

SEXUAL DIMORPHISM

AND

VALUE ORIENTATION

Sexual Dimorphism
and
Value Orientation

by

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This study is an attempt to understand the division of labour according to sex which stubbornly persists in "advanced" industrial societies such as Canada. In searching for a suitable explanation for this social phenomenon, some of the works of recent "feminist" authors, anthropologists, biologists, psychologists, as well as sociologists were reviewed and assessed.

It was then suggested that the possession (vs. non-possession) of specific value orientations may be of key importance in maintaining the sexual division of labour in Canada. Parsons' theory of social stratification was utilized in order to explicate this process. Briefly, his theory maintains that the American (and by extension, Canadian) system of stratification is centred within the occupational realm, which is said to be based upon "instrumental" patterns of action. Based on this, it can be seen that people's value orientations are likely to be an important factor in influencing their ability to achieve occupational "rewards" within our society. This has serious implications for the

sexual division of labour, especially when we consider recent findings among socialization researchers, which indicate that the socialization of males is different from that of females in our society, and that this difference is associated with value orientation differences between the sexes. As such, the conclusion is reached that observable value orientation differences between the sexes are likely to be an important factor in maintaining differences in the sexual distribution of occupational prestige.

Residents of a small suburban town near Hamilton, Ontario were interviewed in an attempt to substantiate the above ideas. The results by and large agreed with the theory, but for one possible discrepancy: due mainly to sampling imperfections, we were unable to determine the extent to which females approximate males in the degree to which their occupational "success" depends upon their value orientations.

However, an observable value orientation difference between males and females was noted; a fact which could have important repercussions for the male-female equality question. In the case of males, empirical results essentially substantiated that there is indeed a close relationship between one's value orientations, the instrumentalness with which one approaches one's work role, and the various occupational rewards accrued to individuals. As a consequence of these two findings, it was concluded that value orientation differences between the sexes act to place females at a distinct disadvantage in competing for high prestige jobs. As such, the prospects for change in the sexual division of labour must remain slim unless socialization patterns are radically altered.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | <u>PAGE</u> |
|--|-------------|
| LIST OF TABLES..... | vi |
| CHAPTER | |
| I Introduction: The Problem of Sexual Dimorphism..... | 1 |
| II Various Explanations of Sexual Dimorphism..... | 17 |
| III Theoretical Framework..... | 51 |
| IV Explanation of Methodological Procedures..... | 81 |
| V Research Findings..... | 120 |
| VI Summary and Conclusion..... | 160 |
| APPENDICES..... | 170 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY..... | 204 |

LIST OF TABLES

| <u>TABLE</u> | | <u>PAGE</u> |
|--------------|---|-------------|
| I-1 | Percentage distribution of individuals in the labour force by sex, by income groups and by average earnings for selected occupational groups, Canada, 1965..... | 7 |
| IV-1 | Frequency of reasons for refusing to be interviewed..... | 84 |
| IV-2 | Religious affiliation of respondents compared with that of the Dundas and Canadian populations..... | 86 |
| IV-3 | Sex of respondents compared with that of the Dundas and Canadian populations..... | 87 |
| IV-4 | Birthplace of respondents, compared with those of the Canadian population, 21 and over..... | 87 |
| IV-5 | Years of schooling of respondents compared with that of the Canadian population aged 25-44..... | 88 |
| IV-6 | Marital status of respondents compared with that of the Hamilton and Canadian populations, aged 30-40..... | 88 |
| IV-7 | Income of respondents compared with that of the Ontario and Canadian populations, aged 30-40..... | 89 |
| IV-8 | Comparison between Pineo-Porter national (English) results and those of the sample on comparable job titles..... | 113 |
| IV-9 | Full-time and part-time prestige scores for various female occupations..... | 114 |
| IV-10 | 50% Pineo-Porter - 50% Housewife score vs. Dundas sample's part-time score for four occupations..... | 115 |
| V-1 | Prestige of Occupation by Incumbents' Instrumental score, also by sex..... | 125 |
| V-2 | Instrumental score by income, also by sex..... | 128 |

| <u>TABLE</u> | | <u>PAGE</u> |
|--------------|---|-------------|
| V-3 | Instrumental score by upward mobility, also by sex..... | 130 |
| V-4a | Observed Correlations between value orientations and (1) instrumental score, and (2) occupational "rewards" for all respondents..... | 137 |
| V-4b | Observed correlations between value orientations and (1) instrumental score, and (2) occupational "rewards" for all male respondents..... | 137 |
| V-4c | Observed correlations between value orientations and (1) instrumental score, and (2) occupational "rewards" for all female respondents..... | 138 |
| V-5 | Mean value orientation scores by sex and work status..... | 142 |
| V-6a | Mastery-over-Nature score by sex and occupational status..... | 146 |
| V-6b | Tests of statistical significance for Mastery - over Nature value orientation differences between various sub-groups..... | 147 |
| V-7a | Future score by sex and occupational status..... | 149 |
| V-7b | Tests of statistical significance for Future value orientation differences between various sub-groups..... | 149 |
| V-8a | Doing score by sex and occupational status..... | 151 |
| V-8b | Tests of statistical significance for Doing value orientation differences between various sub-groups.... | 151 |
| V-9a | Individualism score by sex and occupational status..... | 153 |
| V-9b | Tests of statistical significance for Individualism value orientation differences between various sub-groups..... | 153 |
| V-10a | Total personality score by sex and occupational status..... | 155 |

TABLEPAGE

| | | |
|-------|---|-----|
| V-10b | Tests of statistical significance for Total personality score differences between various sub-groups..... | 156 |
| V-11 | Total personality score by work status of women..... | 156 |

