A STUDY OF THE CAREERS OF AMERICAN COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY PRESIDENTS

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ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF THE CAREERS OF AMERICAN
COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY PRESIDENTS

By

Michael Richard Ferrari, Jr.

Statement of the Problem

This study investigates the social origins, educational preparation, career patterns, and some career motivations of the presidents of accredited four-year colleges and universities in the United States. In addition to producing an analysis of the careers of these leaders, the study provides intensive comparisons of the careers of academic presidents with the careers of business and government executives.

Methodology and Procedures

The research was designed to fall within the theoretical and methodological framework developed by W. Lloyd Warner and his colleagues through research on vertical occupational mobility among other specific elite occupations (big business leaders and federal executives) in an emergent American society. This framework permits examination of those in specific elite occupations and gives insight into the relative fluidity or rigidity of this society in filling key leadership positions with individuals from all occupational and geographical origins.

A twenty-three item questionnaire was mailed to the presidents of 1,118 four-year accredited colleges and universities and yielded a 68 per cent usable return. The 760 presidents in the sample were highly representative of the total population based upon the types, locations, and sizes of institutions. The questionnaire, a modification of the Warner instrument, was the principal means of data collection but was supplemented by written personal statements of career motivations and philosophies of education and a small number of personal interviews. Six major subgroups were established to analyze the questionnaire items: (1) types of institutions, (2) locations of institutions, (3) sizes of institutions, (4) sex of the respondent, (5) multi-institution presidents, and (6) president's tenure in office.

Major Findings

The fathers of academic presidents came from all occupational levels, although a disproportionately higher number were in professional and executive levels rather than lower level laborer or white collar occupations.

While presidents of non-Catholic institutions came primarily from rural areas or small towns, the presidents of Catholic institutions came more frequently from large urban communities.

Occupational succession from the presidents' grandfathers to the fathers was characterized by a general movement from the farm to the city and from lower-level business

positions to higher level business and professional positions. Extensive data are given which detail the occupations and education of the parents, grandparents, and wives' fathers.

About three-fourths of academic presidents have earned academic doctorates with the most prominent areas of study in the humanities and education. Profiles are presented which show where presidents received their education and their fields of study at each degree level.

Nearly all presidents had college teaching experience with a large proportion attaining the rank of professor. Over three-fourths of the presidents moved directly to the presidency at an average age of forty-five from the general field of education. Business and government fields directly supplied only 5 per cent of all presidents. Portions of the presidents' careers as college teachers and academic administrators are closely examined.

In a content analysis of over 400 written statements by presidents of why they chose careers in academic administration, six major interrelated dimensions prevailed: service orientation; social influences; professional opportunities; personal factors; developmental process; and accidental circumstance. Actual quotations given by presidents show the importance of these dimensions.

Descriptive career profiles are given for presidents of different types of institutions as well as the composite

profile used in comparing the careers of academic, business, and government leaders.

The study provides additional evidence that in the higher education elite the society is not rigid nor closed to those of lower occupational origins, a conclusion similarly reached in the business and government leader researches.

A STUDY OF THE CAREERS OF AMERICAN COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY PRESIDENTS

By

Michael Richard Ferrari, Jr.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

As colleges and universities have an increasing impact upon American society and the world, there is a growing need to identify and provide for the professional development of individuals who are qualified to administer the many and diverse institutions of higher education in the United States. The institutions are diverse in philosophy, objectives, size, complexity, form of control and financial endowments, and yet each faces the difficult task of staffing its administrative offices with individuals capable of leading and adapting the institution to an ever-changing environment. Our huge public universities are confronted with problems of administering the complex arrangements and great numbers of students and faculty set in vast, physical and technical plants, and from strained relations with state legislatures regarding objectives and budgetary allocations. Our large private universities face similar administrative problems and are faced with rapidly rising tuition rates to help defray the costs of educational operations. The public and private liberal arts colleges are virtually fighting for their very survival in an atmosphere of intense competition for capable faculty, students, and administrators, and the

necessary funds for successful operation. In each type of institution, competent high-level administrators are essential.

Presently, we know relatively little about the men and women who head the nation's 2,200 colleges and universities. What we do know about the college presidents regarding their career patterns, roles, personalities, and socioeconomic characteristics has come largely from the personal essays, speeches, and memoirs of former presidents. Although there have been empirical investigations of the careers of those who head the Federal government and American big business, few studies with any degree of scientific sophistication have been directed toward giving greater understanding of the careers of persons who head the important higher educational institutions in American society.

Need for the Study

Research on the backgrounds, educational preparation, and career patterns of college and university presidents is needed for a number of reasons. First, amidst the obvious growth and effects of higher education in this society, the academic president is the individual charged with resolving a myriad of conflicts within and without the institution. For example, governmental and community relations, institutional autonomy, and faculty-student demands for increased roles in significant areas of decision-making such as curriculum, experimental programs, policy formulation, and general

governance of the institution are only a few of the more pressing problems that require and test the leadership of the academic president. There is a need to know more about the careers of men and women who must function at the center of often divergent interests and publics. Second, the study will be of value in learning more about the careers of academic presidents as contrasted with their counterparts in business and government, and will contribute to filling in the gaps in knowledge of occupational mobility among elite positions in American society. It will answer such questions as: What differences and similarities can be noted in the career patterns, prior administrative-academic training and experiences of college and university presidents? What is and has been the extent of their involvement in government activities and private enterprise? How do the careers of academic presidents compare with the careers of chief administrators in our big businesses and Federal government? What do we know of the occupational and intergenerational mobility of these men and women? Finally, systematic knowledge of the social-personal characteristics and career patterns of these presidents might assist institutions of higher education forecast and plan for their future administrative needs by becoming more aware of the backgrounds of persons presently in such positions and those likely to be attracted in the years ahead.

Purposes of the Study

It is the primary purpose of this study to investigate the social origins, professional training, career patterns, and some career motivations of the presidents of the accredited, four-year liberal arts colleges and accredited universities in the United States. The research is intended to produce: (1) an accurate analysis of the career patterns, occupational mobility, and social-personal characteristics of these leaders; (2) cross-comparisons of these presidents on the basis of public and types of private universities, and public and types of private liberal arts colleges; and (3) intensive comparisons of the careers of academic presidents with the careers of business and government executives.

This study examines a number of specific questions that support the primary purpose. First, who are the presidents of American colleges and universities? How did they get to these positions? How long did it take to get there? What seem to be the techniques and avenues of mobility? Are persons with certain backgrounds found in one kind of institution rather than another? Second, what are the ages of these men and what do we know about their families? What were the occupational backgrounds of their fathers, paternal grandfathers, maternal grandfathers, and wives' fathers? What were the educational backgrounds of their parents?

Where were the presidents and their wives, parents, and grandparents born? Third, where were the presidents educated and what were their fields of interest? Fourth, why did these persons choose the careers they did, especially college and university administration? What other career alternatives were seriously considered and why were the alternatives rejected? Finally, are there pronounced differences between and among the careers of academic presidents themselves and with the careers of business and government executives studied by W. Lloyd Warner and his colleagues using methods similar to the ones used in this research?

Theoretical Framework for the Study

The study was conceived to fall within the same theoretical and methodological framework which brought forth research on vertical occupational mobility among other specific elites in American society. W. Lloyd Warner and James C. Abegglen developed and operationalized an approach to the scientific inquiry of the business elite, and their theories on occupation and family structure in this society serve as the fundamental underpinnings of the study of academic presidents. This particular framework was chosen largely because: (1) it has been extended with much success and has deepened our understanding of other occupational elites such as government executives and large farmers and ranchers in America,

indicating high potential adaptability; (2) it would allow for many rich comparisons between and among certain key occupational groups; and (3) it would hopefully give additional insights into critical aspects of occupational mobility in the society at large and would enhance the sociological knowledge of occupations in the emerging social structure.

A brief review of the major theoretical contributions stated by Warner and Abegglen are presented at the outset to provide a perspective that will permit critical evaluation of the types of questions raised and the findings obtained.[1] Pivotal concepts in the theory of occupational mobility are occupational succession and the theory of family structure. Occupational succession refers to:

> . . . the ordered process by which individuals succeed each other in occupations. The study of occupational succession, therefore, consists of examining the circulation and movement of personnel through positions, and of determining the regularities and uniformities which have to do with entering, holding, and leaving a given status. . . . More particularly, this investigation of occupational succession is concerned with how this society orders and determines which men, through the changing generations of individuals, shall occupy certain occupational statuses.[2]

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[1]Material reviewed in this section has been taken from W. Lloyd Warner and James C. Abegglen, Occupational Mobility (Minneapolis: Minnesota Press, 1955), pp. 4-36.

[2]Ibid., p. 4.

The notion of family structure is interrelated with occupational succession as it encompasses the process that ". . . men are born to fathers who are at given occupational levels, they grow to maturity, learn and follow a particular profession in life, marry, sire sons who are reared to maturity and work at their own trades or professions."[3] Warner and Abegglen found that the movement or lack of movement among occupations can be measured time-wise by the use of the birth cycle or the unit of time between an individual's own birth and the birth of his child. The occupational movement of fathers and sons can be identified and measured by noting the particular occupational status held by each and the amount of occupational movement between the generations. When such a movement is combined with the age of the particular leader when he achieved his present position, the velocity of movement as well as the direction and amount can be determined.

In addition, it is possible to interrelate the occupations of different generations through studying the occupation of the wife's father. A study of the wives' social origins helps determine whether: (1) leaders moved into a particular occupational level, whether it be business, government, or higher education, by marriage and possibly acquired it without earning it; (2) leaders achieved elite

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[3] Ibid., p. 4.

positions and then married a woman at the newly acquired rank; or (3) leaders married either at their level of origin or someone along the way to high position. It is for these reasons that Warner and Abegglen and the present research examine the occupation of the wife's father.

In American society, it has long been recognized that occupation, marriage, and descent are interwoven into what has been called a single "status-giving system" and such a phenomenon indicates whether the social system is open, allowing vertical status movement, or closed such as a caste system, or somewhere between. For the earlier studies based on this theory, two major types of persons were found at the elite levels: the birth elite (those born into the particular status level) and the mobile elite (those often born into lower levels who achieved the high positions by movement into it). The theory summarized thus far offers the framework that will be used to study the careers of men found in key academic administrative positions. For example, were they born to high educational positions based upon their father's occupations or if extended another generation back, to the grandfathers' occupations? Did they move into their present positions from other--lower, higher, lateral--occupational levels? Did they marry at the same level, above or below in terms of occupational status?

It must be mentioned that Warner and Abegglen were concerned about whether American society was more or less

open in 1952 (when the big business leader study was conducted) than from an earlier study by Taussig and Joslyn in 1928.[4] The existence of the earlier study gave a valuable time interval to assess the dynamics of societal fluidity that strengthened the theoretical and methodological base of occupational succession. In addition, it permitted many insights for nearly a century in American business leadership. There is no earlier, comparable base-line study for the research on the careers of academic presidents that will yield similar comparisons. However, it is assumed that the results of the present study will give further implications for the existing fluidity in this society when seen through another occupational hierarchy.

Interrelated propositions dovetailing with the general notion of occupational succession deal with other features related to the mobility of elites. Territorial origins or those geographic regions which tend to "supply" the various numbers of individuals in the occupational group is a central concept in the theory. It was assumed and later substantiated by Warner and Abegglen that the size of a man's birthplace and the region in which he was born play a part in occupational mobility. In addition, it was found that the degree of spatial mobility and circulation of these

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[4] F. W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, American Business Leaders (New York: Macmillan Company, 1932).

men in the course of their careers was important and the corollary that "men who are mobile through social space are also mobile through geographic space" found empirical support. For the purposes of the present research such a framework has relevance for the understanding of territorial and geographical mobility of academic presidents. For example, are they representative of certain regions and communities rather than others? Have they moved physically from one place to another and if so, what was the nature of the movement?

The theory of occupational mobility among elites holds that the amount and kind of education one receives is critically related to successful mobility. Obviously, college and university presidents provide leadership within educational institutions and can be easily assumed to be very well-educated. However, it might be asked whether a particular kind of education at particular institutions is seemingly related to their success and how their entrance into education might be linked to social origins.

Mobility as a concept is also important when considering if these men moved up an educational hierarchy or if they had prior positions outside the field of education, e.g., in business, government, farming, or other occupations. This idea has relevance in exploring the whole notion of career patterns as it relates to a theory of occupational succession. That is, how did the presidents move within

their own careers? How long did it take to move from the first full-time position to the presidency? What career routes were formed along the way by such movement?

The present study must be viewed as an intensive investigation of occupational mobility into higher educational administrative leadership. It is assumed that mobility into the academic administrative elite is a function of more general social factors. Therefore, the results of the study may be related to occupational mobility in the other occupational hierarchies. It is believed that the research design, found in Chapter III, operationalizes the theoretical framework and will allow comparative analyses. It should be kept in mind that the research does not deal with the specific problem of social class mobility, although it has been recognized as being tied to occupational mobility.

In short, selected key features of the theory developed and tested by Warner and Abegglen have been adapted to the study of academic presidents in a way that will: (1) shed light on the presidents as an occupational elite themselves; (2) permit comparisons with other elite groups; and (3) contribute to the theory of occupational mobility in the ever-changing, emerging social system of American society.

Overview of the Study

In this chapter, consideration has been focused upon the need, purposes, and theoretical framework for the study

of the social origins and career patterns of academic presidents. In Chapter II, literature pertinent to the study is reviewed and related to the research hypotheses. The research design will be presented in Chapter III, including a discussion of the selected methodology and instrumentation that operationalizes the theory. The results of the research are found in Chapters IV through VIII, and the findings have been ordered in a manner to allow comparisons between and among the different types of university and college presidents. In Chapter IV, descriptive profiles of the occupational and geographical origins and regional-community backgrounds of academic presidents are given. The focus of Chapter V is on the potential influences that others in the family have had on their careers. Chapter VI builds upon their social origins and family influences by examining the extent and nature of their formal undergraduate and graduate education. In Chapter VII an analysis is set forth that delineates the basic career patterns of the presidents of American colleges and universities in the study sample. In Chapter VIII, attention is directed toward an understanding of some of the personal and professional motivations that seemed to be important factors in the careers of these individuals. Intensive comparisons of the social origins, education, and career patterns of academic presidents, government executives and big business leaders is highlighted in Chapter IX. Chapter X, the final chapter, summarizes and

discusses the results of the research and its relation to the general theory of occupational mobility in American society. Descriptive career profiles of academic presidents who head particular types of institutions are also given. The chapter concludes with suggestions for future research that might extend the knowledge of academic presidents' careers and other key positions in the United States.

A review of the relevant literature for the research and discussion of the major research hypotheses that are rooted in the theory and prompted by the literature review itself are presented in Chapter II.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

There are at least three types of materials that appear most pertinent in the literature review for this study. First, most writings of the social and educational backgrounds, personal qualities, careers, and the general development of the academic president are in the form of memoirs, speeches, historical accounts, essays, biographies, and collections of observations, evaluations, and recommendations that have been written primarily by college and university presidents. Such publications are generally well done, and they offer a number of insights from different perspectives into the careers of educational administrators. Second, a few recent publications provide a more systematic, research analysis of various aspects of the role, selection process, or careers of selected groups of college presidents. Third, knowledge of W. Lloyd Warner's findings in the business and government executive researches are essential for the comparative study of occupational mobility among elites. In short, all three dimensions will be examined: (1) the

"non-research" writings, (2) the "research" studies, and (3) the career profiles of business and government executives.

Historical Perspective to the Non-Research Writings on the Academic President

It is virtually impossible to review meaningfully the essays and general writings related to the career and role of the contemporary college president without having some frame of reference within American higher education. With this in mind, the review of the non-research literature has been placed within an historical perspective beginning with the president in the colonial college through present times.

The Academic President in the Colonial College

From the founding of Harvard College in 1636 to the eve of the American Revolution, the colonies brought forth a total of nine colleges, largely patterned after England's Oxford and Cambridge.[1] The general image of the colonial college was a small, religious-oriented institution shaped by and intended to serve the more aristocratic elements of

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[1]Harvard was joined by William and Mary in 1693, Yale in 1701, Pennsylvania in 1740, Princeton in 1746, Columbia in 1754, Brown in 1764, Rutgers in 1766, and Dartmouth in 1769.

colonial society.[2] It had been estimated that in 1776, there were only 3,000 living graduates of the American colleges.[3]

The position and title of the American college presidency began with Henry Dunster at Harvard in 1640.[4] Other titles had their beginnings in the colonial colleges as well, e.g., Yale had a rector for nearly fifty years and Penn had a provost. The title chancellor was adopted later by a number of private institutions and is still widely used to identify a college or university's chief administrative officer.[5]

The growth of the college presidency was spurred by two main factors according to Ralph Prator:

> In colonial times, the control of colleges increasingly fell to a board of men chosen from outside the professorate, an idea taken from the Scots. It meant, however, that the board was forced to rely heavily on the president to assume executive-type responsibilities. The board's authority came to be essentially centered in the presidential office; and
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> Also in colonial times, the teaching staff members were seldom permanent and had little professional cohesiveness. Often, the president was one of few permanent

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[2]Frederick Rudolph, The American College and University: A History (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), p. 18.

[3]Ibid., p. 22.

[4]Charles F. Thwing, The College President (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1926), pp. 1-2.

[5]For a more detailed discussion of the European origins of the titles, see Charles F. Thwing, ibid., pp. 4-9.

> members of a college staff. The only secure and sustained professional office in American collegiate education was that of the college president himself.[6]

George Schmidt maintains that the office of the president is uniquely American, even though it was modeled on English precedents:

> . . . the president was a more important figure than the presidents or principals of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, who though their powers were expanding, were primarily the senior fellows; and his functions were much broader and more varied than those of the rectors and chancellors of the large European universities.[7]

Schmidt goes on to say that ". . . the most important individual in the early college was the president. He was the leader of a comparatively uncomplicated institution." In fact, many early colleges were often portrayed as "lengthened shadows of the president."[8]

The colonial college president has been pictured in the literature as rather autocratic and often despotic in his leadership style, and as patriarch as well as chief administrator in his purpose. The most essential qualifications for the early president included: (1) he must be a clergyman, (2) he must be an excellent speaker, and (3) he must be able to raise money and direct the administration of

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[6]Ralph Prator, The College President (Washington, D.C.: The Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1963), p. 9.

[7]George P. Schmidt, The Liberal Arts College (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1957), pp. 103-104.

[8]Ibid., p. 103.

the college.[9] Schmidt found that there was not a single lay president in the entire colonial period, i.e., they were all ordained ministers.[10] And, later writings had indicated that only a few non-clergymen were selected for the academic presidency well into the nineteenth century.

The early president was indeed more concerned with teaching--he himself taught subjects usually oriented to Christianity--rather than research. With a relatively youthful college population, he was also more involved in the development of a student's character.[11]

The Academic President: 1776 to 1900

The stable, quiet, passive era of the colonial college gave way to the exciting and dynamic social, economic, and political changes in America following the Revolutionary War. The climate of America which included the cultivating of a national pride and a more critical appraisal of how valuable a staid group of "gentlemen-scholars" would be in creating cities out of the wilderness, forced reform and reaction to the traditional, classical college curriculum. In 1780, there were only nine colleges, but at the outbreak of the Civil War, the country had a total of 182 colleges--

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[9]Prator, The College President, p. 6.

[10]As reported in Prator's The College President, p. 6.

[11]Prator, The College President, p. 7.

while over 400 institutions opened and failed during this period.[12]

In the last half of the nineteenth century, however, there were extraordinary changes that affected the presidency and higher education. The founding of Johns Hopkins and the University of Chicago and the many state institutions across the nation assisted by the Morrill Act altered the face of education. There was a steady move from a religious to a secular emphasis in college curriculum; from a simple to complex form of academic organization; from a more classical curriculum to a vocation-utilitarian curriculum; from a philosophy of education for the few to education for the many; from simple literary societies to a great growth in extra-curricular activities; and for the increased development of coeducational institutions, professional and graduate programs, and research activities due to the influence of the German university on American higher education.[13]

It is interesting to note that the variety of professions from which college presidents were chosen became more numerous after the Civil War.

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[12]For a discussion of this era in American higher education, see Prator, College President, pp. 12-13; Schmidt, Liberal Arts, pp. 113-123; and Rudolph, American College, Chapter VI.

[13]Edward Blackman, Professor of Higher Education, Michigan State University, in a speech given at that institution, October 11, 1967.

> The clergyman president went into discard because he lacked skill in the ways of the world, because his commitment to the classical curriculum stood in the way of the more practical and popular emphasis which commended itself to the trustees, and because the world in which the colleges and universities now moved was more secular, less subject to religious influences.[14]

The Academic President in the Twentieth Century

The growth of the university had taken some precedence over the older and smaller independent or sectarian college at the beginning of the twentieth century. Larger enrollments, standardization of practices, diversification of functions, and the effects of the theory of evolution and the elective system again altered the course of higher education.[15] Along with these changes, the colleges and universities required a new kind of executive officer, new methods of financing, and new areas of administration. Rudolph notes that academic presidents began to recognize themselves as belonging to a society of professionals. The office, in Veblen's phrase, called for a "captain of erudition," a manager "who could perform for higher education those functions which elsewhere in American society were being performed by the captains of industry and the captains of finance."[16]

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[14]Rudolph, American College, p. 419.

[15]Schmidt, Liberal Arts, p. 182.

[16]Rudolph, American College, p. 418.

The academic president also became more of an "off-campus celebrity." Many writers mark this time as surely the end of the "old-time president."

> The capacity to lead now assumed a tremendous importance in college and university affairs. In contrast with the modern university, the old college was a place where nothing happened and where the president by a kind of indifference or remoteness or even superiority to mundane matters performed an effortless role, in seeing to it that nothing did happen. The new era, however, demanded men who knew what they wanted and, better yet, what their various publics wanted, men who were prepared to try the impossible task of being the "reconciler of irreconcilabilities," the leader to students, faculty, alumni, and trustees. . . . The collegiate or university organization was, at best, a delicate balance of interests, a polite tug of war, a blending of emphases, a disunity that found unity only through the refinements, the habits, the certainties of organization.[17]

All observers were not equally impressed with the lofty goals and image of the academic president. Upton Sinclair described the "new" university president as "the most universal faker and the most varigated prevaricator that has yet appeared in the civilized world."[18]

In the early 1900's there was increasing emphasis upon wooing alumni, benefactors, and foundations for funds. Many benefactors found their way on college boards of trustees and by using techniques that worked so well in their roles of entrepreneurs, they often alienated the professional faculty. The gap between the faculty and governing

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[17] Ibid., p. 423.

[18] Rudolph, American College, p. 423.

board grew steadily in many institutions and has persisted to the present.

> By the beginning of the First World War, the apparatus of the organized institution was complete. On one assembly line the academicians, the scholars, were at work . . . above them, around them were the managers--the white-collared, chief executive officers and their assistants. The absentee stockholders were the alumni.[19]

At the present time diversity has become the leading characteristic of institutions of American higher education, in terms of the type of institution, control, size, and objectives. Increasingly, and especially during the past fifteen years, the Federal government has developed many-faceted relationships with colleges and universities and their faculties, administrators, and students. All these relationships and events are far too numerous and beyond the immediate purposes to include here, but suffice it to say, the multifarious institutions have called for various patterns of careers, training and roles of college and university presidents. A number of authors, who were former college presidents have written on various aspects of what is known of the contemporary academic president. A small sampling of their thoughts will give greater understanding into the problems and perceptions of the modern college president's career.

Henry M. Wriston reflects upon his years as president of Lawrence College and Brown University and discusses

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[19] *Ibid.*, p. 423.

the ways in which the effective president must maintain sound relations with the trustees, the faculty, the administration, the students, and the public. Wriston is a strong proponent for the academic president being a scholar first: "I cannot deny that ministers, lawyers, military officers, bankers, and businessmen, and others have occasionally done well. But the sound rule is that the president should be a scholar; all the other essential attributes should be present, but secondary."[20]

Harold Dodds maintains that the president's prime function is educational leadership, no matter how large or complex the institution. Dodds holds that ". . . today the need for educational statesmanship is so compelling that 50 per cent of presidential time should be spent on strictly educational matters."[21]

However, others emphasize the need for a skilled and competent administrator in handling the complex institution of today. Harold W. Stoke notes that higher education has become more secular than religious ". . . and the sheer bulk of its property, population, expenditures, and responsibilities has become an inextricable part of national living."[22]

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[20]Henry M. Wriston, Academic Procession (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 16.

[21]Harold W. Dodds, The Academic President: Educator or Caretaker (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962), pp. 60-61.

[22]Harold W. Stoke, The American College President (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), p. 2.

He believes that the transformation of colleges and universities reflects itself in the position of the president, ". . . and has brought to that position men whose training, interests, and skills are far different from those of their predecessors."[23]

> The college president as the Man of Learning has been giving way to the Man of Management, although the change has not taken place without strain and conflict.[24]

Herbert Stroup looks at the great effects of the bureaucratic form of organization upon the total educational process in the United States. Such an analysis views the formal structure of the organization from the president on down as conforming to long-held principles associated with authority and responsibility, span of control, specialization, unity of command, direction, supervision and control. Stroup's work reinforces Stoke's image of the president as a man of management.[25]

Other writers have looked at the president from different perspectives. Clark Kerr offers the thesis that the president of the large, complex university system, or to use Kerr's term, the <u>multiversity</u>, must be a "mediator-innovator" rather than an "educator-leader." The president must increasingly mediate between and among the <u>communities</u> in

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[23] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 3. [24] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 3.

[25] Herbert Stroup, <u>Bureaucracy in Higher Education</u> (New York: The Free Press, 1966), Chapters IV-VII.

which various groups, such as students, faculty, administrators, and the public legitimately compete for dominance and influence.[26]

In a similar vein, Demerath, Stephens, and Taylor give an account of the modern university as a "managed organization." The authors indicate that two broad streams of power exist in the academic institution: bureaucratic (associated with the usual line-authority relationships) and collegial (dealing with the interrelations of components of university government: faculty, students, and administrators). The authors note that the type of president needed for an institution depends upon the educational circumstances of the university, current administrative needs, and experiences with previous holders of the office. The heads of universities act in two theatres: one is inside their institutions (financial organization, endownments, budget, faculty relations, student relations), and outside their institutions (public relations, fund-raising, participation in state-national affairs, ceremonial head, alumni relations, legislature relations). The effective president is the one who is sensitive to both the bureaucratic and collegial aspects related to crucial decisions and policy making and one who

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[26]Clark Kerr, The Uses of the University (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1963).

is able to serve the institution internally and externally as necessary.[27]

Presenting a statement of the kind of person needed for a given type of institution is Ralph Prator. Prator notes that ". . . the requirements of the college dictate the kind of man needed for the job . . . the qualifications for presidencies differ greatly from institution to institution and from one period in history to another."[28] For example, scholarship, research, and teaching achievement may be secondary considerations in the preparation and experience of the president of the urban-commuter college; the state college is more likely to want a scholar in the education field, and often experience in public education administration; the private church-related college president often is prominent in that particular denomination, whereas the secular college may desire a noted scholar for president. Often the college's most recent experience or problem can be an important determinant as to the qualifications desired in its president.

> In view of this diversity (in kinds of institutions in American higher education), it is unlikely that presidential qualifications will ever fall within a limited pattern. If collegiate institutions were devoted simply to excellence in teaching and the

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[27]Nicholas J. Demerath, Richard W. Stephens, and R. Robb Taylor, Power, Presidents, and Professors (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1967).

[28]Prator, College President, p. 82.

> search for truth, presidents who could lead the institutions toward these two goals might have many similar qualifications. But the great range of interests, aims, states of growth and development and cultural orientations, as well as the differences in geographic location among American colleges, are reflected in the wide span of qualities required and represented in their presidents.[29]

An attempt has been made to survey the writings related to the careers of the academic president through an historical prospective of American higher education. Although the survey has been brief, it should be recognized that often the background, style, and role of the president over the past 300 years have been tied to the changing social, political, economic and educational climate and pressures of the environment. At other times, the presidents have drawn largely upon their own capabilities and have been influential in moving their institutions innovatively against an often resistant society. Some would say that today the heroic university or college president image is gone only to be replaced by the institution's image and influence. Although there has been a general demise of the Great Man or Hero Theory in educational administration (as in business and government administration), there is evidence that this explanation should not be totally discarded. The style of administrative-educational leadership shown by an academic president--as evidenced in the literature and in the daily newspapers--has had much to do with an institution's

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[29]Prator, College President, pp. 84-85.

success and ability to lead, adapt, and even survive, and thus the president's potential leadership is still great indeed.

Research Studies of the Academic President

Frederick de W. Bolman has offered a systematic analysis of the selection process of American college presidents. He has given observations on the position of the presidency as well as on the means used to select men for such positions. Bolman has found from a survey of 116 presidents of non-parochial, four-year colleges and universities--presidents who were chosen for their positions during the period 1959-1962--that the average tenure of college presidents is between ten and eleven years. This means some 200 of America's colleges and universities must seek new presidents each year. Bolman found the following regarding the careers and backgrounds of the presidents in his sample:

1. Nearly all universities insist that the president have an earned doctorate. Of the 116 recently appointed presidents, 83 per cent held earned doctorates, 61 per cent had Ph.D's, 11 per cent had Ed.D's, and 11 per cent had other earned doctorates. Another 11 per cent had only earned the master's degree. Four per cent had the graduate Bachelor of Divinity degree, and only 2 per cent held the Bachelor's degree. The doctorate is particularly important at institutions which themselves grant the Ph.D.

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2. Nearly all universities want the president to be a skilled administrator and fund-raiser, but this varies among institutions.

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3. Personality traits are important in the selection process as many institutions wanted presidents who

could improve their institution's image, or better the relationships with members of a state legislature.

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4. Several tax-supported institutions in the South had a special requirement: it would be helpful if the new president held acceptable views on racial integration. . . .

. . . . . .

5. Most presidents are married and the wife must be a "good" wife. No matter how well qualified a candidate is in other respects, if he has an "unacceptable" wife he is seriously handicapped.

. . . . . .

6. Most presidents are Protestants and there seems to be about an even split in terms of those belonging to the two major political parties.[30]

In another study, John Corson found that the role of the academic president focused around six essential activities: student affairs, educational program, faculty selection, finance, physical facilities, and public-alumni relations. As for the president's use of time, Corson found that presidents devote approximately:

40 per cent of their time to financial-budget matters
20 per cent of their time to public-alumni relations
12 per cent of their time to physical facilities
10 per cent of their time to general administration
18 per cent of their time to educational matters.[31]

Less than one-fifth of the president's time was spent on educational matters--a finding not even close to Harold Dodd's suggested 50 per cent.

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[30]Frederick de W. Bolman, How College Presidents Are Chosen (American Council on Education, Washington, D.C., 1965), pp. 20-30.

[31]John J. Corson, Governance of Colleges and Universities (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1960), pp. 58-71.

The most scientific and far-reaching study of the college and university president was recently conducted by John Hemphill and Herbert Walberg for the New York State Regents Advisory Committee on Educational Leadership. Their study examines the position and demands of the academic president, the background and preparation of the New York presidents, the effectiveness and ineffectiveness of presidents, and the recruitment and selection processes used by colleges and universities. Because parts of the research relate directly to the focus of the present study, a substantial portion of Hemphill and Walberg's summary is given here. It will then be possible to determine if the pertinent findings of the New York study do in fact hold on a national level.

> . . . 61 per cent of the presidents indicated that "to take initiative in shaping the purposes of the institution" is their most important responsibility. An additional 21 per cent felt that "to stimulate and facilitate the work of the faculty" is first in importance. These choices imply educational leadership in contrast with image making, fund raising, or administration. However, presidents much less often (29 per cent) reported "the development of purpose and direction" as their greatest area of accomplishment. Physical growth, image making and efficient administration were more frequently reported.
>
> Concerning the background and preparation of presidents, the most frequent undergraduate majors of the presidents were in the humanities, followed by social sciences, engineering, physical sciences, and education. In graduate work the most frequent majors were education, humanities, and social sciences. Many presidents have participated in in-service training programs for college presidents sponsored by Harvard University, the American Management Association, or other groups, and generally find these activities useful. During the interviews,

many presidents commented favorably on internships for the development of talented college administrators. The findings seem to indicate the beginning of professional preparation for the presidency, and a recognition of its desirability.

Most of the presidents held administrative positions in higher education immediately before becoming president, but more than a third held other positions, either as faculty members, as school superintendents, in state education departments, or outside the field of education.

Greater administrative experience, especially in higher education, is associated with higher effectiveness and more satisfaction in the role of president. Greater teaching experience leads to higher effectiveness but, if extensive (more than ten years), to less job satisfaction. Presidents with much teaching experience appear to retain an identification with teaching and regret that they have so little time for scholarship.

The qualifications for the presidency most often mentioned were administrative experience and college teaching experience. Other qualities, including physical energy, health, leadership talent, flexibility, open-mindedness, sense of humor, and the ability to combat frustration, were mentioned. Presidents were divided in their opinions about the relative desirability of considering internal as well as external candidates.[32]

Research Studies of the Big Business Leaders and Federal Executives

As noted in Chapter I, the present study was designed to fall within the theoretical and methodological framework developed by W. Lloyd Warner and his colleagues on vertical occupational mobility among specific elite occupations in American society. And because one of the major purposes of

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[32] John K. Hemphill and Herbert Walberg, An Empirical Study of College and University Presidents in the State of New York (Princeton: Educational Testing Service, 1966), pp. 71-73.

the research is to compare academic presidents' careers with their counterparts in big business and government, a brief review of the findings of the Warner studies will be presented. An advantage of locating the review at this point in the thesis is to clearly focus what the academic president study is essentially about and how the theoretical framework is to be operationalized. The review, specifically, will be of some of the more important findings relevant to the social origins, occupational succession, and educational preparation of business and government executives.[33]

Some 8,300 big business leaders (those high-level policy makers from chairman of the board down to treasurer and secretary of the firm) and about 13,000 government leaders (including military leaders holding the ranks of general, admiral, and colonel plus the civilian leaders occupying positions down to the GS-14 level in the Federal Government) were subjects for the studies. Profiles of these leaders follow.

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[33]A paraphrase of the summaries noted in The American Federal Executive by Warner and others, pp. 10-23, was most useful for the specific discussion in this section. Sources for the full development and presentation of these research projects are: W. Lloyd Warner and James C. Abegglen, Big Business Leaders in America (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955); and W. Lloyd Warner, Paul P. Van Riper, Norman H. Martin, and Orvis F. Collins, The American Federal Executive (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963).

Profiles of the Big Business Leaders

The average business leader was found to be nearly 54 years of age, and it took him nearly 24 years to reach his present position after entering business at the age of about 21. The sons of major business leaders, small business men, professional men, and minor business managers tended to be over-represented in the business elite when compared to what one would expect from their proportion in the society. On the other hand, the sons of clerks and salesmen, skilled laborers, and farm tenants and owners were found in less proportions than expected in the business elite.

The geographical regions of the nation "produced" business leaders in varying patterns. The region ranking first was the Middle Atlantic followed by the New England states and the Pacific Coast states. The regions under-represented among the group were the southern states, including the East South Central, West South Central, and South Atlantic regions. Most of the business leaders were born in big cities and only a few were from small town or rural backgrounds.

It was found that the territorial circulation, i.e., spatial mobility, of business leaders was more significant to the pattern of upward occupational mobility than their territorial origins.

The business leader was found to be very well educated, 76 per cent having attended college and 57 per cent having graduated from college. Those executives whose fathers held high level occupations attended and graduated from college in higher proportions, but business leaders from all occupational levels went to college. This finding was the basis for Warner's conclusion that education had become one of the principal avenues to business leadership--that mobile men from all levels used education in their drives upward.

Warner learned that business leaders married women from their own occupational level more than from any other level. And, in general, the status of the wife had little accelerative effect upon the career of the business leader.

Profiles of the Civilian Federal Executives

The civilian federal executives, mainly men, were born in all major regions of the country with the South Central region somewhat lower and the Mountain states and the West North Central states somewhat higher than would be expected from the representation of these areas in the general population. Although they came in greater than expected proportions from high prestige occupations, especially the professions and executive levels, many came from lower levels as well. Like business leaders, they came from big cities in unusually high proportions, and they came from

small towns in quite low proportions. Over 90 per cent were United States-born and about 20 per cent had foreign-born fathers.

Education was the principal preparation for upward mobility as 90 per cent had some college training and 80 per cent were college graduates. Many executives earned advanced degrees as one-fourth earned master's degrees, one-tenth received doctorates, and one-tenth received law degrees. Only ten universities granted some 20 per cent of all B.A. degrees (Minnesota, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio State, Berkeley, Washington, George Washington, City College of New York, and Harvard). For doctoral level training, Harvard, Chicago, and Wisconsin led American universities.

Three major categories of civilian executives were studied: the career civil service executive, the politically-appointed executive, and the foreign service officer. Among all three types, more similarities were found than differences. The average ages of the leaders was around 49, and it took about fifteen years to arrive at their present positions after beginning their careers.

Profiles of the Military Executives

The military officers like the civilian federal executives were drawn from all regions of the country. The occupations of the fathers of military leaders were similar to civilian executives, but more military leaders had fathers in the uniformed service (about 9 per cent). Five general

occupations were over-represented in the backgrounds of military leaders: business executives, owners of large businesses, uniformed and other government occupations, professional men, and foremen and owners of small businesses.

About 90 per cent of military leaders had an undergraduate degree, 24 per cent had master's degrees, and only 1 per cent earned doctorates. Over three-fourths went to technical institutions or United States academies, one-fourth went to public colleges and universities, and about one-tenth went to private colleges and universities.

The average age of the military executives was fifty, and they started their careers at the age of twenty-three. Most had been in the uniformed service for about twenty-five years.

Conclusions of the Warner Studies

In the broadest sense, Warner found evidence that American society was not becoming more caste-like.[34] The society had become more flexible and more mobile with more families in social motion rather than less flexible or less mobile. Nevertheless, there was equally strong evidence that the effects of high birth in the selection of American business and government elites did provide more advantages to the birth elite than to those at lower levels. The

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[34] W. Lloyd Warner and James C. Abegglen, Occupational Mobility, pp. 35-36.

system was status-bound in that fathers at elite levels were able to give their sons greater opportunity, but in business and government, the phenomenon was decreasing. Sons of lower level occupational origins were increasingly moving into high places of prestige and influence.

Relevance of the Literature Review to the Study

The historical perspective and research studies of the American academic president and the government and big business leaders have all made contributions to the development of various aspects of the instrument and methodology used in the present research. First, the historical approach to the college president writings raised questions such as: Have the social origins and preparations of college presidents changed over time as Prator, Schmidt, and Rudolph suggest? Is it more important that the president be a scholar as maintained by Wriston, an effective educational administrator as stated by Dodds, or a man of management as held by Stokes and Stroup?

Second, the research studies raised questions such as: How would presidents compare and contrast in social origins and career patterns by different types, regions, and sizes of institutions? And, as a secondary issue related to the role of presidents: How do they tend to use their time in working with a variety of publics and organizations?

Third, the research studies of business and government executives raised questions such as: How do academic presidents as an occupational elite compare with the careers of business and governmental leaders? How do their social origins and community-regional backgrounds contrast? What are the differences in educational training and occupational mobility?

The literature review of this chapter interwoven with the theoretical and methodological framework in Chapter I have also made it possible to generate research hypotheses that were tested in the present study.

Discussion of the Research Hypotheses

The general topics of the research hypotheses center upon the occupational origins, geographical origins, family influences, formal education, career patterns, and career motivations of academic presidents. (The research findings are presented in that topical order in Chapters IV through VIII.)

It was initially expected that although academic presidents would represent a variety of occupational origins, they would be on the same occupational level as their fathers. Such a hypothesis found support not only in Warner's studies of business and government leaders, but earlier sociological studies such as Natalie Rogoff's where it was held that "the father's occupation is the most likely destination of his

son."[35] Thus the fathers of the academic president elite would most likely be professional men, many of whom would be in the field of education. There was reason also to expect that these men had geographical origins spread throughout the country in a variety of sizes of hometowns, but undoubtedly there would be a tendency for many to come from regions with greater population and number of colleges. The presidents of larger institutions were assumed to be similar to government and business executives by coming from larger cities in greater proportion than small towns, while the presidents of small colleges were more likely to have small-town origins.

Based primarily upon Warner's studies and Bolman's findings that the presidents must have an acceptable wife, it was assumed that academic presidents tended to marry women from their own occupational levels more than from any other group. It was also believed that the grandparents of the presidents would be primarily from farming occupations, reflecting the agrarian nature of American society in the latter 1800's.

There seemed to be no question but that academic presidents as a group would be well-educated persons, with a majority possessing academic doctorates, as found by Bolman. And based upon Hemphill's works, it was hypothesized

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[35]Natalie Rogoff, Recent Trends in Occupational Mobility (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), p. 107.

that the New York college and university presidents would closely typify many presidents throughout the nation. At the undergraduate level, it was expected that many studied humanities, social science, engineering, physical science, and education. At the graduate levels, most probably studied education, humanities, and social science. It also seemed likely that the presidents of Catholic institutions were "products" of Catholic education at all levels, while presidents of public and other private institutions were representative of American higher education in general. Since Warner learned that there were a few colleges and universities that trained a great percentage of business and government executives, it was expected that a few major universities were responsible also for the academic presidents' education, especially at the graduate levels. The usually highly regarded private universities in the Ivy League, public and private universities in the Midwest, and a few universities in the Pacific Coast would most likely have been attended by a very large percentage of these presidents.

