

On Careers: Themes from the Lives of Four Western Canadian Women Educators

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Two themes inferred from interviews with four western Canadian women educators holding doctorates in Educational Administration throw light upon their lives and careers: "Competing Urgencies" and "Late Bloomers." "Competing Urgencies" tells of the dual commitment to paid and family work, of combining the roles of wife, mother, and paid professional worker. Women's time, and often money, are scarce resources, but their energy is abundant, as is their capacity to sustain close familial connections. "Late Bloomers" describes these women's career development after their mid-thirties. The women's stories concern achieving wide-ranging professional competence, increased self-confidence, clearer aspirations, and a sense of purposefulness at a later age than usual. Taken together, the themes enhance understanding of career development and of the low proportion of women in school administration.

Deux thèmes tirés d'entrevues menées auprès de quatre éducatrices de l'Ouest du Canada titulaires d'un doctorat en administration éducative jettent une lumière sur leurs vies et leurs carrières: "les conflits entre les urgences" et "l'épanouissement tardif." Nous regroupons sous le premier thème l'engagement dans deux activités à savoir le travail et la famille, la combinaison des rôles d'épouse, de mère et de travailleuse professionnelle à salaire. La femme dispose de peu de temps et souvent de peu d'argent, mais elle déborde d'énergie et elle excelle dans le maintien de relations familiales étroites. Par "épanouissement tardif," nous entendons un développement de carrière après 35 ans. L'histoire de ces femmes raconte l'atteinte de compétences professionnelles variées, le développement d'une confiance en soi, l'identification d'aspirations de plus en plus claires et l'émergence d'une détermination à un âge plus avancé que d'ordinaire. Ensemble, ces thèmes permettent de mieux saisir le déroulement de la carrière et la faible proportion des femmes dans les administrations scolaires.

For some time now, scholars have questioned established assumptions about careers and career development. Many contend our understanding will be made more comprehensive by considering women's careers more carefully. In this paper, I identify two themes of continuing significance in the lives and careers of selected western Canadian women educators holding doctorates in Educational Administration. The themes are "Competing Urgencies" and "Late Bloomers." Each theme draws from the women's experiences to enhance our understanding of these women's career development and, as a corollary, of the historically low proportion of women school administrators.

Gutek and Larwood (1987) assert that women's career development is different from and more complex than men's because of role expectations about both paid work and family life. The same writers name five elements requiring particular attention in the study of women's careers: career preparation (expectations and socialization, as well as education); opportunities in society; the influence of marriage; pregnancy and child care; timing and age (p. 174). All five elements emerge as significant in this paper's anecdotes. As Larwood and Gutek note, those elements are probably far more relevant to the career development of many men than conventional theory and research acknowledge. Therefore, "a good model of career development for women may be the [better] general model for both sexes" (p. 174).

Hall (1987a) observes that the traditional view was of careers as "linear" and "predictable," but that now such new values as concern to balance paid work with family life have come into play, as have new organizational realities (p. 23). With retrenchment, many organizations are structurally flatter. There are fewer conventional promotions (pp. 8–9). Casserly (1988) suggests that theoretical assumptions about linear progression were never substantiated by research. And, in a critical review of current theory, Schein (1987) urges an emphasis on descriptive research and on developing wider conceptualizations of "success" in careers (p. 303).

Reporting her research on women elementary school teachers, Biklen (1986) argues our usual notion of a (paid-work) career is unduly restrictive in the lives of many women. She proposes an understanding of career commitment and career "interruptions" that does not dismiss or delegate parenting and other domestic responsibilities, or equate an absence of ambition in the organizational hierarchy with a lack of career commitment. Indeed, Biklen concludes that the lack of commitment is to standard competitive and hierarchical models of professionalism.

THE STUDY

The themes and anecdotes in this paper are drawn from a "life-story" (Bertaux, 1981, p. 7) interview study of four western Canadian women's careers in education, as teachers and administrators (Young, 1989). Through different combinations of chance, choice, and opportunity, each of these women has remained in the field of education for 20 years or more. Each one started out as a public school teacher, and has also taught in post-secondary institutions. Each has acquired administrative/policy making experience, whether or not she has held formal, permanent administrative appointments. Along the way, each one has earned a doctorate in Educational Administration, something few women have done until recently.

