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WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION
IN INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

BY

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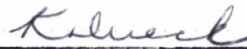
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to focus upon women as educational administrators in Independent Schools in Canada. This study examined the character of Independent Schools, women's struggles in education in the nineteenth century, women's current struggles to become educational administrators, and assessed the prevailing situation of female administrators in Independent Schools. The results of the study should provide information helpful to women whose careers are in the Independent School system. The results should also be helpful to the heads of Independent Schools in examining their administrative structures and situations.

The findings revealed that there is a notable lack of female administrators within the Independent School system. Examination of the data revealed profiles for typical male and female heads of Independent Schools.

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INTRODUCTION

The progress and development of Canadian education has been continual since the time of the first settlers of Lower Canada. The evolutionary process of education in Canada has included both public and private schools in addition to institutions of higher learning - universities, colleges, and technical institutes. In this advancement women have struggled to gain access as students to all educational institutions, and to be accepted as teachers and administrators within those institutions. Initially women taught in convent schools, in private schools, and in dame schools. As the proprietors of schools for girls, women had some control over these institutions. Yet as private schools and indeed public schools became more prevalent, women began to lose the role they once had in the educational field. The focus of this thesis then, will be to look at women administrators in those private schools in Canada known as Independent Schools. It will include a look at Independent Schools generally; an historical view of women in Canadian education; the current status of women as educational administrators; and an analysis of female educational administrators in Independent Schools. The research methodology is generally qualitative, including some historical analysis and the use of a questionnaire to provide current information on Independent School administrators.

The Independent Schools chapter introduces the characteristics of these schools which are critical to the later analysis of women's roles within these schools. The major sources for establishing the distinctive features of Independent Schools are the schools' prospecti. To gain

a satisfactory understanding of women as both educators and administrators within Independent Schools, an historical perspective of women in education is drawn in the second chapter. The struggles of nineteenth century women gaining access to all educational institutions are dealt with in this chapter. An extension is drawn to female teachers and the problems they encountered within the educational realm: teaching the youngest children; drawing lower salaries than male teachers; receiving less formal training than men; and striving to be accepted as professionals within the educational field. Acceptance as professional educators is important for women because it gives them the opportunity for greater career mobility within education. Career mobility implies that individuals may assume positions of greater responsibility and also have greater earning potential. Those women who wish to pursue administrative positions in education today have as great a struggle as the women of the nineteenth century had in becoming teachers. The third chapter addresses some of the problems female educational administrators encounter. It also suggests some reasons why greater numbers of women may not be educational administrators. The chapter explores the parallels between female administrators in the public school system and Independent Schools. Further investigation regarding female administrators in Independent Schools is undertaken in the fourth chapter. Here, the questionnaire is utilized in such a manner that it provides quantitative evidence to support statements made earlier in the study. Emphasis is placed upon descriptive statistics and their association to each other. Finally, the

conclusion is a summative statement. It suggests are for further research on various aspects of Canadian Independent Schools.

The thesis then, has four core chapters: (1) characteristics of Independent Schools; (2) a brief history of women in education; (3) women in educational administration; and (4) an analysis of women administrators in Independent Schools. These four chapters are followed by the concluding chapter. This will not only summarize but also suggest some limitations of the study thereby proposing areas for further research.

CHAPTER ONE

CHARACTERISTICS OF INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

"In Canada, as elsewhere, the term 'private school' has come to embrace a variety of concepts."¹ These 'concepts' are as varied as private schools themselves. There are several types of private schools: religiously affiliated private schools such as the Mennonite or Hutterite schools in Alberta; private schools which are designed for the mentally handicapped; private schools which cater to the learning disabled; and other private schools which offer something different from public schools. The latter are indicative of a specific group of private schools which can be called Independent Schools. It is these schools which are the focus of this chapter. Independent schools are those fifty-four schools which belong to the Canadian Association of Independent Schools (CAIS). This association is the amalgamation of the Canadian Association of Principals of Independent Schools for Girls (CAPISG) and the Canadian Headmaster's Association (CHA). The merger occurred at the annual meeting of school heads in 1976 at Strathcona-Tweedsmuir School in Calgary. "To become members in (the) association, the schools must offer courses designed to prepare students for university entrance."² There are twenty-one girls' schools, twelve co-educational schools, and twenty-one boys' schools. Of the twenty-one girls' schools, seven are boarding or a combination of day/boarding and sixteen are led by a headmistress, the remainder by a headmaster. Fifty percent (6) of the co-educational schools are boarding schools, but the others will attempt to find a student room and board if necessary. These however, are primarily day schools. All twelve are run by headmasters. Seventeen

of the twenty-one boys' schools provide boarding situations and all are headed by a headmaster. The greatest number of Independent Schools is in Ontario with twentythree, followed by Quebec with eleven, British Columbia nine, Nova Scotia four, Manitoba two, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and New Brunswick each have one. Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland do not have any members of the CAIS. It is the intent of this chapter to explore the myths and social attitudes surrounding these schools.

MYTHS OF INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

A myth is generally thought to be a belief regarding a specific idea or concept and held by a wide group of people. Three noted myths about independent schools are succinctly described by James McLachlin: "They are creations of the late nineteenth century (1), they imitate English public schools (2), and they are 'aristocratic' or 'upper class' institutions (3)."³ Upper Canada College (UCC), one of Canada's oldest independent schools, was founded in 1829 - before the late nineteenth century; the Bishop Strachan School for girls was founded in 1867; Trafalgar School for girls of Montreal founded in 1874; and Ridley College of St. Catharine's was founded in 1889. These are but a few of the Independent Schools which were formed in the late nineteenth century. There were others which sprang up during this time but did not survive the transition through to the twentieth century. Survival through the twentieth century is critically important because this study deals only with those schools still in existence today. There may have been Independent Schools which were founded during this time, but they cannot be included statistically because they

are not currently in operation. Of the fifty-four schools who are members of the CAIS, thirty-one were established in the twentieth century representing fifty-seven percent of the schools in question. McLachlan's statement can be questioned even further if note is taken of the use of the words 'late nineteenth century.' This would logically be those schools founded from 1850 to 1899. If this is taken into account, another seven of the fifty-four schools do not fall into his categorization. The percentage of schools which are not creations of the late nineteenth century then becomes seventy. It is important to note that Independent Schools established in the twentieth century have subsequently obtained membership in the Canadian Association of Independent Schools. They have modelled their institutions on those founded in the nineteenth century as evidenced by membership in the CAIS. Hence, in reality McLachlan's statement is in itself a myth, but if taken in the context that the newer schools were formed with the same values and ideals as those of the nineteenth century, Independent Schools are indeed creations of this period in Canadian history.

The second commonly held assumption that Independent Schools are modelled on English public schools has been perpetuated by the schools themselves. The prospectus for Trinity College School indicates that "under the Headmastership of the late Reverend C.J.S. Bethune, the School became firmly established as a boarding school for boys, of a type similar to the great public schools of England."⁴ With a statement such as this, it is difficult to refute this particular myth. However, consider that the majority of immigrants to Ontario during that time period were of British descent. It is natural then, that they would

bring with them those ideals which they valued and held in high esteem. Those same values and ideals would undoubtedly become a part of the educational system such as it was in the nineteenth century. The British people, especially those who were well read and believed in the desirability and need of an education for their children, founded schools modelled on the public schools of England. The similarities could be seen through the type of administration developed and the head being called Headmaster rather than principal. Prefects, older students, were used to help govern the younger students and provide appropriate behavior models. Teachers, many of whom were British, brought with them their textbooks. Undoubtedly, a further implication in the use of British teachers was that their teaching methodology was British. Religious beliefs too, were brought with the masters from England. However, to suggest that all Independent Schools were modelled on English public schools is to look no further than the founder or Headmaster/mistress. Retaining and hiring good teachers in a barren land such as Canada, was the unenviable task of the Headmaster. Invariably, they looked to their mother country, England, to supply these masters. As the educational system in Canada became more established, the availability of men and women from Normal Schools who assumed the teaching positions previously held by British masters, and a spurt of national patriotism after Confederation, caused many of the English traditions to slip into the past. Thus, although there was no longer as great an emphasis upon modelling the British public schools, this aspect of Independent Schools must be carefully considered in a discussion of them.

McLachlan's third contention that Independent Schools promote elitism and aristocratic notions is refuted by both Headmasters and the schools' prospecti. By definition an elite institution may be regarded as one which is the finest, best, most distinguished or powerful (quote from Webster's dictionary, p. 453). It follows that if Independent Schools are elitist, they would promote the values of power and eminence amongst the students. Peter Ditchburn, Headmaster of Strathcona-Tweedsmuir School states that these schools try instead, to foster "commonly held values such as - honesty, integrity, and trust in others."⁵ Independent Schools work hard to refute the claim that their schools promote and encourage these qualities. One of the ways they do this is through their school prospecti. The prospecti are careful in pointing out their purposes and indeed include those characteristics which are not associated with elitism. St. Mildred's Lightbourne stresses that "a quality of character that exemplifies honesty, respect, reverence and joy for life is our aim."⁶ Appleby College, a boarding school for boys notes that "in broad terms our purpose ... is to pursue excellence in every area."⁷ York House School in Vancouver maintains "respect for others and for oneself is a keynote throughout the school."⁸ Perhaps St. George's College in Toronto says it the best; "we are not a pretentious school - who you are counts little, what you are counts much."⁹ Many other prospecti intimate the same - they do not promote either aristocratic notions or elitism, rather, they exist to promote self-worth in children. Mary Percival Maxwell too contends that "perhaps they (private schools before the rise of public schools) were class institutions but they were certainly not elitist institutions.

It was the passage of the fee-less state school legislation which converted the private sector into a more elitist direction."¹⁰ But Morgan maintains that elitism can be acquired simply through the label of independent school student. He asserts that this label "may in itself convey a sense of privilege and specialty over public school students."¹¹ Thus, although Independent Schools may struggle to demonstrate that elitism does not exist, it is still a factor of these schools which must be discussed and focussed upon when examining the characteristics of those same schools. Yet, McLachlan's myths regarding Independent Schools have been perpetuated by those individuals who are not cognizant of the many aspects of Independent Schools and so do not choose to examine the available information carefully. John Vanderhoek in responding to an article written in THE CANADIAN SCHOOL EXECUTIVE in September, 1984, asks that the author (J.A. Fraser) "research the private school systems before you make generalizations."¹² So too, must McLachlan carefully evaluate what he has stated regarding the presence of these schools in Canada.

Peter Cookson Jr. noted that Independent Schools are an amalgamation of "a rather complex set of historical and social ingredients."¹³ The 'ingredients' of which he speaks connote that there are common characteristics regarding the function these schools have in our society. William J. McMillan asserts "to a degree ... a private school has a valid place in society only to the extent that a sufficient number of parents of potential students choose to select its services."¹⁴ In PRIVATE SCHOOL MANAGEMENT, McMillan provides fifteen reasons why parents might choose an Independent School for

their children rather than a public school. Although this is an American text, it parallels closely the Independent Schools in Canada. The reasons it presents are noteworthy because they provide additional insights regarding the characteristics of an Independent School. The points presented by McMillan reflect the attitudes adults have of these schools. Some children are sent there after some time in the public system and others begin and finish their education there. Yet, it was the choice of the parents to send their child to this type of school and so their reasons for selecting this alternative must be pursued. McMillan's reasons can be grouped into four categories: (1) academics; (2) discipline; (3) instruction; and (4) learning environment. They will be dealt with in that order.

ACADEMICS

"Parents believe that their children will acquire a higher quality of education at an independent school."¹⁵ Coleman, Hoffer, and Kilgore in their study of private and public high schools in the United States, admit that parents believe

"that private schools provide better education than that provided by public schools. The argument made by individual parents is an argument about particular schools and particular children: A private school available to them gives better outcomes for their children than does the local public school to which their children would be assigned. But if the argument holds in a sufficient number of cases, and if parents are good judges of the question, then the argument follows that education for ... children ... will be improved ... in private schools."¹⁶

Peter Ditchburn feels that this perception on parents' behalf can be broken down into three categories: 1) provision of an academic program leading to university entrance; 2) emphasis on qualities such

as - self-discipline, motivation, and initiative, and 3) the opportunities provided for growth.¹⁷ McMillan observes that "as a basic matter there isn't much of a place for private schools that don't want to compete with the public education system on the key point of product quality."¹⁸ This is supported by Richard B. Howard's statement in his history of Upper Canada College: "The College from the beginning had high academic standards and before it was two months old, drew admiring glances from as far away as New York."¹⁹ The Bishop Strachan School offers "a rigorous and stimulating academic programme."²⁰ Crofton House School's "aim ... is to provide sound academic education."²¹ It is apparent then, that McMillan's view that parents believe their children will receive a higher quality of education specifically academic, is borne out by what these schools state in their prospecti.

A higher quality of education however, is only one aspect of education. Assuming that great value is placed upon academics and that other types of programs such as those required for a vocational education, business oriented education, or indeed providing services for learning disabled students have less value, then Independent Schools can most probably compete with public schools on the key point of product quality. Some public schools have always emphasized academic quality. International Baccalaureate programs, programs for the gifted - especially at the Elementary and Junior High level, and other kinds of enrichment are examples of this. Collegiates in Ontario are examples of public schools that are striving to meet the needs of as many students as possible. Thus, those students who are in need of extra academic

challenges can be dealt with as effectively as those students who choose vocational, business, or general studies, or students who by necessity must be taught in classes developed especially for learning disabled students. Thus, Independent Schools are not the only ones that strive for product quality. Public schools do this as well.

Another of McMillan's contentions which relates closely to the above, is that "Private schools can concentrate on a narrower curricular program, i.e., college preparation, and thus, do a better job in this specific function than if they also had to provide a terminal education for those not planning to go on from high school into college."²² Morgan echoes McMillan's statement on behalf of parents and contends that from their standpoint as consumers of education, choice of academic curriculum is a crucial factor in their children's learning.²³ It is true that there may be a more narrow curricular program, but it would seem that this contradicts one of the central arguments Independent Schools espouse. They purport to educate the 'whole child.' If the whole child is to be educated, then provision of only a narrow curriculum does not provide this service. However, if excellence in academia is one of their goals, it is partially justifiable. Only partially because by providing a narrow curriculum, elitism is again brought to the fore. In effect they service that part of society who hold in high esteem a university education. It is necessary to question whether a vocational education is less superior to an academic approach. Yet, if Independent Schools started providing this type of an education, their focus - stress on academics - would be compromised. Thus, parents who choose to send their child to an Independent School because of this belief may well be justified in

their choice.

