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ABSTRACT

This report reviews eleven departments, accounting for 90% of the faculty women, in the Yale College and Graduate School. The most significant finding is the absence of women from the faculty, significantly less than other prestigious institutions. Many departments have no women on the professorial ladder. Women are concentrated in the lower ranks--23% of the lecturers and 30% of the instructors, while only 4% of the laddered faculty. There is also a preponderance of women in research positions, which are marginal compared to ladder faculty. Data indicate that although Yale trains significant numbers of women (21% of PhD's awarded), it does not consider them qualified applicants for Yale positions. This is true even in departments who display a tendency to hire their own PhD's. Other labor sources explored also revealed pools of qualified women from which Yale could have recruited. The authors therefore concluded that Yale has discriminated against women solely on the basis of sex. They urge the University to recognize the achievements of women as equal to men, and to take advantage of the resources of eminently qualified women academics. Supporting data appear in accompanying appendices. (LR)

ED0 56636

Women on the Yale Faculty

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In anticipation of the forthcoming HEW investigation of discrimination at Yale our committee (of the Yale Faculty and Professional Women's Forum) has gathered information on the situation of women on the Yale College and Graduate School faculty. Under the pressures of limited time and resources we decided to focus our statistical analysis on the major departments in the Physical Sciences (Biology, Chemistry and Physics), Humanities (English, History, Philosophy and Romance Languages) and Social Sciences (Economics, Political Science, Psychology and Sociology). Our data gathering procedures are specified in the methodological Appendix. However, we should note that if there is any bias in the departments we have selected it is in the direction of a more favorable impression of the position of women than would be obtained from a study of all departments. Thus, the eleven departments included in this report account for 90% of the women on the Yale College faculty (as well as 70% of the men).¹

The results of our investigations are enumerated below.

¹Wasserman, Elga, Coeducation 1969-1970, p. 28.

1. THE ABSENCE OF WOMEN FROM THE YALE FACULTY

Our most significant finding is the relative absence of women from the Yale College faculty. Thus, in the current 1970-71 academic year, women in those eleven departments constitute only 0.5% of the full Professors, 1.3% of the Associate Professors, and 8.3% of the Assistant Professors.

The absence of women at Yale is even more striking when it is compared to the representation of women on the faculties of other prestigious universities.² Table I indicates that Yale currently ranks well below the 1960 average for the eight other institutions with the largest endowment.³

Table 1
Female Professors in High Prestige Universities in U.S.

<u>Rank</u>	<u>Yale University</u>	<u>8 institutions with largest endowment*</u>
Professor	0.5%	2.6%
Assoc. Professor	1.3%	7.5%
Assist. Professor	8.3%	8.5%

* Columbia, Chicago, Cornell, Harvard, Mass. Institute of Technology, Northwestern, Stanford, Princeton.

²We should note that these universities hardly provide a model of nondiscrimination.

³Source: Parrish, John E., "Women in Top Level Teaching and Research," Jour. Amer. Assn. Univ. Women, January, 1962.

If we examine the eleven Yale College departments individually the portrait becomes even more depressing. We find that 5 of the major departments do not have a single woman on the professorial ladder. Thus no woman holds the rank of Assistant, Associate or Full Professor in Chemistry, Physics, Romance Languages, Political Science or Sociology. In three other departments women comprise only 2% of the laddered faculty (Biology, History and Economics). Women's representation is only slightly better in the remaining three departments: English (11%), Philosophy (7%), and Psychology (10%). The complete data for each department are presented in Table 2.

Table 2
Female Professors in Major Yale Departments

Physical Sciences

<u>Biology</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u># Female</u>	<u>% Female</u>
Professors	19	0	0
Associate Professors	15	0	0
Assistant Professors	8	1	$\frac{12}{2}$
Overall	<u>42</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>

Chemistry

Professors	16	0	0
Associate Professors	5	0	0
Assistant Professors	8	0	0
Overall	<u>29</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

Physics

Professors	18	0	0
Associate Professors	5	0	0
Assistant Professors	15	0	0
Overall	<u>38</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

Humanities

English

Professors	24	1	4
Associate Professors	3	0	0
Assistant Professors	36	6	$\frac{17}{11}$
Overall	<u>63</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>

History

Professors	30	0	0
Associate Professors	10	0	0
Assistant Professors	20	1	5
Overall	<u>60</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>

<u>Philosophy</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u># Female</u>	<u>% Female</u>
Professors	10	0	0
Associate Professors	3	0	0
Assistant Professors	16	2	$\frac{12}{16}$
Overall	29	2	$\frac{7}{29}$

Romance Languages

Professors	13	0	0
Associate Professors	6	0	0
Assistant Professors	17	0	0
Overall	36	0	0

Social SciencesEconomics

Professors	27	0	0
Associate Professors	10	0	0
Assistant Professors	16	1	$\frac{6}{16}$
Overall	53	1	$\frac{2}{53}$

Political Science

Professors	15	0	0
Associate Professors	6	0	0
Assistant Professors	19	0	0
Overall	40	0	0

Psychology

Professors	19	0	0
Associate Professors	11	1	$\frac{9}{11}$
Assistant Professors	21	4	$\frac{16}{21}$
Overall	51	5	$\frac{10}{51}$

Sociology

Professors	10	0	0
Associate Professors	5	0	0
Assistant Professors	8	0	0
Overall	23	0	0

Sources for Data: Names, ranks, and sex of departmental faculty were obtained from the 1970-71 University Directory. Visiting faculty were included at their respective ranks.

2. THE CONCENTRATION OF WOMEN
IN THE LOWER RANKS OF THE FACULTY

Our second general finding concerns the relative status of women on the Yale faculty. Women are concentrated in the lower level positions. They comprise 23% of the lecturers and 30% of the instructors, while only 4% of the ladder faculty are women. These data are presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Percent of Women by Rank in 11 Yale Departments

<u>Rank</u>	<u>% Women</u>	
Professor	0.5	Source: Names, ranks, and sex of departmental faculty were obtained from the 1970-71 University Directory. Visiting faculty were included at their respective ranks.
Associate Professor	1.3	
Assistant Professor	8.3	
all ladder faculty	3.7	
Lecturer	22.8	
Instructor	30.3	

The data indicate the unlikelihood that a woman will reach the highest rank of full Professor at Yale. Although between 1965 and 1970 the total number of full Professors

on the Yale College Faculty doubled (from 148 to 308), the number of women at this rank remained constant: 2.⁵ Although some cause for hope that Yale is improving its policy is suggested by the fact that the number of female Assistant Professors has been quadrupled since 1965 (from 4 to 17) the significance of this statistic, however, remains to be seen. If we look at the Associate Professor level for the past five years we note that no matter how many women become Assistant Professors, they are not further promoted. Since 1965, only one woman in Yale College has been promoted to Associate Professor.⁶

Thus the situation continues to be characterized by the absence of women at the full and Associate Professor rank, and the concentration of women at the level of instructors and lecturers.

The concentration of women in the positions of lecturer and instructor has important implications for their academic careers. These faculty do not have voting privileges at faculty meetings and are often not eligible for the full range of faculty benefits, such as Morse fellowships, leave privileges or TIAA. In addition, these appointments are usually one year contracts which offer little security in terms of job and research stability. Although the appoint-

⁵In 1969, 3 women held the rank of full Professor.

⁶Wasserman, Elga, Coeducation 1969-70, p. 28. Note: the promotion occurred after the data for coeducation 1969-70 were gathered.

ments may continue for a number of years the continued uncertainty and ambiguity of position are not conducive to planning and conducting research (which is the prerequisite for promotion). Since instructors and lecturers are hired primarily for teaching responsibilities research must necessarily be wedged into free time. The result is a vicious cycle: women are placed in marginal positions and so burdened by the positions that they have little opportunity to do the work of a productive scholar. In contrast, the scholarly work of those on the tenure ladder is encouraged by relatively lighter teaching loads, leaves, sabbaticals, job security and especially University support for research.⁷

⁷In addition research grants from outside agencies as well as Yale itself are often restricted to those on the ladder faculty.