CHAPTER I

Introduction: The Problem of Sexual Dimorphism

To be alive in today's world is to be aware that certain groups of women feel a necessity to band together for the advancement of their economic, social and political ends. Very often such groups question and bring into doubt the legitimacy of "inequalities" between the sexes in our society. Shulamith Firestone's classic work on the sexual division of labour refers to the feminist revolution as one which will "provide an alternative to the oppressions of the biological family... (which) through technology...(will) make humane living, for the first time, a possibility."¹ Kate Millet's² theory of sexual politics is in fact a treatise on the universal existence of patriarchy - the rule of men. She argues that female subjugation to men is the result of a complex interaction of ideology, socialization, and institutionalized discrimination. These and many other authors have recently espoused the view that liberation from male oppression and dominance is a most urgent matter, requiring the immediate attention of all women.

However, many different interpretations as to how this liberation can be achieved have been advanced by feminist writers. They range from what we may call "individualistic-anarchistic" responses to

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Shulamith Firestone, The Dialectic of Sex, (New York: Bantam Books Inc., 1970), pp. 228-229.

²

Kate Millet, Sexual Politics, (New York: Avon Books Inc., 1969).

those of the "radical collectivistic" type. Germaine Greer's individualistic bias becomes apparent when such statements as this are repeated throughout her book The Female Eunuch:

The world will not change overnight, and liberation will not happen unless individual women agree to be outcasts, eccentrics, perverts, and whatever the powers-that-be choose to call them.³

Greer's answer is in the form of a prescription which may be summarized like this: The world is mainly oppressive to those who allow themselves to be oppressed. When an individual woman "understands her condition" she may take the initiative and "recapture her own will and her own goals."⁴ On the other hand, Firestone advocates a quite different type of solution to the problem of male dominance and oppression - what we may term "radical collectivistic"-labeled as such in that she advocates the almost complete destruction of our society's ways of organizing economic, cultural and sexual matters. Like many other "radical" proponents, though, she contains visible threads of individual liberalism of the above-mentioned anarchistic variety:

(After the revolution,) each person could choose his life style at will, changing it to suit his tastes without seriously inconveniencing anyone else; no one would be bound into any social structure against his will, for each person would be totally self-governing as soon as he was physically able.⁵

³ Germaine Greer, The Female Eunuch (London: Granada Publishing Ltd., 1970), p. 328.

⁴ Ibid., p. 323.

⁵ Firestone, The Dialectic of Sex, p. 239.

So despite differences in these positions, there seems to be a certain consensus about the nature of the feminine problem, and what represents an ideal solution to these problems. Both agree that women are oppressed by our male-dominated society, and that their eventual liberation from this oppression must be accompanied by economic liberation. To Firestone, this economic liberation must be part of the socialist revolution, while to Greer, women must refuse to marry in order to refrain from the pattern of male dominance which accompanies such an action.

This study may be seen as somewhat of a reaction to the above sorts of writings. It will not be another program prophesying the upcoming female liberation from male oppression. Instead, it will take off at a point where the feminists simply were content with conjecture. We will attempt to understand the nature of the mechanisms which account for the systematic maintenance of male dominance in our society. If "male oppression" is an intricate part of "female liberation", then it is right for the former to be thoroughly and thoughtfully understood.

Since there are many kinds of dominance which one could study (e.g. physical, psychic, sexual), we will be limiting ourselves to but one which is of key importance: the dominance which is associated with high (vs. low) occupational prestige. We have chosen this variable because it comes as close as is readily possible to what feminist authors mean when they refer to dominance. It is simply an indicator of the amount of deference which people are willing to accrue to others, based upon the important criteria of the job which they happen to hold. Furthermore, the prestige of one's occupation normally acts to define the number and

type of interactions which others will be willing to engage in with you: "In the United States, at least, occupational role often defines an entire character - for better or for worse - by which persons tend to relate with others."⁶ This is so in spite of the fact that most often, individuals are quite unaware that the nature of their interaction with others is in some way guided by the type of occupation held by those others. So instead of referring to vague terms such as relative dominance or oppression, we will be limiting our investigation to an explanation of the relative occupational distributions of each sex, and the reasons for it.

Sociological theory must be considered a useful place to start a search for an adequate understanding of this problem. This is because sociologists have been traditionally concerned with the problem of hierarchy, or institutionalized systems of dominance and subservience. Some sociologists have responded by asserting that social hierarchies are a "natural" adaptation of social groups to their environment, helping them meet important functional demands inherent in social systems.⁷ Others have solidly renounced such a conservative position, and have tried to

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Edward E. Shapson, Social Psychology and Contemporary Society, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1971), p. 131.

7

See K. Davis and W. Moore, "Some Principles of Stratification" in R. Bendix and S.M. Lipset, Class Status, and Power, (New York: The Free Press, 1966), pp. 47-52; also T. Parsons, The Social System (New York: The Free Press, 1951), p. 159.