The life-history approach—of which life-story interviewing is one form—has gained the attention of scholars interested in documenting and interpreting women's perspectives and experiences (Biklen & Shakeshaft, 1985). The anecdotes and summaries in this paper are derived from biographies I

wrote about the women, each based on life-story interviews. Each woman reviewed her own biography and, after negotiation of some revisions, agreed I could treat the final version of the biography as “data” for analysis.

Life-story interviewing is well suited to my project, which aimed to show “why so few women have become school administrators [and] how it is that this has happened” (Reynolds, 1985, p. 46). Historically, as Nixon (1987) puts it, “The tradition of women as teachers and men as principals and superintendents was well entrenched in Canada by the end of the nineteenth century” (p. 64). Despite, for example, what pioneering women educators on Canadian frontiers did and endured—the physical, social, and professional conditions of their lives—those with the power to name and value experience (Reynolds, 1987) insisted that women were not fit to teach older children or to manage schools. In Canada today, as in the past, women educators continue to be involved primarily in providing instruction, managing classrooms, and making decisions about individual students rather in doing the management and policy making that affect the world of the classroom. It was my intention to uncover some of the stories “behind” the statistics about women’s disproportionately low representation in educational administration.

THE THEMES

“Competing Urgencies” tells of the dual commitment to paid and family work. The stories are about combining the roles of wife, mother, and paid professional worker. Time, and often money, are scarce resources but energy is abundant. So is the resourcefulness necessary to sustain close familial connections. “Late Bloomers” summarizes these women’s career development after their mid-thirties. The stories have to do with achieving wide-ranging professional competence, increased self-confidence, clearer aspirations, and a sense of purposefulness at a later age than is generally expected.

Competing Urgencies

The phrase “competing urgencies” is quoted by Lillian B. Rubin (1983, p. 160) in a book chapter entitled “Love, Work, and Identity.” In the book, *Intimate Strangers: Men and Women Together*, Rubin discusses her extensive social psychological study of the changing relations between women and men who are partners in long-term, committed relationships. Rubin explains that the friend who spoke the phrase was trying to capture the “inner sense of a woman who is worker, mother, wife.” Although some data have indicated that career women, especially administrators, are less likely to marry and have children (Fullan, Park, & Williams, 1987, p. 30), many contemporary women are combining the roles (Gallese, 1985, p. 53). Women generally, though, take primary responsibility for “family work”

(Hochschild, 1989; Larwood & Gutek, 1987, p. 158; Reich & Lafontaine, 1982, p. 71). As a result, many women regard successful juggling of these “simultaneous” rather than “sequential” demands (Larwood & Gutek, 1987, p. 158) as a considerable accomplishment (Woo, 1985, p. 286). Farmer (1984), among others, recommends that paid employment and family work be studied together (p. 141). She notes that an individual will likely give priority to different roles at different times. Her own research also suggests that a concurrent dual commitment to paid employment and family work is possible for some women.

Such women—including Lois, Jean, Margo, and Elaine—speak of several essential elements in their lives. Lois, Elaine, Margo, and Jean all emphasized the significance of family life and close relations with spouses. They all talked directly or indirectly about the importance of making satisfactory child care arrangements, of obtaining good babysitters and housekeepers. Then, there are the stories about the care of aged and ailing parents. In my study, those arrangements often involved hosting visits or commuting long distances to maintain frequent contact. Some say that the key is organization, making efficient use of the available time. Time is a scarce resource, but there *is* a sense of abundant energy. Certainly, their stories offer example after example of the elements just identified, in lives fraught with competing urgencies.

As my study illustrates, child care problems persist. Whether a woman was a very young married mother in the 1950s, a lone parent in the 1970s, or a yuppie mother in the 1980s, whether she was living in one of western Canada’s urban centres or more remote towns, the stories were remarkably similar. Margo provides a vivid description, drawn from an extremely challenging period in her life during the (pre-microwave) mid-1970s. At about 30 years of age, having moved quite recently to a booming western Canadian city with her husband, Margo suddenly found herself without a husband but responsible for their two very young children. She describes a typical day this way:

I’d get up early in the morning, find clothes for the kids, throw them on, get dressed myself, take one kid to a private home, take the other kid to a day care and get to . . . class . . . in the traffic . . . with the kids . . . hollering and screaming in the back seat. . . . Going home was worse because they were hungry . . . especially the young one, who was sick anyway. . . . [I’d] grit [my] teeth, go through the traffic, and get home. I never had it together enough to have stuff in the oven warming up. So it was start supper . . . bathe them, and put them to bed. At which point, [I] might have two minutes peace to start reading . . . every paper I wrote was always interrupted by the kids’ problems. . . . It was a constant struggle to find twenty minutes of silence anywhere along the line. . . . I was totally wiped out most of the time.

