical circumstance which appeared to have affected the values and outlooks of the former teachers interviewed for this study. While the experiences
of this particular teacher group may never occur again in the same sequence or with the same impact, it was this researcher's observation that the teaching careers of these particular individuals had been significantly altered by the major historical events and trends of the times in which their careers had unfolded.

Career Development: The Internal Career Pattern

The internal career pattern refers to the changing attitudes and outlooks of a person as he develops and changes within a particular occupational role. As has been indicated, the internal career pattern of a teacher is affected by personal concerns and, in particular, by his or her involvement in the family cycle and by his or her experiences within a particular historical context. Attitudes and outlooks are also tempered and changed by the processes of psychological and biological aging.

The internal career pattern is often reflected in external aspects of career development. An individual will devote more or less time to his career depending on the way in which he regards its value and satisfaction. The external career also reflects personal and historical circumstances. Individuals may be forced to adjust their occupational commitment in order to meet personal responsibilities; and economic and social circumstances beyond a person's control can affect whether or not he or she is
able to find the job assignment desired or to maintain a certain line of career development.

In this section, six aspects of the internal career patterns of the individuals interviewed for this study will be considered: (1) level of job morale (2) reports of how individuals felt they had changed as they aged (3) reports of perceived changes in aspects of the school environment (4) reports of shifting commitment away from teaching (5) reports of personal revitalization, both on the job and away from it and (6) reported attitudes at the time of retirement from teaching.

The data cited in this section, as in others previously reported, will rely on the ages at which teachers reported that they had perceived changes in themselves, in others, and in their interests. The intensity and detail of recall for a particular job or period in a person's life will be used as indicators of changing internal states. Great reliance will be placed on the interviewer's evaluation of each former teacher's response pattern and apparent attitudinal structure at the time of the interview. Reference will be made to reports of outside interests, group involvement, and evidences of extensive travel which could suggest that a person's major focus of attention had shifted outside of the teacher role. Relevant anecdotes and direct quotes will be used in this section to illustrate some of the changes described. As has been the case previously, teachers will be identified
by sex and sequence of interview.

Level of Job Morale: The Happiest Time in Teaching

Earlier in this chapter, reference was made to the time when teachers interviewed for this study indicated that they had achieved what they considered to be optimal teaching circumstances. Teachers reported that they had achieved such circumstances at the average age of 40.7 years of age, after an average of 15.6 years of teaching experience. Individual responses to the question: "What was the happiest time for you in teaching?" were used, in part, to determine when a teacher had achieved optimal teaching circumstances. However, it was quite often the case that the happiest time in teaching did not coincide with optimal teaching circumstances which tended to reflect practical job concerns.

In this section, an effort was made to establish the average age ranges of the happiest time in teaching for each of the teacher groups. Forty-six members of the interview group provided a usable response to the question inquiring about their happiest time in teaching. Members of the group as a whole indicated that their happiest time in teaching began at the average age of 38.3 and ended at the average age of 49.9. Married males reported that their happiest time began at the average age of 37.1 and ended at the average age of 48.8. Single female teachers
indicated that their happiest time had started at the average age of 38.2 years and had ended at the average age of 51.8. Married females cited the average age of 40.2 as the onset of their happiest time in teaching and indicated that this period ended at the average age of 50.1 years.

Apparently, the period designated the happiest time in teaching lasted for approximately ten to twelve years and ended ten or more years prior to retirement for members of the interview group.

Ten teachers indicated that their happiest time in teaching had ended by age twenty-five. Ten reported that their happiest time fell between the ages of twenty-five and forty-five. Twenty-three teachers (i.e., one-half of the group providing a response to this question) indicated that their happiest time occurred between ages forty-five and sixty. Three cited the period from age sixty to sixty-five as their happiest time, and four provided a non-specific response. This information is summarized in Table 19.

Reports of How Individuals Felt They Had Changed as They Aged

Members of the interview group were asked to describe how they felt they had changed as they aged. Individuals gave a variety of responses to this question which cast some light on their frame of mind at retirement
TABLE 19
AGES OF REPORTED HAPPIEST TIME IN TEACHING
FOR MEMBERS OF THE INTERVIEW GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMa</th>
<th>SFe</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age Ranges</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 45</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 60</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 - 65</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Specific</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

as well as their probable evaluation of their personal assessment of their teaching effectiveness at the time of their retirement from teaching. The results are summarized in Table 20.

Twenty-six teachers reported that they had either changed in a positive direction or had seen no change in themselves at all. Twenty-four members of the interview group cited some sort of negative change in themselves as they had aged, ranging from a loss of energy to active unhappiness, bitterness or intolerance. The results of this question appear to be inconclusive and indicate that the interview group was almost evenly divided in their outlooks at the time of retirement. About one-fifth of the group reported having changed in a decidedly negative manner as they had aged.
## TABLE 20
PERCEIVED CHANGES WITH AGING REPORTED BY MEMBERS OF THE INTERVIEW GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMA</th>
<th>SFe</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive changes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grew more tolerant</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Became more self-assured and confident</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative changes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lost energy, unable to keep up with teaching</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Became mildly unhappy</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Became actively unhappy, intolerant or bitter</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saw no change in self</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was this interviewer's additional observation that female teachers—both married and unmarried—reported more concern about the physical changes associated with aging than did the married male teachers. Several women indicated that they had wanted to retire from teaching before they perceived changes in themselves or were perceived by others as being "too old to teach." One woman's comment was typical: "I would see the old teachers dragging themselves around, and I would say: don't let that be me. If I can't run down this hall, I don't want it." (F-11) Another woman said: "At the end
of your career, you begin to wonder if you are getting too old to be effective and if students think you are too old." (F-3).

Perceptions of their physical aging were highlighted when teachers encountered former students. One man said simply: "It makes you feel that you've been around too long." (M-13), after he met a student at a school open house. Another woman told the school librarian after meeting a former student: "I just aged twenty years." (F-19) One teacher reported that she met "an old man" who told her that she had been his teacher when she first started out. She was shocked at the contrast between his appearance and her own internal perceptions of how she had aged. Another woman attended a class reunion of students she had had during her first teaching assignment and said: "They were kids in high school and I was teaching them, and now they're old folks. It was quite interesting to see them." (F-23). This latter individual was age seventy-seven at the time of the interview.

The greater concern with physical aging observed by the interviewer in female teachers may reflect social values which place a premium on a woman maintaining her youthful appearance. The greater awareness of the process of aging among women may account for the fact that the majority of those in the interview group (i.e., sixteen of the twenty-seven females) were able to report some sort of positive change as they aged. They may have been better
prepared to accept the consequences of aging and to separate those consequences from other aspects of their perceptions of the teaching career.

Reports of Perceived Changes in Aspects of the School Environment

Teachers were asked to report their perceptions of how aspects of the school environment had changed over the course of their career. These included perceptions of changes in students, fellow teachers, school policy, and the socio-economic situation of their schools. As was indicated in the previous section, many of the changes which teachers reported were tied to historical circumstances and cannot be associated with the process of aging alone. However, when the interviewer reviewed the ages at which teachers first indicated that they had perceived a change of some kind in their school environment, she was surprised to discover that perceived changes tended to be reported in each person's fifties, regardless of the year that a teacher retired. Since the changes noted were all in a negative direction, she concluded that perceptions of negative change in aspects of the school environment could be an indicator of a person's readiness to retire from teaching.

Thirty-seven of the teachers reported some sort of negative change in their school environment. Thirteen teachers reported no perceptions of change. Two of these
indicated that the changes which had occurred were in a positive direction. A summary of the types of changes perceived appears in Table 21.

TABLE 21

PERCEIVED CHANGES IN THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT REPORTED BY MEMBERS OF THE INTERVIEW GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMa</th>
<th>SFe</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Change Reported</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in socio-economic condition of school</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in student attitudes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in school academic standards</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in teachers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No change reported</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the thirty-seven individuals who reported some sort of change in the school environment, the average age at which changes were first perceived was 55.0. Males reported perceiving change at the average age of 54.5; single females reported changes at 53.0; and married female teachers were an average age of 56.8 when they noted changes in their school environments of some kind. These changes appeared to be tied to the process of aging and occurred at the same ages for teachers regardless of
the year that these individuals retired, indicating that historical events could not fully account for the changes noted.

**Reports of Shifting Commitment Away From Teaching**

In the section in this chapter reporting the effects of the family cycle on the teaching career, evidence was presented to indicate that several of the teachers in the interview group had shifted a significant portion of their time and energy away from teaching in order to pursue a second job for extra income. Male teachers in particular were most likely to report that their energies and interest had shifted to the second job. The following comments were typical of the married male teacher.

"I've always had one or two jobs besides teaching." (M-9); "I would have taught until seventy if I didn't have the accounting work. It [teaching] was getting to be too much." (M-14)

For the purposes of this section, the careers of members of the interview group were examined to determine whether teachers had shifted their interests away from teaching into community activities, hobbies or travel. Results indicated that neither outside groups and activities nor hobbies engaged significant portions of the teachers' time.
Outside Groups

Only three of the twenty-three male teachers indicated that they had been very active in outside groups. Two had become active in the politics of their local communities and the third had been active in the National Guard. One unmarried female reported significant outside group activity between the ages of forty and sixty. She told the interviewer: "I have no use for teachers who do nothing but teach." (F-10) to explain the reason for her outside commitments. One married female teacher reported that she had become very involved in outside activities from the age of fifty until the date of the interview (when she was eighty). She said: "Teaching wasn't my primary interest. I enjoyed it. It was a source of income, but I didn't spend all of my time on it." (F-1)

Hobbies

The surprising finding was how little time teachers reported having spent on hobbies, either before or after their retirement from teaching. Most reported having had a sports hobby, a skill hobby (such as sewing) or a social hobby such as bridge or poker. Only four married males indicated that their hobbies had taken up significant portions of their time. Two men reported that their interest in sports and recreation became of major importance to them in their late fifties. One man took up
clock repair and model rail-roading as an alternative to his unsatisfying teaching circumstances. The fourth male reported buying and flying his own airplane from the ages of thirty-five to fifty-seven. This latter individual was also a photographer who specialized in aerial photographs.

Travel

Thirty teachers reported having done some traveling while they were teachers. The ability to travel appeared to be tied to increasing income and freedom from other financial responsibilities and tended to occur in the late fifties for individuals in the sample. Both unmarried and married female teachers reported having traveled as members of church or social groups. Only two married male teachers reported significant travel experiences. One man had been to Europe seven times before his retirement, including a trip to Russia where he reported having received "red carpet treatment." (M-20) It is uncertain whether he intended the pun! Another teacher indicated having been to Europe five times before his retirement. Otherwise, travel for married males tended to have been in the United States or Canada and was usually in the company of children.

Thus, it appears that outside group activity, hobbies, and travel did not significantly engage the time of the teachers in the interview group. Only a few
individuals indicated that they had focused on outside activities as an alternative to teaching.

Reports of Personal Revitalization

A surprising and unanticipated finding of this study has been the phenomenon of personal revitalization occurring relatively late in the careers of several teachers in this study.