3. THE CONCENTRATION OF WOMEN IN MARGINAL RESEARCH POSITIONS

Yale has already hired a number of women Ph.D.'s in research positions. For the 11 departments under study, there are 141 research positions, 29 of which are held by women. Table 4 illustrates the preponderance of women in research positions as compared to the ladder faculty:

Table 4

Percentage of Women in Research Positions
for 11 Departments

	<u>% Women</u>
Ladder Faculty	3.7
Research Faculty	21.1

Source: Names, ranks, and sex of departmental faculty were obtained from the 1970-71 University Directory. Visiting faculty were included at their respective ranks.

A research faculty position involves little or no teaching and therefore little student contact; involvement in departmental affairs is minimal; the faculty member is ineligible for tenure or sabbatical privileges, and job security is usually dependent upon outside grants. The current structure of research positions provides little recognition or advancement for scholarly achievement.

A significant number of women in research positions indicates that Yale considers women worth training, and presumably, worthy of hire by an outstanding university. Yet, once again Yale has placed them in marginal, less prestigious and less rewarding positions.

DISCUSSION

We must now ask how we can account for the low rank and low proportion of women on the Yale College and Graduate School faculty.

One explanation for the absence of women on the faculty has been the contention that there are few women who are "qualified" for a position at Yale. To answer this contention it is necessary to examine the available "pool" of Ph.D.'s.

If we examine the number of women who have received Yale Ph.D.'s, and have thus been trained and certified by this University to be qualified for professional careers, we note a large supply of women for potential recruitment. Table 5 indicates by department the percentage of women who receive Ph.D.'s compared to the percentage of women in the top three ranks of each department.

Table 5
Percentage of Women Ph.D.'s and Faculty by Yale Department

<u>Department</u>	<u>% Yale Ph.D.'s Awarded to Women (1969-1970)</u>	<u>% Females on Laddered Faculty</u>
<u>Physical Sciences</u>		
Biology	33	2
Chemistry	17	0
Physics	3	0
<u>Humanities</u>		
English	35	11
History	15	2
Philosophy	17	7
Romance Languages	50	0
<u>Social Sciences</u>		
Economics	9	2
Political Science	8	0
Psychology	34	10
Sociology	24	0

Source: Names, ranks, and sex of departmental faculty were obtained from the 1970-71 University Directory. Visiting faculty were included at their respective ranks. Data on the number of graduate students presently enrolled and the number of Ph.D.'s awarded were obtained from the Dean's Office of the Graduate School.

The data presented in Table 5 indicate that Yale has largely ignored its female graduate students for its faculty appointments. Although the university awards 21% of its highest degrees to women it apparently does not

consider them "qualified applicants" for positions on the Yale faculty.

Certain departments display a tendency to hire their own Ph.D.'s, and here the discrepancy between the number of women granted Yale doctorates and the number on the faculty is particularly striking. For example, in the English department 18 of the 24 full professors hold Yale Ph.D.'s, and 46% of the faculty in the three tenure-ladder ranks have Yale doctorates (29 out of 63). Since 35% of the English Ph.D.'s are granted to women, hypothetically 35% of the 29 faculty with Yale degrees might be expected to be female; in fact, however, only 4 women with Yale Ph.D.'s are in the top three ranks. These statistics suggest a pattern in the department of hiring its own male graduates in much larger proportion than its female ones. Table 6 indicates a similar pattern of hiring in three other departments which hire their own Ph.D.'s.

Table 6
Expected Percentage of Female Faculty for Departments Hiring Yale Ph.D.'s

<u>Department</u>	<u>% of faculty with Yale Ph.D.'s</u>	<u>% Yale Ph.D.'s granted to women</u>	<u>Hypothetical expected no. of women faculty with Yale Ph.D.'s</u>	<u>actual no. of women with Yale Ph.D.'s</u>
Romance Studies	28.6 (10/36)	50	5	0
Philosophy	44 (12/29)	17	2	0
Psychology	24 (12/51)	34	4	1
English	46 (29/63)	35	0	4

Source: Names, ranks, and sex of departmental faculty were obtained from the 1970-71 University Directory. Visiting faculty were included at their respective ranks. Data on the number of graduate students presently enrolled and the number of Ph.D.'s awarded were obtained from the Dean's Office of the Graduate School.

For those departments which prefer not to hire their own Ph.D.'s we must look to national data for the available pool of womanpower. Table 7 presents information on the percentage of female Ph.D.'s, by field, over the past 12 years from the most prestigious universities.

Table 7Available Pool of Women from High Prestige Universities compared to Percentage of Women on Yale Faculty, by Department

<u>Field</u>	<u>% Ph.D.'s Awarded to Women from Prestigious Universities, 1955-67</u>	<u>% Women on Yale Ladder Faculty</u>
<u>Physical Sciences</u>		
Biology	16 ^(a)	2
Chemistry	7	0
Physics	2	0
<u>Humanities</u>		
English	19	0
History	12	2
Philosophy	13	7
Romance Languages	32 ^(b)	0
<u>Social Sciences</u>		
Economics	5	2
Political Science	9	0
Psychology	20	10
Sociology	15	0

Source: the universities referred to vary from one field to the next and from one time interval to the next. For example, in Classics, 1955-60, they were Harvard, Yale, Princeton, California (all campuses), Columbia, Cornell, Michigan, Johns Hopkins, Illinois, North Carolina; in 1962-67, they were Harvard, Princeton, California at Berkeley, Bryn Mawr, Michigan, Yale, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Cincinnati, North Carolina. The data are compiled from Appendix B of Women in the University of Chicago, May, 1970.

Entries represent total number of Ph.D.'s granted in each

Once again we note that the supply of eminently qualified women greatly exceeds the percentage of women who are appointed to the Yale faculty. Since these data were compiled from 1955, a significant number of these women should be eligible for tenured positions.

Table 8 presents similar data. We have computed the number of women faculty one would expect at Yale, based on the nationally available pool of Ph.D.'s from prestigious universities. The actual numbers are much lower than the expected numbers for every department.

five-year period by the ten top-ranking universities. Where Chicago was ranked in the top 10, it has been excluded here and the eleventh university added. Quality rankings for 1955-60 are from H. Keniston, Graduate Study in the Arts and Sciences at the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959). Quality rankings for 1962-67 are from A.M. Carter, An Assessment of Quality in Graduate Education (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1966). Number of degrees taken from Earned Degrees Conferred: Bachelor's and Higher Degrees (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, annually 1955-56 through 1966-67).

(a) Data are based on degrees granted in General Biology, Zoology and Botany.

(b) Data are based on degrees granted in French and Spanish.

Table 8

Expected Female Faculty Based on National
Percentages--Available Pool⁸

<u>Department</u>	<u>% Female: USA Pool</u>	<u>No. of Faculty</u>	<u>Expected No. of ♀ Faculty⁹</u>	<u>Actual No. of Females in Faculty</u>
<u>Physical Sciences</u>				
Biology	16	42	7	1
Chemistry	7	29	2	0
Physics	2	38	1	0
<u>Humanities</u>				
English	19	63	12	7
History	12	60	7	1
Philosophy	13	29	4	2
Romance Languages	32	36	12	0
<u>Social Sciences</u>				
Economics	5	53	3	1
Political Science	9	40	4	0
Psychology	20	51	10	5
Sociology	15	23	3	0

Source: refer to sources on table 7.

⁸The women in this pool are probably more qualified than the men from these institutions due to discriminatory practices in graduate education.

⁹One should assume that once discrimination in graduate schools decreases, this number will become larger.

Tables 7 and 8 indicate that while a significant proportion of the Ph.D.'s from the most prestigious universities have been awarded to women, Yale has not recruited them for its faculty.

We are forced to conclude that Yale has discriminated against women, solely on the basis of sex. In the departments that do hire Yale Ph.D.'s the percentage of women on the faculty is much less than the percentage we would expect based on the number of Ph.D.'s awarded to women. In the departments which do not hire Yale Ph.D.'s the percentage of women on the faculty is much less than the percentage we would expect based on the number of Ph.D.'s awarded to women at other prestigious universities (from which most male Yale faculty members are hired).

Although our findings lead us to conclude that Yale discriminates against women in its faculty recruitment, we are not asserting that this discrimination is intentional or conscious. Rather, it is more likely that Yale's predominantly male faculty simply does not recognize the achievements of women as equal to those of men. A recent study by Philip Goldberg may help to explain why the large supply of women Ph.D.'s may have remained invisible to faculty recruiters.

