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AUTHOR Twombly, Susan B.
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ABSTRACT

Major theoretical approaches to the study of career mobility were reviewed, with particular emphasis on those that focus on the organizational-structural level of analysis, on careers as structures of organizations. In particular, internal labor market theory was explored as a framework through which to study administrative careers in colleges and universities. Three elements (a job ladder or career line, entry ports, and movement up the ladder or career lines) identified as constituting an internal labor market provided specific focus of attention. Colleges and universities are special types of organizations with no clearly defined career lines. Consequently, there are few clearly defined steps in the line to the presidency or to the top-level position in a functional area such as student affairs. Using data from "Today's Academic Leaders: A National Study of Administrators in Community and Junior Colleges" (Pennsylvania State University, 1984), career paths were charted for four positions--president, chief academic officer, chief student affairs officer, and chief business officer. An analysis of the data found that top-level administrators were likely to have come from within two-year colleges rather than from outside or from four-year colleges; however, most had held positions in four-year colleges at some point. Chief business officers often moved directly to their current positions from outside postsecondary education. This study shows that career lines do develop over time. Further research on career lines in higher education is needed so that persons going into academic administration, particularly women and minorities, can gain a clearer picture of what steps to follow in order to advance to top administrative positions. Three tables and a reference list of six pages are provided. (KC)

Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Career Mobility: Applications to Administrative Career Mobility in Colleges and Universities

Susan B. Twombly

Assistant Professor of Higher Education
The University of Kansas

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1. Introduction

A career may be viewed as "a succession of related jobs, arranged in a hierarchy of prestige, through which persons move in an ordered (more or less predictable) sequence" (Wilensky, 1961, p. 523). Or one may adopt a more neutral definition of career as "any unfolding sequence of jobs" (Thompson, Avery, & Carlson, 1968, p. 7). Regardless of preferred definition, careers are a dominant force for the lives of individuals, for organizations, and for society. For individuals careers provide a means of social integration (Wilensky, 1961); the perspective from which the person sees his/her life and interprets life experiences, and finds a place with respect to the rest of society (Hughes, 1968); a socialization process (Becker and Strauss, 1956); motivation (Glaser, 1968; Rosenbaum, 1979a); status (Blau & Duncan, 1967); and socioeconomic reward (see for example, Featherman, 1971; Stolzenberg, 1975; Sorensen, 1977).

Careers provide a major source of stability and control for society. They are one of the means by which organizations recruit, commit, and motivate role occupants within organizations and thus within society (Wilensky, 1961). For organizations, careers play many significant roles. Careers are one of the defining elements of modern bureaucracies. As conceptualized by Weber (1946) careers provided employees with shelter from the arbitrariness found in the more traditional, patrimonial forms of organization and were a key to the permanency of the bureaucratic administrative apparatus. Radical economists viewed careers as a means used by capitalists to control employees (Reich, Gordon, and Edwards, 1973). The mobility process inherent in

careers has also been described as a process that allows organizations "to adapt to current and future demands through the allocation of human resources" (Gaertner, 1980, p. 97). This is a key thought as it is related to a most important function of careers for organizations. And that is that careers are structures of organizations through which the process of recruiting, training, socializing, and allocating the right (as defined by the organization) individuals to the right positions at the right time takes place. Thus careers are one of the major means that organizations employ to develop leadership and to ensure that a pool of trained leaders is ready to assume leadership roles (Glaser, 1968; Martin & Strauss, 1968). Consequently, it is the mobility process by which individuals move through careers that is the important focus of this paper.

The study of careers and career mobility is important in contributing to an understanding of individual, social, and organizational phenomenon. In fact, sociologist, economists, and organizational behaviorists have devoted a great deal of attention to the importance of and thus the study of career mobility in the military, civil service, and profit-making organizations (see for example, Rosenbaum, 1979a, 1979b; Stewman & Konda, 1980; Ouichi, 1981; Kanter, 1983). Conversely, relatively little attention has been paid to career mobility in colleges and universities. This is particularly true if one views careers as structures of organizations, structures that play an important role in allocating human resources and developing leadership.

Few would dispute the fact that faculty careers in colleges and universities are highly structured: that there are clearly defined steps on the faculty career ladder, and mobility up the steps normally occurs after clearly specificed lengths of time in rank. By contrast administrative

careers are largely a mystery. Are they unstructured, the product of individual motivations or are they highly structured with clearly defined steps to top-level administrative positions? Furthermore, much of the study of administrative careers in colleges and universities has suffered for lack of theoretical framework, which has impeded study of careers as organizational structures and of how mobility occurs within the structure.

The purpose of this paper was to review major theoretical approaches to the study of career mobility with particular emphasis on those that focus on the organizational-structural level of analysis, on careers as structures of organizations. In particular, internal labor market theory was explored as a framework through which to study administrative careers in colleges and universities. Choice of this framework was based on the assumption that career lines in colleges and universities are structured, as they are in other types of organizations, so as to provide leadership necessary to accomplish the goals of the organization. Data from a study of the careers of top-level college administrators' careers was used to provide an example of the utility of this theoretical perspective.

Clarification of several terms is appropriate. Career mobility was conceptualized as movement from one job to another through a sequence of jobs. In many types of business and industrial organizations promotion is the primary means of career mobility. The term promotion, however, implies regular advancement through highly ordered steps to positions of higher status or responsibility that occurs at regular periods of time. In administrative ranks of colleges and universities it is not necessarily appropriate to think of promotion as the vehicle of career mobility. Job change is perhaps a more appropriate term. However, job change suggests random movement through unrelated series of jobs. As a result of the confusion

engendered by the two terms, mobility in this paper is viewed in the context of career lines, or through sequences of related positions, which will be discussed below.

The plan of the paper is as follows: Major theoretical approaches are reviewed in the next section. Particular emphasis is placed on internal labor market theory. An example of application on internal labor market concepts to administrative careers in two-year colleges is reported in the third section, and the paper concludes with suggestions for further research. An attempt will be made to provide examples of studies of college and university administrators' careers for each theoretical perspective where appropriate.

II. Major Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Career Mobility

A great many approaches have been employed in the study of career mobility. It is helpful to make broad distinctions in the types of theoretical approaches. Level of analysis--individual versus organizational-structural--serves as an appropriate organizing dimension. (See Vardi, 1980 for an expanded and refined classification of career mobility approaches.) Thus, theoretical approaches primarily concerned with the individual or providing information for individual career planning will be considered first. The second category consists of those perspectives primarily concerned with organizational careers or careers as structures of organizations.

Individual Level of Analysis

Psychological and some sociological theories have focused on the individual or in economic terms, on the supply side of the labor market. Because the most common way of thinking about careers and career mobility is from an individual perspective, brief comment about this body of litera-

ture will be made here. The psychological approach generally includes attention to both the antecedents of career behavior such as personality, ability, and interests, and the outcomes of behavior such as career and sstisfaction over a lifecycle (Vardi, 1980). Vocational interest inventories symbolize this perspective. These tests are based on the notion that there ic a relationship between interests, choice of job, and work experience of career. Reviews of the psychological literature can be found in Crites (1976), Holland (1976), Super & Hall (1978), Vardi (1980). Using a developmental approach, Veiga (1973; 1983) was concerned with the relationship of managerial career stage and mobility and he found that mobility attributed to organizational factors was sometimes due to career stage influences instead.

Some of the dominant sociological approaches to the study of career mobility have also been concerned with individual or group mobility. Mobility has been classified as intergenerational (changes in status that occur between generations) and as intragenerational (changes in status that occur within a career or life). Early studies of mobility focused on intergenerational occupational mobility. Status attainment, a dated, but nonetheless, influential model of occupational mobility is best represented by the Blau-Duncan model of status attainment. This model posited that family background, as measured by father's occupational status, affects educational attainment, which in turn influenes occupational status of the son (Blau & Duncan, 1967). Various extensions to the basic model employed more specific measures of family background, intervening factors such as motivation, and attention to additional outcome factors such as income (Kelley, 1973).

