Abstract

A current line of thought in the economic literature attributes the decline in teacher quality in recent decades to the expansion of women’s job opportunities outside of teaching (Temin, 2002; Corcoran, 2004; Bacolod, 2007). In the past, it is argued, the vocational options of high-ability women were limited to teaching and other traditionally female occupations. For this reason, the teaching profession was able to attract high-ability women even when paying relatively low wages. When wider occupational opportunities opened to women in the late 1960s, women left teaching for more lucrative professional occupations. This paper argues that rather than being pulled out of teaching by the exogenous broadening of occupational opportunities, women were pushed out of teaching by conditions of extreme oversupply in the market for teachers. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the supply of college women for the first time in US history vastly exceeded the demand for teachers. College women in this generation leveraged Civil Rights legislation and a political climate favorable to social change to push their way into a broad set of professional occupations. Once this critical generation had lowered the barriers for women in occupations outside of teaching, subsequent generations of women had a much wider set of occupational choices. Teaching from that point on has had to compete with a broad range of occupational choices to attract high-ability men and women.
Introduction

A recent front-page article in the New York Times opened with the question, “Would six-figure salaries attract better teachers?”1 A New York City charter school set to open in 2009 aims to attract a high-quality teaching force by offering annual salaries of $125,000. The school’s founder contends that schools must compete for talented workers with other high-paying professions, and that the key to attracting high-quality teachers is offering competitive salaries.

A current line of the economic literature contrasts present concerns over teacher quality with a past in which high-ability women entered teaching careers despite relatively low pay because gender discrimination barred them from more lucrative professions. Temin (2002) suggests that the opening of broader job opportunities to women may have resulted in an exodus of the most talented women from teaching to the greener pastures of business, law, and medicine. Following up on this line of argument, empirical examinations of teacher quality, as measured by standardized test scores, have found some evidence of a decline in teacher quality over recent decades (Corcoran et al, 2004; Bacolod, 2007). A variant on the argument makes the claim that union-driven wage compression within teaching is to blame for the unwillingness of high-ability college graduates to enter teaching (Hoxby and Leigh, 2004). Throughout this literature, the opening of broader and better non-teaching opportunities to college women is taken to be exogenous.

The aim of this paper is to argue that changing labor market conditions in the teaching profession played an integral role in the opening of broader professional opportunities to college women. From the beginnings of women’s higher education in the US in 1837, teaching was both the central rationale for women’s higher education and the overwhelmingly likely occupational destination for women college graduates. For most of the history of women’s

participation in higher education, a relative balance existed between the supply of women college graduates and the demand for teachers. In the first half of the twentieth century this balance was preserved by the growth of the public school system as well as population growth. In the 1950s and 1960s, the arrival of the baby-boom generation in the public school system kept demand for teachers high, even as the number of college-educated women was growing rapidly.

However, in the late 1960s, the balance between the demand and supply of teachers ceased to hold. The number of women graduating from college soared past the demand for teachers. Faced with a growing oversupply of teachers, college women shifted their occupational choices to other professional occupations such as business, law and medicine. As the number of women desiring to enter predominantly male professions grew, women were able to leverage Civil Rights legislation as well as the contemporary political climate to challenge discriminatory practices in both higher education and the labor market. The gender composition of many traditionally male professional occupations tipped such that women were no longer the rare pioneers in these occupations. By the mid-1970s, college women had broken down many of the barriers, both implicit and explicit, to their participation in well-paying professions such as business, law, and medicine. From that point forward, teaching was on an equal footing with other occupations in competing for high-ability educated women.

This paper brings together national educational statistics on teaching and the historical literature on women’s push into the professions in the early 1970s to argue that women were not pulled out of teaching by the exogenous opening of lucrative non-teaching opportunities, as has been suggested. Instead, demographic and economic trends came together in the late 1960s in such away as to end a long-standing balance between the supply of college-women and the nation’s growing demand for teachers. In the late 1960s, as the numbers of college-educated women soared far beyond the number of job opportunities in teaching, women gained the
critical mass to push their way into high-paying traditionally male professions. Once this generation of college women had lowered barriers for women in traditionally male professions, the teaching profession could no longer attract high-ability new entrants by relying on its status as the default occupational choice for college women.