Revitalization can be defined as any evidence of a new lease on life, new creativity, new enthusiasm or increased positive activity. Thirty-four teachers in the interview group gave evidence that they had had some sort of burst of new energy late in their careers. Twenty-four of these reported that this period of revitalization occurred in their teaching. Others experienced revitalization in an outside job or activity or in a new job or activity after retirement. These results are summarized in Table 22.

Revitalization in teaching appeared to be tied to a number of factors. These included a move to a new school, a change in subject matter taught, a reassignment to a new duty within the school, the opportunity to take further coursework of some kind, and the challenge of meeting the needs of students who were either more or less prepared than previous ones. The phenomenon of revitalization suggests that individuals with extensive teaching experience have the potential to remain creative
and productive up until and through the retirement era.

**TABLE 22**

**REPORTS OF LATE LIFE REVITALIZATION BY MEMBERS OF THE INTERVIEW GROUP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMA</th>
<th>SFe</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nature of Revitalization</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. reporting revitalization in teaching</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. reporting revitalization outside teaching</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. reporting revitalization after retirement</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. report no revitalization</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ages at which teachers reported a period of revitalization were tabulated and averaged in order to determine when revitalization began and ended for the thirty-four individuals who reported it. The results are indicated in Table 23. One man who was innovative throughout his career was not included in these tabulations.

As Table 23 indicates, the periods of reported revitalization appeared to occur for members of the interview group while they were in their fifties. The average age for those reporting revitalization at which revitalization began was 51.4 years. The period of
TABLE 23

AVERAGE AGES OF LATE LIFE REVITALIZATION REPORTED BY MEMBERS OF THE INTERVIEW GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMA</th>
<th>SFe</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ave. age when reported revitalization begins</td>
<td>47.7 (n=12)</td>
<td>50.5 (n=10)</td>
<td>52.0 (n=11)</td>
<td>51.4 (n=33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ave. age when reported revitalization in teaching begins</td>
<td>53.0 (n=8)</td>
<td>51.1 (n=7)</td>
<td>53.8 (n=8)</td>
<td>52.7 (n=23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ave. age when reported revitalization ends</td>
<td>57.2 (n=12)</td>
<td>64.5 (n=10)</td>
<td>61.3 (n=11)</td>
<td>62.5 (n=33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ave. age when reported revitalization in teaching ends</td>
<td>61.9 (n=8)</td>
<td>62.4 (n=7)</td>
<td>63.1 (n=8)</td>
<td>62.4 (n=23)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

revitalization appeared to end for all members of the group reporting it at the average age of 62.5. Twenty-one of the twenty-seven females interviewed for this study reported revitalization; while only thirteen of the twenty-three males reported experiencing that phenomenon. The higher rates of participation in a second job among the married male teachers in this study may account for this difference.

Reported Attitudes at Time of Retirement From Teaching

During the course of the interview, the former teachers were asked why they had retired when they did from teaching and how they felt about retirement. Several
teachers said that they had retired when they did because they had planned to teach for a certain number of years and then quit. A number of these cited the necessity to work until they had accumulated sufficient years of teaching experience to make retirement from teaching feasible financially. Many teachers reported that when they had first considered retiring, they had visited the Ohio Teachers' Retirement System in order to find out how many years of teaching experience with which they had been credited.

As has been mentioned previously, about two-thirds of the interview group was able to retire from teaching expressing satisfaction with their final teaching assignment. Some regretted having to retire and only left teaching at the mandatory age of retirement. One woman recalled the day she submitted her resignation to her principal: "I wept when I left. The poor man probably didn't know what to do with me." (F-14) Several were able to present their careers in a very positive manner at the time of retirement. One man said: "Teaching helped my life to be a full life. Life wouldn't have been as full in other areas." (M-5) Another said: "I never worked a day in my life. I had fun." (M-7) Finally, one man reflected on why he had remained in teaching by saying: "I am not certain whether it was the coaching or the teaching of (subject) that kept me, but the two together held me tight." (M-20)
Several teachers reported that they retired from teaching at the peak of their careers. One woman said: "I wanted to retire before people started to ask: when is she going to retire?" (F-18) Another said: "I felt that when I no longer enjoyed it, I should get out." (F-19)

Another attitudinal theme surrounding retirement from teaching was the indication that the teacher was glad to leave and had found the last years of teaching quite difficult and unrewarding. One woman summarized this view when she reported: "Toward the end, the whole thing got to be a big headache." (F-8) Another reported: "I was getting to be an old lady. Yes, I'd had it!" (F-24)

A perceived lack of student interest in teaching made retirement seem appealing. One man said: "I was working hard, and they [the students] weren't." (M-12) Another woman commented: "I tried to get my students to work to their potential, or what I felt was their potential, but then I got discouraged and got out." (F-21)

The range of comments reported in this section is not necessarily representative of the teacher group as a whole. As has been noted, the majority of teachers retired from teaching feeling basically satisfied with themselves and their careers, but even some of these were glad to leave the classroom and take up other interests. Those who had retired unhappily from teaching tended to blame their own declining health and lack of energy or students and other conditions in the school which had made
it impossible for them to continue to be effective teachers.

Summary

In this section, six aspects of the internal career pattern of the teachers in the interview group have been presented.

Forty-six teachers in the interview group indicated that their happiest time in teaching had started at the age of 38.3 and had ended at the average age of 49.9 years. Almost one-half of the interview group indicated that their happiest time in teaching had occurred between the ages of forty-five and sixty.

Twenty-six of the former teachers reported that they had changed in a positive way as they had grown older or that they had not changed at all. Twenty of these individuals reported that they had become more tolerant with age, more able to forgive and excuse errors or shortcomings in others. By contrast, ten individuals reported that they had become actively unhappy, bitter or intolerant as they aged. Several of these attributed their change in personal outlooks to their experiences as teachers. In addition, it appeared to the interviewer that female teachers—whether married or unmarried—seemed more concerned with the physical changes associated with aging than were the married males in the interview group.
Thirty-seven of the fifty teachers in the study were able to identify a change of some sort in the school environment which was in a negative direction. Such changes were first perceived by all those who reported them at the average age of 55.0.

Very few of the teachers in the interview group reported having had strong interests outside of teaching. A total of nine individuals indicated that activity in an outside group or hobby had taken time away from teaching. Thirty of the teachers reported having done some traveling while they were teaching, but only two teachers indicated extensive travel while they were still in the classroom. In the section on career development and the family cycle, it was reported that married males had tended to use their evening and summer time to obtain a second job to supplement their teaching income.

A surprising finding of the study was the discovery that thirty-four of the fifty teachers in the interview group were able to report a period of revitalization at some point late in their careers. Individuals who reported such revitalization indicated that it had started at the average age of 51.4 and had ended at the average age of 62.5. Twenty-four of those reporting an experience of revitalization indicated that it had occurred in the area of their teaching. Generally speaking, a new job assignment, new students, or a new school seemed to be associated with revitalization in teaching.
A range of responses indicated that attitudes at the time of retirement were quite diverse. Several teachers reported having left teaching with regret. Others indicated that they had wanted to continue in teaching only as long as they remained at peak levels of performance. Several teachers reported having left teaching with relief because they were no longer able or willing to meet the challenges posed by new students or changed conditions within their schools. About two-thirds of the teachers in the interview group report having left teaching under fairly desirable circumstances.

Summary

In this chapter the general characteristics of the interview group of fifty retired teachers was described. In addition, four perspectives on career development were reported and discussed: (A) the external career pattern of development which included discussion of the significant career events in the lives of the teachers interviewed for this study; (B) career development and the family cycle, which included a discussion of the way that increased family responsibilities create increased financial pressures which resulted in many of the teachers in the interview group having to take supplementary work, some of which developed into second careers and took time away from teaching; (C) career development and historical circumstances which discussed seven changes in the status
of teachers, teaching, and the school which teachers in the interview group reported and which had affected the potential for their career development; and (D) the internal career pattern of development which refers to the changing attitudinal structure of an individual as his or her career develops and changes across time. This latter aspect of career tied perceived changes to ages at which the changes were noted in order to evolve a chronological portrait of the internal teaching career.

In the final chapter of this dissertation, the findings of the study will be summarized and discussed in detail. Suggestions will be made for further research and for the practical and immediate ways that the findings of this study can be applied to help individuals make a wise choice of teaching as a career and remain within the career structure continuing to grow and change in positive ways across time.
FOOTNOTES


3 See his book The Transformation of the School (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951) for a detailed discussion of these various historical changes.

Biological, psychological, economic, and sociological factors combine to affect the individual's career pattern. The importance of different types of influences probably varies in different life stages because now one aspect of behavior, then another, is pre-eminent throughout the span of development. In each succeeding stage of life, the individual faces the necessity of coping with new and frequently more complex social demands while adequately performing some of the tasks of earlier stages of development. Donald Super

Summary of the Research Study

The purpose of this study was to identify and describe aspects of the career patterns of male and female secondary school teachers. It was this researcher's goal to obtain information regarding the horizontal mobility patterns of secondary school teachers in addition to information regarding the ways in which the teaching career is affected by the demands of the family cycle and by certain internal changes associated with the process of adult development and aging. It was hoped that an exploration of the teaching careers of both male and female secondary school teachers would reveal common turning points and feeling states associated with different phases.
of the teaching career. Finally, it was a goal of this study to determine whether there were any differences between male and female teaching career patterns.

In order to obtain this information, fifty former secondary school teachers were interviewed at their places of residence during the months of August, September, and October of 1977. Individuals interviewed for this study were selected because they had spent all or the majority of their working lives as classroom teachers in the secondary school. Members of the interview group were either volunteers or individuals who had been referred to the researcher by those who had already been interviewed.

During the course of each interview, which lasted on the average from two to four hours, the former teachers were asked to provide information about their preparation for teaching, their family background, their professional activities, their extra-curricular school assignments, and the type of teaching conditions they encountered in each one of their teaching assignments. In addition, they were asked to provide information about such outside activities as supplementary jobs, community activities, hobbies, and travel which they had engaged in while they were teaching. Teachers were also asked to comment on the changes they had perceived in themselves and their teaching circumstances over the course of their careers. All the information obtained was tied to the chronological unfolding of each teacher's life.
After the interviews were completed, the information obtained from each interview was transferred to a data report form. Then, the researcher was able to examine and compare the careers of the teachers in the study. The decision was made to tabulate all information for three separate teacher groups: married males, single females, and married females since each of these groups had had different experiences as teachers.

**Summary of Results Obtained**

Twenty-three males and twenty-seven females were interviewed for this study. Each of the former male teachers had been married at least once. Fifteen of the female teachers had been married at least once, and twelve of the female teachers had never been married. At the time of the interviews, the average age of the interview group as a whole was 71.6 years of age and members of the group had been retired from teaching an average of 7.6 years. Members of the interview group had had careers averaging 38.4 years of classroom teaching. They reported having had an average of 4.5 teaching assignments per person. For the group as a whole, the first assignment averaged 4.7 years and accounted for 11.9 percent of their total teaching career. The final teaching assignment for the group had averaged 19.1 years and accounted for 49.8 percent of the teaching experience reported.
In addition, the interviews provided information regarding three aspects of the teaching careers reported by the group: (1) historical circumstances which surrounded their careers and affected career development; (2) job mobility patterns; and (3) career landmarks which included events from the family cycles of the former teachers. Each of these will be summarized below.