Modification of the basic model to include occupational achievement resulted in numerous, methodologically sophisticated studies of intra-generational career mobility. Generally the model posited that occupation at any one time is causally affected by occupation at only the immediately preceding time, but not by occupations at any previous time (Blau & Duncan, 1967). The effect of one occupation on the next is modified by education and family background in a modified Markov chain. The assumption underlying the Markov chain is that status at time two is purely some probability of status at time one. Later researchers introduced a variety of variables such as income, length of time in position, and career histories as modifications to the basic model (e.g., McGinnis, 1968; McFarland, 1970; Featherman, 1971; Kelley, 1973).

Few studies of postsecondary administrative careers have attempted to predict current occupation as purely some probability of the immediately preceding occupation or current occupation as some probability of father's occupation. Typically studies of administrators' background have examined parental educational and occupational level, and these data are usually reported as descriptive information. Data reported by Salimbene (1982) and Moore, Twombly, and Martorana (1985) provide examples of the typical use of these kinds of data. However, in one exception, Gross & McCann (1981) found that family background was one of the variables that helped to predict whether an individual held an academic or nonacademic top administrator. In general status attainment has not proven to be a very fruitful line of inquiry in xplaining or describing administrative careers in colleges and universities. (See Hargens, 1969; Hargens, & Hagstrom, 1967 for examples of application of this approach to studies of faculty recruitment.)

Nor do we find many examples of application of human capital theory to administrative career mobility. Human capital theory evolved out of the discipline of economics as a means of explaining socioeconomic careers. From this perspective, workers invest in experience and education in order to improve their future marginal productivity and thus their earnings (Mincer, 1974; Becker, 1975). These investments, leading to increased income, also lead to increased status or higher positions. In many discussions of administrators' careers, there is an almost implicit assumption that investments in education are necessary for advancement.

Many studies have focused on description of administrator characteristics such as level of education, gender, age, length of time in position, race, marital status and previous jobs (e.g., Salimbene, 1982; Moore, 1983; Ostroth, Efird & Lerman, 1984; Moore et al., 1985). From the vast body of literature of this type that exists, particularly for the college and university presidency, it is easy to draw a fairly clear and recent picture of the characteristics of individuals holding major academic administrative positions. Much of this literature is intended to be helpful to individuals planning careers in administration. The importance of these studies to developing an understanding administrative career mobility is not to be underestimated, but studies of individual characteristics is much more useful when linked with mobility in some theoretical framework or when considered as distributional structure of organization (Gross & Etzioni, 1985).

Organizational-Structural Level of Analysis

Within the past twenty-five years or so emphasis on the study of career mobility has shifted somewhat from the individual to the organizational

level of analysis. That is, there has been an increasing attention to the demand side of the labor market, to organizational careers and to characteristics of organizations that have an impact on the shape of careers. Glaser (1968) defined an organizational career as a "passage from one status to another through the type of social structure frequently called by sociologists either an 'organization,' a 'formal organization,' a 'complex organization,' or a 'bureaucracy'" (p. 13). In addition, an organizational career is conceived as a specific entity offered by an organization to the people working in it (Glaser, 1968, p. 1). While Glaser (1968) and more recently, a group from the Sloan School of Management (e.g., Schein, 1971; Van Mannen, 1977; Vardi, 1981; Veiga, 1983), have argued that a formal theory of organizational careers must attend to the person having the career, relevant others, the career itself, the organization, and its environment, most research does not attempt such a comprehensive examination of careers. Undoubtedly failure to take such an all-inclusive look at organizational careers is largely a result of the numerous methodological and measurement problems posed by a task of such immense proportions. In this section we will touch on a variety of studies that have examined various pieces of organizational careers.

Weber was one of the first to point out the benefits to the organization of offering careers to employees. Hoever, there is no better place to begin a discussion of organizational careers than with the assortment of related studies gathered by Glaser (1968). Glaser argued that organizations are faced with the critical need of meeting their goals. In order to do this organizations must recruit, train, and promote individuals, and ensure that a pool of trained (as defined by the organization) individuals is ready to assume leadership roles. One of the means of accomplishing these

tasks is by offering employees careers within organizations (Glaser, 1968). Careers serve as streams on which personnel flow through organizations from positions of low prestige to positions of high prestige. Various positions on the stream either offer training for further promotion, or they serve to freeze a person in place (Becker and Strauss, 1956).

Taking this line of argument one step further, careers have also been viewed as structures of organizations (e.g., Milkovich, Anderson, & Greenhalgh, 1967; Spilerman, 1977; Gaertner, 1980). From this perspective, organizations control careers and order the sequence of jobs so that "mobility through the career involves a relatively continuous process of socialization and training" (Gaertner, 1980, p. 8). Spilerman made an important distinction between a career--an individual's job history--and a career line or job trajectory; the latter being an "empirical regularity, a structural feature of the organization or labor market" (Spilerman, 1977, p. 551). He defined career line as "sequences of related jobs that are common to a portion of the labor force and for which there is a high probability of movement from one position to another" (Spilerman, 1977, p. 560). These career lines develop in organizations over time as sequences of positions become institutionalized (Martin & Strauss, 1956). As structures, career lines have properties of their own such as entry ports, constituent number of positions, alternate lines, and earnings curves (Spilerman, 1977); plateau, exit positions, and assessment positions (Gaertner, 1980); length and ceilings (Milkovich, et al., 1967); time tables (Roth, 1968; Rosenbaum, 1979a); boundaries and filters (Schein, 1971); and initiator (Vardi, 1980).

Recently, Anderson, Milkovich, and Tsui (1981) developed a model of intraorganizational mobility that integrated much of the extant literature on organizational careers. They proposed that: (1) rate of mobility is

positively related to the number of vacancies in an organization; (2) organizational characteristics will directly influence mobility patterns within an organization; (3) effects of characteristics of the environment, organization, and workforce on mobility is indirect and a result of their influence on opportunities or vacancies; (4) organizational "rules" which govern mobility, will mediate between opportunities, mobility rates and patterns; (5) characteristics of the environment, organization, and workforce influence mobility "rules" and thus, mobility rates and patterns (Anderson et al., 1981). Little empirical evidence was found to support the propositions generated from the literature, but their conceptualization points to important researchable questions with respect to the impact of organizational characteristics on careers. It must be emphasized that this model presumes the existence of relatively structured career ladders.

Much of the study of organizational careers has involved concepts from labor market segmentation theory, and more specifically, from internal labor market theory. The labor market segmentation/structuralist conception of labor markets and careers gained popularity in part because of the failure of the status attainment and human capital theories to address the role of the organization, or the demand side of the labor market, in forming careers or wage attainment. Nor did existing theories adequately explain persistent discrimination in the labor force. The labor market segmentation perspective sought fill these gaps.

Labor Market Segmentation and Internal Labor Market Theory

A definition of the term labor market is critical to an understanding of the structuralist perspective. In the broadest meaning of the term, labor markets are "arenas in which workers exchange their labor power in

return for wages, status, and other job rewards" (Kalleberg & Sorensen, 1979, p. 351). These arenas consist of the "institutions and practices that govern the purchase, sale, and pricing of labor services" (Kalleberg & Sorensen, 1979, p. 351). Kerr (1954) emphasized the labor markets allocate and distribute jobs. In sum, labor markets are arenas in which wages, jobs, and rewards are allocated according to institutional rules and movement among jobs is similarly structured.

Modern intellectual antecedents of the segmented labor market view, from which internal labor market concepts emerged, rest with the work of Clark Kerr (1950; 1954) and with other institutional economists. In the classical view of the wage and job market, there were no barriers to the free movement of workers, and only employer and employee preferences define the loose limits of the labor market. However, Kerr argued that various non-competing groups in the labor market form institutional markets.

