THE KENSINGTON/ MILFORD EDUCATORS Varied and Exciting Careers

LOUIS M. SMITH
Washington University
PAUL F. KLEINE
University of Oklahoma
JOHN J. PRUNTY
Maritz Communications, Inc.
DAVID C. DWYER
Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development

In this essay we want to stimulate speculation and conjectures on the nature of recruitment and retention of innovative educators in the field of education. The data for such speculation grew out of two interrelated projects. The first was a participant observer study of an innovative elementary school, Kensington, in the Milford School District (see Smith and Keith, 1971). The second study occurred in 1979-1980 and involved a return to the Kensington School, the Milford School District, and the original faculty from the earlier years. This study began as *Kensington Revisited: A Fifteen Year Follow-up of an Innovative School and Its Faculty* and evolved into (see *Innovation and Change in American Education)* a six-volume final report to NIE (Smith et al., 1983).

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"Speculative" seems an appropriate word choice because we are dealing with a case study and with a small group of educators. In fact, we found them a highly unusual elementary school faculty, and so we are cautious about generalizations. We are portraying here a group of innovators, many of whom we characterized as "true believers," and this sets them off from other teachers. We spent an intensive year with this faculty in 1964-1965. In the later study, we hunted up and found the group and spent between two and seven hours with each of them in long, unstructured interviews that were taped and transcribed. In most instances the interviews were spread over two days, often with two of us jointly interviewing. Despite our small and unusual sample, our in-depth case studies produced some refreshing ideas about careers in teaching that we think shed new light on teacher recruitment, and more particularly, retention. As we will illustrate, energetic teachers *create* careers in themselves despite the often limited vertical advancement opportunities in teaching.

CAREER DATA

With these caveats in mind we present several tables of career data on our innovative Kensington/Milford educators. The tables reflect our first analytic insight: patterns among the faculty emerged along gender, position, and age lines. Consequently, we present discussions of the male administrators and teachers, then the older and younger female teachers.

MILFORD'S INNOVATIVE ADMINISTRATORS

Spanman, Cohen, and Shelby were, respectively, superintendent, assistant superintendent, and principal—the three administrators of the Milford School District and the Kensington Elementary School who planned and developed the Kensington School as an educational innovation. A number of conclusions stand out from the accounts of our three administrators. Perhaps the most important item, in a profession now so full of "doom and gloom," is the truly exciting, rewarding, and satisfying careers open to at least a few teachers who have opportunity, talent, creativity, energy, and desire to become administrators. As Table 1 indicates, the interplay of academic life in

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TABLE 1
Career Positions of Milford/Kensington Administrators

Name	Degrees	Milford/ Kensington Position	Major Position Since Milford/ Kensington	Current Position	Future Possibilities
Steven Spanman	BA, MA, Ed.D	Superintendent	Big City Superintendent	Professor of Education	Educational Consultant
Jerl Cohen	BA, MA, Ph.D	Curriculum Director/ Assistant Superintendent	Professor of Education	Dean of School of Education	_____
Eugene Shelby	BA, MA, Ph.D	Principal	Elementary Principal	Elementary Principal	1)Assistant Superintendent 2)Leadership in Principal's Organization

the university and rough and tumble administrative action represents an enviable blend in an educational life career. These men are in their fifties now. Plenty of time exists for the itch to strike again. Spanman talks of a prestigious national consulting organization, Shelby is spending considerable time in district politics, and Cohen is barely into his deanship. Whether any or all of the three actually do enter into another round of highly innovative leadership remains to be seen. Consistent with our analysis, we would argue that the answer will be determined by the unique blend of individual, situational, and life history events surrounding each of the actors.

A related generalization concerns the mix of action and intellectual life. Both Spanman and Cohen have written a number of essays and each has authored or co-authored a book or two. Much of the writing has been "off their experience" rather than more formal educational research that comes from experiments, surveys, or historical analyses as done in the academy. For better or worse, these men are doing, reflecting, writing (and, some might argue, propagandizing), and then redoing the cycle. We believe that the interplay among common sense, action, experience, reflection, and later, altered common sense and action, is raising major epistemological questions.