Historical Circumstances

A major and unanticipated body of data obtained from the interviews was an informal history of teaching conditions in secondary schools from 1920 through 1977. It became evident from the information provided by some of the retired teachers that teaching conditions had changed a great deal since the era when most had started their teaching. It also became evident that career development in teaching—and probably in other occupations—is strongly tied to historical circumstances which can either enhance or detract from a person's ability to achieve occupational success.

The majority of the individuals interviewed for this study entered teaching between 1925 and 1934, an era which included some of the critical years of the Great Depression. Many of these reported that teaching jobs had been scarce and difficult to find when they entered teaching. Once into the occupation of teaching, many had hesitated to seek other work, preferring the certainty and security
of the teaching job. Several found themselves putting down roots in the communities where they had taken their first jobs. They made friends with members of their community. Some married and began a family which made a steady source of income especially important to them.

The World War II era opened new job opportunities for members of the interview group. Several men left teaching temporarily to serve in the armed forces or to take some form of war-related work. Many of the married women reported that they were called back to teaching in order to replace the males who were leaving. Many of these married women welcomed the opportunity to return to work, and many were promised the opportunity to continue teaching under a regular full-time contract when the war was over. Up until the early 1950's, married women had been barred from full-time contracts by several school districts throughout the state of Ohio.

Members of the interview group were in their forties and fifties during the 1950's. Some were offered the opportunity to take advantage of the growth in school bureaucracy during that time, but most reported that they preferred to stay in the classroom because they had become accustomed to their teaching routine and considered themselves a bit too old to begin a new career in the field of education. The married males who had taken supplementary jobs found that the demands of these jobs began to increase at this same time, and they preferred
to devote themselves to building their second careers rather than entering the world of school administration.

The post-World War II era appears to have brought with it significant social and economic changes for the school and for teachers. At the same time that teacher salaries and benefits began to rise, the secondary school came under severe attack by the public-at-large. The status and authority of the secondary school teacher began to decline—a trend particularly accelerated by the wave of public criticism of education which occurred after the Russians launched the satellite \textit{Sputnik} in 1957.

The traditional parent-teacher alliance was disrupted at this time, and during the 1960's many teachers reported that they were called in to account for and explain policies and procedures in their classrooms which they had practiced for years. Also during the 1960's, school enrollments began to increase at a phenomenal rate as a result of the post-World War II "baby boom." During this same era, the idea of a "youth culture" was born. Young people began to see themselves as a separate social group deserving of certain rights and privileges. In school, teachers were made aware of the civil rights of students, including their right to wear the clothing and hair styles they preferred and to protest classroom policies and course grades.
Teachers in the interview group were in their fifties and sixties during the 1960's. They reported having been bewildered and annoyed at new student attitudes. In addition, many of the newer teachers hired during this era shared the values of the student or youth culture. Many of the newer teachers were hired to meet the demands of the teacher shortages during this era, and this group frequently were not individuals who had received teacher education. As members of the interview group aged, they reported feeling increasingly isolated from the outlooks, values, and behaviors of both their students and the younger staff members in their schools.

The 1960's and 1970's were also an era of protest and change and the school became the focus of various demonstrations related to issues in the wider society, such as the validity of the war in Vietnam and the demands of various minority groups for a more significant role in American society. Many of the schools where members of the interview group taught were located in declining inner-city neighborhoods, making the demands of various minority groups—particularly Blacks—more strident and critical than they might have been. Many of the teachers in the group came to see themselves as "victims" of this era of protest. They reported that their last years in teaching had been difficult and unrewarding and that they were glad to retire from the classroom. Although teachers were not asked whether they would or could recommend
teaching as a career, quite a few volunteered that they would not be teachers today and would not recommend teaching to a young person starting his or her career as a result of what they had experienced in their later years.

There can be no doubt that this group of individuals had been significantly influenced by the historical circumstances which surrounded their careers and influenced the way in which their careers had developed. It soon became apparent that career development is a function of historical circumstances and cannot be evaluated without reference to the historical context in which development occurs. It was this researcher's conclusion that the historical era of the interview group had been such to encourage an early and more sustained commitment to teaching than might otherwise have occurred. It also seemed that circumstances were such that the later years of this group were often marked by more disruption and difficulty than were experienced by teachers of an earlier era. Thus more teachers than might previously have been the case, appeared to have retired from teaching dissatisfied and disillusioned.

Job Mobility Patterns

Success in teaching, in part, is measured in terms of teaching circumstances. Teachers seek schools located in or near urban areas which can pay them higher salaries and which can afford the books, supplies and other teaching
materials which will enhance their teaching efforts. In addition, in the secondary school, teachers seek to teach their favorite subject to students who are prepared and eager to study it and who are older and present minimal problems of classroom discipline. Furthermore, it is not enough to achieve the most desired teaching circumstances. A teacher should ideally be in a position to move to another and more desirable school should the one that he or she is teaching in decline in any way. A truly successful teacher, it appears, not only manages to find desirable teaching circumstances, but also is able to maintain himself or herself in them until retirement from teaching.

About two-thirds of the members of the interview group report having been able to achieve and maintain desirable teaching circumstances until their retirement from teaching. Forty-one of the teachers had started their careers in either rural or small town schools. By contrast, only one of the teachers reported having concluded her career in a rural or small town school. Forty-four retired from urban school and five retired from suburban school systems.

Twenty-nine individuals reported that they had started teaching in general secondary schools where they taught subjects to three or more different secondary grades seven through twelve. By contrast, none of the teachers reported retiring from a general secondary school. Thirty-seven taught in high schools, grades ten through
twelve; and thirteen taught in junior high school, grades seven through nine at the time of their retirement from teaching. Most of the teachers in the interview group were teaching only one subject at one grade level when they retired.

Thus, the teaching careers of members of the interview group, when examined from the standpoint of job mobility, were quite successful. Teachers reported that they had achieved what they considered to be optimal or ideal teaching circumstances by the average age of 40.7 years after an average of 15.6 years of teaching experience. Members of the group retired from teaching at the average age of 63.9. Thus, about two-thirds of the interview group had been able to enjoy desirable teaching circumstances for the majority of their careers.

Career Landmarks

The majority of the data obtained from the interviews referred to specific ages when teachers reported having done or felt something related to their career development. It was from these data that information about the development of the teaching career were obtained.

The theory and research in the field of adult development and career development guided the formulation of questions for the questionnaire and provided a framework for analyzing the results obtained from each interview. For the purposes of this sub-section, then, career
landmarks will be reported by life decade, beginning with the twenties and ending with the sixties. The central finding of this study was that there is indeed a teaching career pattern that emerges when certain external and internal life events are considered. While teaching remains an unstaged career from the perspective of vertical mobility, which is most often found in business and industrial careers, there does appear to be a changing pattern of activity and attitudes which is associated with the development and pursuit of the secondary school teaching career. That development by life decade will be summarized below.

The Twenties

For members of the interview group as a whole, the life decade of the twenties was one in which they initiated or began activities related to teaching. It was also the decade in which those who were married were first married. Otherwise, the twenties for members of the interview group were not particularly distinguished.

The five career landmarks associated with the twenties included: completing the bachelors degree, entering teaching, marrying (for the thirty-eight married teachers), joining either the National Education Association (NEA) and/or the Ohio Education Association (OEA), and taking the first extra-curricular job in the school. The average ages at which teachers reported these career
landmarks in the twenties are shown in Table 24.

TABLE 24
CAREER LANDMARKS OCCURRING IN THE LIFE DECADE OF THE TWENTIES FOR MEMBERS OF THE INTERVIEW GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMA</th>
<th>SFe</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Group Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Complete bachelors degree</td>
<td>24.0 (n=23)</td>
<td>21.9 (n=12)</td>
<td>22.2 (n=15)</td>
<td>23.1 (n=50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enter teaching</td>
<td>23.7 (n=23)</td>
<td>21.9 (n=12)</td>
<td>21.8 (n=15)</td>
<td>22.7 (n=50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age at first marriage</td>
<td>25.8 (n=23)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>29.9 (n=15)</td>
<td>27.4 (n=38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age first joined either NEA or OEA</td>
<td>28.2 (n=21)</td>
<td>25.6 (n=10)</td>
<td>34.9 (n=14)</td>
<td>29.8 (n=46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age took first extracurricular job in school</td>
<td>29.1 (n=21)</td>
<td>27.7 (n=12)</td>
<td>33.2 (n=14)</td>
<td>29.9 (n=47)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Members of the interview group entered teaching at the average age of 22.7 years, slightly less than a year before they completed their bachelors degrees. This age reversal is accounted for by the fact that several individuals were able to teach after having spent two years in a normal school. The average age at first marriage for both male and female teachers was 27.4, although the male teachers reported having married earlier than the females at the average age of 25.8 as opposed to the female average of 29.9 years of age. The first
significant steps toward professional development occurred in the late twenties. Teachers reported having joined either the NEA or the OEA at the average age of 29.8 and taking their first extra-curricular job within the school at the average age of 29.9.

The Thirties

The life decade of the thirties was marked by further efforts at professional development and increasing job morale for members of the interview group. This was also the era in which those individuals who had children tended to both begin and complete their families. The thirties was also the life decade when teachers reported taking supplemental work in the evenings or during the summers to help them meet the financial needs of their growing families.

The teachers reported having completed their masters degrees and taking their supplemental work at the same average age of 30.4 years. Twenty-nine individuals were in both categories, but they were not necessarily the same individuals. The first child was born to married teachers at the average age of 32.6 years. Married males were 31.8 years on the average and married females were 34.0 years of age on the average when their first child was born. The twenty-three teachers who had two or more children reported that their last child was born at the average age of 36.3 years.
Thirty-three of the teachers reported having joined professional organizations related to their subject matter fields at the average age of 33.8, indicating an increasing commitment to teaching as an occupation. Further, teachers reported that their happiest time in teaching began at the average age of 38.3. Final education-related coursework was reported at the average age of 39.5. Thus it is apparent that as teachers gained experience and grew more committed to teaching, they completed their preparation as teachers and began to see some evidence of success in their occupation by their late thirties. Apparently job satisfaction is not related to the achievement of other adult life goals such as establishing a marriage and a family; since single females reported increasing job satisfaction in their late thirties as well. This information is summarized in Table 25.

The Forties

Members of the interview group reported that it was during their life decade of the forties when they began to achieve success, win honors for teaching, and initiate efforts at curriculum innovation. The decade of the forties appears to have started with individuals achieving what they considered to be their optimal teaching conditions and ends with teachers reporting that their happiest time in teaching was also over. Teachers reported being an average age of 40.7 when they achieved what they considered
### TABLE 25

CAREER LANDMARKS OCCURRING IN THE LIFE DECADE OF THE THIRTIES FOR MEMBERS OF THE INTERVIEW GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMA</th>
<th>SFe</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Group Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Received masters degree</td>
<td>28.9 (n=15)</td>
<td>33.4 (n=9)</td>
<td>29.4 (n=5)</td>
<td>30.4 (n=29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Took second job</td>
<td>28.8 (n=22)</td>
<td>33.3 (n=3)</td>
<td>37.0 (n=4)</td>
<td>30.4 (n=29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth of first child</td>
<td>31.8 (n=23)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>34.0 (n=12)</td>
<td>32.6 (n=35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joined subject matter professional group</td>
<td>34.1 (n=14)</td>
<td>31.6 (n=11)</td>
<td>36.1 (n=8)</td>
<td>33.8 (n=33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth of last child</td>
<td>36.8 (n=17)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>35.0 (n=6)</td>
<td>36.3 (n=23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happiest time in teaching begins</td>
<td>37.1 (n=20)</td>
<td>38.2 (n=11)</td>
<td>40.2 (n=15)</td>
<td>38.2 (n=46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed last educational coursework</td>
<td>39.9 (n=23)</td>
<td>38.5 (n=12)</td>
<td>39.5 (n=15)</td>
<td>39.5 (n=50)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To be optimal teaching conditions. They were an average of 43.5 when they reported beginning curriculum innovations. Teaching honors were received at the average age of 47.4, and the happiest time in teaching appeared to end shortly thereafter at the average age of 49.9. This information is summarized in Table 26.

