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ABSTRACT

It is clear that women have made progress in advancing into the ranks of school administration since the passage of Title IX, and equally clear that they have not achieved parity with men. Recognizing the problems posed by the absence of reliable, comparative data, and considering the need for longitudinal studies to be able to address the question, data have been systematically collected since the passage of Title IX, 30 years ago, to see if women have progressed and, if so, to what extent. Following different types of school districts in one state was seen as a way to determine if gains that might occur in one type of district would be matched by gains in other types of districts. A stratified sample of 20 school districts was identified in a southeastern state. Districts were asked to supply data for nine line administrative positions. In looking at aggregated data for all nine positions, 1972-2002, the number of positions increased (641-1,248), as did the number and percent of females holding these positions. The number of females more than quintupled; while at the same time, the number of males holding these positions did not decline but saw a modest increase. The increases in females holding positions were notable in each type of district: five times more in urban districts, nearly eight times more in suburban districts, and 10 times more in rural districts. (Contains 5 figures, 3 tables, and 19 references.) (BT)



Longitudinal Study of Women in School Administration 1972 - 2002

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SO 034 453

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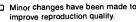
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Longitudinal Study of Women in School Administration: 1972-2002

Responding to compelling evidence of gender inequity and a systematic campaign of political pressure to redress these inequities, Congress passed Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (Title 20 U.S.C.) prohibiting sex discrimination in all aspects of education in institutions receiving federal financial assistance. Although the effect of Title IX on athletics continues to be the most publically debated aspect of the legislation, athletics was but one aspect in which gender discrimination had been identified. At the time Title IX was passed, men had persistently and conspicuously dominated school administration since the Civil War (cf: Hansot & Tyack, 1981; Feistritzer, 1988; Mertz & McNeely, 1988; Ortiz, 1982; Shakeshaft, 1987), and the relative absence of women in the ranks of school administration was strikingly at odds with their dominance in the ranks of teachers, the position from which administrators are drawn. In 1972, women were 88% of the elementary school teachers and 49% of the secondary school teachers; men were 99.9% of the superintendents, 94% of the deputy and associate superintendents, 95% of the assistant superintendents, 98% of the high school principals, 97% of the junior high school principals, and 80% of the elementary school principals (NEA Research Division, 1973). And far from gaining a greater foothold, "the percent of women elementary principals," the only line position females held in any numbers, had "sharply declined since 1928" (Fishel & Pottker, 1977, 290). In the ensuing years, the question of the extent to which women have made inroads into the male hegemony in school administration has been debated (Cunningham & Hentges, 1984; Edson, 1987; Jones & Montenegro, 1982; McCarthy & Zent, 1981; Mertz, Venditti & McNeely, 1988; Valverde, 1980; Yeakey, Johnston & Adkison, 1986; WEEA, 1990). It is clear that women have made progress in advancing into the ranks of administration since the passage of Title IX, and equally clear that that they have not achieved parity with men (Jones & Montenegro, 1982' McCarthy & Zent. 1981; Mertz & McNeely, 1994). However, whether and to what extent they are making progress toward that goal remains, surprisingly, an unanswered question.

The answer to the question would seem to be a simple matter of counting: count the number now; compare it with the number before. However, this rather simple, direct approach is thwarted by the continued absence of reliable, comparative data, and by the theoretical and methodological problems in the ways data have been collected (Jones & Montenegro, 1982; McCarthy & Zent, 1982; Mertz, 1991; Yeakey, Johnston & Atkison, 1986). Recognizing the problems posed by the absence of reliable, comparative data, and considering the need for longitudinal studies to be able to address the question, data have been systematically collected for the 30 years since the passage of Title IX. In the beginning, the purpose of the study was to determine whether females were successful in moving into school administration. As females have made progress, the primary purpose has expanded to determine if that progress continued and of so, the nature and extent of that progress.