**Tipping Points and Women’s Movement Into Careers**

The first piece of the argument is a multiple-equilibrium model of women’s choices as to whether to enter homemaking or to pursue a career. Suppose that two social equilibria are possible among college women, the *homemaking equilibrium* and the *career equilibrium*. The term “homemaking” is used to summarize a set of complementary behaviors: low earnings expectations, educational investments in low-paying, predominantly female fields, limited labor force attachment, and relatively early marriage and childbearing. These choices on the part of college women are mutually reinforcing. A woman whose training is in a low-paying field, for example, has less incentive to enter or remain in the labor force. When the homemaking equilibrium holds, women might train for jobs, but do not pursue careers.²

The *career equilibrium* describes a state of affairs where the pursuit of a career is widely held to be appropriate and desirable for college women. When “career” prevails, college women make educational investments in high-skill, high-pay fields and exhibit tenacious labor force attachment. As in the homemaking equilibrium, these choices are mutually reinforcing. Women whose educations provide them high earnings potential are more likely to remain in the labor force, for example. With the career equilibrium in place, social pressures and externalities work in favor, rather than against, women’s pursuit of careers.

² Historian William Chafe makes the distinction between a “job” and a “career” as follows: “A job has limits. The time it consumes, the energy it requires, and the rewards it brings can all be fairly well defined in advance, and in most cases the bargain is based on the assumption that the woman is an incidental wage-earner, that her primary role is still in the home. A career, in contrast, requires a commitment of energy and spirit that is inconsistent with such an arrangement” (Chafe, The American Woman, p. 251).
Suppose also that for all but the most determined homemakers or career women, the choice between homemaking and career depends not only on their private preferences but also on the choices made by other women. Social pressure may not sway those with the strongest commitments to homemaking or career, but it influences the choices of the ambivalent majority. The likelihood that a woman chooses “career” over “homemaking” increases as the expected share of women choosing career increases. Several justifications can be provided for this claim, among them: (1) a woman’s perceived choice set regarding family and career is a function of the prevailing social climate; (2) faced with uncertainty about the future, young women look to their peers for guidance in making career and family decisions; (3) a woman considering entering a predominantly male field anticipates isolation and the absence of role models and mentors; (4) with a large majority of women choosing homemaking, institutional structures, curricula, and career counseling practices tended to reinforce that choice; (5) the smaller the share of women seriously pursuing careers, the greater the likelihood of statistical discrimination against those women who did intend to seriously pursue careers; (6) with the share of women pursuing careers low, societal expectations regarding the household division of labor and the timing of children did not generally take into account the demands of women’s careers. Because of these externalities, a college women’s willingness to invest in career skills increases with the share of women she expects will pursue careers.

In the presence of these externalities, the model predicts two equilibria: one with a large majority of women pursuing homemaking, and another with a large majority of women pursuing careers. When the homemaking equilibrium prevails, externalities deter most women from pursuing careers. The low numbers of women in nontraditional careers are self-perpetuating. For all but the most determined careerists, it is optimal to choose homemaking.

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3 See Jones, 2004 for a more complete description of this model. The model is based on a model of social choice developed by Timur Kuran (Kuran, 1995).
given that they expected everyone else to. Externalities and social pressures hold the equilibrium in place in the face of rising incentives to enter careers. Externalities help explain why in the 1950s and 1960s, we do not see women pushing to enter more lucrative careers in business, law, and medicine. Societal expectations and women’s own expectations reinforce women’s remaining in traditionally female jobs and placing their primary emphasis on homemaking.

However, when the incentives to pursue a career are strong enough, the system can tip from the homemaking to the career equilibrium. A gradual shift of economic incentives may not increase the share women in careers, but can lower the threshold at which individuals would be willing to dissent from the prevailing equilibrium of public opinion. In the case of college women, a small increase in the economic incentives to pursue non-traditional careers could result in an unexpected surge in the share of women choosing “career” over “homemaking,” as the share pursuing careers achieves critical mass. The revolution moves the system from one equilibrium of public preferences to another. In the new equilibrium expectations and externalities reinforce women’s choice of career over homemaking. Law school professor Thelma Lavine described the shift in the social climate as follows: “College women of the late 1960s and early 1970s may feel they should want a professional career, just as…in the 1940s and 1950s, whether women wanted babies or not, they felt they should want them.”