It is interesting to note that the decade of the forties contains no significant events related to the family cycle for members of the interview group. The overall
TABLE 26
CAREER LANDMARKS OCCURRING IN THE LIFE DECADE OF THE
FORTIES FOR MEMBERS OF THE INTERVIEW GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMA</th>
<th>SFe</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Group Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Achieved optimal teaching conditions</td>
<td>41.9 (n=23)</td>
<td>39.3 (n=12)</td>
<td>42.5 (n=15)</td>
<td>40.7 (n=50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reported beginning curriculum innovation</td>
<td>41.4 (n=11)</td>
<td>38.9 (n=9)</td>
<td>48.6 (n=13)</td>
<td>43.5 (n=32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received teaching-related honors</td>
<td>45.4 (n=17)</td>
<td>46.7 (n=10)</td>
<td>51.0 (n=11)</td>
<td>47.4 (n=38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happiest time in teaching ends</td>
<td>48.8 (n=20)</td>
<td>51.8 (n=11)</td>
<td>50.1 (n=15)</td>
<td>49.9 (n=46)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

impression is of a productive decade marked by job security and satisfaction.

The Fifties

The fifties appear to have been a very active and complex life decade for members of the interview group. Teachers appeared to "wind down" their professional activities during this period. They began to notice changes in the school environment and in teaching conditions. At the same time, events in the family cycle for members of the group appear to have been of great significance. For married teachers, the fifties was the decade during which the youngest child reached the age of twenty. The birth of the first grandchild occurred during
this decade. Both unmarried and married teachers reported that this was the era when care for parents or other relatives ceased. Individuals gave up their second job during this decade, a step indicating that this was an era of financial recovery. Members of the interview group appear to have been preparing themselves for their final years in teaching. There is a definite decline in teaching morale for this decade, but teachers also reported a new sense of freedom from financial and family responsibilities. For some members of this group, the fifties was the time when they experienced some sort of personal revitalization, expressed in a new way of looking at and performing the teaching job or in a new interest outside of teaching. Table 27 summarizes the career landmarks of this life decade.

The decade of the fifties begins with twenty-three members of the interview group reporting having experienced some sort of revitalization in teaching at the average age of 52.7. Eighteen teachers reported having held office in one or more professional groups at the average age of 54.0. The thirty-three individuals who had been members of subject matter professional groups resigned from them at the age of 59.2. At the average age of 55.0, teachers began to perceive a change in teaching conditions. At the average age of 55.4, they concluded their participation in extra-curricular duties in the school. At 55.6, on the average, they concluded curriculum innovations. Thus, the
age of fifty-five appears to be a significant turning point for this teacher group. Personal and financial

TABLE 27
CAREER LANDMARKS OCCURRING IN THE LIFE DECADE OF THE FIFTIES FOR MEMBERS OF THE INTERVIEW GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMa</th>
<th>SFe</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Group Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Experienced revitalization in teaching</td>
<td>53.0 (n=8)</td>
<td>51.1 (n=7)</td>
<td>53.8 (n=8)</td>
<td>52.7 (n=23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceased personal and financial responsibility for parents or other relatives</td>
<td>52.8 (n=4)</td>
<td>50.7 (n=12)</td>
<td>58.6 (n=10)</td>
<td>54.0 (n=26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Held office in a professional group</td>
<td>52.6 (n=10)</td>
<td>46.0 (n=1)</td>
<td>58.1 (n=7)</td>
<td>54.0 (n=18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived change in teaching conditions</td>
<td>54.5 (n=20)</td>
<td>53.0 (n=5)</td>
<td>56.8 (n=12)</td>
<td>55.0 (n=37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concluded extracurricular activities in school</td>
<td>54.9 (n=11)</td>
<td>58.8 (n=9)</td>
<td>53.4 (n=13)</td>
<td>55.4 (n=33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gave up second job</td>
<td>55.8 (n=22)</td>
<td>51.3 (n=3)</td>
<td>59.0 (n=4)</td>
<td>55.5 (n=29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concluded curriculum innovations</td>
<td>50.4 (n=11)</td>
<td>56.1 (n=9)</td>
<td>59.6 (n=13)</td>
<td>55.6 (n=33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youngest child reaches age 20</td>
<td>56.3 (n=23)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>55.1 (n=12)</td>
<td>55.9 (n=35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First grandchild born</td>
<td>57.5 (n=20)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>56.8 (n=6)</td>
<td>57.3 (n=26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resigned membership in subject matter professional groups</td>
<td>59.8 (n=14)</td>
<td>61.6 (n=11)</td>
<td>55.0 (n=8)</td>
<td>59.2 (n=33)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
responsibility for parents and other relatives ceased at the average age of 54.0, followed approximately two years later by the youngest child reaching the age of twenty and presumably achieving some measure of financial independence. Twenty-six teachers reported that their first grandchild was born when they reached the average age of 57.3. The overall impression given by the events of this life decade is the conclusion of interest in teaching and increased retreat into family matters.

The Sixties

Members of the interview group retired at the average age of 63.9 years. Individuals reported having first considered retirement at the average age of 61.4 years—about two years before they actually retired. Final withdrawal from teaching activities and preparation for retirement occurred for members of the interview group during the early sixties. The era of reported revitalization ended for the twenty-three individuals who reported it at the average age of 62.4. Significantly, the last professional membership given up just prior to retirement was membership in either the NEA or the OEA. This last professional tie was severed at the average age of 62.9, about one year before retirement occurred. Table 28 summarizes this information.

The results of this study indicate that the career development of a secondary school teacher is limited by
TABLE 28
CAREER LANDMARKS OCCURRING IN THE LIFE DECADE OF THE SIXTIES FOR MEMBERS OF THE INTERVIEW GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Teacher</th>
<th>MMA</th>
<th>SFe</th>
<th>MFe</th>
<th>Group Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Career Landmark</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First considered retirement</td>
<td>61.6 (n=23)</td>
<td>60.4 (n=12)</td>
<td>61.9 (n=15)</td>
<td>61.4 (n=50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period of revitalization in teaching ends</td>
<td>61.9 (n=8)</td>
<td>62.4 (n=7)</td>
<td>63.1 (n=8)</td>
<td>62.4 (n=23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resigned from NEA or OEA</td>
<td>61.7 (n=21)</td>
<td>63.5 (n=10)</td>
<td>64.1 (n=15)</td>
<td>62.9 (n=46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired from teaching</td>
<td>64.1 (n=23)</td>
<td>63.7 (n=12)</td>
<td>64.1 (n=15)</td>
<td>63.9 (n=50)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the economic and social circumstances during which the career is undertaken and pursued. The secondary school teacher apparently seeks to teach in larger school systems located in or near an urban area. A measure of success in teaching appears to be the extent to which a teacher can win a teaching assignment in his or her preferred subject matter field, teaching at his or her preferred grade level, for the majority of the career. The secondary school teaching career has its own landmarks of development which are tied to certain professional activities as well as to the stages of adult development and aging.
Discussion of Results Obtained

In this section, three aspects of this study will be discussed and commented upon: (1) how the results compare with the literature of adult development; (2) how the results compare with the literature of career development; and (3) how the results for the three teacher groups are similar and how they differ.

The Results Compared With the Literature of Adult Development

In Chapter II, the theory and research regarding adult development were presented. The work of Charlotte Bühler and Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Daniel Levinson, Roger Gould, Gail Sheehy, and Bernice Neugarten was presented in order to establish the broad outlines of adult development. Generally speaking, these individuals used different research methods to establish the same basic outline of adult development. The twenties are viewed as a time of tentative goal-setting when a person begins to establish himself or herself in a job and also makes the effort to begin a family. The thirties were seen as an era of continued growth and development during which a person becomes more certain of his life goals and begins to experience some measure of success in personal as well as job-related undertakings. Levinson discovered evidence of a mid-life transition, a period of re-structuring of self,
which he felt occurred somewhere between the late thirties and mid-forties. After that time, he felt that a person entered a new period of productivity in middle adulthood which was sustained through the era of retirement from work. Gould also found evidence of a mid-life crisis period followed by a period of productivity, but he felt that age fifty was marked by a decline in energy and performance, even though members of his research sample described the years from fifty to sixty as ones of "mellowing." Bernice Neugarten and her associates similarly found evidence that the fifties were characterized by changing personal outlooks. In particular, she found evidence that, while the period from age forty to sixty can be one of high productivity, a person may begin the process of psychological disengagement during the fifties which will be followed by social disengagement in the sixties. Bühler and Frenkel-Brunswik see age forty-five as critical. They felt that a person begins a long period of reorientation and reevaluation at that age which carries him or her through the traditional retirement age of sixty or sixty-five.

Generally speaking, the results of this study tend to confirm the findings of Levinson, Gould, and Neugarten. Members of the interview group reported increasing job satisfaction and productivity beginning in their late thirties until the approximate age of fifty. There is then strong evidence of a period of re-evaluation and
personal disengagement from the teacher role and an increasing interest in family and other personal matters.

There was no evidence, however, of a mid-life transition period or a period of crisis, although it may be that no questions were asked during the interviews which would have elicited this information. It may be that teachers should have been asked directly whether they recalled a period of transition and crisis occurring at any point in their careers. Teachers were asked if they had considered leaving teaching or entering school administration, but those who indicated that they had considered such career moves or had in fact left teaching for a time did so at different ages and tended to be in their late twenties or thirties when these matters were of critical importance. There is also the surprising evidence of late-career productivity, especially among the married female group, which could indicate a transition of some kind, but most likely the transition from mother to grandmother or from mother with children at home to mother with the "empty nest." This latter phenomenon was noted by Neugarten whose research has dispelled some of the myth of the "crisis" of the empty nest. She found that many women reported their new freedom as exhilarating.

There was also no evidence of the mentoring relationship which Levinson found in the life histories of his forty research subjects. Teachers in the interview group did not report the influence of a single mentoring figure,
nor did they give evidence of having been mentors. Unmarried female teachers, however, were often part of the unmarried teacher clique, which has been described in Chapter IV. These women report having been influenced by the older, unmarried women with whom they associated, but clear one-to-one mentoring was not evident. Perhaps this reflects the personal and professional isolation of teachers which has been noted by Lortie. He argues that teachers have been unable to establish a true profession of teaching because they have prized their classroom autonomy over the benefits of learning to teach while in the company of other teachers. He writes: "... [S]ocialization into teaching is largely self-socialization; one's personal predispositions are not only relevant, but, in fact, stand at the core of becoming a teacher." Lortie feels that because teachers are isolated from one another they develop and continue poor teaching practices and are resistant to new ideas. His solution is to force teachers to team up with one another to help one another improve their skills. Thus, he might be one to see the institutionalization of mentoring among teachers of different ages as a necessary part of school life.