Although significant emphasis is placed upon academics, attention is also paid to religion in Independent Schools. "The parent believes that religious and spiritual values will be taught by the private school."²⁴ These values are those social principles, goals or standards held by an individual or group of people. Religious values are traditionally associated with attendance at church and therefore faith in a particular denomination. Most Canadian Independent Schools are now non-denominational although their beginnings may have been related to a church. Now, most of these schools accept students of all denominations but do attempt to provide 'spiritual' values. These are values which have to do with the spirit or soul as distinguished from the body or material matters. One method of addressing these needs is providing varying degrees of religious instruction. Shawnigan Lake School for boys provides religious instruction of one period each week in grades 8 - 10. "All boys are required to attend one service without denominational bias, each week in the school chapel usually on Saturday morning."²⁵ Queen Margaret's School is rather unique for it boldly states that the "school has its own Chapel and the Anglican Order of Service is used although the school is open to girls of all denominations. The short daily service is compulsory but on Sunday Roman Catholic's may attend their own church."²⁶ Appleby College purports "... to provide for each student sufficient knowledge of the Judeo Christian tradition and sufficient exposure to Christian worship that when the time comes for mature decisions to be made on a fundamental philosophy for living, our students will have developed the necessary concern and will have

had the experience required for wise resolutions."²⁷ Thus, the exposure to religious and spiritual values by Independent Schools suggests that parents believe these will be important to their children in the future. It also advances the belief that attendance at church is indicative of religious and spiritual values. Also generally accepted is the belief that being present at a chapel or church service implies that Christian values are being transmitted to and accepted by the members of the congregation. It is important then, to focus upon the statement made in the Appleby College prospectus which indicated that the intent Independent Schools have in offering non-denominational services is to help students make wise decisions regarding their own philosophies of life. Undoubtedly, it can be argued that these decisions can be made without attendance at daily or weekly chapel meetings, but it is the knowledge of the Judeo-Christian tradition which lends more depth to these resolutions. However, the retention of religious education in Independent Schools has not been without re-examination and reassessment. The Headmistresses of English Public Schools (comparable to Canadian Independent Girls' Schools) started to debate this subject in the late nineteenth century as revealed by Price and Glenday. It could no

longer be viewed mainly from the angle of religious conscience but as an important and integral part in a whole education. 'Scripture' could not, to many minds, still be the simple Biblical instruction of an earlier day. The climate of general thought and criticism ... was changing in the direction of a more scholarly and impersonal approach. Although in nearly all schools, whether based on a 'religious' foundation or not, there was a concern for religion, opinion varied widely on how this could be taught as a subject. 28

Hence, McMillan's assertion that religious and spiritual values will be taught by Independent Schools seems to be an accepted part of their function or role.

McMillan extends his point on spiritual and religious values to instruction of morals. "Morals should be an important part of the academic tone of any private school."²⁹ Morals pertain to personal behavior measured by prevailing standards of rectitude. Peter Ditchburn agrees that cheating and plagiarism are moral behaviors or lack thereof that an academic school must address.³⁰ McMillan further asserts that

to some degree (morals) relates to the presence of religious and spiritual values, although the moral values taught by a school are not necessarily based on a particular religious outlook. ... All good private schools recognize an obligation to do more than simply provide a good factual education, realizing that civilization's advance depends on citizens who have not just knowledge, but also constructive attitudes and beliefs. 31

I believe that McMillan appears to idealize the role which 'morals' play in Independent Schools. As well, Joseph A. Rogers contends that "moral education has not rated as a predominant factor in research studies of public education."³² Thus, McMillan's assertion that morals are an important part of the academic tone of Independent Schools is supported by Ditchburn, but it is not an overriding consideration when deciding whether or not to send one's child there.

DISCIPLINE

A further extension of Independent Schools' accepted function is their firm stance on discipline within the school. "Private schools are apt to have better discipline. Their greatest opportunity to provide

orderly discipline for their students is their ability to expel students who exhibit poor conduct or attitude."³³ Coleman, Hoffer, and Kilgore too contend that independent "schools provide a safer, more disciplined, and more ordered environment than do public schools."³⁴ In fact in their study of American public and private schools, they stressed that the greatest difference "found in any aspect of school functioning between public and private schools was the degree of discipline and order in the schools."³⁵

In Canada, Trinity College School maintains that "school discipline is based on the philosophy that nothing worthwhile can be achieved without self-discipline and that a boy can more easily learn to discipline himself in a structured community than in a so-called permissive one."³⁶ York House School of Vancouver articulates its view of discipline in the prospectus by relaying to prospective students and parents that: "specific guidelines are laid down to assist students in understanding the clear and fair boundaries for behavior expected of them by the school."³⁷ Peter Ditchburn is more specific in his agreement with McLachlan's contention that Independent Schools provide greater discipline. "Organization, expectations of behavior from students; and kids here are busy all the time - especially high school kids."³⁸ He simply restated Coleman, Hoffer, and Kilgore's beliefs that an ordered environment is critical to maintenance of discipline.

If discipline is held in high esteem for Independent Schools, so too is it becoming a prominent issue in public education. It is interesting to note that in the Alberta Secondary School Review "it is recommended that a program for increasing school effectiveness be implemented, in

which school staffs adopt a philosophy which promotes effective leadership, commitment to excellence, wise use of students' and teachers' time, and high expectations of student behavior."³⁹ Further, "the rights of students are to avail themselves of the best possible education; to participate in the choice of courses of study; to be assessed responsibly in terms of educational achievements and general behavior, and to be treated with fairness and respect."⁴⁰ The belief of parents that Independent Schools do provide better discipline or perhaps greater discipline than public schools is congruent with the information available from the prospecti. Yet, in comparing public schools to Independent Schools, it is important to remember that Independent Schools can be selective when admitting students. Public schools are in a much more difficult position. In addition, most Independent Schools have parental support. Public schools do not necessarily, thereby making discipline more difficult to maintain. Maintenance of discipline may also be more effective in Independent Schools because, in general, the student body tends toward homogeneity across certain social strata.

"Parents can be somewhat assured of the type of student associates that their children will have in a private school."⁴¹ Maxwell too, contends that "students are sent to the school to acquire the values their parents hold or think are appropriate to children in their position: there is little doubt that many private schools teach 'noblesse oblige' to the children of the nouveau riche as well as reinforcing it in the children of the 'old families.'"⁴² It is this type of elitism which Independent Schools have been accused of on more than one occasion.

Early in its history Upper Canada College was charged with "educating only the sons of the wealthiest inhabitants."⁴³ Harris, the first principal of Upper Canada College and at whom the remark had been directed, "dealt with the wealthy student syndrome."⁴⁴ He claimed that the list of enrolment contradicted the charge and that the College was accessible to almost every condition. The fact that the children of the rich attended was no cause for complaint. Harris' contention that Upper Canada College's doors were open to boys of almost every condition does not account for the actual enrolment in these schools. Are there/were there slum children, native students, black students, sons of immigrants other than British in attendance at Upper Canada College? The answer to this question is very important because it would support or reject Harris' declaration of accessibility to the College.

Admittance to Independent Schools across Canada is apparently not limited because of financial need. Independent Schools offer scholarships for those who wish to attend, qualify academically, but cannot afford to attend. Applying for such a scholarship presupposes that the individual has already accepted some of the middle class standards and norms the Independent Schools purport to uphold. Thus, Independent Schools may pay lip service to an open admission policy but upon closer examination, this may not necessarily be true.

McLachlan acknowledges there is a widespread belief that these schools are labelled as "'class schools' teaching little but snobbery."⁴⁵ Later in his book however, he refutes this claim made by critics of

Independent Schools. The points he expresses are worth re-iterating here.

Rich parents did not send their sons to private boarding schools to serve 'sociological functions' or to learn 'upper class values, upper class manners, and most of all upper class speech.' If such things existed, most of these boys had probably learned them before leaving home ... For most of their history, these schools have consciously educated their students to avoid, abjure, and despise most of what are traditionally thought to be aristocratic or upper class values and styles of life. They have worked instead to 'prevent' the development of aristocratic attitudes. They have tried to inculcate their students with what are thought to be classically 'middle class' values: self restraint, rigid self control, severe frugality in personal style, and ability to postpone⁴⁶ immediate gratifications for larger future ends.

Thus, though the parents who send their children to Independent Schools may believe that the children will be associating with a specific type of student, McLachlan asserts that this will not necessarily be so. However, there is known to be a network of 'old boys' and a newer one of 'old girls' which stem from attendance at Independent Schools.⁴⁷ The schools have alumni associations where former students are initially only asked for small contributions for the school. As they establish themselves in a career, they are encouraged to increase the size of their donations. This is but a beginning. Old boys and girls can keep in touch with each other through the alumnus magazine and indeed, turn to each other for support and assistance in both their social milieu and employment options or opportunities. Thus, although sending a child to an Independent School because he will meet the 'right' people may not be uppermost in the minds of parents, it is certainly a consideration which cannot be ignored.

INSTRUCTION

The relatively exclusive social network found in Independent Schools is not necessarily affected by quality instructors. However, another contention of McMillan's is that "parents ... expect a private school to provide only good teachers to their children."⁴⁸ Not only is this an expectation on behalf of parents, but Independent Schools pride themselves on the quality of their teachers. This is apparent from the following remarks ... "Appleby constantly seeks men and women who are accomplished in their own academic fields as well as devoted to the job of stimulating development of their students."⁴⁹ "Teachers at Bishop Strachan School are chosen for their teaching excellence, their academic background and their genuine interest in helping students in the classroom and in many other facets of school life."⁵⁰ Presumably the 'teaching excellence' expected of teachers at Bishop Strachan is teaching experience gained from the public school system. As well, a basic assumption regarding their academic background is that they possess a degree recognized by Canadian universities. The validity of McMillan's statement could only be recognized if it could be shown that there were a proportionately higher number of teachers in Independent Schools with a Master's degree. That teachers express a genuine interest in helping students should not be a surprise. Hopefully that is why the individual chose teaching as a career. Although service is not a "key word"⁵¹ in schools today as it was in the past, especially for women, it is an ideal which is closely associated with the vocation of teaching whether it be in an Independent School or a public school. Thus, though parents may 'expect' that their children be provided with

good teachers, this is certainly not a hallmark unique to Independent Schools - public school parents expect the same.

Not only do parents insist that teachers are quality instructors, they are concerned about the way their child is treated. "Parents have a right to expect that private school teachers and administrators will treat their children in a warm, personal manner, rather than regarding them as just a name or number."⁵² Fundamentally, this belief should hold true not only for Independent Schools, but public schools as well. Independent Schools promote the concept of 'family' and try to impress upon prospective parents that this develops a sense of belonging for the students. "Teachers are expected to have wide ranging interests to contribute to the enrichment of the lives of students at the school."⁵³ They are encouraged to 'get to know' the student on a level which is different from the academic tone of the classroom. This, it is believed, will provide students with a firm identity to being a member of the school family. Headmasters contend that they know each of their students by name and, thus, the students feel they have an identity and are not simply a 'name or number.' Thus, because they are known by more adults than their homeroom teacher, there is potential for a greater number of interactions in a day establishing the bonds between student and teachers.

LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

A further expectation of parents is that the "private school ... provide an attractive, well designed campus in which learning should be a relative pleasure."⁵⁴ Peter Ditchburn indicated that it was important but not a major factor. Rather, that it is the size of the school and

the community atmosphere which is established in the school.⁵⁵ Other schools place greater emphasis upon this aspect of their school. Shawnigan Lake School in British Columbia notes that they are "especially fortunate in occupying 125 acres of most beautiful wooded property, including waterfront and games fields, at the north end of Shawnigan Lake."⁵⁶ The Bishop Strachan School is set "on 12 acres of property in residential Forest Hill. Bishop Strachan's distinguished gray stone facade is a distinguished city landmark."⁵⁷ Finally, "Trafalgar School for Girls is located in the heart of the busy city (Montreal), (and) the school property of approximately one acre is enclosed by a solid high fence and once inside the gates, the rolling lawns, the majestic old trees and well tended garden with two tennis courts create a relaxed and graceful atmosphere."⁵⁸ As much as this sounds pleasing, it would seem that there are those individuals who might feel out of place in such a setting. The average school does not have 'rolling lawns' or 'majestic trees which create a relaxed and graceful atmosphere.' In fact, the description conjures images of ladies in the Old South - learning at their leisure in lovely groves replete with servants at hand. Undoubtedly it was not meant to be taken in such a manner, but a statement such as that does sound elitist - an adjective Independent Schools are attempting to dismiss. Assuredly, McMillan's intent was to allow for the fact that Independent Schools may be fortunate enough to own their land and so have, with careful gardening, turned them into aesthetically pleasing landscapes. However, a major implication from his statement is that learning is more pleasant and perhaps indeed more stimulating on a well groomed

campus. This though, has no substantial base from the literature surveyed.

The remaining functions of an Independent School McMillan deals with involve athletics and other activities offered on these campuses. It is an area in which Independent Schools strive to remain competitive with the public schools. There are few if any athletic or other activities an Independent School can offer which are not being offered at some public school within a student's reach. Instead, these schools must rely heavily upon broad values such as a sense of fair play in winning or losing, emphasis on team participation rather than individual heroic effort; and the importance of life-long activities. Further, there is an emphasis upon the whole person which emerges in the curriculum and school activities - "charitable work and service ... music and cultural activities"⁵⁹ hold dominant positions in school life. These are assertions made by both teachers and heads of Independent Schools which rely for their validity on a distorted and inaccurate view of what is available at public schools. Thus, the characteristics which exemplify Independent Schools can be drawn from the beliefs parents have of what these schools can do for their children. That remains the overriding concern of many parents and so there are those who place their children in Independent Schools because they believe, for various reasons, in the superiority of these schools over public schools.

GOVERNANCE

A final differentiating factor between independent and public schools has to do with governance. Independent Schools are governed by a Board of Governors whereas public schools are directed by School

Boards. School Boards are democratically elected by members of the community. Boards of Governors do not necessarily have the distinction of being elected members and one is by no means a member of the Board because the community at large voted for one in a democratic manner. Yet, the function of the Board remains critical to the success of the Independent School. "The Board will function much better in its policy making and fund raising roles if it has a president who knows what the Board should do and guides it accordingly."⁶⁰ Springer's comment regarding the capacity of the president is important when looking at Independent Schools. Springer further asserts that if there is a

formal Board committee structure, the president will insist that all matters come to the Board via the proper committee and be presented to the Board with the committee's recommendations. Thus, the budget should first be discussed by the Board's finance committee, which can iron out some of the problems and suggest any modifications needed before the Board spends time on the matter. ... Where policy is to be decided, the president will also insist that the proposed policy be submitted to the committee for decision. ... (In addition) ... it is the responsibility of the Headmaster to see that each of his subordinates develops the policies they feel are needed, and submit them, through the Headmaster to the appropriate committee and then to the Board. 61

Thus, the role the Board of Governors plays in Independent Schools is an important one. As well, the views and philosophies of the Board are reflected in the character of the school. Price and Glenday maintained that "... when a school was under the control of a governing body it retained a character of its own, and in most instances was allowed a remarkable degree of freedom in its development. It was the Governors who ... chose ... the Headmistress, ... and having appointed her they left the internal management and direction of the school in her hands;

though in many instances they took a great personal interest in all that went on, and minutes of Governors' meetings reflect the pride and concern they felt in its progress."⁶² Springer too feels that a personal interest in the schools by members of the Board is critical. "Every effort should be made both by the (Governors) and by the Head of a school to maintain a complete and common understanding of school policies and procedures through regular meetings and constant communication. (Governors) should have opportunity and encouragement to visit the school frequently."⁶³ It is apparent then, that the relationship between the members of the Board and the staff of the school is a reflection of school progress and overall administration.