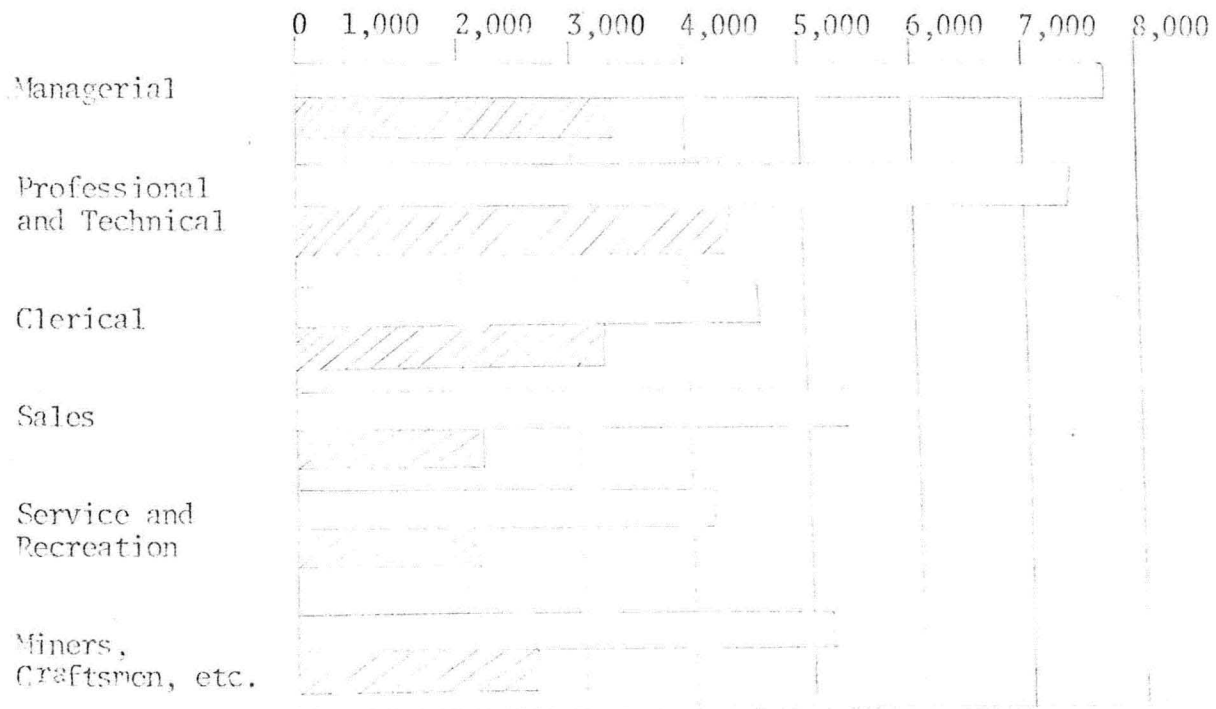
indicate how hierarchies act as veritable conspiracies of the few against the many.⁸ Neither of these two extreme positions will be adopted here. Instead, an analysis of the very real extra-individual social forces and how they act to affect males' and females' relative positions of dominance in our society will be undertaken. Before elaborating further upon the theoretical position to be adopted here, however, we will present a more in depth look at the exact nature of prestige hierarchies in ours and other societies.

Let us begin with Canadian society. The feminist literature would suggest that Canadian women are by and large dominated and controlled by men. As such we take this to mean that they predict that men will generally have higher occupational prestige (including the accompanying economic and political power) than do women. Let us investigate this prediction by referring to the most relevant data we could find on the subject. Unfortunately, no study has yet been done relating the relative occupational prestige of the two groups, so income data will have to suffice for now. Figure I-1 and Table I-1 (on following page) illustrate the relative earning power of men and women in various occupational spheres in Canada.

8

A notable example is C.W. Mills', The Power Elite, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956).

Figure I-1: AVERAGE EARNINGS OF FULL-YEAR WORKERS***IN THE LABOUR FORCE*, BY SEX, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS**, CANADA, 1965



* Individuals in the Labour Force were classified according to their job at time of the survey; individuals not in the labour force at time of survey are excluded.

** Female workers in the occupations transportation and communication, farmers, loggers and fishermen, and labourers are not included as the number of workers is too small for a reliable estimate.

*** Workers who reported having worked 50-52 weeks.

SOURCE: Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Income Distribution by Size in Canada 1965. Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1968 Taken from Table 31, p. 44.

Table I-1: Percentage Distribution of Individuals in the Labour Force by Sex, by Income Groups, and by Average Earnings for Selected Occupational Groups, Canada, 1965.

| Income Group | Managerial | | Professional and Technical | | Clerical | | Sales | | Service and Recreation | | Miners, Craftsmen, etc. | |
|--|------------|---------|----------------------------|---------|----------|---------|---------|---------|------------------------|---------|-------------------------|---------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Under \$1000..... | 1.2 | 13.8 | 1.3 | 10.9 | 4.4 | 15.0 | 10.2 | 34.1 | 11.0 | 46.6 | 2.9 | 23.2 |
| \$1000—\$1999..... | 2.0 | 14.2 | 2.4 | 10.6 | 5.7 | 15.1 | 8.9 | 31.0 | 10.0 | 22.7 | 5.0 | 23.6 |
| \$2000—\$2999..... | 4.8 | 21.5 | 4.6 | 13.8 | 12.7 | 24.7 | 8.8 | 22.3 | 16.0 | 21.0 | 3.5 | 27.9 |
| \$3000—\$3999..... | 9.1 | 15.9 | 8.9 | 21.9 | 15.1 | 28.1 | 15.2 | 10.3 | 20.5 | 7.7 | 14.4 | 15.6 |
| \$4000—\$4999..... | 11.8 | 18.3 | 11.1 | 18.4 | 22.7 | 12.5 | 13.5 | 0.6 | 17.9 | 1.3 | 21.0 | 4.8 |
| \$5000—\$5999..... | 14.1 | 9.4 | 14.1 | 12.3 | 20.5 | 3.1 | 13.1 | 1.0 | 11.4 | 0.7 | 20.5 | 2.6 |
| \$6000—\$9999..... | 35.6 | 7.0 | 39.5 | 10.9 | 13.6 | 1.4 | 24.4 | — | 12.7 | — | 26.2 | 0.3 |
| \$10,000 and over..... | 22.6 | — | 17.5 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.1 | 3.9 | — | 0.6 | — | 1.5 | — |
| TOTALS..... | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Average earnings..... | \$7,501 | \$2,987 | \$7,135 | \$3,549 | \$4,255 | \$2,617 | \$4,583 | \$2,477 | \$3,452 | \$1,276 | \$4,682 | \$2,027 |
| Average earnings of full-year workers..... | \$7,920 | \$3,351 | \$7,602 | \$4,226 | \$4,713 | \$3,263 | \$5,227 | \$2,077 | \$4,120 | \$2,099 | \$5,250 | \$2,756 |