> Their dimensions [institutional markets] are set not by the whims of workers and employers but by rules, both formal and informal. These rules state which workers are preferred in the market or even which ones may operate in it at all. Institutional rules take the place of individual preferences in setting the boundaries (Kerr, 1954, p. 93).

Barriers to movement among individual markets included skill gaps within occupations, physical distance, lack of knowledge, and other personal and employer characteristics (Kerr, 1954). These barriers find their sources in the "actions of the community of workers, actions of the community of employers, and in the actions of the government" (Kerr, 1954, p. 96). Consequently, the labor market was actually characterized by individual markets whose rules set boundaries between internal and external markets and define precisely the points of entrance (Kerr, 1954, p. 101).

Hodson and Kaufman (1982) speculated that the 1960s concern for social policy revived interest in the segmented labor market perspective as a

means of explaining income, discrimination, and career mobility. New attention to the notion of divided or a segmented labor market originated with conceptions of an economy dichotomized into "center and periphery firms" (Averitt, 1968) or other terms used to describe an economy divided into rich and poor; good and bad firms. The center segment consists of large, financially secure, monopolies which are adaptable firms with stable career ladders. The other segment consists of small, single product competitive firms.

"The dual economy model progresses from a distinction between modes of organization of capital to modes of organization of labor by linking dual economic sectors to dual labor markets" (Hodson & Kaufman, 1982, p. 729). This relationship will not be elaborated here; however, in brief, the notion is that the primary sector of the economy has "good" jobs characterized by job ladders and stable employment and is described as a primary labor market. Job movement is toward higher paying, higher status jobs within career ladders (Piore, 1975). The secondary sector (periphery firms) is identified by "bad" jobs, high mobility, little security, and no career ladders, and is referred to as the secondary labor market. The structuralists argued that there was little job mobility between sectors. See Wallace and Kalleberg (1981) and Althauser and Kalleberg (1981) for discussions of this relationship. Workers are thought to become trapped in secondary markets because of the development of internal labor markets in the primary sector.

Internal labor markets are similar to Kerr's (1954) institutional market and are described as administrative units in which the pricing and allocation of labor is determined and controlled by a set of administrative rules (Doeringer & Piore, 1971). In response to a great deal of confusion

and lack of clarity surrounding the meaning and use of the internal labor market concept variously as mobility chains, industries, or occupations, Althauser and Kalleberg (1981) provided a clarified conceptual framework for viewing internal labor markets. They argued that the concept of internal labor market

> should include any cluster of jobs, regardless of occupational titles or employing organizations that have three basic structural features: (1) a job ladder, with (2) entry only at the bottom, and (3) movement up this ladder, which is associated with a progressive development of knowledge or skill (p. 130).

Although this definition has helped to clarify internal labor market concepts, it is somewhat restrictive. The terms "mobility chains," "sequences of related positions," or "career lines" are preferred instead of job ladder. The term job ladder clearly implies a hierarchy of positions and that movement is necessarily up the ladder. However, as Spilerman (1977) indicated, mobility may be horizontal (to a position of equal status) or even downward. In addition, the finding of Milkovich's earlier study (1970) suggested that entry positions were not always be at the bottom of the ladder as Althauser and Kalleberg (1981) suggested. The location and type of entry position, rather, may be indicative of the openness of the internal market to external markets.

Both Doeringer and Piore (1971) and Althauser and Kalleberg (1981) identified different types of internal labor markets. Enterprise (Doeringer & Piore, 1971) or Firm Internal Labor Markets (FILMS) are "established by and confined to a single employer [organization or corporation], though not embracing all jobs in a firm" (Althauser & Kalleberg, 1981, p. 131). Enterprise markets were further segmented into upper-tier (managerial) and lower-tier (blue-collar) markets (Doeringer & Piore, 1971).

Craft (Doeringer & Piore, 1971) or occupational internal labor markets (OILMS) "consist of members of one or several closely related occupations and are not confined to a single firm" (Althauser & Kalleberg, 1981, p. 130). Although, one could view the administrative labor market in colleges and universities as either a FILM or an OILM, the argument presented here proceeds from the point of view that administrative career constitute an OILM or a series of OILM's, consisting of closely related occupations and operating across institutions. Similar to the upper-tier markets described by Piore (1975), occupational internal labor markets require a high degree of theoretical knowledge before entry and candidates for entry to the OILM may be judged prior to entry into training programs or at a licensing stage. He explained: "Productive traits tend, by contrast, to be deduced from a set of general principles, and mobility chains are constructed, in like contrast, so as to produce these principles and develop facility in their application" (p. 133). Additional characteristics of internal labor markets include informal training of "new" by "old"; little or no competition from external markets; little competition from within; and considerable job security (Althauser & Kalleberg, 1981). FILMS and OILMS also differ with respect to control over employment. Employers have control of employment in FILMS whereas control rests with the occupations in OILMS. Administrative positions in colleges and universities, while considered to be OILMS, are definitely controlled by employers further illustrating the dilemmas of careers in these types of organizations.

Mobility chains arise as a result of the need to minimize adjustment costs to both employer and employee. When an individual enters a new job, there is an adjustment process that occurs. This may be costly to both employer and employee. As a result, jobs in an internal labor market are

organized in chains so that learning that occurs in one job provides preparation for the next job. Thus, the adjustment required is partially accomplished before movement to the new or next higher job. The more specific the skill required, the more likely a firm is to invest in training. On-the-job training is key to career mobility in lower-tier markets. In contrast, occupational internal markets require a high degree of formal education before entry. Employees are protected from competition and are motivated to commit themselves to a career within the organization and thus the costs of turnover are reduced. Finally, it should be noted that custom or tradition play an important role in the formation of internal labor markets and mobility ladders. In most studies involving internal labor market concepts, job ladders have been assumed to exist but have not been identified empirically.

Employees gain entry to internal labor markets through entry ports that serve as the contact points between the internal and external markets (Milkovich, 1970; Doeringer & Piore, 1971; Spilerman, 1977; Althauser & Kalleberg, 1981). Ideally, entry through restricted entry positions serves to protect employees from competition with individuals from external markets for higher level positions. For in the strictest case, all employees must begin in certain low-level positions. The relationship between internal and external markets through entry ports is a dynamic one (Milkovich, 1970). The number and tpe of entry positions may change in response to organizational need.

Internal labor markets do not always develop in organizations. In fact, internal labor markets will replace competitive markets only if the benefits outweigh the costs to the organization. The important considerations are: (a) enhancement of job security for workers by offering protection

from competition from the external market; (b) encouragement of reduced turnover for the employer; and (c) creation of efficiency in recruitment, training, and advancement of workers (Doeringer & Piore, 1971). To this list, Althauser and Kelleberg (1981) add attempts to create a hierarchy of positions as a means of control over the work process as a potential cause of internal labor market formation.

As mentioned earlier, internal labor market theory has most often been used to explain three types of worker outcomes: income differences, career mobility or lack thereof, and discrimination in the workforce. Studies of career mobility have generally been restricted to FILMS or to lack of mobility between economic or labor market sectors. A variety of studies have reported research on various components of internal labor markets though internal labor market language may not be used.

For example, a number of studies have examined the relationship of various organizational characteristics to careers. Milkovich (1970) studied the effect of entry ports on organizational career mobility. He concluded that internal markets are more flexible in their relationship to the external market than previously thought. Specifically, he found that, in a state of crisis such as increased product demand or growth, when more employees were needed, internal labor markets bent by expanding the number of entry ports through which employees could gain entry to the internal labor market. For Rosenbaum (1979b) and Spilerman (1977), entry ports had a different significance. Employees who entered an organization through different entry positions were likely to be of varying ages and levels of education, for example, and these factors were thought to affect mobility rates and chances in later periods of careers.