However, teaching is mentoring in the broadest sense. While members of the interview group did not report having or being a mentor to a colleague, they were actively involved day after day in mentoring relationships with students, some of which may have reflected experiences
that they themselves had had as secondary school students. It is interesting to note that the period designated as the happiest time in teaching (i.e., the average ages of 38.3 to 49.9 years of age) appears to fall near the time that Levinson designates as the mid-life transition era. It may be that members of the interview group were able to be better and more satisfied teachers after a period of mid-life transition, or it may be that they experienced no such transition and that their forties were productive because they had mastered the art of teaching while other aspects of their lives were also progressing well.

The work of Bühler and Frenkel-Brunswik is not confirmed by this study, largely because they saw the era from age forty-five onward as the beginning of decline and decreased productivity. Their age categories appear to be set just about ten years too early for members of the interview group. However, their insights regarding the tentative nature of early adulthood appear to be confirmed by the results obtained in this study. It may be that their research method produced misleading results. Recall that they used the biographies of prominent men and women who had lived prior to 1920. Not only is it possible that prominent individuals are most productive at an early point in their careers, but life expectancies have changed, and as people live longer their period of productive work may also be extended.
The Results Compared With the Literature of Career Development

The literature of career development presented in Chapter II included the Becker thesis of horizontal mobility in teaching, Super's career development theory, and the work of Peterson. In addition, career development in teaching in terms of teacher turnover studies and morale research studies provided evidence of changing attitudes and outlooks of teachers over time.

The Becker thesis was confirmed by this study. The teaching careers of members of the interview group were characterized by moves from school to school in a progression of desirability. Becker's research, however, was of a cross-sectional nature. He did not follow-up on the subsequent careers of his teacher group in order to determine their final career patterns. The surprising finding of this study is how infrequently teachers moved from school to school. Results from all the teachers indicate that while the first teaching assignment lasted for only an average of 4.7 years, the last assignment averaged 19.1 years—or almost one-half of the teaching careers of members of the teacher group. If the results of this study hold true for all teacher groups, it is evident that the process of horizontal mobility may only be characteristic of the first half of the teaching career. Only sixteen teachers had five or more assignments, and of these, ten were married female teachers whose careers
were interrupted not only by marriage and child-rearing activities but by the legal restrictions placed upon their obtaining a permanent contract. It is not surprising, therefore, that they had had more teaching assignments than either the married males or the unmarried females.

While the Becker thesis remains one way of charting the teaching career, it may only be valuable for the first one-half of the career. After that time, other indicators of change, such as changing morale or attitudes, are essential to continue the descriptive inquiry into career development.

Super's theory of career development depends heavily on the work of Bühler and Frenkel-Brunswik. He also used the research of Form and Miller who had studied the careers of 276 workers in Canton, Ohio in the late-1940's. As we have seen, the life stage categories established by Bühler and Frenkel-Brunswik were not fully confirmed by this study; and therefore it is not surprising that Super's work is also slightly off the mark as a predictor of career-development. As was mentioned, Super's work has been largely theoretical and it remains highly suggestive of broad patterns of career development. However, it may be that his dependence on Form and Miller as well as Bühler and Frenkel-Brunswik slightly distorted his interpretation of the era from age forty-five to age sixty which he labels the Maintenance Stage. As we have seen, this era was one of continued productivity, and for some, even a time of
revitalization. The problem may merely be one of labeling. The idea of maintenance implies that a person continues to do what has been done without any major innovations. There is the connotation of staleness and even decline.

It may also be that Form and Miller's data relied too heavily on the career patterns of manual workers, rather than those of professional people. Although some might object to the idea of teaching as a professional career, the fact remains that it does require a level of education that qualifies it for the professional category. Members of the interview group attended college and received bachelors and masters degrees at a time when it was most typical for people to complete only the first eight grades of school or graduate from high school. These individuals could thus be considered part of a relatively well-educated elite group in American society. Generally speaking, while professional groups enter the work force at a later age, they are also able to maintain a high level of productivity for a longer period of time. This study tends to confirm that the era from age forty-five to sixty was one of continued productivity, rather than mere maintenance. The age of fifty-five, rather than forty-five, appears to have been a critical turning point when individuals in the study began to withdraw from teacher groups and extra-curricular activities and conclude efforts at curriculum innovation. It was also the age when teachers reported noticing some sort of change in
their teaching circumstances which made teaching somewhat less desirable.

Warren Peterson interviewed female teachers, most of whom were single, and established a three-stage career pattern based on the teachers' reports of their levels of satisfaction, productivity, and the attitudes they had regarding themselves and how students saw them. He labeled the eras youth (ages 22 to 35); middle age (35 to 50); and maturity (50 through retirement). His findings appear to have been confirmed by the results of this study, particularly his insight that age fifty marked a turning point for the teachers when they could no longer be perceived as parental figures, but were seen in the grandparent role. The twenty-six teachers who reported having had grandchildren indicated that they had become grandparents at the average age of 57.3. It is likely that these individuals not only perceived themselves, but were perceived by their students in a new role with regard to their teaching.

About one-half of the teachers in the interview group report that as they aged they took on negative outlooks of some sort such as losing energy, becoming mildly unhappy or even bitter and intolerant. Peterson noted these qualities in his female teachers and felt that they were related to their discontent with physical aging. The surprising finding of this study, however, is that fourteen of the twenty-four individuals who reported some sort of
negative change were male teachers. Eight male teachers reported that they had become actively unhappy, intolerant or bitter; while only two female teachers—one unmarried and one married—reported aging in this way. It may be that Peterson's conclusions regarding the experience of aging for females were biased by stereotypes regarding single women and female school teachers in general.

It was difficult for this researcher to determine the style of aging which members of the interview group had displayed. Certainly, some seemed to conform to Peterson's category of individuals who had retained their youthful appearance. The interviewer was continually surprised at how "young" and vital members of the interview group appeared to be. However, there was no way to tell if retirement from teaching had inspired this youthfulness or if the person had always appeared younger than his or her years. The researcher did feel that some members of the interview group had become mother/grandmother substitutes as they aged. She did not see evidence of a similar male role behavior pattern. It was also difficult to determine which of the members of the interview group had been eccentrics or "old characters," although the researcher did feel that such behavior was related to subject matter preference. She found that teachers of English and mathematics appeared to behave in more traditional ways than teachers of social studies or business. Social studies teachers in particular seemed to
have been more articulate, more critical, and more cynical than other teacher groups. However, this impression may only reflect selective perception of the interviewer.

The information obtained to date from studies of teacher turnover and teacher job morale appear to be confirmed by members of the interview group. It was common for married females to leave teaching at either the time of their marriage or when their first child was born. These events occurred for women in the interview group at a time more than five years after they had entered teaching, but the economic circumstances of the Depression era probably accounted for this. Married males tended to take their second job in their late twenties, at the average age of 28.8—about five years after their average age at entry into teaching. The majority of those who left teaching did so for periods of less than five years. Most reported that after a time either a genuine satisfaction with teaching or economic pressures had convinced them to remain as teachers and develop within the teacher role.

The morale research, and particularly the work of Kuhlen and Rempel and Bentley, appeared to be confirmed by this study. Teacher morale appeared to increase after the age of thirty-five and remained at high levels until the fifties. Thirty-three individuals reported that they had retired from teaching basically satisfied with their careers, even though some of these had noticed negative changes within themselves. Thus it appears that members of
the interview group were able to achieve and maintain fairly high levels of morale and job satisfaction after the age of thirty-five. The forties were designated as the happiest time in teaching, but a majority of the interview group was able to sustain a fairly high level of morale through the retirement period.

Generally speaking, then, this study was able to establish a tentative outline of the secondary school teaching career which tended to conform with the theory and research in the area of career development at the same time that it departed from some of the age categories established by the work of Form and Miller and Super. However, it must be emphasized that the group of teachers interviewed for this study was hardly representative of all secondary school teachers. They were a specially selected group bound to a limited geographical area. The particular results of this study may differ from the work of individuals in both the fields of adult and career development because of the conditions under which this study was conducted and carried through.

Comparisons and Contrasts of the Three Teacher Groups

Findings already reported indicate that the three teacher groups shared remarkably similar general career patterns. Members of each group tended to achieve certain career landmarks at about the same average ages.
Nevertheless, it was this researcher's opinion that each of the three teacher groups had had different career experiences and these differences will be described for each group.

**Married male teachers**

In Chapter I mention was made of the precarious status position that the male secondary school teacher holds. Teaching at every level with the exception of university teaching tends to be a predominantly female occupation. The male teacher is under particular pressure to justify himself and, in particular, to justify why he chose to remain in teaching.

These pressures appeared to be operating on members of the interview group who were male. Twelve of the twenty-three male teachers took the time to point out that they had wanted to pursue another career option. The two careers most frequently mentioned were law and engineering. However, economic demands of one sort or another worked against their ambition. Several reported that the unexpected illness of their spouse or child "locked" them into teaching. Some had financial responsibilities for their families of origin. It was surprising to this researcher that after careers which averaged 38.9 years of classroom experience that such a large number of individuals would have mentioned their regret at not having been able to pursue another career. Surprisingly, despite the
frequency of the "lost dream" report among the married male teachers, few had attempted or apparently been interested in a career in school administration.

The married male group was also the most likely to comment on the negative teacher stereotype and to say that they had remained in teaching because they were "lazy" or "lacked ambition" or found teaching "easy." Often these remarks were offered in a joking way, but few of the female teachers took the opportunity to be self-deprecating when asked why they had remained in teaching. Male teachers were also more likely to retire from teaching reporting dissatisfaction and disillusionment. Fourteen of the twenty-four individuals who reported acquiring negative outlooks as they aged were male teachers. Eight of the seventeen teachers who reported having retired from teaching in declining circumstances were male teachers.

Another way that male teachers differed from the female teaching group was their more active involvement in supplementary work. All but one of the male teachers reported having had a significant second job in addition to teaching for a major portion of their careers. The prevalence of reports of second jobs probably reflects the demands of the family cycle. Married male teachers married earlier than the married female group at the average age of 25.8 years as opposed to 29.9 years for the married female teachers. They also had more children to support than the female teachers who were married, averaging 2.4
children per person as opposed to 1.6 children per person for the married female group. The married male group also were less likely to have a spouse who worked to supplement the family income. By contrast, each of the married female teachers' husbands had had a job, at least for a time, making their income supplemental, rather than essential for family economic well-being. Thus, the reasons for the supplemental work are rather easy to infer.