As for their career patterns, Hemphill also provided the most illuminating empirical prospect, and it was therefore assumed that the presidents would have come primarily through the field of higher education to the presidency. Most probably began as faculty members and then moved up the academic hierarchy to the presidency. However, since writers like Wriston had postulated that many presidents came

from business, government, and the military, it was also believed that a relatively large percentage would come from outside education, especially if the college president had become, in Stoke's words, "a man of management."

Prator had suggested, however, that different types of institutions had presidents with different types of backgrounds and this led to an hypothesis that career patterns, social origins, and education would undoubtedly vary by the type of the president's institution. This made clear the necessity to analyze the results by the type of institution the president headed to test Prator's statement.

It was early realized that why a man would decide on a career in higher education or academic administration as opposed to business or government was a complex problem that could not be resolved within the methodology of this study. However, based largely upon the memoirs and essays of many presidents, it was believed that a variety of motivations were involved. Many presidents would say they chose education because they felt it was a calling similar to the ministry. Others would see business or government as too cutthroat or competitive. Some would have a bent for administration and practical affairs and would see it as a great challenge. Some would emphasize they like to work with youth.

In Chapter IX, there will be comparisons of the careers of academic presidents with the careers of business

and government executives. It was expected that the educational elite would closely resemble the elites in business and government in social and geographic origins, and family influences, although the college presidents would be better educated. In addition, the academic presidents' career lines would largely run through the educational hierarchy and be a far different story from their counterparts in business and government. Since academic presidents spent more time in pursuit of academic degrees, it was expected that they reached the educational elite at somewhat later ages than in the other elites. It was hypothesized that academic presidents were mobile men in the sense that the business leaders were found to be, and this would be reflected in the location of the institutions where they were educated, where they taught, and ultimately, where they assumed the presidency.

In order to clarify and more sharply delineate the major research hypotheses discussed in this section, a summary list of the hypothese is given below. Based upon the theoretical framework and literature review, it is hypothesized that:

1. The fathers of academic presidents will be primarily professional men, and many will have careers in the field of education;

2. Academic presidents will have geographical origins in all parts of the country with heavier representation in the regions with the greater population percentages;

3. Presidents of larger institutions will have been born primarily in larger urban areas in greater proportion than smaller urban or rural areas; presidents of smaller institutions will have small-town origins;

4. Academic presidents will have married women from their own occupational level more than from any other occupational group;

5. The grandfathers of academic presidents will have been engaged predominantly in farming occupations;

6. Academic presidents will constitute a very well educated group with a majority possessing academic doctorates;

7. Academic presidents will most likely have received formal undergraduate education in humanities, social science, physical science, and engineering, and formal graduate education in education, humanities, and social science;

8. Presidents of Catholic institutions will most likely have been educated in Catholic institutions as opposed to public or non-Catholic, private institutions;

9. A substantial percentage of presidents will have earned formal academic degrees at relatively few institutions;

10. The career patterns of academic presidents will indicate that most rose to the presidency through faculty and administrative positions in the higher educational hierarchy; however, a relatively large percentage will have come from outside education, usually from executive statuses in businesses and government;

11. Presidents of various types and sizes of institutions will reflect quite different social origins, educational preparation, and career patterns;

12. Presidents chose careers in educational administration for a variety of reasons, but the major reasons were: (a) educational administration was seen as a calling similar to the ministry; (b) educational administration was less competitive or cutthroat than business or government; (c) educational administration was challenging work; (d) educational administration offered a satisfying style of life;

13. Academic presidents will closely resemble the elites in business and government in social origins, but the presidents will be better educated;

14. Academic presidents will have reached their high statuses at somewhat later ages than did the business and government leaders; and

15. Academic presidents will reflect mobile career and life patterns similar to their counterparts in business and government.

Examination of the major research hypotheses will be highlighted in succeeding chapters along with other hypotheses that grew from the analyses in the course of the study. However, before moving to these results, it will be necessary to review in Chapter III, the study's research design. It is the purpose of the design to operationalize the hypotheses by weaving together the various dimensions in the literature and the relevant theory. The final aim, of course, is to further the knowledge and understanding of the career patterns of academic presidents.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The central problem is to determine the social origins, education, career patterns and career motivations of America's four-year college and university presidents, to compare these characteristics among the presidents themselves and with those of business and government executives, and to relate these characteristics to the general framework of occupational mobility in a modern emergent society.

Definition of the Population and Sample

The research on presidents of American colleges and universities presented no significant problems in universe definition and sample selection. It was evident that a complete list of all four-year institutions was of primary importance in obtaining the names of the chief administrative officers. The American Council on Education publishes a semi-annual directory of all institutions of higher education in the United States that are accredited by the nation's

six regional accrediting associations.[1] The September, 1967, issue of Accredited Institutions of Higher Education listed 1,259 such institutions along with the following information:

1. Type of control (public or private, with religious affiliation, where appropriate);
2. Type of institution (university, liberal arts college, teachers college, technological institution, military academy, junior college, seminary, professional school);
3. Type and enrollment of students;
4. Type of accreditation; and
5. Name of the chief administrative officer.

The complete listing of institutions was carefully reviewed, and it was then arbitrarily decided to exclude certain types of institutions that were accredited only as specialized professional schools not always possessing a base of liberal studies. It was believed that to include such four-year institutions might distort certain data about the career patterns, and since such institutions represented a very small fraction of students, faculty, and national resources, their omission for the purposes of this study would not be a serious limitation. With this in mind, four major categories of institutions were dropped at the outset:

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[1]American Council on Education, Accredited Institutions of Higher Education (Washington, D.C.: September, 1967). For a discussion on the meaning and use of accreditation, see pp. xiii-xv.

1. Private and public specialized professional schools, e.g., art institutes, music academies, graduate schools for the professions such as foreign service or medical specialties;

2. Private seminaries existing for the sole purpose of training persons for a particular religious order or denomination;

3. Four-year institutions that have only been accredited as two-year programs by the respective accrediting (regional) association; and

4. Multi-campus institutions presided over by the same administrative officer.[2]

Applying the criteria against each institution was a relatively simple task because the formal accreditation specifically indicated whether the institution would fall in an exempt classification. Some 141 colleges were identified as exempt; this left 1,118 institutions as the universe for the study. Table 1 gives a breakdown of the institutions of the academic presidents that composed the relevant population.[3]

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[2]For example, St. John's College of Maryland and St. John's College of New Mexico have the same president. To count both colleges in the study would be to duplicate the career data about the president and thereby distort the results. Only the major campus or in the St. John's case, the largest and oldest was used in the regional analysis.

[3]Note: Colleges and universities are either public or private in the form of control. Virtually all Public institutions are supported by the various states but a few depend primarily upon municipal or Federal support. For Private institutions, the colleges and universities are either supported by the Roman Catholic Church, supported to varying extents by a Protestant religious organization or denomination, or the private institutions are Independent and not supported to any important extent by a religious organization. In all cases, the notation that accompanied the formal accreditation was used to code institutions as

Table 1. Distribution of population by the type of institution

Type of Institution		Number	Per Cent
Public universities		134	12.0
Private universities		111	9.9
Catholic	(28)		
Protestant-related	(30)		
Independent	(53)		
Total universities		245	21.9
Public liberal arts colleges		232	20.7
Private liberal arts colleges		600	53.7
Catholic	(177)		
Protestant-related	(311)		
Independent	(112)		
Technological institutions		41	3.7
Total colleges		873	78.1
Total		1,118	100.0

The breakdown by geographical region using the nine basic census regions (see Table 2) was also useful and further defined the population.

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either public, Catholic, Protestant-related, or independent.

All technological institutions have been kept separate in the analysis. This category also includes four military academies that have accredited engineering and technical programs.

The categorization of all institutions is based upon the instructions in this note, and it is followed throughout the paper.

Table 2. Distribution of population by geographical region

Region of Institution	Number	Per Cent
New England	100	8.9
Middle Atlantic	187	16.7
South Atlantic	174	15.6
East South Central	87	7.8
West South Central	98	8.8
East North Central	176	15.7
West North Central	141	12.6
Mountain	48	4.3
Pacific	107	9.6
Total	1,118	100.0

Finally, the relative sizes of the institutions provided another important profile of the institutions of the presidents (see Table 3).

Table 3. Distribution of population by student enrollments

Number of Students[a]	Number of Institutions	Per Cent
Under 1,000 students	323	28.9
1,000 to 2,499	376	33.5
2,500 to 4,999	150	13.4
5,000 to 9,999	145	13.0
10,000 to 14,999	52	4.7
15,000 to 19,999	28	2.5
20,000 to 24,999	14	1.3
25,000 to 29,999	11	1.0
30,000 to 39,999	8	0.7
Over 40,000 students	11	1.0
Total	1,118	100.0

[a]Enrollment figures were taken for each institution in Accredited Institutions of Higher Education and Table 3 was developed by analysis.

It was decided to include the presidents of all 1,118 selected four-year institutions in the research design itself, and thus the sample and the universe were identical. This method was adopted primarily to allow for enough responses from each type, region, and size of institution throughout the nation so that comparisons, patterns, and analyses could be developed not only for the national sample but for different subdivisions of the whole.

Methods of Data Collection

Questionnaires

Questionnaires served as the principal means of data collection about the presidents' careers. The research instrument developed by Warner for the business and government executives was modified to apply more directly to the college and university presidents while some sections were kept virtually the same to allow for eventual comparisons among the elites. The questionnaire went through a series of changes, at each stage being subjected to critical evaluation by a number of scholars in educational administration and social research. Finally there was a pilot test of the instrument with a sample of college presidents.[4]

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[4]Special thanks go to Professor W. Lloyd Warner, University Professor of Social Research; Dr. Edward Blackman, Professor of Higher Education; and Dr. Dalton McFarland, Professor and Chairman of the Department of Management, all of Michigan State University, for their assistance and suggestions related to the questionnaire development.

The questionnaire in its final form can be found in Appendix A along with a brief item-by-item analysis of the instrument itself. In addition, the cover letter used in the mailing is given in Appendix A. In Appendix B, the format and results of the pilot study are provided.

Collection of Written Personal Statements of Career Motivations and Philosophies of Education

An open-ended question answered by nearly 400 presidents asked why he "chose" an educational career over any other career. It was aimed at exploring some of the stated and conscious motivations and values that might have played roles in the respondent's career path. A request was also made on the last page of the questionnaire for any speeches, reprints of articles, sources of books, or personal statements that outlined the president's philosophy of education and/or educational administration. Nearly 250 such statements of philosophy were sent by presidents of all types of colleges from all parts of the nation. Most statements mentioned numerous problems, frustrations, and satisfactions that accompany the modern academic president's role and gave an added depth of understanding to the person, his career motivations, and the demands of the position. Reference to these philosophies will be given when they are pertinent to the discussion of career choices of the presidents.

Interviews

The studies of business and government executives made use of the Thematic Apperception Test in understanding the "private" worlds of these men, but no projective test was used in the present study. Nevertheless, interviews were conducted with a small number of college and university presidents. Some questions asked were elaborations of a few questionnaire items while the majority were developed to understand the respondent's views of his career, himself, and the world in which he operates. At the heart of the interviews was the problem of determining what motivates these individuals to a career in academic administration, i.e., what values and ideologies led to basic career decisions? What patterns of professional attitudes characterized the college and university president? The interviews, although small in number, complemented well the open-ended responses critically given by presidents to the question of career motivations found in the questionnaire. The results are incorporated in Chapter VIII, "Career Motivations of Academic Presidents."

Supplementary Sources of Data

Selected reference works assisted in the collection of data regarding the president's type of college or university and the president's career. The 1967 College Blue Book lists a variety of information about every college and university in the country, including: the president's name,

the date of his inauguration, the degrees offered at the institution, faculty-student ratios, resources and endowments, annual income, and volumes in the library.[5] College catalogues and college guidebooks provided further valuable information about the institutions relevant to this study. All such data were coded and later arranged to give breadth to the understanding of the complexity and diversity in American higher education. What was gained in the process has been synthesized, and is expressed indirectly in the writing of this study.

Since the majority of college presidents were included in the latest issue of Who's Who in America (1968), that volume served as a sourcebook for many facets of the president's life and career.[6] Who's Who was considered to give a satisfactory account of data regarding place and date of birth, formal education, marital status, teaching positions, administrative positions, awards, societies, publications, board memberships, and possible experiences in business, government, and the military. Similar biographical data found in college public relations newsletters and newspaper and magazine articles were helpful in data verification. The primary purposes of this information were:

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[5]The 1967 College Blue Book (New York: Yonkers-on-Hudson, 1967).

[6]Who's Who in America, Vol. XXXV (Chicago: A. N. Marquis Company, 1968-69).

(1) to provide accurate data about the careers of non-respondents to the mail questionnaire, and (2) to provide necessary data about the small number of presidents who, when completing the questionnaire, left some items blank (e.g., formal education, birthplace, publications), specifically directing that such information be taken from Who's Who.

Returns to the Questionnaire Mailings

Questionnaires were mailed with stamped-return envelopes to the 1,068 presidents of the selected American colleges and universities, i.e., the population of 1,118 minus 50 questionnaires sent in the pilot study. Daily records were kept on the returns and after one month, 589 questionnaires or 55.1 per cent were received, of which 565 or 52.9 per cent were found usable. It was then decided to send the second mailing to those not responding to the first national mailing as well as to the non-respondents to the pilot study. By two months later, a total of 809 questionnaires were received or 72.4 per cent, of which 760 or 68.0 per cent were found usable. Table 4 gives the complete breakdown of the returns of the pilot study and the two major mailings.

Table 4 shows that a total of 49 returned questionnaires were found non-usable and excluded from the study.

Table 4. Questionnaire returns of the pilot study and two national mailings

Mailing	Number Mailed	Number Received	Per Cent Received	Number Usable	% Usable
Pilot	50	32	64.0	29	58.0
First	1,068	589	55.1	565	52.9
Second	497	188	37.8	166	33.4
Total		809	72.4	760	68.0

In over one-half the cases, the presidents were either serving as acting or interim presidents or the completed questionnaires arrived after the final deadline when computer programming with keypunched cards began. Table 5 gives an accurate accounting of the non-usables and the reasons for not being counted in the tabulation of results.

Table 5. Distribution of total non-usable questionnaires

Reasons Why Non-Usable	No.	%
Respondent was acting or interim president	16	32.7
Respondent had no time to complete	9	18.4
Respondent had formal policy of not completing questionnaires	7	14.3
Respondent was either ill, recently resigned	3	6.1
Respondent was on leave, away from campus	2	4.1
Respondent headed military institution and felt most questions did not apply to his situation	1	2.0
Institution recently merged and person no longer president	1	2.0
Completed questionnaires received after final deadline when data cards were placed in computer	10	20.4
Total	49	100.0

As with the pilot study an analysis was conducted on a sample of the non-respondents to the major mailings. There was no evidence that elements in the non-respondent's career pattern accounted for his refusing to answer the questionnaire.

Procedures for Analysis of Questionnaire Data

The total sample included in the analysis consisted of the 760 questionnaires or 68.0 per cent of the universe. Subgroups of the 760 presidents were established both to check how representative the sample was of the universe and for purposes of analysis of the questionnaire items. Examinations of these subgroups at this time will give a clearer understanding of the sample as well as the type of analysis used with the questionnaire responses. The first three subgroups presented below relate to the types of institutions the presidents represent, and the last three, to the president himself.

The Presidents by the Types of Institutions

The questionnaire responses of the presidents were contrasted by nine major classes as shown in Table 6. By comparing Table 6 with Table 1 (page 48), one is able to determine the representativeness of the sample obtained. For example, 67.9 per cent of the nation's public universities presidents are included in the sample of 760;

Table 6. Types of institutions represented by presidents

Type of Institution	Number	Per Cent
Public universities	91	13.0
Catholic universities	20	2.6
Protestant-related universities	21	2.8
Independent universities	29	3.8
Public liberal arts colleges	153	20.1
Catholic liberal arts colleges	131	17.2
Protestant-related liberal arts colleges	210	27.6
Independent liberal arts colleges	75	9.9
Technological institutions	30	3.9
Total	760	100.0

71.4 per cent of Catholic university presidents; 70 per cent of Protestant-related university presidents; 54.7 per cent of independent university presidents; 65.9 per cent of public liberal arts college presidents; 74 per cent of Catholic liberal arts college presidents; 76.5 per cent of Protestant-related liberal arts college presidents; 67.0 per cent of independent liberal arts college presidents; and 73.2 per cent of the technological institution presidents. Thus, there is a proportional representation of public university presidents; a slight overrepresentation of presidents of Catholic and Protestant-related universities, Catholic liberal arts colleges, and technological institutions; and a slight underrepresentation of presidents of independent universities, public, Protestant-related, and independent liberal arts colleges. It is believed that the sample

proved highly representative of the universe based upon the types of institutions of the presidents.

The Presidents by Geographical Locations of the Institutions

Contrasts of questionnaire data were made by regional classifications of the colleges and universities to determine if geographical factors related to aspects of the academic president's career. The distribution is given in Table 7.

Table 7. Geographical locations of institutions in the sample

Region of Colleges and Universities	Number	Per Cent
New England	63	8.3
Middle Atlantic	107	14.1
South Atlantic	103	13.6
East South Central	61	8.0
West South Central	62	8.2
East North Central	133	17.5
West North Central	117	15.4
Mountain	37	4.9
Pacific	77	10.1
Total	760	100.0

By comparing this table with Table 2 (page 49), one can assess the representativeness by virtue of the location of the institution. Again, there was a very satisfactory fit for five regions, but the Middle Atlantic and South Atlantic states were slightly underrepresented in the sample (about 2 per cent), and the East North Central and West North

Central states were slightly overrepresented by a similar percentage.

The Presidents by Student Enrollments of the Institutions

This analysis compared the data about presidents based upon the relative sizes of their institutions using ten classes of student enrollments. This was done to determine if specific patterns of presidents' careers seemed to be associated with different sizes of institutions. Table 8 shows the distribution of the sample using student enrollments.

Table 8. Student enrollments of the sample institutions

Number of students	Number of Institutions	Per Cent
Under 1,000	214	28.2
1,000 to 2,499	260	34.1
2,500 to 4,999	102	13.4
5,000 to 9,999	98	12.9
10,000 to 14,999	41	5.4
15,000 to 19,999	16	2.1
20,000 to 24,999	8	1.1
25,000 to 29,999	9	1.2
30,000 to 39,999	5	0.7
40,000 and above	7	0.9
Total	760	100.0

When using the size of the institution to evaluate the representativeness of the study sample (and appropriateness as a tool of analysis), it was evident that there was an excellent

proportional distribution for each class of institutional size. A scanning of the per cent column in Table 8 with the per cent column of Table 3 (page 49) shows the close parallel in institutional size in the universe and the sample.

Sex of the Respondent

It was felt desirable to undertake an analysis of the respondents' careers to determine if there were differences in the careers of women and men. In Table 9, the men and women have been categorized by type of institution in order to demonstrate that the 84 women presidents in the sample were associated with colleges, not universities, and the vast majority were Catholic colleges. The 676 men on the other hand were found in all types of institutions.

Table 9. Distribution of male and female academic presidents

Type of Institution	Males		Females		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Public universities	91	13.5	0	0.0	91	12.0
Catholic universities	20	3.0	0	0.0	20	2.6
Prot.-related universities	21	3.1	0	0.0	21	2.8
Independent universities	29	4.3	0	0.0	29	3.8
Public liberal arts colleges	152	22.5	1	1.2	153	20.1
Catholic liberal arts	58	8.6	73	86.9	131	17.2
Prot-related liberal arts	205	30.3	5	6.0	210	27.6
Independent liberal arts	70	10.4	5	6.0	75	9.9
Technological institutions	30	4.4	0	0.0	30	3.9
Total	676	100.0	84	100.0	760	100.0

Respondents Who Have Been Presidents of Other Institutions

There was some interest in contrasting the careers of those who had been presidents of at least one other institution with those who had never served any other institution as an academic president. Of central concern was the question: How many presidents had moved from another college presidency to their present positions, and was there anything markedly different about the backgrounds of these men that would be revealed in the questionnaire analysis itself? Table 10 gives an accurate distribution of the 12 per cent of college and university presidents who had presided over at least one other institution prior to assuming their present positions.

Table 10. Distribution of respondents who have been presidents of other colleges or universities

Type of Institution	Number Who Were Presidents of		
	One Other College	Two or More Other Col.	No Other College
Public universities	16	6	69
Catholic universities	2	0	18
Prot.-related univ.	2	2	17
Independent univ.	4	2	23
Public lib. arts col.	21	2	130
Catholic lib. arts	0	1	130
Prot.-related lib. arts	21	3	186
Independent lib. arts	7	0	68
Tech. institutions	0	1	29
Total number	73	17	670
% in each group	9.6	2.2	88.2

President's Tenure in Present Position

Analyses of questionnaire responses were conducted based upon six major categories reflecting the number of years the president has held his present position. It was assumed that differences could be found between new presidents and those with successively longer periods of tenure. A complete distribution by institutional type is given in Table 11. However, in the actual analysis of questionnaire items, the ninety presidents who had served as presidents of other institutions were excluded. (Although a person might only have been in his present position three years, he might have held a prior presidency for fifteen years. To look upon him as being a relatively new college president would be an error and would affect the accuracy and meaning of the analysis by tenure.)

Table 11. Academic presidents' tenure in present positions

	Number of Years in Present Position					
Type of Institution	Under One	1-4	5-10	11-15	16-20	Over 20
Public universities	8	32	32	9	7	3
Catholic universities	3	8	6	2	1	0
Prot.-related univ.	0	7	5	1	2	6
Independent univ.	5	11	10	2	1	0
Public liberal arts	8	54	42	24	16	9
Catholic liberal arts	15	49	41	15	7	4
Prot.-related lib. arts	15	69	61	31	20	14
Independent lib. arts	3	24	25	9	7	7
Technological inst.	4	9	11	2	1	3
Total number	61	263	233	95	62	46
Total per cent	8.0	34.6	30.7	12.5	8.2	6.1

The table above shows that about 8 per cent of all college and university presidents in the sample were new to their positions this year, and over 70 per cent of college and university presidents had been in their positions ten years or less. Only 46 presidents (or 6.1 per cent) had been in office for more than twenty years.

This concludes the definition and discussion of the study sample and the six major classifications that were used in the analysis of various items among the questionnaire responses.

Summary

In Chapter III, a systematic review of the research design and methodology used in the research has been presented. The relevant population for the study included the presidents of all four-year, accredited colleges and universities in the United States (with the exception of specialized professional institutes and religious seminaries). The sample selected for the research was the same as the population and questionnaires were mailed to the 1,118 academic presidents.

The principal means of data collection were provided by a twenty-three item questionnaire, written personal statements of career motivations, and interviews. Supplementary reference books on the institutions and the presidents were also beneficial. A pilot study and evaluation were utilized

to further refine the questionnaire and led the way to the two general mailings to the national sample.

The total returns for the research proved very satisfactory in that a 72.4 per cent response was obtained. After excluding some questionnaires for reasons noted in the chapter, 760 questionnaires or 68 per cent of those distributed were found usable for the analysis. The group formed by the usable questionnaires was found to be highly representative of the total national population in terms of the institutions of the presidents by type, location, and relative sizes.

Six major subgroups were established to analyze the various questionnaire items: (1) types of institutions, (2) geographical locations of the institutions, (3) student enrollments of the institutions, (4) sex of the respondents, (5) respondents who had been presidents of other institutions, and (6) presidents' tenures in their present positions.

It is now appropriate to turn to the actual findings of the study. An examination of the occupational and geographical origins and regional-community backgrounds of the college and university presidents is provided in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV

OCCUPATIONAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGINS OF ACADEMIC PRESIDENTS

Occupational Origins

The question of occupational succession gives the initial focus in reviewing the research findings. Of central concern is whether college and university presidents in general tend to come from similar or different occupational origins. For example, do the occupational origins of public university presidents differ from the private university presidents or from the origins of public and private liberal arts college presidents? Moreover, it can be learned whether the fathers of academic presidents seem to be representative of the various occupational groups in the general population in the society or whether the fathers come largely from the more elite occupations and occupational levels.

Occupational Origins of University Presidents

Table 12 on the next page classifies seven general occupations subdivided into twenty specific occupations of

Table 12. Occupations (in per cent) of the fathers of university presidents, 1968

Occupation of the Father	Presidents of Universities				
	Public	Catholic	Prot.-Related	Independent	Total
Laborer	10.3	20.0	10.0	3.4	10.2
Unskilled, semiskilled	2.3	10.0	5.0	3.4	3.8
Skilled, mechanic	8.0	10.0	5.0	0.0	6.4
White-Collar					
Clerk, salesman	0.0	10.0	5.0	6.9	3.2
Business Executive	13.8	35.0	10.0	24.1	18.0
Foreman, minor executive	6.9	15.0	5.0	13.8	9.0
Major executive	6.9	20.0	5.0	10.3	9.0
Business Owner	16.0	20.0	5.0	13.8	14.5
Small-firm	12.6	5.0	5.0	0.0	8.2
Large business	3.4	15.0	0.0	13.8	6.3
Professional Man	32.0	10.0	40.0	44.7	33.1
Physician	2.3	0.0	0.0	3.4	1.9
Engineer	2.3	0.0	5.0	3.4	2.6
Lawyer	5.7	5.0	0.0	13.8	6.4
Clergyman	6.9	0.0	30.0	13.8	10.1
Elementary-secondary teacher	6.9	0.0	0.0	6.9	5.1
College faculty	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3
College dean or vice-president	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	1.3
College president	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	0.6
Other	5.7	5.0	0.0	0.0	3.8
Farmer[a]	19.5	0.0	30.0	6.9	16.0
Other Occupations	7.9	5.0	0.0	0.0	5.0
Military	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6
Government[b]	5.7	5.0	0.0	0.0	3.8
Other	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6
Total per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	87.0	20.0	20.0	29.0	156.0

[a]Includes all farm workers or owners.

[b]Primarily civil service positions.

the fathers at the time when the presidents began their full time occupational careers.[1]

In Table 12, it is seen that the fathers of university presidents represented all types and levels of occupations, but in varying patterns and proportions associated with the presidents' type of institution. Professional occupations of fathers are generally more prevalent with the exception of the fathers of Catholic university presidents. More specifically, from 33 to 45 per cent of the fathers of public and private, non-Catholic university presidents were engaged in professional work at the time their sons began full-time careers. A brief discussion of the fathers' occupations related to the presidents' type of university follows.

Among the public university presidents in the study, over 50 per cent of their fathers were either professional men or farmers, and about 30 per cent were either business

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[1]Since the methodology for this study was purposely kept similar to the Warner studies, these general categories were taken from that research, and information on the fathers of academic presidents was reorganized to permit cross-comparisons. To show contrasts among the presidents, the occupations of the fathers are correlated with the type of institution the president heads, and then a composite profile of all types of presidents is shown in tabular form. This particular style of presenting data by institutional type is followed throughout much of the report and will be complemented by other categories (e.g., sex of respondent, size of institution, regional location of the institution) whenever additional insights are made possible by such an exposition.

executives or business owners, with a larger concentration in minor executive and small business ownership positions. About 10 per cent of the fathers were in the general laborer category, a majority being skilled workers. It is interesting that not one father was a white-collar worker, i.e., clerk or salesman, and only a few were in military service or civil service positions.

The fathers of Catholic university presidents stood out markedly from the others when occupational positions were considered. Only 10 per cent were found in the professional category, and none of these were in the field of education. Over 50 per cent were either business executives or business owners, and a majority were major executives or owners of large businesses. In comparison to the fathers of public university presidents, a larger percentage of the fathers of Catholic university presidents were engaged in the laborer and white-collar categories (almost 30 per cent). No farmers were represented by the fathers and this fact was important because farming backgrounds were quite prevalent for the non-Catholic university presidents. Clearly, the occupational origins of Catholic university presidents represent all levels of the business sector in greater proportions than is true among all other presidents. In fact, 85 per cent of the fathers of Catholic university presidents were employed in the general business area.

The presidents of Protestant-related universities appeared similar to public university presidents when noting their fathers' occupations. The professional sector and farming category again engaged the work activities of the fathers, and it was found that 70 per cent of the fathers were in these two occupations. A striking aspect of this analysis was that about 30 per cent of the fathers were clergymen, the largest representation among any single group of university presidents. None of the fathers were in the military or government civil service and only a small percentage were business owners, business executives, white-collar workers or laborers. A total of 30 per cent were spread over the various levels of the business hierarchy.

Among the presidents of private independent universities, the fathers were especially found in professional fields (nearly 45 per cent) and the business executive category (24 per cent). Only 3 per cent were unskilled or skilled laborers while nearly 25 per cent were either major executives or large business owners. None of the fathers had careers in military or government civil service and only 7 per cent were farmers.

In developing a profile of all university presidents, public or private, about one-third came from professional origins, led by clergymen, lawyers, and elementary-secondary teachers. The second general category in relative importance for all university presidents was business executives

followed by farming and business ownership. About 10 per cent of all fathers were laborers, the majority in skilled work, and only 3 per cent were in white-collar employment. As a general category, only 5 per cent of the fathers were in military or government civil service.

Thus, there was a predominance of professional origins for all university presidents, with the exception of Catholic university presidents whose fathers were largely engaged in business activities. For all, there was a relatively small number and percentage who were engaged in education, especially at the college level. Out of all the university presidents in the study, only one reported that his father was a college president and only about 3 per cent had fathers who were college faculty members.

Even though it is interesting to review the above statistics in Table 12, it is possible to gain an even greater insight into whether the occupational origins of university presidents are truly representative of American society, and if not, the nature and extent of the deviations. The question becomes: Are forces at work within the society that give certain occupational groups a greater share of higher educational top leadership than their proportion in the general population? To answer this question, the following methodology was used. (A similar technique was used by Warner in his studies.)

The average age of the academic presidents was found to be approximately 53 years of age in 1968, and it has already been stated that Table 12 gave the occupations of the fathers at the times the sons began working full-time. Since most of the presidents attended college for a varying number of years and academic degrees, the average age of beginning full-time work was estimated to be about 23. Therefore, the occupations of the fathers are given, again on the average, for about 1938, or close to the 1940 census of population. Any comparisons then would be between the occupations of the adult male population in 1940 and the fathers of the academic presidents. Table 13 summarizes this methodology.

Although one can compare the percentages for each type of university president against the United States census categories, it is instructive to compare the last two columns at the right in Table 13. Such a comparison provides evidence of the underrepresentation or overrepresentation of ten basic occupational groups among university presidents. (The structuring of the table was necessarily developed to account for the way the 1940 United States census data were categorized and caused some reorganization of the occupations given in the questionnaire.)

By contrasting the column that summarizes all university presidents with the United States male population, it can be seen that while about 31 per cent of the 1940 male

Table 13. Occupational distribution of the fathers of university presidents and the United States male population for 1940

Occupation	Per Cent of Fathers of Univ. Presidents				Per Cent of All Presidents	Per Cent of Total U.S. Male Adult Population, 1940[b]
	Public	Catholic	Protestant	Independent		
Unskilled laborer	2	10	5	3	4	31
Skilled laborer	8	10	5	0	6	14
Clerk, sales	0	10	5	7	3	13
Foreman	7	15	5	14	9	2
Exec., manager, proprietor[a]	23	40	10	24	24	10
Professional	32	10	40	45	33	5
Farmer	20	0	30	7	16	22
Government	6	5	0	0	4	1
Military	1	0	0	0	1	1
Other	1	0	0	0	1	1
Total per cent	100	100	100	100	100	100

[a]Includes major business executives and small and large business owners.

[b]Bureau of the Census, 1940, 1940, Vol. I, pp. 75-80.

population were unskilled or semiskilled laborers, only 4 per cent of the university presidents were the sons of unskilled or semiskilled laborers. However, while only 5 per cent of the United States male population were considered in the professional category, some 33 per cent of the university presidents were sons of professionals. As Warner noted in his studies and as is readily apparent here, the difference in these comparative proportions is a measure of the underrepresentation of the sons of laborers and the overrepresentation of the sons of professionals. A simple ratio of the proportion of each occupational group among the university presidents to that in the male population of 1940 gives an exact measurement of which groups are over- and under-represented (Table 14).

Table 14. Ratio of proportion of fathers in occupational group to proportion of occupational group in adult male population in 1940

Occupation	Ratio[a]	Rank Order
Unskilled or semiskilled laborer	0.13	9
Skilled laborer	0.43	7
Clerk or salesman	0.23	8
Foreman	4.50	2
Executive, manager, proprietor	2.40	4
Professional man	6.60	1
Farmer (all classes)	0.73	6
Government service	4.00	3
Military service	1.00	5

[a]Proportional representation = 1.00.

Table 14 shows what has been emphasized earlier, namely, the percentage of university presidents whose fathers were in professional fields was nearly seven times the proportion of that group in the general United States male population. The most underrepresented group was the unskilled or semiskilled laborer with a ratio of only 0.13, meaning that there seemed to be very limited mobility of the sons of the unskilled to the university presidency. The next most underrepresented occupational groups were the white-collar workers (0.23), skilled laborers (0.43), and farmers (0.73), while there was a perfect representation among those in military service (1.00). The overrepresented groups included business executives, managers, and proprietors (2.40), those in government civil service (4.00), foreman (4.50), and professional fields (6.60). Thus, the 1968 university presidents (with some variations depending upon the type of institution of the president) were in large part the sons of men of fairly high occupational status, such as the sons of professional men and business managers, but they were also the sons of men of lower occupational status, such as foremen and minor executives in business and government.

While there is evidence for most mobility to be across the long-held professions into higher education, there is still an element of movement upward from the lower occupational classes to higher education administration. Although

five occupational groups are overrepresented and four are underrepresented, all are found among university presidents.

Catholic university presidents generally showed more distance covered in upward mobility than the total group. Specially formulated ratios for the fathers of Catholic university presidents showed the same four groups underrepresented, but not by nearly so much--e.g., unskilled or semi-skilled laborers, 0.32; skilled laborers, 0.71; white-collar workers, 0.77; while there was no mobility with farmers, 0.00. For those overrepresented, foremen led rather than professionals with a ratio of 7.50; government civil service, 5.00; business managers, 4.00; and professionals were reduced to a ratio of 2.00.[2]

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[2]Note: The reader is advised that it will be necessary at times to separate the data of presidents of Catholic institutions from the others only in order to accurately represent the careers of these presidents and all others. It should be recognized (and will be given more elaboration in later chapters) that all heads of Catholic institutions in the sample were not only educators but also members of the priesthood and various religious orders. For purposes of this study, their educational leadership position in the society has been the central concern, and any discussion of social origins, education, and career patterns has hopefully been focused upon and related essentially to their educational position and career, not to their intricately bound missions and careers as priests or sisters. Obviously, this has not been an easy task to accomplish, but it has been an objective.

Occupational Origins of Liberal Arts College Presidents

The same presentation of the general and specific occupational groups is given in Table 15, but now attention is focused upon the occupations of the fathers of the individuals who head the nation's liberal arts colleges. Before proceeding, however, it should be kept in mind that of the nearly 600 liberal arts college presidents in the study, about 14 per cent (or 84) are women, the great majority of whom are found in 73 women's Catholic liberal arts colleges. This will have some bearing later in trying to understand the career patterns of Catholic liberal arts college presidents as well as assess the meaning of their occupational origins; no attempt was made in Table 15, however, to differentiate by the sex of the president.

It is shown in Table 15 that liberal arts college presidents represent all occupational origins, although as was true with university presidents, there are variations with the presidents of different types of colleges. Initially, it should be seen that the professional category is well represented among most liberal arts college presidents as it is among university presidents. An examination of the occupational origins of each type of liberal arts college president provides more details.

Table 15. Occupations (in per cent) of the fathers of liberal arts college presidents, 1968

Occupation of the Father	Presidents of Liberal Arts Colleges					Total
	Public	Catholic	Protestant	Independent	Technological	
Laborer	17.4	28.0	16.1	9.6	6.8	17.6
Unskilled, semiskilled	4.2	13.6	5.9	5.5	3.4	6.9
Skilled, mechanic	13.2	14.4	10.2	4.1	3.4	10.7
White-Collar	4.2	8.8	3.9	1.4	6.8	4.9
Clerk, salesman						
Business Executive	9.8	18.4	11.8	12.3	6.8	12.6
Foreman, minor executive	3.5	12.0	5.9	2.7	6.8	6.3
Major executive	6.3	6.4	5.9	9.6	0.0	6.3
Business Owner	16.7	15.2	9.3	12.3	17.0	13.2
Small firm	13.9	12.8	8.8	8.2	13.6	11.1
Large business	2.8	2.4	0.5	4.1	3.4	2.1
Professional Man	24.5	12.8	39.3	47.8	24.0	30.0
Physician	0.7	0.8	1.5	6.8	0.0	1.7
Engineer	4.2	3.2	2.0	1.4	6.8	3.0
Lawyer	1.4	4.0	0.5	4.1	0.0	1.9
Clergyman	4.9	0.0	22.0	16.4	3.4	11.1
Elementary-secondary teacher	5.6	0.0	4.9	0.0	6.8	3.5
College faculty	0.7	0.0	1.5	5.5	0.0	1.4
College dean or vice president	2.8	0.0	1.5	2.7	0.0	1.6
College president	1.4	0.0	2.0	2.7	3.4	1.6
Other	2.8	4.8	3.4	8.2	3.4	4.2
Farmer	21.5	9.6	16.6	11.0	24.0	16.0
Other Occupations	6.3	7.2	3.5	5.5	13.6	5.7
Military	0.7	1.6	0.0	1.4	10.2	1.2
Government	5.6	4.8	3.0	4.1	3.4	4.2
Other	0.0	0.8	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.3
Total per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	144.0	125.0	205.0	73.0	29.0	576.0

Professional and farmer categories account for more than 45 per cent of the occupational origins of the presidents of public liberal arts colleges. A fairly large percentage of fathers are also found in the laborer class (17 per cent) with more than two-thirds being skilled workers. Fathers who were business managers and owners comprise about one-fourth of the public college presidents, with major executive statuses and ownership in small rather than large businesses being the rule. The small entrepreneur category is well represented among the origins of public college presidents. Of those fathers who were professional men, over 10 per cent were in education, split about evenly at the secondary and college levels.

Catholic college presidents (56 per cent of whom are women) come more frequently from laborer occupational origins, equally from the unskilled and skilled occupations. To the 28 per cent of fathers in the laborer class were added 9 per cent in white collar clerical and sales occupations. Fathers who were business executives and owners were also represented among the Catholic college presidents. It is important to note, however, that a majority of executives were foremen or other minor executives while over 85 per cent of the owners were found in small or medium-sized business firms. As was true with Catholic university presidents, a relatively small percentage of fathers of the college presidents were in professional fields, about 13 per cent, and

none were in education. Also, a small percentage of fathers were farmers or involved in military and government civil service. In comparing the fathers' occupations between the men and the women who head the Catholic liberal arts colleges, no significant differences were found. The men and women had similar occupational origins.

Among the many presidents of private, Protestant-related liberal arts colleges, there was a large number of fathers from professional fields (40 per cent). And as with the Protestant-related university presidents, many fathers were clergymen (22 per cent). Another 10 per cent of the fathers were in education, equally divided in elementary-secondary ranks and in colleges. About 16 per cent of the fathers were laborers, a majority being skilled, and another 4 per cent of the fathers were clerical and sales employees. Business executives and owners accounted for 20 per cent of the occupational origins of the presidents, with virtually all business owners found in small or medium-sized businesses. Almost 17 per cent of the fathers were farmers and only 3 per cent were in government civil service.

The strongest proportional representation of the professional category was found among the fathers of the private, independent liberal arts college presidents (also corresponding to the high percentage for presidents of private independent universities). Nearly half of these presidents had fathers who were engaged in professional endeavors.

The leading professions were: clergymen with 16 per cent; college faculty, 8 per cent; and almost 3 per cent of the presidents had fathers who were college presidents. A relatively small share of presidents came from farming occupational origins (11 per cent) and 5 per cent had fathers in military and government service. Almost one-fourth of the fathers were business executives and owners, with a concentration in major executive positions and a larger share were owners of smaller businesses. About 10 per cent of the fathers were laborers and another 1 per cent of the fathers were white-collar workers.

The fathers of the presidents of the technological institutions were found in all occupational groups and about one-fourth were professionals. (In the professional category, almost 7 per cent were engineers and another 7 per cent were secondary teachers.) Another fourth of the fathers were farmers followed by 17 per cent who were business owners in primarily smaller business establishments. Stronger representation in military service origins was found among these presidents, owing largely to the fact that of the four military college presidents, two had fathers in military service. An equal percentage of fathers were found in laborer, white collar worker, and minor executive positions.

In view of the totals for all five types of college presidents, there is no question that professional

occupational origins dominated, 30 per cent of the fathers having such careers. Further down in order were laborers, 18 per cent; farmers, 16 per cent; business owners, 13 per cent; and business executives, 13 per cent. Catholic college presidents, as a group, however, tended to appear quite different in occupational origins from their colleagues in the other colleges. Such differences were quite consistent with the origins of Catholic university presidents, except more lower level business occupations in smaller firms were found among the college presidents, and a larger percentage of college presidents came from farming backgrounds. Among all groups of college presidents only 8 per cent had fathers who were professional educators, and only nine presidents had fathers who were college presidents.