Those individuals who make up the Board tend to be one of two types of persons: either a parent of one of the current students or, an old boy or old girl. "With the Board of Governors, the length of service tends to be one of the most striking characteristics. The Board is usually a self-perpetuating body with new members being appointed by the old. This procedure provides for greater continuity in the recruitment of 'like-minded individuals.' The fact that in the past many members served for over twenty years reinforces continuity and tradition within the school. ... In the case of Harvergal College in Toronto ... there was a total of only seven Board Chairmen in seven decades and one man held the office for twenty-five consecutive years. In addition, virtually all members of the Boards of these schools attended private schools themselves."⁶⁴ It is interesting that at an all girls school, the Chairman of the Board, was a man, not a woman.

Although attendance at an Independent School may have been an important part of becoming a member of the Board, Gossage asserts:

There is a notable absence of female Governors on the boards of most boys' schools while the Boards of most co-educational and girls' schools continue to be predominantly male. Women presumably, have not advanced sufficiently in the ways of the business world to be of much value unless of course they happen to be independently wealthy or excessively wise. 65

There is a concern because as Price and Glenday indicate, "as far as girls are concerned, ... they might be undervalued and consistently regarded as rather less important and needing less attention."⁶⁶ The concern expressed by Price and Glenday implies that a predominantly male Board of Governors in an all girls school or co-educational school, is not necessarily healthy. Although it is difficult to verify a statement such as this, the noted absence of females at the governing level of male or female or co-educational Independent Schools must affect how these schools are governed. The importance of an effective Board of Governors cannot be underestimated: their policy making decisions and their ability to raise funds and manage the financial affairs of these schools is crucial to the continued life of an Independent School. Therefore, if females are underrepresented at this level, it may indicate that policies developed may not reflect the needs of the female student and staff as much as the male. Although the Boards of Governors are not technically seen as administrative personnel within the school, they do affect how the school operates. And, if as Gossage suggests there is a notable absence of female Board members, this is an inequity which although beyond the scope of this paper, needs to be addressed to see if there are any correlations between the hiring policies of Board mem-

bers, the distribution of male/female members of the Board, and the appointment of female administrative personnel in Independent Schools.

It is apparent then, that defining the character of an Independent School is not an easy task. As McLachlan suggests, "in truth, very little is known about them."⁶⁷ Yet, they continue to not only flourish, but give competition to the public school systems. Some proponents of public schools in Canada do not believe that Independent Schools offer anything unique which cannot be acquired by them. They believe and contend that McLachlan's statement regarding upper class and aristocratic institutions is indeed true.⁶⁸ Advocates of Independent Schools however, would undoubtedly agree that Henry Wordsworth Longfellow's statement,

"The love of learning, the sequestered nooks,
And all the sweet serenity of books."

summarizes the purpose of these schools.

The following chapter will be an historical discussion of women in Canadian education. It will address too, women's roles in the development of Independent Schools in Canada. Although Longfellow poetically emblazed the many purposes of Independent Schools in two lines of poetry, there are other aspects of these schools which must be examined. One of the aspects is women's roles in Independent Schools. It is difficult to draw this information from the literature available, so instead, I will pursue it from an historical account. The chapter which follows explores how women gained access to institutions of higher learning. It investigates too, their struggles to become accepted as teachers in schools. Finally, it examines women in Independent Schools in the nineteenth century.

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CHAPTER TWO

WOMEN IN EDUCATION: A BRIEF HISTORY

For most of the (nineteenth) century social control was the predominant theme of Victorian education for women of all classes. The thrust towards control was expressed through the ideal of womanhood... 1

The events of the nineteenth century are important for women and their subsequent education and role as educators. Several factors contributed to the influence female teachers were to have in both Canada and the United States. Immigration of thousands of people from all over Europe, urbanization of major cities, and the impact of the industrial revolution bestowed upon women the opportunity to depart from their previously acceptable roles of "housekeeping and needlework."² Because men had greater opportunities for expanding their own horizons and many children of the rising middle class were left unschooled, women filled a void in society. Teaching of young children came to be regarded as a calling for women. The women were perceived as providing a nurturing environment which coincided with what they would have provided in the home. Historically, teaching, then, has become an acceptable 'route' by which women could leave the home and assume a responsible or socially acceptable position in society. In order to examine women and teaching with a view to Independent Schools, it is necessary to investigate the events and attitudes of the period leading up to and during the nineteenth century influx of women teachers. As well, the difficulties women encountered in pursuing higher education will be discussed. The problems encountered by women teachers in the nineteenth century will be addressed. The

chapter will conclude with a discussion of teachers in Independent Schools during this same time period.

EVENTS AND ATTITUDES PRIOR TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

With the settlement of New France in the early seventeenth century, education began to assume a significant status in Canada. The families who settled in Quebec were not illiterate and "they made the necessary sacrifices to establish the petites ecoles for the education of their children. Some even gave their daughters a high quality education with the Ursulines or Sisters of Notre Dame."³ Sybil Shack contends that the Ursulines and Sisters of Notre Dame were responsible for setting up most of the schools in Quebec and Acadia in the 1650's. Shack quotes Micheline D. Johnson who states that "in reviewing the achievements of our great female founders, it is all too easy to forget that their efforts although chiefly religious in impulse, were by no means confined to religion."⁵ Although the heads of French households agreed their daughters could be educated, the primary reason was that they were to be trained in the Roman Catholic faith. Allowing their daughters religious instruction, however, afforded the young ladies the knowledge and opportunity to train their own children. Thus, dame schools, ladies teaching children in their own home, helped to widen the spread of education.

The French, however, were not the only peoples to influence Canadian education. In the early eighteenth century, "on the eve of the settlement of British North America ... the Church of England was able to assert its claim to monopoly rights in colonial education and the tradition was established that all education should have a religious

base."⁶ Initially then, the British influence on Canada's system of education was to be through the Anglican church. Here they were not entirely successful. In England, as in many other parts of Europe during this time, there was a distinction between classes of people. In the colonies, "the demands of a frontier society contributed to a levelling process that tended to eliminate class distinctions and create a demand for universal education."⁷ Canada, then, was not yet subject to a hierarchical society and so, theoretically, education should have been available to the children, at least male children, of all immigrants. John Graves Simcoe, however, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, was raised in England's upper class. He believed that there should be "proper education for the select few - ... who would eventually become the country's leaders."⁸ He further offered "a hundred pounds a year to 'any respectable man' who could be persuaded to become a school master in Upper Canada."⁹ Simcoe then, established early in Canada's history of education the dominant role men were to play.

The dominance of men in education and their acceptance by members of the Canadian society is significant to women's roles in that field. It must be understood that the roles women assumed or adopted were reflected by the events which occurred around them. Women's participation in the settlement of Canada - labouring to construct houses, ploughing fields and reaping harvest as well as bearing and raising children, indicated that they were willing and ready to promote the growth of Canada as a nation. They were not however, part of John Simcoe's 'select few' who would need an advanced education for

their place was in the home caring for their children and husbands and doing those chores which must be done when new settlements are begun. The frontier setting in Canada certainly contributed to the struggles of women trying to acquire a higher education.

WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The citizens of the nineteenth century, the Victorian age, had certain beliefs which were apparent in both Great Britain and North America. Burstyn states that

Victorian society felt able to afford ... extreme naivete in young women of the upper and middle classes. They did not need to work (or acquire an extensive education) ... and therefore they could lead lives of sheltered domesticity. ¹⁰

The Victorian male's attitudes and beliefs that women were to serve men and did not require a college or university education, prevented women from entering these institutions without much heated debate. "Professional men, ... on no account, ... would ... countenance the kind of education or occupation that endangered their daughters' nubility."¹¹ In 1849, Martha Hamm Lewis of New Brunswick, fought for and gained the privilege of attending Normal School. There were however, several stipulations to which she had to adhere in order to retain this right. "...She had to enter the classroom ten minutes before the male students, sit alone at the back of the room, always wear a veil, leave the classroom five minutes before the end of a lesson, and leave the building without speaking to any of the young men."¹² Lewis' admission to Normal School in New Brunswick was only one small step toward educational opportunity. In Normal Schools as in colleges, "women faced considerable discrimination in gaining admission

... but the pressure of increasing numbers of poorly qualified women entering the teaching field through model schools had the effect of lowering the resistance of Normal Schools to women."¹³ Model schools enabled women to obtain a third class teaching certificate and had lower academic admission standards than Normal Schools. This success in gaining access to Normal Schools however, did not necessarily make it easier for women to enrol in Colleges or Universities. Victoria College (Upper Canada Academy) initially admitted females for the courses of instruction in "English, Grammar, Geography, Arithmetic and Astronomy, and Natural Philosophy, as also French, Music and Drawing. The young ladies are under the constant inspection of a preceptress, and occupy a considerable part of the evening in the presence of an efficient monitress in preparing their lessons for the following day."¹⁴ That the female students performed well in their schooling is evidenced by the statement,

Justice demands - and we cheerfully pay it - a distinct tribute of praise to the young ladies for their habits of application and study and for their honourable improvement ... they have been augmenting the means of that influence which so essentially and largely contributes to the refinement, harmony and happiness of mankind. 15

These well intentioned statements confirmed that women could indeed master technical aspects of the English language such as grammar. In addition, they could study literature and learn subjects such as Geography and Arithmetic which were thought to be too difficult for the fragile female mind. Nonetheless, "the Female Department of the Academy came to an end."¹⁶ With the House of Assembly passing a bill which enabled the Academy to confer bachelor's

degrees to its students, the female population was cast out and with "Egerton Ryerson as its Principal, it became a wholly male institution."¹⁷ Generally, women were not granted degrees and thus their expulsion from Victoria College was inevitable. From this point in time, several academies were established to educate young ladies, but with moves between Toronto, Hamilton and Dundas, none of them retained any amount of longevity. Various reasons could be postulated regarding their short life span: poor geographical location; poor financial planning; higher education for women still generally unaccepted; or perhaps it was felt women possessed insufficient intellect to pursue higher academic education.

Burstyn maintains that women of the nineteenth century "had greater intuitive power than men, while men reached their conclusions by careful analysis, ... women's intellect was deductive in character, men's inductive."¹⁸ She further asserts that "few people in the ... nineteenth century challenged this"¹⁹ view. The widely regarded view of a woman's intellect in the nineteenth century is evidently ironic. It was expected a woman be well dressed, a model housekeeper and well read - in so far as she was able to ascertain this without appearing to be too knowledgeable. In an address to parents on the education of girls by Mrs. Joliwell of 'Elm House' School for the "Education of Young Ladies in Toronto," 1865, Mrs. Holiwell lectures:

... No wonder that the becomingly dressed graceful girl often annoys and disappoints us with her silliness; the sensible well - read woman disgusts us with her ill arranged household and neglected children and the model housekeeper drives us away from her hearth by her sharp temper and twaddle about servants and management. Pause ye who sit in condemnation,

it is no trifle to do more than one thing well; is not society unjust in demanding so much from a young girl, and making 20 so few provisions for educating her?

Mrs. Holiwell's point of view so eloquently stated in 1865 had been stated prior to that time. Emma Willard, in 1819, presented a document to the New York State legislature which pointed out that although a "woman's true place was in the home ... 'housewifery might be greatly improved by being taught not only in practice, but in theory' and that it was important for the mothers of America to be educated since they would have the responsibility for the upbringing of future citizens."²¹ Mrs. Holiwell advanced the same position some forty-five years later.

At the time Mrs. Holiwell was addressing her audience regarding the needs of education for young ladies, George Paxton Young submitted a document entitled "The Official Objection to Girls in Grammar Schools" to a journal. He contended that

there is a very considerable diversity between the mind of a Girl and that of a boy; and it would be rash to conclude that, as a matter of course, the appliances which are best adapted for bringing the faculties of reflection and taste to their perfection in the one must be the best also in the case of the other. ... Is the study of classics, as pursued by the Girls attending out Grammar Schools, the best training which could be given them, in the time which they are able to devote to education? ... Aesthetically, the benefits of 22 Grammar Schools to girls are nil.

Young's attitude though it may seem harsh and offensive has some validity in light of the time it was written and Holiwell's earlier statement. If women were expected to be well groomed, take good care of their children, manage their homes efficiently and succumb to their husband's wishes, was Grammar School the best place to learn these

skills? Alternatively though, it might be pointed out that as industrialization was increasing, especially in the United States, and greater numbers of people were moving west, was it not also important for a woman to be able to acquire an education which would enable her to make her own contributions to that new society? Yet, as Mah asserts, it was evident that "advanced schooling for women was regarded as a threat to the social and economic structure of the society."²³

There were few exceptions to this point of view, even by women themselves. Louise Arnold, the first dean of Simmons College, was adamant that "young ladies were able to fulfill a 'task,' 'goal,' (or) 'mission,' ... (but) never deviate from the service ideal."²⁴ Arnold though, still believed that advanced education should extend a woman's knowledge only in the service oriented careers such as teaching, nursing and social work. She suggested "that other work is merely a substitute for women's natural calling of motherhood."²⁵ Thus, although Arnold advocated advanced education for young ladies, she did not purport that the 'social and economic structures of society' would be threatened because women wished only to be allowed to work in areas which were extensions of 'motherhood.'

Advanced education for women continued to be a struggle throughout the nineteenth century. Women were chastised for not only wanting more education, but for not fulfilling their womanly roles. Writers made fun of women scholars and women had difficulty convincing their own families that more education would not be a hindrance to them as individuals. The beliefs of the general populace of the time were

burdensome for women. Literature abounded which caricatured the female scholar as "inevitably ... loveless, husbandless, childless. ... In the late nineteenth century, the fear of educated unmarriedity was real and pervasive."²⁶ This is vividly illustrated in the case of Mary William Pratt, a pioneering teacher in the United States. Upon learning that Mary intended to take a teaching position because she had graduated first in her class from high school, her grandmother said to her mother, "you mark my words, Mary'll be an old maid, jest like Eliza. You just see'f she ain't."²⁷ Mary's intent to take a teaching position despite her grandmother's protests, and the hundreds of other women whose decisions to enter institutions of higher learning notwithstanding pressure from families, forced universities, colleges and Normal Schools, to begin to confer degrees upon women. Other factors which affected women's acceptance rate into universities may have been both financial and maintaining or increasing student enrollment.²⁸ Women's financial contributions to the universities in terms of fees could have been crucial to the contrived operation of some Canadian universities. Maintaining or increasing enrollment of the student body by accepting women directly contributed to the coffers of universities. As the nineteenth century progressed, there were greater numbers of institutions granting degrees to women in Canada. Mt. Allison conferred a B.Sc. to Grace Annie Lockhart in 1875, 1882 the same university bestowed a B.A. upon Harriett Starr Stewart, a year later she earned her M.A., 1883 Victoria College conferred a Medical Degree upon August Stowe; and so the list continues.²⁹ Women gradually became accepted as being capable of the same scholastic work as their

male counterparts in higher education and it became even more apparent in the field of teaching.