Goldberg gave college students a set of articles asking them to rate the scholarship and professional competence of the authors. Although each student received an identical set of articles, the names of the authors

were varied. The same article which bore the author's name "John T. McKay" in one set was written by "Joan T. McKay" in the second set. Each book consisted of three articles by "men" and three by "women" authors. "The students consistently found an article more valuable-- and its author more competent--when the article bore a male name. Though the articles were exactly the same, the students felt that those written by John McKay were more impressive, and reflected more glory on their authors, than did the mediocre offerings of the Joan T. McKays."¹⁰

The Goldberg study indicates that women's achievement, when equal to that of men, is often not recognized. The implications for the situation at Yale are clear. The predominantly male faculty engaged in recruitment must be sensitized to the invidious effects of their unconscious (or conscious) discrimination against women. They must make a conscious effort to take advantage of the resources of the eminently qualified women academics. Not only should women receive the recognition they so justly deserve, but the intellectual community of this university will benefit and be enriched by the contributions of outstanding female scholars.

¹⁰Goldberg, Philip, Trans-Action, April 1968.

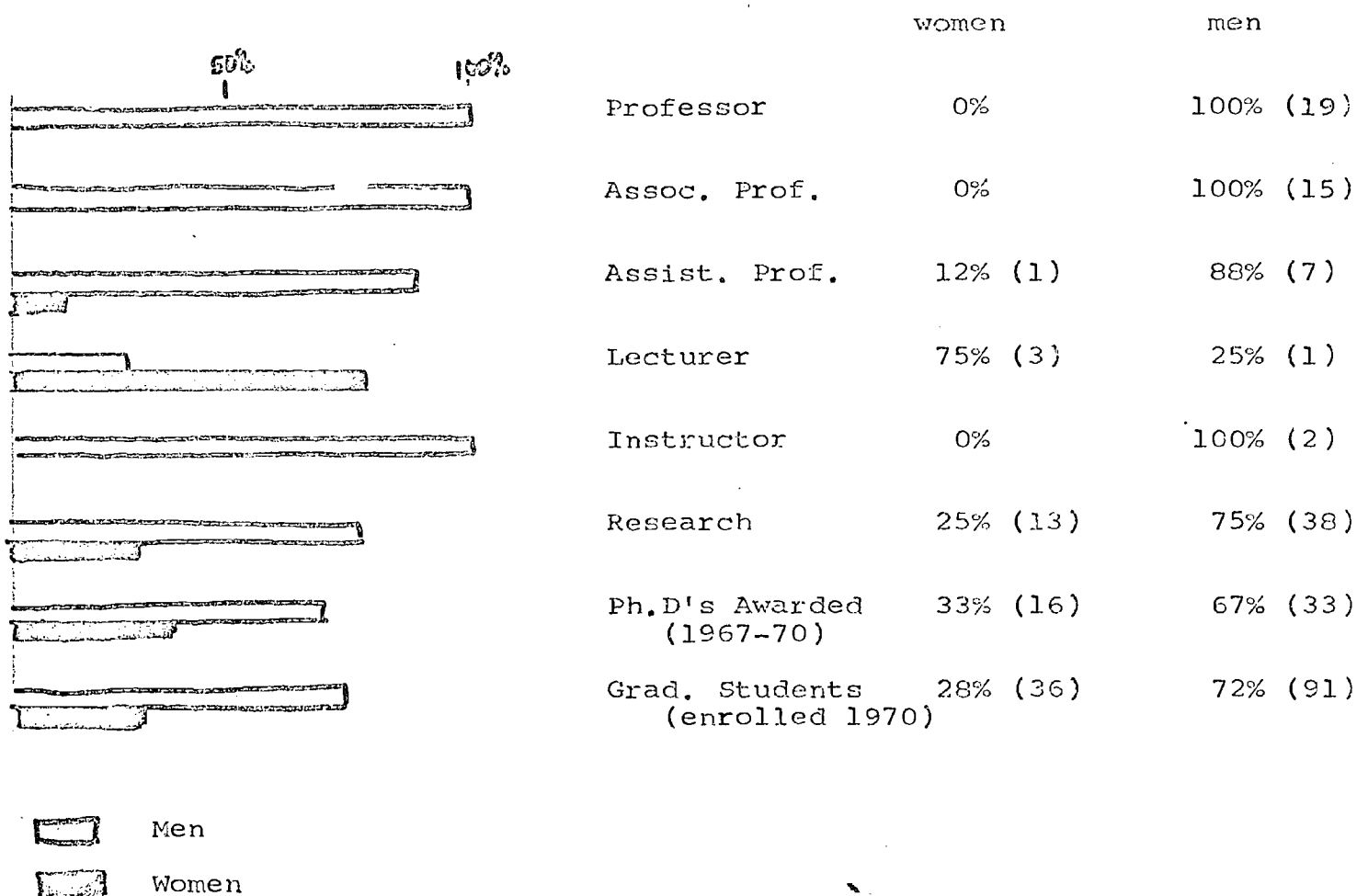
APPENDIX

1. Women by rank in the 11 departments studied.
2. Data for faculties of Biology, Chemistry, Physics, English, History, Philosophy, Romance Literature and Languages, Economics, Political Science, Psychology, and Sociology.
3. Data on Membership of Yale College Faculty, 1963-1970.

WOMEN BY RANK IN THE 11 DEPARTMENTS STUDIED

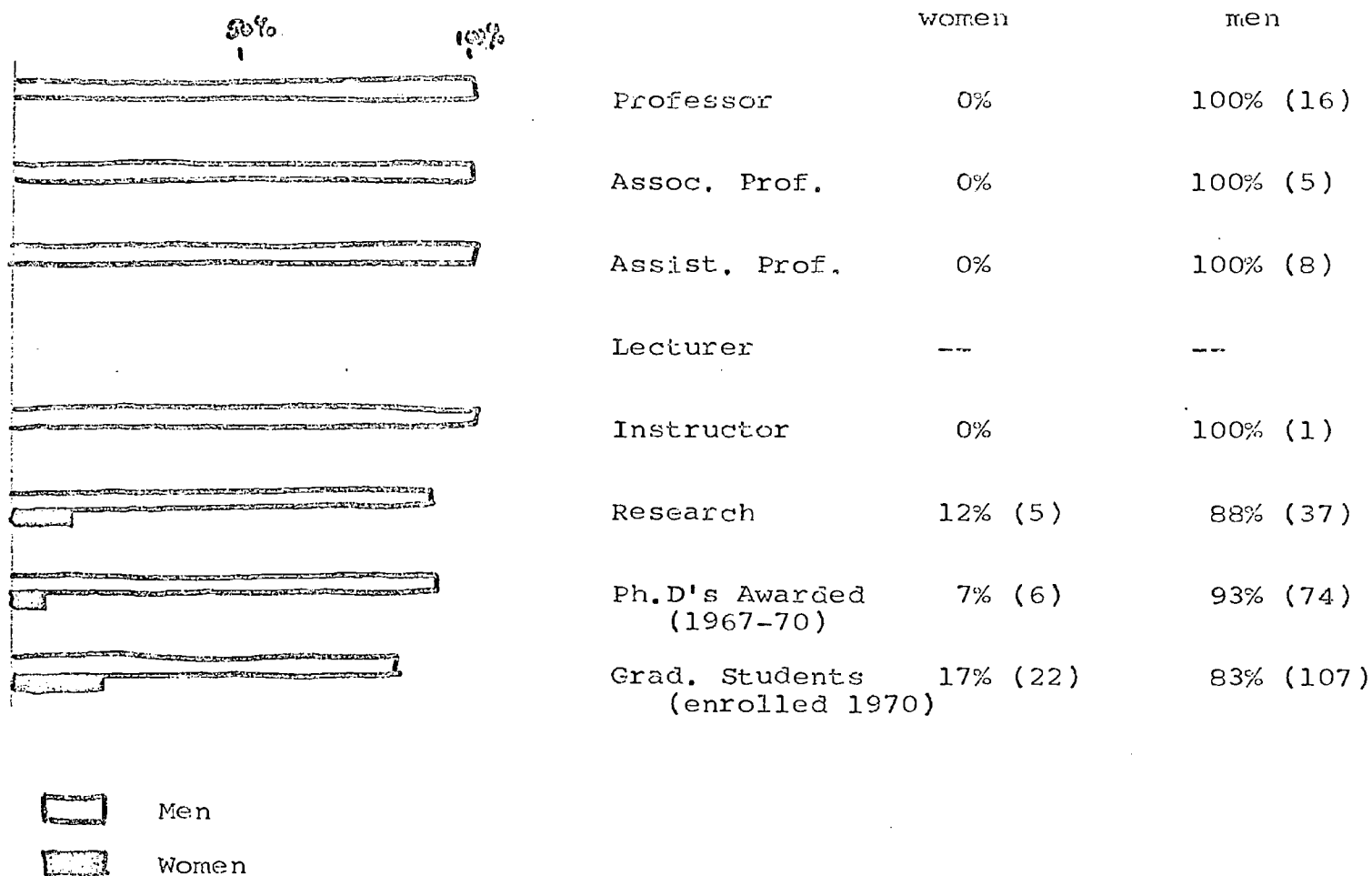
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>% Female</u>
Professor	199	198	1	0.5%
Associate Professor	76	75	1	1.3%
Assistant Professor	<u>180</u>	<u>165</u>	<u>15</u>	8.3%
	455	438	17	3.7%
Lecturer	101	78	23	22.8%
Instructor	32	22	10	30.3%
Research	<u>141</u>	<u>112</u>	<u>29</u>	21.1%
	274	212	62	22.6%
Total for all ranks	729	650	79	10.8
Ph.D.'s Awarded 1967-70	608	483	125	20.6
Graduate Enrollment	1140	834	306	26.8