A third generalization qualifies Becker's (1951) position on horizontal versus vertical mobility in educational careers. Innovators, males, and administrators of high ability have strong vertical career lines. They seem more like business managers and professionals in other occupations. Warner and Abegglen's (1955) *Big Business Leaders in America* seems cut from the same cloth. They are men on the move, "go getters," a label used by Boorstin (1973) that ties them to a longer entrepreneurial tradition. "Sponsorship" is a concept from Warner and Abegglen. It has been important for these individuals. Within a corporation, Kanter (1977) speaks of "alliances" as one of the routes to power. This seems similar to what we are calling "collegial networks," except her term reflects her focus on a single corporation, *INDSCO*. An older and broader concept is network, club, old school ties. A number of informal subsystems exist in professional education. Spanman particularly—but Cohen and Shelby also—moved through linkages within the educational innovation community.[1] The educational administration network is legion. Spanman's comments gave particularly important meaning to its reality. The extension and integration of the sponsorship phenomenon to the

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group or network phenomenon seems a major advance over earlier conceptualizations.

Finally, the three administrators remain true believers. The broad utopian belief system that we called "the new elementary education," commitments to individualized education, equality, and full development of individual potential remains with each of our administrators. The persuasiveness and staying power of belief systems is a major addition to current discussions of educational innovation and reform. The current data enhance two generalizations made earlier. First,

> Commitment was to the movement for the new elementary education, and Kensington was an important but temporary training ground, a step for many of the staff as they searched to create careers as professional innovators. Commitment was to issues and ideas as well as to anything as place-bound as the generation of social structure of a beginning, fledgling organization. The ideas were portable, applicable elsewhere, and the educational world was waiting [Smith and Keith, 1971: 117].

And second,

> He who would engage in large-scale innovative programs must be cognizant of the role of true belief that is endemic to the process [Smith and Keith, 1971: 116].

In any discussion of teacher recruitment and retention, theorists must realize that "education" is an open-ended system. Some teachers become administrators and some administrators become professors and deans. Innovative, reform-oriented educators, in our sample, moved within this larger open system in highly creative and proactive ways.

KENSINGTON'S MALE TEACHERS

Seven men make up the group of Kensington's male teachers; their career data are presented in Table 2. The heterogeneity of the group's career lines may be its most distinguishing characteristic. The six men interviewed in 1978-1979 were all in educational roles, but the diversity was so great that no two men held the same position. As seen in Table 2, they are, respectively, educational director in a hospital, high

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TABLE 2
Career Positions of Kensington's Male Teachers

Name	Degrees	Milford/ Kensington Position	Major Position Since Milford/ Kensington	Current Position	Future Possibilities
Daniel Hun	AB, MA, ABD	Transition	Graduate student/ Part-time University	Hospital Education Director	College or University?
Bill Kirkham	AB, MA	ISD	Federal Government Administrator	High School Social Studies Teacher	Administrator?
David Nichols	AB, MA	ISD	Self Employed: Management Training Co.	Self Employed: Management Training Co.	_____
John Taylor	AB, MA	PE	Associate Dean School of Education and Professor of PE	Associate Dean School of Education	Deanship? Professorship?
Alec Thurman	AB, MA, Ph.D.	ISD/Math	Professor of Education	Professor of Education	_____
Tom Mack	AB, MA, ABD	Curriculum Materials Coordinator	Elementary and Secondary Principal	Elementary Principal	Central Administrator?
Jack Davis	AB, MA, ?	ISD/Science	----------No Information----------		

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school teacher, educational management consultant, associate dean, professor, and elementary school principal. Hardly the stuff of which firm generalizations are made! Yet a more careful analysis of the date yields several interesting commonalities: (1) four of the six have completed Ph. D.s or the course work required for them; (2) all have completed master's degrees; (3) each has remained close to or in an educational setting, which is surprising given the attrition rates for young males; and (4) the positions, although superficially appearing traditional, have a unique twist that connects with Kensington. All continue their interest in educational reform. But the process of their careers and their career histories is where the fascination lies. These histories involve ever widening and deepening views of themes in the nature of the individuals who engage in educational innovation and reform.

Kensington represents a particular instance of a slender but robust tradition in American education, the development of local innovations by "true believers," reformers fired with a vision. When a colleague of ours put us onto another example, "New College," an innovative teacher education program at Columbia University in the 1930s, we recognized the further significance of our data (Watson, 1964). The idealism, the reform of American society and the liberation of individuals through education, has it counterparts in other places and at other times. What makes teaching and extended careers in education exciting for some is the opportunity to pursue their ideals for a better society. Educational settings can provide such opportunities and in those times and places where this occurred, intangible effects on recruitment and retention resulted.