Following the scheme devised earlier, Table 16 compares the occupations of the fathers of each type of college president with the male adult population of 1940, and Table 17 summarizes the now familiar ratio representations for all college presidents and the general population.

In more exact terms, then, it is seen that the most disadvantaged groups in terms of representation among the liberal arts college presidents were unskilled or semiskilled laborers with a ratio of 0.23 followed by three other underrepresented groups: white collar workers, 0.38; farmers, 0.73; and skilled laborers, 0.79. Overrepresented groups were led by the professional fields with six times the

Table 16. Occupational distribution of the fathers of liberal arts college presidents and of the United States male population in 1940

Occupation	Per Cent of Fathers of College Presidents					Per Cent of All Presidents	Per Cent of Total U.S. Male Adult Population, 1940
	Public	Catholic	Protestant	Indep.	Techn.		
Unskilled, semi.	4	13	6	6	3	7	31
Skilled laborer	13	14	10	4	3	11	14
Clerk, sales	4	9	4	1	7	5	13
Foreman	4	12	6	3	7	6	2
Exec., manager, proprietor	23	21	15	22	17	20	10
Professional	24	13	39	48	24	30	5
Farmer	21	10	17	11	24	16	22
Government	6	5	3	4	3	4	1
Military	1	2	0	1	10	1	1
Other	0*	1	0*	0*	0*	0*	1

*Less than 0.5 per cent. Some columns do not total exactly 100 per cent due to rounding of figures.

Table 17. Ratio of proportion of college presidents' fathers in occupational group to the proportion of occupational group in adult male population in 1940

Occupation	Ratio*	Rank Order
Unskilled or semiskilled laborer	0.23	9
Skilled laborer	0.79	6
Clerk or salesman	0.38	8
Foreman	3.00	3
Executive, manager, proprietor	2.00	4
Professional man	6.00	1
Farmer	0.73	7
Government service	4.00	2
Military service	1.00	5

*Proportional representation = 1.00.

representation than would be expected from the general population, followed by government civil service, 4.00; foreman, 3.00; and executives, managers, and proprietors, 2.00.

If the fathers of Catholic liberal arts college presidents are examined separately since they tended to differ significantly from the others, only three occupational groups were disadvantaged, but not as greatly as in the total college president group: unskilled or semiskilled laborers, 0.41; farmers, 0.45; and white collar workers, 0.69. The most overrepresented occupational groups among Catholic college presidents were foreman with 6.00, followed by those in government civil service, 5.00; professional men, 2.60; executives, managers, and proprietors, 2.10; military service, 2.00; and skilled laborers, 1.00. In the Catholic

situation, there was again evidence of more distance covered in upward mobility to higher educational leadership. In addition, although the non-Catholic college president moved over, in general, from professional origins, he also moved up from minor executive positions in business and government in greater proportion than would be expected on the basis of the general population.

Importance of Professional Origins of College and University Presidents

It has been demonstrated that the professions have been important sources of leadership among the college and university presidents, and thereby deserve even more attention. It is possible and desirable to compare the percentage of the males in seven major professional groups in the 1940 census with the percentages found among the 1968 college and university presidents elite and express the comparisons by ratios to give a more exact ranking. Table 18 gives the pertinent ratios.

Table 18 makes even more evident the extent to which the professions were sources of higher education leadership. In terms of the relative size in the general population, the single profession of the clergy ranked higher with a ratio of 28.46 than any other occupational group, although elementary and secondary teachers was not far behind with a ratio of 23.75. (Were this procedure used among more specific occupations in the other general categories, other

Table 18. The professions as sources of college and university presidents

Professions	% of 1940 Male Adult Population[a]	% of Fathers of 1968 Academic Presidents	Ratio[b]
Physician	0.46	1.8	3.91
Engineer	0.80	2.9	3.63
Lawyer	0.50	2.9	5.80
Clergyman	0.39	11.1	28.46
Elementary-secondary teacher	0.16	3.8	23.75
College faculty	0.74	4.1	5.54
Other professions	2.46	4.1	1.67
Total	5.51	30.7	5.57

[a]Bureau of the Census, 1940, Vol. I, pp. 75-80.

[b]Proportional representation = 1.00.

occupations might have an equal or higher ratio but census data were not organized to permit such comparisons. Moreover if each institutional type was taken separately, there would be differences especially among Catholic institution presidents where the professions were not as important sources of leadership, yet there might still have been a more favorable comparison to the general population. Also the clergyman category was found important for some types of colleges and not others). Almost a third of all college and university presidents had fathers in professional fields, and the professional category was, in general, the single most important supplier of academic presidents.

It will be seen in Chapter VIII that a number of presidents' opinions about why they chose a career in higher education were based upon an idea of service to the institution, society, church, and/or God. There is some likelihood that the fathers in professional fields where the concept of service is fully developed had early effects and reinforcements on some presidents' evolving career aspirations. This dimension will be mentioned again in later chapters, but is introduced at this point because of its seeming importance.

Comparisons of Occupational Origins Among Academic Presidents

There seem to be more similarities rather than differences when analyzing occupational origins between and among the various college and university presidents. In fact, when one considers groups that are most similar, it is not so much a question of the complexity of the institution, i.e., whether it be a college or university, but rather, of the form of control of the institution. Thus, the public university and college presidents as a group look very similar, as do the Catholic university and college presidents, the Protestant-related university and college presidents, or the private, independent university and college presidents. There is evidence--to be enlarged upon in later chapters--that social influences and forces in the presidents' backgrounds have had prominent places in their selection or

choice of the institutions where they were educated, where they taught, and where they became president.

Comparisons of the rank orders of occupational groups found in Tables 14 and 17 and the prior discussion of the professions show that after professional fields, four categories are in close representation: foreman, government service, and business executives, managers, and proprietors. There is evidence that high business positions have not been critical as sources of higher education leadership. The general avenue of higher education tended to be used as a means of upward mobility by those whose fathers were in minor executive positions, while for those whose fathers were professionals, higher education was a means of general lateral mobility. Fathers who occupied high status business positions are found among academic presidents, but to a lesser degree--suggesting, therefore, that movement to higher education might not have been the most attractive career goal for the sons of major or large business leaders.

Among college and university presidents, there is evidence that the sons of skilled laborers and farmers (although at a proportional disadvantage) have had career opportunities in higher education and many did choose this route for upward mobility. And, even though the unskilled workers and white-collar workers are far down the line, it is clear that a career in higher education was not closed to the sons of these workers. This is even more clearly seen

when the occupational origins of Catholic college presidents are examined.

Table 19 gives the occupational origins for all academic presidents in the sample. It includes the percentages of occupational groups represented by the presidents' fathers and the ratios formed when comparisons were made with the 1940 census population. The table reflects the discussion in this chapter of the relative significance of professional backgrounds.

Table 19. Occupational origins of academic presidents

Occupation of Father	% of Academic Presidents, 1968	Ratio* (1940 census)
Unskilled, semiskilled laborer	6	0.19
Skilled laborer	10	0.71
Clerk, salesman	5	0.38
Foreman	7	2.50
Executive, manager, proprietor	21	2.10
Professional man	31	6.20
Farmer	16	0.73
Government service	3	3.00
Military service	1	1.00
Total per cent	100	

*Proportional representation = 1.00.

This concludes the analysis of occupational succession--that movement in the world of work between fathers and sons--among college and university presidents. It is now time to look at the regions and communities where these men

were born to gain some insight into their geographical origins and where their occupational mobility began.

Geographical Origins

Americans have long held firm ideas related to the importance of local, state, and regional ties in their daily lives. Loyalty to and identification with a particular geographical region or community have had an often profound, although subtle, effect on the development of views or life styles of the residents. The Warner studies researched this phenomenon as it related to the territorial origins of business and government executives to determine the extent to which certain regions or communities seemed to be associated with the number of individuals reaching executive positions. Did a region supply a proportionally higher number to business and government elite positions than would be expected on the basis of that region's percentage of population in the society? It was found that territorial origins as well as occupational origins played a part in the pattern of mobility of these executives.

When studying the impact of higher education in the United States, one can hardly overlook the fact that state and regional concerns are also important here. For example, many institutions, especially public colleges and universities, formally state as an objective not only the production, dissemination, and preservation of truth, but also service to

the people of the state, in the sense of educational and financial assistance programs in centers throughout the state. Furthermore, it is common for some state legislatures to hassle over whether out-of-state enrollments should be held down to a given proportion or even if certain designated states (for a variety of reasons) should have restricted enrollments.

On the other hand, the private colleges and universities tend to select more upon a national, regional, or religious basis, for students and often for faculty as well. Some institutions take great pride in the fact that the faculty and staff represent many regions of the country and world and thereby promote a more cosmopolitan educational climate. Others indicate a preference to build upon local talents and recruit those who are assumed to be sensitive to the needs of the people in the area. It is clear that some states and regions provide what appear to be large numbers of private and public institutions of higher education while others provide few, sometimes reflecting population needs and sometimes not. Thus, there is reason to investigate the geographical origins of the academic presidents to determine if there is some relation between their origins and career mobility. Do these academic presidents originate randomly, i.e., as would be expected on the basis of population or the number of colleges and universities found in a given region? What can be learned of the broad streams of physical mobility

of these educators across the country using data on their birthplaces and the locations of their present positions? Do any regions seem to be at an advantage in retaining educators at the expense of other regions?

Obviously, much happens to a man between his birthplace and his position and residence fifty years later; such considerations will be discussed when education and career patterns are examined in Chapters VI and VII. However, here facts can be cited regarding where he began his life and the possible directions that might have been set in motion, facts that complement the analysis of occupational origins.

The questionnaire asked the presidents if they were United States-born, and if so, in which state. And, by again turning to national census data for population statistics, it is possible to relate the population data to the presidents' birthplaces to learn if some regions or communities did produce more college and university presidents than others.

Since the presidents were born, on the average, around 1915, it was decided to use the census data for 1920 as a reasonable estimate of the distribution of the national population when the presidents were born. Because the census data divides the United States into nine census regions, these nine regions are used here as well (see Figure 1).

Table 20 gives the percentages of academic presidents born in each region along with the respective ratios--

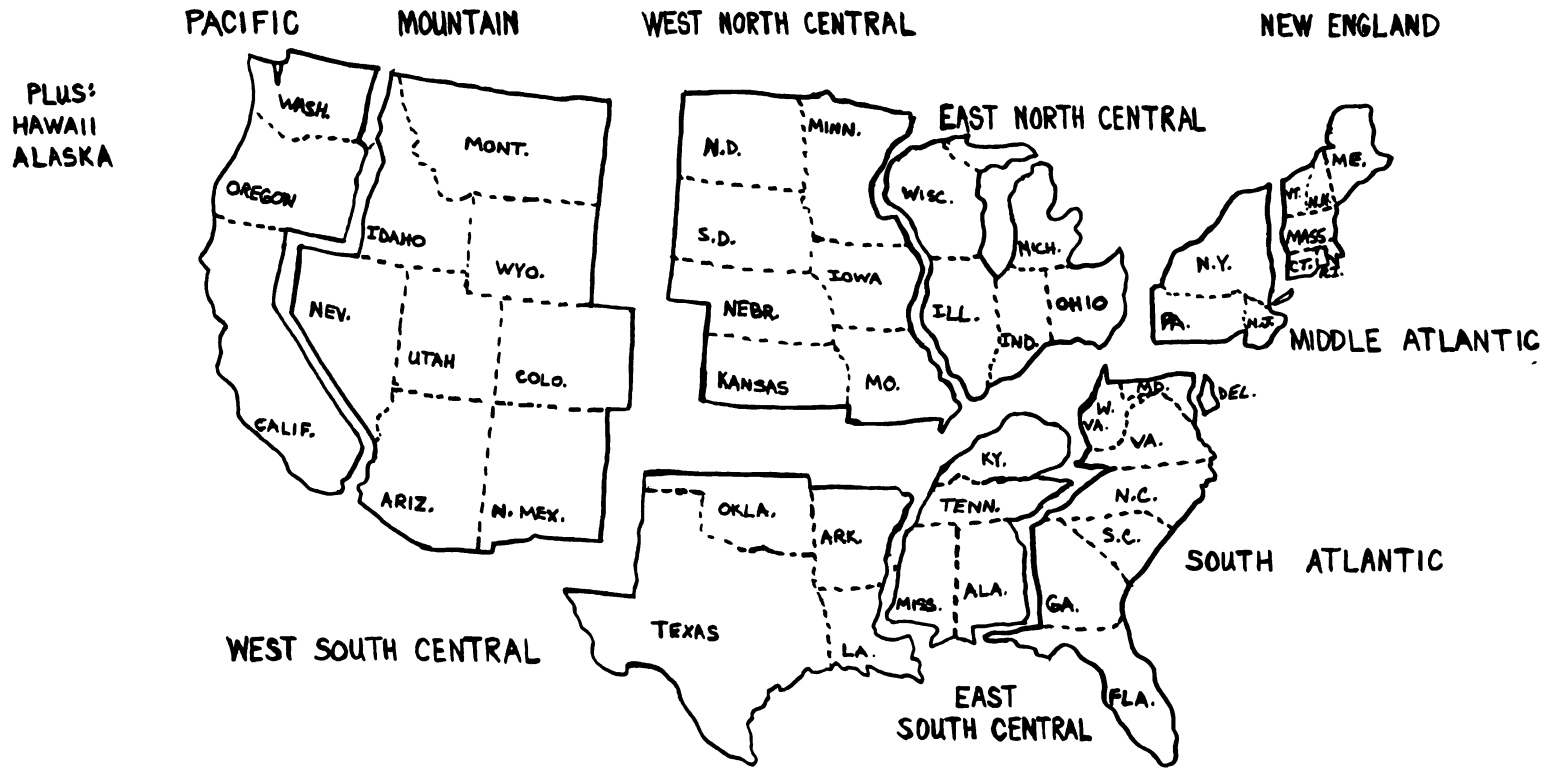

Figure 1. Map of the United States divided into the nine Federal Census regions.

Table 20. Distribution of 1968 United States-born college and university presidents by region of birth and the 1920 adult census population by region of residence

Region	% of All Academic Presidents Born in Region	% of 1920 Population Living in Region[a]	Ratio of Presidents Supplied by Region[b]
New England	7.3	7.0	1.04
Middle Atlantic	18.4	21.1	0.87
South Atlantic	12.3	13.2	0.93
East South Central	8.1	8.4	0.96
West South Central	9.4	9.7	0.97
East North Central	21.2	20.3	1.04
West North Central	16.1	11.9	1.35
Mountain	2.9	3.1	0.94
Pacific	4.3	5.3	0.81
Total per cent	100.0	100.0	
Total number of presidents:		716	

[a]Bureau of the Census, 1920, Vol. I.

[b]Proportional representation = 1.00.

computed in the same manner as those for occupational origins--that more exactly show the extent that specific regions have "produced" academic presidents. (In order to insure anonymity of all respondents, results are given for all academic presidents in each region rather than by institutional types.)

It can be seen that states in the East North Central (21.2 per cent) and Middle Atlantic regions (18.4 per cent) produced the greatest percentage of college and university

presidents. And in these regions, only three states had supplied 170 presidents or nearly 24 per cent of the college and university presidents in the total sample: 63 presidents were born in Pennsylvania (which gave the most in the nation); 56 were born in New York; and 51 were born in Illinois. However, if one considers only the ratios in the far right column of Table 20, then it is apparent that only three regions supplied a percentage of academic presidents that were greater than their proportion in the United States population would suggest.

The New England, East North Central, and West North Central states gave in greater proportions, but only the West North Central stands out among the three as giving an appreciable percentage more than their population percentage, with a ratio of 1.35.[3]

It can be seen that no region stands out very high or very low in terms of the percentage of presidents supplied and six of the nine regions have ratios within 0.07 of a perfect representation indicated by 1.00. Table 20 alone suggests that college and university presidents by and large came from a close representation of the general population

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[3]The reader is cautioned that the figure might be biased upward somewhat since a higher proportion of respondents from the West North Central region are in the study than one would expect by chance. Although the West North Central region has 12.6 per cent of all four-year colleges and universities, some 15.4 per cent of the presidents in the study sample are from that region.

at the time they were born and only one region (West North Central) had produced what could be regarded as a relatively higher proportion of academic presidents.

The argument can reasonably be made that certain regions have more colleges and universities than others, thus creating more professional opportunities for educational leadership that retain and attract individuals across state and region boundaries. This fact might account for some of the variance and for the relatively high percentage in the West North Central region, irregardless of the percentages in the sample. Therefore, rather than using census data, ratios should be developed based upon the percentage of colleges and universities in each region. This adjustment would offer a more complete picture of the impact of territorial origins by interjecting a notion of professional opportunities as well. Table 21 presents a summary of this analysis.[4]

By developing a different approach to geographical origins, it is clear that three regions lead all others in the sheer number of four-year colleges and universities that needed and attracted (from within and without) academic

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[4]The percentages given for colleges and universities were based upon the 1,118 four-year institutions that served as the population for the study, and not simply the 760 institutions represented by the respondents. The latter figure might have seriously biased the results.

Table 21. Distribution of United States-born college and university presidents by region of birth and the percentage of four-year colleges and universities by nine census regions

Region	% of Academic Presidents Born in Regions	% of All 4 Year Colleges in Regions	Ratio of Presidents Supplied by Regions
New England	7.3	8.9	0.82
Middle Atlantic	18.4	16.7	1.10
South Atlantic	12.3	15.6	0.79
East South Central	8.1	7.8	1.04
West South Central	9.4	8.8	1.07
East North Central	21.2	15.7	1.35
West North Central	16.1	12.6	1.28
Mountain	2.9	4.3	0.67
Pacific	4.3	9.6	0.45
Total per cent	100.0	100.0	

Total number of presidents: 716
Total number of colleges and universities: 1,118

presidents over a period of time. The Middle Atlantic states have 16.7 per cent of all four-year institutions, the East North Central states have 15.7 per cent, and the South Atlantic states have 15.6 per cent of all such institutions. The states that lead all others in the nation for institutions in the universe are: New York with 88, Pennsylvania with 78, California with 70, Massachusetts with 49, Ohio with 48, Texas with 47, and Illinois with 44.

Now when one examines the ratios that were based upon the percentage of institutions available rather than national population statistics, a far different pattern emerges. The West North Central states still retain a high

rank among all regions, but the neighboring states in the East North Central region move a little ahead with a ratio of 1.35.[5]

The Middle Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central states have a better representation while the Mountain and Pacific regions are definitely low with respective ratios of 0.67 and 0.45. This would indicate: (1) these latter two regions at least had drawn upon a fair percentage of educational leaders born outside the regions to head their colleges and universities, and (2) such educators had found the opportunities in the Mountain and Pacific regions attractive enough to move in that direction.

Table 20 indicated that our chief higher educational leaders came from all regions of the country in a fair representation of the general population, and no single region decisively seemed to provide any advantages over another. Table 21, however, suggests that the presidents in their careers have been mobile between regions. When the percentages of four-year institutions in each region are considered, there is evidence that academic presidents have been men in

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[5]Again the reader is cautioned to review the data given in Chapter III on the exact percentages of colleges by regions that are a little under- or overrepresented in the sample. Whereas the institutions in the Middle Atlantic and South Atlantic regions were somewhat underrepresented in the sample, the East North Central and West North Central regions were somewhat overrepresented.

geographic motion, similar to their counterparts in business and government. Some regions such as the East North Central, West North Central, and Middle Atlantic seem to have produced not only enough presidents for their own institutions but for others as well. The Mountain, Pacific, and New England regions, on the other hand, seemed to provide professional opportunities by their relatively larger numbers of institutions to draw upon educators born in other regions. (The attractability of the Pacific region has been underscored as well by the great growth of the area in population and higher education over the past sixty years.)

Although Chapters VI and VII will attempt to fill in the time gap between the starting place of the presidents (as given by their birthplaces) to their present positions, the present discussion already portends a view of geographical mobility for a substantial percentage of these men across regional boundaries as they progressed through their careers.

Urban and Rural Origins

Earlier it was noted that not only states and regions provided loyalties and often shared experiences to individuals, but also that the types and sizes of communities where one was born and acquired some fundamental views of his culture provided such experiences. With this in mind, it was decided to investigate the local sizes and types of

communities of academic presidents' birthplaces to assist in evaluating another impact of geographical origins. Are these men representative of American society in terms of the communities where they were born and presumably reared? That is, to what extent were they big city boys, small town boys, farm boys? To assist in this analysis, 1920 census data were used to determine how representative the birthplaces were. Tables 22 and 23 summarize the findings, in percentages, for university and college presidents, respectively, and Table 24 gives the results in ratio form for more exact comparisons.

On the basis of the percentages and ratios found in Tables 22-24, there seem to be varied patterns of the types and sizes of American communities represented by the college and university presidents. About 40 per cent of all academic presidents were born in rural communities of less than 2,500 population giving a ratio of 0.83, or somewhat under what one could expect on the basis of the general population at that time. However, it should be noted that there are variations that seem to be associated with the presidents' type of institution. For example, presidents of public colleges and universities and private Protestant-related colleges and universities were fairly representative of 1920 America, whereas Catholic college and university presidents clearly were born in urban communities; to a lesser degree

Table 22. Size of birthplace of university presidents and size of community of residence of the 1920 population

Size of Community	U.S. Population[a] (in %)	Per Cent of University Presidents				All Presidents
		Public	Catholic	Protestant	Independent	
Rural or less than 2,500	48	50	0	52	28	40
2,500 to 25,000	16	15	20	19	20	18
25,000 to 100,000	10	12	10	10	17	12
Over 100,000	26	23	70	19	35	30
Total per cent	100	100	100	100	100	100

Total number of presidents: 161

[a]Bureau of the Census, 1920, Vol. I, p. 50.

Table 23. Size of birthplace of liberal arts college presidents and size of community of residence of the 1920 population

Size of Community	U.S. Population (in %)	% of Liberal Arts College Presidents					All Presidents
		Public	Cath.	Prot.	Indep.	Techn.	
Rural or less than 2,500	48	57	21	44	28	41	40
2,500 to 25,000	16	18	14	25	25	17	20
25,000 to 100,000	10	13	25	14	20	10	17
Over 100,000	26	12	40	17	27	32	23
Total per cent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Total number of presidents: 591

Table 24. Ratio of size of birthplace of college and university presidents and size of community of residence of 1920 United States population[a]

Size of Community	University Presidents				Liberal Arts College Presidents					All Presidents
	Public	Cath.	Prot.	Indep.	Public	Cath.	Prot.	Indep.	Tech.	
Rural or less than 2,500	1.04	0.00	1.08	0.58	1.18	0.44	0.92	0.58	0.85	0.83
2,500 to 25,000	0.94	1.25	1.19	1.25	1.13	0.88	1.56	1.56	1.06	1.19
25,000-100,000	1.20	1.00	1.00	1.70	1.30	2.50	1.40	2.00	1.00	1.60
Over 100,000	0.88	2.69	0.73	1.35	0.46	1.54	0.65	1.04	1.23	0.92

[a]Based upon analysis of Tables 22 and 23.

the same can be said for the presidents of the private, independent liberal arts and university presidents.

When the small town origins of 2,500 to 25,000 population size are considered, then it is found that the presidents across the board are fairly representative of these communities. In the cities of 25,000 to 100,000 residents, there is nearly a 60 per cent overrepresentation. While 10 per cent of the population were in these larger cities, nearly 16 per cent of the presidents were born there. In the large cities of over 100,000 people--which comprised 26 per cent of the population--some 24 per cent of all presidents are represented. However, again there are important variations depending upon the presidents' institution. For example, 70 per cent of the Catholic university presidents and 40 per cent of the Catholic college presidents come from large urban communities while there is a drastic drop in the relative percentage of public liberal arts presidents born in large urban areas.

It can be said that the heads of public colleges and universities and Protestant-related colleges and universities are well-representative of the general population in coming from rural communities and smaller urban settings, while these presidents tend not to come from large metropolitan cities. On the other hand, Catholic institution presidents are definitely of urban geographical origins with a majority from the larger cities.

A word should be mentioned here about the relatively small number of presidents who were born and raised outside the United States. Only 33 college and university presidents (or about 4 per cent, and nearly all, men) were foreign-born, and they were found in all types of institutions.

Summary and Conclusions

In the investigation of the occupational origins of academic presidents, it was found that the fathers represent all types and levels of occupations, but that there is some variation when presidents are grouped by different types of institutions. Among the non-Catholic university presidents, about 40 per cent of the fathers were professional men and another 16 per cent were farmers, and these occupations are the most prevalent. Among Catholic university presidents, occupational origins are found to a much larger extent at all levels of the business hierarchy with 20 per cent in the laborer category and 35 per cent in the major executive, large business owner categories. The non-Catholic liberal arts college presidents much like the university presidents are more likely to have professional and farming occupational origins. The Catholic liberal arts presidents resemble closely their university counterparts, except a greater percentage of the college presidents' fathers were in lower level business positions. When the fathers' occupations of

college and university presidents were compared to the general male population of 1940, it was found that five occupational groups are in greater proportion (overrepresented), and four occupational groups are in less proportion (underrepresented), than the national population would suggest. The occupations most overrepresented are (in rank order): professional fields, foreman and minor business positions, government civil service, major business executives, and military service. The underrepresented occupational groups are: farmers, skilled laborers, white-collar workers, and unskilled laborers. Among the college and university presidents with professional origins, fathers who were clergymen and elementary and secondary teachers were most prevalent.

The examination of geographical origins of academic presidents revealed that geographical mobility characterizes the careers of many men as well as occupational mobility. Although proportionally representative of nearly all regions of the country, there is evidence that certain regions with relatively more institutions seemed to draw upon and appeared more attractive to persons born in other regions. This finding suggests that a percentage of the presidents had been physically as well as occupationally mobile in their careers. The chapters on education and career patterns will develop further the mobility aspect that was uncovered in this chapter. The analysis of urban and rural origins revealed that

40 per cent were born in communities under 2,500 and another 20 per cent were from small towns under 25,000 people. While presidents of non-Catholic institutions more often came from rural or small towns, Catholic institution presidents came from large urban communities. Only about 4 per cent of the academic presidents were found to be foreign-born.

Thus, more similarities than differences were found among academic presidents in terms of their occupational and geographical origins. Although one might hypothesize that university presidents as a group would be different from liberal arts college presidents as another group, such was not found to be the case. If anything, the similarities were more pronounced when the form of control of the institution was used for analysis. For example, the public university and liberal arts college presidents had quite similar occupational origins that differentiated them from the others. The same can be said for the Catholic university and college presidents, the Protestant-related university and college presidents, and the independent university and college presidents. The greatest differences tended to arise between the presidents' institutions when form of control--rather than complexity--was the critical index.

It appears likely that some social factors, probably related to social status, religion, or other elements, led or attracted men to certain types of institutions, i.e.,

public, Catholic, Protestant-related, or independent, and that this pattern was reinforced in the types of institutions where they were educated, where they taught, and where they assumed the presidency. Future chapters will reflect such patterns. The next chapter focuses upon the potential influence of the family on the president's career.

CHAPTER V

INFLUENCES OF THE FAMILY

In attempting to understand the relationship between the social origins of academic presidents and their career patterns, the occupational origins of these educators were examined. Next, the investigation focused on their geographical and territorial origins by determining the regions of their birth and the types and sizes of communities of their birth. It is now the purpose to gain some understanding of the probable influences of key family members, in addition to the father, assisting movement to the top higher education administrative elite. In particular, the research looks at the grandfathers' occupations and places of birth and combines this with what is now known of the fathers' occupations. The results will show the occupational distance traveled by academic presidents as reflected in three generations.

The Warner studies showed that a father's occupation influences the son, not only by giving him a particular status in the community, but also by providing him with particular role models and opportunities for social mobility.

This idea prompts an analysis of occupational succession beginning with the grandfather to father and finally to son. Warner also hypothesized and found that the mother's father's occupation created its own influences on the occupational mobility of executives; hence a description of the mother's social origins in also warranted.

After a discussion of the paternal and maternal grandfathers' probable influences, there is an inspection of the extent of education of the presidents' parents along with their places of birth. Finally, a survey of the occupations of the wives' fathers is conducted to determine if the presidents married up, down, or across in an occupational sense, and thereby learn how marriage might be related to their career mobility.

Occupations of the Paternal Grandfathers

The comparisons of the occupations of the paternal grandfathers and fathers are found in Table 25. The data have been arranged on the basis of the different types of universities headed by the presidents.

Among all university presidents, except those heading Catholic universities, there is a definite movement away from farming occupations when the grandfathers and fathers are contrasted. The general movement is from farming to the professions and to minor and major positions in the business hierarchy.

Table 25. Occupations of paternal grandfathers and fathers of university presidents (in per cent)

	Presidents of Universities							
	Public		Catholic		Prot-Related		Independent	
Occupation	P.G.	F.	P.G.	F.	P.G.	F.	P.G.	F.
Unskilled laborer	5	2	0	10	0	5	0	3
Skilled laboer	9	8	33	10	0	5	15	0
Clerk, sales	0	0	0	10	6	5	4	7
Foreman	4	7	17	15	6	5	0	14
Major executive	1	7	6	20	0	5	0	10
Small business owner	9	13	28	5	22	5	12	0
Large business owner	1	3	6	15	0	0	0	14
Professional	21	32	6	10	11	40	34	45
Farmer	42	20	6	0	56	30	31	7
Government	10	6	0	5	0	0	4	0
Military	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total per cent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

When the grandfathers' occupations are reviewed it is clear that few were in the laborer categories, except for the Catholic university presidents' grandfathers where one-third were skilled workers. For the Catholic university president there is a continuation back through the second generation to the third generation of occupational origins in business. The fact observed earlier that Catholic university presidents had quite different occupational origins from other presidents extends back to the grandparents. For the public, Protestant-related, and independent university presidents, the continual occupational succession emanated largely from a farming and professional base with the grandfathers. As their sons moved to the cities and colleges, the farming category reduces and the professional and higher level business classes grows. For the grandfathers in the lower level business positions, there is a general upward movement to executive levels for their sons.

Thus, the roots of mobility extend back to the late 1800's, and it is evident that no occupational group was frozen from one generation to the other. In this occupational movement over the generations there was a recognition and cultivation of the value of education and achieving that sprang from largely farming and professional origins. It undoubtedly had many direct and subtle effects on some university presidents' career goals. (Indications of these effects are reflected in Chapter VIII.) Support for the

idea of likely influences between generations is clearer in the case of private, independent university presidents where one-third of the grandfathers were professional men and the positive regard for education had deep roots.

In Table 26, attention is focused on the occupations of the paternal grandfathers and fathers of the various liberal arts college presidents. As can be seen, the occupational origins of liberal arts presidents beginning with the paternal grandfathers show a general transition from the farm to the city similar to the story for the university presidents. Among the non-Catholic college presidents, the movement is definitely from the farms to the colleges where a large percentage of fathers prepared for professional fields. Complementing this mobility is the general upward rise in the business hierarchy from the grandfathers who were found in the laborer classes to their sons in higher level executive positions.

Table 26 shows that one-third of the grandfathers of the presidents of our independent universities were professional men and the occupational succession of independent college presidents also was assisted by the large percentage of their grandfathers who were professional men. And, again in the Catholic college president category, it is seen that while nearly 40 per cent of the grandfathers were laborers and another 40 per cent farmers, the fathers moved in

Table 26. Occupations of paternal grandfathers and fathers of liberal arts college presidents (in per cent)

	Presidents of Liberal Arts Colleges									
	Public		Catholic		Prot.		Indep.		Techn.	
Occupation	P.G.	F.	P.G.	F.	P.G.	F.	P.G.	F.	P.G.	F.
Unskilled laborer	10	4	17	14	8	8	5	6	5	33
Skilled laborer	15	13	20	14	9	10	11	4	5	3
Clerk, sales	1	4	2	8	2	4	0	1	0	7
Foreman	0	4	3	12	1	6	3	3	5	7
Major executive	2	6	3	6	1	6	6	10	0	0
Small business owner	12	14	9	13	8	9	11	8	10	13
Large business owner	1	3	0	2	0	1	2	4	0	4
Professional	8	25	7	13	17	40	23	48	17	25
Farmer	50	22	39	10	50	17	33	11	49	25
Government	2	6	1	5	2	3	6	4	9	3
Military	0	1	0	2	2	1	0	1	0	10
Total per cent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

significant numbers to higher level business positions as foremen, executives, and owners.

In Chapter IV and in this chapter the place of professional and farming occupational origins of academic presidents have been repeatedly brought to light. Table 27 gives a breakdown of the percentages of the paternal grandfathers and fathers of all presidents, and this table tells much of the story of continuity of occupations from grandfather to father to son.

Table 27. Summary of occupations of paternal grandfathers and fathers of all academic presidents in the sample

Occupations	Per Cent of Grandfathers	Per Cent of Fathers
Professions	15	31
Physician	2	2
Engineer	1	3
Lawyer	2	3
Clergyman	6	11
Elementary-secondary teacher	1	4
College faculty	2	4
Other professions	1	4
Farming	43	16
Laborers, clerks, sales	22	21
Business executives	5	13
Business owners	11	14
Other occupations	4	5
Total per cent	100	100

Even though there are differences in occupational origins of different groupings of academic presidents, Table 27 indicates that there is a broad occupational base in farming when the paternal grandfathers' careers are examined. About 43 per cent of the grandfathers engaged in agricultural vocations. Second in rank order were the lower level business occupations, primarily unskilled and skilled laborers (22 per cent) and third were professional men (15 per cent). Another 16 per cent were comprised of combined categories of business executives (5 per cent) and business owners (11 per cent). In the next generation, or among the fathers of academic presidents, the farming occupational base is sharply reduced, and there is a doubling of those in professional fields (31 per cent). Although all professions show increases between the father's father and the father, the percentage increases in the clergy and secondary and higher education are most evident. The category of laborers and white collar workers stayed about the same, but a larger percentage of fathers moved up to skilled workers and white collar workers while only 6 per cent of the 21 per cent represented unskilled laborers, the remaining being skilled. The combined business executive and business owner categories grew from 16 per cent to 27 per cent as there were fairly proportional increases in foremen, major business executives, small business owners, and large business owners among the fathers.

In consideration of the occupational origins of all college and university presidents it was found that a majority of the fathers and grandfathers were United States-born. About two-thirds of the paternal grandfathers were born in the United States and 85 per cent of the fathers were born in this country. The only significant variation in these percentages came from the Catholic college and university presidents where about 80 per cent of their fathers were born in the United States but only about one-third of their paternal grandfathers were born here. In all cases the fathers and grandfathers of the private, independent college presidents represent the largest percentage born in the United States, as 93 per cent of the fathers and 81 per cent of the grandfathers were United States-born.

It would appear that the professional and farming occupational origins for many of the non-Catholic institution presidents are tied to the fact that their families have been in the country well back into the rural-oriented America of the 1800's and have had a longer period of time to rise up through professional and business leadership. The Catholic institution presidents on the other hand represent primarily only the second generation born in this country and their rapid mobility stems from urban centers up through the business sector into religious life culminating in higher educational leadership.

Occupations of the Maternal Grandfathers

As we began this chapter, the point was raised that presumably the maternal grandfather's occupation had some influence on the early life of the academic president, as well as his father's and paternal grandfather's occupations. An analysis of the mother's father's occupation will show: (1) the status of the mother when the president's father married her and how different or similar their statuses were, and (2) other probable influences translated from mother to son of certain values and career goals that resulted from her own earlier family life. Table 28 offers the comparison in occupations of the maternal and paternal grandfathers of all academic presidents.

Table 28 indicates closely parallel occupational levels of the presidents' grandfathers in most categories. In the professional, farming, and lower-level business occupations, there are very similar occupational origins, and endogamy or marriages at the same occupational level are observed. Slightly more maternal grandfathers than paternal grandfathers are found in the business executive category, and in the business owner category, and about 4 per cent more of the mother's fathers were small business entrepreneurs. For neither grandparents is there a strong indication of involvement in education as such, but again the professions are strongly represented. In general, it can be said that the presidents' social origins as reflected in

Table 28. Occuptaions of paternal grandfathers and maternal grandfathers of college and university presidents

Occupations	Per Cent of Father's Father	Per Cent of Mother's Father
Professions	15	15
Physician	2	1
Engineer	1	1
Lawyer	2	2
Clergyman	6	5
Elementary-secondary teacher	1	2
College faculty	2	2
Other professions	1	2
Farming	43	40
Laborers, white-collar	22	21
Business executives	5	7
Business owners	11	15
Other occupations	4	2
Total per cent	100	100

the occupations of their paternal and maternal grandfathers are at the fairly same levels, with a slightly greater percentage of maternal grandfathers in the higher-level business hierarchy than the paternal grandfathers.

It also shows that the president's mother and father tended to marry at the same status level and undoubtedly reinforced any positive values toward success and mobility among their sons. The presidents' fathers as we have seen

made their ways into colleges and universities and entered the professions in twice the proportion as the grandparents.

In a detailed analysis of the grandfathers' occupations by the president's type of institution, no significant deviations were found, and the presentation in Table 28 was representative of all. It has been noted that two-thirds of the paternal grandfathers were born in the United States, except for those grandfathers of Catholic institution presidents, and about two-thirds of the maternal grandparents were also United States-born. As would be expected, only 30 per cent of the maternal grandparents of Catholic college presidents were United States-born. As in the case of the birthplaces of the academic presidents' fathers, about 85 per cent of the mothers were born in the United States.

Education of the Father and Mother

The study examined how much education was actually received by the parents of academic presidents. Judging from the occupation of the fathers it is expected that many are college graduates, but based upon questionnaire responses, a more exact picture is possible. Table 29 compares the relative amounts of education for the parents of college and university presidents in the sample.

Table 29 shows that about 45 per cent of the fathers and mothers of these top educators received less than a high school education. Of the approximately 54 per cent of the

Table 29. Extent of formal education of the parents of college and university presidents

Extent of Formal Education	Fathers (%)	Mothers (%)
Less than high school	33	31
Some high school	12	12
High school graduate	13	24
Some college	14	18
College graduate	10	14
Post-graduate study	17	2
Total per cent	100	100

fathers and 58 per cent of the mothers who graduated from high school, half the fathers went on to graduate from college while only about one-fourth of the mothers graduated from college. A large percentage of the mothers (24 per cent) terminated their formal education at the end of high school. However, it can be seen that 18 per cent of the mothers did obtain some college work and probably many met their spouses in college. It is not surprising that such a large percentage of the fathers received undergraduate and advanced degrees since it has been observed that 31 per cent of the fathers were in the professions, almost all of which require a college education. And it is known from Table 28, that over 25 per cent of the mothers' fathers were either professional men and business leaders, many of whom had the

opportunity to give financial assistance, knowledge, and encouragement to their daughters to attend college.

Such forces were linked to the largely endogamic relationships that characterized the presidents' parents' marriages, and unquestionably played a role in reinforcing, advising and maybe even insisting that their sons pursue college degrees in preparation for the professions. Even though a large percentage of the parents did not receive a high school diploma, the child undoubtedly had or identified with certain role-models and values that prized education. For another large percentage, however, the presidents were raised in homes where their fathers and mothers were college-educated and almost one-fifth of the fathers pursued college work beyond the bachelor's degree. The models and values related to the value of education in these latter families extended often into the third generation and had direct and indirect effects on the grandsons. Since the study of occupational succession of all academic presidents through the third generation shows a profile of primarily occupationally mobile families, the non-college educated parents, although at the lower occupational levels, presumably saw education as a road to a better life for their sons and daughters and supported this direction rather than using means to keep the sons at their own lower occupational levels.

At each generation, beginning with the grandfathers to the presidents, there is evidence of upward mobility and

a continual succession of growing professional and business leadership proportions, and a continual decrease in the percentages in rural or urban lower level positions in business. This mobility trend has culminated with the sons who are the subjects of this research, the presidents of a majority of American colleges and universities.

Wives of Academic Presidents

Much has been said thus far on the probable influences of the grandfathers, fathers, and mothers of academic presidents, but another important aspect of their lives still remains to be reviewed, namely their wives. Less than 2 per cent of all non-Catholic institution presidents are single, while nearly all presidents are married and have on the average, three children. The question of whether the presidents tended to marry at higher, similar, or lower occupational levels might again be raised. Was the general pattern of endogamy found among their parents repeated in their own lives? Since their wives' ascribed statuses immediately prior to marriage came from their fathers' occupations, it would be appropriate to compare the occupations of the academic presidents' fathers with the wives' fathers, and Table 30 summarizes the results.

In general, there is a fair amount of similarity in the occupational levels of the non-Catholic university president's father and the wife's father, although there are

Table 30. Occupational origins of the non-Catholic institution presidents and their wives

Occupations	Per Cent of non-Catholic Institution Presidents	Per Cent of Wives' Fathers
Professions	36	27
Physician	2	4
Engineer	3	3
Lawyer	3	3
Clergyman	14	6
Elementary-secondary teachers	5	3
College faculty	5	5
Other professions	4	3
Farming	18	15
Laborers, white-collar	17	16
Business executives	12	15
Business owners	13	20
Other occupations	4	7
Total per cent	100	100

greater differences than existed between the presidents' paternal and maternal grandfathers. On the one hand, a much greater percentage of presidents' fathers came from professional fields than the wives' fathers. About 36 per cent of the presidents' fathers were professional men (with 14 per cent as clergymen), while only 27 per cent of the wives' fathers were professionals (and only 6 per cent as clergymen).