BIOLOGY FACULTY

Sources for Data:

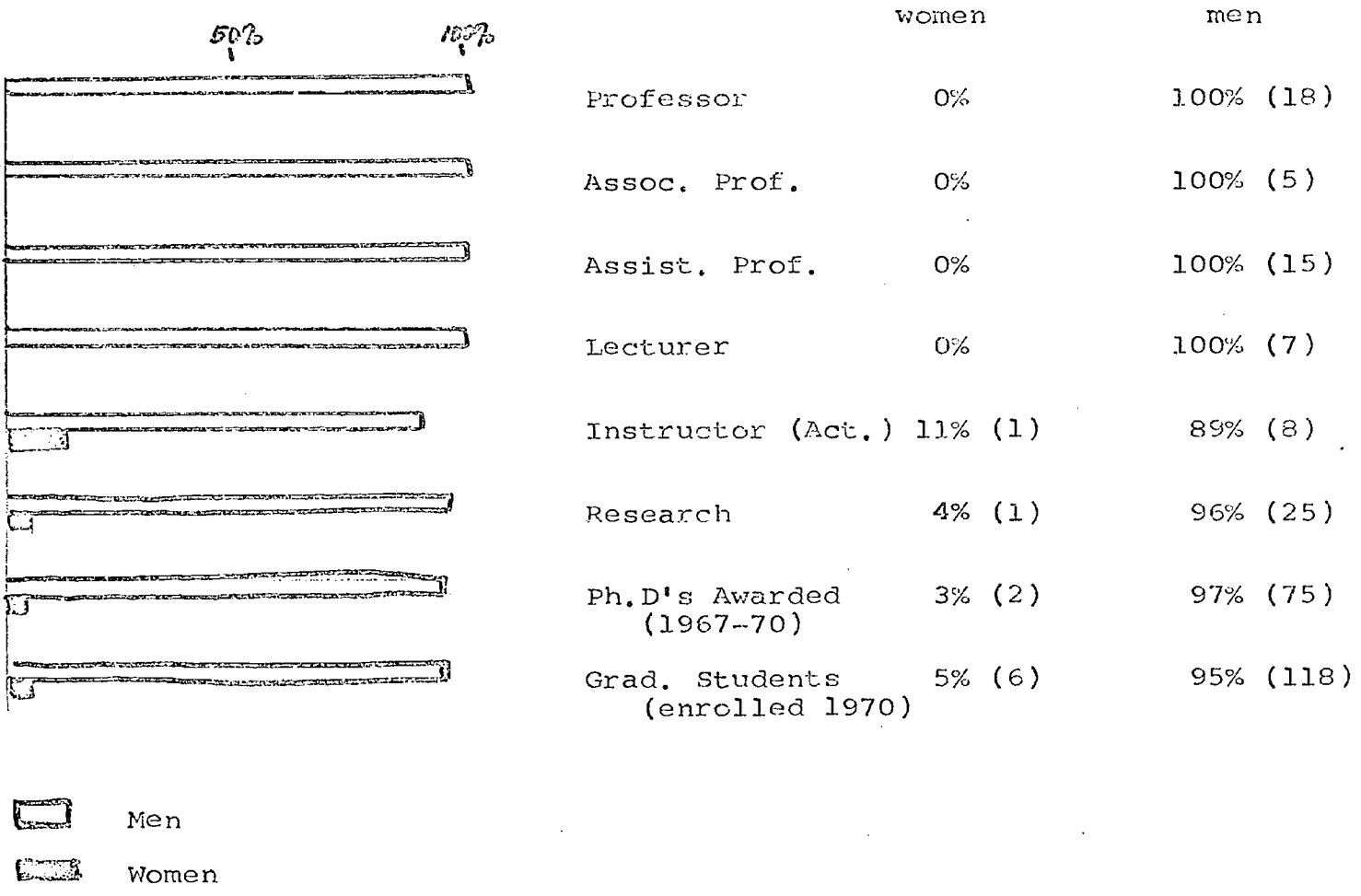
Names, ranks, and sex of departmental faculty were obtained from the 1970-71 University Directory. Visiting faculty were included at their respective ranks. Data on the number of graduate students presently enrolled and the number of Ph.D's awarded were obtained from the Dean's Office of the Graduate School.

CHEMISTRY FACULTY

Sources for Data:

Names, ranks, and sex of departmental faculty were obtained from the 1970-71 University Directory. Visiting faculty were included at their respective ranks. Data on the number of graduate students presently enrolled and the number of Ph.D's awarded were obtained from the Dean's Office of the Graduate School.