What was surprising, however, was the extent to which the supplemental work role became a central work focus for eleven members of the male teacher group. Members of this sub-group typically were engaged in some form of small business enterprise in which they sold a skill, such as accounting, or actually established and ran a separate business such as a dairy farm or a landscape service. One man in this sub-group discovered and developed a tourist attraction in the central Ohio area. He was able to purchase the land surrounding the attraction and sell it for a handsome profit within the space of fifteen years. Another individual reported having been involved in three family business ventures while holding a teaching job. At least one of these ventures experienced legal difficulties which took up a great deal of his time and effort. What is surprising, further, is that the individuals who reported having had such successful second jobs stayed in teaching at all. Many had other options. The interviewer was convinced that teaching offered either security or
status which compensated them for the effort that had to be made to balance the demands of two or more jobs. It is also likely that these individuals found teaching enjoyable enough that they preferred to remain in the classroom, rather than committing themselves fully to the second job they had developed. The involvement in supplementary work is reflected in other ways in the teaching careers of male teachers. They were less likely to report involvement in curriculum innovations and tended to conclude their extracurricular school duties at an earlier age. They were also less likely to be involved in professional groups than either of the female teacher groups. Married male teachers were also less likely to report a period of revitalization in teaching. In many ways, then, the married male teachers appear to have become increasingly role distant from teaching as they aged. Lortie also found evidence of role distance among the male teachers whom he interviewed. He suggests that a role distant attitude reflects the lack of job success which teaching offers. He notes: "It may be that one of the major mechanisms men use to adjust to lack of promotion is partial disengagement from their roles as teachers." 6

Single female teachers

The single female teacher group had the longest teaching careers, averaging 41.3 years in the classroom. This group appeared to have been the most consistently
dedicated one, the one most involved in school activities outside of teaching, the group most likely to join and be active in professional associations, and the group most likely to be concerned about curriculum development and other issues of personal revitalization in teaching. Three-quarters of this group reported having earned masters degrees. This group was also the one which exhibited the highest incidence of continuous teaching.

Several members of this group reported having had parents and siblings who were teachers or school administrators. Several of these individuals had lived with a sibling who was also a teacher and with whom she was able to share teacher "shop talk." The unmarried female group tended to organize in each school into a social club of sorts. Several of the teachers interviewed reported that this group of teachers still met on a regular basis for lunch or dinner. Occasionally, a married female teacher would be admitted to this group of teachers, but several of the married female teachers commented that they had been unable to make friends with members of the single female group and had found their friends in church or other groups and associations in which they were active with their husbands.

Thus, the findings of this study tend to confirm the stereotype of the dedicated unmarried female school teacher. When asked why they stayed in teaching, members of this group were most likely to remark that they had
never considered doing anything else. They saw teaching as superior to other occupations open to women at the time that they entered the field. The unmarried teacher group also was likely to remark that they knew when they entered teaching that they would have to remain single in order to pursue that career and apparently few of them had entered teaching planning to marry or start a family of their own. Several of them remarked that they had never met a man for whom they cared to sacrifice their careers. As has been noted, the unmarried teacher group was closely tied to their families of origin and each person in this group reported caring for at least one parent or relative until the time of that person's death. Several of these women indicated that they had found their close family involvements, coupled with their teaching, a source of great satisfaction.

**Married female teachers**

The legal restrictions on married teachers, which have been mentioned a number of times previously, appeared to cause members of the married female teacher group to become less professionally involved in teaching than the unmarried female teachers were. Eleven of the fifteen women in this category were widowed at the time of the interview and of these eight had been either widowed or divorced prior to their retirement from teaching. The married female teacher group had had the shortest average
teaching career of 35.3 years of experience. However, those individuals who had been widowed prior to retirement reported having remained in the classroom until the average age of 66.3. Several of these taught until the mandatory retirement age of seventy in order to insure themselves maximum retirement incomes. In addition, several of these women had had children relatively late in life (i.e., in their mid-to late-thirties) and remained financially responsible for their children until relatively late in their careers.

There were several career themes presented by the married female group. One part of this group consisted of individuals who had hoped to marry but, for one reason or another, were unable to marry until relatively late in life. Some of these reported teaching careers of fifteen years or more prior to their marriages. Three women reported having had their first child at the age of forty or older. Thus, many of these women had followed an initial career pattern similar to that of the unmarried female teacher. One woman in this group reported that the man who eventually became her husband was an individual whom she had first met in her late teens. She re-encountered this man in her late thirties just at a time when she was considering leaving teaching for an office job of some kind. The two had a brief, whirl-wind courtship and were married about a year after they re-encountered each other. She left teaching for a time and had a child. She and her
husband were only married for eight years before he died, and she was forced to return to the classroom. Her school associations and patterns of friendship remained strongly tied to the unmarried teacher group with which she felt she had had the most in common.

A second career theme of the married female teacher was that of regret at having to give up being a full-time wife and mother to return to teaching. This theme was particularly prevalent among the group which had been widowed prior to retirement. Members of this group had typically spent only a few years in the classroom prior to their marriages. They then left teaching for a considerable period of time. The death of their husbands then forced them back to teaching. Several women in this group reported having found it difficult to balance the demands of teaching and homemaking. Some found it hard to obtain a satisfactory teaching assignment until relatively late in their careers. Members of this group appeared to focus their energies on their families until their youngest child had grown up and left home. It was also in this group that teachers were most likely to report a period of revitalization late in their careers, in their fifties. Apparently, once released from the cares of parenthood, and finally established in a desirable teaching situation, members of this group were able to "blossom."

Seven of the married female teachers had been married until their retirement and beyond. Three members
of this group had had no children. Some of these women reported having been closely associated with the unmarried female teacher group. Generally speaking, members of this sub-group were more satisfied with teaching than were those who had been widowed. Individuals in this group were teaching either to supplement the family income or because they enjoyed teaching and had chosen to remain in it.

Lortie noted that the female teachers in his interview group had tended to be somewhat role distant in their attitudes towards teaching. He says: "The energies and interests of women teachers flow back and forth between family and work claims in discernible, regular rhythms . . . My findings underscore the relative weakness of organizational resources in mobilizing the involvement of women; the capacity of school officials to influence the engagements of female subordinates is sharply constrained." The flow of interest that Lortie remarks upon seemed more characteristic of the married female teacher than the single one in this particular study.

Thus, it appears to be the case that when the career patterns of the three teacher groups are examined, the most crucial differences to be found among them are related to differences in the family cycles of each group. The married male and married female teachers tended to be less career oriented than were the unmarried female teacher group, largely because they were more involved in
establishing the financial security of their families. While unmarried female teachers reported having cared for members of their family of origin—often at considerable financial and personal expense to themselves—this group was also likely to be living with other members of their families who helped them defray expenses and who shared with them a career in teaching. Thus, in the balance, single female teachers appear to have had more time and personal resources to devote to their teaching.

**Discussion of Methodology**

This researcher was basically satisfied with the method of study used to obtain data regarding the careers of secondary school teachers. The guided interview method allows a researcher to obtain a higher quality of data and a more complete response to each question asked than would a mailed questionnaire.

However, the interview schedule itself could be improved in two basic ways. First, additional questions could be included which probe specifically for evidence of a mid-life transition and evidence of a mentoring relationship. Questions could also be included which probe for characteristic styles of aging which retired persons could respond to. Finally, the researcher believes that individuals should be asked directly whether or not they would choose teaching as a career if they were in a position to choose again. Answers to this type of
question would have been quite valuable for this present study, but were received on a random basis only.

The second improvement which should be made is one of format. More fixed response questions could be included to speed the interview process and to enable more information to be obtained during the interview period. Also, this researcher regrets that the interview form was not in a computer-ready format such that responses could be transferred to computer cards. The hand tabulation of data proved to be not only a lengthy and cumbersome process, but there were no opportunities to cross-tabulate responses so that teachers who provided one set of responses could have career data in another area quickly compared or contrasted. While this study was able to provide evidence of three general career patterns and one group career pattern, it was not possible to devise career patterns which transcended sex and marital status. A computer-ready format would allow this type of analysis, and in the long run a typology of career patterns which cut across all teacher groups would be of more value. Also, a computer-ready questionnaire would enable the researcher to interview a much larger group of teachers and more effectively analyze the data obtained.

As was mentioned in Chapter III, the interviewer strongly endorses the use of taped recordings of interviews to recapture the tone and mood of each interview. Tape recordings would also allow the researcher to improve
her interview style and anticipate points in the questionnaire when further probes would be most effective.

The members of this interview group were open enough in their responses that their psychological states at certain points in their careers could be inferred. This researcher still sees no need for psychological tests to supplement the interview format.

The problem of cohort-centrism which the interviewer encountered in this study can only be combated by the initiation of longitudinal studies. The technique of using a cross-sectional sample proved effective for an exploratory study such as this one, but it remains likely that the career pattern displayed by members of the interview group in this study was characteristic of a certain era in secondary school teaching rather than being one which would hold true for all teachers. The persistent reports of breakdown in school discipline and commitment to learning by members of the interview group suggest that teaching circumstances have changed in ways that transcend the changed perceptions of aging individuals. It may be that the sustained commitment to teaching which was displayed by members of this particular interview group is no longer possible, given the teaching circumstances of the contemporary secondary school. Some individuals have argued that the conditions of employment in teaching today are similar to those which occurred during the Depression. They predict that individuals who
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begin teaching careers in the 1970's will be locked into teaching much as were some of the members of this interview group. This researcher is not convinced that circumstances presented by the current job market are necessarily similar to those faced in the late 1920's and early 1930's. Both men and women have wider career options today; and, especially since teaching has become somewhat hazardous and stressful in certain areas, the career can no longer be regarded as a "secure" one. Thus, the "true" career patterns of teachers will emerge only when the effort is made to follow the careers of teachers for a lifetime—a research undertaking which may require the lifetimes of several different researchers!

Need for Further Research

Eight areas of further research seem to be suggested by this study: (1) more interview studies of secondary school teachers; (2) interviews of teachers poorly represented in this study; (3) interviews with teachers displaying a wider range of subject matter backgrounds; (4) interviews with teachers at different levels of teaching; (5) interviews recorded at the time of retirement; (6) interviews of individuals at career turning points suggested by this study; (7) studies of the careers of schools and (8) studies of the careers of school systems. Each of these will be briefly discussed in this section.
Further Interviews of Secondary School Teachers

The results reported in this study represent the findings from an initial and exploratory interview study of only fifty former secondary school teachers. In order for the results reported here to take on increased validity, this study must be extended and many more secondary school teachers who spent all or the majority of their working lives as classroom teachers must be interviewed regarding the development of their careers. This researcher is convinced that an interview study of fifty retired teachers represented an adequate initial research group, but clearly there is the need to interview many more individuals before a clear outline of the secondary school teaching career will emerge.

Need to Interview Poorly Represented Groups

In addition to the more general need to interview more secondary school teachers, there appears to be the need to interview secondary school teachers poorly represented in the study reported here. In particular, there is the need to interview married female teachers who were not widowed prior to their retirement—a group which seems to have been over-represented in the study reported here. None of the male teachers in this study was unmarried and all of the married male teachers interviewed had
children. Both unmarried male teachers and married male teachers without children should be interviewed to determine whether their career patterns differ in any way from the married male group represented in this study.

This study reported the careers of individuals who had completed their teaching in an urban school system. Teachers from both rural/small town schools and from suburban school systems were poorly represented in this study. It may be that such individuals display a different general career pattern and they should be included in future studies of this kind.