In the farming occupations, the fathers were somewhat in larger proportion for the presidents than their wives. Among the fathers in the business sector, there were noticeable differences, and the wives' fathers were more represented in the higher-level positions. Fewer of the wives' fathers were laborers or white-collar workers when compared to the presidents' fathers, but a larger percentage of wives' fathers were in major business executive positions (10 per cent) and a larger percentage were owners of large businesses (7 per cent) than was found with the presidents' fathers. There are cases where the president's father's occupational status was higher (in the professional fields), while in other cases the wife's fathers occupational status was somewhat higher (in the business hierarchy). There is, then, evidence of a fair amount of endogamy between the presidents and their wives at the time of their marriages, with some important deviations.

An analysis of the wife's father's occupation supports the fact that she came from, on the average, higher level occupational origins than did the president's mother. About 45 per cent of the wives' fathers were either professional men, major business executives, or large business owners. It could be expected that the wives like the presidents' mothers were given opportunities for higher education and opportunities to meet men, especially in colleges, who were highly mobile themselves. When the wives' fathers'

occupational status was compared to the presidents' maternal grandfathers' occupations in Table 28, one is able to see the differences in ascribed status between the two women. Farming occupations for maternal grandfathers was 40 per cent and only 15 per cent for the wives' fathers; professional fields for the maternal grandfathers was 15 per cent and was 27 per cent for the wives' fathers. In short, the women the presidents married have occupational origins somewhat similar to their own and considerably higher than the mothers' statuses at their time of marriage.

Among the academic presidents, occupational mobility continued and is reflected in the marriages of the presidents. In the business leader study, there was the notion, no matter how ill-founded, that marrying the bosses daughter provided top positions for many sons-in-law, and some might believe this to be true in higher education as well. However, there is certainly no real evidence for this "myth" among academic presidents. In fact only eight of the total number of academic presidents in the study married women whose fathers were college presidents.

In conclusion, it is most likely that most men married laterally, some up, and some down when occupational origins are used as the comparative indices.

Summary and Conclusions

The investigation of family influences began with a study of the occupations of the presidents' paternal grandfathers in order to obtain a better understanding of the base for occupational succession over two generations. An analysis of the occupations of the paternal grandfathers of the presidents revealed that 43 per cent were farmers, 22 per cent were laborers and white collar workers, and 15 per cent were professional men. When compared to the fathers' occupations, it was evident that occupational succession was characterized by a general movement from the farm to the smaller cities and from lower-level business positions to higher-level business positions. Among the fathers, 31 per cent were professionals, 27 per cent were in business at middle or higher levels, and only 16 per cent were farmers. The fathers moved to the cities but more importantly to the colleges where nearly one-third prepared for professional careers.

It was discovered that 85 per cent of the parents and two-thirds of the grandfathers were United States-born, except for the parents and grandparents of Catholic institution presidents where 80 per cent of the fathers were United States-born and only 33 per cent of the grandfathers were United States-born. In general, the Catholic institution presidents reflected a higher mobility rate in a relatively

shorter preiod of time than did the presidents of other types of institutions.

Comparisons of the paternal and maternal grandfathers' occupations showed much similarity for the professional, farming, and lower level business occupations, but slightly more maternal grandfathers were in higher level business positions. It is likely that such occupational origins reinforced positive values of education and upward mobility in the sons. Moreover, since an attitude toward service is often an integral part of the professions, there was unquestionably a high regard in the value of service passed on to the sons. The presidents' parents were well educated although it was of interest that 45 per cent did not graduate from high school. Some 27 per cent of the fathers, however were college graduates and 17 per cent received graduate degrees.

The wives of college and university presidents (and only 2 per cent of the presidents of non-Catholic institutions were single) tended to come from similar occupational origins as the presidents themselves. However, more of the presidents came from professional families (36 per cent) than was true for the ascribed status the wives had at the time of marriage (27 per cent); but, the wives' occupational origins were more typically of a higher level for those fathers engaged in the business hierarchy. It was also found that the presidents' wives came from higher level

occupations than did the presidents' mothers, and the general movement of upward occupational mobility not only characterized occupational succession across the three generations, but was also reflected in the largely endogamous marriages of the presidents.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION OF THE ACADEMIC PRESIDENTS

Education has been instrumental not only in preparing individuals for high levels of responsibility, but also in providing critical avenues to leadership positions in American society. Studies of government and business executives found that education, particularly at the college level, helped prepare these men for their roles, and it gave opportunities to those born of lower occupational origins to rise into elite occupational positions. It would only seem reasonable that the heads of American colleges and universities would all be well-educated persons--and to a greater extent than virtually all other occupational groups. Based upon what is now known of the social origins and probable influences of the academic president's family, it is clear that while a large percentage used higher education as a road to vertical occupational mobility and success, another large percentage used their formal training as a means of lateral mobility among the professions. Such a finding prompts a number of questions about the academic presidents' education that form the basis of this chapter.

What was the extent of their formal education and the highest academic degree earned? How many had earned the academic doctorate or other degrees? What was the nature of their education including the major fields of study? Where and in what types of institutions did they receive their education? How many presidents were students at the institutions they now head?

Chapters IV and V focused on the president's start in life and probable social influences. This chapter reports on the process by which he learned skills that directly prepared him for his career.

Extent of Higher Education Received

As expected, the academic presidents proved to be a very well-educated group, and a majority had earned advanced graduate degrees. Table 31 gives the types of highest degrees earned by all academic presidents in the study.

When one considers all college and university presidents as a single group, Table 31 shows that nearly three-fourths have earned an academic doctorate. Another 16 per cent have attained a master's degree, 6 per cent have earned a professional graduate degree, and 5 per cent have earned a bachelor's degree.

Although a doctorate is not absolutely necessary, in general, to become a college or university president, it is clear that a large percentage had completed such formal

Table 31. Highest academic degrees earned by academic presidents

Highest Degree Earned	Per Cent of Presidents
Bachelor's degree	5
Master's degree	16
Doctoral degree	73
Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)	58
Doctor of Education (Ed.D.)	11
Doctor of Sacred Theology (S.T.D.)	1
Other Academic Doctorate	3
Other graduate degrees	6
Medicine	0.05
Law	2
Divinity (B.D.)	3
Other religious degrees	0.05
Total per cent	100.0

Total number of presidents: 760

programs of study. The doctor of philosophy degree leads all doctorates with 58 per cent, while 11 per cent have earned the doctor of education, 1 per cent have earned the doctor of sacred theology (the academic doctorate for theological study earned by Roman Catholic priests), and 3 per cent have earned other academic doctorates.

Table 32 gives a more refined breakdown of the above data and, as usual, differences are reflected based upon the type of institution the president heads.

Table 32. Highest academic degrees earned by different college and university presidents

	University Presidents				Liberal Arts Presidents				
Highest Degree Earned	Public	Cath.	Prot.	Indep.	Public	Cath.	Prot.	Indep.	Techn.
Bachelor's	6	1	0	0	1	5	6	7	20
Master's	8	15	19	17	7	23	21	15	10
Doctorate	78	75	66	76	91	70	61	73	70
Ph.D.	68	55	66	72	51	64	51	67	61
Ed.D	9	0	0	0	37	2	5	5	3
S.T.D.	0	20	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Other	1	0	0	4	3	1	5	1	6
Other grad. degrees	8	0	15	7	1	2	12	5	0
Medicine (M.D.)	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Law (LL.B., J.D.)	3	0	5	7	1	0	2	3	0
Divinity (B.D.)	2	0	5	0	0	0	9	1	0
Other religious	0	1	5	0	0	2	1	0	0
Total per cent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 32 shows that an academic doctorate is the most prevalent degree found among academic presidents, but there are variations based upon the president's type of institution. The presidents of public liberal arts colleges represent the largest percentage who have earned the doctorate as nine out of ten are so educated. Public university presidents follow with 78 per cent having earned the doctorate, while most other institutional types have close to 75 per cent with a doctorate. It can be seen that only the presidents of the Protestant-related universities and liberal arts colleges have a relatively smaller percentage who earned a doctorate (66 per cent and 61 per cent, respectively).

A closer examination of those who have earned the doctorate reveals that the most common degree earned by all is the Ph.D., with a few modifications. The doctor of education degree was earned by 37 per cent of the public liberal arts college presidents. (It should be born in mind that many of the colleges in this category are teacher-oriented institutions. This in part may account for the selection of individuals who have earned the Ed.D., a degree that is primarily aimed at training professional educational administrators.) About 9 per cent of public university presidents have also earned the Ed.D. Among Catholic educators, the doctor of sacred theology (S.T.D.), was a prominent program of study following the Ph.D.

As one moves to an analysis of the professional graduate degrees earned, the bachelor of divinity curriculum--the usual degree for Protestant clergymen--was completed by a fairly large percentage, especially those presidents who head Protestant-related universities and colleges. It is evident that few presidents were specifically and formally trained to be medical doctors or lawyers.

Of the average of 16 per cent of all presidents who earned a degree no higher than the master's level, there are variations based upon the president's type of institution. The differences are more noticeable in the private institutions, and the largest percentage are found among Catholic liberal arts presidents (23 per cent), Protestant-related college presidents (21 per cent), and Protestant-related university presidents (19 per cent). Across each type of institution those presidents who had earned the bachelors' degrees and no other are found in relatively few numbers, although there is a slightly larger percentage in public universities and private liberal arts colleges. (Even though the technological institution presidents as a group had about 20 per cent who attained the bachelor's degree and no higher, the percentage was slanted upward due to the fact that the heads of military colleges were generally graduates of four-year engineering and military programs and pursued military careers until selected for an academic presidency.)

Upon further analysis it was found that male and female college and university presidents compare as follows in Table 33.

Table 33. Highest degree earned by male and female presidents

Highest Degree Earned	Men (%)	Women (%)
Bachelor's	6	1
Master's	15	20
Academic doctorate	72	75
Other degrees	7	4
Total per cent	100	100

The only difference that was found in the extent of education of men and women is that a relatively greater percentage of men have received a bachelor's degree as the highest degree while a relatively larger percentage of women have earned the master's degree. The sexes are very similar for earning an academic doctorate or another type of degree.

When the extent of education was based upon presidents of institutions in different regions of the country, there were only minor differences, as seen in Table 34.

The presidents in various sections of the country are very similar based upon their highest degree earned. New England seems to have a relatively larger percentage of presidents who earned a master's degree and no higher, but

Table 34. Highest degree earned by the location of the institution

Region of Institution	Highest Degree Earned (in %)				
	Bachelor's	Master's	Doctorate	Other	Total
New England	6	22	67	5	100
Middle Atlantic	6	13	77	4	100
South Atlantic	9	12	68	11	100
East South Central	0	17	76	7	100
West South Central	5	15	72	8	100
East North Central	3	21	70	6	100
West North Central	7	11	74	8	100
Mountain	3	11	80	6	100
Pacific	4	18	77	1	100

it is also true that a larger number of Catholic liberal arts colleges and Protestant-related colleges and universities are found in New England, and a good percentage of these presidents possess the master's and no higher (see Table 32). The same explanation holds for the relatively high percentage of presidents in the East North Central region. In the South Atlantic region, there is a large percentage of Protestant-related colleges and this largely accounts for the somewhat greater "other degrees" earned since many of these presidents earned bachelor of divinity degrees.

Another analysis of the highest degree earned by academic presidents was based upon the tenure or number of years in office. This was prompted by the question of whether there were trends over time in the academic training

of these educators. The table on the next page gives the breakdown based upon tenure.

In Table 35, it is evident that when the extent of education of presidents is compared with tenure in office, there are gradual changes. Initially the reader is cautioned that the interpretation of Table 35 is limited in some respects because of a selectivity process that has taken place over the twenty or more years. It is not possible to state, unequivocally, that more college presidents of today have earned doctorates than academic presidents twenty years ago. For example, there are only 46 presidents in the sample who have been in office over 20 years and to assume that they are representative of American college and university presidents in office twenty years ago is not justifiable. (And unfortunately, no prior study of academic presidents' careers is available for comparative purposes.) And the same reasoning must be applied at each arbitrarily-selected interval. Nevertheless, as one recognizes the pitfalls in interpretation (especially going back beyond ten years in office), there is evidence that a greater percentage of new academic presidents have earned the doctorate than presidents selected in the recent past. Eighty-one per cent of the 60 presidents in the sample who took office in the 1967-68 academic year had earned a doctorate (39 Ph.D.'s, 5 Ed.D.'s, 3 S.T.D.'s, and 2 other types of doctorates). As one moves back in time at five year intervals, there is a gradual decrease in the

Table 35. Highest degree earned based upon tenure in office

Highest Degree Earned	Number of Years in Present Position					
	Under 1	1-4	5-10	11-15	16-20	Over 20
Bachelor's	2	5	6	2	8	11
Master's	10	14	15	17	21	26
Doctorate	81	76	73	72	64	57
Other	7	5	6	9	7	6
Total per cent	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total number	60	258	231	94	61	46

percentage with doctorates and a gradual increase in the percentage with bachelor's and master's degrees as the highest degree earned. Of all present academic presidents in the sample, those with increasingly longer tenures in office are more likely to have earned less than a doctorate, while those with shorter tenures in office are more likely to have earned the doctorate.

Programs of Study

The presidents were asked to indicate their fields of study--undergraduate and graduate--in addition to their highest degrees attained. These fields of study were then categorized into five major groups: (1) applied fields (including the study of agriculture, business disciplines, and engineering curricula); (2) education (including elementary and secondary education, educational administration,

guidance); (3) natural sciences (including the physical, biological, and mathematical sciences); (4) humanities (including philosophy, history, religion, literature, and the classics); and (5) social sciences (including sociology, anthropology, psychology, economics, political science). The fields of study were then examined for presidents of all types of institutions at four degree levels: (1) undergraduate or bachelor's, (2) master's, (3) doctorate, and (4) other professional degree level.

Upon analysis it was found that academic presidents studied nearly all curricula, but some majors appeared more often than others. Table 36 gives the distribution of the five major fields of study for all presidents at the undergraduate level. (In the text following the table, significant variations in majors based upon the president's type

Table 36. Undergraduate programs of study for academic presidents

Program of Study	Per Cent of Presidents
Applied fields	12.1
Education	7.3
Natural sciences	17.8
Humanities	49.3
Social sciences	13.5
Total per cent	100.0

Total number: 760

of institution are noted. To include tabular data for every type of president at each degree level would unnecessarily complicate the presentation.)

Bachelor's Degree Level

For all academic presidents, nearly half took undergraduate degrees in the humanities or general arts and letters field. This was true for each type of institutional president studied, except for the presidents of technological institutions. In these latter colleges, combinations of engineering and the physical-mathematical sciences were most prevalent (64 per cent). The humanities tended to be the most popular programs especially for all the private college and university presidents with about 60 per cent of these presidents having earned an undergraduate degree in these related disciplines. Only the public university and public liberal arts college presidents earned bachelor's degrees in other disciplines in relatively large percentages even though the humanities still ranked first among the public presidents. Rivaling the humanities for the education of the public institution presidents were education (21 per cent) and social science (18 per cent) curricula.

Thus, a majority of the academic presidents majored in the humanities fields, and these fields are most often regarded as central to the liberal education as preparatory to the professions. However, the natural sciences, applied fields, and social sciences also served as frequent

educational programs. Education (mainly secondary) was pursued by a small percentage of presidents, most of whom are heading public liberal arts colleges.

Master's Degree Level

At the master's degree level, the humanities were still the most important fields of study for academic presidents, but there was a movement to other disciplines as well. Table 37 reviews the master's programs.

Table 37. Master's degree level curricula for academic presidents

Program of Study	Per Cent of Presidents
Applied fields	9.3
Education	26.8
Natural sciences	10.7
Humanities	39.5
Social sciences	13.7
Total per cent	100.0

Total number: 590

In Table 37, it is seen that the humanities were still the most popular majors for the presidents, but there is a 10 per cent reduction when compared to Table 36. Also reduced in percentages from the bachelor's to master's levels are the applied fields (from 12.1 per cent to 9.3 per cent) and the natural sciences (from 17.8 per cent to 10.7 per cent). Those pursuing graduate work in the social sciences remained about 13 per cent. However, the program of study reflecting

the greatest increase was education. While only 7.3 per cent earned undergraduate degrees in education, over 26 per cent earned a master's degree in education. It would appear that at the conclusion of their undergraduate programs, a relatively large percentage shifted from the humanities, natural sciences, and applied fields to primarily the general field of education.

This general movement to education, with still strong representation in the humanities, occurred among presidents of all types of institutions but was greater among the heads of public liberal arts colleges where nearly half earned master's degrees in education. In all other types of institutions, about 19 per cent of the presidents earned master's degrees in education.

Table 37 also indicates that 590 presidents out of the original 760 earned master's degrees, i.e., 77.6 per cent earned master's degrees.

Doctoral Degree Level

In Table 38, the doctoral level curricula completed by the 72.6 per cent or 552 college and university presidents are presented.

The trend away from the humanities continued at the doctoral level but was drastically reduced. Well over one-third of college and university presidents earned academia's highest formal degree, the doctorate, in the humanities disciplines. The percentage taking degrees in the applied

Table 38. Doctoral level curricula for academic presidents

Program of Study	Per Cent of Presidents
Applied fields	6.8
Education	29.7
Natural sciences	12.7
Humanities	36.8
Social sciences	13.9
Total per cent	100.0

Total number: 552

fields continued to decline to 6.8 per cent, while there was a slight increase, from 10.7 to 12.7 per cent in the natural sciences. The percentage in the social sciences continued to stay at about the same rate, increasing very slightly to 13.9 per cent. In the education fields, there was a 3 per cent increase to 29.7 per cent, with some 11 per cent earning an Ed.D. and 18.7 per cent earning a Ph.D. in education.

Analysis by the president's type of institution again shows some variations, as nearly 55 per cent of the public liberal arts presidents earned doctorates in education. Among all the presidents of private institutions, the humanities and social sciences represented doctoral training for an average of 63 per cent of the presidents. Among all the public institution presidents, a doctoral degree in education led with 49.5 per cent followed by 21.4 per cent in the humanities.

Other Degree Level

It was mentioned earlier that a relatively large percentage of academic presidents earned degrees other than those considered already. While all presidents earned at least a bachelor's degree, and most moved to a master's and doctorate in that order, 18.6 per cent of 140 individuals earned other types of degrees. (For about 6 per cent--as given in Table 31--the following professional programs represented the highest degree earned, but for over 12 per cent of the presidents, the following degrees were held along with an academic doctorate.) Table 39 gives these "other" programs of study.

Table 39. Other degrees earned by academic presidents

Program of Study	Per Cent of Presidents
Medicine	0.4
Law	2.1
Divinity (B.D.)	9.9
Other religious	4.3
Other degrees	1.9
Total per cent	18.6

The graduate divinity degree (B.D.) was earned by 74 persons or nearly 10 per cent of the academic presidents in the sample. The vast majority (56 individuals) who have earned the bachelor of divinity are presidents of Protestant-related liberal arts colleges. As such, these degrees mean

that about 27 per cent of the presidents of Protestant-related liberal arts colleges are professionally-educated ministers. Another 19 per cent of the presidents of Protestant-related universities are also professionally-educated ministers who received the bachelor of divinity degree.

The category of other religious degrees represents special programs of study completed mainly by the male presidents of Catholic colleges and universities.

Institutions Where Education Was Received

With an increased awareness of the extent and programs of study of academic presidents, it is now pertinent to consider the types of institutions that educated these men and women. Were they educated primarily in a few colleges and universities at each degree level, or did they receive their formal education randomly at institutions throughout the country? Were private college and university presidents educated mainly in private institutions and were public college and university presidents educated mainly in public institutions? Were most of the presidents educated in one or two regions of the country or from all regions?

It must be kept in mind that there is great diversity between and among American colleges and universities in a number of fundamental respects. Such diversity affects the content and quality of education received by the students of an institution over a period of time. Any attempt to

categorize institutions is fraught with difficulties and potential errors since the uniqueness of each is necessarily hidden. Nonetheless, a classification scheme such as the institution's form of control is believed to yield valuable data. This data brings to light general patterns and trends that might be lost by trying to be too specific.

The analysis of the academic presidents' education begins with Table 40--an examination of the types of institutions where the presidents received their undergraduate degrees. For purposes of clarity, the customary breakdown for the type of institution the president now heads will continue. In addition, five general classes were utilized to show the type of institution where the president received his degree: (1) private liberal arts college, (2) private university, (3) public liberal arts college, (4) public university, and (5) private and public technological institution. The private institutions may have some relationship to a religious body or be independent; the public institutions may be city, state, or federally supported. The formal accreditation of the institution indicated whether it was recognized as a university or college.

In general, Table 40 shows that over half of all academic presidents (52 per cent) received their undergraduate degrees in private liberal arts colleges, 17 per cent in private universities, 15 per cent in public universities, 14 per cent in public liberal arts colleges, and 2 per cent

Table 40. Types of institutions where academic presidents received their undergraduate degrees

Institutions Where Bachelor's Degree Received	University Presidents				Liberal Arts Col. Presidents					All Presidents
	Pub.	Cath.	Prot.	Indep.	Pub.	Cath.	Prot.	Indep.	Techn.	
Private college	36	6	53	62	25	67	73	65	12	52
Private university	10	87	39	19	11	25	13	16	19	17
Public college	10	0	5	4	45	4	4	4	19	14
Public university	44	0	5	15	18	3	9	12	19	15
Technological inst.	0	6	0	0	1	1	1	3	31	2
Total per cent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

in technological institutions. However, there are no significant differences based upon the type of institution the president now heads. For example, it is initially clear that a large percentage of the presidents of public colleges and universities received their bachelor's degrees in public institutions, while a majority of the private institution presidents received their undergraduate degrees at privately-supported institutions.

Moreover, as each type of institution is examined more critically, about 44 per cent of the public university presidents received their degrees in public universities and 45 per cent of public liberal arts presidents received their degrees in public colleges. Among Catholic institution presidents, about 92 per cent received their degrees in private institutions with nearly all the university presidents educated in Catholic universities, and over two-thirds the Catholic college presidents educated in Catholic liberal arts colleges. The presidents of Protestant-related and independent institutions were primarily educated in private institutions. Almost one-third of the presidents of technological institutions received their undergraduate degrees in technological or military academies and institutions, while a relatively similar percentage were educated in the other types of public and private institutions.

The colleges and universities where the academic presidents took their undergraduate programs represent multifarious institutions throughout the country. Table 41 gives the percentages of institutions attended by all the presidents. In addition, special notation is made of the types of institutions in each region which have had the greatest percentage of academic presidents in attendance.

It can be seen that 19 per cent of academic presidents received their undergraduate education in the institutions in the East North Central states, 17 per cent in the West North Central states, and 15 per cent in the Middle Atlantic states. In short, the presidents received their bachelors' degrees in a variety of institutions in all regions of the country.

At the master's level there was, of course, movement away from the important sources of undergraduate education, that is, the liberal arts colleges, to the nation's centers of graduate programs, the universities. Table 42 gives the types of institutions where the 590 academic presidents who earned master's degrees completed that level.

In Table 42 the academic presidents are seen attending the private and public universities in much larger percentages. The largest percentage still attended private institutions, mainly the private universities, but a growing percentage also turned to public universities. The public liberal arts colleges were still attended for master's

Table 41. Distribution of college and university presidents by region where bachelor's degree was received

Region	% of Presidents Receiving Bachelor's Degrees in Region	Rank Order of Region	Types of Institutions in Region Most Often Attended
New England	10	5	Private liberal arts
Middle Atlantic	15	3	Private university
Middle Atlantic			Private liberal arts
South Atlantic	12	4	Private liberal arts
East South Central	7	7	Private liberal arts
West South Central	9	6	Public liberal arts
West South Central			Private university
East North Central	19	1	Public university
East North Central			Private university
East North Central			Private liberal arts
West North Central	17	2	Public college and univ.
West North Central			Private liberal arts
Mountain	3	9	Public university
Pacific	7	7	Public university
Washington, D.C.	11	10	Private university
Total per cent	100		

Table 42. Types of institutions where university and college presidents received their master's degrees

Institutions Where Master's Received	University Presidents				Liberal Arts Presidents					All Presidents
	Pub.	Cath.	Prot.	Indep.	Pub.	Cath.	Prot.	Indep.	Tech.	
Private college	11	8	20	36	4	8	14	23	6	12
Private university	26	92	53	41	33	85	41	38	27	45
Public college	6	0	0	5	11	0	7	5	6	6
Public university	57	0	27	18	52	7	38	34	40	36
Technological inst.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	1
Total per cent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 43. Types of institutions where university and college presidents received their doctoral degrees

Universities Where Doctorate Received	University Presidents				Liberal Arts Presidents					All Presidents
	Pub.	Cath.	Prot.	Indep.	Pub.	Cath.	Prot.	Indep.	Tech.	
Private university	37	67	69	86	43	91	54	70	55	60
Public university	63	33	31	14	57	9	46	30	45	40
Total per cent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

degrees in education while a number of private colleges awarded advanced degrees in other professional programs. It was observed that the presidents of public institutions attended public universities in much greater percentages than did the presidents of private institutions, and the presidents of private institutions were more likely to have attended private universities (except for presidents of Catholic institutions).

When analysis was made of the regions where presidents received their master's degrees and compared to Table 41, there were increased percentages in the colleges and universities in New England, Middle Atlantic, Washington, D.C., and the East North Central regions. The types of universities most frequently attended were private universities in the New England and Middle Atlantic regions, and the state universities in similar proportions in the East North Central regions. There were reduced percentages of presidents earning master's degrees in the South Atlantic, East South Central, West South Central, and West North Central states. Approximately the same percentages earned master's degrees in the Mountain and Pacific regions as those who earned bachelor's degrees.

For their doctoral degrees, 73 per cent of the academic presidents attended private and public universities as shown in Table 43, p. 150.

Following the pattern observed for receiving their undergraduate and master's degrees, the presidents of public institutions were more likely to have been educated at the doctoral level in public rather than private universities. The presidents of private institutions more often were educated in private universities. On the whole, about 60 per cent of all academic presidents received their doctoral training in private universities, and the remaining individuals were granted doctorates from public universities. It is interesting to note that one-third of Catholic university presidents received doctorates in public universities, while none of these men were educated in public institutions prior to the doctoral level. However, over 90 per cent of the presidents of Catholic liberal arts colleges received doctoral degrees at private, Catholic institutions.

An analysis of the regions where these doctoral-level institutions were located showed that about 60 per cent were found in three regions: East North Central (25 per cent), Middle Atlantic (22 per cent), and New England (13 per cent). In the East North Central states, the universities most often attended were the state universities and a few private universities; in the Middle Atlantic states, nearly all attended private universities; in New England, nearly all attended private universities. About 10 per cent of all presidents received doctorates in the West North Central states (mainly at state universities);

7 per cent received doctorates in the Pacific region in similar proportions at public and private universities; 6 per cent received doctorates in private universities in the nation's capital.

Major Universities Where Doctorates Received

In academia, the doctorate is considered the highest formally ranking degree, and it represents an extended commitment of study beyond the master's degree level. It is the professional academic preparation in a field of study and is increasingly regarded as a "union card" to a career in higher education. The significance of the doctorate for entry into as well as mobility within higher education has led to an examination to determine if certain specific universities were attended more frequently than others at that level of formal training. It is important to remember that the presidents represented many curricula and the actual choice of an institution by each person is a complex process and related to a great number of factors. Nevertheless, a number of issues were pursued: whether certain institutions seemed to be perceived as the most desirable choices (for whatever reasons) among the presidents; whether a relatively small number of universities were responsible for the professional training of these individuals; and whether the presidents earned their doctorates randomly in universities throughout the nation.

Table 44 gives the number and percentage of universities granting at least 10 doctorates to the total number of academic presidents who earned that degree.

Table 44. Sixteen universities granting the most academic doctorates to academic presidents

Name of University	Number of Universities	Cumulative Per Cent[a]
Univ. of Chicago	30	5.9
Columbia University	29	11.5
Harvard University	28	17.0
Catholic University	28	22.4
Yale University	19	26.1
University of Iowa	18	29.7
New York University	18	33.3
Ohio State University	18	36.8
University of Wisconsin	18	40.3
University of Michigan	16	43.4
Fordham University	15	46.3
Cornell University	14	49.2
St. Louis University	12	51.5
University of Illinois	11	53.6
Univ. of Pennsylvania	11	55.7
Univ. of California (Berkeley)	10	57.6

[a]The percentages were based upon the 512 individuals who gave a specific name of where the doctorate was received.

It can be seen that about 57 per cent of the presidents received their doctorates in one of 16 universities. In addition, four private universities granted doctorates to 22 per cent of the presidents: Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, and Catholic University. Of the sixteen universities shown above, five are in the Ivy League: Columbia, Harvard, Yale, Cornell, and Pennsylvania; five are large state universities

in the Midwest: Iowa, Ohio State, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Illinois; three are Catholic universities: Catholic University in Washington, D.C., Fordham University, and St. Louis University; two are well-esteemed private universities: Chicago and New York University; and one is the large public university in the West, University of California at Berkeley.

An analysis of institutions attended for doctoral training revealed that the presidents of public institutions mainly attended midwestern state universities, along with a concentration in four private universities (Harvard, Columbia, Chicago, and New York University). A majority of those attending Columbia were graduates of Columbia's Teachers College. The presidents of Catholic institutions attended Catholic universities (Catholic University, Fordham, and St. Louis and some at Notre Dame) and also attended universities outside the United States (Rome and Toronto). The presidents of private, non-Catholic institutions were most likely to have attended Harvard, Yale, Columbia, and Chicago.

In short, while the presidents of college and universities attended a great variety of institutions at each degree level, there was a relatively small number of universities attended by the presidents at the doctoral level.

Education in Foreign Countries

On the basis of questionnaire responses it was learned that relatively few academic presidents earned academic degrees at foreign universities. A few had studied

for a short period of time, but by and large most academic presidents have not pursued formal studies outside the United States. For the small number who did study abroad, the most often mentioned institutions were Oxford, Cambridge, Rome, and Toronto.

Presidents Who Are Alumni of Their Present Institutions

There was some suggestion in the more popular literature that a number of college and university presidents were at one time students at their present institutions. It has been implied that alumni of institutions are often considered and finally selected by boards of trustees who attempt to fill vacancies in the office. This idea was tested using questionnaire responses, and a summary is presented in Table 45.

Table 45 indicates that about 23 per cent of the academic presidents in the study earned an undergraduate or graduate degree at the institution they now head, but there are some variations with the type of institution of the president. For example, about 45 per cent of the presidents of Catholic institutions received degrees (nearly all, undergraduate) at their present institutions. It can be seen that a relatively larger percentage of private, non-Catholic liberal arts presidents are alumni of their present institutions than is the case for their counterparts in the private universities. Furthermore, of those who are alumni, there

Table 45. Percentage of presidents who earned an academic degree at their present institution[a]

Presidents' Institutions	Did Not Earn a Degree (%)	Did Earn a Degree (%)
Public university	87	13
Catholic university	55	45
Protestant-related univ.	81	19
Independent university	93	7
Public liberal arts	87	13
Catholic liberal arts	55	45
Protestant-related lib. arts	77	23
Independent liberal arts	83	17
Technological institution	92	8
Total per cent for all presidents	77	23

[a]This does not include honorary degrees awarded by institutions but only academic degrees granted by virtue of completing a formal undergraduate or graduate program.

is a somewhat greater likelihood that Protestant-related, liberal arts presidents are alumni. Among the presidents of public colleges and universities, only 13 per cent were found to be alumni.

Thus, it can be shown that, in general, about 2 in 10 academic presidents are alumni of their present institutions. However, the ratio more than doubles for presidents of Catholic institutions, is somewhat less for the presidents of public institutions, and is about equal for the presidents of private, non-Catholic institutions.

Summary and Conclusions

It has been demonstrated that along with social origins and familial influences, higher education has played a crucial part in the careers of academic presidents. Nearly three-fourths of college and university presidents earned an academic doctorate, with a Doctor of Philosophy the most prevalent degree. Only minor variations were found based upon the president's type of institution, sex, or the location of the institution. After the Ph.D., the Doctor of Education was found relatively more among the presidents of public liberal arts colleges, the Doctor of Sacred Theology was more prevalent among Catholic university presidents, and the Bachelor of Divinity was a frequent degree for presidents of Protestant-related liberal arts colleges. Few presidents terminated their formal education at the bachelor's degree level although the master's degree for many presidents of Catholic colleges and Protestant-related colleges represented the highest degree earned. Of the academic presidents studied, those selected to the presidency in the last five years were more likely to have earned a doctorate when compared to those with longer than ten years tenure in their positions.

Academic presidents studied nearly all curricula, but some majors at different levels were more popular. Nearly half of all presidents took undergraduate work in the humanities and this field of interest was more prevalent for

presidents of all types of institutions. About 78 per cent of the presidents earned master's degrees, and there was a movement to formal study in education from the still leading field of humanities. The presidents who earned doctorates continued the trend to education and away from other majors, although the humanities still remained the most prevalent major with 37 per cent of the presidents studying in these disciplines. For presidents of public institutions, a greater percentage received doctorates in education followed by humanities; whereas among the presidents of private institutions, humanities and social science were the leading majors. The graduate divinity degree (B.D.) was held by nearly 10 per cent of academic presidents with the majority being presidents of Protestant-related liberal arts colleges.

At the undergraduate level, the presidents studied in public and private institutions throughout the country. At the master's and doctoral levels, there was a greater concentration of presidents studying in relatively fewer institutions, mainly in the East North Central, Middle Atlantic, and New England states. At the graduate level, the presidents of private institutions more likely were educated in private universities, while the presidents of public institutions more frequently studied at public universities. Only sixteen universities were attended by 57 per cent of the presidents at the doctoral level. The universities of Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, and Catholic University

granted academic doctorates to nearly one-fourth of those earning such degrees.

It was found that few presidents pursued formal degree programs outside the United States, and for those that did, the universities at Oxford, Cambridge, Rome and Toronto were most frequently mentioned.

Approximately 23 per cent of all college and university presidents are alumni of the institutions they now head with some variations. Almost half the presidents of Catholic institutions are alumni of their present institutions, slightly more than 10 per cent of presidents of public institutions are alumni of their institutions, and about 20 per cent of the private, non-Catholic institution presidents are alumni of their present institutions.

In Chapters IV and V special mention was made that the social origins of presidents seemed to correlate with their present type of institution. It was also clear that the formal training received by presidents of each type of institution--public, Catholic, Protestant-related or independent--was quite similar. Experiences, models, values, and philosophies were formulated in and associated with the kind of institution the president now heads. It will be seen that this theme carries through into their full-time careers.

CHAPTER VII

CAREER PATTERNS OF ACADEMIC PRESIDENTS

In Chapters IV, V, and VI, the focus was on some of the important social and educational factors that gave academic presidents a particular starting point for their careers. Occupational, community, and geographical origins contributed toward the formation of their aspirations and helped determine the extent of opportunities for occupational and social mobility. The aspirations and opportunities were reflected most deeply in the acceptance and value placed in education. In the professional preparation of these individuals, higher education was a must and advanced work through the doctorate was among the usual academic credentials. Nevertheless, it was found with the business and government executives that the steps in a man's career were not completely determined by social and educational factors, and it would be natural for changes in direction to occur over a period of time.

Although changes are often due to external factors in a person's environment, important changes quite often are tied to the upwardly mobile person himself. Modern writers might discuss the force and direction of personality and

psychological drives in terms of an individual's on-going discovery of who he is or would like to be, an unconscious and continual development into a more fully functioning human being, or a greater capacity to persist, to act, to achieve power, and so on. The inner psychological drives and individual variations in the academic president's career were not the subject for this research, but it was possible to obtain a perspective on the major career patterns formed throughout the person's full-time career. The findings of a study that closely followed the president's career at regular intervals from the time he first began working full-time to his present position are reported in this chapter.

The central questions of this chapter include the following: What sequence of occupations did the presidents hold prior to assuming the presidency? How long did it take to move from the first full-time position to the presidency? At what age did the individuals assume the presidency and how long have they been in the positions? What have been the educational experiences either as teachers or administrators prior to becoming presidents? What were the immediate springboards to the presidency? How many of these individuals have established their careers at more than one institution? How many have been presidents of other institutions as well as the institution each now heads?

Career Patterns of All Presidents

In Table 46 significant portions of the career patterns of all academic presidents are given for a twenty-year period, beginning with the presidents' first full-time positions.

It can be seen that for the great majority of presidents, their careers began and continued in education and professional fields. Two-thirds of the individuals began their careers in education with one-third of all presidents beginning as elementary or secondary schoolteachers. About 26 per cent began as teachers at the college level. It was interesting that only 3 per cent of the presidents began their careers in educational administration at the college level. When other professions were examined, about 17 per cent began their careers in religious service with another 6 per cent in the medical, legal, engineering, and other recognized professions. Contrary to popular belief, relatively few academic presidents began or spent significant parts of their careers in business (5 per cent), government (2 per cent), military (3 per cent), or farming (0.3 per cent) occupations.

Over the next twenty years, there is a continuously growing percentage of presidents in education, while the other major occupational categories steadily decline. Five years after their careers began, many of the presidents left teaching at the elementary or secondary level, while there

Table 46. Career sequence of college and university presidents for a twenty-year period (in per cent)

Occupation of President	First Occupation	5 Yrs. Later	10 Yrs. Later	15 Yrs. Later	20 Yrs. Later
Education	67	77	84	88	92
Elementary-secondary teacher	33	13	5	1	0*
Principal, superintendent	2	12	8	6	3
College faculty	26	32	26	14	5
Chairman of department	1	7	11	7	5
Dean of college	1	4	9	11	7
College admin.: below Vice Pres.	3	4	8	8	3
College admin.: Vice President	0*	3	6	11	6
College president	1	2	11	30	63
Other Professions	23	13	10	7	4
Clergy or religious	17	8	6	4	2
Other professions	6	5	4	3	2
Business	5	3	1	1	1
Laborer	1	0	0	0	0
White-collar	2	1	0	0	0
Minor executive	1	1	0*	0*	0*
Major executive	1	1	1	1	1
Business owner	0*	0*	0*	0*	0*
Other	5	6	4	4	2
Government	2	1	2	2	1
Military	3	5	2	2	1
Farmer	0*	0	0	0	0
Total per cent	100	100	100	100	100

[a]Less than 0.5 per cent. Total number: 760.

were increases in principal or superintendent positions, college faculty, and administrative positions in higher education.

The category of other professions declined from 23 to 13 per cent and many of those in religious service turned to education.[1] At the end of five years, there were decreases in business and government, and a slight rise in military service where many of the men fulfilled military obligations.

Ten years later the basic trends continue with 84 per cent now engaged in education and 10 per cent in other professions. Within the education category, a further movement away from teaching at elementary-secondary levels is noted. In addition, there is a beginning movement out of principal and superintendent positions and faculty member statuses. Many presidents moved into positions as department chairmen, college deans, lower level administrators, and academic vice presidents. After 10 years in their careers, 11 per cent of the individuals were selected to a college presidency.

At the end of fifteen years, 88 per cent of the presidents were in education and 7 per cent were in the

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[1]The category of "clergy and religious" includes the heads of Catholic institutions--priests and sisters--and some Protestant clergymen who began their careers in religious service and were called upon to serve the church in its higher educational program.

other professions. Only 5 per cent continued their careers in business, government, or military service. Again if we look closely at the education category, only 1 per cent of the individuals were school teachers, 6 per cent were principals or superintendents, and 14 per cent were college teachers. There is evidence that a fairly high percentage had moved to higher administrative levels in colleges as 11 per cent were vice presidents and 30 per cent were college presidents.

At twenty years after their careers began, 92 per cent of the presidents were in education and only 3 per cent were in business, government, and military service. An analysis of the education category revealed that about 63 per cent had attained the presidency.

Thus, the career lines of academic presidents clearly runs through educational and professional categories, and no more than 10 per cent spent an appreciable number of years in either business, government, or military service. These individuals made their way in the professions and used the education arena as the means of upward or lateral occupational mobility rather than business or government.

Brief profiles are given below for the presidents of the major types of institutions.

Career Patterns for Types of Presidents

Presidents of Public Universities

About two-thirds of the presidents of public universities began their careers as teachers at the elementary-secondary levels (20 per cent) and college level (43 per cent). After five years, only 3 per cent remained as elementary-secondary schoolteachers, and 10 per cent became principals or superintendents. At the same time, many presidents had already moved into academic administration positions as departmental chairmen (8 per cent), college deans (6 per cent), and college administrators (9 per cent).

At the end of ten years, there was a movement to higher level academic administrative positions in colleges: 16 per cent were department chairmen, 10 per cent were college deans, and 9 per cent were academic vice presidents. At the end of ten years, one-half the public university presidents were in academic administration at the college level.

At the 15 year career mark, only 1 per cent remained in elementary-secondary education and 13 per cent were college teachers. The largest increases were at the college deanship level (22 per cent) and the academic vice presidency (20 per cent). Finally, at the end of twenty years, 61 per cent were academic presidents, with another 20 per cent at the dean and vice president levels. The greatest increase into the academic president group occurred between fifteen and twenty years in their careers. And, for a still

large percentage (39 per cent), selection to a college presidency occurred after a career of already 20 years, mainly in higher education.