Stewman and Konda (1983) and Konda and Stewman (1980) provided insight into microstructures that affect career mobility within a highly structured organization. They found that five separate processes affect an individual's promotion chances: grade ratios (grade above to grade below), vacancy chains, exit rates, allocation of new jobs, and organizational growth rate. In fact, they argued that grade ratios were more important ways of viewing career chances than are hierarchical pyramids (Stewman & Konda, 1983). In addition, in the earlier study, they found the vacancy chain model of labor demand to be more useful in predicting individual mobility than Markov models.

As noted earlier, the basic assumption of the Markov model is that status at time two is some probability of status at time one: that careers are a stochastic process, and patterns of mobility are defined in terms of transition probabilities between positions (e.g., Vroom and MacDrimmon, 1968; Mahoney & Milkovich, 1981). In fact, March and March (1977) concluded that the careers of secondary school administrators were almost random and that deviations were due to differences in school districts. That is only a few factors intervened to have an effect on an individual's career that could not be explained by mere probability. Approaches to administrative careers in postsecondary education have not generally utilized transition matrices and Markov assumptions.

The vacancy chain model proposes that an individual's promotion chances are determined by the number of opportunities or vacancies available (White, 1970), and that vacancies in an organization create chain reactions of vacancies. The advantage of the vacancy model is that it focuses on opportunity and the impact of opportunity on career mobility. In focusing on turnover in the student affairs administrative profession, Rickard (1982)

comes close to assuming the opportunity approach to careers in student affairs. However, he does not trace chains of vacancies resulting from turnover. Smith (1983) used vacancy chain methodology to observe barriers to movement between primary and secondary sector college coaching jobs.

Anderson et al. (1981) provided an excellent review of extant literature that illustrates some of the other organizational factors that have been found to influence mobility. For example, size (Grusky, 1961; Kreisberg, 1967), informal factors (Coates & Pellegrin, 1958; Dalton, 1968) sponsorship (Turner, 1960; Lorber, 1984), shape of hierarchy (Wilensky, 1960; Martin & Strauss, 1956) and age (Spilerman, 1977; Rosenbaum, 1979a; Kaufman & Spilerman, 1982) are just some of the organizational characteristics that influence organizational careers.

Because of the tremendous influence of two studies, we will conclude this section of the paper with a discussion of a study by Spilerman (1977) and one by Gaertner (1980). Both studies conceptualized career lines or sequences of related positions or positions connected to each other as structures of organizations. In her study of public school administrators, Gaertner identified three predominant career lines. These career lines had characteristics such as assessment positions, which provided visibility for the incumbent and facilitated movement to higher positions in the organization. Furthermore, Gaertner found that race, gender, and educational variables were important filtering mechanisms at each successive level of the hierarchy.

Spilerman (1977) conceptualized career lines as the "strategic link between structural features of the labor market and the socioeconomic attainments of workers" (p. 551). One of his major contributions was his description of two complementary perspectives for approaching the task of identifying career lines: beginning with an important position in the

organization and tracing careers backward through the positions leading to the top position; or beginning with entry positions and tracing paths that emerge. We have already commented on the importance that Spilerman attributed to entry positions. He also noted that industries have differing occupational structures, promotion rules, and demand, and these differences affect the structure of careers. In general both studies have provided conceptual and methodological guidance for studying careers as structures of organizations.

III. An Application of Internal Labor Market Concepts to Administrative Careers in Two-Year Colleges

Internal labor market theory, as noted earlier, has been used to explain income differences, career mobility, and discrimination in the labor force. Most frequently studies that have employed this theoretical framework have been carried out in highly structured industries, e.g., in the civil service or similar organizations, and have focused either on career mobility in this setting or on income or mobility differences among groups attributable to location in a primary--upper or lower-tier segment versus location in a secondary labor market. In the present study, internal labor market concepts were used as a framework for identifying and describing structure of administrative careers in one particular type of postsecondary institution--two-year colleges. In particular, the three elements identified by Althauser and Kalleberg (1981) as constituting an internal labor market provide a specific focus of attention. These elements are (1) a job ladder, or career line for our purposes, (2) entry ports, and (3) movement up the ladder (along career lines) accompanied by skill or knowledge acquisition.

Unique Characteristics of Colleges and Universities

Colleges and universities are professional organizations. That is the major goals of these organizations (teaching, research, and service) are

carried out by professionals--the faculty (Gross and Etzioni, 1985). Administrators are responsible for the secondary or support activities of colleges and universities. Further, in professional organizations there is no single structure of authority (the line) that is found in bureaucracies. While faculty in colleges in universities are not part of a line in this sense, the administrative offices are organized in this way. Duryea (1973) observed that "two mainstreams flowed to and from the offices of the president: one an academic route to deans and thence to departmental chairmen; the other a managerial hierarchy" (p. 133). Implicit in this statement is the notion that these two hierarchies would form career lines to the presidency as well. In fact, Gross and McCann (1981) found that nonacademic and academic vice presidents had very different backgrounds and followed very different career ladders.

Colleges and universities, then, are special types of organizations having a particular dilemma with respect to the organization of administrative hierarchies. The structure of jobs within which careers are built may be quite different in professional organizations than it is in typical bureaucracies. Furthermore, Scott (1978) and others have observed that colleges and universities are generally characterized by flat hierarchies (Estler & Miner, 1981; Bossert, 1982; Holmes, 1982). Consequently, there are few clearly defined steps in the line to the presidency or to the top-level position in a functional area such as student affairs. The implications of this structural characteristic of colleges and universities has been discussed in terms of its impact on mobility in general, but not necessarily in terms of its impact on career lines or sequences of positions.

Upward career mobility in colleges and universities may be accomplished in ways other than promotion. For example, responsibilities of a position

may be increased. Estler and Miner (1981) characterized this as mobility by the process of evolving jobs. Bossert (1982), too, focused on the ways in which jobs could be enlarged for middle managers for whom mobility prospects were limited. A second type of career mobility in academic organizations includes changing position titles to reflect excellent work (Scott, 1978). Thus a job may remain essentially the same and be occupied by the same individual, but the position title may reflect a promotion. Third, a middle manager may leave one institution for a higher position at another institution. And, fourth, upward mobility may actually be accomplished through demotion. As Birnbaum (1971) observed an individual might accept a lower position at a higher status institution.

Thus we are cautioned that, in organizations with relatively flat hierarchies such as colleges and universities seem to exhibit, what appears to be a horizontal move or no move at all, may actually be an upward step. In a very thoughtful piece on some of the problems of conception and methodology in studying careers in postsecondary institutions Holmes (1982) noted, "progress may be actually determined by more subtle, intangible, and culturally specific criteria" (p. 31). In general he cautioned that it is not so easy to identify promotions in colleges and universities. The different nature of the administrative hierarchy has an effect on the structure of administrative careers in colleges and universities that must be taken into account when discussing careers and career mobility of these groups of administrators. The military, civil service, and other bureaucracies are often characterized by specific job ladders; and studies of career mobility in these organizations frequently chart the movement of employees through job ladders. The study of administrative careers in colleges and universities is complicated by more amorphous career structures, which are generally not well known or understood.

Related Studies

A number of studies of administrative careers have focused on various aspects that overlap with some of the internal labor market concepts. For instance, several researchers have commented on the propensity for administrators to move within a single institution (e.g. Bess & Lodahl, 1969; Socolow, 1978; Marlier, 1982) or within a single institution type (Birnbaum, 1970; Smolansky, 1982; Twombly, 1985). These studies suggest intuitively that individuals are bulding careers within a single institution or within a group of similar organizations--that an internal labor market is at work, and we wonder then how organizations are structuring careers for these individuals.