Source: Florence Bird (Chairman), Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1970), p. 62.

The occupational groups listed in table I-1 indicate that women's average salary in Canada is less than half the average men's salary. This fact alone, however immediately tells us little about the acclaimed relatively low occupational prestige which women are said to have vis-a-vis men. However, evidence exists which strongly suggests that income and occupational prestige are very highly correlated phenomena. Albert J. Reiss found that in the U.S., the two have a rank correlation of +.85. He concludes that roughly 72 per cent of the variance in prestige scores therefore is accounted for by income....Hence, income level...is a surprisingly good predictor of the "general standing" of an occupation

(and its incumbent)."⁹ Duncan has speculated on why it is that these two variables are so highly interrelated:

...a man...as a consequence of pursuing his occupation... obtains (an) income....If we characterize an occupation according to the prevailing level of...income of its incumbents, we are not only estimating its "social status" and its "economic status", we are also describing one of its major..."effects". It would not be surprising if an occupation's "prestige" turned out to be closely related to (the income of its incumbents).¹⁰

Since the two phenomena appear to be so highly correlated, we feel justified in concluding that Figure 1 and Table 1 are indicative of a real problem: differential access to prestigious occupations on the basis of sex. In a society such as ours which advances a liberal-egalitarian ethos, a situation of the magnitude suggested by these figures is indeed a "problem", since it is a vulgar deviation from the "ideal". But we must not allow our ideals to seriously distort our view of reality. In fact, there is ample evidence of the stubborn existence of this problem throughout the history of the Western world, as well as cross-culturally, among preliterate cultures. The widespread evidence of this situation may itself have serious implications for the likelihood of change.¹¹

In support of my contention that the division of labour

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Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (ed.), Occupations and Social Status, (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961), p. 84.

¹⁰

Otis Dudley Duncan, "A Socio-economic Index for all occupations," in Ibid., pp. 116-117.

¹¹

See Lionel Tiger, Men in Groups, (London: Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1969), especially pp. 210-17, where he discusses the implications of cross-cultural findings upon the possibilities of our changing our division of labour according to sex.

according to sex has the appearance of a semi- permanent institutional arrangement in Western industrialized societies, I will cite evidence from several different studies on the subject. Edward Gross,¹² in a paper on the sexual structure of occupations in the U.S., computed the amount of sexual segregation in very specific occupational categories using census data between 1900-1960. In order to compute this index of the segregation he used a modified version of Duncan's Index of segregation.¹³ Despite the great increase in the ratio of men to women employed over this time period (from 4.5 to 1 in 1900 to 1.8 to 1 in 1960), little evidence of change in segregation patterns were found. He concludes that "...there is as much sexual segregation now as there was some sixty years ago....This phenomena is very persistent."¹⁴ The same sort of discrepancy between male and female earning capacities exist in the United Kingdom. "In 1966, averaging out for all industries, male wage-earners received £20 6S., while females had £10 1S. Among salaried employees, men earned an average of 26 14S., women £14 5S."¹⁵ Similarly in Sweden, a country which is commonly thought to be relatively emancipated, the

¹²

Edward Gross, "Plus Ça Change...? The Sexual Structure of Occupations over Time," Social Problems, (Fall, 1968), pp. 198-208.

¹³

Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification," American Journal of Sociology, 60, (March, 1955), pp. 493-503.

¹⁴

Ibid., as quoted in L. Tiger, Men in Groups, p. 110.

¹⁵

British Information Services, Notes on Some Prices in Britain, 1967, p. 22, as quoted in L. Tiger, Men in Groups, p. 110.

situation for women is similar to that of other countries. Their average hourly pay for women in 1964 was 40 per cent less than for men. 'High-level posts and high incomes are very disproportionately retained by men, and there is no evidence of movement towards the equitable distribution of money and perquisites which Swedish ideology would recommend.'¹⁶

Similarly, Duverger attests to a progressive deterioration of women's possession of prestigious roles on the international level:

This progressive decline in women's influence as the higher levels of leadership are reached is not only noticeable in the structure of the State and political organs, but is also to be found in the government service, the political parties, the trade unions, private business, etc. Nor are there any perceptible signs of improvement in this respect....The percentage of women members of parliament, for instance, is hardly increasing. On the contrary, it tends to fall after the first elections in which women have had the suffrage, and to become stabilized at a very low level.¹⁷

The evidence is clear: female access to prestigious positions in industrial societies has historically been limited, and still remains so. Furthermore, little concrete evidence indicating a change in the status quo is apparent.

Cross-culturally in primitive societies, similar sorts of evidence about status of women have been gathered by E.E. Evans-Pritchard.¹⁸

¹⁶

Ibid.