Presidents of Catholic Universities

Initially it must be recalled that the presidents of Catholic institutions in the study are all priests or nuns of the Roman Catholic faith. Thus, to speak about career patterns for these men and women one cannot overlook the fact that if a so-called career choice were made it was essentially to the church and to a particular religious order. (This is reflected in their stated career motivations found in Chapter VIII.) For a number of these individuals, their career patterns should be explained largely as priests or sisters who assumed particular responsibilities in the church over a period of time. But for purposes here, only their movement through positions in Catholic education will be noted, while holding in view the fact that their careers were intertwined with long training, aspirations, and preparation as priests or sisters.

Five years after completing preparation for the priesthood, most Catholic university presidents were faculty members (25 per cent), college deans (30 per cent), and department chairmen (10 per cent), while one man was a president. Ten years later, all priests were in high academic administrative positions and 35 per cent were university presidents. Fifteen years later, 75 per cent of the

men had been selected to the presidency and another 15 per cent were vice presidents. At twenty years later, 80 per cent of the men were university presidents. Thus, once becoming a priest, these Catholic university presidents moved fairly quickly to high levels of responsibility in academic administration.

Presidents of Private (Non-Catholic) Universities

Because of the great similarities in basic career patterns of the Protestant-related and independent university presidents, they will be discussed together. At the beginning of their careers, 88 per cent were in education, including 44 per cent as college faculty members and 14 per cent as elementary-secondary teachers. Another 14 per cent began their careers as Protestant clergymen. Five years later, there was the customary movement from teaching at the elementary-secondary levels to principal and superintendent positions. In addition, there was movement into college faculty and academic administrative positions. Ten years later the trend into higher level academic administrative positions continued with a number leaving strictly faculty positions and becoming department chairmen (10 per cent), college deans (14 per cent), and college administrators (14 per cent).

Fifteen years later marked the first major movement into the college presidency (26 per cent), the college vice

presidency (20 per cent) and dean or department head (20 per cent). At the twenty year point in the career of these men, 51 per cent had attained the presidency and 11 per cent were vice presidents. This, of course, also meant that almost half the men would attain the presidency after a career of at least 20 years, spent primarily in higher education. The presidents of private, non-Catholic universities spent relatively longer periods of time in levels directly beneath the president, such as dean or vice president, than is true for the presidents of other institutions.

Presidents of Public Liberal Arts Colleges

As might be expected based upon the educational preparation of public liberal arts presidents, about 60 per cent began their careers as teachers in elementary-secondary schools (a percentage equalled only by the presidents of Catholic liberal arts colleges). Only 20 per cent actually began their careers as college faculty members or college administrators. However, five years later the percentage in elementary-secondary teaching dropped sharply to 14 per cent. A majority of these people moved quickly into a principal or superintendent position evidenced by the fact that 30 per cent were in the latter positions by five years. Also a number of public liberal arts presidents turned to college teaching as the percentage nearly doubled to 30 per cent.

At ten years later, greater movement into college administration occurred and only 5 per cent remained as elementary-secondary teachers. The number who were principals or superintendents also fell, while 12 per cent became department chairmen; 7 per cent, college deans; and 10 per cent, college administrators. At fifteen years later, almost one-fourth were college presidents and only 13 per cent remained in elementary or secondary schools.

After a career of twenty years, 6 out of 10 had been selected to a college presidency with another 6 per cent as vice presidents and 10 per cent college deans. Out of all public liberal arts presidents, only 1 per cent were still engaged in a career outside education.

Presidents of Catholic Liberal Arts Colleges

The point made for Catholic university presidents regarding their intertwined careers in religious service and Catholic higher education applies generally to Catholic liberal arts presidents as well. After acceptance as a priest or sister, 61 per cent became elementary-secondary teachers while another 24 per cent moved into college teaching. Five years later, only 38 per cent were still elementary-secondary teachers while the percentage in college teaching and administration rose.

At ten years, only 23 per cent were in elementary-secondary education, with the remainder in higher education.

After fifteen years, about one-third were chosen for the presidency and another third were either department chairmen, college deans, or college administrators. After twenty years, over two-thirds were presidents, replicating the pattern of Catholic university presidents, i.e., once becoming a priest or sister, there was rapid movement to high levels of responsibility. However, it can be seen that while Catholic university presidents did not hold positions in elementary-secondary education and remained in universities, the majority of Catholic liberal arts presidents began in elementary-secondary schools. Much of this can be explained by the work of particular religious orders, and by the fact that the church depended heavily upon the sisters and their teaching orders to work with the extensive education program at the lower levels. (An examination of the careers of female presidents, most of whom were involved in Catholic higher education, is found following the career profile of technological institution presidents.)

Presidents of Private (Non-Catholic) Liberal Arts Colleges

The presidents of private, Protestant-related and independent liberal arts colleges show quite similar career lines and are again discussed as one group. Three major categories account for three-fourths of the first positions held by private liberal arts presidents: college faculty (27 per cent), elementary-secondary teaching (25 per cent),

and Protestant clergy (24 per cent). Five years later, the typical movement from elementary-secondary teaching into principal or superintendent positions, college teaching, and academic administration in higher education occurred. At the ten year point, the movement accelerated into higher levels of academic administration: college deans (7 per cent), college administration (9 per cent), academic vice presidents (6 per cent), and college presidents (12 per cent).

At fifteen years later, more than one-third were college presidents and 8 per cent were vice presidents. After a career of twenty years, the percentage selected to the presidency nearly doubled to 69 per cent, with another 12 per cent either academic vice presidents or college deans.

Presidents of Technological Institutions

The presidents of technological institutions (including four military college presidents) began their careers in three major occupational categories: elementary-secondary education (31 per cent), college faculty (31 per cent), and as engineers in business and industry (22 per cent). After five years, the movement out of elementary-secondary teaching took place with corresponding increases in principal or superintendent positions, college faculty, and department chairman statuses. At ten years, none of the men remained in elementary-secondary teaching or administration, while more rose to higher levels of educational administration.

After 15 years, still greater percentages moved into higher levels, although only 17 per cent were actually selected to the presidency. After 20 years, 35 per cent were presidents, and 22 per cent were vice presidents and deans. Among all types of academic presidents, the heads of technological institutions remained in careers--usually in education, business, and the military--for extended periods before being selected for a college presidency. In that only 35 per cent had attained the presidency after a career of 20 years means of course that almost two-thirds were selected to the position after a fairly extensive career in other areas. This 35 per cent represented almost half that for the other presidents at similar stages in their careers. Many of the presidents of military colleges were in strictly military settings for substantial portions of their careers prior to being chosen to head military colleges.

Career Profile of Female Academic Presidents

The career patterns of women academic presidents have not yet been examined separately, but have been included among the liberal arts presidents' career lines. It should be recalled that 87 per cent of the 84 female presidents (or 73 women) were heads of Catholic liberal arts colleges, thus their career lines were included in the discussion of presidents of Catholic liberal arts colleges.

But Table 47 looks at all the women specifically over the twenty year period.

Table 47 indicates that the career lines of women are very similar to the basic patterns of all academic presidents. However, a much higher percentage of women (nearly two-thirds) began their careers as elementary-secondary teachers and another 17 per cent began in college teaching. Over the fifteen years there was general movement from elementary-secondary teaching into college teaching and administration. After 15 years, only 18 per cent were presidents, but during the interval from fifteen to twenty years, there was a sharp increase to 64 per cent for those reaching the presidency. The women seemed to spend a somewhat longer period of time in positions throughout the educational hierarchy relative to the men, but for the women and the men, the major move to the presidency came between 15 and 20 years in the career. Few women spent significant portions of their full-time careers outside education.

Tenures in Office

The general occupational steps followed by academic presidents over a twenty-year period beginning with their first full-time positions havebeen presented. However, another career-related framework is useful. It was pointed out earlier that a relatively large percentage of presidents had not been selected presidents during or up to twenty

Table 47. Career sequences for female academic presidents (in per cent)

Occupation	First Position	Five Years Later	Ten Years Later	Fifteen Years Later	Twenty Years Later
Elementary-secondary teacher	63	49	23	7	1
Principal, superintendent	1	5	7	6	6
College faculty	17	25	38	21	8
Department chairman	0	4	12	12	9
College dean	0	4	6	10	6
Col. admin.: below vice pres.	0	3	5	12	4
Col. admin.: vice president	0	0	2	10	2
College president	0	0	5	18	64
Other education	0	4	0	4	0
Other professions	9	3	0	0	0
Business	8	3	2	0	0
Government	2	0	0	0	0
Total per cent	100	100	100	100	100
Total number: 84					

years of full-time work and that a number were chosen after that time. For many who completed all their education and then began working full-time, this would place their age at about 25 to 27, and it suggests that some did not attain the presidency until their late 40's or older. Others took an undergraduate or graduate degree, interrupted their education by a full-time job for a few years or by military service, and then went back to college to finish their advanced degrees. For this latter group, setting a meaningful beginning date to their careers is much more difficult. However, it would be well for us to have a context of time that complements the discussion of occupational sequence and thus increases our understanding of how long it took to achieve the presidency.

With this in mind, this section examines: (1) how old the presidents were when they assumed their present positions, and (2) how long the presidents have been in their present positions. Table 48 gives the average (mean) ages when the individuals assumed their present positions.

Table 48 shows that the average age when the college and university presidents entered this elite group of educators was about 45 years old. The presidents of public universities, independent universities, and technological institutions were somewhat older on the average, but most approximated forty-five. When an analysis was made based upon tenure in office, no noticeable differences were

Table 48. Average ages when presidents assumed their present positions

Presidents' Institutions	Average (Mean) Age
Public universities	47.2
Catholic universities	44.3
Protestant-related universities	45.7
Independent universities	47.8
Public liberal arts colleges	45.3
Catholic liberal arts	44.4
Protestant-related lib. arts	44.2
Independent liberal arts	43.6
Technological institutions	46.6

Average age for all presidents: 45.1

observed. The average age of those presidents selected during the past year was 45.6 and that figure held for presidents who had been in office for longer periods of time. The only serious deviation took place with those presidents who had been in office longer than twenty years. In this latter case, their average upon assuming the presidency was only 37.8. There were no differences in the starting age question when presidents of institutions in various regions were compared or when men and women were compared.

In Table 49, a summary is given of the present ages of the presidents in 1968.

Based upon the data in Table 49, the average age of academic presidents in the study was found to be 52.9 years, with a range in ages from 20 to 70. As a subgroup, the presidents of Catholic institutions tend to be younger than

Table 49. Present ages of academic presidents

Presidents' Institutions	Average (Mean) Age in 1968	Range in Ages (years)
Public universities	54.1	39 to 67
Catholic universities	50.7	40 to 63
Protestant-related univ.	57.5	45 to 68
Independent universities	53.4	41 to 64
Public liberal arts	53.5	32 to 69
Catholic lib. arts	51.0	32 to 68
Prot.-related lib. arts	52.4	29 to 70
Independent lib. arts	53.2	35 to 69
Technological inst.	54.6	42 to 66
Present age for all presidents:	52.9	Range 29 to 70

the presidents of other institutions, reflecting what was pointed out earlier in the discussion of occupational sequence--namely, that the presidents of Catholic institutions do move up faster to the presidency relative to the others (after fifteen years in the career, a majority had reached the presidency). The other subgroups of presidents tend to cluster around the 53 years mark, with the exception of Protestant-related university presidents who average around 57 years of age. In addition, the presidents of the universities tend to be generally a little older than the presidents of the liberal arts colleges.

As might be assumed, those presidents who have been in office for longer periods of time are progressively older than those recently chosen for the presidency. The following breakdown shows the average age based on tenure in office:

Presidents Who Were Chosen	Average Present Age
Within the past year	46.4
1 to 5 years ago	48.9
6 to 10 years ago	53.7
11 to 15 years ago	57.4
16 to 20 years ago	59.6
Over 20 years ago	62.4

Now that reasonable limits have been established that indicate the ages when the men and women were selected for the presidency and their present ages, it becomes a simple yet important task to determine how long they have been in their present positions. Table 50 gives that answer.

Table 50. Average number of years in present positions

Presidents' Institutions	Average Years in Position
Public universities	6.9
Catholic universities	5.7
Protestant-related universities	11.8
Independent universities	5.6
Public liberal arts colleges	8.2
Catholic liberal arts colleges	6.6
Protestant-related lib. arts	8.2
Independent liberal arts col.	9.6
Technological institutions	8.0
Average number of years for all presidents:	7.8

The average college or university president has been in his present position for 7.8 years, although there are differences among presidents of various types of institutions. For example, the average Protestant-related

university president has been in office for nearly 12 years, while the average public university president has been in office for only about 7 years.

An analysis was also made of the number of years in the present position by region of the country to see if there was more movement in and out of the presidency in some areas and not others.

Table 51. Average number of years the presidents in various regions have held their present positions

Presidents' Institutions by Census Regions	Average Years in Position
New England	7.1
Middle Atlantic	7.3
South Atlantic	7.9
East South Central	7.6
West South Central	8.2
East North Central	7.7
West North Central	7.0
Mountain	6.6
Pacific	8.7

The region of the country where the institution was located did not seem to cause differences in the number of years the president has held his present position. In most cases, the average tenures still cluster around 7.8 years. However, the presidents in the Pacific and West South Central states have held their positions somewhat longer, while the presidents of institutions in the Mountain and New England states have somewhat shorter tenures in office.

A final check was made to see if the presidents of the large colleges and universities have longer tenures than the smaller college and university presidents. Tenure related to the size of the institution presents no new patterns with the single exception of the largest universities (over 30,000 students). In this case, the average tenure in the present position is 9.5 years or higher than the average of 7.8 years. Once under the 30,000 student enrollment, no deviations of more than 0.5 per cent are found.

Some Crucial Avenues to the Presidency

Consideration of the sequence of occupations and the number of years to and in the presidency now lead to an examination of two crucial avenues in the presidents' career mobility. First, it is well-recognized that about 90 per cent of academic presidents spent their lives in educational and major professional endeavors, and that a large number of these individuals were college faculty members at various points in their careers. Since those with faculty experiences are a fairly distinguishable group and since some writers state that the ideal academic president is one with faculty experience, an analysis is presented of these men as professors en route to the presidency. What academic ranks did they attain before attaining the presidency? With which departments were they associated? How many years did they

serve as faculty members? It is recalled that a study of how many of the presidents were students at the institutions they now head was conducted, and this has prompted an inquiry into how many were teachers at the institution they now head?

Second, it is obvious that some presidents did not use the avenue of college teaching to the presidency, but rather college administration and/or occupations outside higher education. Some writers have suggested that the position the president held prior to selection is the best indicator of where presidents are sought by boards of trustees and where the valuable training for a presidency takes place. Thus, a close look at the last positions held by academic presidents prior to assuming the presidency is presented. In particular, there will be examination of the president's last position, the organization, and the number of years in that position prior to being selected president. Some of the questions to be answered include: How many men came directly from another college presidency? a college deanship? a foundation office? a government position? a business position? The analysis will also reveal the number of individuals that moved up to the presidency from within vs. without the institution they now head.

This section will fill in significant gaps in the knowledge of presidents' careers by looking at an important portion of the careers of those who were college teachers

and the direct springboard to the presidency. For some, the presidency came within a career of 20 years, but for many it came later. The next discussion is intended to encompass both.

Prior Experiences as Faculty Members

It is occasionally said that many academic presidents have never spent time in the college classroom as teaching or research faculty members, although it is never made clear what percentage "many" is supposed to represent. Table 52 summarizes the percentages of presidents with and without college teaching experience.

Table 52. Percentage of presidents with and without college teaching experience

Presidents' Institutions	Per Cent With Teaching Experience	Per Cent Without Teaching Experience
Public universities	94	6
Catholic universities	85	15
Protestant-related univ.	76	24
Independent universities	93	7
Public liberal arts	89	11
Catholic liberal arts	92	8
Protestant-related lib.	72	28
Independent lib. arts	93	7
Technological inst.	75	25
All presidents	86	14

Table 52 indicates that about 86 per cent of all presidents have had some college teaching experience, and the number varies slightly by types of institutions. For the presidents of Protestant-related universities and colleges and technological institutions, the percentage who have had college teaching experience drops to about 75 per cent. In the case of Protestant-related institution presidents, a relatively larger percentage were ministers for the major parts of their careers and most moved directly into academic administration. In the case of technological institution presidents, a relatively larger percentage moved into a level of academic administration directly from business without any actual college teaching experience.

Thus, it is clear that more than 8 out of 10 presidents have had college teaching experience. However, college teaching experience is still a fairly general category, and there are well-recognized levels or ranks within the college teaching profession that to a large extent reflect the duration, commitment, and capability as a college teacher. The ranks in descending order in the academic hierarchy are: professor, assoicate professor, assistant professor, instructor, and lecturer. The full professor stands at the top of the profession in terms of recognition from his colleagues. As a senior faculty member he usually has at least 7 or 8 years of teaching experience and his promotions have usually been tied to demonstrated competence

in his field. The assistant professorial rank is regarded as the starting place for full-time college teachers although the instructor level also has that place. The lecturer rank is a complex one in that it may be a part-time position and commitment to college teaching, per se, and in some cases a lecturer of some distinction receives a higher financial compensation than a professor. It is not for us to discuss the complexities and often subtleties that are a part of faculty promotion, but simply to recognize these basic patterns of rank that are unique to the academic community. The question becomes what was the highest rank attained by these individuals as faculty members prior to being selected to the presidency.[2]

In Table 52 the percentage of presidents with teaching experience was shown, while Table 53 gives the highest rank attained by those presidents who had college teaching experience prior to being selected for the presidency.

Table 53 indicates that of the academic presidents with college teaching experience, 60 per cent had attained

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[2]The faculty rank prior to becoming president was used because it represents a more accurate reflection of one's recognition by peers as a faculty member. In most cases, the academic presidency carries with it the rank of professor, and if a new president had not attained that rank through the more conventional process in an academic department, he would then receive it along with the position of presidency. Thus, nearly all presidents have a rank of professor, but to make matters clear, only those attaining the rank as a faculty member not as an academic administrator are included.

Table 53. Highest faculty rank attained by presidents (in per cent)

Presidents' Institutions	Lecturer	Instructor	Ass't. Prof.	Assoc. Prof.	Prof.
Public univ.	4	4	4	8	80
Catholic univ.	6	0	47	6	41
Prot. univ.	0	6	19	6	69
Indep. univ.	8	4	0	4	84
Public lib. arts	7	9	9	14	61
Cath. lib. arts	4	19	23	13	41
Prot. lib. arts	8	9	11	13	59
Indep. lib. arts	6	11	15	14	54
Technological	8	4	12	8	68
Per Cent for all presidents	6	9	13	12	60

the highest rank of professor prior to being chosen for the presidency, 12 per cent had attained the rank of associate professor, 13 per cent had attained the rank of assistant professor, and 15 per cent had been either instructors or lecturers. Over 80 per cent of the presidents of public universities and independent universities were full professors, while only about 41 per cent of the presidents of Catholic institutions had a full professor rank. In the Catholic institutions, 47 per cent attained only the rank of assistant professor and instructor in the universities and 42 per cent attained no higher than those ranks in the colleges.

When one considers the total number of years that these same individuals were college faculty members prior to becoming academic presidents, Table 54 is obtained. The number of years teaching experience is broken down into five-year intervals.

Table 54. Total number years college teaching experience

Presidents' Institutions	No. of Years College Teaching Experience				
	1-5 (%)	6-10 (%)	11-15 (%)	16-20 (%)	Over 20 (%)
Public univ.	19	20	27	18	16
Catholic univ.	38	25	31	6	0
Prot. univ.	20	26	40	7	7
Indep. univ.	19	29	38	5	9
Public lib. arts	30	19	27	15	9
Cath. lib. arts	32	30	27	5	6
Prot. lib. arts	25	24	29	13	9
Indep. lib. arts	21	21	37	15	6
Technological	22	17	44	17	0
Per cent for all presidents	26	23	30	13	8

Initially, it can be seen that about one-fourth of all the individuals had up to five years teaching experience and about one-half had been college teachers for ten years or less. Thirty per cent had between eleven and fifteen years teaching experience and 21 per cent had over fifteen years teaching experience at the college level. It is interesting to note that the presidents of Catholic

institutions had relatively fewer years experience in college teaching than the other presidents. Another figure that stands out is the 34 per cent of the public university presidents with over 15 years teaching experience (16 per cent of whom had taught for over 20 years).

Thus, academic presidents have varying tenures as faculty members, although the average is close to 10.5 years for all presidents. It is somewhat less for the presidents of Catholic institutions and somewhat higher for presidents of public universities, private non-Catholic universities, private independent liberal arts colleges, and technological institutions.

Another matter of interest related to the presidents' faculty experiences are the academic departments with which they were affiliated. In most cases, there is an obvious and direct relationship between the academic department and the formal education of the presidents (especially at the doctoral level), but occasionally some individuals taught in other areas of interest. In order to clarify this aspect, a tabulation of departments grouped by major fields is given in Table 55 for those with college teaching experience.

The disciplines in the humanities, education, social sciences, and natural sciences were the major fields taught by 82 per cent of the academic presidents. The leading departmental disciplines within the major fields are given

Table 55. Academic department affiliations of academic president while faculty members

Departments Grouped by Major Fields	University Presidents				Liberal Arts Presidents					All Presi-dents
	Public	Cath.	Prot.	Indep.	Public	Cath.	Prot.	Indep.	Techn.	
Agricultural Dept.	5	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	2
Business Depts.	9	0	11	23	7	6	8	11	13	8
Engineering Depts.	1	0	0	4	2	3	0	0	50	3
Natural Science	14	18	24	11	9	19	9	9	21	12
Med.-Legal Schools	7	0	6	0	0	0	1	3	0	2
Education Depts.	18	12	6	11	43	9	8	6	8	17
Communications	4	0	0	0	3	0	8	0	4	3
Humanities Depts.	25	65	53	39	19	50	47	52	4	38
Social Science	17	5	0	12	13	13	18	18	0	15
Total per cent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

in Table 56 for all presidents who had some college teaching experience.

Table 56. Leading academic departments of academic presidents prior to becoming presidents

Department	% of Presidents
Humanities:	
English	11
History	10
Religion, Theology	8
Philosophy	5
Natural Sciences:	
Chemistry	4
Business:	
Economics[a]	5
Education:	
Educational admin.	11
Guidance	3
Social Sciences:	
Sociology	4
Political science	4
Psychology	3
Communications:	
Speech	3
Total per cent	71

[a]Note: many colleges and universities place the economics department within the social science area rather than the business area.

A listing of actual departments with at least fifteen persons in a department indicates that 71 per cent of the presidents who were college teachers were affiliated with the twelve departments in Table 56. No significant patterns are observed when presidents of different types of institutions

are examined. However, almost 20 per cent of the individuals who head public colleges and universities did teach educational administration. English and history as teaching areas are well represented across all types of institutions. Religion or theology departments are especially found among Protestant liberal arts college presidents. It is interesting that over 40 per cent of the Catholic liberal arts presidents taught in four departments: English, 15 per cent; theology, 10 per cent; philosophy, 9 per cent; and chemistry, 9 per cent. The presidents of technological institutions are heavily represented in all engineering departments.

In another analysis there was an investigation of the types of institutions at which these persons taught. As might be expected, the individuals taught at a variety of institutions throughout the country at each rank. Thus, only brief sketches of the patterns for each grouping of presidents are given below.

Presidents of public universities.--The great majority of public university presidents who were college teachers taught in public universities and colleges. At the instructor level, slightly over half taught in public higher education and at each successively higher rank there was a clear move to public higher education. As assistant professors, 70 per cent taught in public universities; as associate professors, nearly 80 per cent were so associated; and as full professors, slightly over 80 per cent taught in public

universities, with another 15 per cent teaching in public colleges. Although they taught in all regions of the nation, most of the full professors taught in the state universities in the East North Central states, led by Michigan State University (4 persons), University of Illinois (4 persons), University of Michigan (3 men), and the state universities of Kentucky (3 men), and California at Los Angeles (3 men).

Presidents of Catholic universities.--All the Catholic university presidents in the sample who were college teachers taught in Catholic institutions, mainly universities. Two men taught at the University of Detroit while other universities represented were Bradley, St. Louis, Creighton, Niagara, Villanova, and Boston College.

Presidents of Protestant-related and independent universities.--The presidents of private universities (non-Catholic) taught primarily in a variety of private colleges and universities at each rank. There were, however, more who taught at the Ivy League institutions of Harvard, Princeton, and Brown.

Presidents of public liberal arts colleges.--Almost 9 out of 10 presidents did their college teaching in public colleges and universities. Institutions in all regions were well represented among the group and particularly the state colleges in the South Atlantic, West South Central, and West North Central states, and the state universities in the East

North Central states. Out of the many public liberal arts presidents, no specific institution had more than two persons in this sample who taught at that institution. Truly, the public liberal arts presidents as a group are the most representative of American public higher education based upon where they gained college teaching experiences.

Presidents of Catholic liberal arts colleges.--As with the presidents of Catholic universities, the heads of the liberal arts colleges taught in Catholic institutions, with the vast majority teaching not in universities but rather in liberal arts colleges. No region stood out markedly from the others, although heavier concentrations were in the Middle Atlantic, East North Central, and West North Central states. Moreover, no one institution had more than two of these individuals who taught there.

Presidents of Protestant-related and independent liberal arts colleges.--The presidents of these institutions had taught primarily in numerous private (non-Catholic) liberal arts colleges. The major regions where they taught included institutions in the East North Central, East South Central, South Atlantic, and Middle Atlantic states, but there was high dispersion among many private institutions.

Presidents of technological institutions.--The heads of the technological institutions taught mainly at technological institutions. However, many also taught in public and

private universities and state colleges. These institutions were located mainly in the Middle Atlantic and East North Central states. Institutions represented included Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, and the University of Rochester.

It is interesting that about 36 per cent of all academic presidents with college teaching experience taught at the institution they now head. This percentage applied to presidents of all types of institutions except for Catholic university and college presidents. In the latter cases, over 7 out of 10 taught at the institutions they now head.

As pointed out earlier, although the presidents taught at a great many institutions throughout the country, a few patterns predominated. Generally speaking, the presidents of public institutions who were former faculty members taught at public institutions, and the presidents of private institutions taught at private colleges and universities. Once again, the presidents' social origins, education, and now aspects of their careers have been linked to associations with a given type of institution: public, Catholic, Protestant-related, independent, or technological. Such background experiences unquestionably helped influence the presidents' ultimate choices of the institutions they now head. The backgrounds of academic presidents when categorized by whether they served public, Catholic, Protestant-related,

independent, or technological institutions become most revealing from the president's start in life to his present position. The effects of these backgrounds are reflected in some of the career motivations expressed by the presidents in the next chapter.

A second major dimension of the president's career is discussed next, i.e., his position immediately prior to the academic presidency.

Direct Springboard to the Academic Presidency

It is obvious that academic presidents moved into their present positions from either inside or outside the present institutions. There is much speculation as to the extent of internal or external selections, but no exact descriptive survey is yet available. Based upon questionnaire responses, it was possible to find answers to this issue.

Among all presidents in the sample about one-third moved to the position from inside the present institution while the remaining two-thirds came to the presidency from a position in another institution or another organization.

Table 57 indicates the internal or external moves for the various types of presidents by their institutions.

It was much more likely that the presidents of Catholic institutions held a prior position in the present institution when compared to other academic presidents.

Table 57. Presidents who came to their present positions from within (internally) or without (externally) the institution

Presidents' Institutions	Internal Move (%)	External Move (%)
Public universities	29	71
Catholic universities	70	30
Protestant-related universities	14	86
Independent universities	29	71
Public liberal arts colleges	22	78
Catholic liberal arts	71	29
Prot.-related liberal arts	19	81
Independent liberal arts	25	75
Technological institutions	39	61
Per cent for all presidents	33	67

Seven out of ten Catholic institution presidents made such an internal move. On the other hand, less than 20 per cent of the heads of Protestant-related colleges and universities tended to be chosen from inside the institution. In public institutions and independent institutions no more than 3 out of 10 were selected from within, and in technological institutions almost 4 out of 10 moved into the presidency from within the present institution.

Moreover, when one examines the internal-external mobility issue over a period of time, no serious deviations occur. For example, of the 61 persons selected to the presidency during last year, 36 per cent were internal moves and 64 per cent were external. For the presidents selected during the last five years, 35 per cent were internal and

65 per cent were external. For those selected from 5 to 10 years ago, 33 per cent were internal moves and 67 per cent represented external moves. For the presidents selected twenty years ago, 37 per cent were internal moves and 63 per cent were external moves.

An analysis of the types of positions held by academic presidents immediately prior to assuming the presidency is given in Table 58.

Table 58 indicates that, in general, the great majority of college and university presidents moved directly to the presidency from another position in education. Over three-fourths of the presidents came immediately from a higher education position, and at the upper levels, 22 per cent were college deans, 11 per cent were academic vice presidents (or provosts), 11 per cent were department chairmen, and 10 per cent came from the faculty. Another 7 per cent were presidents of other colleges, 6 per cent were general administrative vice presidents, 4 per cent were other college administrators, 3 per cent were deans of students, 2 per cent were assistants to presidents, 1 per cent were junior college presidents, and less than 1 per cent were serving as acting presidents. If the academic and administrative vice presidents are combined into a general vice president level, it can be seen that 17 per cent of the presidents came directly from that level.

Table 58. Positions held by academic presidents immediately prior to assuming the presidency (in per cent)

Prior Position Held	University Presidents				Liberal Arts Presidents					All Presidents (n=750)
	Public (n=89)	Cath. (n=19)	Prot. (n=20)	Indep. (n=28)	Public (n=153)	Cath. (n=129)	Prot. (n=209)	Indep. (n=72)	Techn. (n=30)	
Education										
President of a college	19	5	15	18	6	0	6	7	4	7
Academic vice pres. or provost	24	16	15	25	5	11	9	11	12	11
Administration, vice president	7	21	20	7	5	3	6	6	4	6
College dean	25	21	10	11	31	23	17	23	13	22
Department chairman	7	16	5	14	12	20	6	8	18	11
College faculty	1	0	0	7	7	19	11	15	12	10
Assistant to president	1	5	0	0	5	2	2	5	0	2
Dean to students	2	0	0	4	5	3	2	1	4	3
Acting president	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0*
Other administration	5	11	10	0	1	6	4	11	8	4
Junior College president	0	0	0	0	5	0	1	0	0	1
Public school superintendent	1	0	0	0	6	3	5	1	0	3
State Board of Education	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	1
Education Association	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1
Other educator	1	5	0	0	2	9	3	3	0	3
Business										
President	0	0	5	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Vice president	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	4	0*
Middle management	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	8	1
Other										
Local-state government	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	1
Federal government	1	0	5	4	0	0	1	5	4	2
Military	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	9	1
Clergyman	0	..	10	0	0	..	22	1	0	8
Other	11	0	5	4	0	0	2	1	0	1
Total per cent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*Less than 0.5 per cent.

Other educational positions were held by the academic presidents, including 3 per cent who were public school administrators, 1 per cent in state board of education positions, and 1 per cent who held offices in educational associations.

The next highest general occupational category that served as a springboard to the presidency was the Protestant clergy where 8 per cent or 57 men moved directly from being a minister in a church to a college presidency.

About 3 per cent of the presidents came directly from government positions (primarily at the Federal level) and a little more than 1 per cent came from the military. It was somewhat surprising to find that contrary to speculation from some quarters, business directly supplied only about 2 per cent (or 13 men) of the total academic presidents in this study. Finally, men who were officers in foundations represented 1 per cent of the total president group. No presidents came directly from farming occupations.

Table 58 also reveals that there are variations in the positions held based upon the president's type of institution. Among public university presidents, the three leading positions were: college dean, 25 per cent; academic vice president or provost, 24 per cent; and another college or university presidency, 19 per cent. By combining the two types of vice presidents, 31 per cent moved directly from that level. Not one public university president in the sample came directly from business. The top positions among

Catholic university presidents were: college dean, 21 per cent; administrative vice president, 21 per cent; department chairman, 16 per cent; and academic vice president, 16 per cent. Among Protestant-related and independent university presidents, the vice president level was again an important source while a college deanship, although important, was relatively less so. As with public university presidents, the presidents of other institutions were important sources for the presidency of these private universities.

Among the public liberal arts presidents (93 per cent of whom came directly from educational positions), the college deanship clearly stood out as number one (31 per cent), followed by departmental chairman (12 per cent). Although nearly one in three public liberal arts presidents came directly from a college dean's position, the rest came directly from a great variety of educational positions. The representation among the presidents of prior experience as junior college presidents and public school superintendents is noteworthy because of its relative absence among the other presidents.

The college deanship, department chairman, and faculty member were key direct sources for the Catholic liberal arts presidents. The Protestant-related liberal arts presidents tended to come primarily from a Protestant clergyman position (22 per cent), a college dean's position (17 per cent) and a college faculty position (11 per cent). Only

in the Protestant-related liberal arts group (outside of Catholic institution presidents) were clergymen so greatly selected to a presidency. This is even more striking in that no clergymen were found among the presidents of public colleges and universities.

The heads of independent liberal arts colleges came directly from a college deanship (23 per cent), college faculty (15 per cent), and an academic vice presidency (11 per cent). Department chairmen, college deans, and academic vice presidents were the leading sources for a technological institution presidency.

As one compares the so-called springboards to the academic presidency across the various types of institutions, some generalizations seem very evident:

1. academic presidents came from a variety of positions, but the majority were from the general field of education, mainly higher education. Relatively few came directly from business, government, military, or professions outside the clergy.

2. a relatively greater percentage of university presidents came from very high level educational positions when compared to their counterparts in liberal arts colleges. In universities, few men were selected to the presidency who previously served beneath the levels of college dean, vice president, or presidency of another institution. While these levels were important for liberal arts presidents as well, there were relatively greater numbers selected from department chairmen, faculty positions, and other educational avenues (junior colleges and public schools).

Even when the analysis of last positions held is based upon tenure in office, little differences result.

Table 59 shows the comparisons for the educational positions held by presidents who have served for varying numbers of years.

Table 59. Prior educational positions held by presidents based upon tenure in office (in per cent)

Position in Education	All Presi-dents 1968	Number of Years in Office					
		New	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	Over 20
Academic pres.	7	3	6	10	10	5	4
Acad. vice pres.	11	21	15	10	7	2	7
Admin. vice pres.	6	7	7	6	3	5	2
College dean	22	23	22	20	25	26	13
Dept. chairman	11	13	11	9	11	13	13
Faculty	10	7	10	10	9	12	18
Ass't to pres.	2	3	3	3	2	0	2
Public school supt.	3	2	1	4	8	7	7
Jr. college pres.	1	0	1	2	2	2	0
Dean of students	3	0	3	3	1	3	9
Other col. admin.	4	3	5	4	4	2	7
Acting pres.	0*	2	0*	0	1	0	0
Educ. assn.officer	1	0	0*	0	2	2	0
State bd. educ. officer	1	0	0*	1	2	5	2
Other education	3	3	2	4	3	2	0
Total % in education	85	87	86	88	90	86	84

*Less than 0.5 per cent.

In Table 59 it can be seen that when the prior positions of presidents are compared with tenure in office, no significant changes in trends occur, except possibly with the academic vice presidency. About 21 per cent of the

presidents chosen last year and 15 per cent selected one to five years ago came from an academic vice presidency, seriously rivalling the college deanship as the top current direct avenue to the presidency. When the administrative vice presidency is added to the college deanship and academic vice presidency, it can be seen that of the presidents selected last year, half had one of these three positions.

The pattern that presidents of public institutions were educated and later taught at primarily public institutions while presidents of private institutions were educated and later taught at usually private colleges and universities was again found when an analysis was made not only of the position held prior to the presidency but the type of institution as well. The evidence showed that 73 per cent of public university presidents held positions in public universities; 64 per cent of Catholic university presidents were in Catholic universities; 55 per cent of Protestant-related university presidents were in private, non-Catholic institutions; 60 per cent of independent university presidents held positions in independent universities; 43 per cent of public liberal arts presidents were previously in public liberal arts and another 23 per cent were in public universities; 81 per cent of Catholic college presidents were in Catholic colleges; 44 per cent of Protestant-related liberal arts presidents were directly from Protestant-related liberal arts colleges and universities; and 68 per

cent of independent college presidents were from independent colleges. Not only did the president hold a position in an institution under a similar form of control (public or private), but he tended to hold a position in an institution the same type as he now heads (university or liberal arts college).

Since this phase of the research aimed at determining the most direct springboards to the presidency, there was also some concern as to how long, on the average, the person held the prior position. With no real differences among presidents, it was found that the presidents held their immediately prior positions generally about five and one-half years.

Various dimensions of the academic presidents' career patterns have now been discussed. Occupational mobility over a period of time serves as the broadest context, and the careers of these individuals have been examined in some detail, from their first full-time positions to their present positions. However, mobility is a critical concept in another sense which has not yet been examined. Although the majority have spent their careers in education, no consideration has yet been given as to how mobile these men and women have been between and among various institutions. Have they obtained their professional experiences at one institution or possibly more? Such a consideration

reflects a degree of physical mobility as well as occupational mobility.

Extent of Association with Other Colleges

To determine the extent of involvement and association with other colleges, the presidents were asked at how many different colleges or universities they held full-time faculty or administrative positions. Table 60 gives the breakdown by the president's type of institution.

Table 60. Number of colleges that academic presidents have been full-time faculty members or administrators (including their present institutions, in per cent)

Presidents' Institutions	No. of Colleges or Universities Associated with, Including Present One				
	One	Two	Three	Four	Five or More
Public university	10	29	30	15	16
Catholic univsersity	25	50	15	5	5
Prot.-related univ.	14	33	19	14	20
Independent univ.	7	31	17	24	21
Public lib. arts	17	19	29	20	15
Catholic lib. arts	54	26	13	5	2
Prot. lib. arts	29	29	21	14	7
Indep. lib. arts	16	28	23	16	17
Technological inst.	30	23	20	13	14
Per cent for all presidents	26	27	22	14	11

Table 60 shows that on the average academic presidents were full-time teachers or administrative officers at nearly three colleges and universities, including their present institutions. This mean average of two other institutions (in addition to the present institution) was found among presidents of public universities, Protestant-related universities, public liberal arts colleges, and independent liberal arts colleges. The presidents of independent universities were somewhat higher than the mean, while the presidents of Protestant-related colleges and technological institutions were somewhat below. More noticeable differences were apparent for the presidents of Catholic institutions. Among the Catholic liberal arts presidents, 54 per cent had never been a full-time staff member at an institution outside the present one, and 80 per cent had been associated with no more than one other college. The same holds for Catholic university presidents, although most had worked full-time in at least one other institution.

Even though the presidents stayed in similar types of institutions, they indeed were physically mobile as well as occupationally mobile during their full-time careers and their formal education.

Administrative Experiences Prior to the Presidency

As the chief academic administrator at an institution the president must rely heavily upon his past experiences, training, knowledge, and often intuition to lead the institution most effectively. Many presidents have served in a variety of academic administrative positions and have observed on the average three different presidential styles of leadership at different colleges prior to their own selection. It is assumed that the administrative experiences prior to the presidency contributed (positively and negatively) to the early style adopted by the presidents as they entered their roles.

While a majority of presidents had some educational administrative experience, a number had only part-time experience and really remained teaching faculty members with different levels of administrative responsibilities. In some cases, these people are hidden in the occupational categories of "last position held" and it is difficult to know how many had full-time educational administrative experience based soley upon the position's title. Thus, a questionnaire item was inserted to obtain the additional clarification, and Table 61 gives two aspects related to the prior administrative role. First, a percentage is given to indicate in the president's view, how many had no full-time educational administrative experience prior to assuming the

Table 61. Extent of experiences as full-time educational administrators prior to assuming present position

Presidents' Institutions	% Who Never Had Full-Time Administrative Experience	Average No. of Years Admin. Experience for Those with Full-Time Experience
Public university	4	10.7
Catholic univ.	10	7.5
Prot.-related univ.	33	10.6
Independent univ.	17	10.6
Public lib. arts	20	10.5
Catholic lib. arts	49	9.4
Prot.-related lib.	41	10.5
Indep. lib. arts	32	10.1
Technological	27	10.3
All presidents	31	10.6

presidency, and then a mean average is given for those who have had full-time experience. This tabulation will give a more complete accounting of the career patterns of the college and university presidents.

Table 61 indicates that almost one-third of the individuals now serving as academic presidents had no full-time educational administration experience prior to assuming the presidency. Although Table 59 showed that a majority spent significant portions of their careers in education, almost one out of three presidents themselves stated they had no full-time administrative experience. For the two-thirds with prior full-time educational administrative

experience, the average at all types of institutions was about ten and one-half years.

This table gives some support to a topic discussed in Chapter VIII in the personal reactions of many presidents as they described their careers. A number indicated that they did not choose a career in educational administration but rather the career choice was higher education. The presidency was largely accidental and one toward which they drifted, unconsciously or consciously. At this point, it is seen that almost one-third of the presidents may have had strong reasons to make such statements since the presidency was in actuality their first serious full-time endeavor in educational administration, even though a career was spent in various positions in higher education.

Multi-Institution Presidents

Since the focus has been upon the experiences that have made up the careers of academic presidents, it is appropriate to consider one last question: What is the extent of mobility between presidencies of institutions in the country? How many academic presidents have been heads of other colleges and universities sometime prior to this position? It is known based upon the discussion of direct springboards, that such moves occurred, but it is difficult to assess the extent based on the analysis thus far. Table 62 shows the answers to this query.