Interviews With Secondary School Teachers in a Variety of Subject Matter Fields

Teachers of English and mathematics appear to have been over-represented in the group interviewed for this study. There is clearly the need to interview secondary school teachers who taught in a wider variety of subject matter fields. It may be that some subject matter fields are more conducive to a lifetime commitment to teaching. If so, this information would be of great value to those planning a career in teaching and to individuals responsible for hiring and maintaining a teaching staff in the secondary school. This researcher is not convinced that certain subject matters permit an individual to remain in teaching for a full career and would like to see this particular study extended to include a wider spectrum of
representatives of other subject matter fields than were obtained by chance in this particular study.

Interviews With Teachers at Different Teaching Levels

Once a career pattern has been established for the secondary school teacher, it would seem appropriate to extend the method of research to determine whether and how teachers' careers at different levels of teaching develop. It would be useful to compare the secondary school teaching career with that of the elementary school teacher's career. The career of post-secondary school teachers and college professors could also be examined more closely in order to determine whether there are common career landmarks and turning points.

Interviews With Teachers at Retirement

The data obtained for this study were obtained from individuals who were asked to recall career events and feeling states which had occurred several years before the time of the interview itself. This researcher believes that a more vivid idea of the nature of the teaching career could be obtained from individuals at the time of their retirement from teaching. Furthermore, interviews conducted at the time of retirement might provide a more realistic view of the outlooks of the career teacher. Several years after retirement, individuals are likely to
have forgotten key incidents and feelings associated with their careers. Instead, a "rosy glow" of recollection may cloud their memories and bias the information they are able to provide. The problem of eroding memory was a significant one in this study which may have been mitigated if career teachers had been identified and interviewed at the point of their retirement from teaching.

Interview Teachers at Significant Career Turning Points

The data obtained from this study suggest that there are at least two significant turning points in the teaching career: (1) the late thirties and early forties, after fifteen years of teaching experience when teachers report high job morale, and (2) the period from the mid-fifties through retirement when teachers report a decline of interest in teaching and a withdrawal from the teacher role. It would be of particular value for researchers to intervene at these two career points in an attempt to determine more fully some of the components of attitudinal change which appear to accompany these two eras of the teaching career. Studies in which a researcher intervened at these two key turning points could be conducted with reference to psychological tests and measures of job attitudes and morale. Such studies could attempt to develop a detailed portrait of the teacher with fifteen years experience or the teacher with thirty years or more
of experience which would enable those interested in the career development of teachers to determine more accurately the components of career development itself.

Studies of School Careers

The information obtained in this study suggests that schools as well as teachers have careers. Several individuals in this study reported having been hired to teach in a school when it was new and then having the experience of watching as the school developed, reached a peak within the wider community, and then began to decline. The stage of development which a school has achieved inevitably will affect the careers of teachers within it. Teachers who begin their careers in a school which is growing and expanding will have different experiences from those who are hired to teach in a school which is in the process of decline. It would be quite useful for researchers to determine the "lifetime" of a secondary school and to pinpoint some of the stages of development which characterize a school so that a person's career could be evaluated not only with reference to internal changes and changes in teaching circumstances, but also with reference to the stage of development of the school in which they are hired to teach.
Studies of the Careers of Entire School Systems

Just as individuals and schools appear to have a pattern of development which can be termed a career, so individual school systems appear to have periods of growth and development which are balanced by periods of maintenance and decline. It is difficult for a school system which is experiencing financial upheaval or political difficulties to offer opportunities for career development to individuals. Entire school systems must be examined and compared to determine how a system is likely to develop and some of the problems which it is likely to encounter which could subsequently impact on the career development of individuals within it.

The above eight areas of research could build on the methods and insights of this study in order to help develop a more complete picture of the way in which a secondary school teacher—and teachers at other levels—change and grow within the occupation of teaching.

Practical Applications of This Study

In Chapter I, four practical applications of this study were suggested: (1) to help develop a profession of teaching by improving aspects of teacher education (2) to help stop teacher turnover by identifying crucial career turning points; (3) to help improve the image of
the career teacher by dispelling the negative stereotypes associated with the career teacher; and (4) to help potential teachers make a more informed career choice.

It is this researcher's opinion that the results of even this tentative and early study of the secondary school teaching career has provided information which might be applied to each of these four areas of practical concern.

Improving Teacher Education

Although the results of this study indicate that teachers need more information about the teacher role and its potentials at each stage of adult development, two general orientations towards teacher education are suggested by this study.

First, it is evident that beginning teachers in their twenties are still in the process of career exploration and are not fully able to make a commitment to teaching. Therefore, pre-service education might be re-focused to prepare teachers for the "realities" of the classroom and the school. There could be less emphasis on innovative teaching methods and curriculum development and more emphasis on political skills which would be useful in the school such as how to get along with students and members of the community. There should be more emphasis on how to "cope" with conditions of the school environment. Lortie may be right when he notes that schools of
education inculcate teachers with impossible goals at the pre-service level. This tendency may in part account for the sense of frustration and discouragement that some researchers have found among younger teachers and which may lead to a person's leaving the field. Waller's concept of a "practical sociology of the school" could become the focus of pre-service teacher education.

A surprising finding of this study was that teachers are likely to begin efforts at curriculum improvement relatively late in their career development—somewhere after fifteen years of experience. In-service education efforts should be designed to inform older and more experienced teachers of new methods and ways of organizing subject matter materials during their forties and fifties when they appear "ready" and able to use such information. Teachers are likely to have concluded their formal coursework by their late thirties and early forties and thus would seem quite responsive to in-service efforts after that time.

Finally, an aspect of in-service education which could be of value to both beginning and experienced teachers would be coursework which focuses on the processes of adult development and aging with the purpose of helping individuals prepare themselves for retirement from the work force. The results of this study indicate that individuals who "planned ahead" with regard to their retirement were able to leave teaching in a more positive
way and were able to leave their teaching years behind them. Retirement information and counseling, particularly to the extent that it focuses on financial issues, would be of particular value to female teachers. One of the things that made it hard for those married female teachers who had been widowed prior to their retirement to return to teaching was an ignorance of financial facts of life. Teachers should be made aware early in their careers of the type of retirement and medical plans they can look forward to and the number of years they will need to teach in order to qualify for the benefits they desire.

Stopping Teacher Turnover

This researcher is not convinced that early career teacher turnover can be prevented. Individuals who find that they prefer to pursue other careers and earn more money may be better off leaving the field of teaching. Similarly, the female teacher who prefers to leave teaching to marry and raise a family cannot be prevented from doing so, although the likelihood that such a person will return to teaching and will need to acquire re-entry skills for teaching is a strong one which should be prepared for by colleges of teacher education and by those charged with in-service education.

There is evidence from this study that teachers begin a period of increasing job morale in their mid- to late-thirties which they are able to sustain until their
fifties. The teachers in this study who reported some sort of revitalization in their fifties indicated that they had been faced with some sort of new challenge—whether one that they sought or one that came unexpectedly to them. They were reassigned to a new school, given a new subject to teach, reassigned to a different grade level or ability level of students. The process of meeting these challenges helped them to combat what appears to be a strong tendency toward declining interest in teaching. Teachers in their fifties and sixties do not necessarily "turnover," but they do withdraw from the teacher role and increasing numbers are retiring early from teaching.

Thus, one solution to the problem of declining interest and performance in the life decade of the fifties would be to deliberately assign a teacher some sort of new and hopefully challenging role within the school. Mandatory school transfers after a certain number of years of experience might also be considered, provided that they did not result in an individual's finding himself or herself isolated and older in a new school. Several teachers indicated that they had been reassigned to teach relatively late in their careers in entirely new schools, but that they were transferred to the new school along with several members of their former school's faculty. Such "bloc" transfers could become school policy and would allow teachers to experience teaching in several different school environments. If such transfers were part of a system-
wide policy of staff assignment, teachers could prepare for and expect such transfers and would thus be less likely to experience stress and resentment when they occurred.

Within the school it is clear that the more experienced teachers should take a more active role in socializing new teachers. Many of the teachers reported that they had had student teachers during the later years of their school experience and had found the opportunity to help a young person become a teacher very rewarding, although occasionally quite difficult. Others, however, were indignant that they had been prevented from having student teachers for reasons that were not clear to them. Every individual with significant teaching experience who is interested in the student teaching experience should be able to participate in it. However, student teaching should not be an opportunity to take time away from teaching. Colleges of teacher education should structure the experience with graduate credit coursework in the form of on-site seminars or other forms of continuing teacher education which could make such an experience an opportunity for growth and development for both the student teacher and the supervising teacher.

The concern with socializing the beginning and new teacher could be extended. Efforts should be made to test Levinson's idea that individuals after the age of forty are interested in becoming mentoring figures to younger
individuals. A form of "buddy system" could be introduced which would enable an experienced teacher to help and supervise the development of a beginning teacher for one or two years. This effort could be supplemented by in-service seminars which would allow for a frank exchange of ideas and insights about the teacher role. Several teachers reported in this study that they had considered being assigned to prepare and conduct the new teacher workshops in the fall of each year as an honor within their school. Efforts could be made to take advantage of this feeling among experienced teachers. A standing committee of experienced teachers could be charged with not only workshop experiences but year-long experiences for new teachers.

Finally, teachers in this study reported that they had experienced revitalization as a result of coursework that they had taken late in their careers. Many had been able to take advantage of specially funded summer workshop sessions in the early 1960's which had been offered to stimulate interest in new programs of study and new areas of research. This latter form of workshop provided the experience of new information combined with the opportunity to travel away from their school and meet teachers from different parts of the state of Ohio and even teachers from different states. This cross-fertilization of ideas and outlooks proved very stimulating to the teachers who had had these experiences. Thus it would seem that whenever
and wherever it is possible, teachers should be encouraged
to take advantage of such experiences and charged with
returning to their schools to report what they had
experienced and learned. This study indicates that
teachers are likely to give up their evening and summer
jobs in their mid-fifties, indicating that they would
become more available and willing to engage in such learning
experiences after that time.

Improving the Image of the Career Teacher

Some aspects of the teacher stereotype will probably
disappear on their own as teaching attracts more married
females and married males who have chosen the occupation
because of interest, rather than as an insurance policy
against economic difficulty. The results of this study do
not necessarily indicate that experienced teachers are more
dedicated or more desirable individuals than beginning
teachers. Some members of the interview group were lively
and interesting individuals; while others appeared to fit
the stereotype of the career teacher as morally rigid and
conservative. This study does offer the hopeful infor-
mation that teaching need not distort or change or embitter
an individual, but there remains a great deal of research
to be done before the experienced teacher personality type
is fully defined.
One aspect of the image of the experienced teacher can be improved as a result of the information gained in this study and that is that efforts could be made to stop the isolation of older faculty members from younger faculty members within the school. This could be done in several ways. First of all, it should not be school policy to staff a school with a predominance of either younger or older teachers. Efforts should be made to keep an age balance within the school.