¹⁷

Maurice Duverger, The Political Role of Women, (Paris: UNESCO, 1955), p. 10. His remarks are based on evidence collected from nineteen different countries.

¹⁸

E.E. Evans-Pritchard, The Position of Women in Primitive Societies, (London: Faber and Faber, 1965).

He paints a picture of the typical male-female relationship among primitive societies to be that of superior-subservient. "In primitive societies men invariably hold the authority, though in some societies and in certain circumstances old women may exercise authority as well."¹⁹ However, according to Evans-Pritchard there is one major distinction between the typical male-female relationship among primitives and that among men and women from industrial societies: the former have no notion of social equality, and do not wish to obliterate the status difference between themselves and men.²⁰ He observes that woman's status position relative to men has, "in spite of all formal and conventional appearances," remained relatively constant throughout time. He goes on to purport his own ideas about the cause of this status differential between men and women:

...I find it difficult to believe that the relative positions of the sexes are likely to undergo any considerable lasting alternation in the foreseeable future. Primitive societies and barbarous societies and the historical societies of Europe and the East exhibit almost every conceivable variety of institutions, but in all of them, regardless of the form of social structure, men are always in the ascendancy, and this is perhaps the more evident the higher the civilization....Feminists have indeed said that this is because women have always been denied the opportunity of taking the lead; but we would still have to ask how it is that they have allowed the opportunity to be denied them, since it can hardly have been just a matter of brute force. The facts seem rather to suggest that there are deep biological and psychological factors, as well as sociological factors, involved..."²¹

¹⁹

Ibid., p. 50.

²⁰

Ibid., pp. 51-52.

²¹

Ibid., p. 54.

We need not agree with the author's emphasis upon biological factors as the likely cause of sexual dimorphism in order to appreciate the main point of his argument: i.e. if we study this phenomenon in isolation, without referring to cross-cultural ethnographic material, we are doing a disservice to our problem at hand. Not to recognize one's own society's division of labour according to sex as being related to similar conditions around the world is to be "naive" at best. However, I feel that a response to the biological determinism in the above position should be made now, since it has considerable significance for this study.

In a sense I am aware of the "fact" that cross-cultural study is important in order to develop a full understanding as to the origin and development of male dominance in our own society. Even if we reject the biological theory outright, we could still speculate as to the important effect of the interplay between male-female physical differences (e.g. child-bearing function, lactation, relative height and weight) and institutionalized social structures. But what would be the logical outcome of such a study? In my opinion, it could only act to legitimate existing social arrangements by viewing them as a logical consequence of a vast number of biological-historical forces and tendencies. It may be "true" that social structural and biological arrangements in our distant past still act to influence the organization of our daily lives-- and this I do not deny. But to eternally dwell upon this "fact" leads us nowhere. This is because studies of this type tend to ignore the specific social mechanisms at play within contemporary society which act

to maintain our sexual division of labour. By doing this, those adopting the historical-biological approach suggest that these are quasi-inevitable specifics of a considerably more wide-reaching "process". Ideas such as these can only have the effect of being a conservative influence upon our society. They take the position: "That's the way it is, because that's the way it always has been." We propose that there is considerable evidence attesting to the incompleteness of these biological-historical theories. They are a prime example of post hoc explanation--sounding brilliantly explanatory until all their repercussions are fully understood. Should we wish to change present social arrangements, the old theories may have to be viewed again for their limitations and biases. But in order that we may be able to exert pressure to change our collective environment we must have precise knowledge as to the intricate workings of our "system". This is precisely what this study will attempt to do.

The approach which will be adopted here may be termed "cultural", in that certain features of social structure, socialization, and personality are all deemed important in attempting a suitable explanation. Social structures are important because they are constructs which help us understand the extra-individual forces which act upon us to influence our behaviour. The long process of socialization - the means by which we arrive at the formation of "self-identity" or "personality" - cannot be ignored either. This is because it is recognized that people do not choose from among alternative occupational (and other) goals in a purely random fashion. Instead, it has been found that people have a certain "volontarism" in that they make very real decisions affecting their

lives on the basis of how they think and feel about things - i.e. on the basis of their personalities.²² As such, then, reference must be made to the process of internalization of values, attitudes and beliefs, and their eventual integration in what we call the personality.

On the structural level, we will specifically be looking at the 'hierarchy of demands' which our occupational structure requires of its various role incumbents. It is proposed that the nature of the tasks which are inherent to occupational roles can be understood to vary systematically in accordance with the prestige of that occupation. This will be discussed again in more depth later, but for now we may characterize high prestige occupations as normally demanding activities that we call 'responsible' and high in 'mental effort'. In contrast, those occupations of low prestige tend to be characterized by low amounts of 'responsibility' and 'mental effort'. This structural feature of our economic subsystem effectively acts to limit free access by all individuals to high prestige occupations, since they must first demonstrate their ability to adequately fulfil the requirements of the 'higher' jobs. 'Getting ahead' then, is seen as the process of convincing others of one's ability to adequately fulfil the requirements of a higher position.

At the same time, we must understand that the socialization of young men and women - their process of personality formation - is crucial to our comprehension of their differing occupational behaviour patterns.

²²

For example, see Parsons' analysis of his action frame of reference in T. Parsons, The Social System, especially, pp. 3-23.

We must gain at least a basic understanding of what the process of personality formation is in general, and more specifically, how this helps us to understand the basis for male-female personality differences. As such, then, it may primarily be the systematic differences in socialization experiences between the two sexes which is largely responsible for the gross differences in occupational behaviour. Women, it will be argued, tend to develop the kind of personality which is antithetical to the proper and acceptable completion of high prestige occupational roles. As a consequence, then, they are left to complete less "instrumental" tasks, which are thought to be more concurrent with their personality predispositions.