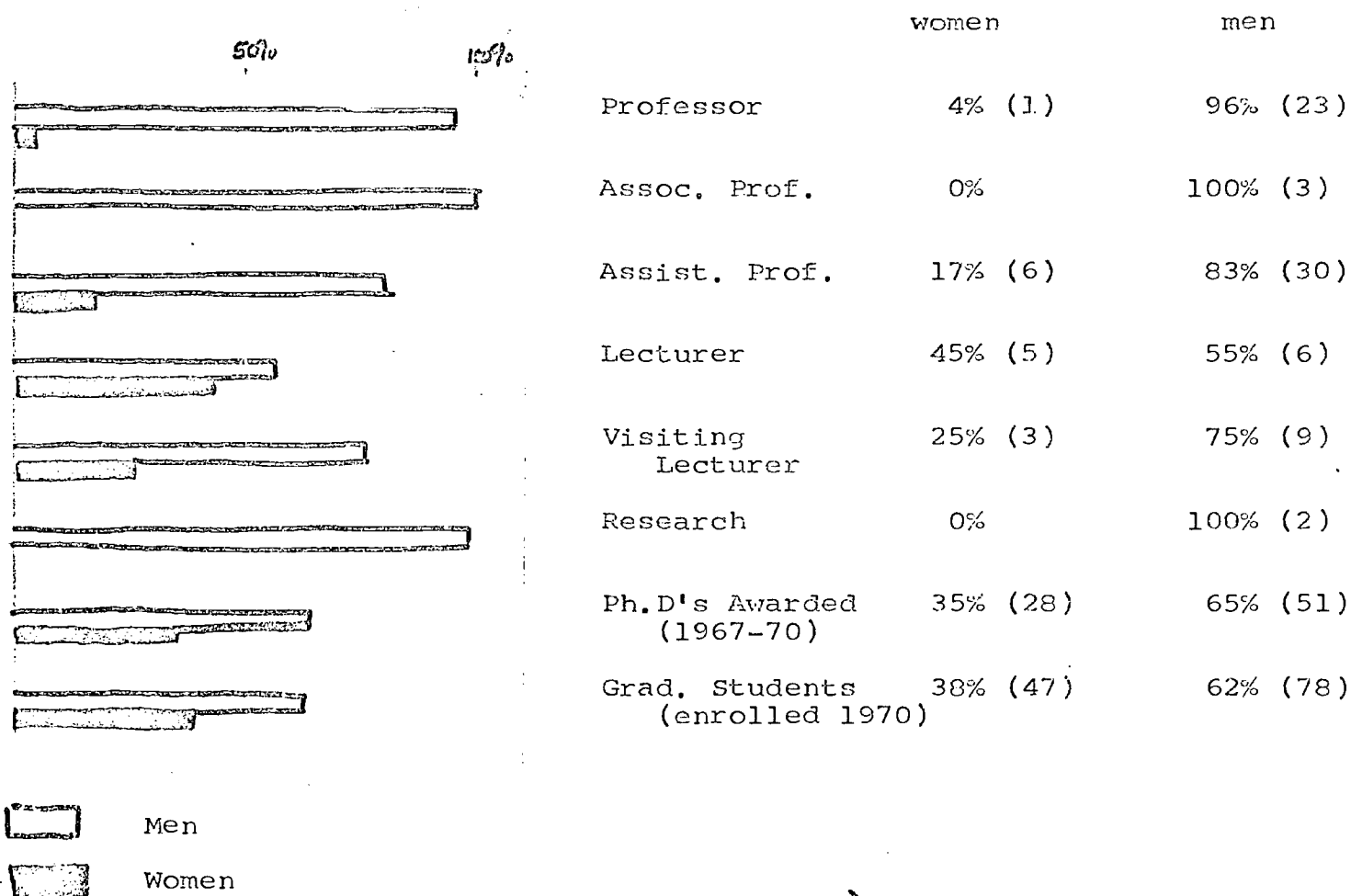
PHYSICS FACULTY



Sources for Data:

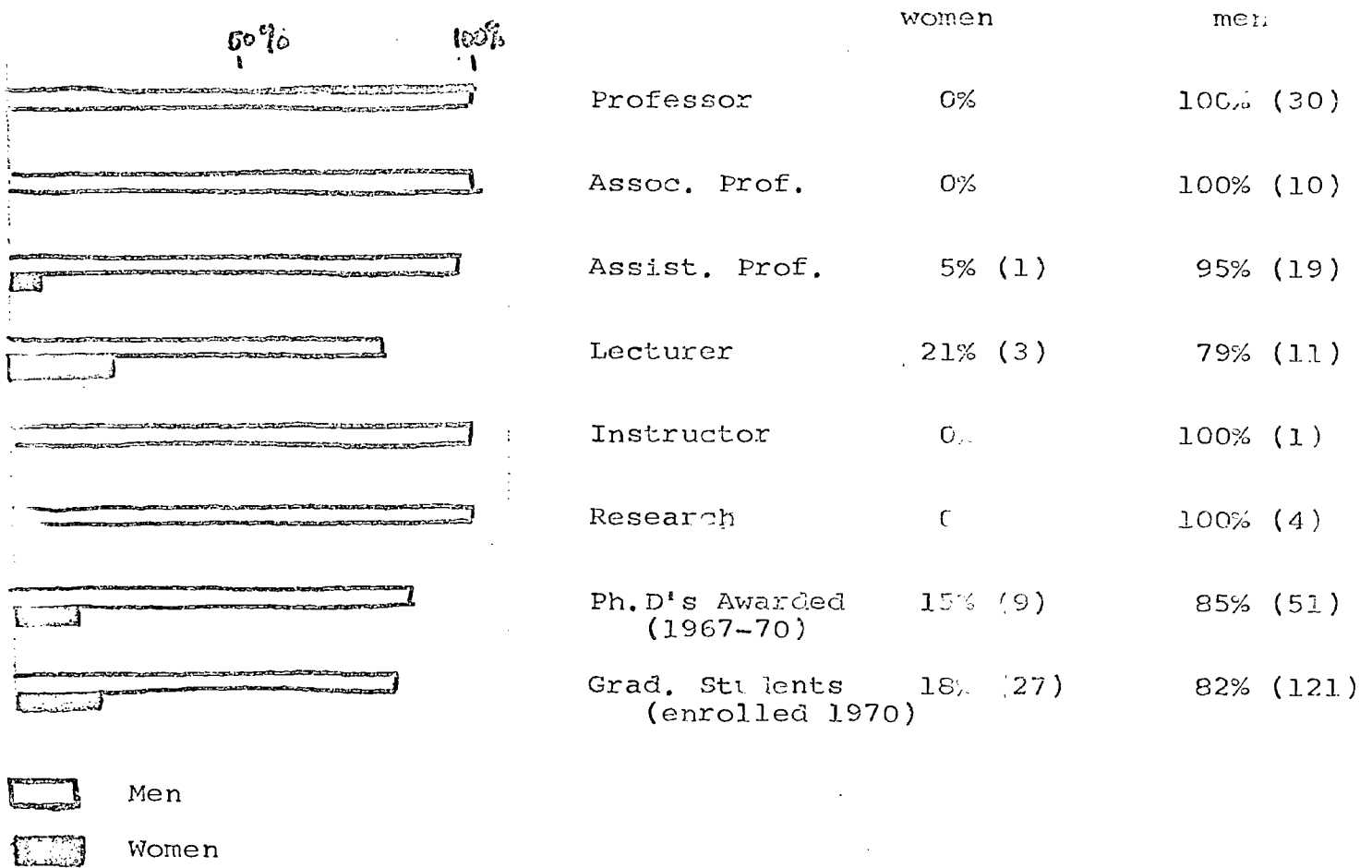
Names, ranks, and sex of departmental faculty were obtained from the 1970-71 University Directory. Visiting faculty were included at their respective ranks. Data on the number of graduate students presently enrolled and the number of Ph.D's awarded were obtained from the Dean's Office of the Graduate School.

ENGLISH FACULTY

Sources for Data:

Names, ranks, and sex of departmental faculty were obtained from the 1970-71 University Directory. Visiting faculty were included at their respective ranks. Data on the number of graduate students presently enrolled and the number of Ph.D's awarded were obtained from the Dean's Office of the Graduate School.