Secondly, the issue of "agism" should be tackled head on. Faculty forums should be conducted, preferably outside of the teacher room "gripe sessions," which would enable younger and older teachers to face one another and discuss their mutual perceptions of each other, their areas of admiration, and their areas of complaint and difficulty. If the experienced teacher group is also engaged in the process of socializing younger faculty, this sort of forum would become a natural part of that practice. When issues come up within the school such as how to handle disruptive students or how to respond to the needs of minority students or how to handle certain legal aspects of teaching, these too should become the focus of faculty-wide discussions and idea-sharing such that older and more experienced teachers have the opportunity to express their views before others take it upon themselves to assume what those outlooks would be. Such a system would place a premium on the willingness of teachers to
speak out on key issues in an honest manner. Many might choose to remain silent which would be their choice, but if a forum is available and they do not use it, then they should be made aware that they have chosen to isolate themselves and have not been isolated as a result of their age alone.

As more information becomes available regarding the potentials of the older adult, there should be a new attitude towards them in every work situation. As research in career development continues, it should help to improve the situation not only of teachers but of members of every occupational group.

Informed Career Choice

Finally, as research continues on the process of adult development and aging within occupational roles and particularly within the teaching profession, potential teachers will be able to know more fully than they now do what sort of career they could expect to follow if they were to become teachers. They could be prepared for the difficulties of the early and later years and perhaps be made aware of the rewards which a teacher can experience. Truly informed career choice would involve information not only about how the teacher role changes over time, but how schools and school systems change and develop. Potential teachers should be made aware of their likely
earnings and benefits as teachers so that they can be prepared to approach the teaching job realistically from an economic standpoint. They should also be aware of how teacher groups before them have experienced certain historical circumstances and how these impacted on other teachers' careers and could impact upon their own. If a person is able to look beyond the immediate teacher job to the implications of pursuing the teacher role for a lifetime under several different teaching circumstances, he or she will be in a position to make a wise choice as to whether or not to become a secondary school teacher.

The study reported in this dissertation represents the beginning of insight into the process of personal and professional development within the secondary school teacher role. While much research remains to be done even this initial research effort has indicated ways in which teachers might be better prepared for teaching and helped to sustain their vitality, interest, and effectiveness as secondary school teachers after fifteen, twenty-five, and even thirty or more years of teaching experience.
FOOTNOTES


3Ibid., p. 79.

4Raymond Kuhlen, Career Development in the Public School Teaching Profession (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Institute of Research, 1959).


6Lortie, School Teacher, p. 95.

7Ibid., p. 94.
LETTER TO VOLUNTEERS

NAME
STREET
CITY, STATE/ZIP CODE

Dear ____________:

I am a Ph.D candidate in Education at Ohio State University. For my doctoral dissertation, I am interviewing retired teachers in the Franklin County area in order to determine whether the teaching career can be divided into distinct phases or stages which are common to all or most teachers.

In June of 1976, I spoke before the Franklin County Retired Teachers Association and described the nature of my study and asked for volunteers. You were among those who agreed to participate in the interview process.

I am now ready to begin interviewing and hope that you are still available to participate in this study.

The interview itself takes approximately two hours to complete and asks for information about the development of your career such as your various school assignments, the courses you taught and the methods you used, the activities you pursued outside of school, and other recollections that you would have about your teaching career as a whole.

In a few days I will be calling you on the telephone to discuss with you the best day and time for an interview. If you should want to discuss the study with me further prior to my calling you, please contact me at home at ____________.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Anne Peterson

College of Education
Dear [Name]:

I am a Ph.D. candidate in Education at Ohio State University. For my doctoral dissertation, I am interviewing retired teachers in the Franklin County area in order to determine whether the teaching career can be divided into distinct phases or stages which are common to all or most teachers.

Recently, I interviewed [Name], and (he/she) gave me your name as someone who also might be willing to assist me in this study by being interviewed. The interview itself takes approximately two hours to complete and asks for information about the development of your career such as your various school assignments, the courses you taught and the methods you used, the activities you pursued outside of school, and other recollections that you would have about your teaching career as a whole.

I am very much hoping that you will be able to participate in this study.

In a few days I will be calling you on the telephone to discuss with you the best day and time for an interview. If you should want to discuss the study with me further prior to my calling you, please contact me at home at [Phone Number].

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Anne Peterson
QUESTIONNAIRE

Part I. Personal Background Information
Name: ______________________ Date of Interview: __________

1. In what year were you born?
2. Are you married, widowed, divorced, separated, have you never been married or what?
3. In what year were you married?
4. In what year were you widowed, divorced, remarried, etc.?
5. (If married) Do you have any children? Yes  No
6. (If yes) how many? what ages?
7. Do you have any grandchildren? Yes  No
8. (If yes) how many? what ages?
9. Did you ever live with your parents, your spouse's parents, a brother or sister, nephew or niece or other relative for any extended period of time? Yes  No
10. (If yes) With whom? When?
11. Did you ever take responsibility for caring for your parents, your spouse's parents, a brother or sister, nephew or niece or other relative for any length of time? Yes  No
12. (If yes) Who? During what time period?
13. Where did you get your bachelor's degree?
14. In what year did you get your bachelor's degree?
15. What were your major fields?
16. Do you have a masters degree? Yes  No
17. (If yes) Where and when did you get it?
18. (If yes) What fields is your masters degree in?
19. Do you have a doctorate? Yes  No
20. (If yes) Where and when did you get it? What fields?
21. (If no) Did you do work beyond your masters degree? Yes  No
Part II. General Career Information

1. Have you been teaching continuously since you finished your teacher training?  Yes  No
2. If not, when did you leave teaching?  What did you do?
3. If not, how long were you out of teaching?
4. If not, when did you return to teaching?
5. If not, why did you return to teaching?
6. How much time did you miss from school because of accidents or illness?
7. When were these periods?
8. When you first started teaching, how did you imagine that your career would unfold?
9. Looking back over your career now, were there any surprises, any unexpected things that happened or did your career unfold more or less as you thought it would?
10. If there were surprises, what were they and when did they occur?
11. Did you ever consider leaving teaching altogether?  Yes  No
12. If yes, why?
13. If yes, when?
14. If yes, why did you decide to remain in teaching?
15. Did you ever consider going into school administration?  Yes  No
16. If yes, why?
17. If yes, when?
18. If yes, why did you prefer to remain in teaching?
19. If not, why not?
20. When you entered teaching did you find that it took a short time to adjust to the rigors of the classroom or did it require an extended period of adjustment?
21. If you had to adjust, how long did it take you to adjust and what things did you have to learn how to do?
22. Approximately how often would you say you revised your courses by adding new readings, new methods, new information and so on?
23. What are some course revisions that you made which you are particularly proud of?
24. When did you make these revisions or additions?
25. When did you stop revising your courses?
26. Did you ever win any honors or special commendations for teaching?
27. If yes, which ones and when?
28. Did any of your students win any honors or special recognitions as a result of being in your classroom or on a team or group that you coached or spent time with?
29. If yes, what sort of honors?
30. If yes, when?
31. What professional teacher related groups did you belong to while you were teaching?
32. Approximately when were you a member of these groups?
33. Did you hold offices in these groups or otherwise become very active in them?
34. If so, when?
35. What organizations outside of school were you a member of? I am thinking of such things as PTA, Scouts, church groups, AAUW, Kinanis and so on.
36. When were you active in or a member of these groups?
37. Did you ever hold any offices or special roles in these groups?
38. If so, which ones and when?
39. Do you have any hobbies that you spent time pursuing while you were teaching?
40. If so, which ones and when did you take them up?
41. Did you do any significant traveling while you were teaching?
42. If so, where did you go and when?
43. Did you take evening or parttime work while you were teaching?
44. If so, where did you work?
45. If so, when did you have this work?
46. Did you work during the summers?
47. If so, what did you do?
48. If so, which summers did you work?
49. When did you first begin to think about retiring?
50. When did you retire?
51. Why did you decide to retire when you did?
Part III. Teaching Assignments in Chronological Order

Ask the teacher to provide the following information about each school he/she taught in:

Name of school
Location
Years at school
Courses/grade level taught
Extra curricular activities he/she sponsored
Extra duties in the school (coach, school treasurer, attendance officer)
What kind of students did you have at this school?
How did you fit in with the faculty?
   Age level? Were you older or younger than most faculty members?
   Type of social involvement?
   Membership in any particular cliques?
   What role did you play in the faculty?
How many principals did you serve under at this school?
What type of person was each one?
Are there any other highlights of this assignment that you recall?
Why did you leave this school?

Part IV. Perceptions of Change and Evaluations of the Teaching Career

1. What changes, if any, did you notice in yourself as you grew older?
2. Did your relationships with students change in any ways over the years?
3. If so, how did they change? When did they change?
4. Did students themselves change in any ways over the years?
5. If so, how did they change?
7. Did you notice any changes in teachers over the years?
8. If so, what sort of changes did you notice?
9. If so, when did these changes begin to appear?
10. Did you ever have the experience of having your former students children in class?
11. If so, when did this happen?
12. Did you ever have your former students grandchildren in class?
13. If so, when?
14. Looking back over your entire career, what period would you say was the happiest time for you in teaching?
15. Why was this the happiest time for you?
16. Many educators are concerned about the high turnover rate among teachers, the fact that less than half of all people trained to be teachers actually remain in the field more than 10 years. From your experience why did teachers leave the classroom while you were teaching?
17. You, on the other hand, made a full career out of teaching. Why did you stay in teaching for a full career?
18. Finally, would you be able to give me the names of other retired secondary school teachers whom you know who you think might be willing to participate in this interview study?
INTERVIEW REPORT FORM

Subject: Category:
Yr of birth: _____ Age: _____ # yrs of teaching exp.____
Yr of bachelors degree: Age:
Yr of masters degree: Age:
Yr of Ph.D. degree: Age:

If married, complete following:
Yr of 1st marriage: Age
Yr widowed: Age
Yr divorced: Age
Yr of 2nd marriage: Age
Yr widowed: Age
Yr divorced: Age

Total # children: _____ Yr 1st child: Age:
yr last child: Age:
Total # grandchildren:_____ Yr 1st grandchild:____ Age:___
Total # greatgrand-children: ______ Yrs 1st great-grandchild: _____ Age: ______

Teaching Assignments
#1 Yrs: Ages
#2 Yrs: Ages
#3 Yrs: Ages
#4 Yrs: Ages
#5 Yrs: Ages
#6 Yrs: Ages
#7 Yrs: Ages
#8 Yrs: Ages
#9 Yrs: Ages
#10 Yrs: Ages
#11 Yrs: Ages
Subject: ______________

Continuous or non-continuous career pattern:
If non-continuous, complete the following:

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<tr>
<th>Yrs out of teaching:</th>
<th>What doing?</th>
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Total # of years out of teaching: ____________

For males: Participated in WWII? yes no If yes, yrs?___

Yr first thought of retiring: Age
Yr retired: Age

# of yrs since retirement ______________________

Significant course revisions/innovations

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<tr>
<th>Innovation</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Ages</th>
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Course revisions policy or orientation (describe)?

Second Job?

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<th>Years</th>
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Interview Report Form  Page 3

Subject: __________________

Summer jobs:

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<th>Description</th>
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Work after retirement?

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Strong outside interest?

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Period of happiest teaching?  Yrs.  Ages
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<tr>
<th>Subject: ________________</th>
<th>Yr. of Birth ________________</th>
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<td>50's</td>
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<td>yrs</td>
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Subject: __________________

Further impressions, observations or significant direct quotes.
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