Kensington, we believe, is part of a much larger and probably quite episodic tradition with more general utopian and ideological roots in American, if not Western, society. Within this tradition, educational reform takes on the character of a secular religion, drawing on and stimulating deep and powerful beliefs, values, and ideals (in fact, religion played a central role in the lives of many of the Kensington teachers, and served as one basis for the convictions that found expression in their working lives). Although most of the male teachers went on to other positions, they continued to act out the central beliefs that underlay their involvement at Kensington. The opportunity to discover, express, and refine ideals, we speculate, can be a powerful inducement to teach for at least some individuals in our society.

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TABLE 3
Career Positions of Kensington's Older Female Teachers

Name	Degrees	Milford/ Kensington Position	Major Position Since Milford/ Kensington	Current Position
Irma Hall	1 Year Certificate	ISD	Remained at Kensington Upper Elementary	Retired
Carla Young	1 Year Certificate AB, MA	BSD: Team 2	Remained at Milford Middle Elementary	Retired
Wanda Ellison	AB	BSD: Team 4	Remained at Milford Kindergarten	Retired

KENSINGTON'S FEMALE TEACHERS

Age, like gender, is a demographic variable that stirs controversy among psychologists. The long history of research on age and sex differences, initially driven by nature-nurture debates, with genetic overtones, has moved to more complex analyses of social roles and societal changes through history. Our concerns with Kensington's group of innovative teachers add a few more grains of sand to the continuing debates. Once again, career dimensions guide our efforts as we present summary accounts first of "the older female teachers" and then of "the younger female teachers."

Kensington's older female teachers. Kensington's "older female teachers" seemed cut from other cloth than their teaching counterparts, either male or female. Consequently we will first trace some of the interesting career-specific items and then anticipate a number of our later themes. Table 3 provides a sketch of their careers.

Most strikingly, all three are career elementary teachers who started in the classroom, continued in the classroom (although two dropped out for some years to have families), and retired as elementary school classroom teachers. Significantly, two of the group really link Kensington with a much older tradition. They came from small towns and began teaching with two-year normal school certificates. Our too frequent, ahistorical perspective often makes one ignorant of phenomena such as the recency of the four-year A.B. degree plus teacher training as a requirement for certification.

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Second, all three remained in Milford, although only one remained at Kensington, a pattern associated with their ages, marriages, and long-standing family and community ties. Important also is that these three, as a group, were more concerned and upset over Kensington's first year than any other cluster of faculty. We believe age and experience were important in those judgments.

Third, as they recounted episodes in their teaching careers and accomplishments over the years, we became convinced they were successful teachers by almost any standards one might apply. They found teaching satisfying and well-fitted to their lives. They raised families and then returned for more training. They took pleasure in nurturing young children. Teaching demanded and pulled from them the best of their creative talents. At one time or another they taught almost every grade of elementary school. As one said, "It can get boring at one level. I like the new material."

Fourth, each commented that they stayed in or returned to teaching partly for financial reasons. Their income, though not high by standards of other professions, was important in enabling them and their families to live comfortably. In particular, the college education of their children and ease in owning their own home were critical early items. Buffers for family illness were important in one instance. Later, community participation, travel, and other activities assumed importance.

As they talked about their retirement—one worked until she was 67 and two retired early, in their early 60s—what impressed us most was their vigor, energy, and creativity. One or another reads, paints, pots, square dances, plays bridge, gardens, and takes responsibility for church activities. Again and again the interviews evidenced their creativity.

Although we had only three cases, we found the career pattern of the lifetime elementary teacher quite interesting in light of recent trends in feminist literature. In recent years, talented young women have moved from careers in teaching, nursing, and secretarial service into law, medicine, and business. Opportunities for places in professional schools have increased as views of "appropriate" careers for women have shifted. But what might these new patterns of work mean for those occupations traditionally conceived as "women's work": teaching, nursing, social work? Following Betty Friedan's (1981) analysis, we would argue that the "second stage" for women recasts *all* careers as open possibilities—free choices—for satisfying,

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fulfilling work. As Friedan has done for "the family as a new feminist frontier" we want to move behind the stereotypes of "women's work" and see what teaching has done to and for our two groups of women—the older and younger teachers. For these three women, teaching was not "women's work" in the typical negative sense ("those who can, do, and those who can't, teach"). For them, the occupation of teaching did the kinds of things work is supposed to do for all of us, men and women alike. Women today, we believe, need not shun teaching because historically it has been "women's work." For some women, such as these three, and for some men, it can do all that a satisfying career does for development and meaning in anyone's life. Just as women can now choose family life—the roles of mother, wife, and homemaker—so those entering teaching can do so affirmatively, as one option among many rather than as the only option. And, we would add, men can make these same choices.