Lastly, we must try to fit the above two "pieces" together into some coherent whole which explains stratification differences according to sex. Essentially, we will argue that socialization is an effective screening mechanism restricting upward mobility in our occupational system. Thus, differential possession (or non-possession) of key character traits on the part of the two sexes effectively acts to influence the hierarchical prestige arrangements of the two groups. To put it crudely, then, women get the "left-over" jobs simply because their personalities are not thought to be as well suited as males' to high prestige occupations by those with the power to hire and fire.

The basis for this tentative set of assertions is an elaborate set of theoretical propositions, empirical evidences (mine as well as others'), and (sometimes sketchy) deductive reasonings which will later

be presented for consideration. On the basis of this conceptual framework, we drew up an interview schedule which was designed to help us better understand the phenomena we are studying. Some of the major variables operationalized therein are: value-orientations (a measure of personality characteristics), orientation toward one's work role, occupational prestige and mobility, and self-esteem. Using this schedule we interviewed forty men and forty women - all residents of a small suburb/town near Hamilton - in an attempt to test the accuracy of the theoretical framework. We will present and discuss the results of this investigation in subsequent chapters.

Let us look now at some of the major theoretical explanations which are relevant to an understanding of the division of labour according to sex. Upon this, we will be in a better position to proceed with our own theoretical and methodological contribution.

CHAPTER II

Various Explanations of Sexual Dimorphism

Attempts to explain the seemingly universal problem of male dominance in societies have been numerous. As expected, several different and often contradictory explanations have been offered by various authors. Before continuing with the specific approach which will be developed for the purposes of this study, we would do well to consider what others have offered as theoretical explanation for sexual dimorphism. The approaches most widely adopted may be summarized as follows:

- (1) the biological approach, which states that differences in behaviour according to sex exist because of some physiological mechanism which operates to make it so.
- (2) the socialization approach: which states that sex differences exist because of the systematically different socialization process influencing the two sexes.
- (3) the structural approach, which states that sex differences exist because of some underlying social structural arrangement existing in a society.
- (4) the functional approach, which states that sex differences exist because they act to maintain or integrate the social system.

Let us briefly explore the logic and evidences which some of the major authors in each of these categories present in defence of their positions. It later will be evident that the theoretical position assumed in this study relies heavily upon the approaches and observations drawn from many

of these positions.

1. The Biological Approach

Those who advocate this approach to the study of sex differences believe that physiology is an obvious and relatively promising place to begin searching for the causes of sex-typed behaviour. Generally, two quite different types of research are being done in this field. One may be characterized as an attempt on the part of social scientists to reconstruct - on the basis of our knowledge about overt biological differences between the sexes - the history of our present-day institutional arrangements. The other body of literature is physiological-psychological in nature. They generally present evidence that sex-specific hormones (either in animals or men) act to influence our social behaviour. It must be noted that both groups of authors are not denying the very important role of social learning - in fact most overtly recognize its importance. However, what they are agreed upon is the idea that certain physiological factors may have been or still are instrumental in influencing the forms which this type of learning assume. In other words, our social roles may in fact be predominantly learned, but their contents are thought to have physiologically-based elements.

Roy D'Andrade and Lionel Tiger are representatives of this first approach, which we may call "historical-biological." D'Andrade's central thesis in his article entitled "Sex Differences and Cultural

Institutions"¹ is that sex-specific behaviours are based on biological differences in ancient societies. These in turn have become institutionalized and "generalized" within our present-day societies:

...the division of labour by sex comes about as a result of generalization from activities directly related to physical sex differences to activities only indirectly related to these differences; that is, from behaviors which are differentially reinforced as a result of physical differences to behaviors which are anticipatory or similar to such directly conditioned activities.²

He uses Murdock's cross-cultural study³ of the sex basis of the division of labour among 224 societies to support his generalization that male activities tend to be quite strenuous, cooperative, requiring periods of travel, when compared to those activities of females, which are likely to involve physically easier, more solitary, less mobile activities. Simple divisions of labour based on physical differences according to sex in societies of primitive technology "compound into complex causal chains, resulting in sets of institutional structures that "act back" on the conditions that created them in the first place, sometimes simplifying the original conditions, sometimes elaborating them in a variety of ways."⁴ Our division of labour by sex, then, is seen as a phenomena which is directly

¹ Roy D'Andrade, "Sex Differences and Cultural Institutions," in E. Maccoby, The Development of Sex Differences, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), pp. 174-204.

² Ibid., p. 178.

³ G.P. Murdock, "Comparative Data on the Division of Labour by Sex," Social Forces, 15, 1935, pp. 551-553.

⁴ R. D'Andrade, "Sex Differences and Cultural Institutions," p. 202.

related to the division of labour which was adaptive in a society which was ancestral to ours - one of a considerably more primitive technology.

A still more recent attempt has been made to explain "sex differences" by Lionel Tiger in his book entitled Men in Groups.⁵ Again, his theoretical explanation for the sexual division of labour has its basis in male-female physiological "differences". He argues that men and women do not behave in the same manner in our society nor in any other known to anthropologists primarily because there is a biological 'propensity' in males which leads them to 'bond',⁶ (ie. have intimate relationships to the exclusion of women). This bond may, however, also depend upon a socially learned component, as well as the biological.⁷ He proposes that cultural forms result from the interaction of behavioural 'propensities' or inborn biological programmes. So to him, the behaviour of the individual is not determined by the impingement of culture, but by the coordination of a genetically arbitrated life cycle with the more or less appropriate response evoked by a particular community.⁸ This means that an 'instinctive' factor underlies the development of social patterns.