The design of the study has been conceptually simple: collect data periodically and compare it from time period to time period. At the inception of the study, not having the resources to undertake a large-scale national study, companion studies of women in line administrative positions were undertaken in (1) the 50 largest school districts in the United States, and (2) a stratified sample of types of school districts in one state. When the study was begun, the immediate question about the effect of Title IX over the first ten years drove the study. There was no thought given to how long the study would continue, or when it might conclude. As the years passed, and the question of the movement of women in administration continued to be debated, the studies were continued. Over the years, the results of the companion studies have been reported (Mertz & McNeely, 1988, 1994, 1995), but it is only this year that data spanning a full 30 years was available. That seemed a reasonable length of time for discerning the impact of Title IX and assessing the progress of women in school administration.

The Study

The results of the longitudinal study of women in school administration in a stratified sample of school districts in one state, 1972 to 2002, are presented in this paper. Following different types of districts in one state was seen as a way to determine if gains that might occur in one type of district, e.g., large districts with lots of positions, the focus of the companion study, would be matched by gains in other types of districts. Although easier to identify and access, it is important to consider that while large districts (those with student enrollment of 50,000 or more) serve the largest number of students, those 81 or so school districts (current number) represent only 4.7% of the type of school districts in the United States of America (NCEA, 1999); and that other types of districts, particularly ones with fewer than 1,000 students, are the more frequent type (51.6%; 8,737 districts).

Using categories defined by McCarthy and Zent (1981) in their study of women in school administration (urban, suburban, medium-size city, rural), a stratified sample of 20 school districts was identified in a southeastern state. In the initial study that translated into 2 urban, 6 suburban, 5 medium-size city, and 7 rural school districts. In the 1980's, a medium-city district in the study on the upper-end in terms of size consolidated with a suburban district not in the study to form an urban district and change the sample from which paired data were obtained in subsequent years to 3 urban, 6 suburban, 4 medium-city, and 7 rural districts.

The districts were asked to supply data (number of positions; gender of position holders) for 9 line administrative positions: superintendent; deputy/associate superintendent; assistant superintendent; high school principal; high school assistant principal; junior high school/middle school principal; junior high school/middle school assistant principal; elementary school principal; elementary school assistant principal. Line administrative



positions were used for the study as the best indicator of the movement of women into positions of authority (credibility; budgetary responsibility) in a school system (versus staff positions), and the positions from which women were notably absent in 1972. Women were reported to hold 30% of the central office positions in 1972 (NEA, 1973), however, these were largely supervisory staff positions, not line positions.

Data were collected for 1972, 1982, 1986, 1996 and 2002. Title IX was passed in 1972. However, it was 3 years before implementing regulations were handed down to school districts by the then Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Thus 1972 represented an ideal a priori point for considering the effects of Title IX on employment. Data were collected for 1972, 1982 and 1986, in response to the suggestion that while Title IX might have fueled some initial changes, the impetus to advance women might have dissipated by that time. Having been unable to collect data in 1992, the decision was made to wait until 1996 to again allow a 10-year comparison. Since 2002 constituted the 30th year, it seemed an appropriate point for the next, possibly last, data collection point. Paired data were provided by all of the districts for all of the times period, however there have been changes in the organization of some of the school districts over the time period that do introduce variations in the data (e.g., 2 districts changed from a K-12 to a K-6 organization). Data were analyzed for the sample (n=20) and by type of district (urban, suburban, medium city, rural) to identify change in the representation of females in the 9 line administrative positions 1972-2002, and from time period to time period, 1972 to 1982 to 1986 to 1996 to 2002.

Findings

In looking at aggregated data for all 9 positions 1972 to 2002, as detailed in Table I, the number of positions increased (641-1248), as did the number and percent of females holding these positions. The number of females more than quintupled (120-642.5) and the per cent almost tripled (18.7%-51.5%). At the same time, the number of males holding these positions did not decline, indeed it increased, albeit modestly (521-607.5) Naturally, given the large increase in females holding these positions, the percent of males holding positions decreased (81.2% to 48.7%). This is shown graphically in Figure 1.