Kensington's younger female teachers. If Kensington's older female teachers were the most settled of the subgroups of staff, Kensington's younger female teachers were the least settled. For them the flux of late twentieth century social change had a major impact on their lives. Table 4 reveals that all but one have continued to work, mostly in educationally related fields. About half work full-time, about half part-time. Most of the positions remain associated with direct service to children. Only one, Jean Emerson, had moved into administrative work; she died tragically a year before our study began. All have master's degrees. Only one of the group, Sue Norton, has seriously pursued Ph.D. work, and she eventually dropped out of the program for a variety of reasons: concerns that education was not really her field, parental care, marriage, and family. Over half the group married and had children. As one might expect, these were major events in their lives with decided influence upon their careers.

The differences in "careers" for the men and women in the group raised a number of questions for us. In particular, the variety of career activities for these women was surprising and perplexing. Reflecting on the interview data, particularly in light of reading the "women's literature," we developed several related ideas. The most pervasive of these themes we called "reconstruing teaching as a women's occupation and career." At the risk of rationalizing rather than reconceptualizing, we believe that teaching has been maligned, negatively

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TABLE 4
Career Positions of Kensington's Younger Female Teachers

Name	Degrees	Milford/ Kensington Position	Major Position Since Milford/ Kensington	Current Position	Future Possibilities
Chris Hun	AB, MA	Basic Skills (Part Time)	Primary Teacher	Primary Teacher	
Sue Morton	AB, MAT, ABD	Basic Skills	Primary Teacher	Part Time Book Store Clerk	Librarian
Meg Adrian	AB, MA	Transition	Elementary Teacher (Innovative School)	Title I Resource Person	
Clair Nelson	AB, MA	Transition	Elementary Teacher (Teaming)	Title I Remedial Teacher (Half Time)	
Kay Abbott	AB, MA	ISD	Elementary/ Substitute/ Volunteering	Occasional Volunteering	
Liz Etzell	AB	ISD	Various Positions	Computer Programmer	
Elaine Ross	AB, MA	Basic Skills	Title I Language Arts Specialist	Part Time Language Arts Specialist	
Mary Radford	AB, MA	Basic Skills	Elementary Teacher	Elementary Teacher	
Jean Emerson	AB, MA	Basic Skills	State Department of Education	Deceased	

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evaluated with the pejorative label "woman's occupation." Second, and almost as a concrete specification of that general point, the teachers in our group overwhelmed us with their accounts of what we came to call "varied positions in 'teaching'." What is usually called "teaching" is a complex and varied combination of positions and working conditions. For creative, resourceful, self-directed individuals, it is a wonderland of opportunities.

Several of our group, both men and women, by extended discussion of the intersection of careers, marriage, and family life gave us images of trade-offs, idiosyncratic life-styles, and creative resolutions of their lives. We turn to these themes next.

RECONSTRUING TEACHING AS A WOMAN'S OCCUPATION AND CAREER

Some years ago we raised a perplexity that seemed important in educational psychology:

> Adolescent developmental tasks are sometimes made more difficult because the criterion of their successful accomplishment is inadequately established by the society. For example, whereas the male learns almost from babyhood that when he is a man he will hold a job in order to support himself and his family, with respect to adolescent girls our society has no carefully delineated set of norms. What is the purpose of education for her? To what extent should her education be governed by vocational considerations? Often the female adolescent resolves this issue by preparing for a vocation as a contingency against failure to marry or in the event of economic necessity after marriage. Not infrequently a young woman chooses to prepare for a teaching career because college graduation is expected of her by her family and her peers and teaching is a socially acceptable occupation for a year or two prior to marriage. It appears likely that before long we may see the development of a career pattern in which the female teacher acquires some "basic training" before marriage, leaves the field for ten or twelve years in order to get a family well established, and then returns to teaching as a career member of the profession.
>
> The more basic problems of integrating this career-marriage decision into a general philosophy of life which are raised by such writers as Simone de Beauvoir (1953) and Gruenberg and Krech (1952) are often given little consideration. In similar fashion, exponents of special programs for gifted adolescents have rarely tried to conceptualize the nature of and values involved in special education for gifted women [Smith and Hudgins, 1964: 135].