A variety of studies of administrators careers have examined the relationship of various aspects of the distributional structure and organizational characteristics of colleges and universities to administrator mobility. For example, Moore and Sagaria (1981; 1982) investigated the relationship of gender to job change. Sagaria and Moore (1984) found that job change rates declined with increasing age. Bond (1983) examined career differences among administrators of different racial and ethnic groups. Birnbaum (1970), Smolansky (1984), and Twombly (1985) identified institution type as an important variable restricting career mobility. Further, Smolansky (1984) identified institutional size, as represented by resoruces, to be a barrier to mobility. Mentoring has become a very popular subject of study in recent years. In one of the early pieces of research on the topic Moore and Salimbene (1981) examined the relationship of mentorship, gender, and career advancement. In general women were more likely than men to have found mentorship to be particularly important for career advancement.

Further, a number of studies have attempted to identify paths to top administrative positions. Many of these studies have been motivated by the need to inform individuals how they can get to the top (e.g., Bess & Lodahl, 1969; Kuh, Evans, & Duke, 1983; Harder; 1983; Lunsford, 1984). However, with the exception of the Bess, & Lodahl study, none have identified sequences of related positions. In the two-year college many of these studies were motivated by the need to identify sources of potential administrators necessitated by the tremendous growth in the two-year college sector (e.g., Roberts, 1964; Johnston, 1965; Schultz, 1965; Ferrari & Berte, 1970; Wing, 1970). In addition, there was a definite concern with the ability of the two-year college to be able to supply their own administrators, thus creating an internal labor market of two-year college personnel.

Most all researchers have reported the educational level of college and university administrators. Usually, however, educational level is reported for the administrative position being held. Thus, for instance, we might typically read that 90 percent of all four-year college and university presidents hold a doctoral degree. No studies of administrative careers appeared to have identified level of formal education held at entry or level acquired en route to a higher level position. However, Gross and McCann (1981) did find educational level to be one of the variables that helped to explain whether an individual as an academic or a nonacademic administrator.

Only two sets of studies have focused on identifying career paths as a set of related positions. Salimbene (1982) and Moore et al. (1984) and were concerned with identifying career lines or paths leading to the "top-line" positions in four-year colleges and universities. Salimbene (1982) tested career histories of college and university presidents against the model

proposed by Cohen and March (1974). Temporal sequence of positions was assumd but not empirically verified. Cohen and March argued that presidents were first faculty and then department heads, deans, and provosts before becoming presidents. However, Salimbene found that very few presidents actually followed the career line suggested by Cohen and March. Rather, she found fifteen variations of the hypothesized path (see Salimbene, 1982, pp. 81-82). Using the same data base Moore (1983) and Moore et al. (1984) extended the analysis to include provosts and academic deans, hypothesizing that their career paths would be shortened versions of the hypothesized presidential career path. These studies, also identified several paths common to a portion of each sample. The faculty position was an almost universal entry position to the career lines followed by presidents, provosts, and academic deans. These analyses and others of the same data reveal that career paths may vary by institution type, gender, race (Bond, 1983), and by type of deanship (Moore, 1983).

The other such study was done by Cavanaugh (1971) on a sample of two-year college presidents. Cavanaugh conceptualized careers as sequences of related positions and attempted to identify such career lines from the career histories of two-year college presidents. He concluded that he could not identify such career lines at the time of his study. However, he did identify commonly held stepping stones to the presidency.

Both of these sets of studies were important steps in conceptualizing careers as more than a collection of positions held by an individual or merely as job change. Both followed Spilerman's (1977) basic idea that it is possible to identify sequences of positions that are common to a portion of a labor force from individual career histories. The empirical regularity that results can then be interpreted as structure of the organization.

What has generally been lacking is a theoretical framework that views careers as structures and points to some of the elements of structure that are linked together to cause labor markets to function in a certain way. Internal labor market theory is proposed as a potentially useful theoretical construct that can be used to identify the structure of administrative careers and further more to assist us in understanding how and why labor markets function as they do.

Research Questions

The research project to be reported here used the career histories of two-year college presidents, chief academic officers, chief student affairs officers, and chief business officers to identify the structure of the labor market or markets which exist in top-level administrative ranks in two-year colleges. Following the components of internal labor markets identified by Althauser & Kalleberg (1981), the following research questions were addressed:

1. To what extent were two-year college presidents, chief academic, chief student affairs, and chief business officers selected directly from within the postsecondary labor market rather than from external markets? And what proportion of each of these groups of administrators were selected directly from four-year postsecondary institutions or held four-year college positions at some point during their careers?

2. What career lines were identified from the job histories of two-year college presidents, chief academic, chief student affairs, and chief business officers? (Career lines were defined as "sequences of related positions that are common to a portion of the labor force and for which there is a high probability of movement from one position to another" [Spilerman, 1977, p. 560]).

3. What position(s) served as entry port(s) to the career lines identified as particularly prevalent for each of the four positions: president, chief academic, chief student affairs, and chief business officer? Entry positions were defined as "a job in a sequence held by a significant proportion of persons without prior employment in another position in the trajectory" (Spilerman, 1977, p. 560).

4. What level of formal education was held by presidents, chief academic, chief student affairs, and chief business officers at entry to college careers; and what additional degrees, if any were attained between entry and acquisition of the present position (or the first position of the same title)?

By addressing these four questions at least four aspects of the structure of careers in each of the four administrative positions studied were identified. In addition simultaneous attention to three top-level positions and the presidency allowed some insight into the structure of the larger administrative labor market. In particular it was possible to observe whether or not the administrative positions in two-year colleges constitute one grand hierarchy (one labor market) with the position of the president at the top or whether multiple hierarchies existed. Identification of elements of structure of administrative careers in colleges and universities has implications for individuals planning careers, for those seeking equity for women and minorities, and for those concerned with developing and managing human resources effectively in these institutions. These implications are discussed in full in Twombly (1985). For our purposes here, results are discussed in relation to the utility of internal labor market theory as a framework within which to study careers in colleges and universities.

Data Source, Methodology, and Data Analysis

Data used in this study were obtained from Today's Academic Leaders: A National Study of Administrators in Community and Junior Colleges. The study was carried out during the spring of 1984 by the Center for the Study of Higher Education at The Pennsylvania State University under the direction of Dr. Kathryn M. Moore. A thirty-five percent random sample of administrators in each of seven positions at all regionally accredited two-year colleges in the United States was surveyed with an extensive questionnaire covering a variety of career related issues. Four positions--president, chief academic officer, chief student affairs officer, and chief business officer--were the focus of the study from which the data is taken. Each respondent completed a vita listing up to 10 professional positions, institution of employment, and years of employment. This portion of the questionnaire and a section in which all degrees held or in-progress were listed provided the data for the present study. An overall response rate of 75 percent supports the generalizability of the results. Samples of the following sizes resulted: presidents-193; chief academic officers-271; chief student affairs officers-221; and chief business officers-207.

The most complex segment of the data analysis was that of identifying career lines, as sequences of related positions. This was done by following the methodology suggested by Spilerman (1977) of beginning with a critical position (in this case, each of the four administrative positions selected for study) in the organization and tracing career lines backward from the current position. To do this a categorization scheme was devised (the categorization scheme differed slightly for each of the four administrative positions, but followed the same basic format for each positions) for all of the possible postsecondary and external positions. The position held

immediately prior to the current position (first previous position) was analyzed using the categorization scheme. Then for each category of the first position previous to the current position the second position was analyzed and so forth for all nine possible positions included on vitaes. It was determined that .10 of an administrative group holding a first previous position and .05 of a group holding earlier positions were sufficient proportions to constitute a career line. This is best illustrated by example cited below.

For this study, the first position held in a postsecondary education institution was identified as the entry position. The methodology, operational definitions, and instrumentation and sampling procedures are outlined fully in Twombly (1985).