As may be seen in Table II, the increases in females holding positions were notable in each type of district: 5 times more in urban districts; nearly 8 times more in suburban districts; 4 times more in medium-city districts; and 10 times more in rural districts. By 2002 females held 53% of the urban positions, 56% of the suburban positions, 49.7% of the medium-city positions, and 31.3% of the rural positions. In sheer number, parity would seem to exist in 3 of the 4 types of districts, and while parity has not been achieved in rural districts, given the comparatively smaller number of administrative positions in such districts, the increases in the number of females holding these positions is notable



and the upward trend evident.

The pattern and trend of change in the number of positions and in the number and percent of males and females holding these positions by type of district, for all positions and for each position, by data point, over the time period, may be seen in Table III, numerically, and in Figures 2,3,4 and 5, visually. Aggregating the data for all positions, while meaningful, obscures variations by district and position. In terms of types of districts, while there were slightly different patterns in each district in the data intervals, in each district, in most intervals, the number of positions increased, the number and percent of females increased, the number of males increased, and the percent of males decreased, replicating the results of the aggregated composite for the 30 year period.

When the data is considered by position by type of district over the 30 year period, and in data intervals, although the overall trend is marked by increases in the number of females moving into these positions, the patterns are far more variable, as may be seen in Table II.

Superintendents Of all of the positions, that of superintendent has changed least with respect to the advancement of females into the position. Females made modest gains in moving into the ranks of superintendents in the districts studied 1972 -2002 (from 1 to 6), with the gains coming largely in medium-city districts (3 of the 4), and rural districts dropping the 1 they had had earlier. While females held 30% of the superintendencies in 2002, the range was from 0% in rural districts to 75% in medium city districts, with urban and suburban districts coming in at 33.3% Recognizing that there can be only 1 of these in each school district, these results may not be surprising; however, given the turnover in the position, the paucity of females in the position suggests it may be particularly resistant to the entry of females as well as a position which may prove counter to the trend evident in most other position.

Deputy/Associate Superintendents In 1972, none of the districts had deputy superintendents. By 2002, there were 14 such positions, and females held 6 of these (42.9%). However, while the number of positions and the number and percent of females holding those positions increased markedly in urban and suburban districts over the years with females holding 40% and 50% of the positions (respectively) in 2002, only 1 rural district had the position in 1986 and again in 2002, and it was held by a male, and medium city districts, which had earlier had the positions (held by males) no longer had the position. The pattern posed by the data is interesting. The position is, for these districts, relatively new. At least for urban and suburban districts, females would seem to be relatively competitive for those positions. While the statistical data do not allow for clear speculation about the position, since this is the position directly under superintendent, is this positioning the female position-holders for moving into a superintendency, at least in some kinds of districts? Or is it something else, perhaps the ultimate, impermeable glass ceiling for female aspirants, with just enough leakage into



the superintendency to provide an unprovable hypothesis? The key may lie in how many deputy/associate superintendents there are and the area of responsibility of the female deputy/associate superintendents, something that is not discernible from the data collected.

Assistant Superintendents The number of assistant superintendent positions increased only slightly 1972-2002 (16-19), however the number and percent of females holding the position increased (1-10; 6% to 52.6%) in each type of district. As with the position of deputy/associate superintendent, the results raise similar questions, but seem more suggestive of a greater receptivity to females holding that position. Females have achieved parity or better with males in 3 of the 4 types of districts (urban, suburban, medium-city), and the position is relatively new in rural districts.

High School Principals

The number of high school positions increased in every type of district 1972-2002 (76 to 109), as did the number and percent of females holding those positions (0-29; 0% to 26.6%). In 1972, none of the districts in the study had a female high school principal. In 2002, while the largest increases in number and percent of females occupying the position had occurred in urban districts (0-22; 0% to 31.9%), there were modest increases in medium-city (0-3; 0% to 27.2%), suburban (0-3; 0% to 17.6%), and rural (0-1; 0% to 8.3%) districts. Over the years, the position of high school principal has been seen as particularly resistant to the advancement of females. The modesty of increases in female position-holders might be suggestive of its continued resistance. Nevertheless, the increases are real, and changes in the situation of females in the gateway position, high school assistant principal, suggest that the trend is likely to continue.