WOMEN AS EDUCATORS

The great influx of women moving into teaching did not occur until the middle of the nineteenth century. Prior to that "there was no great demand for elementary schools ... the general population was more concerned about clearing the land than 'learning.'" ³⁰ The women who were teaching their own children, "welcomed the neighbour's brood for a few pennies or because of a tradition of service and charity." ³¹ It was through these dame schools that women made their initial impact and contribution in education. Doris French states that

Some few districts, no doubt very hard-pressed engaged women teachers in the 1840's. It is interesting that an 1841 bill in the Legislature urging the setting up of Normal and Model Schools, proposed that they should 'train up young men to act as teachers and instructors,' but when the actual Normal School came into being six years later, it was clearly understood that the teachers in Normal and Model Schools should be male. 32

Further, the predisposition of the mid-nineteenth century for accepting women as teachers was reasonable because as Hoffman asserted "teaching was subprofessional and brought neither status nor remuneration sufficient to attract and hold ambitious men, who could do better in business, law, medicine, or the ministry, or in exploiting the land." ³³ Hoffman's point of view is supported by French, who declared that

it was a time when society was beginning to accept the propriety of young women taking remunerative employment in a few select occupations. Dressmaking and domestic work were already on the approved list; nursing had not quite made it. ... Society began to accept the woman teacher as perfectly proper and respectable. But as to competence, that

was something else. ... The woman teacher was a step down from the procession of semi-literate male misfits who proceeded her. 34

Shack agrees that women were accepted as teachers when new settlers felt the need for a school house so their children might be educated. But again, the settlers first looked about for men,

... usually men who were the cripples, the outcasts, and the weaklings, unfit for the rigours of life in the wilderness. Among these, the strongest and most ambitious also moved on, uninterested in the low reputation and lower prestige of the school-master. Often women took the job because there was no one else to do it. 35

A female teacher too, expressed this view in 1871 when she wrote that "to get a male teacher is a first consideration."³⁶ Hilda Mah re-iterates the points which all of these women allude to: "women were perceived by most men as being subordinate to them,"³⁷ therefore, whatever task was bestowed upon women outside of the home was bound to be regarded as inferior. The fact that prior to the advent of Normal Schools in Canada in the 1840's, women had run dame schools and were not formally trained for the job and were thus, subordinate to the male sector of society who "placed more emphasis and importance on the education of boys, who after all, were destined to be the wielders of power in the next generation,"³⁸ indicates the low status women held in nineteenth century society.

The education of girls was useful only in so far as it contributed to the comfort and status of their fathers and husbands. Ladies could teach ladies, and perhaps it was better for ladies not to be too well educated in the traditionally masculine disciplines. So women teachers required no training, even after it was recognized that the education of boys could not be left to itinerant adventurers, know nothings and general incompetents. 39

This asertion, that women teachers were less desirable than a male teacher, regardless of his qualifications, or lack thereof began to change as the nineteenth century progressed.

In one sense, women had a relatively easy transition into the field of teaching as compared to other professions such as medicine and law. It has often been stated that "the teacher's office is especially suited to women, who are natural educators."⁴⁰ Linda Kealey echoes this in her statement "women have conventionally been seen as 'natural' teachers of small children - an extension of the nurturing function of child bearing."⁴¹ Acceptance of women assuming a 'professional' role outside of the home came "at a time when elementary education itself was gradually moving out of the household and into the ever growing public institutions that would eventually almost monopolize the name of 'schools.'"⁴² Women then, were to become, throughout the later half of the nineteenth century and through the twentieth century, the majority among elementary school teachers. Alison Prentice asserts that women were accepted as educators of young children for two reasons: "the first, (was) a campaign to promote the grading of school children, ... the second, a passionate campaign to raise the status of teaching as a profession."⁴³ The Oxford Dictionary describes a profession as 'an occupation, especially one that involved knowledge and training in a branch of advanced learning.' Egerton Ryerson's insistence on teacher training through Normal Schools, should theoretically, have begun to elevate the professional status that teachers enjoyed.

The elevation in status was difficult to attain because of the economics of teaching. One way status is reflected in society is

through the annual income of a group of professionals which in turn can be dependent upon the years of education an individual possesses. Unfortunately for the teaching profession as a whole and indeed women's status within that profession, model schools accepted a large number of women, who upon graduation, received a Third Class Certificate which made them a marketable commodity to the many "penny pinching Boards of Education."⁴⁴ It became readily apparent to Boards that the most cost efficient way to provide an education for a greater number of students was to employ female teachers with Third Class Certificates. Women then, lost ground on two points. First, if they possessed a Third Class Certificate they could be paid lower wages. Second, because salaries were based on grade level taught and women were seen to be incapable of maintaining discipline of older students, they were usually the teachers of the younger children. "Accordingly, it was generally admitted that the infant and primary departments were 'best fitted for the female,' while 'the headmasterships and the more advanced sections' ought to be reserved for the male teachers in schools."⁴⁵ This allowed the School Boards to develop elaborate stratified salary scales, thereby paying men higher wages and elevating their professional status but "cutting back on the wages of those who made up the vast majority of the lower ranks - women. Thus, the 'respectability of some would be bought with the cheap labour of others.'"⁴⁶

The policy of hiring female teachers at a reduced salary was not unique to Canada: town officials in Concord, Massachusetts reported that "it is not good economy to employ a man to teach ... school, when

the services of a woman, of the best qualifications, can be obtained for two-thirds or three-fourths the expense."⁴⁷ Thus, attainment of professional status for female teachers was to become a long arduous battle which is still being fought today. Nonetheless, female teachers did attain a certain degree of respectability above that of their factory working counterparts.

"Working conditions and salaries might be worse than her sisters in factories, (but) the young female teacher had the assurance of society that hers was a high calling untainted by the grimy reality of the everyday world."⁴⁸ This belief was expressed not only in Canada, but in the United States too. Horace Mann and Catherine Beecher encouraged female teachers to go west to provide an education for the growing numbers of youngsters settling there. They neglected to emphasize the arduous and sometimes hazardous journey, the often inadequate boarding and teaching facilities, and the possibility of a lonely existence. These factors very much contributed to a 'grimy reality.' Nancy Hoffman quotes a writer from "The National Teacher" (1872) who stated that the female teacher

would only be successful if she learned the rules of work in the public world - 'the homely virtues of punctuality, persistence, conformity to the imperative facts of daily life, regard for others, business accuracy, (and) precision.' She would mature as a leader under the discipline of the 'pitiless framework of iron school law.' He called the classroom a 'seminary for social power' and urged women not to worry about society's prejudices against women who worked, but to teach. It was the best choice a nineteenth century woman could make.

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Teaching may have been the 'best choice a woman could make' but there were many hardships she must endure. The physical conditions of some

school houses were poor, the teacher may have boarded in poor facilities because of low wages, and the problems of potentially large number of students faced daily were not addressed at either model or Normal School. Thus, "fighting for new 'respectable' status was not easy when physical conditions remained so wretched."⁵⁰ Interestingly, the school marm is portrayed in literature as a character who was subject to "genteel poverty, unbending morality, education, and (having) independent ways."⁵¹ This romantic view of female teachers carried over to those who were encouraged to go west to teach between Confederation and the first World War.

Canada's immigration policy which encouraged new immigrants to settle the west had a great effect on the number of teachers required. "Schools were established early in the process (of building a town) not only because children needed to learn their three R's but because community leaders knew that a school brought respectability to a town or area and made it attractive to new settlers."⁵² Further, "teachers were recognized as being very influential in the development of the child and hence essential in the attempt to Canadianize or assimilate the hundreds of thousands of immigrants who flooded Canada from all over the world after 1896."⁵³ With the tens of thousands of people entering Canada and establishing towns and communities, and the lack of men to fill all the possible teaching positions, women became accepted as individuals having a worthwhile and purposeful role to fill. Those women who ventured west were pioneers not only as educators but as settlers and pillars of the many new communities which sprung up in the west.

WOMEN EDUCATORS IN INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

Women can be thought of as pioneers in another sense as well. If a pioneer is one who prepares the way for others, then those women who operated dame schools were pioneers for other women who eventually assumed roles in both the public sector schools and independent schools. Dame schools could be described as a type of private school because instruction was given to those children whose parents could in some form, provide remuneration for the woman running the school. Remuneration did not necessarily take the monetary form. Proprietors of dame schools would probably have accepted fresh produce or appreciated any repairs which may have been necessary in their homes. The salient point here is that dame schools accepted compensation of some form for educating youngsters. Because a common characteristic of Independent Schools is their fee structure and provision of an alternative to public education, dame schools could be said to be forerunners of Canadian Independent Schools. Some independent and industrious women did more than run dame schools. They founded their own private schools. Unfortunately none of them survived to become members of the CAIS. Of the Independent girls' schools founded in the late nineteenth century who have membership in the CAIS today, all were founded by men. However, many had female heads who exhibited the same independence proprietors of the early dame schools did as is discussed later in this chapter. The women who were the heads of these Independent girls' schools, those who taught in them, and the younger ladies who attended them, were subject to many of the same criticisms and points of view as women who were not

associated with these schools. "It was the pioneering efforts of Miss Buss and Miss Beale, two of Britain's leading protagonists in the fight for women's rights to quality education that helped pave the way for the establishment of several Canadian girls' schools."⁵⁴

Canada's oldest Independent School, King's College School, was founded in 1763 for boys. It was staffed naturally, by males, and indeed it was not until 1891 that three maiden teachers were hired who "were responsible for such frivolities as singing, dancing and piano-playing."⁵⁵ Although they were hired for frivolous subjects, allowing women to teach boys was unique in light of the fact that it was an all boys school. Stanstead College which was founded in 1817 welcomed young ladies and gentlemen initially, but went the way of Victoria College and in 1873 upon being granted a charter to include "a teacher's preparatory course and a commercial course ... the latter, offered to young men only,"⁵⁶ became an all male institution at that time. Upper Canada College, founded in 1829, by Colborne, was greatly influenced by John Strachan whose beliefs in the education of Canada's principaled sons were similar to those of John Groves Simcoe. His opinion was that "seats of learning be established, not only to begin but complete the education of the children of the Principal People of the Country."⁵⁷ Within a few years a "good many sons of Upper Canada's Principal People - Jarvises, Ridouts, ... Cartwrights, Macauley's and Bethunes"⁵⁸ were in attendance at Upper Canada College.

Is this information regarding the formation of boys' schools significant for women? I believe so. Women were forced to fight the

bastions of male supremacy in the creation of female or co-educational Independent Schools as they were in the public system. The first male Independent School was established in 1763, the first female Independent School was founded the year of Canada's confederation, 1867. The difference of one hundred years served to underscore that women's treatment with regard to education, whether public or independent during the Victorian era in Canada, was discriminatory.

Miss Buss and Miss Beale "devoted their lives to the creation of a new educational climate for women - one in which girls would be adequately prepared to sit the same university entrance exams and eventually attain the same university degrees as boys."⁵⁹ These two educators were subject to the same type of discrimination against women as described earlier in this chapter: the male attitude in the nineteenth century toward higher education meant an educated woman would be unloved and unmarried throughout her days. Not only did this attitude emanate from men, but it was keenly felt by some of the young women of the day as is expressed in the following verse:

Miss Buss and Miss Beale
Cupid's darts do not feel.
How different from us
Miss Beale and Miss Buss. 60

Yet, by forming the Association of Head Mistresses in London, England, December, 1874, these women along with seven other original members, hoped to combat the opposition to the schooling of young girls. Emily Davies of London, England, wrote

There is long established and inevitable prejudice, though it may not often be distinctly expressed, that girls are less capable of mental cultivation, and less in need of it than

boys: that accomplishments and what is showy superficially⁶¹ attractive are what is really essential.

The merit of this statement is borne out by examination of what was offered as curricula in female Independent Schools. "In sharp contrast to the boys' schools, until nearly the end of the century the majority of the Ladies' Colleges were intended not as preparation for university work but as terminal institutions."⁶² This seemingly contradicted the lofty ideals of Miss Buss and Miss Beale who felt very strongly that women should be working toward a university education. But here, as before, the Victorian male attitude and its effect on women and their role in both society and education was keenly felt. "In the education of young women, manner and deportment were at least as important as English literature and Latin."⁶³ The situation women found themselves in was having to maintain the ideals of the time but yet striving and thirsting for knowledge in traditionally masculine academic disciplines. Women in Independent Schools were no different from those in public schools who aspired toward greater academia. In both situations women wanted to be involved in their own education.

The Bishop Strachan School founded in 1867, was the first all female Independent School founded in Canada. The first Headmistress was Miss Frances Dupont, followed by Mrs. Thompson and then Miss Rose Grier. Miss Dupont "was a woman of extraordinary independence with a strong appetite for challenge, and no sooner had she put BSS on a firm footing than she left to open a competitive school of her own."⁶⁴ Mrs. Thompson was a "frail little lady"⁶⁵ whose stay at BSS was confined to a few short years. Rose Grier, however, was a

"thoroughly competent administrator"⁶⁶ and it was her tenure at BSS which assured the school's permanent survival. Each of these women brought to Bishop Strachan School the idealistic view that women should receive a first class education and while needlework, art, music and dancing were not emphasized, preparation for university for those women who were studiously inclined was stressed.⁶⁷ Among those independent girls' schools founded after Bishop Strachan School, were King's Hall, 1874; Ontario Ladies College, 1875; Alma College, 1877; and others which did not survive past the turn of the century. All except one were governed by women. The exception was Ontario Ladies College which, "since its inception, has appointed only male principals, (all of them Canadian), presumably on the premise that a man is better equipped to contend with the financial and organizational aspects of running a school and raising funds, with an associate Dean of Women to assist him in attending to the day to day needs of the girls on a more personal level."⁶⁸ Women's participation as administrators in Independent Schools in Canada, allowed them greater responsibilities than their sisters in public schools, who were struggling to obtain similar positions.

The movement into both public and Independent Schools, into higher education, and into teaching positions, allowed women to escape from the drudgery of needlework or housekeeping, the two previously acceptable occupations for a woman. Yet, because the ideals were lofty - women teaching and nurturing young children, but the working conditions at times primitive and the wages only two-thirds to three-fourths that of a man - that escape has been deceptive.

Teaching, historically an escape for middle class ladies, has become an accepted profession to pursue as a career. Because today women regard teaching as a career, they focus upon career mobility within their chosen profession. The struggles women had in the nineteenth century to become teachers and be admitted to universities, are representative of their struggles today to become administrators. The following chapter discusses women's current status as administrators in public schools and draws a parallel to Independent Schools.