Pulling her life together after the traumatic loss of her partner was a task Margo accomplished not only for her own sake but because she was the sole

provider for her children. A teacher who had “interrupted” her career to have those children, she now re-entered her professional world via graduate studies while she attempted to cope with her family responsibilities. This is the case of the completely absent husband, and a woman who is faced unexpectedly with doing not only all of the family work described in the following anecdotes but any family-and-home-related tasks that were undertaken by male partners in the other women’s situations.

Elaine, on the other hand, was in her mid-thirties when she had her first child and she was a partner in a well established, mutually supportive marriage. Nonetheless, it was Elaine who assumed responsibility for child care arrangements, perhaps because she had already “interrupted” her professional career by having this much-wanted child and was doing project work rather than being employed full time by one organization. The time was the early 1980s in another booming western Canadian city. Elaine and her husband, Jeff, had recently moved to this city. Doing contract work at home cushioned the impact of their child’s arrival, as did a visit from Elaine’s mother. Even so, because of project meetings, Elaine started taking the baby out to a babysitter when he was six weeks old.

To meet her increasing professional obligations, Elaine soon had to make other babysitting arrangements. Jeff stayed home with their baby when Elaine taught her night class. Elaine organized occasional babysitting during the day. As her babysitting needs became more extensive and more pressing, she persuaded a young mother who babysat a few children in her own home to take her baby as well. The arrangement worked beautifully for several months. Then, Elaine’s babysitter was rushed to the hospital for an emergency operation. Elaine “suddenly had to find something to do with [the baby], because I was in the middle of a project and I was working every day.” A new day care centre had just opened in a distant suburb. Elaine drove to the centre and looked it over. She judged it to be adequate, with some particularly appealing features. She placed her son there right away, when he was one-and-one-half years old.

At first, Elaine drove her son to the day care and picked him up, every day. However, that entailed a great deal of driving for her. Eventually, she and Jeff agreed to share the driving. Elaine had to make explicit her feelings of pressure in providing two-way transportation for their child. Jeff was willing to help out, when asked, but did have to be asked.

Elaine’s story demonstrates one type of crisis in baby-sitting arrangements, the unexpected illness of a hired care provider. Lois recalls another type of crisis caused by sudden illness, in this case the illness of school-aged children suddenly needing care. She notes that, even once all the children were in school, it was a “traumatic thing when the kids were sick” since there was no one available to stay home with them. She recalls feeling grateful when two of her children had chicken pox at the same time . . . and guilty about feeling grateful.

Although long- and short-term babysitting arrangements were a continuing responsibility for these four women, they also had to organize other aspects

of child care and family work. For example, although some good home child care was available in her small western Canadian city, transporting the children to and from it was an issue for Lois, just as transporting her son to and from a distant day care centre was for Elaine. In the mid-1960s, Lois and her husband, John, had 3 small children, very little money, and only one car. So, in the winter, John dropped the children off at the babysitter's on the way to his classes. Later in the day, after teaching school, Lois went to the babysitter's house, bundled up the children, put them on a toboggan, and pulled the toboggan home—a two-mile walk. As an economy measure, she also got up each morning and “spread out the bread on the table,” supplying butter and sandwich filling to make lunches for each of the family members (five in all). Could Lois have solved her problems, simplified her life by staying home with her young children? Perhaps. But, at that time and like many women, she was working out of economic necessity.

One of the coping strategies Lois developed early on was the habit of taking work home to do in the evenings. That remained her practice throughout her career—she never returns to her office to work in the evenings, except to attend meetings. When her children were young, working at home in their midst was a way of combining her family and professional worlds. And she did literally work at the dining-room table, even once she had her own study. Lois recalls John doing marking in the family room while she worked at the dining table. This meant she and John were frequently evening companions. It was an inexpensive, family-centred way to juggle demands; but it required self-discipline too if she was to accomplish her professional tasks while attending to her family's needs. It also gave her husband and children the opportunity to see her engaged in professional work, to be aware of those competing urgencies in her life.