High School Assistant Principals The number of high school assistant principal positions increased more than threefold (74-259.5), and the number and percent of females holding those positions increased markedly (5-84.5; 6.5% to 32.6%) over the 30 years. In 1972, only urban districts had female high school assistant principals. In 2002, while those urban districts experienced the largest growth in the movement of females into the position (5-56; 8% to 37.8%) growth, albeit more modest, occurred in every other type of district. Clearly, even in urban districts, parity has not been achieved, even after 30 years, however the trend toward increasing numbers of females in the position is equally clear.

Middle School/Junior High School Principals Middle/junior high school principal was the only position in which the number of positions declined 1972-2002, but the decline was extremely modest (127-124). Despite this, the number and percent of females holding the position increased (15-47; 12% to 37.9%). The increases occurred in 2 of the 4 types of districts, urban (6-32; 12% to 40.5%) and medium-city (0-7; 0% to 43.8%);



and while there was a decline of 1 in suburban districts (9-8), the percent of females increased there (21% to 38%). Rural districts, which occasionally had a female in the position at different points in the 30 years, no longer had female principals in middle/junior high schools in 2002, as had been true in 1972.

Middle/Junior High School Assistant Principals The number of middle school/junior high school assistant principal positions increased fourfold (37-155), and the number and percent of females holding this position increased even more (5-77; 13.5% to 49.7%) with females reaching more parity. In 1972, only urban districts had female middle/junior high school assistant principals, and only 5 (of 21) of those. In 2002, all of the types of districts had female middle/junior high school assistant principals. The increases in female assistants were particularly apparent in suburban (0-18; 0% to 66.7%) and rural (0-5; 0% to 62.5%) districts, although in sheer numbers, advances were greatest in urban districts (5-46; 24% to 46.9%). Increases in the females holding the position closely match increases in the number of positions, suggesting that females were more likely than males to get the new positions.

Elementary School Principals In 1972, females held 34% of the elementary school principal positions; by 2002 they held 68.3% of the positions. While the number of positions had increased over the time period (273-376), the number of females holding the position almost tripled (93-257), and the percent of females doubled (34% to 68.3%). The large increases in females holding the position appeared in each type of district, and females now predominate in the position in all types of districts save rural, where they are approaching parity. That females now dominate this position may not seem surprising given the large numbers of females who teach in elementary schools and the tendency to associate the teaching of young children with females. Nevertheless, when one considers that despite this, females were only 34% of the elementary school principals in 1972 (20% nationally), the advancement of females suggests more than receptivity in the position. It suggests the impact of Title IX and provides a suggestive portend of the potential for changing the gender demographics of other positions, allowing for differing resistance in those positions.

Elementary School Assistant Principals There were staggering changes in the position of elementary assistant principal 1972-2002. The number of positions increased 17 times (10-172.5); the number of females holding the position increased from 0 to 124; and the percent of females holding the position increased from 0% to 71.9%. The increases in positions and in the number and percent of females holding the position were apparent in all types of districts. While the position was relatively rare in 1972 (there were none in urban or medium-city districts), it was ubiquitous in 2002, and it appears clearly, perhaps stereotypically receptive to the appointment of females. Increases in females holding the position occurred in all 4 types of districts. Their dominance in the position appeared in 3 of the types: urban (65.9%); suburban (81%); medium-city (80%); and approached



parity in rural districts (46.1%).

Discussion and Implications

The study of different types of districts in one state over the 30 years since the passage of Title IX suggests that women are moving into line administrative positions, in every position, in each type of district, albeit more slowly in some positions and in some kinds of districts. As might be expected, the increases have been largest in urban districts, but the increases have occurred in the other types as well. While many factors may have played a role in this change in the gender demographic of line positions, Title IX would appear to have played a part as well. Without the force of law and the nation-wide training and outreach for school districts funded by the federal government through the sex-desegregation assistance centers, it is just as likely that there would have been little change and certainly that the magnitude of change would have been less. Having said this, and realizing that it may be a matter of viewing whether the glass is half empty or half filled, and accepting that fundamental change takes time, it is 30 years since the passage of Title IX, and one might have expected greater advances in all positions in all types of districts over the period.