Table 62. Current academic presidents who have presided over another college or university earlier in their careers (in per cent)

Presidents' Institutions	Presided Over One Other College	Presided Over Two or More Other Colleges	Did Not Preside Over Another College
Public university	17	7	76
Catholic univ.	10	0	90
Prot.-related univ.	10	10	80
Independent univ.	14	6	80
Public lib. arts	14	1	85
Catholic lib. arts	0	1	99
Prot.-related lib.	10	1	89
Indep. lib. arts	9	0	91
Technological inst.	0	4	96
All presidents	10	2	88

In general, about 12 per cent of the current academic presidents (i.e., 90 individuals) have been presidents of other colleges or universities earlier in their careers, 10 per cent of whom have presided over one other institution and 2 per cent who have presided over two or more other institutions. (Only one person in the sample had presided over more than two other institutions and that was three.) There are interesting variations among the different types of institutions the presidents now head. For example, most multi-institution presidents were found among public university presidents where nearly one out of four had presided over another college or university. At the other end of the continuum were Catholic liberal arts college presidents

among whom only one person had presided over another institution. The other types of presidents fall in between these points as evidenced by the percentages given in Table 62.

In general, it can be said that the career patterns of college and university presidents have proved to be more striking in their similarities than their differences. This chapter completes the complex process of investigating the social origins, family influences, and educational preparation leading to the actual careers of the academic president elite. In the course of this study much has been learned about the occupational and geographical mobility of these men and many facets of their careers have been analyzed.

However, very little has been said regarding the role of academic presidents, i.e., what it is they do as presidents. Although this particular research was not aimed specifically at the role of presidents, some broad aspects of how presidents use their time have been included in the research design. The results of the time utilization portion are presented in Appendix C.

In Chapter VIII, attention centers upon the career motivations expressed by academic presidents as they reflect back over their lives.

Summary and Conclusions

In Chapter VII an intensive examination of the varieties of career patterns of college and university presidents has been presented. In an analysis of the occupational career sequence of academic presidents at five year intervals over a period of twenty years, it was found that the majority of presidents had full-time careers in education and professional fields. About 66 per cent of the presidents began their careers in education (one-third at the elementary-secondary levels), 23 per cent began in the professions (17 per cent of whom were clergymen or members of religious orders), 5 per cent began in business, 2 per cent in government, and 3 per cent in the military. Over a period of twenty years there were steady movements into higher levels of academic administration until at the end of twenty years, 92 per cent were in education and only 3 per cent were still in business, government, or military service. In addition, by the twenty-year point in their careers, 63 per cent had attained the presidency. The basic career pattern was followed by presidents of all types of institutions, although the heads of Catholic institutions moved to the presidency in a relatively shorter period of time after their first full-time position.

Academic presidents attained their present positions at about 45 years of age, and the current average (mean) age of presidents was found to be 52.9, indicating that the

average president of a college or university throughout the country has been in his position for nearly eight years.

Because a very high percentage of presidents spent substantial portions of their careers as college teachers, the dimension of the president while a former faculty member was analyzed in detail. It was found that 86 per cent of academic presidents did have some experience as college teachers with some variance depending upon the president's type of institution. Prior to becoming president, 60 per cent of those with teaching experienced attained the rank of professor, 12 per cent had attained the rank of associate professor, 13 per cent had attained the rank of assistant professor, and 15 per cent attained a rank no higher than instructor or lecturer. About one-fourth of the presidents had been college teachers for 5 years or less, and one-half had been college teachers for 10 years or less. Twenty-one per cent had over 15 years college teaching experience. In general, the presidents of Catholic institutions spent less time as college teachers than did the others, while the presidents of public institutions tended to spend more years as college teachers. About 82 per cent of the presidents who were college teachers were associated with twelve academic departments led by English, educational administration, history, and religion. Also highly represented but in descending order were the departments of economics, philosophy, chemistry, political science, sociology, guidance,

psychology, and speech. The presidents taught at a variety of institutions at each academic rank throughout the nation, although 36 per cent taught at the institutions they now head. There was a tendency for the presidents of public institutions to teach at public institutions and for the presidents of private institutions to teach at private institutions.

An analysis of the direct springboard to the academic presidency was also given in depth, to account for another critical part of experience and time in the presidents' careers. It was learned that about one-third of the presidents moved directly to the presidency from within the present institution while two-thirds of the presidents moved immediately from positions in other institutions. Over three-fourths of the academic presidents moved directly from the general field of higher education and the most important positions were: college dean (22 per cent), academic vice president or provost (11 per cent), department chairman (11 per cent), and the college faculty (10 per cent). Other higher education sources for the presidency were: presidents of other colleges (5 per cent), administrative vice presidents (6 per cent), general college administrators (4 per cent), deans of students (3 per cent), assistants to the president (2 per cent), junior college presidents (1 per cent), and acting presidents (1 per cent). About 3 per cent of the presidents (mainly in public liberal arts colleges)

were public school superintendents and another 2 per cent were officials in state boards of education and educational associations. The professional Protestant and Catholic clergy were important springboards to the academic presidency as all Catholic institution presidents were either priests or sisters of religious orders, and 8 per cent of the academic presidents moved directly from being Protestant clergymen to the presidency. The business area directly supplied only about 2 per cent of the academic presidents, while 3 per cent came directly from government (primarily at the Federal level), and 1 per cent came directly from military service. Men who were prior officials in foundations represented only about 1 per cent of the total group. There was a tendency for the heads of universities to come from relatively higher levels in institutions when compared to their counterparts in liberal arts colleges. The average person held the position immediately prior to becoming president for about five and one-half years.

Academic presidents had usually full-time faculty or administrative experience in two other institutions, while most Catholic institution presidents had worked full-time at no more than one other institution, and prior to assuming their present positions, the academic presidents spent about 10 years engaged in full-time educational administration. However, it is recalled that 31 per cent of academic

presidents were selected for the presidency without ever having worked as full-time educational administrators.

It was found that about 12 per cent of current college and university presidents in the sample had been presidents of other colleges or universities earlier in their careers, usually at one other college. In relative terms, the public university presidents were most likely to have been presidents of other institutions, while the Catholic institution presidents were least likely.

CHAPTER VIII

CAREER MOTIVATIONS OF ACADEMIC PRESIDENTS

The analysis thus far has looked at a variety of career patterns of academic presidents. However, one should not believe that these individuals chose the careers they did in a relatively mechanistic fashion. It is important to consider what motivations gave rise to the career patterns discovered. Academic presidents have expressed their feelings about the direction and meaning of their careers and these accounts give a necessary complement to the records they formally made on paper. Without such a consideration, a significant part of their occupational mobility is overlooked and lost. It will be seen that these human beings responded to a variety of attitudes, motivations, feelings, hopes, and values as they moved from their places of birth to the presidency. This chapter attempts to relate some of the forces and factors underlying their careers.

A Perspective for Studying Career Motivations

A few introductory remarks about occupational careers and recognized limitations of the ensuing discussion are in order. The selection of a self-satisfying occupational

career is enmeshed in a complex process which seems to be a relatively simple task for some and very difficult for others. Sociologists have long recognized the importance of many of the factors we examined earlier, such as family influences, education, sex-differentiation, and geographical location in the formation of values and attitudes about the world of work and careers. Edward Gross offers a clear statement of this recognition when he states:

> . . . persons in our culture are theoretically free to enter any occupation . . . but many factors affect the probability of entry into an occupation. Instead then of speaking of persons as choosing an occupation (though all may try), we find it more revealing to ask how they are selected for the occupation. This approach leads us to focus on such factors as family, location, sex, age, access to education, social class, race, and national origin.[1]

The research design for this study has been in the spirit and methodology of a social perspective. This is not to say that so-called psychological factors are unimportant in occupational and career matters, but to take cognizance that within the purposes of the present research, attention has been focused mainly on factors outside the inner psychological worlds of the academic presidents.

A discussion of the topic of occupational selection or career motivation makes necessary some understanding of

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[1]Edward Gross, Work and Society (New York: The Thomas Crowell Company, 1958), p. 144.

the meaning of work in American society. Even a cursory glance at the literature indicates that work means a multitude of things to people. For example, Morse and Weiss found that work served a means for an individual to become tied into the larger society, of having something to do, of having a purpose in life.[2] Super stated that work determined social status, molded values and sentiments, and routinized the style of living.[3] Friedmann and Havighurst found that work often meant different things to members of different occupational levels, and the higher levels were more apt to mention non-monetary factors and to stress the challenge and great purpose of their work.[4] And Anne Roe some time ago noted the role of work in American society when she said ". . . there is no single situation which is potentially so capable of giving satisfaction at all levels of the basic needs as is the occupation."[5] There are numerous theories in addition to any recognition of the importance

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[2]Nancy C. Morse and R. S. Weiss, "The Function and Meaning of Work and the Job," in Man, Work, and Society, ed. by Sigmund Nosow and William H. Form (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1962), p. 29.

[3]Donald E. Super, The Psychology of Careers (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), p. 35.

[4]E. A. Friedmann and Robert J. Havighurst, "Work and Retirement," in Man, Work, and Society, ed. by Nosow and Form, pp. 53-54.

[5]Anne Roe, The Psychology of Occupations (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1956), p. 31.

of sociological factors related to why people select or find themselves in the occupations they do. Some of these theories are briefly given below.

The Accident Theory

Theorists in this category usually stress that individuals make decisions about future occupations accidentally, and it is therefore impossible to critically evaluate all the alternative factors. Prominent people who supposedly had found themselves accidentally in a career and excelled in it are usually used to support this theory, e.g., David Ricardo, Malinowski, Whistler.[6]

Unconscious Forces Theory

The unconscious forces theory had its origins in the early psychological school of human behavior and motivation. Its proponents maintain that the decisions to go into a given occupation are not a result of conscious deliberation, but rather a result of latent forces which influence the individual toward a given occupation, e.g., the person who manifested urges to have power and later selected a career giving authority and dominance over others' lives.[7]

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[6]Eli Ginzberg, Sol Ginzburg, Sidney Axelrod, and John Herman, Occupational Choice, An Approach to a General Theory (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), pp. 18-19.

[7]Ibid., pp. 21-22.

Psychological Theories

The advocates of some psychological theories usually hold that "while the limits and pressures of uncontrollable external circumstances play a part, general psychological factors . . . are of major causal importance."[8] These psychological factors often include impulsive emotions, which determine choice of vocation and the satisfaction of basic needs as opposed to economic gain. Some prominent writers like Roe and Maslow have postulated a needs hierarchy beginning with physical and safety needs and moving upward to self-actualization needs. The relentless striving upward to self-actualization, to becoming all that one can become, "may well be the big factor in determining those who put enormous yet easy and pleasant effort into their work from those who do not."[9]

Developmental Theories

These theories stress that the final occupational choice can be understood only in terms of the stages of development through which an individual has passed. As such, occupational choice is a developmental process, a series of

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[8]Bertram R. Faier, "Personality Factors in Occupational Choice," Educational Psychological Measurement, XIII (1953), 362.

[9]Roe, Psychology of Occupations, p. 33.

decisions over a period of years that are largely irreversible and end in a compromise.[10]

It is not the purpose here to discuss the merits of each of the above theories. They have been set forth simply to show that any discussion of why academic presidents or any group chose or find themselves in their present positions is a complex and weighty task, subject to a variety of interpretations. It is believed, however, that on the basis of the many comments freely given by the academic presidents in written statements and in interviews or why they chose careers in higher education as opposed to any other career, one is able to gain valuable insight into some of the dynamics involved in their career decisions. Since only a few interviews were conducted, most of the following presentation was dependent more upon the questionnaire responses. All the major theories above can be found in the presidents' own words.

The major limitation of the present research is that no sophisticated psychological investigation was conducted as was the case with government and business executives. The views expressed by the presidents serve as the source of information. This is a comprehensive report of how their career motivations of the past and present look to the

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[10]Ginzberg and others, Occupational Choice, pp. 186-198.

academic presidents at the present time. Their remarks, then, are "time-bound." In a few years from now, their views might change, while a few years ago they might have given different views. This chapter looks at the presidents' career motivations after the individuals attained the position and while they are still in it. Moreover, because there is a complete dependence upon the personal perceptions and reactions of the respondents, any of the weaknesses of self-appraisals and how they might relate to one's self-concept are inherent in the approach. But, in view of the candor and obvious effort involved in most of the written statements, there is good reason to believe that the presidents were quite open and neither psychologically threatened nor unwilling to react honestly to this question. Therefore, it is assumed that their conscious responses represent a fairly accurate rationale for the substantial appearance of their career lines.

A number of factors were identified after a content analysis of nearly 400 questionnaire responses that were most pivotal in organizing the data. It became apparent that in the eyes of the presidents, the fundamental reasons for their careers in higher educational administration were based mainly on at least six interrelated factors: (1) a service orientation, (2) social influences, (3) professional opportunities, (4) personal factors, (5) a developmental process, and (6) an accidental circumstance. In most cases

one or more of the six factors interrelated in the eventual career decision while at other times, the respondents were most likely to insist that one had an overpowering influence. Each of these categories will be presented shortly, but first there will be an analysis of another important questionnaire item related to their careers that will set the stage for an examination of their career motivations.

Alternative Careers Considered by Presidents

The presidents were asked "From the time you completed your undergraduate education until the present, had you ever seriously considered a career outside the context of an educational institution?" The presidents were then asked to check the appropriate occupational alternatives, if applicable. Table 63 gives the results of the question.

Table 63. Percentage of presidents who considered a career outside education

Presidents' Institutions	Per Cent Yes	Per Cent No
Public universities	63	37
Catholic universities	50	50
Prot.-related universities	60	40
Independent universities	90	10
Public liberal arts	59	41
Catholic liberal arts	28	72
Prot.-related lib. arts	74	26
Independent liberal arts	59	41
Technological institutions	84	16
All presidents	60	40

Table 63 indicates that 6 out of 10 presidents had riously considered a career outside education from the me they completed their college education to the present. e independent university presidents, Protestant-related llege presidents, and technological institution presidents re much more likely to have considered another career, ile the Catholic institution presidents were least likely. Table 64, the tabulation is given for those who answered firmatively in Table 63, and the career alternatives are lineated.

ble 64. Alternative careers seriously considered by presidents

ternative Career	% of Respondents
siness executive	18
vernment service	9
siness and government careers	12
ligious Service	29
bor union official	0*
litary officer	2
acticing professional (law, medicine, engineer, etc.	16
her occupations	14
Total per cent	100

*Less than 0.5 per cent.

In Table 64 it can be seen that the outside career st mentioned was religious service as 29 per cent of the

presidents who had considered seriously other careers were oriented toward religious service.[11]

About 18 per cent of the presidents seriously considered business careers, 9 per cent government service, and another 12 per cent considered careers in both business and government. (Thus, a total of 39 per cent considered alternative careers in business and/or government.) Approximately 16 per cent of the presidents considered private practice of a professional field such as law, medicine, and engineering. About 2 per cent saw the military as a desirable alternative and less than 0.5 per cent seriously considered labor union careers. Nothing was additionally revealed by breaking down Table 64 by the president's type, or size of institution, as the order was very close for all types, except the heads of Catholic institutions and Protestant-related institutions where the religious service alternative was most significant.

In Chapter VII, it was noted that very few presidents actually did try or persist in occupations outside education. The central question now asked is "why?" Why did most academic presidents spend the very large portion of their full-time careers in education as opposed to any other career?

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[11]It should be pointed out that this figure includes 10 per cent who were priests, nuns, or Protestant ministers already. Thus, if this group were removed, it would mean that 19 per cent of the presidents who were not now clergymen had considered careers in religious service. The 19 per cent would still be the top career alternative, but would be closer to those who considered other careers.

More specifically, what factors, values, philosophies, or forces--which shall be referred to here as motivations--contributed to the decision of these individuals to make their way in education when many of society's more tangible rewards seem to go to leaders in business and government. And, especially when many of the presidents admit to having seriously considered a career in business or government. Why did some leave the teaching status of higher education for the administrative area which has more burdens and demands than many faced as professors? It is now appropriate to recall the six major categories developed from what presidents have said about their career selection.

Academic Presidents Express Their Career Motivations

Initially, it is well to mention that there were a minority of academic presidents who stated that they chose academic administration and/or the presidency, irregardless of the type, size, or location of the institution or tenure of the president. The presidents were most likely to say they were chosen or selected, but they did not choose.[12]

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[12]Note: The question which brought out this aspect was the final questionnaire item, first developed accidentally and asking why they "chose" academic administration. After the pilot test, it was obvious that the question made respondents react to the word "chose"--positively or negatively--and for this reason was retained with no modifications.

A majority of academic presidents believe they were chosen by religious superiors, by trustees, who felt they could do the job, or by a set of circumstances. For most, higher education administration was not their career at all, but rather higher education. For many of these individuals, during the course of their careers in higher education, primarily as teachers and deans, they were asked to assume enlarged responsibilities in educational administration, including the presidency. Many of these men expressed reluctance to accept the presidency at that time, but they felt unable to turn down the request. Once in the position, they remained for a number of reasons, personal philosophies, and institutional necessities.

However, there were a number of presidents who were more likely to have come from other professional avenues such as educational administration who admit to making an active career choice in administration. Whether presidents indicated their presence in their positions mainly as a matter of active choice, as acceptance to the wishes of others, or for some other reasons, there were a variety of rationales expressed. Probably the most expressed reason was "service."

Service Orientation

Service was a popularly articulated concept of academic presidents, and it took four major forms: to God and church; to society; to higher education; and to the institution. Each form will be discussed.

Service to God and church.--Although many presidents spoke of service to God, the majority of such expressions came from the heads of Catholic and Protestant-related institutions.

Among Catholic institution presidents, typical responses of why the men and women selected their careers included:

> As a Catholic priest I did not choose educational administration, but was requested to take the presidency by my religious superior.
>
> The headship of this institution was assigned to me by the Bishop of the diocese without my asking it.
>
> As a member of a religious order, I have not chosen educational administration, but was appointed to the position. I was given an option, of course, and agreed to the appointment.
>
> I chose administration in higher education as a career because I am a member of the Jesuits, and higher education is one of our principal works.
>
> I suppose the Depression of the 1930's had some influence on my choice of a career as a religious and educator. For me the two were synonomous.

For a large percentage of Catholic college and university presidents, their association with education was integral to their membership in a religious community. They were most likely to indicate that they responded to requests and wishes (and in some cases, assignments) of their religious superior. Their careers as priests or nuns and educators have been intertwined.

The presidents of Protestant-related institutions any of whom are clergymen) were also likely to stress rvice to God and church when speaking of their careers:

> Ours is a church college, service here is really one form of church service. . . . I felt guided by God to become president of this institution.
>
> I spent many years as a minister prior to becoming president of _____ college. The position has been challenging and gratifying. I hope my service has been helpful. I do not feel that I left the Christian ministry, I simply enlarged and extended it.
>
> As one who believes that all human beings have been created as an expression of divine purpose, I have always felt a strong feeling of having a mission in higher education.
>
> My basic reason for accepting the position came from my conviction of the importance of the church-related liberal arts college and its unique contribution to a total system of higher education in America.
>
> I accepted the position because of a growing conviction that I could render my greatest service to God and man in this assignment.
>
> It is a combination of the significance of the work and one's fitness for doing it. I am committed wholeheartedly to the Christian liberal arts college as an essential ingredient in human society. I regard what I am doing more as a "calling" than a job. It is what I was meant to do.

For many of the presidents of Protestant-related col- ges, a predominant theme is one of service to God, the ırch, and to a particular commitment to a type of educa- ɔnal institution. The presidency was more of a "calling" niniscent of the values articulated by presidents of early lleges in America and continued through the traditions and jectives of many of these institutions today. The presi- ıcy has provided an enlarged ministry, an opportunity to

rve people in a larger sense than that offered by most storates. Therefore, when approached by a board of con-ol or faculty, these presidents welcomed the opportunity.

Service to society.--Service to society and to one's llowman was an often-voiced reason for the careers of esidents in all types of institutions:

> Man is born to serve and this is an excellent position within and from which service can be rendered.
>
> Basically, I have a deep conviction that I have a responsibility to other men for service. This basic drive, along with a love for young people, makes the academic setting attractive. The opportunity to further the cause was made available in administration.
>
> Having embarked on a career as a college teacher, I came to the conclusion that I would make more of a contribution to education in administration than in teaching. The job of being a college president is tough, exciting, and rewarding, its decisions less simple than those of teaching, its pressures much greater. No doubt in some subtle sense the awareness of power provides additional satisfaction, though I would like to believe that the opportunity of service has been more important in my case. Who knows himself well enough to be sure.

Service to higher education.--Service in the inter-t of higher education itself was an important theme for ademic presidents:

> I am a strong supporter of higher education and top university administration is a more effective shot from which to provide leadership and service to bring about change in higher education.
>
> My choice of education was partly a process of elimination but, most importantly, it was based upon a growing conviction that man's problems could only be resolved in the long run through self-improvement by education. I preferred the idea of higher education both because

> the atmosphere was more appealing and challenging and also because I felt service at that level had to deal with the real potential of man in terms of his higher intellect in abstract reasoning. . . . Higher education is the most important social force by which man can raise himself by his own bootstraps.
>
> Higher education is one of the most meaningful undertakings of these times. Administrative roles make possible accomplishments denied less general responsibilities.
>
> I think education, particularly higher education, holds the key to most of our national and international problems today. Thus, it offers great opportunity for public service.

Service to an institution.--The other major concept of service expressed by college and university presidents was tied to service to an institution. In Chapter VI, it was noted that many presidents were alumni of their present institutions, and these men in particular felt strongly about returning to serve their alma mater. Others who were faculty members and staff members at the institution or who were chosen to render assistance to a college that was having serious difficulties or was approaching some distinction, were leading candidates to talk about serving the institution:

> I am a researcher who accepted my present position only because I felt that I had something to contribute to the growth of my alma mater. I would not have accepted the post elsewhere.
>
> I chose a career in administration in higher education as opposed to any other career because it gave me an opportunity to serve an institution and a cause, both of which are very dear to me.

> I left my prior position and came to _____, more because of my admiration of the institution than of any preference for administration over research and teaching.
>
> The challenge of returning in an administrative capacity to the institution from which I graduated was a stimulating factor.
>
> As a student and faculty member early in my career at this institution, I had gratifying years. When invited by the trustees to return I was aware that the university needed strengthening and thought it would be interesting to see what I could do to that end.
>
> I accepted the position as president mainly because of deep loyalty to the university and a deep sense of gratitude for the education I received from it.

For the presidents who felt deeply about the future of their institutions for a number of reasons, their career motivations tended to be expressed in terms of serving that institution more so than higher education or society, although these latter aspects would ultimately be strengthened.

Service to God and church, to society and man, to higher education, and to an institution or type of institution were important elements of many presidents' considerations of career decisions. The idea of service as shall be seen in the next category, "social influences," was often rooted in family upbringings where for many, a professional life was in a sense nurtured. But others have felt the commitment to service from religious ties and deep feelings for an institution and the possible contributions to the society.

Social influences.--Many presidents spoke of associations with key persons during their lives that they believed to have been crucial in their career decisions. Family, friends, colleagues, and teachers were significant others in the lives of these individuals and led them directly or indirectly to develop certain attitudes and values toward education and higher education administration. And in a few cases, racial concerns were part of the mix that led to the presidency.

> I grew up in a family in which service was oriented to higher education and selected this area because of that orientation and interest.
>
> I didn't know any better--my father did it too!
>
> I was reared in a home in which my father served successively as teacher, principal, and superintendent by the time I went to college. I enjoyed my life in that "schoolman's" home and looked forward to earning a livelihood one day in a comparable setting. I have never really known any other kind of life.
>
> I have been fortunate in having the opportunity to work closely with some outstanding college presidents. They inspired me to what was possible with the presidency.
>
> My interest in higher education administration was originally aroused by two professors from whom I took courses in educational administration at _____ University. Their encouragement to pursue graduate work in educational administration confirmed my determination to work in this field.
>
> It had always been assumed that if I didn't become a doctor like my father, I'd become a college president like his father. This was gentle pressure but played a role, I am sure.
>
> As a Negro there were a limited number of opportunities available in seeking a career . . . education offered more than any other area of endeavor. If there had been

> other professional choices available, it is more likely that I would not have entered education.
>
> Though it sounds immodest, I have a sense of Noblesse oblige probably inculcated by my family, which has a tradition of civic leadership. My father once said to me "if you are asked to perform a difficult job worth doing, and you can do it, then you must do it."

Thus, in many cases, values and aspirations and important decisions affecting the career were supplied by key people at different stages. There was little question but the family and teachers were significant in influencing many presidents to begin a career in education and eventually move to higher education administration and the presidency.

A third category of motivations in the eyes of presidents that contributed toward a career in higher education administration was composed of professional opportunities related to the position of the presidency, itself.

Professional opportunities.--A number of aspects that directly related to the position, role, and professional opportunities associated with the academic presidency were seen as attractions leading a number of these men and women into educational administration. Some of these aspects were tangible such as salary, home, and a certain standard of living. However, most references were made to more intangible aspects such as satisfactions and challenges and frustrations afforded by academic administration. A review of their comments would be most indicative of these attitudes.

I accepted the challenge of the presidency because I thought I could affect the lives of a greater number of people. . . . I also thought the presidency presented in one package the "complete" challenge to all that a man had. It was dangerous; it was costly; it was adventuresome; it was exhausting; and yet it was refreshing and invigorating. It was an adequate substitute for total war!

The reason I selected higher education administration was the life that centers around a campus, both intellectual and social. To be an administrator is to be in the "eye" of the storm! I enjoy it.

The main reason is the challenge of developing and running one's own institution while correlating at the same time ideas and needs of the board members, faculty, students, alumni, and the local community.

It is useful and productive, and it is somewhat less cutthroat than business and more useful than many businesses.

It is more fun.

I entered administration because I felt there was a greater challenge than that found in the classroom. A career in any other field comparable to that of higher education would undoubtedly have to be pursued in a larger area.

Academic administration was quite frankly an attractive alternative to professorial "publish or perish" pressures.

I enjoy working with people of college age and academic administration offered continuing contact in a larger sense than that possible in the classroom.

I shifted to academic administration because it provided me with a generalist perspective of an institution, rather than a limited focus of the typical faculty member.

I enjoy the challenge of applying theories and principles of the ivory tower to the realities of the marketplace.

The salary of top administrators is better than straight teaching and the economic rewards enable me to live at the level and style I prefer. There is also greater prestige.

> I enjoy being where the action is, like being one of the barons of the realm within the educational establishment.
>
> There are very few professions that challenge the intellect, courage, and energy as does administration in higher education. It is a period of unrest and uncertainty, but it offers a challenge to the administrator who is not just interested in the status quo.

Job oriented motivations ranked very high among the reasons why presidents chose their careers. Although many spoke of the frustrations of the position, most felt they were worth the effort because of overwhelming advantages. However, some presidents felt strongly that "the pressures upon top college administrators today, are most frustrating, continuing, and increasing. The challenges are no longer worth the toll." Some of these pressures were pinpointed by a few presidents like the one below:

> The current trend for faculty and students to demand more decision-making will lead to an even greater exodus of administrators from the scene. To be held responsible without the authority to make the decisions is asking the impossible. I am not referring to academic decisions but to the overall general administrative decisions required in any large organization.

There is little question that the contemporary presidents are beset by numerous pressures, as are all high level administrators in organized society, but only a minority (based upon their statements) felt the pressures were

more exacting than the opportunities, challenges, or excitement associated with the position.[13]

In the eyes of the majority of presidents, the position gives status, adequate financial compensation, and makes possible a style of living preferred by the presidents and their families. The work was believed to be trying and yet most felt it stimulating to be at the center of the various campus publics. A few indicated they were suffering from "presidential fatigue" and looked forward to returning to the classroom. And a few expressed the belief that a president gives his best to the presidency within ten years and thereafter should shift or withdraw. But motivations that tied directly to the position's opportunities and responsibilities were extremely important as they made decisions in their careers prior to and at the beginning of the presidency, during their terms in office, and in deciding whether and when to leave.

Very closely related to these professional-oriented motivations were those that rested with the president as a

---

[13]There seemed to be some indication that those with the longer tenures as faculty members and longer tenures as presidents were more apt to speak of the disadvantages and frustrations of the position--supporting the New York study by Hemphill--but since the question was open-ended no correlations could be made without an amount of bias that might have distorted the results. Certainly, some of the most articulate spokesmen who had only the most praiseworthy comments about the presidency were often those with relatively long faculty and presidential tenures.

person and spoke more to his views of himself. "Personal factors" covers these expressed views.

Personal factors.--Included among these factors are the psychological or inner ideals, drives, and ambitions of the presidents. Based upon their comments given in preceding sections, one already obtains an idea of the types of persons they must be and yet a large percentage offered more specific ideas about themselves as human beings that had some place in their decisions to enter academic administration.

> I accepted the position largely as a dare. I was clearly too young and inexperienced for the job, but I wanted to see if I could make it as top man.
>
> I am competitive by nature and I like to be the "head man" in whatever group I am. However, there are many other conscious and sub-conscious motivations, but perhaps not the least of these is like the mountain climber's answer, "Because it's there."
>
> I believe my personal motivations were quite pure, though adulterated somewhat by ego and personal ambition, I suspect.
>
> I shifted to administration because I had certain aptitudes and a temperament conducive to administrative activities.
>
> I preferred to be a manager in education because a smoothly running organization appeals to me, as does a machine that runs efficiently and smoothly.
>
> I enjoy making things move, releasing energy in others for constructive ends.
>
> It is the thing that interests me the most. I understand the problems and have dedicated myself to the premise that they can be solved and that I can solve them.

> I enjoy having the opportunity to put into effect some of my ideas. I miss the classroom, genuinely, not merely conventionally and sentimentally; I envy the publishing scholar; I am tortured by guilt over work always piling up faster than I can attend to it to my satisfaction, and I chafe over my own mistakes and limitations though I believe I project the appearance of confidence and poise.
>
> I put my money where my mouth is--the only way educational change can be carried out is to have college presidents ready and able to risk and to dare.

In most cases, the presidents appeared to be men with a flair for doing or making things happen, and although many admitted to envying the life of the scholar, these men largely turned from such a life to accept a life of pressures peculiar to the modern administrator. Although the majority felt they were chosen and did not plan for a presidency as such, nearly all were ready to admit that ambition to achieve at a high level of leadership was part of their decision. They all expressed that they had the necessary ability, sufficient confidence, and philosophy of education that needed heard and felt to warrant acceptance of the presidency. Some were quite practical about their personal motives while others took a more philosophical stance, and some like the person below combined the perspectives:

> I believe one tries to do what one believes he does best. I like administration because I do it well--better than I could do anything else. I prefer educational administration because I like the academic environment, the general life of the community. But again, I am most familiar with the academic life, I feel most at home with it and those who pursue it. If this appears fatalistic--or even worse--not at all an inspirational reason for an academic career, charge it off to an honest attempt to be as analytical as

possible about one's work--and even more basic--about one's self.

About 25 per cent of the presidents stated they are in higher education administration due to a series of career decisions that were believed to be rooted in accident or a set of circumstances at a point in time or as the end of a progressively deeper commitment to administration over a range of years. For all these presidents it was an event or a process difficult to explain. The following section attends to their interrelated perceptions, first as a developmental process over a period of years, and second as a complete accident often at a point in time.

Developmental process.--Many presidents believed their full-time movement and involvement in academic administration was almost inevitable given their interests and tendency to become more active in administrative problems early in their careers as teachers. Often they drifted in at first and occasionally they planned to enter, but once in they found it increasingly difficult to leave even if they wanted. A series of career decisions largely irreversible were set in motion according to the presidents, and almost as fate decreed, an academic presidency, not surprisingly, was offered. The patterns noted in Chapter VII of upward mobility in the higher education hierarchy was reinforced by the presidents' personal accounts:

It was a gradual encirclement as administrative duties began to infringe upon teaching time leading to the decision to move full-time into administration. An invitation to assume the presidency seemed inevitable once I became a dean.

I actually only consciously planned to be a college professor, but a number of proposals to assume larger and broader responsibilities led to administration. I became a university president not by planning for it, but looking backward it is easy to see that a succession of experiences led to it.

My involvement with people in learning situations led to administration in higher education, and then step by step, the job chose me.

Educational administration had an appeal from the time I first tried it as a department head. One job led to another. Subconsciously, perhaps, I always subscribed to the oft quoted idea that "the job seeks the man" in education.

I had not planned to be a college president. I did not really want to be one. I chose to do it because it seemed finally so natural to do on a larger scale what I had done in a department.

It is difficult to explain--it simply evolved.

Like topsy, I grew into it--faculty member, dean of students, assistant to the president, academic vice president, and then president.

My early career choice was really to teaching. But apparently my sounding off in faculty meetings and willingness to serve on committees brought on a kind of inevitable reaction. I was asked to be Dean of Men, then Dean of the College, then President.

I doubt if very many people ever started out with the ambition of becoming a college president. If so, they should be put away. In my own case, it was a chain of circumstances of increased responsibilities in administration that led to it.

In nostalgic moments, I sometimes wonder about the path I followed (teacher, department head, dean, and president). I cannot go back now--the bridges behind me have either crumpled from disuse or have been bombed out by the revolution that now surrounds me.

> My progression upward from teacher to President seemed logical a few years ago. At the present time, the wisdom of those "logical" decisions is in doubt.
>
> I moved from teaching into academic administration by quite natural and easy stages.

For the presidents above, moving to the presidency in their own minds had a fair amount of logic to it, and inevitability about it. Very closely related were persons whose reasons were also based upon a series of circumstances they responded to that culminated in the offer and acceptance of a presidency. But this latter group does not speak of logic and in place of inevitability, the term "accident" is most often used.

Accidental circumstance.--Although the stages of teacher to department head to dean to president were followed by many of these individuals, they insist that each career movement was accidental, especially the presidency, and they did not entertain seriously the idea that a presidency was inevitable or a likely pattern. In addition, those who came to the presidency from outside a higher education context were likely to mention a circumstance or accidental happenstance that brought them to the post. Those who expressed their career choice specifically as an accident or a simple response to circumstances did so as follows:

> For 15 years I was in religious work and I never considered higher educational administration until two years ago when the board approached me about the presidency.

> My eventual career in higher education administration is best explained as a roll of the dice.
>
> It was a sheer accident and circumstance. If women are wanted, there is a very small field from which to select.
>
> The choice was never really deliberate. I'm a drifter and there was a place for me in educational administration.
>
> Like many other academicians, I simply "found" myself in educational administration even though I had not originally aimed at it.
>
> Getting to the presidency was not really an accident, but a series of accidents.
>
> I simply drifted into educational administration.
>
> It just happened, and I sometimes wish it could have been otherwise.
>
> Being approached about the presidency was a great surprise to me because in all my planning, I had never thought I would make my career in college administration.
>
> My career in education would really appear to have been brought about by default than by design. I cannot remember a time when I thought of myself as a college dean or a college president. The job opportunities that opened appeared to me to be more by accident than by design.
>
> I have had considerable experience in military service and business. I am in my present position as a result of circumstances and experiences. I enjoy the work but I would be equally pleased with any of the others.

Among the persons who felt they did not choose educational administration, but rather were chosen by accident or circumstance, one president offered a statement that summed up his own feelings and was indicative of the attitudes of many of the respondents:

> I doubt if many people choose administration in higher education as a conscious deliberate career choice. It is something which happens to a person, like having twins or getting the mumps. It is, of course, possible to prevent it from happening by taking precautions; but it is not nearly so easy to take actions which will cause it to happen. I believe I am a college president because of a set of circumstances which are not likely to be duplicated elsewhere. It has something to do with an attitude developed over a career as a teacher in higher education and perhaps much more due to accidents of being in a particular position at a particular time.

Discussion and Summary

This chapter has focused on some of the reasons expressed by a great majority of academic presidents as to why they chose and/or were selected to a career in higher education administration culminating in a college or university presidency. The reasons underlying career choices are complex and often subtle in their origin, intensity, and effects. Sometimes they seem very reasonable and clear and sometimes they are slightly irrational and vague. Sometimes they seem to be fully and carefully made and sometimes they are rooted in the so-called unconscious.

In our society, a man's occupation has great meanings not only reflecting his interests and abilities, but often his values and commitments. It offers a level or position of status and security and provides as essential part of how a man defines who he is. The relevant literature would suggest that career choices are not easily nor simply made nor based upon easily explainable motives. To ask a man to explain his career choices and to expect the exact picture

is fraught with shortcomings. He himself may not really know and even if he does, he may for various reasons attempt to conceal his motivations from an outsider. Accidental factors, unconscious forces, social influences, psychological elements, and decision-making over time have all been found important in different occupational choices or selections to a variety of career patterns.

Nonetheless, the present chapter helps explain and gives some sense of closure to the academic presidents' careers that were descriptively presented in the preceding chapters. Academic presidents perceived their career patterns to be based upon one or more of the following factors: (1) a service orientation, (2) social influences, (3) professional opportunities, (4) personal factors, (5) a developmental process, and (6) an accident. It was found that few presidents saw themselves as actually having chosen a career in higher education administration (although they admit that it could have been avoided). Most of the presidents believe it more properly-stated to talk about their careers as educators in higher education, and through a series of activities and decisions and based upon particular values, philosophies, opportunities, needs, and circumstances, they were chosen or selected to head an institution of higher education.

For some, their careers had a sense of inevitability. They were raised in educational or professional-oriented families and developed at an early age a sense of service.

They had it nurtured and were provided models of a life of scholarship in their formal education, and planned careers as educators. Over a period of years, they were called upon to help solve administrative problems in committees and departments and eventually colleges. Experience and visibility were part of such involvement along with the commitment to education and academic administration as useful and worthy of a man's attention and energy. After experience as a dean or provost, they were called upon to assume the presidency, and for these men, the decision could be nothing but yes.

On the other hand, a number of presidents began their careers with the full expectation of religious service. Among the Catholic institution presidents a hope to teach led to candidacy and acceptance in orders who had major responsibilities for education. Demonstration of educational administrative abilities that came to the attention of a religious superior and evaluation of the church's needs made possible their movement to the presidency where the church and the institution could be served simultaneously. Among many Protestant-related institution presidents, an early career in the ministry led to work and visibility in the church's colleges. A deep commitment to the value of Christian higher education and a desire to enlarge one's ministry through academic administration made such a career move desirable for the institution and the person. And for those

who were not ministers, they still shared a strong commitment to the value of a Christian college or university and made acceptance of a presidency imperative.

Some presidents came from more humble social origins and many of them began their careers as teachers, often at the elementary or secondary levels. Soon they were principals and superintendents and earning doctorates in educational administration, many teaching such courses at the college level. The presidency became a reality, even though few anticipated such a climax at their first full-time positions.

A few presidents spent substantial portions of their careers in business, government, or the military, and academic administration had never been a part of their thinking until circumstances precipitated their selection.

It has been seen that the majority of presidents have expressed great rewards and satisfactions from the position, while some seem frustrated by the pressures and demands the position continues to bring in greater abundance.

In general, the academic presidents responded to a variety of needs and motivations associated with their career patterns. It is believed that some--if not the most--crucial factors were given. Intensive psychological testing and other research designs will undoubtedly provide even more insights. The six categories that were isolated in the analysis were by no means exclusive nor all-inclusive. A

variety of combinations were offered by the presidents to explain their reasons for choosing a career in academic administration.

The Academic President as Scholar, Administrator, Businessman

The presidents were eager to include opinions on another aspect of the academic presidency that is worthy of note before this chapter is concluded. In giving their own career motivations and feelings about the position, a relatively large number also volunteered opinions of the type of president needed in the academic presidency in the next ten years. Many of their remarks were prompted by a questionnaire item that asked for their ranking of which of the three often-quoted characteristics of presidents is most essential: (1) the president must be above all a scholar in his own right with a notable background in teaching and research; (2) the president must be one who has demonstrated successful executive and administrative abilities in educational administration, and (3) the president must be one with considerable knowledge and training in business or financial matters related to institutional growth and development. The table below is given to summarize their views, and then there will be brief sketches that reflect their views of the type of person needed in the contemporary president.

Table 65. Presidents' opinion on the most crucial background experience needed in the contemporary academic president

Background Experience Needed Above All	% of Presidents
The president must be a notable scholar	18
The president must be a successful educational administrator	68
The president must have business administration experience and skills	14
Total per cent	100

There was little question among all academic presidents, that the contemporary and future academic president must possess above all, educational administration talents. It should be pointed out that the president's size of institution in no way changed the percentages above. One president indicated in an interview that it is desirable for the president to have faculty experience only because it would make him more accepted by the faculty members. And, although business or financial skills were deemed important for fund-raising or general budgetary purposes, a respondent felt it was probably more important for the president to hire a trustworthy development man and business manager. The president would be effective to the extent that he brought together and utilized well a team of competent staff members as he gave the most crucial leadership to educational

goals and philosophy. Other presidents offered a range of ideas about the ideal president.