Jean coped with yet another variation of competing urgencies by purchasing her own car and hiring a housekeeper. In the early 1970s, she found herself managing their family household single-handedly during the work-week because her husband, Jim, took a new job that entailed travelling. She was a full-time teacher with school-aged children active in sports and community groups. Their small though growing town had no public transit system. Of necessity, Jean and Jim acquired a second car for Jean's use. Even so, Jean recalls “having a lot of trouble balancing getting them all [to] the places they had to be.” She hired a part-time housekeeper at the urging of one of her colleagues, also a “working mother.” It was a mutually satisfactory arrangement—Jean needed more time and her housekeeper needed more money. Then, Jean's own participation in province-wide committees and conferences began to require some out-of-town travel. The children were getting older but those living at home still required supervision. Jean and Jim had to coordinate their schedules with care. It was Jean who “made sure everything [from babysitters to meals] was set up ahead of time.” When the demands of her professional life increased her own absences from the family, it was still largely the arrangements Jean made that provided continuity for the family.

Undergirding all else, many women speak of the indispensable support of their husbands (Porat, 1985; Tague & Harris, 1988; Woo, 1986). Jean, as well as Margo, Elaine, and Lois, made such comments. But the support clearly varied in degree and kind, and over time. Like the other husbands in these stories, Jim was cooperative but—both metaphorically and literally—absent when it came to organizing family work. The difference between Jim's absence due to a travelling job, and John's or Jeff's absence due to local activities, is a matter of degree. Would each of them have filled the family-work vacuum, if his wife had allowed it to exist? And would she have been satisfied with his approach to doing so? These questions were not then discussed by those couples, although three of the women spoke of a shift in domestic responsibilities later in life as their husbands acted in practical support of wives with demanding professional schedules (Edson, 1988, pp. 99–100). Nor does this study claim to recount any but the women's stories. Nonetheless, it is the case that in order to cope with all the demands on their time and energy when they had children living at home, each of these women delegated some aspects of her family work to other low-paid women (Hochschild, 1989, p. 246).

A striking feature of narratives in this study was the sheer busy-ness of each woman's daily life, sometimes over very long periods. As Woo (1985, p. 288) points out, the price for many women educational administrators has typically been paid by men in similar positions—restricted leisure time with consequent limits on social, cultural, and recreational involvements. The difference is the assumption by the women and about the women that they will come home from their paid work to a “second shift” (Hochschild, 1989). They expected and were expected to organize and carry out family work of the sort described here, the direct and delegated care-giving and other domestic responsibilities that, in combination with paid work, give rise to competing urgencies.

Late Bloomers

It was Elaine who made the comment, “I see myself as a late bloomer.” She was speaking of her own career development and, specifically, of her accomplishments since her mid-thirties. One definition of the verb “to bloom” is “to flourish” (*Oxford English Dictionary*). According to *Webster's International Dictionary*, a “bloomer” is “a person that reaches full competence, skill, or maturity.” The phrase “late bloomer,” then, might refer to a mature person who has achieved professional competence and is evidently flourishing, but at a later age than is generally expected. To what extent is that an accurate description of Elaine's career or the careers of the other three women in this study?

A collective profile for the four women, at the age of 35 years old, looks like this. Two women had children who were young teenagers. One had children in elementary school. One was just starting to have children. None

of the women had held a permanent, full-time administrative appointment in education or completed a doctorate. One was a post-secondary instructor with a bachelor's degree, several years of paid-work experience in business, and several more years of experience as a public school teacher. Another woman had a bachelor's and a master's degree, with nearly 15 years' experience as a classroom teacher, some in post-secondary institutions and some in public schools. At 35, two women were full-time doctoral students. Each of the four also had a combination of public school and post-secondary teaching experience, and had done program development and project administration. None of the four had been following or attempting to follow a specific career plan.

As teachers, the women were in "mid-career" (Hall, 1987b, p. 125). According to Hall, mid-career is the period during which a person is well-established in an occupation and feels truly competent in a particular role (p. 127). Any individual may experience more than one mid-career, depending on the number of occupations or diverse roles he or she adopts. That the women in this study were in mid-career as teachers when they were in their mid-thirties is not an indication of late blooming. It is their record of achievements and activities after the age of 35 that distinguishes the women as late bloomers. Indeed, the two older women have even experienced a second mid-career—this one in their roles as administrators—about a decade after the initial mid-career in teaching.