**Women’s Higher Education and Teaching**

The second piece of the argument is that the viability of the teaching career was key to holding the “homemaking equilibrium” in place throughout most of the history of women’s participation in higher education. From the time women first entered American colleges in

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4 Lavine, “Motive,” p. 190, in Furniss and Graham.
1837 until the late 1960s, to quote one college counselor, “teaching was ubiquitous.” The need for teachers served as the key justification for the initial provision of higher education to women in the mid-nineteenth century. Because the expansion of women’s higher education roughly coincided with the expansion of the nation’s public school system, a sizable share of college women were able to find positions as teachers through much of the history of women’s higher education. Figure 1 compares the number of women college graduates to the change in the size of the nation’s public school teaching force. Through the early decades of the twentieth century, growth in the number of teachers was positive and outpaced growth in the number of women college graduates. In the 1930s and early 1940s, growth in the teaching force was slow, and at times even negative. Not surprisingly, a majority of school districts imposed bars on hiring and retaining married teachers during the 1930s and 1940s. However, growth in the teaching force picked up again after World War II. Although women’s college participation shot upward at this time, teaching demand did so as well, as grade schools stretched to accommodate the postwar baby boom.

Not surprisingly, the 1950s and 1960s saw little broadening of college women’s range of educational choices. Figure 2 shows teaching to be the most frequent occupational choice for women attending college in the post war decades. A third of college women in 1950-51 and half by 1960-61 graduated with a major in education. These figures do not include the significant number of women majoring in the humanities, sciences, and social sciences that also planned to pursue careers in teaching. A brief wartime movement of women into science, engineering and medicine ended in the post-World War II decades. According to David Riesman, in 1964 college women felt “diffident about identifying themselves with a specialized

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6 The theory that the expansion of women’s higher education drove the expansion of public education in a virtuous circle, holding teaching wages down, is explored in detail in Carter, 1986.
occupational achievement that would stamp them as perhaps not ‘feminine’: thus the helping professions are open to them (teaching, social work, in rare cases psychiatry or pediatrics) but the old feminist drive to enter engineering and architecture, law and business, economics and archeology is much attenuated.”

The strong emphasis on women’s role in the family reduced, or at least postponed, many women’s investment in careers.

The long-standing balance between the demand for teachers and the supply of college-educated women was essential to keeping the homemaking equilibrium in place in the face of rising levels of women’s education and labor force participation. Women’s participation in college and the labor force rose sharply in the 1950s and 1960s. However, expanding demand for teachers allowed the labor force to absorb growing number of educated women without challenging prevailing norms regarding women. Teaching was viewed as a vocation compatible with women’s primary homemaking role. As late as 1974 a college counselor listed the following advantages of teaching as an occupation for women: (1) it was a respected white-collar occupation, (2) it was in line with parents’ expectations of their daughters, (3) “no matter where a husband might move, a school system of some kind was nearby,” (4) teaching allowed time for family vacations, and 5) “a woman could teach a few years, transfer her experience into raising her own children, then return to teaching other people’s children later.”

The End of Teaching

By 1970, however, it was becoming increasingly clear that teaching could no longer be the predominant occupational choice of college women. This was for two reasons: grade

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9 See Perlman and Margo, 2001, on the feminization of teaching. They describe significant regional variation in the timing of the feminization of teaching, with the South lagging the rest of the country in the proportion of women teachers.
schools were shrinking and the number of college women was expanding. Grade schools were shrinking because the bulge of enrollment caused by the baby boom had passed. Elementary and secondary school enrollment peaked in 1971, after which enrollment declined 15 percent between 1971 and 1984.\textsuperscript{11} In 1970 the Bureau of Labor Statistics predicted only a two percent increase in the number of school teachers between 1970 and 1980, leading economist Margaret Gordon to describe it as “imperative” that colleges advise would-be teachers to train for other fields.\textsuperscript{12} Despite some decrease in student-teacher ratios, the decline in school populations not surprisingly brought about a softening of demand for teachers. Beginning about the fall of 1969 several states observed a surplus of persons seeking teaching jobs.\textsuperscript{13} According to a Congressional report, only 52 percent of the record number of 338,000 graduates from teacher training programs found teaching positions in 1972.\textsuperscript{14}

The expansion of women’s rates of college attendance also was a factor in reducing the ubiquity of teaching. Figure 1 shows the sharp increase in the number of women enrolled in college in the 1960s and 1970s. Growth in the number of women college graduates far outpaced growth in the teaching force. The public school teaching force grew only eight percent between 1970 and 1980; women’s higher education enrollment grew 81 percent over the same period. By 1970 the Bureau of Labor Statistics was recommending that career counselors encourage college women to enlarge their range of occupations, because the traditional “women’s” fields, especially teaching, would not be able to absorb the increase in the number of women college graduates.\textsuperscript{15} In the words of career counselor John Parrish, “the traditional steps of ‘from high school to college to teaching,’” which served both talented

\textsuperscript{11} \textit{120 Years}, p. 26.  
\textsuperscript{12} Gordon, “Higher education,” p. 64.  
\textsuperscript{13} Gordon, “Higher education,” p. 64.  
\textsuperscript{14} Parrish, “Women,” p. 12.  
women and counselors so well for so long, could no longer be taken for granted.”