> The president must be a person who enjoys the responsibility of making decisions, both routine and the higher decisions that must be made; he must be one who is willing and enjoys asserting his ideas and projects into the mainstream of the life of the institution; he must be one who has the ability and desire to work with persons from the lowliest staff members to the highest paid professor.
>
> The president must have intimate and extensive knowledge of modern American universities from first-hand experience. He must have high standards for people and their performance in the educational functions of a university. He must have personal enthusiasm for the institution and devotion to its purposes and its personnel and ability to communicate these characteristics to others.
>
> To my mind, the day of the outstanding scholar being president of a university is over--it's a practical, business-oriented agency. This may well be shocking to the scholar but it is true as I view the matter.
>
> Above all, the president must have patience, tact, courage, integrity, common sense, and good judgment.
>
> Lord help the college presidents of the future. They will have to be made of sterner stuff, and I don't consider myself any "softie."
>
> The president is basically a management position and requires much the same qualities which are represented in the management of any large organization. The one peculiarity is that one seems to need a background as an ex-scholar in order to be fully acceptable to the faculty.
>
> It is to be hoped that his motives are pure, his judgment reasonably sound, and his fundamental attitude one of humility.
>
> The president today must receive formal training in educational administration or business administration.
>
> Being a college president is a tough job but can be most rewarding. Extremely sensitive people should avoid such a position, however, as we get quite a beating sometimes and can't afford to bleed too much. One has to be

> a master at the art of compromise and has to remember that at various times in his tenure he will be called too weak and at other times too overbearing.

To be sure, many of the presidents of the next ten years are within the sample of this study. In all likelihood, the majority of the rest will come from among today's academic vice presidents, college deans, and other high-level academic administrators.

The results of the analyses of social origins, family influences, education and career patterns of college and university presidents have now been given. There remains only the cross-comparisons of the academic presidents with their counterparts in business and government as studied by W. Lloyd Warner and his colleagues.

CHAPTER IX

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CAREERS OF ACADEMIC PRESIDENTS, BIG BUSINESS LEADERS AND FEDERAL EXECUTIVES

W. Lloyd Warner and others have conducted extensive research on the careers of big business leaders and federal executives, and those earlier works provided the theoretical and methodological underpinning for the present study of academic presidents. It is now possible and desirable to compare the findings of the present research with the basic findings of the Warner studies. Hopefully, such an analysis will bring into sharp relief similarities and differences of the leaders' careers in three powerful and prestigeful occupational categories in American society. It will also permit further generalizations about the extent to which the society is fluid or rigid in its filling of key positions in business, government, and higher education. To contrast the careers more easily and systematically, the general category of academic president will be used rather than the various types of institutions represented by the presidents.

The aspects that will be compared follow the format of the thesis. First, how do the occupational origins of the

leaders compare? Do they come from different occupational levels? Second, how do their geographical origins and sizes of hometowns compare? Third, how does the formal educational preparation of the elites compare, especially at the college level? Fourth, how do selected critical points related to the career lines of the business, government, and educational leaders compare?

Comparative findings have been taken at random from three sources that have reported Warner's research: (1) W. Lloyd Warner and James C. Abegglen, Occupational Mobility in American Business and Industry (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955); (2) W. Lloyd Warner, Paul P. Van Riper, Norman H. Martin, and Orvis F. Collins, The American Federal Executive (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963); and (3) W. Lloyd Warner, "The Careers of American Business and Government Executives: A Comparative Analysis," in Social Science Approaches to Business Behavior, ed. by George B. Strother (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1962).

Occupational Origins

In Chapter IV, the discussion focused upon how representative academic presidents were when compared to the occupational levels of the society. Now, it can be asked whether academic presidents came proportionally from all levels of society more often than business or government

leaders. Table 66 compares the father's occupations among the three types of leaders.

Table 66 indicates that nearly one-third of the big business leaders had fathers who were also major executives and owners of large businesses; about 18 per cent of the fathers were owners of small businesses; and 14 per cent were professional men. Another 10 per cent were skilled laborers, 9 per cent were farmers, and 8 per cent were clerks or salesmen. At the lowest levels, 5 per cent of the fathers were unskilled laborers and 3 per cent were foremen. Thus, the business leaders came in large proportions from what are usually perceived as the higher occupational levels in the society, as 63 per cent of their fathers were major executives, owners of large and small businesses and professional men.

The federal executives' fathers also came in large percentages from higher level positions although there were differences. About 19 per cent of the fathers were professional men followed closely by fathers who were major executives (17 per cent) and skilled laborers (17 per cent). Owners of small businesses and farmers were next with 14 per cent. At the lower levels were fathers who were clerks or salesmen (9 per cent), foremen (5 per cent), unskilled laborers (4 per cent), and other occupations (1 per cent). About 50 per cent of the fathers were major executives,

Table 66. Occupational origins of business, government, and higher education leaders

Occupation of Father	1952 Business Leaders		1959 Federal Executives		1968 Academic Presidents	
	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank
Unskilled or semiskilled laborer	5	7	4	8	6	7
Skilled laborer	10	4	17	2-3	10	4-5
Clerk, salesman	8	6	9	6	5	8
Foreman	3	8	5	7	7	6
Major exec. & large business owner	31	1	17	2-3	10	4-5
Owner of small business	18	2	14	4-5	11	3
Professional man	14	3	19	1	31	1
Farmer	9	5	14	4-5	16	2
Other occupations	2	9	1	9	4	9

business owners, and professionals, while about 21 per cent were skilled or unskilled laborers.

The occupational origins of academic presidents were quite similar in general terms to the other leaders in that the higher occupational levels were well-represented. About 31 per cent of the academic presidents' fathers were professional men (resembling the 31 per cent of business leaders' fathers who were major executives). About half that many were farmers (16 per cent), and about 11 per cent were owners of small businesses. About 10 per cent of the fathers were major executives and another 10 per cent were skilled laborers. At the lowest levels, 7 per cent of the fathers were foremen, 6 per cent were unskilled laborers, 5 per cent were clerks or salesmen, and 4 per cent were in other occupations. Thus, about 52 per cent of the fathers of academic presidents were either major executives, business owners, or professional men.

It will be recalled that in Chapter IV, ratios were developed which exactly compared the occupations of the fathers with the adult male population at the time the academic presidents started their careers. A ratio of 1:1 meant that the same percentage of an occupation was represented among the fathers of the educators as found in the general population. Warner also developed such ratios, and Table 67 brings together the ratios for all three types of leaders.

Table 67. Ratio of proportions of fathers of business, government, and academic leaders in occupational groups to the proportion of occupational groups in the adult male population (proportional representation = 1.00)*

Occupation of Father	Business Leader Ratio	Government Executive Ratio	Academic President Ratio
Exec. or large bus. owner	7.75	5.67	2.00
Owner small business	3.60	2.00	2.20
Professional man	3.50	4.75	6.20
Foreman	1.33	2.50	2.50
Clerk, salesman	0.80	0.75	0.38
Skilled laborer	0.63	1.13	0.71
Farmer	0.45	0.88	0.73
Unskilled laborer	0.16	0.12	0.19

*The 1920 census was used for the 1952 business leader study; the 1930 census was used for the 1959 government executive study; and the 1940 census was used for the 1968 academic president study. Thus, all percentages for the adult male population have been adjusted for the appropriate time periods under investigation.

Table 67 tells the story exactly as to the occupational levels over or under-represented among the three groups of leaders, and the similarities are as apparent as the differences. The groups over-represented among all leaders were business executives, business owners, professional men, and foremen. Under-represented were clerks or salesmen, skilled laborers (except for fathers of government leaders), farmers, and unskilled laborers. Among the business leaders there were 775 fathers who were major business executives out of every 100 that might be expected by chance alone. The ratio for major executives was still high for

Table 68. Ratio of proportions of fathers of business, government, academic leaders in professional fields to the proportion of the adult male population in the professions

Profession	Business Leader Ratio	Federal Executive Ratio	Academic President Ratio
Lawyer	8.00	8.44	5.80
Clergyman	5.48	6.67	28.46
Engineer	4.80	4.77	3.63
Physician	4.78	5.95	3.91
Elem.-secondary teacher	1.89	2.25	23.75
Col. prof. and col. pres.		14.17	5.54

federal executives but dropped to 2.00, or 200 out of every 100 expected by chance. In the case of academic presidents, a ratio of 6.20 or 620 fathers out of 100 expected by chance were found in professional fields.

Therefore, compared with the general population, most fathers of business, government and academic leaders tended to come in disproportionately high numbers from the business executive or business owner level or from professional fields. However, there was movement up from the lower levels as well, although somewhat lower than might be expected on the basis of chance. The level of foreman stood out as the only level below the top three which had a proportionally higher ratio than would be anticipated. The foreman level provided an important occupational origin for all leaders, especially government and academic leaders.

The professions in all three hierarchies had been a significant level from which leaders came, and can be examined separately by again using ratios. Table 68 shows the exact patterns for the major professional fields.

The ratios of fathers of business, government, and educational leaders in the professions compared to fathers in the professions in the adult male population showed important differences.

The proportional ratios for the sons of lawyers, engineers, and physicians were not too different. But in the clergyman and educator professions the ratios give a contrasting perspective. For business leaders, teachers and professors ranked last with a 1.89 ratio (189 out of 100 expected by chance). For government leaders, the data could be broken down separately into teachers or professors; teachers were lowest of the professions with 224 out of 100 expected while college professors were very high with 1400 out of 100 anticipated by chance factors. Among academic presidents, the teacher and college professor categories were relatively much higher, with 2300 out of 100 teachers expected by chance and 554 out of 100 college professors expected. Thus, while the teacher category was lowest for business and government executives, it was second highest for academic presidents. In the other professional category of clergyman, the academic presidents stood far ahead with the percentage of fathers who were ministers. Ministers

were second for business and government executives with ratios of 5.48 and 6.67 respectively, but among academic presidents, the ratio was almost five times as great, or 28.46, and that professional group was the most overrepresented among the presidents of colleges and universities.

Geographical Origins

In Table 69, the ratios of the business, government, and academic leaders are given for region of birth when compared to the adult population's region of residence at the time the leaders were born.

Table 69. Ratios of business, government, and academic leaders for region of birth to the residence of the adult population at the time of the leaders' births (proportional representation = 1.00)

Region	Business Leader Ratio	Federal Executive Ratio	Academic President Ratio
New England	1.43	1.14	1.04
Middle Atlantic	1.47	1.05	0.87
East North Central	1.18	0.95	1.04
West North Central	1.00	1.23	1.35
South Atlantic	0.57	1.00	0.93
East South Central	0.40	0.67	0.96
West South Central	0.44	0.67	0.97
Mountain	1.00	1.67	0.94
Pacific	1.33	1.00	0.81

Table 69 indicates that the academic presidents were more representative of the general population on the basis

of region of birth than was the case for business or government leaders. None of the academic presidents' regions of birth were far from a perfect representation of 1.00 (although the Middle Atlantic region was slightly under with 0.87 and the Pacific had 0.81). On the other hand the business and government leaders were in disproportionally low numbers for the southern regions.

Thus at the start of their lives the leaders came from all over the nation with academic presidents closer to representing the population's residence than the business and government leaders.

Another aspect of geographical origins studied was the relative sizes of the hometowns of the leaders. Table 70 depicts the appropriate ratios among the leaders.

Table 70. Ratio of size of birthplace of business, government, and academic leaders and size of the community of residence of the United States population (proportional representation = 1.00)*

Size of Community	Business Leader Ratio	Federal Executive Ratio	Academic President Ratio
100,000 and over	1.71	2.06	0.92
25,000 to 100,000	1.50	1.71	1.60
2,500 to 25,000	1.40	1.57	1.19
Under 2,500	0.59	0.43	0.83

*1952 business leaders/1900 United States population= ratio; 1959 federal executives/1910 United States population= ratio; 1968 academic presidents/1920 United States population=ratio.

Table 70 shows it was more likely that business and government leaders came from urban areas with those from communities over 100,000 in disproportionally high numbers, while the academic presidents came from the relatively smaller urban areas under 100,000 population and from rural communities under 2,500. In many respects, the academic presidents were more representative of the national population's residences as all ratios approached 1.00 rather closely. For business and government leaders, the distribution was skewed toward large urban areas.

Thus, the leaders represented all sizes of communities, although academic presidents were more likely to be from smaller communities than business and government executives. In addition, the academic presidents were more nearly representative of the national population.

Family Influences

The heart of the analysis on family influences was based upon occupational mobility over three generations. It was found with business and government executives that there was a great change in proportions from the grandfathers' to the fathers' generation insofar as farming was concerned. A similar pattern held true for the grandfathers and fathers of academic presidents as can be seen in Table 71.

Table 71. Three generations of occupational mobility among business, government, and academic leaders (in per cent)

	Business Leaders		Government Leaders		Academic Leaders	
Occupation	Grandfather	Father	Grandfather	Father	Grandfather	Father
Farmer	35	9	44	14	43	16
Laborer	19	15	18	21	21	16
Owner of small business	17	18	14	14	11	11
Major exec. and large business owner	12	31	6	17	3	10
Professional	10	14	10	19	15	31
Foreman	3	3	4	5	3	7
Clerk, salesman	2	8	3	9	1	5
Other	2	2	1	1	3	4

It can be seen from Table 71 that among all leaders, a very high percentage of grandfathers were farmers: including 35 per cent of business leaders' grandfathers, 44 per cent of government leaders' grandfathers, and 43 per cent of academic presidents' grandfathers. The grandfathers' sons moved to the cities to become major business executives, business owners, and professional men. For academic presidents, it can be seen that movement was not only to more urban areas but to colleges as twice as many of the fathers than grandfathers were in professional fields, mainly ministry and secondary teachers.

Higher Education Received

Warner found that higher education was the "royal road to success" for business and government leaders. About 57 per cent of business leaders were college graduates and 81 per cent of federal executives were college graduates. In the academic president study it was learned that all academic presidents were college graduates and nearly three-fourths had earned academic doctorates. Table 72 compares the top ten colleges and universities from which the business, government, and academic leaders received their education.

It is interesting to note how many specific universities were found among the top ten in each leadership group.

Table 72. Top ten universities of business, government, and academic leaders

University	Rank	University	Rank
Business Leaders		Academic Presidents	
Yale	1	Univ. of Chicago	1
Harvard	2	Columbia Univ.	2
Princeton	3	Harvard	3
Cornell	4	Catholic Univ.	3
Penn	5	Yale	4
Univ. of Illinois	6	Univ. of Iowa	5
Mass. Inst. Tech.	6	New York Univ.	5
Univ. of Michigan	6	Ohio State Univ.	5
New York Univ.	7	Univ. of Wisconsin	5
Univ. of Minnesota	8	Univ. of Michigan	6
Univ. of Calif. (Berkeley)	8	Fordham	7
Williams College	9	Cornell Univ.	8
Univ. of Chicago	10	St. Louis Univ.	9
		Univ. of Illinois	10
Federal Executives		Penn	10
George Washington	1	Univ. of Calif. (Berkeley)	10
Harvard	2		
Columbia	3		
Univ. of Chicago	4		
Univ. of Minnesota	5		
Georgetown	6		
Univ. of Wisconsin	7		
Univ. of Calif. (Berkeley)	7		
Ohio State Univ.	8		
American Univ.	8		
Univ. of Michigan	9		
New York Univ.	10		

Six universities, i.e., Yale, Harvard, Michigan, New York University, California at Berkeley, and Chicago were among the top ten universities for business leaders, for federal executives, and for academic presidents.

Higher education was not only directly related to career achievement for all three types of leaders, but in the case of academic presidents it was a necessity.

Career Patterns

It has been the central purpose of this study to focus on the careers of academic presidents, and in Chapter VII a scheme was used to show the sequence of occupations in the presidents' career lines at five year intervals beginning with the first full-time job. Warner had developed similar patterns for business and government leaders and Tables 73, 74, and 75 below give some selected broad pictures of such movements for all leaders.

Table 73. Career sequence of 1952 business leaders (in per cent)

Occupation	First Occupation	Five Years Later	Ten Years Later	Fifteen Years Later
Laborer	14	3	1	0
Clerical, salesman	43	25	8	3
Minor executive	10	39	46	26
Major executive	1	6	26	57
Professions	24	21	14	10
Uniformed service	2	2	1	1
Business owner	1	2	3	3
Other occupations	5	2	1	0
Total per cent	100	100	100	100

In Table 73, the general pattern was for business leaders to move through white-collar groups as all other occupational groups diminished. Although 14 per cent began as laborers, the percentage fell sharply after five years. There was also a fairly rapid movement out of the professions (mainly engineering and law) into business. Within fifteen years of becoming self-supporting, Warner found that more than one-half the men studied were major executives and another quarter were minor executives.

Table 74. Career sequence of 1959 federal executives (in per cent)

Occupation	First Occupation	Five Years Later	Ten Years Later	Fifteen Years Later
Laborer	14	6	4	2
Clerical, salesman	25	17	8	3
Minor executive	5	17	28	26
Major executive	0*	2	7	21
Professions	46	46	45	42
Uniformed service	5	8	5	3
Business owner	1	1	1	1
Other occupations	4	3	2	2
Total per cent	100	100	100	100

*Less than 0.5 per cent.

In Table 74, it can be seen that 46 per cent of federal executives began their careers in the professions (mainly engineering, law, and education) and 25 per cent began as white-collar workers. As in the case of business

leaders, about 14 per cent began in laboring positions. Over the fifteen years there was little change among those in the professions, but those outside the professions moved into higher level executive positions. At the end of fifteen years, the three statuses of professional, major executive, and minor executive comprised 87 per cent of all federal executives. Over a few years, the men moved quickly out of laborer occupations as did the business leaders.

Table 75. Career sequence of 1968 academic presidents (in per cent)

Occupation	First Occupation	Five Years Later	Ten Years Later	Fifteen Years Later	Twenty Years Later
Laborer	1	0	0	0	0
Clerical, sales	2	1	0	0	0
Minor executive	1	1	0*	0*	0*
Major executive	1	1	1	1	1
Professions	90	90	94	95	96
Uniformed service	3	5	2	2	1
Business owner	0*	0*	0*	0*	1
Other occupations	2	2	3	2	1
Total per cent	100	100	100	100	100

*Less than 0.5 per cent.

In Table 75, the career sequence of academic presidents shows that over a twenty year period, at least 9 out of 10 were in the professional fields, and as seen in detail in Chapter VII, in education. It was significant that few presidents entered education outside of professional life.

About one-third of the academic presidents began their careers as elementary-secondary teachers but just as quickly as business and government leaders left the laborer occupations, the future academic presidents left the elementary-secondary teacher positions and moved into principal, superintendent, and college faculty statuses. At the end of fifteen years, 30 per cent were presidents and at the end of twenty years, 63 per cent were presidents. There was a steady movement up the higher educational hierarchy from college teacher to department head to college dean or academic vice president (provost) to president in the majority of cases.

On the basis of the career lines presented in Tables 73, 74, and 75, it is clear that: (1) much higher proportions of academic presidents than of business or government leaders, were professionally trained, although a very high percentage of government leaders began in the professions; (2) much higher proportions of business leaders arose through laborer and white-collar occupations; and (3) higher proportions of business leaders reached major executive positions faster than government leaders and faster than academic leaders reached the presidency. It should be recalled from Chapter VII, however, that at the end of fifteen years, about 52 per cent of academic leaders were at high level administrative positions comparable to many major executive positions, such as dean, vice president or president.

In analyzing other aspects of business and government leaders' careers Warner found that the average age of the civilian federal executive was 49.4 and the average age of business leaders was 53.7. In the present research it was shown that academic presidents' average age was 52.9 or closer to the business leaders. It was also found that the average age when business leaders assumed their present positions was 45.3 while government executives were 44.8. In this study it was learned that the average academic president assumed his present position at the age of 45.1. Thus, the average age when business, government, and academic leaders assumed their high levels of leadership in their respective hierarchies was around 45, and business and academic leaders had held their present positions for about 8 years while federal executives were in their present positions about 4 years.

Among federal executives only 1 per cent were women and among academic presidents, 11 per cent were women, 10 per cent of whom were heads of Catholic liberal arts colleges for women and 1 per cent were heads of private liberal arts colleges for women. (No comparative figure for women was reported in the business leader study.) Although more women were found among academic presidents, they headed liberal arts colleges for women, and no female president headed a coeducational college or any university.

In conclusion, the comparative analysis of the three researches has built upon the perspective of the nature of modern society given so well by W. Lloyd Warner:

> The American society is a fluid, emergent one, with change in the nature of the system. The local communities merge into a larger national collectivity. Large scale organizations, big government, and big business become increasingly prominent. In this fluid world of change and increasing immensity the managerial group will be drawn increasingly from the educated mobile men who come from the more populous lower occupational levels.[1]

It is clear that big education has a place among large scale organizations, and although a high percentage of academic presidents came from professional origins, it is also evident that there were those from lower occupational levels represented. The men from lower level origins received a college education and advanced degrees and became active in the educational hierarchy as teachers and administrators leading to their current elite, academic administrative positions.

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter focused upon the comparative career patterns of the academic presidents and the research findings of business leaders and federal executives by W. Lloyd Warner. It investigated the occupational and geographical origins of the leaders, their higher education, and selected aspects of their career lines.

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[1]W. Lloyd Warner, "Careers of American Business and Government Executives," p. 123.

It was found that the occupational origins of academic presidents were quite similar to the other leaders in that their fathers were represented in disproportionally greater numbers in business executive, business ownership, and professional levels. And these high level positions were found among all three types of leaders in greater proportion than their representation in the adult, male United States population. However, there was evidence of mobility into the elites from relatively lower levels as well, especially from foreman and skilled laborer levels. Professional origins were especially prominent among all three elites, but among the academic presidents the professions most overrepresented were the clergy and elementary-secondary teaching, both of which were found in much greater proportions among the educators as opposed to the other leaders.

The business, government, and academic leaders came from all regions of the country, and although the southern states tended to "produce" fewer business and government leaders than other regions, the academic presidents were more representative of the national population's residence patterns. When the leaders' birthplaces were contrasted, it was found that while business and government leaders came primarily from large urban areas, the academic presidents were again more representative of the national population by coming from all sizes of communities in near proportions to the national averages. However, the academic presidents were

more apt to come from rural communities under 2,500 population or small towns when compared to the other two elites.

Among all leaders a very large percentage of grandfathers were farmers. In the case of business and government leaders the grandfathers' sons tended to move to the large cities to become mainly business executives and business owners, and professional men. The rural to urban pattern held for academic presidents, but the movement was to small urban towns and predominantly to colleges to prepare for professional fields, especially teaching and the ministry.

Whereas 57 per cent of the business leaders and 81 per cent of the government executives were college graduates, all academic presidents were college graduates and more than three-fourths earned an academic doctorate. The leaders of all three elites showed great similarity in the universities attended as six universities were found among each group's top ten: Yale, Harvard, Michigan, New York University, California at Berkeley, and Chicago.

When the career patterns of the elites were examined, it was found that much higher proportions of academic presidents were professionally trained, although a very high percentage of government leaders began their careers in professional fields. In addition, business leaders were more likely to rise through laborer and white-collar occupations than the others. It was also found that higher proportions

of business leaders reached major executive positions faster than government leaders but not much faster than academic presidents' movements into high levels of administrative responsibility (dean or vice president). The average business leader assumed his present position at the age of 45.3 and was at the time of Warner's study, 53.7; the average federal executive assumed his present position at the age of 44.8 and was presently 49.4; the average academic president assumed his present position at the age of 45.1 and is now 52.9.

There were relatively few women as government executives or as academic presidents, although there were proportionally more women in higher education. But even in education, the women headed liberal arts colleges for women (mainly Catholic), and no coeducational liberal arts college or university in the sample had a female president.

It was indicated that although academic presidents came in greater proportions from higher occupational origins, the lower levels were also represented, as with business and government leaders. The society was found to be open and fluid so that persons of lower origins were able to make it to the top of all three hierarchies.

CHAPTER X

THE GENERAL SUMMARY

This dissertation has presented the findings of an intensive study of the occupational and geographical origins, education, career patterns, and some career motivations of 760 American college and university presidents. It has focused upon the differences and similarities of the careers of those who head the various types, sizes, and locations of four-year institutions of higher education in the nation. It has also compared the careers of academic presidents with the careers of big business and government executives. It has produced knowledge about the careers of academic presidents in line with the theoretical and methodological framework developed by W. Lloyd Warner, and has thus made possible certain comparative analyses and conclusions about vertical occupational mobility among higher education, business, and government elites. Finally, it has raised a number of questions that are in need of future research. It is the purpose of this chapter to: (1) briefly review the research design and methodology, (2) present a general summary of the research findings as they pertain to academic presidents in general, (3) present summary descriptive profiles of the

backgrounds and careers of presidents of various types of institutions, (4) relate the findings to the relevant theory and research hypotheses, and (5) note the implications for future research in this area. Each of the above topics will be considered in the order given.

Review of the Research Design

On the basis of a review of the historical writings and empirical studies of academic presidents set against a theoretical framework of occupational succession and mobility and the subsequent Warner studies of business and government executives, the research design for the study of careers of academic presidents was developed. The relevant population for the study included the presidents of all four-year accredited colleges and universities in the United States (with the exception of specialized institutes and religious seminaries). The sample selected for the research was the same as the population, and after a pilot study and careful evaluation, a twenty-three item questionnaire was mailed to 1,118 academic presidents. A total return of 72.4 per cent was obtained, of which 760 questionnaires or 68 per cent of those distributed were found usable, and formed the basis of analysis. The academic presidents in the usable sample were highly representative of the total population in terms of the types, sizes, and locations of their institutions. The questionnaire, a modification of the basic

instrument used in the business and government researches, was the principal means of data collection, but was supplemented by written personal statements of career motivations and philosophies of education, personal interviews, and other reference works on the institutions and the presidents. The questionnaires were coded and keypunched and then computer program in the Control Data Corporation 3600 at Michigan State University was utilized in the analysis. Six major subgroups were established to analyze the data: (1) types of institutions, (2) geographical locations of the institutions, (3) student enrollments, (4) sex of the respondent, (5) respondents who had been presidents of more than one institution, and (6) presidents' tenures in their present positions.

Summary of the Careers of Academic Presidents

The following summary represents an overall profile of the major findings pertaining to the careers of academic presidents, in general. The next section will consider the findings based upon the presidents' types of institutions.

Occupational Origins

The occupational origins of academic presidents as indicated by their fathers' occupations were representative of all types and levels of occupations in the society. However, a disproportionately higher number of presidents

came from professional and executive backgrounds rather than lower level occupations. The only exceptions were the presidents of Catholic institutions who came primarily from the lower and medium level business positions. When the occupations of the presidents' fathers were compared to the general male population, five occupational groups were overrepresented (professional, minor business executive, major business executive, government civil service, and military service), and four occupational groups were underrepresented (farmer, skilled laborer, white collar worker, and unskilled or semiskilled laborer). Among the professional origins, the fathers were most likely to have been clergymen and teachers at the elementary-secondary levels.

Geographical Origins

The geographical origins of academic presidents showed representation from all regions of the country, although there was evidence that the presidents were physically as well as occupationally mobile during their careers. About 40 per cent of academic presidents were born in rural communities under 2,500 and another 20 per cent were from small towns under 25,000. While presidents of non-Catholic institutions came more frequently from rural communities or small towns, the presidents of Catholic institutions came more often from large urban areas. Only about 4 per cent of the presidents were foreign-born. More similarities than differences were found among the occupational and geographical

origins of academic presidents, although presidents of similar types of institutions showed the greatest similarities. The origins of presidents of public institutions, Catholic institutions, Protestant-related institutions, independent institutions, or technological institutions tended to appear alike while there were noticeable differences between the types of institutions the presidents headed. Whether the president was head of a university or college had no serious bearing on the findings, but the institution's form of control was relevant. Throughout the president's life and career, there was a tendency to be associated with a particular type of institution--where he received his higher education, where he taught, and where he ultimately became president--rather than a mixing of different types of institutions.

Family Influences

An analysis of the paternal grandfathers' occupations revealed that 43 per cent were farmers, and relatively large percentages were laborers, white collar workers, and professionals. Occupational succession from the presidents' grandfathers to the fathers was characterized by a general movement from the farm to the city and from lower-level business positions to higher level business positions. The fathers moved not only to the somewhat larger urban communities, but more importantly to the colleges where nearly

one-third prepared for professional careers. The great majority of the presidents' parents and grandparents were born in the United States, except for the parents of Catholic institution presidents where larger percentages were foreign-born. The maternal grandfathers' occupations were quite similar to the presidents' paternal grandfathers', but the mothers' fathers were more likely to be in higher level business positions. The presidents' parents were, in general, well-educated, even though nearly 45 per cent did not graduate from high school. Some 27 per cent of the fathers were college graduates and 17 per cent received graduate degrees.

The wives of college and university presidents (and only 2 per cent of the presidents of non-Catholic institutions were not married) came from similar occupational levels as the presidents themselves, although relatively more of the wives' fathers were in higher level business positions with fewer in professional fields. The presidents' wives came from higher occupational origins than did the presidents' mothers as the general movement of upward mobility not only characterized occupational succession across the three generations, but it was also reflected in the largely endogamous marriages of the presidents.

Higher Education Received

As expected, the academic presidents were educated in a great variety of institutions at different degree levels, and nearly three-fourths earned an academic doctorate with the doctor of philosophy (Ph.D.) the most prevalent degree among all presidents. Other important degrees earned were: the doctor of education or Ed.D. (especially for presidents of public liberal arts colleges); the doctor of sacred theology of S.T.D. (for presidents of Catholic institutions); and the bachelor of divinity or B.D. (for presidents of Protestant-related institutions). Few presidents terminated their education at the bachelor degree level, and among presidents selected to their positions in 1967-68, over 80 per cent earned a doctorate. The presidents studied nearly all types of curricula but nearly half took undergraduate degrees in the humanities. At the master's level, humanities still led, followed by education, social science, and natural science. At the doctoral level, 37 per cent majored in humanities, 30 per cent in education, and 14 per cent in social science, 13 per cent in natural science, and the remained in applied fields. Although presidents studied at a great variety of institutions, only sixteen universities were attended by nearly 58 per cent of the presidents at the doctoral level. The four universities of Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, and Catholic University, granted academic doctorates to nearly one-fourth of all presidents in the sample. Few

presidents studied abroad but for those that did, the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Rome, and Toronto were most frequently mentioned. About 23 per cent of the presidents are alumni of the institutions they now head, while nearly half of all Catholic institution presidents are alumni of their institutions.

Career Patterns

The intensive study of career patterns showed that the majority of presidents had full-time careers in education and professional fields. Over a twenty-year period in their careers, there were steady movements into higher levels of academic administration and by the twenty-year point, about 63 per cent had attained the presidency. Academic presidents attained their present positions at about the age of 45 and their current age was nearly 53 (on the average). The "average" academic president has been in his present position for about 8 years. About 86 per cent of the presidents had prior experiences as college teachers and approximately 60 per cent had attained the rank of full professor. About one-fourth of the presidents had been college teachers for five years or less and one-half had been college teachers for ten years or less, while 21 per cent had over fifteen years college teaching experience. About 82 per cent who were college teachers were associated with twelve academic departments led by English, educational

administration, history, and religion. The presidents taught at a variety of institutions at each academic rank, but 36 per cent taught at the institution they now head.

The position that was the direct springboard to the presidency was also analyzed. About one-third of the presidents moved directly to the presidency from within the present institution while two-thirds moved directly to the presidency from outside the institution. Over three-fourths moved directly from the general field of education, led by positions as college dean (22 per cent), academic vice president (11 per cent), department chairman (11 per cent), and college faculty (10 per cent). Business directly supplied only 2 per cent of academic presidents; 3 per cent came from government, 1 per cent from the military, and 1 per cent from foundations. It was likely that the president held his prior position about five and one-half years. Academic presidents tended to have full-time faculty or administrative positions in two other institutions, and although nearly one-third were selected to their positions without full-time academic administrative experience, most had about ten years of such experience. About 12 per cent of the presidents had been presidents of other colleges or universities.

Career Motivations

Academic presidents were motivated to a career in higher educational administration and the presidency due mainly to six major interrelated orientations, the relative

impacts varying for each individual: a service orientation; social influences; professional opportunities; personal factors; a developmental process; and accidental circumstance. These motivations were discussed in detail by using the presidents own words to show the importance of each. In most cases, presidents chose careers in higher education, primarily as teachers, and then a series of activities and decisions of increased responsibilities in the administration of a department then college led to the presidency. Based upon particular values, philosophies, needs, and circumstances they were chosen or selected to head an institution. Few prefer to say they actually chose or systematically planned for a career in academic administration. Some presidents were quite satisfied with their positions while others were eagerly anticipating a return to the classroom.

Business, Government, and Academic Leaders: A Comparative Analysis

The occupational origins of academic presidents were quite similar to those of business and government leaders with disproportionately highe representation in the professions and high level business positions. However, all elites were open to persons of relatively lower occupational origins. The academic presidents were more representative of the national population in terms of their geographical origins and sizes of hometowns, than their counterparts in

business and government. While the business and government leaders came primarily from large urban areas, the academic presidents were more likely to come from small towns or rural communities. While the fathers of business and government leaders moved from farms to cities, it was apparent that fathers of academic presidents moved from farms to small towns and to colleges to prepare for professions. Among all leaders, a very large percentage of grandfathers were farmers. Academic presidents were better educated than business and government leaders, but six universities were found among each elite's top ten where degrees were received: Yale, Harvard, Michigan, New York University, California at Berkeley, and Chicago. Higher proportions of academic presidents were professionally trained than were business or government leaders, while higher proportions of business leaders rose through laborer and white-collar occupations. The average business leader assumed his present position at the age of 45.3 and was at the time of Warner's study, 53.7; the average federal executive assumed his present position at the age of 44.8 and was presently 49.4; the average academic president assumed his present position at the age of 45.1 and is now 52.9. Relatively few women were found among the government leaders and the 84 female college presidents headed either Catholic liberal arts colleges or other private colleges for women.

Career Profiles of Types of Academic Presidents

The summary in the previous section focused upon the careers of academic presidents in general, and thus some of the more interesting and diverse career patterns that were associated with presidents of different types of institutions were inevitably omitted. The summaries that follow are aimed at highlighting these differences. Brief descriptive career profiles for the presidents of nine basic four-year institutions have been developed from the text and the central tendencies have been used to indicate only the most general patterns for each. It enables one to contrast each type with academic presidents in general as well as with one another.

Descriptive Career Profile of Public University Presidents

The fathers of public university presidents were most likely professional men, farmers, small businessmen, or laborers (in that order). The presidents were born in all regions of the country, although one-fourth were born in the East North Central states. One-half the presidents were born in rural communities while one-fourth were born in cities over 100,000. Their paternal grandfathers were mainly farmers or professional men, while their mothers' fathers were either farmers or small businessmen. Thirty per cent of their fathers and 14 per cent of their mothers were college

graduates. Their fathers-in-law were major business executives, large business owners, or professional men.

The most typical degree earned was the Ph.D., and a majority studied humanities or education at a state university. About one-third were selected to Phi Beta Kappa. The public university presidents are about 54 years of age, and they have been in their present positions about 7 years. They usually began their careers as college teachers or high-school teachers and most reached the presidency within twenty years after their first full-time position. They earned the rank of professor and taught for about 15 years in state universities. They moved directly to the presidency from a college deanship, academic vice presidency (provost), or presidency of another public university. They had slightly more than ten years full-time administrative experience prior to accepting the presidency.

Descriptive Career Profile of Catholic University Presidents

The fathers of Catholic university presidents were most likely major business executives or in minor business executive positions. More than half the presidents were born in New York, Pennsylvania, or Illinois. The majority were born in large cities and none came from rural communities. It was most typical for their paternal and maternal grandfathers to be small business owners, skilled laborers, or foremen. Their parents were high school graduates.

Over half the presidents earned Ph.D.'s and another 20 per cent earned S.T.D.'s at Catholic universities, usually Catholic University, Fordham, and Rome. About one-third earned undergraduate degrees at the institutions they now head. The presidents average about 51 years of age and they have been in their present positions about seven years. They chose religious careers and began their work as college teachers and administrators. In less than 15 years, a majority were requested by their religious superiors to assume the presidency. An equal percentage earned faculty ranks of professor or assistant professor and a majority spent less than ten years as college teachers. They moved directly to the presidency from a college deanship, academic or administrative vice presidency, or departmental chairmanship, at a Catholic university which they held for about five years. In the vast majority of cases, the move to the presidency was an internal one within the institution. Before accepting the presidency the Catholic university presidents had about seven years experience as full-time educational administrators.

Descriptive Career Profile of Protestant-Related University Presidents

The majority of fathers of Protestant-related university presidents were farmers or clergymen. About half the presidents were born in the North Central states in rural communities or small towns. Their paternal grandfathers

were either farmers or small businessmen, and their maternal grandfathers were either farmers, ministers or lower level business employees. Their parents tended to be high school graduates with some taking college religious degrees. Their fathers-in-law tended to be farmers and professional men.

The majority of the presidents earned Ph.D.'s while a few held the B.D. or M.A. degrees. They studied the humanities at mainly private universities and over one-fourth were elected to Phi Beta Kappa. Their average age is about 58 and they have been in their present positions about 13 years. (They were a little older on the average than other academic presidents and had longer tenures than the others.) While most began their careers as college teachers, over one-fourth began as ministers. About three-fourths had college teaching experience during their careers, with most attaining the rank of professor and teaching some 12 years at private institutions. They moved directly to the presidency from an academic or administrative vice presidency, other college presidency, or college deanship in a private institution. A few came directly from pastorates. Most were in their last positions about seven years and few moved to the presidency from within the same institution. About one-third of the presidents had never had full-time educational administrative experience prior to assuming the presidency.

Descriptive Career Profile of
Independent University Presidents

The fathers of independent university presidents came mainly from major business executive, business owner, lawyer and clergy positions. Nearly half the presidents were born in the New England and Middle Atlantic states, and about one-third came from large cities. Their paternal and maternal grandfathers were most likely farmers, professional men, small business owners and skilled laborers. Forty-five per cent of the fathers and 29 per cent of their mothers were college graduates. Their fathers-in-law were predominantly small business owners, professional men, and major business executives.

Nearly three-fourths of the presidents earned Ph.D.'s with majors in humanities and the physical sciences and nearly all received their degrees at private universities in the New England and Middle Atlantic states. About one-third were Phi Beta Kappa. Their average age is about 53 years, and they have been in their present positions for about five and one-half years. About 40 per cent began their careers as college teachers and about 20 per cent were secondary teachers. Over 90 per cent had college teaching experience, the great majority of whom were full professors. Most were college teachers for about 11 years in private universities and liberal arts colleges. They moved directly to the presidency from an academic vice presidency (provost), another

college presidency, department chairman, and college deanship in private universities. In seven out of ten cases, the move was external or from outside the institution. They had on the average ten years of full-time educational administrative experience before assuming the position.

Descriptive Career Profile of Public Liberal Arts College Presidents

The fathers of public liberal arts presidents came from a great variety of occupational levels, but the majority were farmers, small business owners, and lower level business employees. The presidents were born in all regions of the nation and 72 per cent of them were born in communities under 10,000 people (only 1 in 10 came from a large city). Nearly half their paternal and maternal grandfathers were farmers with large percentages as laborers and small business owners. Relatively few of their parents were college graduates and their fathers-in-law were distributed in all levels of business.

About 90 per cent had earned an academic doctorate led by 50 per cent with Ph.D.'s and 37 per cent with Ed.D.'s. They majored in education and humanities at state universities throughout the country. Only 12 per cent earned degrees at institutions over which they preside and 11 per cent were selected to Phi Beta Kappa, although nearly two-thirds were members of other honoraries--usually educational. Their average age is 53 and they have been in their present

positions for about eight years. Approximately 60 per cent began their careers as public schoolteachers and 14 per cent began as college teachers. Within fifteen years, about one-fourth were college presidents. Most had college teaching experience--often teaching educational administration--and about 60 per cent attained the rank of professor. Their average college teaching experience was 13 years while teaching in state colleges and universities. The most prominent springboard to the presidency was overwhelmingly a college deanship, but other important positions were department chairman, college faculty, and public school superintendent, nearly all in public education. Prior to assuming the presidency, the average public liberal arts president had ten years of full-time educational administrative experience.

Descriptive Career Profile of Catholic Liberal Arts College Presidents

Like the fathers of Catholic university presidents, the fathers of liberal arts presidents were usually in all levels of the business hierarchy, mainly at middle and lower levels. Most of the presidents were born in large urban areas of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, and Minnesota. Their paternal and maternal grandfathers were also in business occupations with nearly 40 per cent in unskilled and skilled laborer levels. Their parents were usually high school graduates.

About seven out of ten presidents earned a doctorate, usually the Ph.D., while almost one-fourth terminated their formal education at the master's level. They usually studied humanities (religion) and earned degrees at Catholic universities like Catholic University, St. Louis, Fordham, and Notre Dame. Nearly 45 per cent had earned undergraduate degrees at the colleges they now head. The presidents have an average age of 51 and most were about 44 when their religious superiors asked that they take on the presidency. About 46 per cent began their careers, following acceptance into a religious order, in teaching at elementary-secondary levels of Catholic education, while 18 per cent began as college teachers. Over 92 per cent had college teaching experience, and a majority taught less than ten years and attained the ranks of assistant or associate professor. Nearly 80 per cent taught at the institution they now head. Three positions were the basic springboards to the presidency: college deanship, department chairman, or faculty member in a Catholic college. While nearly 50 per cent had no full-time educational administrative experience prior to the presidency, those who did were in such positions for about nine years.