His position is that 'human nature' is such that it is unnatural for females to engage in defence, policing, and high politics. Furthermore, the male bond effectively functions to keep out those females who express

⁵ L. Tiger, Men in Groups.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 19-20.

⁷ Ibid., p. 36.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 53-54.

interest in such affairs. These male bonding patterns arose out of and reflect man's history as a hunter. A definite genetic advantage accrued to those males who insisted on hunting in all-male groups, due to numerous factors⁹ which limit the females' hunting capabilities. He interprets male bonding to have originally been dependent upon economic-ecological factors, as opposed to others who have suggested non-materialist psychological factors (eg. Freud). These economic factors have led to broad genetic programming in the human male toward an anti-female tradition and a division of labour by sex.

Tiger admits that it is difficult to specify the central biological constituent of his bonding process, but he suggests that it is similar to the sexual attraction between males and females (which we are in no position to determine empirically). He sees the sexual division of labour in contemporary society as a consequence of (1) males' wishes to preserve their unisexual bonds, and (2) male-female physical and temperamental differences which exist in any culture. His understanding of the original development of cross-cultural sex-specific behaviour is quite similar to that of D'Andrade. He believes that biological and cultural differences developed in response to initial and very elementary sex differences, and their institutionalization in our very earliest cultural forms.

9

The following are known physiological differences between males and females: (1) child-rearing properties, including birth and early nursing are exclusively female jobs; (2) women are smaller physically; (3) women may be less able to endure heat; (4) women are slower and have less energy spurts; (5) some women are subject to variance in mood because of the menstrual cycle.

The other form of biological research attempting to understand behaviour differences according to sex is what we have called psychological. Hamburg and Lunde's recent article¹⁰ is a notable example of this type of research. In it, they present evidence that animal as well as human sex-specific hormones have considerable impact upon social behaviour. For example, they found that when a male hormone (testosterone) is administered to a pregnant monkey, this increases the likelihood that female offspring will closely resemble the behaviour typical of males. "The masculinized females threatened, initiated play, and engaged in rough-and-tumble play more frequently than the controls. Like normal males, these masculinized females also withdrew less often from initiations, threats, and approaches to other subjects."¹¹

The authors suggest that the presence of a similarly high level of a hormone (androgen) in the human male at birth may similarly produce sex-specific behaviour. However, both authors also recognize that human behaviour is also dependent upon learning to a large degree. It is admitted that males' early exposure to androgen is not likely to biologically determine rigid behaviour patterns throughout the lifetime. Instead, they suggest that androgen "would facilitate ease of learning aggressive patterns and increase readiness to learn such patterns."¹²

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D.A. Hamburg and D.T. Lunde, "Sex Hormones in the Development of Sex Differences in Human Behaviour," in E.E. Maccoby, The Development of Sex Differences, pp. 1-24.

¹¹

Ibid., p. 13.

¹²

Ibid., p. 14.

The presence of this hormone could sensitize males to certain stimulus patterns. "Threshold of response to certain agonistic (combative) stimuli might be lowered, with the result that these stimuli might take on distinctly arousing properties. Or certain patterns of action might become more rewarding as a result of the early hormone action on the central nervous system..."¹³

Other authors have reached similar conclusions. Notably, Roger Brown attests to the probable importance of "innate differences of temperament" between males and females. He claims that many studies have shown "that increasing the amount of male hormone for a male animal will raise his position in the dominance hierarchy.... Even the cross-cultural evidence generally favors the proposition that the male human tends to have a more aggressive temperament than the female."¹⁴ In sum, then, it would seem that these (as well as many other) scientists are agreed that biological factors must not be ignored in formulating a full understanding of sex-specific behaviour patterns. They are not what we would call biological determinists. Yet they are convinced that behaviour is the result of a complex of interaction among biological, hormonal and environmental variables. Premature and emotion-based denial of their evidence may in fact lead us astray.

¹³

Ibid.

¹⁴

R. Brown, Social Psychology, (New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 170.

2. The Socialization Approach

Other authors have suggested that differential socialization practices may be a crucial variable influencing the division of labour according to sex. Generally, these authors believe that if we can understand the process whereby children acquire their behaviour patterns, we can also learn about their acquisition of specific sex-typed behaviours. Three such theories will be presented here for consideration: the social-learning approach, the cognitive-developmental approach, and the symbolic interactionist approach. These have been chosen because of their widespread use and high credibility among social scientists.

Before their presentation, two further notes should be added. These theories are a-historical, and do not pretend to present a full explanation for the development of sex differences. Rather they must be considered as attempts to explain the process of sex role acquisition in our society. Each theory has its own concepts and general rules for the learning of behaviour by children, which are in turn applied to the specific phenomena of sex specific patterns. Secondly, the general assumption is made that innate biological differences are inconsequential to this process of sex role learning. These are either held to be non-existent or unimportant in the determination of the differential behaviour patterns of the two sexes. For example, Brown's recognition of the probable biological basis for sex differences does not deter him from advocating the possibility that our arbitrary division of labour according to sex may be radically modified in accordance with our

ideals.¹⁵ Let us briefly consider, then how these three "schools" attempt to explain sex differences.