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Since that time, the women's movement has arrived, remade the fabric of American social life, and now as we have indicated (following Friedan) it is ready for "the second stage."

We were studying educational innovation, not the women's movement, concentrating on individual lives before and after the year at Kensington. But our teachers, although educational innovators, were also examples of the questions we had as educational psychologists and so could provide illustrations of the form the answers might take. This became clear when we broke our group along lines of gender, then age for the women. Then, too, the importance of the women's agenda hit us forcefully.

Our most fundamental thesis is that the stereotype of teaching as a woman's occupation and career must be rethought. We discovered, however, that our women teachers wrestled with the dilemma of managing their twin careers as both teachers and family heads—wives and mothers. Contributing to the inability to take advantge of career opportunities was the fundamental value conflict of family, wife, and mother versus career. We state the dilemma initially, and perhaps traditionally, as either/or to indicate that at the extremes are two very different life-styles. Most of the women in our study elected something in the middle—a compromise, or an integration. The excitement of our data lies in how those compromises and integrations worked out.

Initially we restate a major generalization. Beyond the self-contained classroom—the classical and most frequent way of organizing teaching in the elementary school—there exists a sizable array of other options for teachers. Our teachers found and created a number of these. By way of summary we have clustered the items in Table 5 by time arrangements, setting variations, and positions.

Furthermore, the opportunities for creative self-expression through work will vary according to one's social, economic, and personal circumstances. We can conceive the possibilities in a value-oriented continuum ranging from the near total deprivation of the destitute and abandoned to the near total self-actualization of the creative artist. Table 6 presents such a hierarchy, and illustrates our view that teaching falls somewhere in the middle of such a continuum. So, although we do not want to make utopian claims about teaching, we do want to argue that the teaching occupation presents significant opportunities for self-expression and variety of work.

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TABLE 5
Variations in Teaching as an Occupation and Career

1. Time

   Full time
   Part time - regular
   Part time - episodic
   Some years/not others
   Volunteering

2. Positions

   Subbing
   Specialists (e.g. language arts)
   Title I
   Teaming
   Volunteering

3. Settings

   Schools: different ses levels
   Projects
   Private schools

The reconstrual of teaching as a woman's occupation, a theme triggered by the proactive seeking and actualizing reported in our interviews, does not seem a rationalization, as these women built their own idiosyncratic life-styles. Nor is this to deny that several in the group in other circumstances might well have had other "more prestigious careers," or pursued a Virginia Woolf type of quest.

But if we take a more radical stance and pose equality between the sexes as a priority social value, then fundamental change will be necessary in our society. Most important, until some men become primary caretakers of home and children, women, apart from "supermom," will not be able to have careers of high vertical mobility. Alternatively, as some writers suggest, notably some novelists like Tillie Olsen and Virginia Woolf, women must forgo marriage and

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TABLE 6
Levels of Occupational Positions, Economic Problems, and Self-Fulfillment

1. Creative Self-Expression
   Writing poetry, novels

2. Fame and Fortune
   Law, Medicine, Business

3. The Reconceptualization of
   Teaching

4. Job with some congruence
   with interests and talents

5. Any Job-
   low pay, minimal benefits,
   difficult working conditions

6. No Position-
   No income

children, particularly having children. Most of the Kensington women did not make such a choice.

Yet another condition for genuine equality involves the redefinition of "success" and the accompanying reward and status structures. Though individuals can and must say "This is the way I want to live my life," and a number of the female Kensington teachers seemed to be saying that, it often was at a severe cost in terms of job conditions, financial rewards, and occupational prestige. None of our subjects "opted out" in some total sense toward an alternative lifestyle. Most, who were also married, seemed to join with husbands and define themselves, as did some of the husbands, as a two-person unit.