While the percent of females holding parity in administrative positions overall is at or inching toward parity in all types of districts, the movement of women into specific positions appears to be following an interesting, for wont of a better word, pattern. Without either accepting or sanctioning it, a hierarchy of power and influence exists in school organization. Central-office line positions are perceived to have more power and influence than staff positions. Within school-based line positions, the older the age of students served, the greater the power and influence that is perceived to accrue to the position holder. Thus high school principals are perceived to be more influential than middle-school principals, and far more influential than elementary school principals. Within central office line positions, superintendents are perceived to have the greatest power and influence, with associate and assistant superintendents having progressively less. The relationship between central office and school based office holders is a bit more complex and idiosyncratic to the district.

Looking at the data and the rate and extent of advancement of women into specific positions, female advances appear to follow the line of perceived power and influence. Females have moved into the positions at the perceived lower rungs of the ladder (elementary principal and assistant principal and middle school assistant principal) in greater numbers in all districts than into other positions, and it is in these positions that women have not merely achieved parity in the 30 years, but dominance. However, as one moves up the rungs of the ladder, the extent and rate of progress are slower. There are fewer females holding high school principal positions than, for example, middle school principal positions, and in the later position, females are closer to parity than in the



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former one. Further, as one moves up the rungs of the ladder, there is greater variability in the percent of females holding the position.

At the central office level, which involves a smaller number of positions, while females have moved into each position, and females have achieved overall parity as assistant superintendents, the reality is that advances in urban and suburban districts mask and obscure a relative lack of progress in rural and medium-city districts, and true parity in all districts in these positions may be a distant goal. The position of superintendent, the so-called "top spot," appears to be the slowest, perhaps the most resistant position (to the advancement of females), parity in medium-city not-withstanding, and the question of whether or when parity in the position might be achieved or exceeded remains open.

The findings of the study apply solely to one state and to the districts selected at one point in time to represent that state. They can not be said to be predictive of what has happened in other states, but they are, perhaps, suggestive of the pattern of change in other states, with the greatest gains being made in urban districts and the smallest gains in rural districts. Data from the largest districts in the nation (student enrollment), the companion study, are currently being analyzed. Given the results of this study, and of the studies of the patterns of movement in the largest districts over the years, considerable gains for females are anticipated in the large school districts. Again, however, it is important to note that urban districts are the least frequent type.

Concluding Reflection

When the study was begun 30 years ago, we wondered whether and what impact Title IX would have in affecting change in the long-standing hegemony of males in line administrative positions, and after changes began to be evident, whether the changes would be sustained or transitory and how long it might take for females to hold a large enough number of positions so that they were not "exceptions." As co-director of the Southeast Sex Desegregation Assistance Center, the federally-funded agency charged with "helping" school districts throughout the 8-state Southeast understand and comply with Title IX, I was both hopeful and skeptical: hopeful that progress would be made; skeptical about the hope and about the time it would take to make progress. Progress was not inevitable; particularly as attention to Title IX and to its enforcement waned over the years, except perhaps with respect to athletics. The progress that has been made in the state used in the study, in all types of districts, is heartening, as is the portend for continued progress in the future. That it has taken 30 years to get to this point — more than my naive hopefulness anticipated — in no way diminishes that achievement. However, it does beg the question of how long, if ever, it will take for women to fulfill Ella Flagg's (1905) prophecy that they are "destined to rule the schools of every city" (Hansot & Tyack, 1981).