Descriptive Career Profile of Protestant-Related Liberal Arts College Presidents

The fathers of Protestant-related liberal arts presidents were primarily clergymen, farmers, skilled laborers,

and small business owners. The presidents were usually born in Pennsylvania and the North Central states, often in small communities. Their paternal and maternal grandfathers were mainly farmers, small business owners, and skilled laborers. About 30 per cent of their fathers and 16 per cent of their mothers were college graduates. Their fathers-in-law were predominantly farmers, professional men (ministers), small business owners and major business executives.

About 60 per cent earned doctorates (usually the Ph.D.), while almost one in ten earned a bachelor of divinity degree. The presidents majored in humanities usually at public and private universities in the East North Central, Middle Atlantic, and South Atlantic states. About 22 per cent earned undergraduate degrees at their present institutions. The presidents have an average age of 52 and they have been in their present positions about 8 years. The presidents began their careers in three basic levels: ministers, elementary-secondary teachers, and college faculty. About 72 per cent have had college teaching experience while 42 per cent attained the rank of professor. A majority taught about 12 years in private, coeducational liberal arts colleges. The presidents moved directly to their present positions from three principal positions: ministers, college deanship, and college faculty in that order. They were mainly involved in Protestant-related liberal arts colleges, and they held full-time administrative positions about ten

years prior to assuming the presidency. For those who came from ministerial positions, the presidency offered an opportunity for an enlarged and extended ministry.

Descriptive Career Profile of Independent Liberal Arts College Presidents

The fathers of independent liberal arts college presidents were mainly professional men, major business executives, and small business owners. The presidents were born most often in New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Minnesota in large urban communities. Their paternal and maternal grandfathers were most often farmers, small business owners, skilled laborers, and clergymen. Almost half the fathers and 37 per cent of the mothers were college graduates. Their fathers-in-law were most likely small business owners and major business executives.

The independent liberal arts presidents usually earned Ph.D.'s in humanities in private universities in New England, East North Central and Middle Atlantic states. About 37 per cent (the highest of any group of presidents) were selected to Phi Beta Kappa. The presidents are on the average 53 years of age, and they have been in their present positions about nine and one-half years. It was most likely that they began their careers as college faculty members while some were elementary teachers. Over 93 per cent had college teaching experience with half attaining the rank of full professor in departments of English and history. About

half the presidents were teachers for more than ten years at private institutions. The springboard to the presidency was from a college deanship or faculty position in a non-sectarian institution. The president had an average of ten years full-time educational administrative experience prior to assuming the presidency.

Descriptive Career Profile of Technological Institution Presidents

The fathers of technological institution presidents tended to be engaged in business activities and farming. The presidents were born in Middle Atlantic and North Central states in rural communities or big cities. Their paternal and maternal grandfathers were mainly farmers, foremen, and skilled laborers. About 32 per cent of the fathers and about 20 per cent of the mothers were college graduates. Their fathers-in-law were primarily small business owners, skilled laborers, and engineers.

About 8 in 10 received a doctorate in the physical sciences or education about equally at public and private universities in the Middle Atlantic and East North Central regions. The presidents' average age is nearly 55, and they have been in their positions about eight years. The presidents were likely to have begun their careers as college or secondary teachers and nearly all had college teaching experiences, the majority attaining the rank of full professor. They taught engineering courses, chemistry, or physics for

about 13 years at private and public universities and technological institutions. Their direct move to the presidency came from a department chairmanship, college deanship, academic vice presidency or college faculty position at a public liberal arts college or independent university. Prior to assuming their present positions, they had about ten years administrative experience in education.

Implications of the Findings for the Theory and Hypotheses

The theoretical framework for the present study of careers of academic presidents was discussed in Chapter I, and some research hypotheses were given at the end of Chapter II. The findings are briefly related to the theory and the hypotheses in this section.

The theory rested essentially in the work of W. Lloyd Warner on vertical occupational mobility among specific elite occupations in American society. It is maintained that this framework has proven quite adaptable to yet another important occupational group; it has permitted cross-comparisons among the careers of business, government, and academic leaders; and it has given additional insights into critical aspects of occupational mobility in the society. The concept and method of occupational succession have permitted an examination of the velocity, direction, and amount of movement from the grandfather to the father to the son. The hypotheses

regarding occupational origins were confirmed as the academic presidents came mainly from higher level occupations rather than lower levels. The professions were the greatest sources for academic presidents, in general. However, one hypothesis suggested that the fathers would most likely be educators. It was found that although a number of fathers were schoolteachers at the elementary-secondary levels, the leading professional category was clergymen, and few fathers were involved in higher education either as teachers or administrators.

Dovetailing with the notion of occupational succession in the theory was the proposition that geographical origins or the size of a man's birthplace and the region in which he was born play a part in occupational mobility. The idea that men who were mobile through social space were also mobile through geographic space found empirical support in earlier research. Thus, hypotheses were formulated which suggested that the academic presidents would come from all over the country but more so from regions with greater populations or percentages of higher education institutions. It was found that the presidents were highly representative of the national population, but there was no relationship to the percentage of college in the regions. However, these aspects, along with where the presidents were educated and where they taught, did indicate that the men were geographically mobile during their careers. Another hypothesis

proposed that the large college and university presidents would have geographical origins similar to business and government executives, i.e., from large cities, while the smaller college and university presidents would be from small towns and rural areas. In actuality, it was learned that the size of the institution was unrelated to the geographical origins as the academic presidents were fairly representative of the national population in terms of residence, with most presidents coming from relatively small towns and rural areas. Most Catholic institution presidents and a greater share of independent university presidents were the only groups of presidents with geographical origins mainly in large cities, the only presidential groups that resembled the business and government leaders in this regard.

The theory used in the study held that there were influences of other members of the family that affected the shape of a man's career. In particular, the occupations of the grandparents gave a benchmark from which to measure mobility over a number of generations. Following the findings of Warner's research and recognizing the agrarian nature of American society in the late 1800's, it was hypothesized that the grandfathers would most likely be farmers. The hypothesis was confirmed in that 43 per cent of the grandfathers were farmers. Another aspect of the theory held that a study of the wife's father's occupation could tell whether the man moved up, across, or down in the sense of

occupational levels. It was hypothesized that the presidents would usually marry at their own occupational levels more than any other level. The hypothesis received some support but more of the wives' fathers were in high level business positions and fewer in the professions, while the presidents' fathers were more often professional men with fewer in high level business positions.

The theory of occupational mobility among elites held that the amount and kind of education one received was critically related to occupational mobility. The hypotheses, based upon theory and some research findings of selected groups of academic presidents, indicated that all presidents would be well-educated with a majority obtaining academic doctorates. Moreover, it was hypothesized that at the undergraduate level, humanities, social science, engineering, physical science and education would be the major programs of study; and at the graduate level, education, humanities, and social science would be the principal majors. As expected, the academic presidents were well-educated and nearly three-fourths earned an academic doctorate with some variation in the type of doctorate. At the undergraduate level, it was found that humanities disciplines were the main majors and the same held true at the graduate level, although the humanities were joined by education, social science, and natural science.

It was hypothesized that the presidents of Catholic institutions would be "products" of Catholic higher education as students while non-Catholic institution presidents would come randomly from public and private institutions. The findings did support the hypothesis about Catholic institution presidents, but the non-Catholic institution presidents did not come randomly from public and private institutions. The presidents of public institutions were most often educated in public institutions while the presidents of private institutions were most likely educated in private colleges and universities at all degree levels. It was hypothesized further, that relatively few major universities were responsible for the academic presidents' education, especially at the graduate level. This was supported in that sixteen universities educated nearly 58 per cent of the presidents at the doctoral level and four universities educated nearly one-fourth of all presidents.

The theory discussed mobility as it related to a person's career, and in the research flowing from this mobility framework, Warner examined how long it took the men to reach the elite level and what career routes were formed along the way. The research hypotheses for the academic president study suggested that presidents would come primarily through education, particularly higher education to the presidency. It was also believed due to general remarks in the literature that a relatively large percentage of

academic presidents came from business or government. The findings supported the idea that the presidents mainly moved in and through education, but a very high percentage began as elementary-secondary teachers, much higher than expected. Movement up the educational hierarchy was the typical pattern leading directly to the presidency from a college deanship or vice presidency. The hypothesis that a large percentage of presidents came from business or government was rejected since few spent any portion of their full-time careers in either.

Some writers did note a belief that different types of institutions had presidents with different types of backgrounds, and the present study indeed confirmed this belief with factual evidence. Social origins, family influences, education, career patterns, and many career motivations were associated with presidents of particular institutions as highlighted in the form of analysis.

It was hypothesized that the reasons men chose a career in higher education would be complicated but a great number would mention: it was a calling; it was less cutthroat than business; it was challenging; it was satisfying. The evidence brought forth these reasons along with many others: a service orientation; social influences; professional opportunities; personal factors; a developmental process; and an accidental circumstance were primary reasons

that presidents said they chose or were selected to be a president.

It was hypothesized that the careers of academic presidents would resemble portions of the business and government leaders' careers but differ in other ways. The hypothesis that business, government, and academic leaders would have similar occupational and geographical origins was largely confirmed in that a disproportionately higher number came from professional and other high level occupations. However, the academic presidents were more representative of the national population in their geographical origins and sizes of hometowns. Moreover, the academic presidents were generally more likely to come from small towns or rural communities while the business and governmental leaders were usually from large cities. Among all leaders, as expected, a very large percentage of their grandfathers were farmers. Academic presidents were better educated than their counterparts in business and government, but as mentioned earlier, six universities were among each elite's top ten where degrees were received. Although it was believed that academic presidents would attain their positions at later ages than government and business leaders, such was not the case. With all elites, most reached their positions about forty-five years of age and their present age was found to be about fifty-three (the government leaders were presently a little younger on the average). As hypothesized, the

career patterns of the three elites were quite different with academic presidents more likely to be professionally trained and business leaders more likely to rise through laborer and white-collar occupations.

The theoretical framework also provided an assessment of the fluidity and flexibility in the society as it related to one occupational hierarchy. Once again, as with the business and government researches, although higher-level occupations were found among academic presidents' origins, movement up from laborer, white collar, and foremen levels was not impossible nor improbable. The conclusion must be that the society is not rigid nor closed in the higher educational sector. Vertical status movement was very prominent and the existence of a mobile elite was found among the academic presidents indicating fluidity in this important occupational area. The results when combined with the findings of leaders of business and government hierarchies give even more evidence that the society continues to remain open for those of lower origins to rise to the top in business, government, and educational leadership. Even without an earlier and comparable base-line study it is held that some academic presidents were more advantaged than others, but the educational and social system permitted vertical mobility for a relatively large percentage.

Need for Future Research

Having come to the end of the present research and hopefully having realized at least some of the major purposes given in Chapter I, it is appropriate and important to present some related areas for future research. At least seven areas have been isolated as potentially fruitful for research that will extend the knowledge and understanding gained from the present study.

1. An in-depth study of the inner, psychological worlds of academic presidents is needed. The present study concentrated on the careers and consciously-expressed motivations of academic presidents, but lacked the deeper insight into the drives, fears, hopes, and feelings of these men and women. The business and government leader researches benefitted from the administration of the Thematic Apperception Test to those individuals. That or a similar projective test conducted by highly competent investigators in this area would help to better understand who these men are. The study would also permit more comparisons between the leaders of different elites as to their inner worlds and how these worlds affected their careers.

2. A study of the role of different types of academic presidents is needed. During the course of the present research, it became increasingly clear that the evidence on the presidents' careers could provide a framework for what academic presidents do. The time-utilization discussion found in Appendix C is a superficial start in this area, but much lies beneath the surface. Extensive time-utilization studies are crucial. The career data of this study could well serve as a tie-in to a study of the academic president's role.

3. A study of very effective, effective, less effective, and ineffective academic presidents is needed. The present research did not distinguish between the career patterns of academic presidents based upon their relative effectiveness as chief administrators. Research on those difficult and complex factors that

make for more effective presidents and less effective presidents is crucial if the present unrest and excitement on campuses across the nation and world are to be met by competent academic presidents. The problem, as difficult as it is, must be met openly and seriously by those interested in the future of higher education and this society. Careful and extensive research in this area could begin to identify those factors in one's career, background, style of leadership, philosophy of education, and institutional factors that distinguish the most effective from the least effective academic presidents. Hopefully, academic centers, institutes, and programs could develop and use such information in the more effective preparation of academic presidents. It is a time when the preparation of academic leadership cannot be left to chance, but needs planning and knowledge if colleges and universities are to survive. This point was recognized time and again by the presidents themselves.

4. A replication of the present study in ten years is needed. The conclusions of the present research included the statement that this important hierarchy was not closed nor rigid and persons of relatively low social and occupational origins did make it into the elite of higher education administration. However, just as Warner benefitted from the Taussig and Joslyn study of business leaders in the 1920's and he could use that study to determine if the society was becoming more or less rigid as seen through that occupation, so will the present research presumably offer a base-line to the study of academic careers of presidents in 1980. In an era of swift change in the society and higher education, ten years would offer a reasonable comparative base. Not only could it be said that the society is fluid or open as seen through this occupational elite, but whether the society was becoming more or less open and whether a trend was underway limiting entrance into the higher education elite to those of lower level origins or broadening that entrance.

5. A similar study of the careers of America's two-year college presidents is needed. Recognizing the dramatic growth and changes taking place in the multifarious junior and community colleges, attention should be focused on the careers of the two-year college presidents. The knowledge would be valuable in its own regard and would give a

composite profile of the leaders in all of American higher education. It would also provide a valuable comparative analysis for the present study of the careers of four-year college and university presidents.

6. Necessary modifications of the Warner theory and methodology resulting in studies of occupational succession and careers of other groups in the society, preferably other elites at first, are needed. The careers of physicians, lawyers, ministers, other college administrators, professors, labor union officials are only a few other occupational groups that should be studied. To determine how real the American Dream of open avenues to upward mobility for all truly is, such studies of other elites could provide comparative bases that, like the present study, fill in the gaps of knowledge of occupational mobility in American society.

7. Studies of the careers of key American Negroes and their occupational mobility in the society--how they moved into or were denied access to key positions--areneeded. Certainly, at this important point in American history, when black and white Americans must face the question of equal opportunity more critically than ever before, knowledge of the careers of black Americans into elite positions is vital. Of the business, government, and academic leaders, it is believed that the careers have been basically of white men. Although those of lower level occupational origins have risen to the elites, the hypothesis offered is that very few were Negroes and the career patterns have largely reflected white man's movement in the society. Identification of and research on the black man's occupational mobility will add an important element to whether American society is truly flexible to all its citizens, not only using occupational and geographical origins as indices, but also the color of a man's skin. The Negroes hold that the avenues to elite positions are denied them as the educational and social system works continually against them. The Warner theory and methodology could be modified to give factual evidence that brings clarity rather than emotion to this important social question.

A Personal Note

The present study for this writer has been an exciting adventure into an important aspect of higher education leadership in this country. The knowledge that accompanied the unfolding careers of 760 academic presidents has hopefully provided the reader as well with a greater sensitivity into the backgrounds of the men and women charged with the responsibility of leading the colleges and universities in the United States. For the most part the men and women who head our institutions of higher education would concur with the views of the president below as he wrote in a statement:

> There is no comparison whatsoever between the eases, joys, and peace of lesser positions and the frustrations and demands of the presidency. In theory, no one should accept the office--in practice, of course, thousands do.
>
> Would I do it again? Certainly. I can conceive more relaxed and perhaps blessed ways to live one's life, such as being a full professor in a great university, but life doesn't work that way. I agree with Carlyle that "our task is not to see what lies dimly in the future, but to do that which is immediately at hand.
>
> The academic presidency offers many of the challenges and satisfactions of administration in business and industry, the military or other fields, and yet, contains also the meaningful benefits of working with young people and watching them grow. It rewards with the thrill of victory by persuasion as in the field of politics, and the economic security and benefits of corporate administration. It gives one the feel that he is doing something important and it returns real dividends in social and professional status and prestige.

There can be no question that in the next decade, the demands and frustrations upon the academic president will be greater than ever before. Institutions will need those persons who sense in it the action, the challenge, and the rewards, and most importantly the opportunity to give effective leadership to meet the needs of the publics within the academic community and to successfully interpret the institution's reasons for being to the larger society.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN COLLEGE PRESIDENTS

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
Graduate School of Business Administration
432 Eppley Center East Lansing, Michigan

February 15, 1968

In line with the major research studies of key professional groups in our society, such as Big Business Leaders in America and The American Federal Executive conducted by W. Lloyd Warner and his colleagues at Michigan State University, I am undertaking a study of the academic president in American colleges and universities. I am conducting the research as my doctoral dissertation at Michigan State University under the direction of Professor W. Lloyd Warner, University Professor of Social Research, and through the support of a Ford Foundation fellowship. Assisting in the project are the following members of the guidance committee: Dr. Floyd W. Reeves, Distinguished Professor in the Department of Higher Education, and Dr. Dalton McFarland, Chairman of the Department of Management, both of Michigan State. Dr. Edward Blackman, Professor of Education and Humanities will be serving as special advisor.

The present study will focus on the professional and personal backgrounds, career lines, and some relevant ideas related to the complex role of today's college presidents. The results of the study should not only be helpful to presidents, but to trustees and others directly concerned with selecting and working with the president. Also, it will provide additional knowledge of a systematic and scholarly nature of an important professional position in American society.

As much as questionnaires are regarded as disagreeable, there are pertinent data about you and some of your opinions which can be secured only through such means. Recognizing the problems of your finding time to complete a questionnaire, I have prepared the questions so that most can be answered by a simple check mark (X). In addition, you will find that only questions found on Pages 4, 5, and 6 will undoubtedly require your specific attention, and the earlier questions could probably be completed by an assistant, your secretary, or a press release used in your involvement in the community or public affairs. Please feel free to use either source in answering the questions on the first three pages, but I would like your personal responses to the last three pages.

As in the prior research on big business leaders and Federal executives, your replies will be held in the strictest confidence. Your name and the name of the institution you serve will be coded to assure complete anonymity in any statistical presentation of the data obtained.

I am most eager to have your questions and comments and would appreciate your noting on the back of the questionnaire anything that comes to mind as you fill it out. Should you wish an advance statement of the results, please indicate at the end of the questionnaire and I will be most happy to send you this as advance information.

Sincerely yours,

Michael R. Ferrari

MRF:cm

NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY PRESIDENTS

Michigan State University

432 Eppley Center

East Lansing, Michigan

NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY PRESIDENTS

Strictly Confidential

1. What is your present age? . . . . . _____ (23-24)

   a) At what age did you first begin work as an educational administrator in a part-time capacity? _____ (25-26) and a full-time capacity? _____ (27-28)

2. What position-title do you now use in official correspondence?

   President . . . . . ☐
   Chancellor . . . . . ☐
   Provost . . . . . ☐
   Rector . . . . . ☐
   Superintendent . . . . . ☐
   Other (Please specify)_____ ☐ (29)

3. At what age did you assume your present position? . . . . . _____ (30-31)

---

4. With how many colleges or universities have you been associated as a faculty member or an academic administrator (including your present institution)?

One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight and above	
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	(36)

5. Are you a member of one or more educational boards of trustees (or regents, directors) or high-level, policy-making committees in addition to your own institution?

   Please check one: Yes ☐ No ☐ (37)

   a) Please identify the NUMBER of boards or policy-making committees on which you serve from the following types:

Type of Board	Number of Boards	
Your own institution's board	_____	(38)
Another college-university board	_____	(39)
Educational association	_____	(40)
Privately-supported foundation	_____	(41)
Publicly-supported foundation	_____	(42)
Business or industrial board	_____	(43)
Governmental commission or committee	_____	(44)
Other (Please specify)_____	_____	(45)

---

6. Are you . . . . . Male ☐ Female ☐ (50) Married ☐ Spouse deceased ☐ Single ☐ (51) Number of children _____ (52)

7. Have you been a president of a college or university at another institution(s) prior to assuming your present position? Yes ☐ No ☐ (53)

   a) If so, please list the name of the institution and the date of your inauguration.

Name of College	Inaugural Date (year)
_____ (54-57)	_____ (66-67)
_____ (58-61)	_____

After beginning work on a full-time basis, what occupation did you engage in: (69-70

Occupations	First Full-Time Position (71-72)	5 years later (73-74)	10 years later (75-76)	15 years later (77-78)	20 years later (79-80)
cational					
lic school teacher	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ncipal, superintendent . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
munity college faculty . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
munity college admin. . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
lege-university faculty. .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
irman of Department. . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
n of College	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
lege administrator below ice-president or second evel in institution. . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
lege administrator at ice-president or second level	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
llege president or chief administrative officer. . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ner (please specify)_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
her Professions					
ysician	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
wyer.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ergy.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
gineer.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
her (specify)_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
siness and Industry					
rker--unskilled, semi-skilled	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
rker--skilled, mechanic . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
erical worker, salesman . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
reman, other minor executive	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
jor business executive. . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
wner small-medium business (sales under $100,000). . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
wner large business (sales over $100,000).	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
overnment Service					
ocal-state office holder . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ederal elected office. . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ederal appointed office. . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ivil Service position. . . .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ther (specify)_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
niformed Military Service					
nlisted man or non-comm.off.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ommissioned Officer (please give highest rank)_____	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
arming or Ranching	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

9. Please give the following information about the position you held prior to assuming your present position:

(6-7) Title of position: _____

(8-9) Name of institution, company, or organization: _____

(10-11) Dates that you held that position: From _____ to _____

10. If you were once a college teaching and/or research faculty member, please note at the appropriate level the name of the institution at which you taught, the academic department affiliation, and the years of the appointment: (15)

Faculty Rank	Name of Institution	Department	Dates
Lecturer			
Instructor			
Assistant Professor	18-21		
Associate Professor	22-25	34-35	36
Professor	26-29		37
	30-33		38

11. Will you please fill in the following regarding your formal education at the college level:

Institutions attended	Major Subject	Degree	Year Received Degree	Last Ye Attend
40-43	56			
44-47	57			
48-51	58	(61-62)		
52-55	59-60			

12. Please check below any of the following to which you earned membership during your undergraduate and graduate education:

Phi Beta Kappa ☐ (66) Phi Kappa Phi ☐ (68)
Omicron Delta Kappa ☐ (67) Other Honor Societies ☐ _____

13. Please list below the titles of books or articles published before or after becoming a college president (including doctoral dissertation title, if applicable). Please give dates of publication, if possible.

_____

_____

_____

_____

14. Have you been awarded an honorary degree from another college or university?
Yes ☐ No ☐ (70)

a) If so, please give the number of honorary doctorates received _____
and/or the number and types of other honorary degrees _____

P incipal occupations of others in your family: (if deceased, please indicate previous occupation)

Occupations	Your Father when you began working full-time (71-72)	Your Father's Father (73-74)	Your Mother's Father (75-76)	Your Wife's Father (77-78)
ıtional				
c school teacher, administrator	☐	☐	☐	☐
ınity college, faculty-admin. .	☐	☐	☐	☐
ege-university faculty	☐	☐	☐	☐
man of Department.	☐	☐	☐	☐
ege administrator below vice-esident level	☐	☐	☐	☐
ege administrator at vice-esident level	☐	☐	☐	☐
ege President	☐	☐	☐	☐
r (specify)_____	☐	☐	☐	☐
r Professions				
ician	☐	☐	☐	☐
er.	☐	☐	☐	☐
gy.	☐	☐	☐	☐
neer.	☐	☐	☐	☐
r (specify)_____	☐	☐	☐	☐
ness and Industry				
ker, unskilled-semi-skilled. . .	☐	☐	☐	☐
ker, skilled, mechanic	☐	☐	☐	☐
rical worker, salesman	☐	☐	☐	☐
eman, minor executive.	☐	☐	☐	☐
or business executive.	☐	☐	☐	☐
er small-medium business (sales nder $100,000)	☐	☐	☐	☐
er large business (sales ver $100,000).	☐	☐	☐	☐
ernment Service				
al-state office holder	☐	☐	☐	☐
eral elected office.	☐	☐	☐	☐
eral appointed office.	☐	☐	☐	☐
il Service position.	☐	☐	☐	☐
er (specify)_____	☐	☐	☐	☐
formed Military Service	☐	☐	☐	☐
ming or Ranching	☐	☐	☐	☐

(79-

Extent of schooling of your father and mother (please check only the highest category):

	Father (6)	Mother (7)
Less than high school . . .	☐	☐
Some high school.	☐	☐
High school graduate. . . .	☐	☐
Some college.	☐	☐
College graduate.	☐	☐
Post-graduate study	☐	☐

17. On the five-point scales below, please check that which you feel to be most relevant to the presidency of your institution, given the particular philosophy, needs, and goals of the institution as seen for the next ten years.

"Although the president must possess many administrative-leadership qualities, above all

(8) a)...the president must be a scholar in his own right with a notable background in teaching and research."

Extremely Important	Very Important		Not Very Important	Not Important At All

(9) b)...the president must be one who has demonstrated successful executive and administrative abilities in educational administration."

Extremely Important	Very Important		Not Very Important	Not Important At All

(10) c)...the president must be one with considerable knowledge and training in business or financial matters related to institutional growth and development."

Extremely Important	Very Important		Not Very Important	Not Important At All

(11) d) If you were asked to rank only the three major categories above as to the most essential for the college president for your institution during the next ten years, which would you place first (most crucial), second, third (least crucial).

Place 1, 2, 3 below

Teaching-Research Background . . . _____
Educational Administration Background_____
Business-Finance Background . . . _____

Please note any comments on special training and background that you feel especially important for the college president that might not have been covered in this section:

---

18. Please rank in order, from 1 to 7, the following functions in terms of the percentage of time spent in each activity during a rather typical month (1 is most time spent, 2 is next in time spent, etc.):

(15) _____ Educational activities and meetings at state and national levels
(16) _____ General administrative functions (including budget review, planning and evaluating institutional affairs, policy meetings with central administration or board, etc.)
(17) _____ Participation in and involvement with strictly fund-raising activities for the institution
(18) _____ Conferences with faculty, students, alumni, and parents
(19) _____ Conferences with local, state, national government officials
(20) _____ Conferences with business and industrial leaders
(21) _____ Attendance at social occasions, community affairs, civic functions

Please give the approximate percentage of time you spend on the activities you ranked Number 1 _____ and Number 2 _____

Of the time you spend with persons associated with the institution, please give the approximate PERCENTAGE of time spent with each during a somewhat average week:

	Approximate PER CENT of Total Time	
-25)	_____	Board of Trustees members
-27)	_____	Alumni
-29)	_____	Students
-31)	_____	Faculty members (on individual basis and with committees)
-33)	_____	Administrative officers and staff of the institution
-35)	_____	Civic, community leaders and committees
-37)	_____	Other (please specify) _____

Place of Birth:

	Self (40)	Wife or Husband (41)	Father (42)	Father's Father (43)	Mother (44)	Mother's Father (45)
United States	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Non-United States	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

What was the approximate population where your family lived at the time of your birth?

Rural or less than 2,500 ☐ Town of 2,500-10,000 ☐ City 10,000-15,000 ☐

City 15,000-100,000 ☐ City over 100,000 (or suburb) ☐ (46)

If American born, in which state? _____ (47-48)

From the time you completed your undergraduate education until the present, had you ever seriously considered a career outside the context of an educational institution?

Yes ☐ No ☐ (49)

a) If so, please check the pertinent alternative(s) you have considered and CIRCLE the NUMBER of your first choice after a career in higher education: (50) (51) (52)

1. Business Executive . . . . . ☐
2. Government Service . . . . . ☐
3. Religious Service . . . . . ☐
4. Labor Union Official . . . . ☐
5. Military Officer . . . . . ☐
6. Other (specify)_____ ☐

(53)

THE BACK OF THIS PAGE (or any attached sheet) would you please tell us the reasons you e chosen a career in administration in higher education as opposed to any other career. ite as much as you wish.)

We would find any comments you might have on any of the questions in this survey very helpful. In addition, we would be most appreciative of any comments, sources and/or reprints of articles and speeches in which you have given your philosophy of education or academic administration related to the important role of your institution in American higher education.

Analysis of Questionnaire Items

It should be understood that the questionnaire was intended to elicit information that grew from the theoretical base and the questions raised through the review of the literature.

The respondent's present age, the age when he began work as an educational administrator, and his experience as an administrator are asked in item 1. Item 2 asks for the position-title of the respondent in order to clarify the extent that a variety of titles are used today.

Item 3 asks for the age when he assumed his present position and allows a determination of how long he has held his present position. It also provides evidence when used with item 1 of how long it took the president to achieve his top position. In item 4 the respondent is to check how many colleges he has been associated with as a faculty member or educational administrator. It indirectly gives some indication of an aspect of occupational mobility.

Item 5 asks for the president's involvement in board-level committees largely outside the institution. It also furnishes data about the extent and sector in which such involvement occurs, e.g., business, government, educational associations. Item 6 inquires as to the sex and marital-family status of the respondent.

Item 7 requests the respondent to check whether he served as president of another institution prior to assuming his present position. Item 8 reflects a major method of the Warner studies to examine the career patterns in five-year intervals of academic presidents. It has been altered to more adequately meet the needs of the academic presidents.

Item 9 looks at the position held prior to assuming the present position. Along with the type of organization this item will yield data on an important career point in the upward movement of the presidents. Item 10 breaks down further the career of the respondent if he were in fact a faculty member. It provides vital data about the rank attained, the tenure as a faculty member, departmental affiliations, and types and regions of colleges associated with for the persons who moved through the teaching hierarchy.

In item 11, an examination of the respondent's formal education is made possible through an analysis of his program of study, the degrees earned, and the types and regions where various degrees were attained. Item 12 inquires as to whether the respondent earned membership into some prominent scholarship-leadership honor societies while a student.

Item 13 asks for the president's publications and gives some insight into his research and writing interests by topic and quantity. Item 14 notes if the president has been awarded an honorary doctorate from another college or university.

In item 15, social origins are explored through an adaptation of the Warner scheme of classifying occupational levels for the respondent's father, paternal grandfather, maternal grandfather, and his wife's father. And in item 16, the respondent is requested to check the extent of schooling for his father and mother.

In item 17, a broad test is made as to how important the president considers the three traditional marks of background experience (noted in the literature review): (1) the president must be a scholar, (2) the president must be a successful educational administrator, and (3) the president must be skilled in business and finance. A relative ranking of these attributes was requested. In item 18, an aspect of how the president allocates his time among a variety of activities and publics is structured. A simple ranking is called for along with assigning percentages of time spent on the high-priority activities.

Item 19 also focuses on time utilization, but it looks only at the persons the president most often sees at his own institution. In this case, percentages are requested for each group of persons listed. Items 20, 21, and 22 were taken exactly from the Warner studies and center on the birthplace of the president and his relatives. He is asked whether he and his family were U.S.-born and where he, in particular, was born by community size and state.

The last item of the questionnaire asks specifically whether the respondent had seriously considered a career outside the context of an educational institution. If so, he is asked in which other occupational career and which would be his first choice after education.

APPENDIX B

THE PILOT STUDY

After extensive reading, discussion, and re-working of the questionnaire it was decided to use a table of random numbers and draw a sample consisting of fifty college and university presidents for a pilot mailing and evaluation. (Each institution in the total listing of 1,118 was given a number and served as the population for the random sampling.) The institutions selected (almost 5 per cent of the total) represented all types and sizes of institutions from all regions of the country. A cover letter, questionnaire, and stamped-return envelope were mailed to the presidents of the fifty institutions. Special mention was made for the respondent to freely criticize any part of the questionnaire for wording, content, and relevance. Of the 50 questionnaires mailed, some 32 were returned or 64 per cent of the mailing. Out of this return, 29 questionnaires were found usable or 58 per cent. The three questionnaires were found non-usable for the following reasons: in one case the respondent was serving as an acting president and he did not believe he could rightfully complete the questionnaire; in one case the respondent stated he simply did not have time to complete it; and in one case the respondent stated it was a formal policy (due to the great volume of questionnaires received daily)

not to complete those questionnaires unrelated to the necessity of administration of the university.

A thorough item-by-item examination of the way in which the questionnaires were filled out was completed as well as a thorough analysis of respondents and non-respondents. The analysis of respondents and non-respondents did not indicate that the questionnaire was more readily accepted by presidents of one type, region, or size of institution as opposed to another. Responses were received by presidents of four public universities; presidents of three Catholic liberal arts colleges; presidents of eight public liberal arts colleges; presidents of five private universities; presidents of ten Protestant-related and independent liberal arts colleges; and presidents of two technological institutions. Responses were received from presidents of institutions in eighteen different states while non-respondents did not come from different or concentrated geographical regions.

As far as completing the questionnaire itself, there seemed to be no serious problem in answering the items. Only two persons left the items asking for percentages of time utilization completely blank, while the remaining items were filled out in entirety. No serious questions were raised to problems of completing the questionnaire. On the contrary, six specifically mentioned they found it simple and understandable to read and complete.

A careful analysis was conducted on eight of the non-respondents by using Who's Who to determine if anything relevant to the person's career could explain a non-response. No particular reason could be determined on the basis of career patterns. It was tentatively concluded after analysis of the pilot study that the eighteen non-respondents: (1) did not have time nor want to take time to complete the questionnaire; (2) were not interested in the study; (3) did not answer questionnaires as a matter of policy; (4) were serving only as acting or interim presidents; (5) may have negative personal feelings or be unsympathetic to such questionnaire research studies; or (6) may be reacting to a weakness or shortcoming of the questionnaire that was still not apparent to the researcher or to those that responded.

It was decided to consider the pilot study an effective evaluation and to proceed to a national mailing for four major reasons: (1) some very busy and prominent presidents in the pilot sample responded very easily, completely, and quickly; (2) nothing readily became apparent about the non-respondents that might be overcome through more thorough revision of the questionnaire; (3) the various secondary considerations associated with the instrument such as quality of paper of the questionnaire, the content and format of the cover letter listing purposes, sponsors, and advisors, and the timing of the mailing all appeared reasonably effective; and (4) the 64 per cent total response and 58 per cent usable

return were unusually high for most comparable mail questionnaire studies, and there was reason to believe a second mailing would increase the return.* It was further assumed that the national mailing would compare favorably to the pilot study results.

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*The total percentage returns including two general mailings of the business leader study was 49 per cent and the federal executive study yielded a 69 per cent return. It is known that mail questionnaire studies in social research rarely exceed a 50 per cent response.

APPENDIX C

ACADEMIC PRESIDENTS' USE OF TIME AND INVOLVEMENT IN BOARDS OF DIRECTORS OUTSIDE THE INSTITUTION

This paper has essentially concentrated on the evolving career patterns of academic presidents. One facet emanating from the position of the academic presidency relates to the time demands of the president. More specifically, three items were included in the questionnaire that asked: (1) the percentage of time spent in seven activities at the institution that typically require the involvement of the president; (2) the percentage of time spent with seven different persons or groups within or close to the institution; and (3) the extent of membership in a variety of educational, business, and governmental boards of trustees (or regents, directors) that also exert special types of demands on the president.

Since the focus of time utilization is not a crucial part of the career pattern story, it has been placed in this section. It offers a brief overview of how presidents believe their time schedules are basically structured in order to presumably fulfill the responsibilities of the presidency. Such a perspective is valuable in its own right, but it more importantly will give a foundation for further needed research that looks sharply at the role of the president.

The first role-related item in the questionnaire asked the president to rank the seven activities given in terms of the percentage of time spent in each during a rather typical month. This simple ranking scheme is fraught with obvious difficulties, but it was believed that a scheme that offered a collective and summary analysis for the rankings of all presidents might have some merit.[1] As will be seen in the table below, there was remarkable consistency in the perception of time use by the presidents which supported the belief that many of the potential methodological limitations were not formidable. In Table 76, an accounting of the relative rankings by the presidents of public versus private institutions is given.

It can be seen from Table 76 that the presidents of public and private institutions ranked the activities the same with the exception of fund-raising activities and meetings with government officials. The public institution presidents placed governmental conferences third, while the private institution presidents in their search for many non-public sources of money and gifts, placed fund-raising third and government meetings last. It should be noted that the

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[1]Such difficulties included: some activities that a president considers important are missing; simple ranking cannot reveal the amount of distance between each rank; what is typical one month varies with the next; what is typical to one is not typical to another; personal estimates of how time is allocated and used depends upon one's perception and awareness and may be colored by many different conditions.

Table 76. Relative rankings of time-consuming activities

Activity	Rank Given by Presidents of Public Institutions	Rank Given by Presidents of Private Institutions
General administration	1	1
Meetings with faculty, students, alumni	2	2
Meeting with state legislators	3	7
Educational activities at state and national levels	4	4
Social occasions	5	5
Meetings with business leaders	6	6
Fund-raising	7	3

ranking analysis was conducted for presidents of all types of institutions, for male and female presidents, for presidents of differing tenures in office, and the rank order stayed the same as above.

To give the full impact of how much time is spent on the two leading activities of general administration and faculty-student conferences, the presidents were also asked to indicate the percentage of time spent on the activities ranked numbers one and two. For general administration (including budget review, planning and evaluating, and policy meetings with central staff), 42 per cent of the presidents said they spent over 50 per cent of their time, while another 22 per cent of the presidents said general

administration required between 35 and 50 per cent of their time. Thus, the findings here confirm what John Corson noted about the time needed for administration (page 27). It is somewhat interesting to note that the importance and amount of time spent on general administration did not increase with the size of the institution, but is fairly consistent throughout. As for the second activity of conferences with faculty and students, about 64 per cent of the presidents said that such activities required about 20 per cent of their time.

Thus, it is apparent in the eyes of the presidents that the two activities of general administration and meetings with faculty and students demanded nearly three-fourths of their time.

Next, the presidents were asked to focus on the persons or groups within the institution and to indicate the relative percentages of time spent with each in a somewhat typical week. Table 77 gives the results.

Academic presidents have noted that they spend more time with their administrative staff than with others, and more than one-third of their time is with their staff. Another 20 per cent of their time is spent with faculty members, and 13 per cent of their time is with students. Again, analysis was broken down by type of institution, sex of the president, region, size of the institution and tenure in office, and there were great similarities to the tabulation

Table 77. Average (mean) time spent with persons associated with the institution

Person or Group	Rank (1=highest)	Average (Mean) Per Cent of Time Spent with Each
Board of trustee members	5	8
Alumni	7	6
Students	3	13
Faculty (individually or as committees)	2	20
Administrative staff	1	36
Civic leaders	4	10
Others	6	7

on the previous page. However, the smaller institution presidents spend relatively more time with students and faculty and less with their administrative staff than do their counterparts in larger institutions. But 82 per cent of all presidents said that their own administrative staff demanded the most time, and 52 per cent said the faculty were seen second in frequency.

The third role-related item investigated in the research centers upon the president's involvement in high level policy-making committees in education, business, government, and foundations. Much is heard that presidents have significant involvement, although no ready source supplies any evidence. Table 78 gives the percentage of presidents who are boards of trustee members in a variety of areas <u>outside</u> their own institutions.

Table 78. Percentage of presidents holding board of trustee membership outside the institution

Area of Board Membership	Per Cent with Membership in				
	No Boards	One Board	Two Boards	Three Boards	More Than Three Boards
Another college	80	14	4	1	0*
Education Assn.	49	30	10	6	5
Private Foundation	69	24	5	0*	0*
Public Foundation	91	8	0*	0*	0*
Business Board	67	21	8	2	2
Government Comm.	63	25	7	2	3
Other types	76	16	4	2	2

*Less than 0.5 per cent.

Table 78 indicates that academic presidents are involved in outside policy-making boards, but the involvement varies with the type of board. For example, only 9 per cent of academic presidents serve on public foundation boards, while 51 per cent of presidents serve on high-level educational association boards.

In general, the presidents of universities have relatively greater involvement in outside boards than do liberal arts college presidents. Furthermore, the type of president least likely to be a member of such boards is the Catholic liberal arts college president.

It was also considered whether relatively few presidents tended to monopolize board memberships in different areas, such as business, government, foundations, while a

fairly large percentage of presidents would actually hold no membership in any boards outside the institution. In actuality, it was found that only 9 per cent of all academic presidents are not members of a board outside their institution. Moreover, it was learned that 16 per cent of all presidents are members of one type of board, 24 per cent are members of two different types of boards, 24 per cent are members of three different types of boards, and 27 per cent are members of more than three different types of boards. Thus, at least one-fourth of academic presidents do hold membership on at least four boards outside the institution, many of which are in different areas of interest.

APPENDIX D

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

Table 79. Official titles used by chief administrative officer

Title	Per Cent
President	97.0
Chancellor	2.2
Rector	0.1
Superintendent	0.7
Total	100.0

Table 80. Number of honorary doctorates received (in per cent)

Institution of President	Number of Honorary Doctorates Received								
	None	1	2	3	4-5	6-10	11-15	Over 15	Total
Public univ.	37	18	10	10	12	7	4	2	100
Catholic univ.	74	0	6	5	5	5	5	0	100
Prot. univ.	15	30	10	15	15	10	5	0	100
Indep. univ.	18	18	11	7	18	14	0	14	100
Public lib. arts	72	25	1	1	0	0	1	0	100
Cath. lib. arts	73	21	3	2	0	0	0	0	100
Prot. lib. arts	40	30	18	6	5	1	0	0	100
Indep. lib. arts	36	33	11	6	8	4	1	0	100
Technological	44	28	8	4	8	4	0	4	100