Results

Analysis of each research question for presidents, chief academic officers, chief student affairs, and chief business officers yielded much more data than can possibly be reported here. For the purposes of this paper selected results are reported only as a demonstration of the value they have for illustrating the utility of internal labor market theory in identifying the structure of careers in two-year colleges. Discussion of selected results and their respective contributions is organized around the four research questions outlined above.

Boundaries. As Kerr (1954) suggested, institutional rules take the place of individual preferences in setting boundaries of labor markets. Though it is not known to what extent individuals from other types of institutions attempt to mvoe to positions in two-year colleges, institution types forms a logical boundary of administrative labor markets. Thus the first research question addressed the issue of the extent to which current

two-year college top-level administrators came directly to their current positions from two-year colleges. That is, to what extent did mobility occur within one type of postsecondary organization. As the data reported in Table 1 reveal, presidents, chief academic officers, and chief student affairs officers were much more likely to have moved to their current positions from a two-year college than they were to have come from four-year institutions or from outside of higher education. At this point, then, movement occurred primarily within two-year colleges, and two-year college administrative labor market(s) were relatively closed to individuals from four-year college positions or from external markets. However, the labor markets were more open at earlier points in careers or in positions more removed from the top positions. In each case higher proportions of administrators had held at least one position at a four-year college or university at some point in their careers. In the case of two-year colleges this finding may be an artifact of the time periods covered by the careers of individuals in this study. The 1960s and 1970s saw both an increase in the size of existing colleges and an increase in the number of two-year colleges. Both led to an increased demand for administrators. Thus two-year colleges may have been more open to hiring administrators from four-year institutions during this period, which coincided with earlier time periods in administrators' careers.

[Insert Table 1]

Chief business officers pose a different situation. A relatively high proportion of this group moved directly to their current positions from outside of postsecondary education. However, these chief business officers who moved within postsecondary education tended to be mobile within two-year

colleges.

These findings suggest ways in which two-year colleges deal with the need to be open to a variety of sources of administrators, maintain relationships with external groups, and provide trained leaders. It appears from data that top-level positions are "saved" for those already in two-year colleges. Thus at the top of organizational hierarchies, administrators are protected from outside competition for the very top positions. On the other hand certain positions may be more open to external sources of administrators than others. It appears that chief business officer position is one of these positions. There may be others.

Career lines. As specified in internal labor market theory, the ordering of positions through which individuals move is important. Thus careers must be examined as sequences of related positions common to a portion of the labor force, not just as frequency counts of earlier held positions. In organizations such as colleges and universities, career lines are not identifiable a priori. Consequently, job structures and career lines must be constructed from job histories of administrators. Analysis of career lines by which current presidents, chief academic, chief student affairs, and chief business officers have risen to these positions revealed that there was some structure to the careers of these groups of administrators. In addition, a blueprint of the overall structure emerged. Most of the commonality in the careers of each position was found at the level of the first position previous to the current position. Thus this position seemed to be the most important position in the structure of administrative careers. Relatively few longer career lines existed for any of the four top administrative positions studied. To some extent this provides support for Markov chain assumptions concerning mobility. While it

appeared that two-year colleges structure careers for top-level administrative positions to some extent, the career lines identified are by no means the highly structured, highly efficient career lines seen in other types of organizations. Some examples illustrate the type of information provided by this analysis.

Current two-year college presidents were likely to have come to their current positions from only two first previous positions--a top executive position[1] or a chief academic officer position, which satisfied the established criteria of being held by .10 of the presidential sample. See Table 2. Furthermore, six longer sequences of positions leading to the presidency through one of these two first previous positions were identified. In contrast, chief academic officers were likely to have moved to their current posts from one of five first previous positions, but there was little commonality in the earlier careers of chief academic officers. Another chief academic officer position was the most common first previous position of this group of administrators. On the other hand, administrative positions of a similar level such as chief student affairs officer was not a likely source of current chief academic officers.

[Insert Table 2]

There appeared to be relatively more structure to the careers to chief student affairs officers. Four types of first previous positions were common sources of chief student affairs officers. A previous chief student affairs officer position was one of the common first previous positions. In addition there were four longer sequences of positions leading to the

[1]The top executive category of positions consists of presidents, campus executives (presidents of individual campuses in multicampus systems or state systems, or provosts.

chief student affairs post. Some commonality in careers of chief business officers was observed at the level of the first previous position but there was only one longer sequence leading to the top position. Again, another chief businss position was a prime source of current chief business officers. Of course, many of the chief business officers moved directly to their current positions from outside of postsecondary education.

By looking at career lines for more than one top level position we were able to observe how career lines for more than one top level position do or do not interact with each other: that is whether there was one grand hierarchy leading to the presidency which is an extension of one or more hierarchies. In fact, we observed that there was one hierarchy leading to the presidency involving the chief academic officer position, and separate ones leading to the top level positions in student affairs and business affairs but apparently not to a presidency. In fact, the chief business officer and chief student affairs positions appeared to be ceiling positions as neither were sources of presidents. Furthermore, there appeared to be little horizontal movement among line officer positions. That is other administrative positions that report to the president are not a likely source of chief academic officer, chief student affairs or chief business officers. Moves among functional area may occur earlier in careers.

One of the interesting findings from this study was the high proportion of each administrative group that came to their current positions immediately from positions of a similar title. Both of these findings have important implications for managing human resources in colleges and universities. For example, if careers provide a source of motivation to employees how do two-year colleges motivate young able chief student affairs officers when it appears that the route to the presidency is not open to them? Lateral

movement appears to be one way in which colleges deal with this. An individual with chief student affairs experience moves to another such position perhaps at a larger college.

Two other findings merit mention. The fact that earlier positions had to be grouped into relatively broad categories in order to perform the analyses of career lines suggested that the levels of earlier positions were more important than the specific positions held. Secondly, the predominance of administrative positions in all career lines was noted. Faculty positions did not appear to be prominent positions in administrative career lines at least at the levels included in career lines. Faculty positions were more prominent at earlier points in careers.

The case of chief student affairs officers is of particular concern to the career advancement of women and minorities. Both groups were relatively well represented in the ranks of chief student affairs officer position. Women constituted 41 percent of the student affairs sample while minorities comprised 13 percent (higher percentages than for other administrative positions). Given the composition of two-year college staffs and students, the fact that women and minorities were well represented in this top-level position is important. However, from the point of serving as a stepping stone to the presidency, student affairs may not be the route. Thus many women and minorities may be in career paths that do not lead to the presidency. The ideal solution clearly is that boards of trustees and those who select presidents should be encouraged to consider other sources for presidential positions.

Some comments need to be made about the methodologies used for identifying career lines. The data for this study were obtained from a cross-sectional sample, thus we could only calculate probabilities of administrators

coming from certain positions. Individuals normally plan careers forward thus the implications that these results have for individual career planning must be considered with caution. Secondly, using the Spilerman method of identifying career lines requires large sample sizes. Careers fragmented so quickly that it was necessary to result to fairly low proportions of a sample to constitute a career line. Also we were not able to identify very long sequences of positions. And perhaps most serious was the inability to analyze career lines by gender, race, whether the career was built entirely within one organization or whether interinstitutional moves were involved, or any other conceptually valid variable. Larger sample sizes or purposive sampling techniques would be neceeary to make possible these kinds of analyses. Longitudinal data would permit different kinds of analyses that would be beneficial, however, these kinds of data are difficult to obtain.

Entry ports. Entry positions play a very important role in firm internal labor markets by controlling the points at which employees can gain entrance to the market. Usually these positions are low level positions. In the two-year college administrative labor market entry positions are neither fixed nor are they necessarily low level positions. Individuals begin careers leading to the top-level positions in a variety of positions at almost any level. For example, it was observed that top executive and chief academic officer were the two first previous positions held by at least .10 of the current presidents. Could typical entry ports be identified for each career path leading to the presidency through one of these two first previous positions, and did entry positions differ for each path?