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CHAPTER THREE

WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Women attaining positions in educational administration enter an elite realm: a fact which is clearly documented by the literature. As shown in the previous chapter, women's roles as teachers and their struggle to become accepted in Independent Schools paralleled that process in public schools. Hence, a similar parallel may be drawn in this chapter: women assuming administrative positions in Independent Schools have undoubtedly suffered the same discriminatory practices accorded contemporaries in the public system. It would be unreasonable to assume otherwise especially in light of the number of headmasters in these schools. In order to effectively draw the parallel it must be noted that there are two situations which are unique to Independent Schools. The first of these is the merging of separate boys' and girls' schools into co-educational institutions. While there are always various reasons for doing this, economic need is seen as a primary factor. The headship of these schools has, without exception, been assumed by a male. The second situation which is unique to Independent Schools, is the fact that some all girls' schools are directed by male heads. Notwithstanding these differences, appointment of women to top level management positions in Independent Schools is as appalling as the public school system. Thus, this chapter will: (1) explore why so few women have become school administrators; (2) explain how it is that this has happened; (3) suggest courses of action women can take to alleviate this problem; and (4) show why this is an

important facet which must be addressed regarding Independent Schools.

"Statistics Canada (reports) that there are now fewer women in school administration than there were ten years ago. The number of positions in school administration (principal, vice-principal, department head) declined by five per cent, but the number of women in these positions dropped by ten per cent. In 1982/83, women accounted for only thirteen per cent of all school principals."¹ These statistics clearly illustrate that female principals are a minority in a field where females comprise the majority of teachers. Some might suggest that the lack of women in these positions can be attributed to widespread discrimination against women. It is entirely conceivable and indeed possible that sexual discrimination exists in the practise of hiring administrative personnel, but other factors exist as well. I will attempt to explore as many of these as possible.

WHY SO FEW FEMALE ADMINISTRATORS?

Traditionally, a woman's place has been in the home and it has been considered most unladylike to be ambitious, independent and career oriented. As a teacher, a woman of the middle class or bourgeoisie fulfilled a nurturing role. As such, support was afforded her by men because she was providing a service. However, positions of administration in schools-organizing people and schedules, worrying about a budget, professional advancement and other such tasks related to the principalship or even the superintendency of a school division, were not to be filled by women. Studies reveal various reasons why women did not rise through the teaching ranks to fill these positions.

"For some, the major problem was the socialization process that encouraged women to place their families before considerations of a professional career."² This sentiment expressed by Mary Nixon is echoed by S.Y. Benton who states that "most married, academic women struggle with an inner conflict between their professional responsibilities and society's traditional stereotype of the 'feminine' and 'domestic' woman."³ A. Symonds contends that "work offers an opportunity for direct self-actualization, while marriage and family require that the woman subordinate her own needs to the needs of others."⁴ It would seem that marriage for a woman, although not necessarily precluding her rise up the administrative ladder, is more of a hindrance than it is for a male.

There are traditional yet almost universal expectations a woman has placed upon her when she enters a marriage. Should she and her partner choose to have a family, a woman loses time from her career in order that this part of her life become established. Although the length of time taken varies from one individual to the next, a loss of three to five years during the years when men are still in the work force and striving to attain upward mobility, places the woman at a distinct disadvantage. Upon return to the educational work force, it is not always possible to resume the status one had before maternity leave. Moira Hagerty, former principal of John Diefenbaker Senior High School in Calgary, "is quick to seize on the teaching experience figure to counter the common argument that women should be denied promotions because they are child bearers. A teacher is usually past her child-bearing years when she is eligible for consideration in

administration ... and in a long-time career in education, it shouldn't matter that a woman has taken a couple of years out to have children."⁵ Further, although it is becoming less common, a woman's career has been somewhat dependent upon the stability of her husband's career. If her husband's occupation is such that re-location is required every two to five years, it is difficult to establish herself as a serious contender for administrative positions because she has not been in a system for any length of time. Until recently women have tended to follow their husbands to new job locations where the reverse is seldom the case. Another reason marriage could have an affect upon women attaining administrative positions are their expectations in the home. If she is unable to shed the 'chief cook and bottlewasher' syndrome, chances are her energies will not be aimed directly at movement toward an administrative position. M.L. Palley agrees that "it is a reality that family responsibilities alter career patterns for women with career goals in academic administration in ways in which they do not affect men."⁶ Thus, in order that women who strive for administrative positions in education are not hindered by their marriage, they themselves, must make the necessary alterations in their home lives which will allow them to assume a responsibility in another area.

Another factor which influences the number of women in administrative positions, is the role for which they have been socialized. It must be argued again, that traditionally, women have been thought subordinate to men. Women fought for the right and privilege of attending institutions of higher learning, but with their entry into this

arena, they soon found that they must be suitably modest regarding their success and progress. Florence Howe believes that the key to what women learned as they progressed through college was "to set their aspirations low, suitably modest for a woman."⁷ S.L. Tibbetts supports this traditionalist point of view in stating that "grooming, manners, personal attractiveness, and ethical standards were much more important for a woman than for a man, and that it was 'more becoming' for a girl to be dependent while a man learned to be independent."⁸ This kind of socialization is a source of conflict for many women. Although they may aspire to positions of power and authority in educational administration, they may be ill prepared for the "ordinary aggressive, competitive atmosphere they find in many areas of their work."⁹ Barbara Robison, Assistant Superintendent Area for the Calgary Board of Education, maintains that to counter the effects of such socialization women must have a definite career plan. In addition, she stresses that women must begin to implement this plan the moment they leave university. She stressed the importance of planning their personal lives to fit with their careers.¹⁰ Assuming Robison is correct in the method by which an administrative position be aspired to and attained, women it would seem, must fight to overcome the barriers to advancement. These are factors which contribute to the discrimination against women in educational administration. M.S. Horner is convinced that "most highly competent and otherwise achievement motivated young women, when faced with a conflict between their feminine image and expressing their competencies or developing their abilities and interests, adjust their behaviors to their internalized sex-role

stereotypes."¹¹ Thus, "women must decide if success in administration is something they really want. If the answer is yes, then they must be prepared to plan for it, confront the problems it may bring and pay the price."¹²

Nixon and Hrynyk did a study which tried to establish why women did not hold a greater number of positions in educational administration. They surveyed eighty-seven male superintendents in Alberta and provided them with five specific options as to why the superintendents felt women did not assume administrative positions. A place for open-ended responses was also included. The five options were: lack of ambition; lack of interest; lack of ability; lack of authority; lack of training; and other. Lack of interest was chosen the most often - forty-two times. This would support the argument that women did not receive administrative positions because they did not apply for them, therefore, it is perceived that they are not interested in such positions. Perhaps lack of application could be related to women's perception that even if they applied, men receive higher priority for administrative positions. The response chosen second most frequently was lack of ambition (twelve).¹³ Women traditionally are conscious of superceding the male and therefore, curb their ambitions, thus being perceived by men as having no ambition. These two responses - lack of interest and lack of ambition - are male perceptions which can only be changed by women themselves. Interest can be displayed by applying for administrative positions. Ambition can be demonstrated by informing current administrators of a desire to do administrative work of any kind. Yet, women have almost encouraged men to think that

some women are not ambitious as is exemplified in the following situation. Sybil Shack gives an illustration of a Mrs. Gee who was approached by her superintendent and offered a principalship in a new elementary school, but she turned it down. At first glance, it may seem that Mrs. Gee does not have the ambition or desire to become a principal as no explanation was offered to the superintendent other than family responsibilities and that she loved teaching. However, later, in a frank discussion with Shack, she revealed her true reasons for turning down the offer.

My home and my husband - in fact, my marriage - mean too much to me. Taking on that school would have meant meetings and more meetings, mostly in the evenings. It wouldn't have been fair to my daughter and my husband. And then, I would have had to go to summer school. I don't have any administrative or supervisory experience - well, some, the same as most of us have - but not enough to handle that kind of school.

She stops for a moment, and because we have known each other for a long time, she continues, 'You know John. It would kill him, or anyway kill something in him, if I went along to make more money and get more recognition than he¹⁴ would. I couldn't do it to him.'

Mrs. Gee's statements support the beliefs that the roles women have been socialized to accept are a strong factor in accepting administrative positions. Howe believes that women have brought some of these conditions upon themselves because "once feminists lost control of the education of women, women were educated to believe in their own limited capacities and in the the unlimited capacities of males."¹⁵ Hence, the reasons why women have not become school administrators rests in a combination of traditional stereotypic factors: her role in

marriage; her socialization through the education system; and the beliefs men have regarding why more women are not administrators.

The Nixon-Hrynyk study did provide three other plausible alternatives of why greater numbers of women are not educational administrators - lack of ability (one), lack of authority (four), and lack of training (six). As well, some of the open ended responses which were given have not yet been dealt with - traditional male role (eleven), domestic responsibilities conflict (ten), women reluctant to boss women (two), lack of experience (one), lack of opportunity (one), poor sickness record (one), and no opinion (three). These lead directly into the second part of the discussion of this chapter: how it is that so few women have become administrators. Each of the above explanations of 'why' women have not become administrators are almost myths which have been perpetuated by both sexes and thus they become essential to this discussion. The examination of how it is that so few women have become administrators can be pursued in light of evidence which documents the type of administrator a woman tends to be and then relating that to the factors listed why often she is not one.

HOW SO FEW WOMEN HAVE BECOME ADMINISTRATORS

Lack of ability, although only chosen by one superintendent would suggest that some men do not have faith or belief in a woman's competence to undertake an administrative position. Further, Antonucci maintains that "attribution theory (Weiner, 1974) suggests that ... women will internalize failure by assuming that a lack of ability is responsible for their failures, and externalize success by attributing

success to luck or simplicity of the task."¹⁶ However, there is evidence in the literature that women indeed do have the ability to be successful administrators. Fishel and Pottker's study indicated that "women principals ... were found to follow effective administrative practices far more often than men. ... Women principals ... rated higher in terms of student morale, teacher morale, and the frequency with which teachers in their school used desirable practices."¹⁷ John Hoyle suggests that "...research does not show men to be superior to women in the principalship."¹⁸ It is not because a woman is incapable of doing an effective job of the principalship or any other educational administrative position, it is because she is not given the opportunity - or does not take the opportunity - or does not want the opportunity. Lack of opportunity then can be viewed from two aspects: the first is that there may exist discriminatory practices in the hiring of women; the second is that with declining enrollment, opportunities for anyone to move up and through the ranks of administrative personnel is becoming more difficult. It would seem that there is some support for the theory that some discrimination against women in educational administration exists. Seawell and Canady's study indicates that women "are not being selected on the same bases as are men"¹⁹ to fill administrative positions. Discrimination in general connotes an unfairness or bias or even prejudice against a certain group of people. Women comprise approximately two-third's of the teaching force in Canada and only thirteen per cent of all school principals are female. This is evidence that there exists a bias against women in educational administration. A woman's lack of ability in the field of educational administration,

although infrequently voiced, is a myth which can be criticized because the available literature indicates female principals are as competent if not more so in certain areas than males. The principalship is not the only position in contention here. It is logical to assume that many of the same communication and organizing skills in working with people which are used in the principal's chair could be carried over to the superintendency of a school board. Career patterns and experience in administration are also factors to be considered. Thus, the phrase 'lack of ability' suggests, from a male point of view, why a woman may be denied an administrative position. It also contributes to the explanation of how it is that women have not assumed positions of greater responsibility within our school systems.

At times, women are perceived as not having the power over students and teachers, that it takes to either make difficult decisions or instead to assume a firm disciplinary stance. This argument has been noted throughout women's teaching history.²⁰ The reason women were well accepted in the elementary school in the latter half of the nineteenth century, was that they could provide the nurturing and caring environment students might have experienced were they at home. However, the teaching of older students was left to men, for they could wield the rod if necessary to the older and larger boys. These same men then, logically, could assume administrative positions because it was felt they had the necessary authority to handle such a position. Studies now indicate that it is not as necessary to be able to demonstrate authority through brute force, and indeed, Max Weber differentiates between power and authority. Power is defined as "the

probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance."²¹ Authority, however, is "the probability that certain specific commands (or all commands) from a given source will be obeyed by a given group of persons."²² There are several types of authority: charismatic, traditional, legal, formal, and functional,²³ each of which simply implies a style or specific way in which authority is handled. It does not in any way suggest that men are more authoritative than women, or that women would not have the authority to carry out the mandate of an administrative position. The assumption that women do not have the authority can only then be seen as another type of discrimination against women in acquiring these positions. Thus, being perceived as not having the authority is another factor why fewer women than men are educational administrators, and historically, their role in the schools indicated that they were less capable than men in the upper levels of teaching, and therefore, the same would hold true for administration. This further explains how it is that women have not come to procure a greater membership in educational administration.

MENTORS

Lack of training is another factor identified by superintendents explaining why women are not equally represented in educational administration. As a category, lack of training may have three determinants: few or no mentors; significantly less post graduate degrees conferred upon women by universities; and lack of preparation within the schools themselves. A mentor is an individual who has most of the knowledge and skills an individual is seeking, encourages that

person in professional development, recognizes their talents, and puts the individual in touch with people who are in positions of authority and therefore can help the person to advance in his/her career. Further, a mentor understands some of the pitfalls which may happen along the way, helps the individual to steer their course, and knows that person well enough to tell them their weaknesses as well as their strengths. Mentors can often give inside advice that is not apparent by looking at an organization chart of administration - how things came to be, what they are, and the various personality exchanges that occur within any organization. Working with a mentor affords the individual the opportunity for self reflection on their current position and how it is meaningful in the broader areas of human satisfaction. The mentor relationship between two individuals is not necessarily restricted to professional activities but can include social aspects such as tennis and golf games, cocktail and dinner parties, or any number of other social gatherings where people meet who can and do influence each others' decisions. Mentors then, can be helpful to an individual whose desire it is to move into educational administration.