From their mid-thirties, these women often showed increasing aspirations and purposefulness. They became more confident of their abilities and began to plan ahead, in some cases with a clear sense of the desirable next career step. They sought new challenges, acquired doctorates, weighed possibilities and opportunities, adjusted according to their options. In spite of the continuing role of chance in their careers, they acted more decisively.

However, the structure of women's opportunities varied. During the growth period of the 1970s, Lois and Jean moved into and upward in administration, one of them in school systems and the other in post-secondary educational organizations. Elaine and Margo are slightly younger and were seeking new challenges, including administrative appointments, during the less expansionary period of the early 1980s. They took on a variety of consultant roles and post-secondary teaching activities but had to re-think their ambitions to rise in their organizational hierarchies or to acquire tenurable academic appointments. There were few chances to pursue these preferred options and they were turned away in the pursuit of what few did open up. In effect, Margo and Elaine were faced with imagining and creating their own opportunities in a time of fewer ready-made, traditional options. Even Lois and Jean, however, experienced disappointments and sought alternative routes—sometimes requiring a move to a different geographical location or organization—during their ascents. Whether these four women saw and took advantage of existing opportunities, or whether they set out to create opportunities for themselves, they did so much more purposefully and confidently than they had when younger.

At the time of their first administrative appointment, women teachers are generally older than their male counterparts and have accumulated more years of classroom experience (Fullan et al., 1987, p. 228; Marshall, 1985, p. 143). Writers account for this phenomenon by referring to some combination of discriminatory practices, slower-to-develop aspirations, and the competing urgencies that result from multiple role commitments. Concern about barriers and obstacles to women's advancement is legitimate. However, delayed entry to administration also has a positive side, involving the notions of mid-career and of late blooming.

Hall (1987b) characterizes mid-career as a time of frustration or uneasiness. "Fast-trackers" who reach mid-career in their thirties are often frustrated by shrinking opportunities to ascend the hierarchy. The phenomenon is exacerbated in organizations that are no longer expanding. People who reach mid-career in their forties feel uneasy about their future prospects, aware that any change must happen soon. Such reactions are reminiscent of a period Larsen (1984, p. 225) calls "Unfinished Business" in her study of nursing doctorates. As she puts it, "There seemed to be unfinished aspects of their lives that had to be put in place and other aspects that had yet to be set aside." Hall suggests the appropriate response to mid-career is to take charge of one's own career and to explore new possibilities. Although it is difficult to shift roles from veteran to novice, some people exhibit the necessary independence and adaptability. They have the potential to be late bloomers, as illustrated in the careers of Lois, Jean, Margo, and Elaine.

RE-THINKING THE NOTION OF A CAREER

What is a career? The *Oxford English Dictionary* provides an overview of the two principal uses of the noun. First, a "career" may refer to "a person's course or progress through life (or a distinct portion of life)." Similarly, in the recent psychological literature, the definition of "career" is comprehensive. It includes "not only occupations but prevocational and postvocational concerns as well as how persons integrate their work life with their other life roles" (Herr & Cramer, 1984, p. 14). Defined in that way, career development becomes almost indistinguishable from adult development (Gutek & Larwood, 1987, p. 9). Likewise, in the sociological literature, reference is usually made to Hughes' (1937–1938) general definition of a career as the sequence of roles and positions that make up a life.

The dictionary indicates that, in modern usage, a "career" may also be "a course of professional life or employment, which affords opportunity for progress or advancement in the world." Gerson (1985), in her life-history study of some American women, found that participants used the term "career" in relation to paid work, defining it as "both the psychological and behavioral state of being committed to work over the long run" (p. 126). This definition embodies common usage in referring specifically to paid employment, which is one form of work. For example, Biklen (1986), in her

study of women elementary school teachers, notes that the women maintained consistent “internal conceptions of themselves as teachers” even when they were not employed professionals. And, although they did not set out to do so, or describe themselves in this way, Lois, Jean, Margo, and Elaine provide some models of “flexible success” with respect to their careers in education. According to Keohane (1984, cited in Hall, 1987c, p. 345), flexible success is characterized by interruptions in paid work, by part-time paid work, and by slower achievement. These could certainly be desirable features for many men, as well as women.