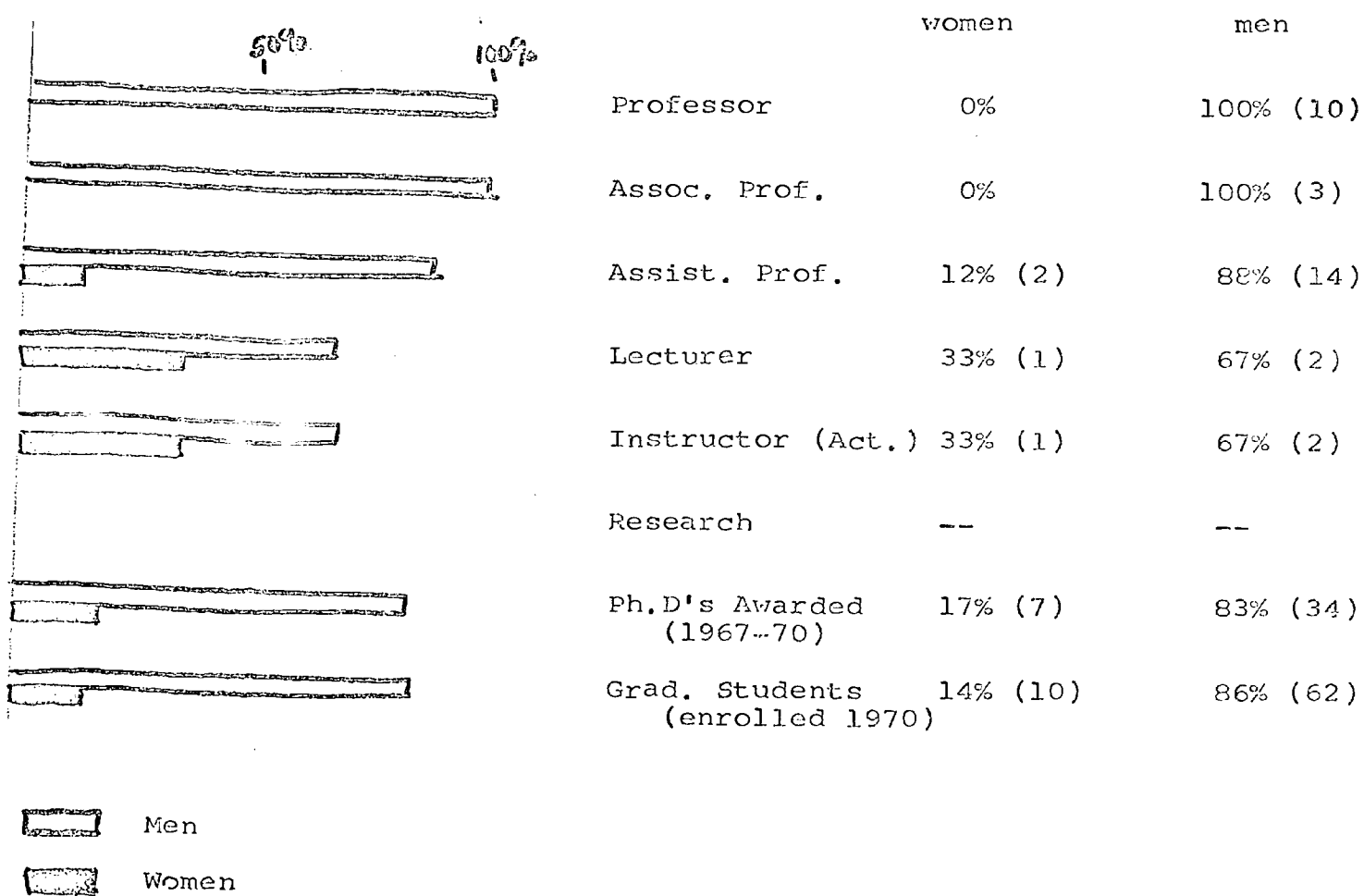
HISTORY FACULTY



Sources for Data:

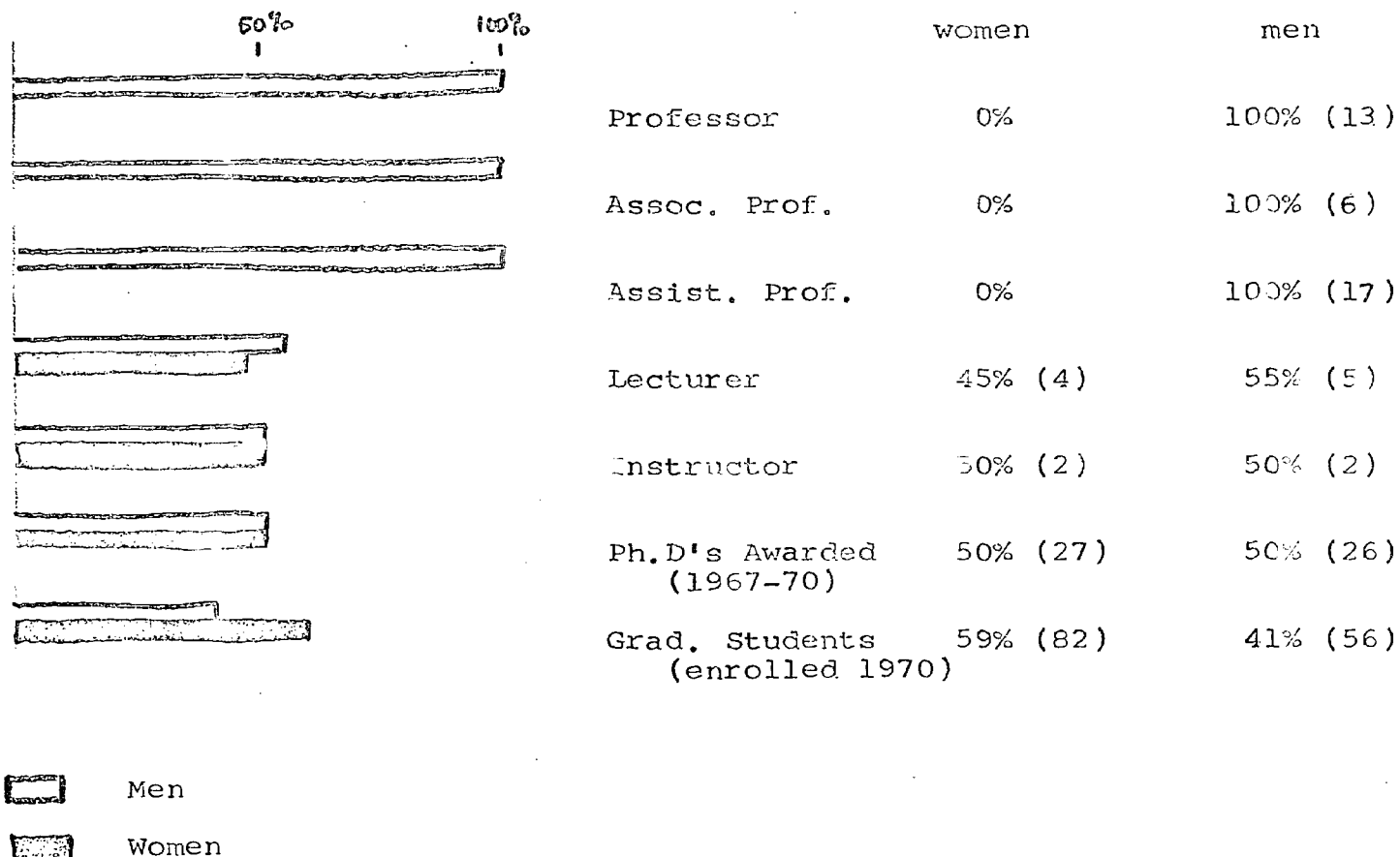
Names, ranks, and sex of departmental faculty were obtained from the 1970-71 University Directory. Visiting faculty were included at their respective ranks. Data on the number of graduate students presently enrolled and the number of Ph.D's awarded were obtained from the Dean's Office of the Graduate School.

PHILOSOPHY FACULTY

Sources for Data:

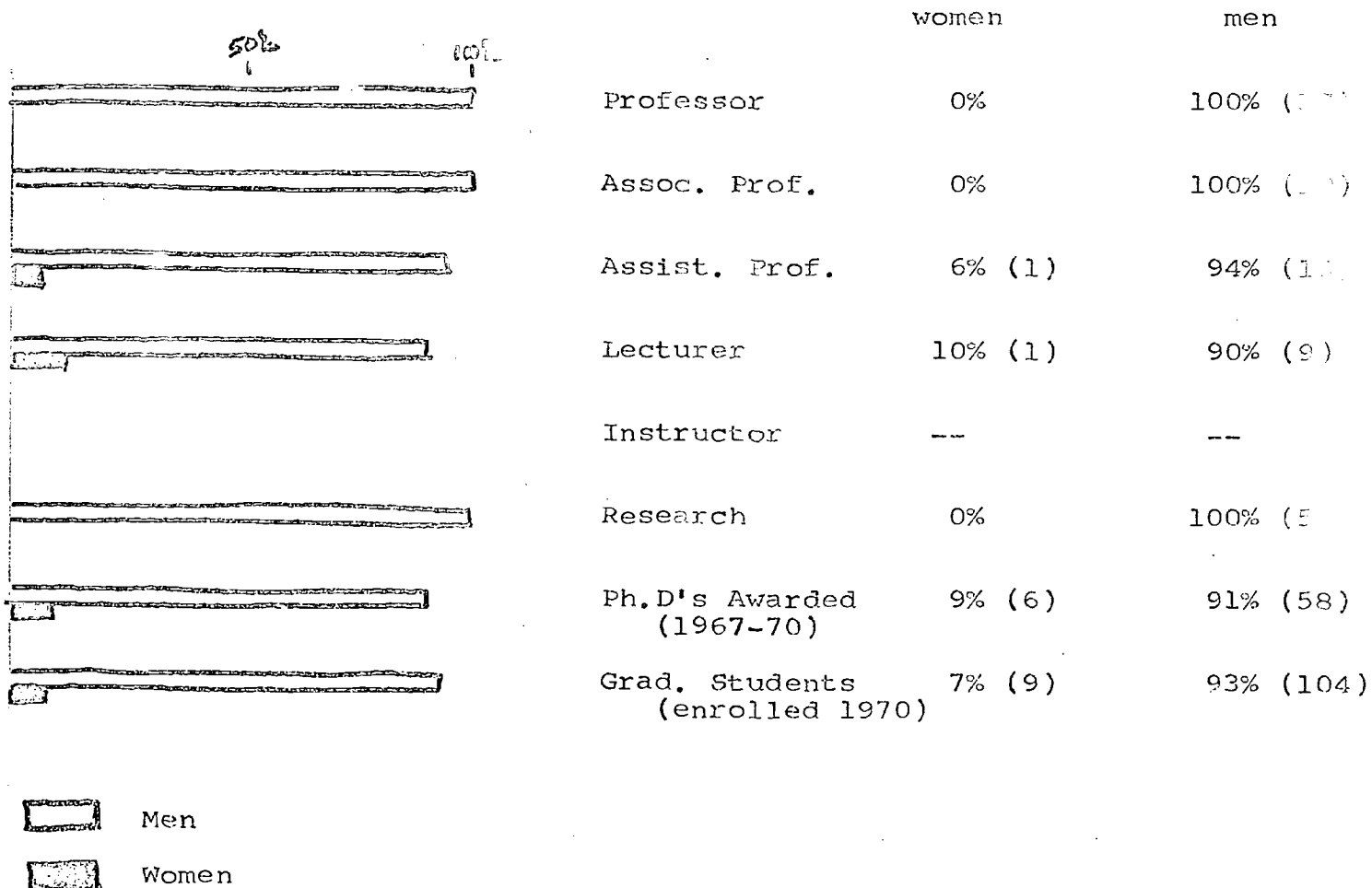
Names, ranks, and sex of departmental faculty were obtained from the 1970-71 University Directory. Visiting faculty were included at their respective ranks. Data on the number of graduate students presently enrolled and the number of Ph.D's awarded were obtained from the Dean's Office of the Graduate School.

ROMANCE LITERATURES & LANGUAGES (combined) FACULTY

Sources for Data:

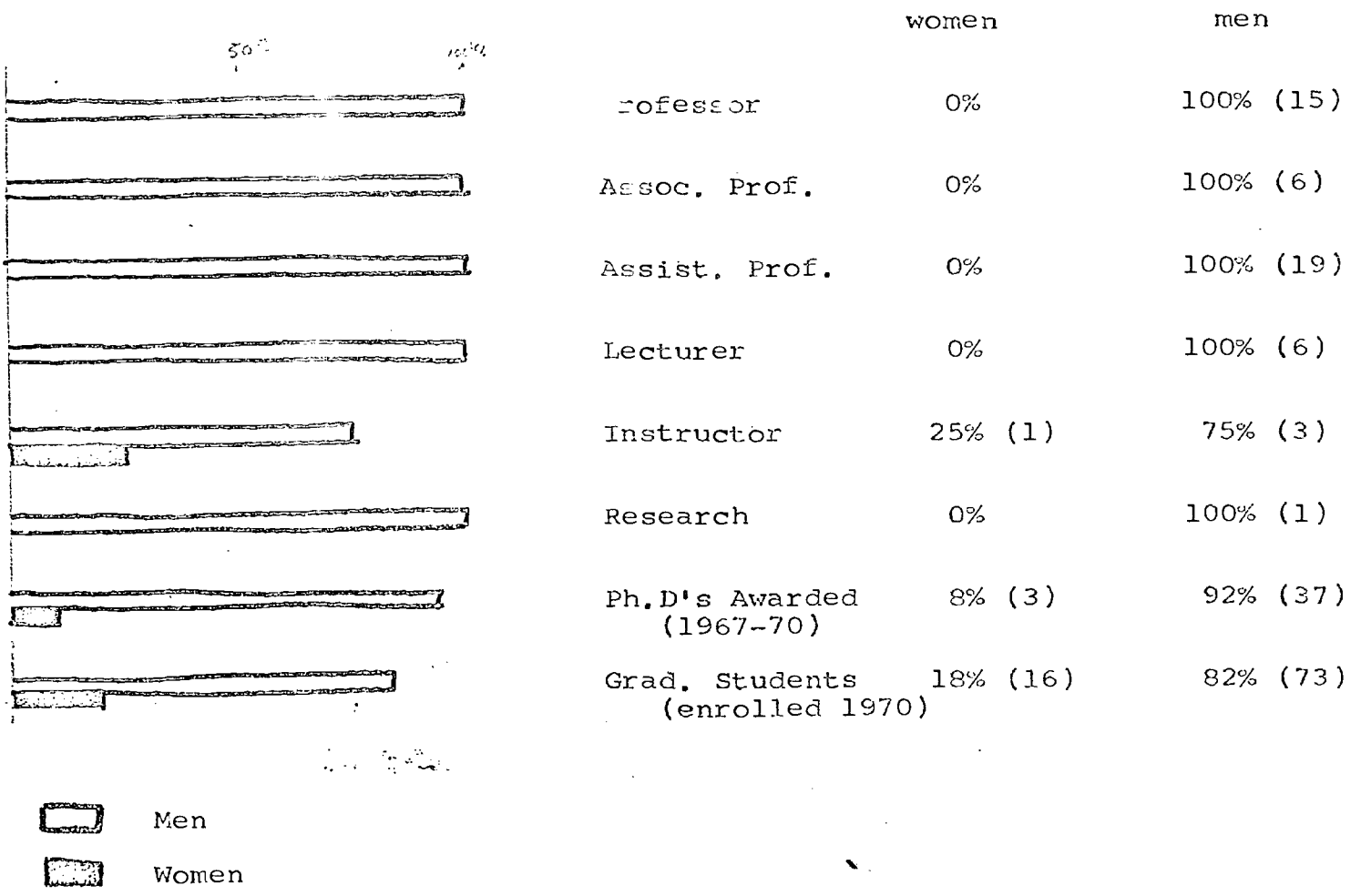
Names, ranks, and sex of departmental faculty were obtained from the 1970-71 University Directory. Visiting faculty were included at their respective ranks. Data on the number of graduate students presently enrolled and the number of Ph.D's awarded were obtained from the Dean's Office of the Graduate School.

ECONOMICS FACULTY

Sources for Data:

Names, ranks, and sex of departmental faculty were obtained from the 1970-71 University Directory. Visiting faculty were included at their respective ranks. Data on the number of graduate students presently enrolled and the number of Ph.D's awarded were obtained from the Dean's Office of the Graduate School.