Throughout the 1970s, continued poor labor markets in teaching reinforced women’s movement into a broader range of occupations.

By the late 1960s, college women correctly perceived that opportunities in teaching were shrinking. Surveys of incoming college women reveal this shift in women’s occupational aspirations away from teaching. Figure 3 shows the occupational intentions of incoming freshmen surveyed annually by the Comparative Institutional Research Program (CIRP). The share of women planning to enter elementary or secondary teaching plummeted beginning in 1968, from a peak of 38 percent, bottoming out at about 10 percent by 1975 and remaining roughly at this level through 1985. Over the same period, there was more gradual growth in the share of women aspiring to careers in business, engineering, law and medicine. Combined interest in those fields rose from a low of 5 percent in 1968 to 29 percent by 1985. The broadening of women’s vocational aspirations continued through the 1970s and into the 1980s. The continued poor market for teachers in the 1970s helped sustain women’s movement into nontraditional fields.

Where Did All the Teachers Go? The Push Into Professional Schools

With growing numbers of college women seeking occupations other than teaching, the movement of college women into traditionally male professions gained momentum. Women reached the critical mass to challenge discriminatory policies and practices that had kept them out of more lucrative professions, smoothing the way for new entrants. Women’s representation in business, dental, law, and medical schools took off around 1970 and grew rapidly through the 1970s and 1980s. By 1974, observers of academe were commenting on the

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“astonishing and unexplained” increase in women’s professional school participation. The nation’s schools of dentistry, for example, graduated a total of only 34 women in 1970; this total grew to 700 by 1980. The share of professional degrees earned by women is plotted in Figure 4. The number of female graduates from business, dental, law and medical schools increased twelve-fold between 1970 and 1980, while the total number of graduates from these schools only doubled.

The record shows that the increase in women’s participation in professional schools came from an increase in the number of applications rather than an increase in acceptance rates. Part of the explanation for the sudden upswing in women’s applications to professional schools around 1970 was a general surge of interest in professional occupations. Women shifting their aspirations from “homemaking” to “careers” joined a stampede into professional schools. Enlarging the picture to include men shows a jump in the number of applications of both men and women to law and medical schools in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Contemporary commentators cite a decline in Federal support for graduate students and a shift of funding from other areas of science to medicine as factors that shifted enrollments away from graduate school toward the professions. They also speculate that the idealism and social movements of the 1960s drew young people to public service careers in medicine and law.

Growing interest in professional occupations meant steep competition for admission to professional schools in the early 1970s. Why then did professional schools begin in about 1970 to admit women in unprecedented numbers, at a time when admissions conditions were extremely competitive? Part of the answer lies in a voluntary shift in policies regarding women

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18 In 1970, the NCES reported a total of 47,969 graduates of business, dental, law and medical schools, of whom 2,303 were women. In 1980 the total was 110,291, which included 27,136 women (NCES, Digest of Educational Statistics, 1997).
20 Lavine writes, “The current competition to gain admission to law school applies, of course, to men as well as to women and is partially triggered by the utility of legal knowledge and skills in the liberal-activist spectrum of reform-revolution within the student culture, as well as by the decline in academic job opportunities,” p. 189.
in professional schools. There existed what one historian described as a “new progressivism in education in the late 1960s that emerged in response to racial unrest, antiwar sentiment, and student activism.”

Darmouth’s Tuck School of Business, for example, admitted its first woman, Martha Fransson, in 1968, and the Law School of Notre Dame University admitted its first women in 1969. The opening of Princeton and Yale to women in 1969 may have signaled the end of an era of gender division in higher education. Higher education institutions may also have seen women as a promising new source of tuition revenue as budgets became tighter in the late 1960s.