However, many scholars think other forms of work should be considered in combination with paid work. The theme “Competing Urgencies” in this paper is intended to contribute to the documentation and discussion of such work. Drawing on the more comprehensive notion of career development that Larwood and Gutek have proposed, and on the themes in this paper, I have modified Morrison’s and Holzback’s definition of a career (cited in Morrison & Hock, 1987, p. 237), based on the notion of career growth through experiential learning. They define a career as:

A sequence of work roles that are related to each other in a rational way, so that some of the knowledge and experience acquired in one role is used in the next. This definition is not constrained by such factors as geography, organizational boundaries, or promotional opportunities.

This definition comprehends the important concept of a cumulative but not necessarily hierarchical progression of paid-work activities which may occur in a variety of organizational contexts. Yet the themes presented in this paper point out certain inadequacies of the Morrison and Holzback definition, such as the assumption of rationality and the equation of “work” with “paid work.” I therefore propose the following version:

A career is a sequence of paid-work roles that are related to each other and to unpaid work (i.e., volunteer, family, formal education) roles by choice and chance, so that knowledge and experience acquired from the various work roles is acknowledged and used from one paid-work role to the next.

This definition emphasizes individual growth and adaptability in “weaving” a career (Casserly, 1988). It does not address the concomitant issue of the organizational and societal milieux in which roles are defined and careers lived out.

RE-THINKING CAREERS IN EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

There are a number of parallels between doing administrative work in education and coping with the competing urgencies just described (Young, 1991). Both involve decisions affecting the welfare and growth of children, decisions constrained by limited information, time, and money. Immediate

action is often required, as are stamina and the ability to shift attention quickly from one issue to another. Too often these parallels are overlooked, with consequent organizational undervaluing of life lived with competing urgencies.

Indeed, as Carlson and Schmuck (1981, p. 118) point out, many of the skills and much of the experience acquired in unpaid work should be recognized as relevant and transferable. Responsibility for family work may be better preparation for educational administration than a graduate degree in the subject (Paddock, 1981, p. 194). Certainly, interpersonal skills and nurturing abilities developed through parenting are valuable in supervision (Lipman-Blumen, 1983, p. 76) and should be emphasized and rewarded in all educational administrators, given the central concerns of education as an endeavour (Fullan et al., 1987, p. 229; Stockard & Johnson, 1981, p. 251). And many women in my study were acquiring those administrative skills at an age younger than that of most graduate students in educational administration. You might say they were participating in a kind of real-life, longitudinal, "in-basket" exercise, although without receiving official recognition.

Late blooming is a way to reduce the concurrent pressures of paid and family work to more sequential ones (Levinson, 1978, pp. 337–338). Besides, people who have more varied life experience may well make better administrators (Kanter, 1977, pp. 269, 274). So, "competing urgencies" may contribute to "late blooming," through which some women's talents and careers develop without an arbitrary and artificial separation between the personal and the professional. Certainly, there is no reason to assume that educational administration and leadership is best accomplished by the young or those with a narrow range of experience, as the conventional "fast-track" model of career development suggests.

Understanding the notion of a "career" differently—for both women and men—implies new connotations for the term "success." As Kanter said in 1977, "it is clear that alternative definitions of success are long overdue" (p. 272). Seeing a career as a series of paid-work opportunities to apply what one has learned and is learning from both paid and unpaid work is quite different from defining a career in ways that emphasize conventional measures of career commitment and hierarchical progression as the reward. This proposed re-orientation emphasizes "job characteristics" over "position title" (Paddock, 1981, p. 196) and "opportunity" over "promotion."

Success could then be equated with access to particular forms of opportunity not necessarily associated with upward mobility. Opportunity, defined as offering "new potential for growth and learning rather than only a change in status or span of authority" (Kanter, 1977, p. 272), might be its own reward. This definition emphasizes the potential satisfactions of lateral, as well as vertical, moves. Such definitions of opportunity and success are, however, only given meaning by policies and practices in particular organizations.

We have many precedents and possible ways of varying assignments, whether instructional or administrative, while retaining the same or comparable role designations. The equitable and generous distribution of such opportunity will aid those who seek hierarchical advancement of the traditional sort by increasing their visibility, their contacts, and their range of formal experience. For others, though, it is the very provision of Kanter-style opportunity, as an end in itself, that makes possible a satisfying career. The point is to widen the array of acceptable perspectives on and genuine choices about careers in education.

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