Table I
Positions and Number and Percent of Males and Females Holding Those Positions by Type of System, 1972 and 2002

	ALL POSITIONS												
Type of			1972			2002							
System	Tot	M#	M%	F#	F%	Tot	M#	М%	F#	F%			
Urban	371	292	78.7	79	21.3	730	343	47	389	53			
Suburban	109	91	83.5	18	17.5	244	107	43.9	137	56.1			
M-C	93	73	78.5	20	21.5	167	84	50.3	83	49.7			
Rural	48	65	95.6	3	4.4	107	73.5	50.3	33.5	31.3			
Total	641	521	81.3	119	18.7	1248	607.5	48.5	642.5	51.5			



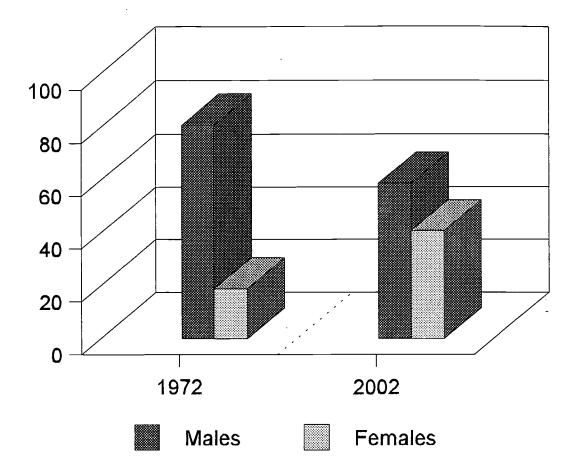


Figure 1. Percent of males and females in line administration, 1972 and 2002.



Table II Number and Percent of Males and Females in Line Administration by Year and Type of District

		UR	BAN		
Year	Total	Male#	Male %	Female #	Female%
1972	371	292	78.7	79	21.3
1982	471	343	72.8	128	27.2
1986	509	324	63.7	185	36.3
1996	652	392	60.1	260	39.9
2002	730	343	47.0	389	53.0
		SUBU	IRBAN		
Year	Total	Male #	Male %	Female #	Female%
1972	109	91	83.5	18	17.5
1982	101	73	72.3	28	27.7
1986	122	93	76.3	29	23.7
1996	206.5	97.5	47.2	109	52.8
2002	244	107	43.9	137	56.1
		MEDIU	M CITY	·	
	Total	Male #	Male %	Female #	Female%
1972	93	73	78.5	20	21.5
1982	82	66	80.5	16	19.5
1986	97	73	75.3	24	24.7
1996	139	87	63	52	37
2002	167	84	50.3	83	49.7
		RU	RAL		
Year	Total	Male #	Male %	Female #	Female%
1972	68	65	95.6	3	4.4
1982	65	60	91.3	5	7.7
1986	92	75	81.5	17	18.5
1996	89	59	66.3	30	33.7
2002	107	73.5	68.7	33.5	31.3



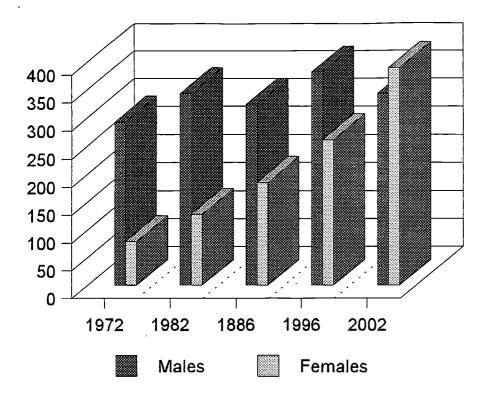


Figure 2. Numbers of males and females in urban administration.

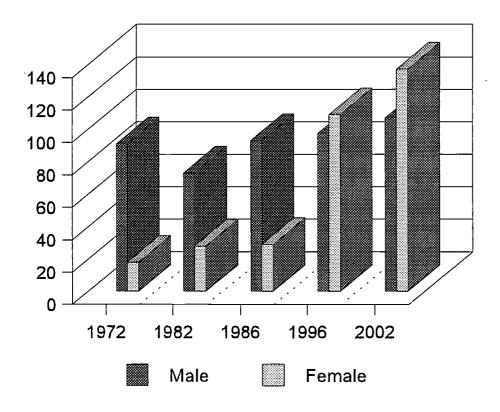


Figure 3. Numbers of males and females in suburban administration.