The two-person unit, husband and wife, seems a major form of compromise. Rather than "his career" or "my career" the mode seems more "our lives" or "our families." Although that can be a

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TABLE 7
What's Needed: A Potpourri of Partially Conflicting Possibilities

ALTERNATIVES	DIFFICULTY AND LOCUS OF CHANGE
1. Legitimation of some individuals with total reversal of male roles: Nurturant, supportive, fathers, homemakers, and "househusbands"	Major change in societal values and roles
2. Redefinition and legitimation of "the good life"; less careerism and materialism	Lure of "fame and fortune"; societal values
3. Increase in available time, for some: Earlier school entrance, acceleration Scholarships and fellowships Free day care, co-op nurseries More one and two child families versus three	Resources
4. Space: Physical: a room of one's own, in libraries, university departments Psychological: "space in my head"	Resources
5. Flexible arrangements: Legitimation of non-exploitive time arrangements	Organizational structures
6. Specialization: Narrowing the range, size and quantity of activities	Interdependency among range, quality, and quantity
7. Generalist: Life style of diverse stimulation	Lessens changes of vertical mobility
8. Decrease nurturant needs	Socialization practices

major positive integrative solution, it can be also a colossal rationalization. For most of the faculty, the former seemed to be the case.

We have attempted to pull these ideas together in a simple table, "What's Needed: A Potpourri of Partially Conflicting Possibilities," which raises the alternatives. The brief indication of "difficulties" in Table 7 barely suggests the problems of reform.

As we look back over our description and analyses of "rethinking teaching as a woman's career" we believe we have raised an impor-

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tant interpretation. But we are also worried that it might be a huge rationalization, as some of Friedan's (1981) critics warn about her analysis of "the second stage."

Teacher education as an undergraduate major and teaching as a career has been maligned in recent years by a number of social critics. And we do not wish to be Pollyannas. But one of the striking generalizations, for our unusual group of educators, is the career and personal possibilities that they saw within the field of professional education. Obviously this is not to deny that other career routes can be as exciting and fulfilling and that many teachers find education less than Utopian. Nor is it to deny that age, sex, and marital status influence the pattern of outcomes.

CONCLUSION

In a sense, a career is a relatively simple phenomenon—many people have them. In another sense it is an interesting two-sided conceptual coin. An occupation can be seen from the outside as a series of steps or positions that individuals may move through over a lifetime. The usual analytical pattern has been to view careers in terms of hierarchically ordered, vertical, or ranked positions. The "successful" individual advances "up the ladder," so to speak. Becker (1951), however, argued persuasively that the career options open to the Chicago public school teacher were captured best as horizontal mobility, a career at the same level with positions featuring better working conditions. Our concern has been with the structure of the occupational world open to educational innovators.

From the inside, a career can be viewed as one part of an individual's open-ended search for an identity. As such, values, beliefs, motives, and abilities intertwine with perceptions of the world, often construed as opportunities. Action becomes hypotheses or trials that are tested, confirmed, or disconfirmed. With these new perceptions, an individual is led to altered conceptions and reconstruals. And soon the pursuit of a career becomes integrally linked to personality development and change.

As we thought about the women in our group of teachers, a further perspective arose. If one assumes that social reality is *not* a "natural phenomenon" that evolves according to natural laws independently of the interests, perspectives, choices, and actions of individuals and

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groups, then the social structure made up of positions can be seen as "man"-made and malleable. And the set of issues surrounding the improvement of American society, as typified by the women's movement, becomes relevant to our discussion. The evolving social agenda of the women's movement, particularly as represented in the work of Betty Friedan, has provided a reconsideration of our data on our female teachers. At Kensington, teaching was not "a woman's occupation," although it is more generally so in America. Our female teachers, after they left Kensington, treated the "woman's occupation" they found in diverse and creative ways. We believe some of their actions are worthy of broader consideration.

In short, careers seem an important entry to a deeper understanding of educational innovation and change. And teachers who become involved with change, who develop deep convictions about their work in education, and who act out those convictions over what we discovered can be varied and exciting careers, will find satisfying and fulfilling work in classrooms, schools, and other educational settings. Although our sample was small and probably atypical, we find this perspective on teaching as work and career encouraging. For at least some individuals, teaching can be a viable option, not a gender-stereotyped dead end. This is the good news we bring to a consideration of teacher recruitment and retention.

NOTE

1. The book *Anatomy of an Educational Innovation* put Smith partly into that community, and inquiries about a job, invitations to conferences, consulting, colloquia presentations, and so forth. In this context he continued his acquaintance with Kensington people and their colleagues.

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