Entry positions were classified into three categories: administrative positions, staff positions, and faculty positions. For the career lines leading to the presidency, faculty positions were the most frequently held

entry positions, but administrative positions were also common entry positions. There was, however, no statistically significant difference in type of entry positions between the two career lines. However, for career lines leading to the chief academic officer position there was a statistically significant relationship among career lines and the type of entry position. For example, individuals moving to the chief academic post through the associate/assistant/staff and department head first previous positions were more likely to have begun their careers as faculty while those following the administrative dean career line were more likely to have begun in an administrative post.

Entry positions for chief student affairs officers did not differ by career line followed to the top post. Staff positions were the most frequently held entry positions for each of the career lines leading to the chief student affairs officer position. On the other hand, typical entry positions for chief business officer career lines do differ depending on the career line. An administrative entry position is the most common entry position for the chief business officer career line while a staff entry position was most common for the staff career line.

Some important insights were gained. First, presidents, as predicted, were equally likely to have begun their careers as faculty or as administrators. Secondly, entry positions were not necessarily low level positions that one would expect to find at the bottom of a ladder as Althauser and Kalleberg (1981) argued. This may, in part, be due to the fact that the high degree of education required for entry to occupational internal markets may allow individuals to begin careers at higher levels in the hierarchy. It may also reflect an openness to external markets at early points in careers. In any event, it appears to be the case for the two-year college

administrative labor market that a variety of types of positions at a variety of levels in the organizational hierarchy serve as entry ports to careers as two-year college administrative positions.

The findings of this study do not appear to totally support the notion expressed by both Spilerman (1977) and Rosenbaum (1979a) that entry positions are important because individuals that entry in different entry positions vary in age, educational attainment and other relevant characteristics which result in differential career patterns. In only two cases did we find significant differences in the career line followed depending on the type of entry position. However, phenomena such a rate of achievement of top position nor at the number of positions between entry and attainment of the top position were not examined in this study. Such analyses may reveal support for the notion that individual differences inherent in different entry positions contributes to differential career patterns.

Level and Timing of Formal Education. The final component of the Althauser and Kalleberg conceptualization of internal labor markets is movement along career lines accompanied by knowledge or skill acquisition. For this study, movement along career lines was assumed because respondents held top-level positions. Piore (1975) suggested that a high level of education was necessary before entry into an occupational or what he called a managerial labor market. Thus, the question was for each administrative position what level of education was held before entry and what if any additional degrees were earned enroute to the current position or the first position of the same title?

Results of this analysis yielded two very important types of findings. First level of education held at entry suggests barriers to entry to a particular labor market. Secondly, however, the level of education held at

entry may not be sufficient for attaining top-level positions. Thus if the majority of an administrative sample earned a higher degree than held at entry before assuming the current position, there may be two educational barriers at work in the administrative labor market. Typical analyses of level of education held by administrtors focus only on the highest degree and not at the points in careers when these degrees were earned. Consequently, this analysis provided some interesting results.

For example, it was hypothesized that the majority of two-year college presidents would have earned masters degrees before they began their postsecondary careers. Further, it was hypothesized that the majority of these same presidents would have earned doctorates before assuming their first presidencies (80 percent of the 193 presidents in the sample held or were working on doctorates). In fact these hypotheses were supported. See Table 3. Nearly three-quarters of the presidents held masters degrees before entry to the postsecondary career while less than one-quarter held doctorates at that point in their careers. However, over one-half earned doctorates after entry and before assuming their first presidencies resulting in a total of two-thirds who held the doctorate before becoming a president. In addition another 15 percent of the presidents earned a doctoral degree after assuming a presidency or are currently working on such a degree. Thus a doctorate was not a requirement for entry into the career lines leading to the presidency, but it clearly was a requirement for acquiring a presidency. Those presidents who had never held any postsecondary positions before assuming their current presidencies were much less likely to have earned a doctorate than were those with previous postsecondary education experience. Undoubtedly one of the things that these results point to are the success of the efforts of the Kellogg Fellowship program which sought

out community college faculty and administrators and took them into special doctoral programs; literally creating a profession.

[Insert Table 3]

The same kinds of educational requirements appeared necessary to begin a career leading to the chief academic officer position. Nearly three-quarters of all chief academic officers in this study held doctorates. Almost all held a bachelors and three-quarters a masters before entry. In contrast only 10 percent held a doctorate before beginning their post-secondary careers. However, a smaller percentage (40 percent) earned a doctorate between entry and assumption of the first chief academic officer position resulting in approximately 50 percent of the chief academic officers in this sample holding doctorates before becoming chief academic officers. Nearly one-quarter earned the doctorate after assuming a chief academic post or were currently working on this degree. Although it does not appear to be a requirement of the position to hold a doctorate before assuming the post, future studies will probably find that the doctorate has become a requirement for assumption of this post also.

The doctoral degree is not as prominent among chief student affairs officers (42 percent), however. Nearly all of the chief student affairs officer earned bachelors degrees before beginning their postsecondary career; however, only two-thirds held masters degrees at this point in their careers. Another one-quarter earned masters after entry but before assuming a chief student affairs post and a small percentage earned the degree after assuming a chief student affairs post or were working on this degree. A total of 98 percent of the chief student affairs officers in this sample held masters degrees. So for the chief student affairs position

it is the masters degree that is the degree that is necessary both for entry and for advancement to the top position. Less than 10 percent held doctorates before entry, early 20 percent earned them after entry but before assuming a chief student affairs job and another 20 percent earned the doctorate after assming the top position. So at this point the doctorate does not appear to be a requirement for advancement, but for the chief student affairs position, the doctorate is likely to become more of a necessary ticket for advancement.

The bachelors degree is the primary formal education requirement for entry to career lines leading to the chief business officer position. However, nearly two-thirds of this group earned masters degrees before they assumed a top business officer post. This was perhaps a somewhat surprising finding. Fourteen percent of this group held doctorates.

Analysis of level of education indicated barriers to entry and requirements for advancement. This information is helpful to individuals planning careers. Earning a doctorate is an obvious necessity for achieving a presidency. Furthermore, a high proportion of the graduate degrees earned by presidents, chief academic, and chief student affairs officers were in higher education, educational administration or counseling and guidance. In this respect we see evidence of a professionalized two-year college administration in the presidency and chief academic post as well as in the chief student affairs position.

Summary. In summary, the concepts derived from internal labor market theory were used to examine the structure of the careers of top-level two-year college administrative careers and the structure of the top-level administrative labor market in general. Particular attention was given to the three elements of internal labor markets identified by Althauser and

Kalleberg (1981) and modified to include: boundaries, career lines, entry ports, and movement along career lines accompanied by skill or knowledge development as measured by formal education. The results of these anslyses for four top-level two-year college positions were summarized in order to give evidence of the kinds of conclusions that can be drawn about administrative career structures using such a theoretical framework. The career line analysis indicated that there was some structure to administrative careers in two-year colleges, but that career structures were not highly ordered or rigid. A picture of labor market structure was gained without having to result to the gross coding schemes used by others to identify career lines. This finding may support the Martin and Strauss (1956) argument that career lines develop in organizations over time.

This type of analysis also makes contributions to the study of internal labor market theory. Chief among these is insight gained into the workings of occupational internal labor markets. Scholars of internal labor market theory have identified these types of markets but have done little to actually study them. The results of the present study reviewed and dicussed above provide some clues about occupational internal markets. Some of the other contributions to the theory have already been discussed in items 1-4 above.

IV. A Partial Research Ageda

While internal labor market theory appears to offer a useful framework within which to observe the structure of administrative careers in post-secondary institutions. There are many potential research questions that emerge from this study. A few will be mentioned here. First, the same framework needs to be applied to the four-year college data in the companion Leaders in Transition study. Not only are the same questions and analyses

potentially interesting, but a comparison between four-year and two-year college career structures seems useful. For example, Gross and Etzioni (1985) suggested that careers in highly professionalized organizations (e.g. research universities) should be less structured than those in less professionalized. Once we have some idea of the structure of administrative careers in both sectors then it makes sense to look at job change rates and the impact of gender, race, age, etc. on movement within the structure, and correlates of lack of structure.