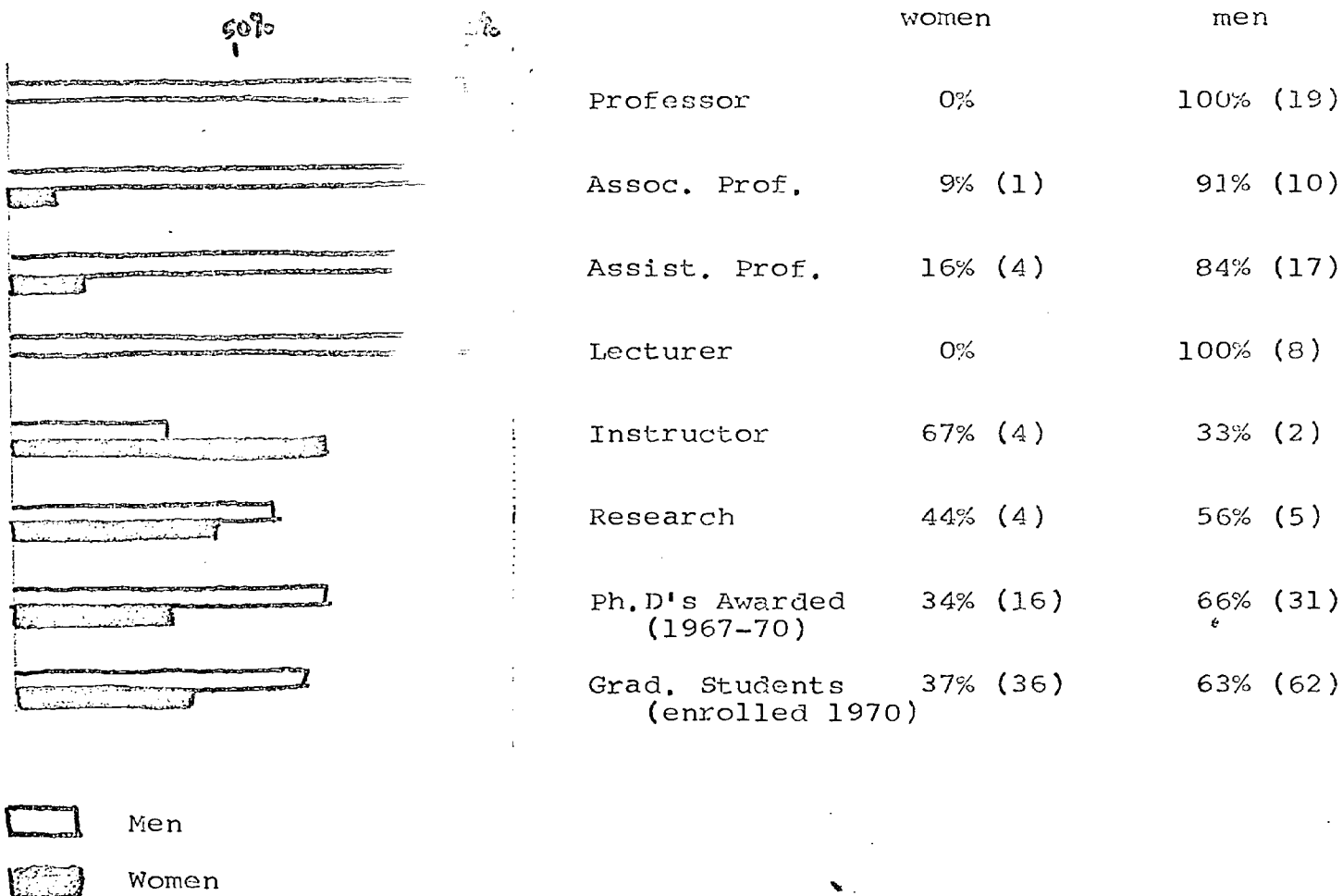
POLITICAL SCIENCE FACULTY



Sources for Data:

Names, ranks, and sex of departmental faculty were obtained from the 1970-71 University Directory. Visiting faculty were included at their respective ranks. Data on the number of graduate students presently enrolled and the number of Ph.D's awarded were obtained from the Dean's Office of the Graduate School.

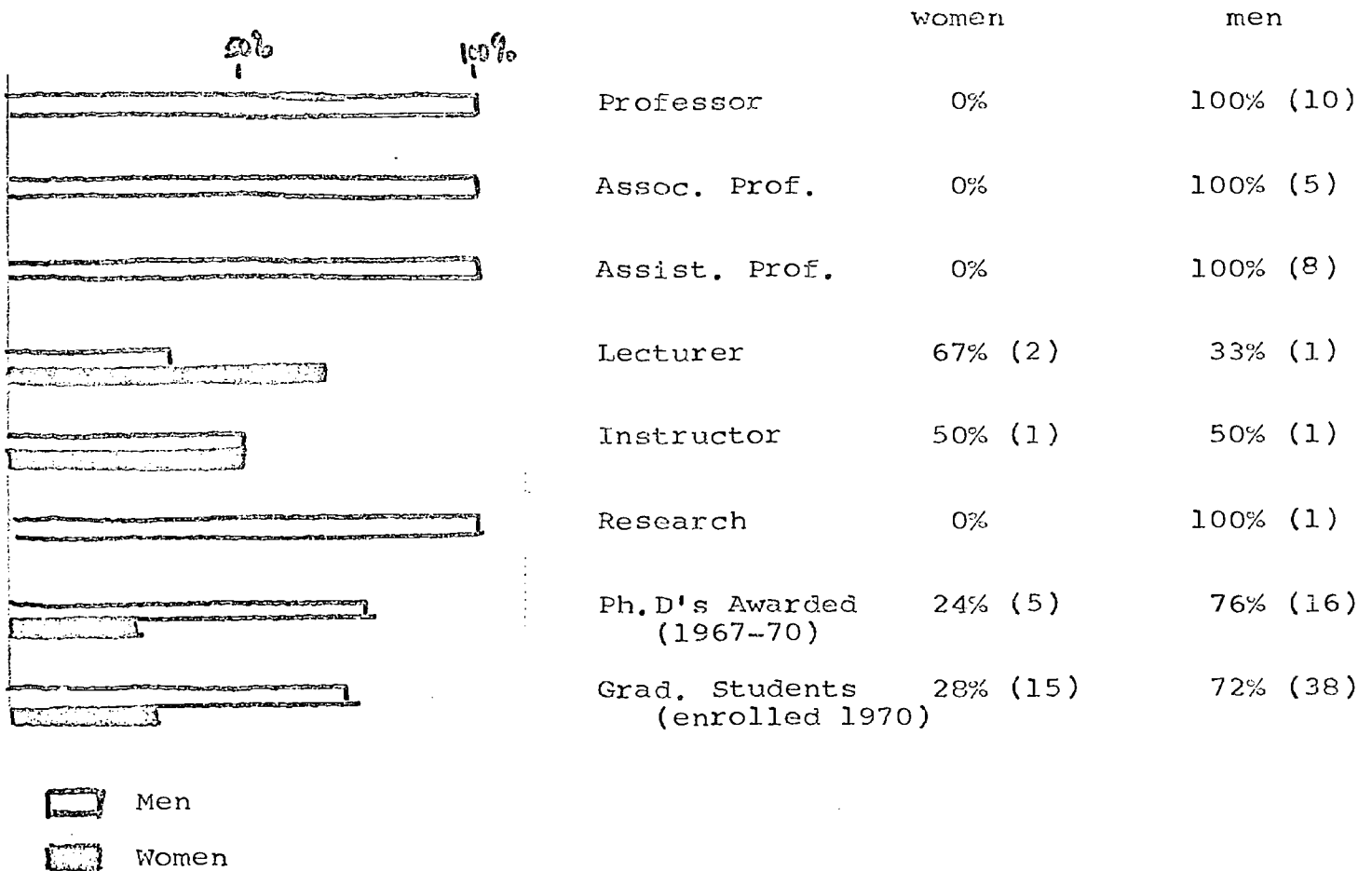
PSYCHOLOGY FACULTY



Sources for Data:

Names, ranks, and sex of departmental faculty were obtained from the 1970-71 University Directory. Visiting faculty were included at their respective ranks. Data on the number of graduate students presently enrolled and the number of Ph.D's awarded were obtained from the Dean's Office of the Graduate School.

SOCIOLOGY FACULTY

Sources for Data:

Names, ranks, and sex of departmental faculty were obtained from the 1970-71 University Directory. Visiting faculty were included at their respective ranks. Data on the number of graduate students presently enrolled and the number of Ph.D's awarded were obtained from the Dean's Office of the Graduate School.

Membership of the Yale College Faculty
at the time of the first fall meeting

	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	Tentative 1970
Professors	120	142	148	166	182	290	303	308
Assoc. Prof.	103	101	104	103	103	103	104	122
Assist. Prof.	156	181	182	199	209	240	246	244
Instructors	60	61	48	43	44	39	33	30
Acting Instructors	56	43	49	39	33	32	41	45
Lecturers	56	52	49	55	70	83	80	65
Visiting Faculty	11	8	26	15	27	30	62	25
TOTALS	562	588	606	620	668	817	869	839

Women Members of the Yale College Faculty
at the time of the first fall meeting

	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Professors	--	1	2	2	2	2	3	2
Assoc. Prof.	2	1	--	--	--	--	--	--
Assist. Prof.	1	1	4	4	8	9	10	17
Instructors	3	6	5	5	4	3	5	4
Acting Instructors	4	2	5	3	4	9	10	7
Lecturers	13	14	9	14	14	24	15	11
Visiting Faculty	1	--	1	4	--	1	9	2
TOTALS	24	25	26	32	32	48	52	43

2 October 1969

Source: Wasserman, Elga, Coeducation 1969-70, p. 28