Having gained a foothold in professional schools by 1970, women increased their representation to unprecedented levels during the rest of the decade. The increase in women’s representation in professional schools continued through the 1970s and into the 1980s, as shown in Figure 4. The importance of group pressures and externalities in driving social change can explain why, when men’s applications to professional schools leveled off, women’s kept growing. Women in professional schools gained the critical mass to overcome barriers to their participation. One effect of critical mass was in removing informal barriers to women’s participation such as isolation and harassment. At Harvard law school, for example, there had been a tradition of “ladies day,” when professors called on women students “for the sole purpose of embarrassing them.” Women students of the early 1970s mounted a joint protest to end this practice. Growing numbers of women in professional school facilitated the organization of concerted action to protest discriminatory practices.”

The sheer presence of greater numbers of women could also signal a more welcoming atmosphere. One Stanford

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21 Wandersee, On the Move, p. 103.
22 O’Connor, Women, p. 4.
Business School professor recalls, “As soon as women found they were welcome here, they began to apply in large numbers.”

As their numbers increased, women in the professional schools were able to organize more formal attacks on discriminatory practices. The inclusion of sex under in the 1964 Civil Rights Act provided women a means of challenging discrimination in professional employment. In 1968, the first woman law students group was formed, the Women’s Rights Committee at New York University. In the years that followed, the group organized women law students in the New York City area to gather information about the hiring practices of local law firms. This information allowed them later to file complaints alleging sex discrimination with the New York State Commission on Human Rights. Women at the University of Chicago took adopted similar tactics. The Women’s Law Caucus at the University of Chicago sued the Law School under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, charging that the school in its function as an employment agency allowed firms that have explicitly refused to hire women to use the Law School premises for recruitment purposes.

To fight discriminatory admissions policies and practices, women in the professions put new Federal policy measures to use in unanticipated ways. As women’s rights activist Bernice Sandler described it, women enlisted “a little help from our government” in gaining admission to professional education.

Executive Order 11375, effective October 13, 1968, was used as a lever to open the doors of professional school more widely to women. Although Executive Order 11375 did not explicitly address discriminatory admissions practices, it prohibited sex discrimination in employment, including training, on the part of any institutions with Federal contracts of over $10,000 and required affirmative action plans of all contractors with contracts of $50,000 or more and 50 or more employees.

On January 31, 1970, the Women’s Equity Action League (WEAL) filed a class action complaint with the Department of Labor under Executive Order 11375 against all universities and colleges in the country. WEAL asked the Department of Labor to investigate admissions quotas and discrimination in financial assistance, hiring practices, promotions, and salary differentials. The attack on the admissions policies of professional schools continued in 1970 and 1971. WEAL successfully campaigned Congress to pressure the Department of Labor to take action regarding its complaint regarding higher education; the first investigation concerning sex discrimination began at Harvard in the spring of 1970. In October of 1970, WEAL filed a class action suit against all the medical schools in the country. Other women’s organizations joined the effort; in 1970, Ann Scott, head of the Campus Coordinating Committee of NOW issued 2,500 “Academic Discrimination Kits” with instructions on how to file a complaint of discrimination against one’s own university and how to formulate an affirmative action plan. In April 1971, the Professional Women’s Caucus filed a suit charging all of the nation’s law schools with sex discrimination. NOW also filed charges against Harvard University and against the state university system of New York in 1971. By 1973, 360 charges had been filed against universities and colleges, 260 initiated by WEAL and the rest by other national women’s organizations, campus associations, and individuals.

In 1970, Congress responded to the charge of sex discrimination in higher education. Congresswoman Edith Green, a member of WEAL’s advisory board, held the first Congressional hearings on sex discrimination. In 1971 and 1972, Congress passed measures explicitly prohibiting sex discrimination in professional school admission. The Comprehensive Health Manpower Act and the Nurse Training Amendments Act of 1971 banned discrimination in admission of students on the basis of sex on the part of “all institutions receiving or benefiting from a grant, loan guarantee, or interest subsidy to health personnel training.
programs or receiving a contract under Title VII or VIII of the Public Health Services Act.”

The Act prohibited sex discrimination in medical school admission, with the threat of the withdrawal of Federal funds from institutions in violation of the prohibition. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 included a more global, although not universal, ban on sex discrimination in admissions. Title IX prohibited admissions discrimination on the part of graduate and professional institutions, vocational institutions, and public undergraduate coeducational institutions. It exempted public single-sex institutions, private undergraduate institutions, religious institutions and military schools from its coverage.