Certain aspects of the mentor relationship must be examined. These are: the relationship between male mentor and female student (student is used here in the strictest sense of the word - an individual who is learning from another); male mentor and male student; female mentor and female student; and female mentor and male student. Each of these takes on certain connotations because of the relationship involved. In the case of male mentor and female student, L. Rogers insists that the relationship must be strictly asexual²⁴ because if

socialization occurs then it becomes suspect in the eyes of other men. This is important because Rogers feels that there is significant emphasis upon the old boys system in education. The networking amongst males allows them to keep each other informed regarding upcoming positions, the movements of people within the educational system, and other aspects which may be seen as important in terms of upward mobility. Benton quotes Socolow who "found that the 'Old Boy' network remained the most widely utilized method for selecting a job candidate."²⁵ The male mentor and male student then is a different relationship than that of the female student. Perhaps this is because if men socialize with each other, or play tennis, or golf, then there is no concern or perceived threat by other males in the networking system. The female mentor/female student relationship is somewhat difficult to assess. There are those who feel that the relationship amongst women is a threat to an already established network. No longer are women seen to be subordinate to men, rather they are characterized as fiercely competitive, aggressive, and independent which are not traits generally well accepted even amongst other women. Finally, the female mentor and male student is rare although it does exist. Those individuals with whom I spoke indicated that this could possibly become more prevalent if greater numbers of women were in positions of authority within the field of education. The role of mentor in preparing women for administrative positions in education is important because a mentor can help and teach aspects of an administrator's job, thereby in effect, training a candidate for a position or a similar one. A final note on this aspect must be directed toward the female mentor and female

student relationship. I am speculating when I state that perhaps there are few of these relationships in existence, because there are so few female administrators: a parallel to the female mentor/male student. It would seem only logical that women can only begin to become mentors to other individuals if they are in positions where they can influence aspiring educators and help them pursue the directions they wish their careers to take. "As one woman put it, 'I just blundered along in my own way' since there were no female role models available."²⁶ Female mentors may, in the future, have a more significant role to play in the placement of other women in the educational hierarchy, for if there are greater numbers of female administrators, perhaps those that are there will teach and influence other women to prepare for those and other positions in administration. The importance of a mentor and access to the promotional network that men have cannot be underestimated and each of these are barriers to women in educational administration.²⁷

LACK OF TRAINING

Lack of training for females in assuming administrative positions may also be linked to the number of post graduate degrees in Educational Administration conferred upon women. In 1958, at the University of Alberta, nine per cent of graduates who received an M.Ed. were women, while ninety-one per cent were men. Twenty-five years later, sixty-eight per cent of M.Ed. graduates were male while thirty-two per cent were female. During the total twenty-five year span, a total of 822 degrees were granted, of which females only accounted for 143 or 17.4 per cent. The statistics do not improve at the Ph.D. level. In 1958, one hundred per cent of the Ph.D.'s

conferred upon students in Educational Administration were male. In the three year period between 1981 and 1984, sixty-seven per cent of the degrees were given to males while only thirty-three per cent were bestowed upon women. For the total twenty-five year time period, of the 227 Ph.D.'s granted, only twelve per cent were granted to women.²⁸ This indicates that if advanced degrees in Educational Administration are deemed to be an integral part of the training necessary to assume administrative positions in the educational system, then women are poorly represented. Here, as in administrative positions, the argument that women do not have the ambition to become administrators needs to be given serious attention. The universities have what is generally considered an 'open door' policy regarding admissions to these programs. As long as the student meets the academic qualifications and there is room in the program, there is no discrimination on the basis of sex for admission to Educational Administration. There has, however, in the recent past, been some evidence of social discrimination against women being admitted to faculties of Educational Administration. This is less apparent now because universities must adhere to laws which prevent discrimination on the basis of sex. Thus, in this area, why there are not greater numbers of women in educational administration may be because of the lack of training specifically related to post graduate degrees.

Finally, the last aspect of lack of training, is the lack of preparation of females to assume administrative roles within the schools themselves. It may be too that women are socialized to perceive educational administration as a man's job. However, some men believe

this too. Shack provides an excellent example of this. The setting is a monthly meeting of principals and the discussion has centered around a male principal who feels the women in his school are difficult to persuade to undertake any extra responsibilities in the school. A female principal questions the types of responsibilities he is referring to.

'Well, you know, chairing the tea committee, leading up the social committee, ... the things you ladies do so well. The last time one of the men was in charge of the social committee, I had to remind him to get cookies for the staff meeting. But this new generation of teachers ... The girls just don't want to take on any responsibility.'

...'Tell me, Bob. You are away from the school this afternoon. Whom did you leave in charge?'...

'What's that got to do with it? Oh, all right, Jim Black. He teaches Grade 6 and he's right next to the office.'

The ... principal had a gleam in her eye. 'Who was in charge last week when you were at the metrication meeting?'

...'O.K., so I left Jim in charge. He's the only other man in the school. So naturally I left him in charge.'

This illustrates clearly the widespread notion that if a principal leaves the school, he would be replaced, temporarily, by another male. This affords the male teacher left in charge an opportunity not otherwise granted to the female teacher. He has the occasion to practise administration while the woman does not. Training of this sort can be invaluable when an individual is looking for upward mobility. Being left in charge is a suitable circumstance within which to demonstrate an individual's desire to move from the teaching ranks to administration, and that practise at the position has been acquired. Thus, the belief that women do not have the training to become

administrators can be related to any combination of the three factors previously stated: lack of mentors; lack of post-graduate degrees in educational administration; and lack of opportunity within the school to be trained for administration. If lack of training is seen to be a major hindrance to women's advancement in educational administration, then steps can be taken to rectify this position. Women can strive to acquire post graduate degrees with accredited institutions; they can actively pursue opportunities to demonstrate their competencies in educational administration; and women can help other women in training for administrative positions. Thus, lack of training for women can be overcome if women initiate actions which will demonstrate their ability and desire to become educational administrators. It must be noted though, that the responsibility rests with women and those men from whom they can find support. Lack of training was the last of the closed responses in the Nixon-Hrynyk questionnaire. However, there was provision for the superintendents to respond freely as to why they felt there were few female administrators in education.

The open ended responses which were given to Nixon-Hrynyk in their study are: traditional male role, domestic responsibilities conflict, women reluctant to boss women, lack of experience, lack of opportunity, poor sickness record and other. The traditional male role can be identified through the available statistics on males versus females in educational administration as well as historically. The domestic responsibilities conflict also has its roots historically, but can be attributed to sex role stereotyping women have been subjected to. However, women reluctant to boss other women is an area I have not

addressed. The literature available on this subject indicates that females sometimes face "less than enthusiastic acceptance of female leadership from largely female, often very traditional, staff members."³⁰ However, most females, having been given the opportunity to prove themselves are found to be more democratic in their dealings with not only the students but staff members as well. Thus, the belief that women do not want to boss other women or even be bossed by other women, is perpetuated by men who perceive there may be a problem where none actually exists, or indeed by other women who are ambivalent about female administrators or feel threatened by them.

The next two open-ended responses, lack of experience and lack of opportunity, are equally important because of a typical "Catch-22" type situation. It is difficult to get experience administratively if an individual is not given the opportunity, and similarly that same individual is rarely given the opportunity without some previous experience.

Finally the last response on the Nixon-Hrynyck study, a poor sickness record, was mentioned once by a superintendent. It would be interesting to know what he based that statement upon. Female pregnancy, the female menstrual cycle, and perhaps stress due to working full time and trying to be a 'perfect' wife, mother and housekeeper, may cause a poor sickness record. This is an area which needs greater study. Thus, why there are not greater numbers of females in educational administration may be attributed to any combination of the factors in the Nixon-Hrynyck study.

OVERCOMING THE DEFICIT OF FEMALE ADMINISTRATORS

It has been established there are various factors perceived by both men and women why there are not more female administrators in education. In order to overcome this deficit, female teachers need to look at alternative courses of action which may help them in their struggle to become an integral part of the administrative system. Several types of advice come from the literature: "the aspiring female administrator should have a high degree of competence, demonstrable expertise and the skills of a master teacher";³¹ "you have to have a commitment";³² "have a definite career plan";³³ "hone and tune communication skills until they are so strong that you can handle yourself with anybody";³⁴ "women (should) support each other and not ... deny their feminine heritage";³⁵ "it is most important that there be suitable female models for young women to look to";³⁶ "women teachers must be reached and retaught. Their own limited aspirations must be challenged. Only when they are will women ... care about the education of other women";³⁷ and finally knowing the history of women and discovering that "contemporary social patterns have historical roots and that something can be learned from studying their history."³⁸ These statements have in common the theme that it is the women who must change. They do not address the group and political action needed to stop discrimination which still exists. It is incumbent upon women to be sure that Section 15 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms is upheld if discriminatory practices against women assuming administrative positions in education continue to exist. Each of these pieces of advice are valuable if it is assumed that it is desirable for

women to aspire to positions of administration. That, of course, is the assumption upon which this chapter is based. With greater representation of women in the field of educational administration, women's voices will become more significant than they are now and perhaps even the ways in which administrative problems are solved or approached will vary and the field will benefit because of female representation. In the Independent School, female representation at the administrative level needs to be assessed in all of these lights.

FEMALE ADMINISTRATORS IN INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

Despite programs such as affirmative action in the United States and guaranteed constitutional rights in Canada, female representation in educational administration for Independent Schools is no better than the public school system. Several factors could possibly account for this: the fact that the majority of Independent Schools are all boys schools would presuppose a limited existence of females in such schools let alone female administrators; the merger of boys' and girls' schools to form co-educational institutions where a man assumes the headship rather than a female; the size of these schools precludes a great number of chiefs - there can only be a limited number of administrative positions when the largest Independent School's student population is approximately 1250; the traditions associated with these schools where change is slow to take place thus emulating the public system's lack of female representation at the administrative level. Price and Glenday support this belief in their statement, "as schools become bigger and fewer there is keener competition for headships and at the present time markedly fewer opportunities for women to be appointed to them because

of a tradition that mixed schools should have headmasters with women subordinate in the hierarchy."³⁹ The reasons for lack of women in the head's positions are the same as those within the public schools. Boards of governors defend their choices by stating "women are not appointed to headships, ... because good applicants are not forthcoming. (Further), there is indeed a scarcity of women of the right calibre, what ever the reasons may be; family commitments; a preference for the pastoral side of teaching rather than the ladder of promotion; or an unconscious lack of confidence inherited from the past."⁴⁰ This particular facet of Independent Schools is important because these schools' desire to maintain and increase their student bodies and part of that student body is female, so women in administration must have a voice in how girls' or co-educational institutions are governed. Perhaps they should also have the opportunity to both teach and administrate in all boys' schools too. Males, after all, have a voice in female schools.

It is those voices I wished to address in my questionnaire - how many all girls' schools are led by male heads? - does the reverse ever occur? - are there any co-educational Independent Schools that have female heads? These questions among others will be addressed in the following chapter. I will be analyzing statistically the information my questionnaires contain and hopefully adding to the body of knowledge on Independent Schools and the roles of women administrators.

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CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENT DAY STATUS OF WOMEN IN INDEPENDENT SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

The intent of this chapter is to discuss women's current status not only as head administrators in Independent Schools, but as subordinate administrators as well. This will be realized by:

- (1) a statistical discussion of the questionnaire distributed;
- (2) a portrait developed of what may be considered a 'typical' head of an Independent School;
- (3) a descriptive analysis of the portion of the questionnaire which garnered individual responses.

SAMPLE

The questionnaire (see Appendix 1) was distributed through the mail to the headmasters of all fifty-four Independent Schools in Canada. Forty questionnaires were returned partially or totally completed; and five letters were addressed to me indicating they did not wish to participate in the survey. Thus, disregarding the five who indicated a desire to not be included in the survey, a return of seventy-four percent was realized. The questionnaire was not pretested because of the small sample and because there is not, in Canada, a body of schools similar to the members of the CAIS.

Part I requested personal and professional data: gender, age, length of tenure, marital status, education, years of experience in education, and information regarding the education path of the participants' grade school years.

Part II requested information about the participants' school: student population (total - male + female), teacher population (total - male + female), administrative positions in the school and which gender filled the position, information regarding the three most recent placements in administrative positions. Space was available for additional comments.

DATA ANALYSIS

In order to fulfill the purposes of this chapter, the analysis of the data was treated in the following manner:

(1) Responses from questions 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8 of section I, and 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 of section II were coded by the investigator of this study. Key punching and verification were carried out by the Computer Services Division of the University of Calgary.

(2) The cross-tabulation program of the Statistical Package in Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyze the data. This program provided frequency and percentage distributions of the responses chosen from Parts I and II. Sections of Part II of the questionnaire were summarized in the latter half of this chapter.

DISCUSSION OF THE DATA

In order to draw a portrait of the characteristics of a typical Independent School head, the information from the personal data can be analyzed, then summarized. Twenty-seven point five percent of the returned questionnaires were completed by female heads of schools, the remainder by male. As is apparent by Table One, the greatest number of heads fell into the 45-54 age group.

TABLE 1
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF AGE

AGE GROUP	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY
35-44	14
45-54	16
55-64	9
No Response	1
TOTAL	40

When the variable sex was introduced and cross-tabulated with age, eighty-eight percent of both male and female heads fell in the age bracket of less than fifty-five years of age. However, the significance of this cross-tabulation (Table Two) is that it indicates that forty-two percent of the men had assumed the headship between the ages of thirty-five and forty-four, whereas only eighteen percent of the women had.

TABLE 2
AGE BY SEX

AGE GROUP GENDER	35-44	45-54	55-64	ROW TOTAL
MALE (29)	42%	38%	20%	100%
FEMALE (11)	18%	55%	27%	100%

These statistics are supported in the literature. Women are characterized as "highly curriculum-oriented people who have spent an average of ten years longer in the classroom than their male counterparts and thus have come to administration later in life."¹ Thus, it can be noted

that in Independent Schools, as in public schools, women do not assume administrative positions as early as men.

The next variables which were cross-tabulated were sex and marital status. It is critical to note that although on the questionnaire there were four options regarding marital status: married, single, divorced, or widowed; the latter three were grouped together because, in essence, all of those were without a spouse regardless of the terms. Table Three indicates that sixteen percent of the male heads of schools were single, while forty-four percent of the female heads were single.

TABLE 3
DISTRIBUTION OF MARITAL STATUS BY SEX

SEX	PERCENT SINGLE	PERCENT MARRIED
MALE (29)	16%	84%
FEMALE (11)	44%	56%

These statistics are reminiscent of the nineteenth century female administrators who were caricatured as single and matronly. To be sure, the majority of female heads were married, but Rossi and Calderwood maintain that in the field of education and administration, "women are less likely to be married."² Speculating as to why greater numbers of women are single may relate directly to why women do not pursue positions of administration in education. If married, mobility to a more senior position in another Independent School may be a problem, whereas, for a single woman it does not pose a major dilemma. As well, if married and assuming an administrative post, a husband's ego may be

an obstacle as was the case with Mrs. Gee in Chapter Three, which would certainly not be a predicament for a single woman. This, however, is mere speculation.

In order to give greater clarity to the heads of Independent Schools, I wanted to establish the number of degrees they held from universities. My reasoning for this is that heads of schools and the prospecti they issue regarding their schools emphasize academic training and preparation for university entrance. So, logically, they too would hold those values in high esteem and themselves possess more than one degree. Twelve different degrees were listed including five postgraduate degrees. In addition, space was provided for degrees obtained but not listed.

TABLE 4

DEGREES

NUMBER OF DEGREES	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY OF POPULATION HOLDING THAT NUMBER OF DEGREES
1	7
2	26
3	7

By converting the absolute frequencies of Table Four to percentages, it becomes evident that eighty-three percent of the population have more than one degree. This confirms my suspicion that a high percentage of heads probably would hold two or more degrees.

In order to ascertain whether or not there was any difference between the numbers of degrees male and female heads had, sex was

cross-tabulated with education. Table Five shows that eighty percent of the female heads held two degrees while only sixty percent of the male heads did. (Absolute frequencies for Table Five are in parentheses.)

TABLE 5
SEX BY EDUCATION

NUMBER OF DEGREES SEX	1	2	3
MALE	20% (6)	60% (17)	20% (6)
FEMALE	10% (1)	80% (8)	10% (1)

One of the arguments in the previous chapter regarding why women did not receive the opportunity to be educational administrators was that they did not have the necessary academic qualifications. Surely this can be repudiated by the statistics regarding female Independent School heads.

The next variable on the questionnaire was years of experience. The raw data was utilized to establish the mean number of years in education as 23.7 with a standard deviation of 8.2. Table Six indicates that the female heads of schools have only slightly more experience than the male heads of school.