Yet another question that emerges is are there differences in career structure between careers built entirely within one organization versus those careers built across two or more institutions? It might be hypothesized that the level of formal education necessary to attain top-level positions would be lower for those moving entirely within one organization: that "inside" knowledge compensates for formal education. A preliminary examination with the two-year college data suggests that there are no significant differences in career structure between careers built within one institution and those built across institutions, but the education hypothesis has not been examined.

The data reported in this paper suggested that each functional area (e.g. student affairs, academic affairs) acts like an internal labor market. Is this the case? Do individuals move among functional areas? If so, are there particular points at which this appears to happen?

Perhaps most importantly, there needs to be attention given to the microstructures that affect career lines and movement to top-level positions. Organizational rules and selection committees are two potentially influential structures. Clearly, mobility in colleges is different from promotion in other types of organization. There are not clearly defined stages at which

automatic promotion occurs. This is what makes the study of careers in colleges and universities so interesting. For example, numerous studies have reported that much mobility occurs within a single organization. Are specific types of positions more likely to be internal appointments than others. Are certain types of institutions, or certain institutions more likely than others to promote administrators internally? The other side of this question is perhaps more important. And that is who controls administrator development in colleges and universities? Is the function centralized in the personnel office or decentralized to the various functional areas of the organization. To what extent do those in control consciously attempt to create career structures for employees? This is particularly important given the high degree of internal mobility that occurs.

Do entry positions or rate of mobility vary with environmental impact and with growth and decline of organizations? Milkovich (1970) found support for this hypothesis and with the current fluctuations in the state of higher education, these factors may well have an influence on administrative careers. Undoubtedly they have an impact on opportunitis as do such regulations as retirement age. Further, as suggested by Spilerman (1977) and Rosenbaum (1979), does rate of mobility and length of path to top positions vary by the type of entry position?

These are just a few of the questions that remain to be investigated with respect to the structure of administrative careers in postsecondary education. Study of careers as structures of colleges and universities has barely begun and is an important area of organizational inquiry.

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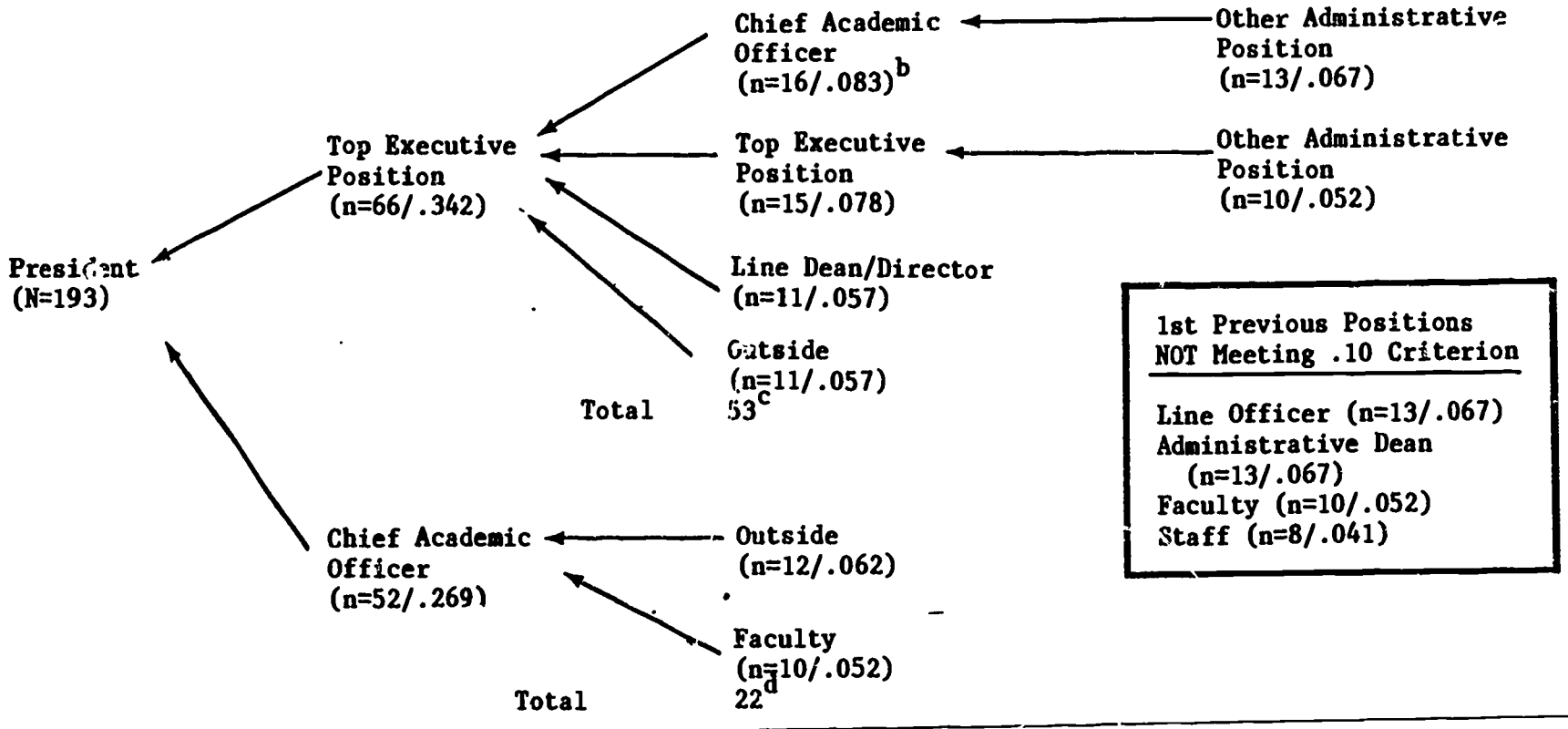
Table 1

Sector of Employment of First Previous Positions
of Two-Year College Administrators

Position	Sector of Employment			
	Two-Year College	Four-Year College	Outside	Total
	--proportion/number--			
President	.725 (140)	.114 (22)	.161 (31)	193
Chief Academic Officer	.799 (214)	.093 (25)	.108 (29)	268
Chief Student Affairs Officer	.718 (158	.136 (30)	.145 (32)	220
Chief Business Officer	.571 (116)	.059 (12)	.369 (75)	203

Table 2

Career Lines of Two-Year College Presidents Selected From Within Postsecondary Education (n=162)[a]



[a]Thirty-one presidents moved to their current positions from outside of postsecondary education.

[b]Proportion expressed as a proportion of the total 193 presidents.

[c]This total represents those among the 66 whose first previous position was a top executive position who also fell into one of the longer career patterns meeting our .05 criterion.

[d]This total represents those among the 52 whose first previous position was a chief academic officer position who also fell into one of the longer career patterns meeting the .05 criterion.

Table 3

Level and Timing of Academic Degrees in the Careers of Presidents with Previous Postsecondary Experience (n=174)

Timing of Degree	Degree					
	Bachelor's		Master's		Doctorate	
	--number/proportion--					
Before Entry to College Career	(162)	.931	(129)	.741	(022)	.126
After Entry/ Before Assuming Top Executive Position	(004)	.023	(034)	.195	(092)	.529
After Assuming Top Executive Position	(000)	.000	(001)	.006	(026)	.149
Do Not Hold/ Not Working on Degree	(000)	.000	(003)	.017	(026)	.149
Missing Data	(008)	.046	(007)	.040	(008)	.046
Total	(174)	1.000	(174)	1.000	(174)	1.000