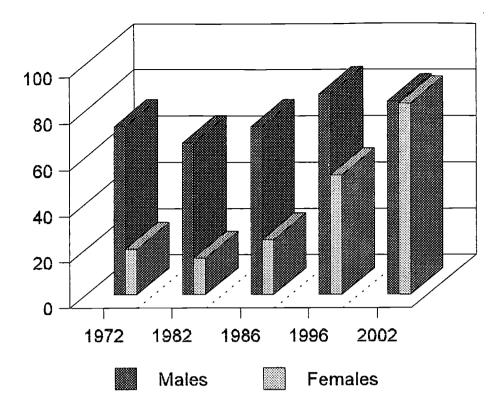


Figure 4. Numbers of males and females in middle city administration.

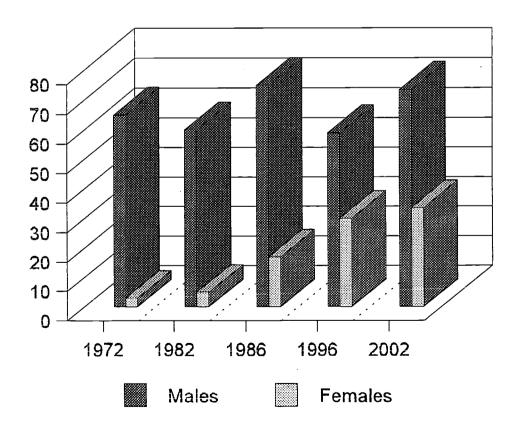


Figure 5. Numbers of males and females in rural administration



Table III Number and Percent of Females by Year, Position and Type of District

					SL	JPERI	NTEN	DENT								
Type of		1972			1982			1986			1996			2002		
System	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	
Urban	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	3	1	33.3	3	1	33.3	
Suburban	6	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6	1	16.7	6	2	33.3	
M-C	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	4	0	0	4	3	75	
Rural	7	1	14	7	0	0	7	0 -	0	7	1	14	7	0	0	
Total	20	1	5	20	0	0	20	0	0	20	3	15	20	6	30	
				DE	EPUT	Y SUI	PERIN	ITEND	ENT						•	
Type of	1972			1982			1986			1996			2002			
System	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	
Urban	-	-	-	3	0	0	1	0	0	3	1	33.3	5	2	40	
Suburban	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	33	.5	0	0	8	4	50	
M-C	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0	0	1	0	0	-	-	-	
Rural	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0	0	-	-	-	1	0	0	
Total		-	-	3	0	0	7	0	0	4.5	1	22	14	6	42.9	
				ASS	SISTA	NT SI	JPER	INTEN	IDEN ⁻	Γ.						
Type of	,	1972			1982			1986			1996			2002		
System	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	
Urban	7	0	0	6	1	17	14	3	21	9	4	44.4	9	5	55.6	
Suburban	1	0	0	4	0	0	6	1`	17	8	3	37.5	2	1	50	
M-C	8	1	14	4	0	0	8	3	37	4	1	25	5	3	60	
Rural	-	-	ı	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	33.3	3	1	33.3	
Total	16	1	6	14	1	7	28	7	25	24	9	37.5	19	10	52.6	



Table III (continued)