TABLE 6
YEARS OF EXPERIENCE IN EDUCATION

Mean Number of Years With Education	
MALE	23.0
FEMALE	25.4

These statistics however, seem incongruous with the findings earlier that women did not assume headships as early as men. Logically, men should have had much less experience in education (at least five years) than is revealed here. However, it is interesting to note that when tabulating the data to establish the mean, women had the scores which fell within the extremes. Two of them had twelve years of experience which was the lowest experience recorded, and two had greater than forty years of experience, while no man had less than fifteen years of experience, but also no greater than thirty-four years of experience. Nonetheless, statistically speaking, Independent Schools in Canada do not in this case reflect the situation which occurs in the public school system.

The variable 'type of schooling' received by a head was intended to establish whether or not attendance at Independent Schools could be a factor in later assuming a headship. Table Seven indicates a cumulative percentage of the following factors - schooling acquired solely at an Independent School or only at the secondary level of an Independent School. To acquire this data, those heads who had attended Independent Schools for either their entire school career or secondary education were added together and converted to a percentage. It was perceived that attendance at an Independent School during the latter half of an individual's grade school tenure was deemed the time when decisions regarding careers were made.

TABLE 7
TYPE OF SCHOOLING

ATTENDANCE AT INDEPENDENT SCHOOL

MALE	56%
FEMALE	70%

There is some suggestion here that it is more advantageous for a female than a male to have attended an Independent School if the individual aspires to the headship. However, there are other possibilities. Perhaps the male students of Independent Schools are socialized or persuaded or somehow swayed toward fields which are more prestigious than that of a teacher - doctor, lawyer, architect, dentist, accountant. Therefore a greater number of them pursue those fields. In that light then, the fifty-six percent which attended Independent Schools, either for their entire education or secondary education, is a high percentage. The high percentage of women who have attended Independent Schools and subsequently become heads of these schools, suggests that they may not have been encouraged to pursue careers which are traditionally male - doctor, lawyer, architect, dentist, accountant. Thus, having been educated in Independent Schools and choosing education as a profession, females return to those types of schools with which they are familiar and have the social contacts with whom they have been accustomed to socializing.

The next variable to be introduced was salary. As is apparent from Table Eight, the greatest number of heads earned between \$50,000 and \$59,900.

TABLE 8

SALARY

WAGE BRACKET	ABSOLUTE FREQUENCY
\$20,000-\$29,900	1
\$30,000-\$39,900	5
\$40,000-\$49,900	11
\$50,000-\$59,900	13
\$60,000-\$69,900	7
+ \$70,000	2
No Response	1

Table Nine indicates the relationships when salary was cross-tabulated with sex. The 'N' for Table Nine is thirty-nine because one head declined to indicate his salary range.

TABLE 9

SEX BY SALARY

Salary	\$20,000-\$29,999	\$30,000-\$39,900	\$40,000-\$49,900	\$50,000-\$59,000	\$60,000-\$69,900	+\$70,000
MALE	0%	13%	29%	25%	25%	8%
FEMALE	10%	20%	20%	50%	0%	0%

In addition Cramer's V, which has a range from 0 to +1, was calculated. A larger V signifies a high degree of association. The Cramer's V of 0.472 indicates there is a significant relationship between the variables of sex and salary. No females earn greater than \$60,000 but thirty percent of the males do. In addition, no male heads earn less than \$30,000 but ten percent of the female heads do.

It would seem that some discrimination exists between male and female administrative salaries in Independent Schools. This is consistent with findings of female professors in Ontario universities where it

was noted that salary discrepancies "do not result entirely from differences in age, degree qualifications and/or the number of years spent"³ teaching. This is a reflection of the nineteenth century teacher who struggled for wage parity with her male counterparts. Because there was a discrepancy noted in salary scales between male and female, I cross-tabulated age with salary. The Cramer's V of 0.451 indicated that there was a high degree of association between age and salary earned. No heads less than thirty-five years old earned greater than \$60,000 while a cumulative percentage of seventy-six over the age of thirty-five earned greater than that same amount (see Table Ten).

TABLE 10

AGE BY SALARY

SALARY	\$20,000- \$29,900	\$30,000- \$39,900	\$40,000- \$49,900	\$50,000- \$59,900	\$60,000- \$69,900	+\$70,000
AGE						
35-44 (14)	0%	8%	34%	58%	0%	0%
45-54 (16)	0%	23%	15%	23%	31%	8%
55-64 (9)	11%	11%	22%	11%	22%	22%
No Response (1)						

Recalling that seventy percent of the women in the sample were younger than fifty-four, yet twenty-six percent of the total population and thirty-five percent of the male population earned greater than \$60,000. There is an obvious discrepancy between the male and female remuneration for the same position. To further establish whether or not there really was a disparity between male and female salaries for the same position, I cross-tabulated sex with total enrollment of schools. The intent was to indicate that perhaps women were the heads

of smaller schools and therefore, the director of less people. Therefore, the board of governors could justify paying her less than a man. However, as Table Eleven indicates, the female heads have a larger mean student population than the males. The arguments then that female heads can be paid less because they are responsible for less students and/or they are not as qualified academically as males and/or they do not have the same teaching experience as men, are not upheld in light of the statistics available.

TABLE 11
STUDENT ENROLLMENT

Sex of Head	Mean Student Enrollment
FEMALE	450.00
MALE	370.20

A typical head of an Independent School then, is between the ages of forty-five and fifty-four, holds two or more degrees, has a salary between \$50,000 and \$59,900, is married has twenty-four years experience in the field of education, and is male. However, the typicality changes slightly depending on whether or not one is a female or male head as is evidenced by Table Twelve. A portrait which is representative of the female population of heads of schools, is that she is forty-five - fifty-four years old, holds two degrees, earns a maximum of \$59,900, may be either married or single (fifty percent were married, fifty percent were single), and has 25.4 years of experience in the field of education. However, the archetypical male head is between the ages of thirty-five and forty-four, has two or more

degrees, has the possibility of earning greater than \$70,000, is married and has twenty-three years of experience in the field of education.

TABLE 12

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF INDEPENDENT SCHOOL HEADS

	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>
AGE	35-44	45-54
# OF DEGREES	2+	2+
SALARY	Possible earnings + \$70,000	Ceiling at \$59,900
MARITAL STATUS	Married	50% Chance of Being Married
EXPERIENCE IN EDUCATION	23	25.4

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE REMAINING DATA

Participants in the survey were asked to indicate the administrative positions within their school and whether they were filled by males or females. Space was provided to add positions if they were not listed. Most (ninety-six percent) of the respondents took the time to complete this section. However, in the following section which requested information regarding the three most recently appointed administrative positions and the types of candidates considered for the post (external, internal, male, female), only fifty-seven percent of the questionnaires were filled in. The fifty-seven percent also accounted for those heads who indicated that they had not had the opportunity to appoint anyone to an administrative position as their tenure as head had been too brief.

In an all female school of 175 students with a male head and twenty-nine staff members (eight male, twenty-one female), two of five department heads are male and the assistant head is a female. The chart revealing candidates administrative appointments disclosed that in appointing a department head there were fifteen candidates - two internal, thirteen external; of those, eleven were male, four female. Another all girls' school with 340 students, a male head, thirty teachers (one male, twenty-nine female), the assistant head and the head of seniors (one position) were male. In examining the chart for administrative appointments for a department head position, six candidates - all external; of those, two were male, four female. In a primarily male school (430 out of 550 students are boys) with a male head, a teaching staff of fifty-seven (forty-four male), fourteen of sixteen administrative posts were filled by males. So, while the ratio of male students to male staff members and female students to female staff members is equitable (seventy-eight percent), the ratio of administrative positions shows a preponderance of males (eighty-eight percent). An examination of potential candidates for two department head positions revealed that one exhibited sixteen candidates (one internal, fifteen external; of those - fifteen male, one female) and another noted three candidates (all internal; of those - one male, two female). One all male school (230 students) with a male head had twenty-two teachers (ten female, twelve male). There were eleven administrative posts - seven filled by males, four by females. The head of this school had only appointed one of those positions - the assistant head. Twenty-seven candidates were considered (one internal, twenty-six external; of those twenty-five were

male, and two female). In order to add to this information, the head included this remark on his questionnaire:

The position of Assistant Headmaster was advertised in all C.A.I.S. schools and in the TORONTO GLOBE AND MAIL. I journeyed from Victoria to Winnipeg to Toronto to interview the candidates on the short list. 6

The information this head gives supports the findings in the Nixon-Hrynyk study, that women do not apply for administrative positions. Lack of application by women will not improve their current position in administrative positions in Independent Schools.

A final example of a predominantly male school (250 male students of 310), and a teaching staff of twenty-eight (twenty male, eight female), had three administrative positions all filled by males. The head indicated on the questionnaire that he had founded the school and that "all appointments were made internally and were groomed by me for those roles over the years."⁷ It is apparent that there exists a discrepancy in numbers of female and male administrators in those schools cited above. Susan O. Bishop states that in some Independent Schools in the United States, especially the co-educational and the girls' schools, "the number of male administrators has become astonishingly disproportionate to the number of men in the school."⁸

I will now discuss through illustration, co-educational Independent Schools and their administrative positions. All of the co-educational schools are led by headmasters rather than headmistresses. In one school with 900 students (500 male, 400 female) and a teaching staff of sixty-five (twenty-eight male, thirty-seven female), there were fifteen administrative positions noted. Only six were filled by females creating

an inequity in the ratio of male staff members to female staff members (forty-three percent male staff members, sixty percent male administrators). The proportion of male administrators is even greater than the percentage of male students. In appointing a department head, three candidates were considered - two male, one female and the female was appointed. In another co-educational school of 530 students (280 male, 250 female) with a teaching staff of forty-three (twenty-four male, nineteen female), there are twenty-one administrative positions. Of the twenty-one administrators, six are filled by women - a mere twenty-nine percent. Again there is a suggestion that an inequity or indeed perhaps even an injustice is being done to women in some Independent Schools. The proportion of male teachers to male administrators does not change very much from one co-educational institution to the next. The only exception for co-educational schools appears to be the Toronto French School. The headmaster, Harry Giles, identified the school on the front page of the questionnaire. In a school of 1216 students (fifty percent male, fifty percent female), there are 100 teachers (twenty-eight male, seventy-two female). Of those teachers, there are twenty administrators (eight male, twelve female). The chart for appointments was completed and for the position of assistant head, twenty candidates were considered (seven internal, fifteen external; of those eighteen male and four female). This leads me to again speculate that perhaps one of the reasons women are not appointed to administrative positions in education is that they do not apply. Giles added his own point of view at the end of the questionnaire:

According to Clive Beck at O.I.S.E. (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education), we are the best represented school in a co-educational context with females in senior roles. But we simply have no choice but to choose the best people for the job and we try to. One of the curious facts is that I am a male and our girls outperform all the girls' schools in maths and sciences in Canada. But a lot of women lead, and are perceived to lead, and we engage in a lot of compensatory education to take into account the differences in learning patterns and experience - both for boys and girls - so our boys tend to be more verbal and articulate than elsewhere, and our girls tend to be more mathematical and scientific. 9

It is not within the scope of this thesis to pursue whether or not the latter claim of Mr. Giles' is indeed a fact. However, of the participants in this survey, his is the only independent co-educational institution headed by a male, which acknowledges a disparity in the numbers of women in educational administration. Even with the acknowledgement, the ratio of male and female administrators to male and female teachers is twenty-eight to seventeen percent.

Palmieri and Shakeshaft discovered in a survey of American Independent co-educational Schools, that when boys' and girls' schools merge, as was the case with Strathcona-Tweedsmuir School and Hillfield Strathallan College, "women were permitted to head all girls' schools but they could not possibly direct these ... co-educational ventures."¹⁰ And what seems to be the case in Canada is that not only can the women not direct these schools, they do not provide leadership to the student body in direct proportion to the number of male and female students and teachers.

"Women leaders who were once valued for their effective discipline, their guidance and their in loco parentis model for boys and girls did not fit into the ethos of the school as academic corporation, nor did

they have the necessary qualifications to be administrators of growth."¹¹ Boards of Governors when hiring a head must, necessarily, focus upon the business and educational aspects of the school. In this capacity then, they may perceive women as being incapable of assuming a headship. Independent Schools today must be cognisant of not only providing educational services for students, but too must be financially stable or moving toward that state. Schools must be in good repair; teachers' salaries must be either on par with neighbouring school boards or have a similar scale; programs must be constantly expanding or adapting to meet government specifications; and support staff must be hired for maintenance, clerical duties and assorted other duties as need to be accomplished during a school day. All of these things are related to dollars and women have not in the past, nor are they today recognized as having the skills necessary to be the top administrator - business and educational, in an Independent School.¹² Thus, assuming that it is 'understood' that few women will be heads of these schools, they should be able to provide educational leadership in other areas within these schools. The fact that they are not in those positions as is exhibited by evidence from my questionnaire can, perhaps be attributed to various factors. One of these factors may be, that the male heads, supported by their boards of governors, feel that "boys ... need the physical stamina models of male division heads, male deans, male masters, in order to perfect their leadership qualities."¹³ That statement of Palimieri's provides a partial explanation which readily lends itself to the situation co-educational schools find themselves in. But what about all the girls' schools with a preponderance of male

administrators? One headmaster of an all girls' school stated that "the balance of staff must be weighted in favour of females - the parents expect it to be so."¹⁴ This does not explain why seventy-two percent of the staff is female but twenty-five percent of the male staff hold administrative posts whereas only eighteen percent of the female staff hold administrative posts.

Finally, the lack of junior (not headmaster or mistress) female administrators within Independent Schools may be related to the influence or the amount of direct control parents have in these schools. Maxwell and Weinsberg found "that 50% of the students' (registered in an Independent School) same sex parent had attended private school, and of these, almost a half had attended the same school as their children were now attending."¹⁵ Why is this significant and what does it have to do with the male supremacy in administrative positions? It has already been stated, in Chapter One, that parents' motivation in sending their children to Independent Schools although varied, may be the socialization process he/she will be subjected to there. And "until recently the relative lack of female lawyers, architects, chartered accountants and corporate benefactors resulted in stronger male concern than one might expect with the socialization process in private schools, - particularly girls' schools."¹⁶ Perhaps it is the predominance of this 'strong male concern' which does not allow women the opportunity to be administrators - even junior administrators.

The questionnaire was valuable in providing information regarding the numbers of females in positions of legitimate authority - administration in Independent Schools. Further, it established the fact

that Independent School administrative placements, male and female, do not differ substantially from public school and there is a need to scrutinize the situation as it currently exists.

The conclusion, of this thesis, which follows, will draw together and summarize the information presented throughout each chapter.