By 1972, at least in the letter of the law, the path was cleared for women to expand their participation in professional schools. The share of women in the professions continued to grow through the 1970s and 1980s. In this way, the slight widening of women’s opportunity to enter professional schools that grew out of the egalitarian movements of the sixties resulted in a very large and unanticipated increase in the share of women in the professions. The inflow of women fed on itself, reducing the isolation of women and stimulating further efforts to reduce discrimination. Women were able to put Federal policy to use in unanticipated ways to further open doors to women in professional occupations. Because of the rapid increase on the supply side, women’s presence in the professions continued its rapid increase without a heavy thumb on the scale in favor of women or intensive recruitment efforts. Rather, their presence increased so quickly and dramatically because the tentative movement toward “diversity” in the professions found a latent bandwagon of women awaiting their opportunity to move into careers.

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Conclusion: Teaching After Feminism

This paper has argued that a system of supply and demand in teaching that remained in approximate balance for more than a century of women’s higher education moved dramatically toward oversupply in the late 1960s, resulting in women’s rapid push into professional occupations and in the near-elimination of gender distinctions within higher education. Whereas a current strain in the literature on teacher quality contends that the exogenous opening of opportunities in high-paying professions pulled women out of teaching, this paper counters that women (and men) were pushed out of teaching by a dearth of job openings. This emphasis on demand/supply conditions in teaching as the source of change in women’s higher education is supported by the timing of change at a national level as well as by the fact that the decline in interest in teaching in the late 1960s occurred among both college men and women.

From the late 19th century through the late 1960s, steady growth in the demand for teachers allowed for a large increase in women’s educational attainment and employment levels without a rethinking of women’s role. However, the labor market for teachers moved dramatically toward oversupply in the late 1960s. This crisis in women’s employment led to a dramatic tipping of societal norms regarding women’s role. Women’s own expectations regarding career and family, as well as society’s expectations of women, shifted to place a much greater emphasis on career. The generation of women graduating from college in the late 1960s and early 1970s drew on Civil Rights legislation and a social climate favorable to change to push their way into traditionally male occupations. This produced rapid growth in the share of women in the professional schools and the near-elimination of gender divisions within US higher education.

The essence of the argument is that while discrimination against women may have played a role in maintaining the quality of the teaching force prior to the 1960s, it was not the exogenous elimination of discrimination that resulted in the flight of highly qualified women.
from teaching. Rather, highly qualified women accurately perceived extremely limited occupational opportunities in teaching and placed their efforts into gaining access to and investing in training for occupations where job opportunities were stronger. With a broader set of occupational doors were open to women, the teaching occupation since roughly 1970 has had to compete for new entrants with the more lucrative and diverse set of occupations now open to college women.

The argument has implications for the discussion of teacher quality. It was not the case, as some have argued, that women deserted teaching for the greener pastures of more lucrative occupations. Rather, teaching might be said to have deserted women: teaching jobs became extremely scare relative to the supply of female college graduates. In periods of low teacher demand, it may be more important to emphasize the professional development and retention of existing well-qualified teachers than to lament the very rational decision on the part of young people not to enter an occupation where jobs are scarce. Any rethinking of the tenure and pay system in teaching might also take into consideration the need to consider ways of continuing to ensure adequate pay to compete with alternative occupations and adequate turnover in the stock of teachers to ensure that there is in fact demand for new entrants at higher pay levels.
References


Sources for Figures

Figure 1: Number of teachers: 120 Years of Education Statistics, Table 14. Female college graduates, 120 Years of Education, Table 28.

Figure 2: College major percentages calculated from data on college majors published in Earned Degrees Conferred, 1948-1962 editions, the Digest of Educational Statistics, 1963-1997 editions, and from unpublished data on college majors provided by W. Vance Grant of the National Center for Education Statistics.

Figure 3: Calculated from data reported in in Astin, The American Freshman, pp. 106.

Figure 4: Digest of Educational Statistics, 1997.
Figure 1
Female College Graduates, New Teachers

- - - - - - Female College Graduates
- - - - - - Change, Public School Teachers
Figure 2
Percent of College Graduates Majoring in Education

- Men
- Women

Year

0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50
Figure 3: Intended Careers of Freshman Women, 1966-1985

- Business, Engineering, Law or Medicine
- Elementary or Secondary Teaching
Figure 4: Degrees awarded in business, dentistry, law and medicine, percent female, 1950-1995