-		_	M	IDDLE	SCH	100L	ASSIS	TANT	r PRIN	ICIPA	 L					
Type of		1972	ı		1982			1986			1996			2002		
System	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	
Urban	21	5	24	37	12	32	52	23	44	41	7	17	98,	46	46.9	
Suburban	4	0	0	6	1	17	6	1	17	23	13	56.5	27	18	66.7	
M-C	8	0	0	8	0	0	10	1	10	16	4	25	22	8	36.3	
Rural	4	0	0	5	0	0	7	0	0	7	1	14	8	5	62.5	
Total	37	5	13.5	56	13	23	75	25	33	87	25	29	155	77	49.7	
	•	•		ELEN	MENT	ARY	SCHO	OL P	RINCII	PAL	<u> </u>		·		•	
Type of		1972			1982		1986			1996			2002			
System	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	
Urban	190	63	33	190	62	33	163	66	40	234	92	39.3	231	165	71.4	
Suburban	26	9	35	26	13	50	43	15	35	53	32	60	60	41	68.3 ·	
M-C	42	19	45	41	15	37	39	14	36	44	23	52.3	47	34	72.3 "	
Rural	15	2	13	18	4	22	30	8	37	30	13	43.3	38	17	44.7	
Total	273	93	34	275	94	34	275	103	35.7	361	160	44.3	376	257	68.3	
			ELEN	IENTA	ARY S	SCHO	OL AS	SIST	ANT P	RINCI	PAL					
Type of		1972			1982			1986			1996			2002		
System	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	
Urban	-	-	-	-	-	-	<u>-</u>	-	-	91	67	73.6	88	58	65.9	
Suburban	4	0	0	5	1	20	6	2	33	47	39	82.9	58	47	81 · ·	
M-C	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	100	13	12	92.3	20	16	80 -	
Rural	6	0	0	8	0	0	16	6	40	14	9	64.3	6.5	3	46.1	
Total	10	0	0	13	1	7.5	22	9	41	165	127	77	172.5	124	71.9	



Table III (continued)

				F	lIGH	SCHC	OL PI	RINCII	PAL						
Type of		1972			1982			1986			1996			2002	
System	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%
Urban	39	0	0	52	4	8	47	8	17	56	17	30	69	22	31.9
Suburban	10	0	0	10	0	0	11	0	0	12	1	8	17	3	17.6
M-C	14	0	.0	8	1	12	7	1	14	9	2	22	11	3	27.2
Rural	11	0	0	7	0	0	13	0	0	9	0	0	12	1	8.3
Total	76	0	0	77	5	6.5	78	9	11.5	86	20	23	109	29	26.6
			Н	IGH S	СНО	OL AS	SIST	ANT P	RINC	IPAL					
Type of 1972			1982	_	1986			1996			2002				
System	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%
Urban	59	5	8	110	17	15	114	29	25	156	42	26.9	148	· 56	37.8
Suburban	6	0	0	7	1	14	25	5	20	41	15	36.6	45	13	28.9
M-C	6	0	0	6	0	0	17	3	18	35	8	22.9	42	9	21.4
Rural	3	0	0	3	0	0	13	2	15	13	2	15.4	24.5	6.5	26.5
Total	74	5	6.5	126	18	14	169	39	23	245	67	27.3	259.5	84.5	32.6
				MI	DDLE	SCH	OOL	PRINC	CIPAL						
Type of		1972			1982		ı	1986			1996		2002		
System	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%
Urban	52	6	12	39	9	23	62	19	31	59	19	32,3	79	32	40.5
Suburban	42	9	21	29	11	38	19	5	26	16	5	31.3	21	8	38
M-C	10	0	0	10	0	Ó	9	2	22	13	2	15.4	16	7	43.8
Rural	22	0	0	17	1	6	6	1	17	6	2	33.3	8	0	0
Total	127	15	12	95	21	22	96	27	28	128	94	30	124	47	37.9



Table III (continued)

						ALL P	OSITI	ONS								
Type of		1972			1982			1986			1996			2002		
System	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	Tot	F#	F%	
Urban	371	79	21.3	439	95	21.6	455	148	32.5	652	260	40	730	389	53	
Suburban	109	18	17.5	93	27	29	125	30	24	206	109	52.8	244	137	56.1	
M-C	93	20	21.5	82	16	19.5	97	25	25.7	139	52	37	167	83	49.7	
Rural	68	3	4.4	68	5	7.3	82	17	20.7	89	30	33.7	107	33.5	31.3	
Total	641	119	18.7	682	143	20.9	759	220	28.9	1086	451	40.9	1248	642.5	51.5	



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