NOTES

1. Porat, Karin. "The Woman in The Principal's Chair." THE ATA MAGAZINE. May/June, 1985, p. 12.
2. Rossi, Alice S. and Calderwood, Ann. ACADEMIC WOMEN ON THE MOVE. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1973, p. 167.
3. McIntyre, Gail, and Doherty, Alice. WOMEN AND ONTARIO UNIVERSITIES. October, 1975, p. 37.
4. McMillan, James H. and Schumacher, Sally. RESEARCH IN EDUCATION: A CONCEPTUAL INTRODUCTION. Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1984, p. 430.
5. Ibid., p. 434.
6. Quote taken directly from a questionnaire.
7. Ibid.
8. Bishop, Susan O. "Where Have All The Headmistresses Gone? THE INDEPENDENT SCHOOL BULLETIN. 1974, p. 23.
9. Quote taken directly from a questionnaire.
10. Palmieri, Patricia and Shakeshaft, Charol Smith. "Up The Front Staircase: A Proposal For Women To Achieve Parity With Men In The Field of Educational Administration." NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN DEANS, ADMINISTRATORS AND COUNSELLORS. Volume 39, Issue 2, 1976, p. 60.
11. Ibid., p. 60.
12. Ibid., p. 60.
13. Ibid., p. 60.
14. Quote taken directly from a questionnaire.
15. Maxwell, Mary Percival, and Maxwell, James D. "Private Schools: The Culture, Structure and Processes of Elite Socialization In English Canada." from Ishiwaren, I. ed. CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE IN CANADA. Toronto: McGraw-Hill, Ryerson Ltd., 1979, p. 218.
16. Ibid., p. 214.

CONCLUSION

This study has dealt with women in Canadian Independent Schools. The concluding chapter will provide the reader with a synopsis of the information contained in the study, some analytical points with respect to the questionnaire, and finally, some suggestions for further research.

A SYNOPSIS

Canadian Independent Schools are unique educational institutions as evidenced by membership in the Canadian Association of Independent Schools (CAIS). In order to become a member of the CAIS, schools must provide an academic education geared towards university entrance for their students. There are, however, other characteristics which make the Association unique. Independent Schools have borrowed from British public schools, the perfect system, the house system, and the concept of headmaster rather than principal. These schools purport to provide excellent instruction for their students, firm discipline, and an enriched and pleasing learning environment. The schools are to be found in every Canadian province but two - Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. Independent Schools then, are educational institutions which are independent of public educational systems.

Those who have the most influential voice regarding the education of Canada's youth are their parents. Parents have various reasons for sending their children to Independent Schools. These justifications are intertwined with the goals of education Independent schools issue in their prospecti. Attendance at these schools assumes that the parents and perhaps eventually the students support the values and beliefs the

schools espouse. Through school prospecti, the Headmasters/mistresses contend students receive academic instruction geared to university entrance. By focussing only upon academia, a large segment of educable youngsters are eliminated from attending these schools. Those students who are desirous of a vocational education or are learning disabled are not serviced by Independent Schools.

Academic excellence is apparently delivered through dedicated and experienced teachers whose singular goal is to provide a well-rounded education for the whole child. Although there is an emphasis upon academics, religious and moral instruction is also offered through weekly or daily attendance at chapel services. Physical education programs combined with opportunities for instruction in the Fine Arts provide balance to the programs offered to students at Independent Schools. Thus, headmasters purport and parents believe that Independent Schools offer superior instruction and instructors.

Heads of schools and parents both express a firm belief in, and need for, discipline. School prospecti claim that discipline is firm but fair, yet a necessary part of the school environment. The prospecti further maintain that the physical environment is pleasing, and often expansive, providing motivation for students' learning. Discipline and environment are additional factors which parents consider when sending their children to Independent Schools.

A final factor regarding the discussion of Independent Schools involves their governance. Each school has a Board of Governors which is responsible for finding and maintaining financial backing for the school. Usually the only individual whom they have direct control

over in terms of hiring and firing is the head of the school. The head, in turn, is responsible for acquiring and retaining staff members and is answerable to the Board for his/her decisions. Boards of Governors are composed of individuals who may have a vested interest in the school. That interest may take various forms: monetary; their own children in attendance at the school; an alumnus; or they may have connections with the business world and therefore, are deemed competent to sit on an educational board. The people who govern Independent Schools, have, in times of crisis, the opportunity to solicit help from other members of the CAIS should that be necessary. The members of the Board also have the recent school history and the school's own traditions they can draw upon when making decisions or setting precedents.

History is an important facet of this study. In order to ascertain the role of women administrators in Independent Schools, an examination was made of women's pursuit of education in the nineteenth century. As with every period in history there is a prevailing school of thought which can account for some of the behaviours of the people of the time. In the Victorian era, the industrial revolution, the urbanization of cities, the large numbers of immigrants from all over Europe to North America, contributed to this period's beliefs and actions. Women, traditionally, had expended most of their energies in the home--cooking, sewing, raising children, taking care of their husbands. With the moves to urban centers, emigration to North America and the rapid advances in industry technology, new roles for women were defined. Some women assumed positions in factories, many women

stayed in the home, and others pursued higher education. Debates raged over whether or not there was a need for greater education for women. There was a burgeoning group of women who were not married and whose parents did not want to or could not afford to keep these young ladies at home. Many of these women gained acceptance within their communities as the proprietors of dame schools.

Dame schools were a popular method of providing and acquiring an education on the frontiers of Canada. However, as the nineteenth century progressed, the public system became more established. There was recognition by educational leaders that institutions must be developed for training teachers. Initially it was felt that only men would be admitted to Normal Schools. However, a primary factor which helped women's admission to Normal Schools were the growing numbers of youngsters who needed to be educated, especially in the less populated areas of Canada. There was already evidence of discriminatory practises against women teachers. Salaries for a woman were substantially lower than her male counterparts. Women were expected to teach elementary school students for a variety of reasons: (1) at that level they still provided a nurturing role for the younger students; (2) it was felt that women could not maintain the necessary discipline at the older level; and (3) the initial prevalence of boys at the upper levels demanded male teachers, not female. This situation was no different in the Independent Schools which were established during the nineteenth century. Indeed, their ties to Britain, and initial modelling upon the English public schools may have made

discrimination against women educators and female students greater than the public education system being established in Canada.

The struggles of nineteenth century women to be accepted as students in institutions of higher education and as educators can be paralleled to women who wish to be administrators today. Various hypotheses have been advanced for the lack of women in educational administration today: (1) women do not apply for the administrative positions available; (2) women do not have administrative ambitions; (3) women are not trained to assume positions in educational administration; (4) women do not express interest in administration; (5) women are not socialized to aspire to administrative positions; and (6) marriage and family restrict her opportunities in assuming an administrative position. Clearly, women who have goals which include career mobility in the field of education have obstacles they must overcome.

Women interested in administrative positions need to establish courses of action which will help them in their endeavours. Pursuing post-graduate degrees in not only educational administration but in management faculties so that they cannot be accused of lack of knowledge in the business aspect of education is necessary. This is especially true in Independent Schools where heads must not only administer school personnel, but also maintain and distribute a budget which can conceivably be six or seven figures depending on the school population. As well, women must make known their intentions or desires to become administrators. Women must, as men have, establish their own support networks. Finally, women need to set goals for not only their educational careers, but also in their personal relationships -

husbands, children. There is enough literature which maintains that women are as effective if not more so than men in administration. (Gross and Trask, 1976) Women educators in Independent Schools, if they are desirous of greater authority, must pursue administrative positions with the same strategies as their public school counterparts.

AN ANALYSIS

The typical female head (age range of forty-five - fifty four) of an Independent School is older by approximately ten years than a typical male head (age range of thirty-five - forty-four years). Female and male heads are equally qualified in terms of the number of degrees held. This refutes the notion (certainly in the population of Independent Schools which responded to the questionnaire distributed) that women do not pursue higher academic training in preparation for assuming an administrative position. There is, as there was in the nineteenth century, a disparity in salaries of female and male heads of schools. Females appear to have a ceiling at \$59,900, whereas males can possibly earn greater than \$70,000. In the nineteenth century it was felt that if a woman was too educated to wished to go beyond the realm of the grammar school for an education, this decreased the likelihood of her getting married because surely she would then become less desirable as a mate. The historical reflection is interesting in light of the fact that only fifty percent of the female heads today are married, while ninety percent of the male heads are married. Finally, in terms of experience in the field of education, women averaged twenty-five years while men averaged twenty-three.

The sketch of the typical female and male heads becomes important in a discussion of the junior administrative positions available at Independent Schools. Female heads were found in all girls' schools only. Males headed all the all boys' schools, the co-educational schools and some all girls' schools. In the all girls' schools with female heads and all boys' schools with male heads, the junior administrators were the same sex as the schools they worked in. The overwhelming majority of co-educational schools had a greater proportion of male administrators than female. As well, in some of the all girls' schools with male heads, the junior administrative positions were filled with a disproportionate number of men.

These statistics give rise to the question of career mobility for women teachers. First, the limited number of administrative positions would itself be a detriment to the woman who has definite plans to advance her career. Second, since only fifty-four Independent Schools exist in all of Canada, twenty-one of them all boys', this would place limitations on movement between schools as necessary to move up the administrative ladder. Third, the speculative contention that there exists some discrimination against women assuming administrative positions as evidenced by the disproportionate number of males who are subordinate and indeed headadministrators, does not enhance the opportunity for advancement within that system. Thus, it is a woman's prerogative to teach in an Independent School, but it is also her responsibility to seriously assess the implications of assuming that position in terms of career mobility.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study has pursued women administrators in Independent Schools. As such, it has given rise to areas which require further research.

1. Do Boards of Governors have discriminatory hiring practices in their selection process of school heads?
2. What are the hiring policies of the heads of schools? Are administrative positions open for application, or are appointments simply made?
3. Are the numbers of males in administration in co-educational or all girls' Independent Schools detrimental in any way to the girls in attendance? Are appropriate role models provided for girls?
4. Are girls encouraged to seek further education in the fields of maths and sciences or are they "preached feminine achievement but also feminine submission"?¹
5. How much influence do parents of students in Independent Schools exert?

It is apparent that this study has only scratched the surface of the role of and attitude toward women administrators in Independent Schools. Further related research is warranted.

NOTES

1. Maxwell, Mary Percival and Maxwell, James. D. "Private Schools: The Culture, Structure and Processes of Elite Socialization in English Canada." from Ishiware, I. ed. CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE IN CANADA. Toronto: McGraw-Hill, Ryerson Ltd., 1979, p. 218.

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St. Mildred's Lightbourne School Prospectus

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APPENDIX A
QUESTIONNAIRE LETTER

January 7, 1985

Yvonne Bridges
#1410 Education Tower
Department of Educational Policy and Administrative Studies
The University of Calgary
Calgary, Alberta

The Headmaster
Name and address of independent school

Dear Colleague:

I am a Master's student at the University of Calgary pursuing research in private, independent schools which are defined as those 54 schools belonging to the Canadian Headmaster's Association. The information obtained from this questionnaire, regards the career paths women in these schools have chosen. The currently available literature in this specific area, in Canada, is sparse. It was therefore necessary to devise a questionnaire which would provide the data needed to complete my thesis.

It would be greatly appreciated if you would take the time to complete this questionnaire. Your anonymity is guaranteed as there are no markings on either the envelope or the questionnaire which could identify you. In two weeks you will receive another letter and the same questionnaire. This is necessary because I wish to get as high a return as possible from my population. Since I do not have any way to identify those who do not complete the questionnaire, the only way to encourage those who did not complete it the first time, is to redistribute it to the entire population. Thus, when you receive a

second copy, and you have already completed the questionnaire, please feel free to dispose of it. In addition, should you have any concerns about the questionnaire, or wish to have a copy of the results when they are completed, please do not hesitate to contact me at the above address.

Thank you for taking the time to complete the questionnaire. It is hoped that it will lead to the furtherance of knowledge about women's positions and choices in private, independent schools in Canada.

Yours truly,

Yvonne Bridges, B.Ed.

APPENDIX B
QUESTIONNAIRE

Part 1: Personal and Professional Data

Please check the appropriate response or complete as requested.

1. You are:

Male _____
Female _____

2. Please circle your age group.

A. 25-34 B. 35-44 C. 45-54 D. 55-64 E. 65 and over

3. Marital status (Optional)

Single _____
Married _____
Divorced _____
Widowed _____

4. Circle the degrees and/or diplomas you possess.

B.A.	M.A.	Other, please specify
B.Ed.	M.Ed.	_____
B.Sc.	Ph.D.	_____
B.Comm.	Ed.D.	_____
B.Eng.	Dip.Ed.	_____

5. What year did you obtain your highest degree and/or diploma? _____

6. Your total number of years employed in the field of education is _____.

7. Please indicate the education path you followed during your grade school years.

_____ All private education.

_____ Elementary public school; Secondary private school.

_____ Elementary private school; Secondary public school.

_____ All public school.

_____ Other, please specify. _____.

8. Please circle your current salary range.

\$20,000 - 29,999

\$30,000 - 39,999

\$40,000 - 49,999

\$50,000 - 59,999

\$60,000 - 69,999

More than \$70,000

Part 2: SCHOOL DATA

1. How long have you been Headmaster at this institution? _____

2. Have you ever been Headmaster at any other private, independent school in Canada? YES NO

3. If yes, for how many years? _____

4. What is the student enrollment in your school? _____

5. How many students are male? _____

6. How many students are female? _____

7. Please indicate the total population of your teaching staff.

8. How many of the teachers at each of the following grade levels are male? female?

Grades	Male Teachers	Female Teachers
K-4		
5-8		
9-12/13		
TOTALS		

9. Listed below are some administrative positions which you may have on your staff. Please complete the chart below indicating whether the position is filled by a male or female.

In addition, space has been left to add administrative positions which may be unique to your school. Please list these and fill in the appropriate blanks.

Administrative Position	Male	Female	No such position
Assistant Headmaster			
Dean of Men			
Dean of Women			
Heads of School			
Department Heads			

10. Of the people holding the positions on the previous page, how many did you, as Headmaster, appoint? _____

11. How many were appointed before you assumed the role of Headmaster? _____

12. Please list the positions of the three most recent candidates whom you have appointed. If you have not had the opportunity to appoint individuals, please skip to question 14.

13. Please fill in the following chart regarding the appointments you have made.

	First Position	Second Position	Third Position
Position Title			
Candidates Considered			
# of Internal Candidates			
# of External Candidates			
# of Male Candidates			
# of Female Candidates			

14. Thank you for taking the time to answer this questionnaire.
Should you wish to add any further comments on administrative
appointments, please do so in the space below. Again, thank you.

APPENDIX C



EDUCATION JOINT RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

CERTIFICATION OF INSTITUTIONAL
ETHICS REVIEW

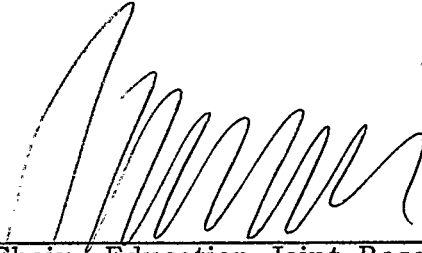
This is to certify that the Education Joint Research Ethics Committee at The University of Calgary has examined and approved the research proposal by:

Applicant: Yvonne Bridges
of the Department of: Educational Policy and Administrative Studies
entitled: Women: Education Administration, and the Independent School:
A Perspective

(the above information to be completed by the applicant)

29 January 1985

Date


Chair, Education Joint Research
Ethics Committee

John L. McNeill