(i) Social-learning approach

This theory has been widely used by psychologists in attempting to understand the process whereby children learn not only sex-typed, but virtually all behaviour patterns. Stated as simply as possible, its core proposition is that "positive reinforcement" of any behaviour by an individual increases the likelihood that it will be repeated at some later point in time. On the other hand, its "negative reinforcement" increases the possibility that it will not be repeated. Children are also thought to learn by "imitation", or observational learning. The theory suggests that people tend to "reproduce the actions, attitudes, and emotional responses exhibited by real-life or symbolic models."¹⁶ Hill¹⁷ suggests that a good deal of the basis upon which people decide to emulate others' behaviour rests upon whether or not the observer has seen it reinforced by another or others. This learning by imitation is called "vicarious reinforcement".

In sum, then, two concepts form the real basis of this theory of learning, ie. direct reward and punishment and the imitation of models'

¹⁵
Ibid., p. 172.

¹⁶
Walter Mischel, "A Social-Learning View of Sex Differences in Behavior," in E.E. Maccoby, The Development of Sex Differences, p. 57.

¹⁷
W.F. Hill, "Learning Theory and the Acquisition of Values", Psychol. Review, 67, (1960), 317-331.

behaviour and attitudes. In reality, the theory is considerably more complex than this brief skeletal view indicates. For example, it is postulated that people are able to "generalize" from specific learned situational responses to new situations. But the general theoretical position should be clear: i.e. that we can predict behavioural responses to given stimulus situations if we have an adequate understanding of the stimulus-response history of individuals. The intermediary "cognitive" process between stimulus and response is not denied. Rather an in-depth analysis of this process is considered to be relatively fruitless in giving us greater predictive ability.

Walter Mischel¹⁸ has attempted to utilize this social-learning perspective to explain sex differences. Generally, he focuses on the differences in aggressive and dependent behaviours, positing these to be the logical consequence of modelling and reward and punishment patterns. He cites evidence to support the widely-held contention that boys exercise more aggressive and "negativistic" behaviour (eg. negative attention-getting, antisocial aggression, physical aggression), while "girls tend to show greater "prosocial" aggression, eg. stating of rules with threats of punishment for breaking them."¹⁹ In attempting to account for such behaviour differences, he cites studies which indicate

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Mischel, "A Social-Learning View of Sex Differences in Behaviour."

¹⁹

Ibid., p. 73.

that reinforcement histories differ systematically according to sex. In a study by Sears, Maccoby, and Levin²⁰ boys were found to be allowed to show more aggression, and often are even encouraged to do so. Girls, on the other hand, are more often negatively reinforced for physical or antisocial aggressive behaviour. "Prosocial" aggression is the only behaviour normally tolerated in girls. Another study (by Bandura²¹) indicated the importance of reinforcement for the manifestation of aggressive behaviour. When boys and girls were offered positive reinforcement for the performance of aggressive behaviours, this practically eliminated the previous disparity of behaviours performed by both sexes. Because of this, the author feels justified in concluding that it was clearly the differing reinforcement histories for aggression which caused the original aggressive behaviour differences. Mischel reiterates: "These results indicate that...boys and girls...differ in their performance of (aggressive) responses because of the sex-determined response-consequences they have previously obtained and observed for such behaviour."²² He adds that differential attention to male and female models (i.e. imitation) has been found to be an additional cause of this male aggression.

The next sex difference which Mischel puts forth for examination

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R. Sears, E. Maccoby, and H. Levin, Patterns of Child Rearing, (New York: Harper, 1957), as cited in Mischel, op cit., p. 73.

²¹

A. Bandura, "Influence of Model's Reinforcement Contingencies on the acquisition of Imitative Responses", Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1, (1965), 589-595, as cited in Mischel, op cit., p. 73.

²²

Ibid., p. 74.

is the documented phenomena of female dependency. This of course is explicable in social-learning terms. Studies have documented the fact that parents act toward girls in a significantly more affectionate manner than toward boys. At the same time, other studies have revealed a positive correlation to exist between affectionate child-rearing and dependency behaviour on the part of children. Thus, Mischel also feels justified in concluding that the reinforcement histories of the two sexes are instrumental in causing differential dependency behaviours:

It seems very likely that in our culture, girls receive more reward for dependency than boys. In laboratory studies it has been demonstrated that a permissive attitude toward dependency, and reward for dependency, increases children's dependency behaviour....It is also plausible that the results of studies reporting greater female "conformity" and greater female concern with social approval may reflect a stronger history of dependency reinforcement for these women.²³

In general, then, we may conclude that the social-learning approach, although presently lacking in conclusive evidence, does offer us some limited insights into the process of learning sex-typed behaviour patterns. Perhaps part of its attractiveness lies in its utter simplicity and appeal to "common-sense". Mischel's evidence at least makes it clear that rewards, punishments, and models are differentially available to girls and boys, and that these seem to be of considerable importance for the development of aggressive and dependent behaviour patterns.

(ii) Cognitive-developmental approach

The cognitive-developmental approach to the study of learning is not radically dissimilar to the social-learning one described above. We may envision the main difference between the two approaches to be this. The cognitive theorist feels it is important and useful to posit a cognitive (thinking) structure to be intermediary between the stimulus and the response. Stimuli are seen to influence the formation of a cognitive mediator which develops a relatively independent existence. Kohlberg²⁴ proposes that this cognitive activity is inherent in man's nature - i.e. man is assumed to be an active, organizing seeker to knowledge and understanding of his environment. Learning, then, is seen as a process of selectively interpreting and organizing the stimuli present in the physical and social world. Action is not an automatic and passive response to stimuli, but the result of developed cognitive attitudes which mediate, and only then react to stimuli. This set of cognitive mediators is often referred to as a self-identity or self-concept.

One of the theoretical postulates basic to this approach is Piaget's notion of assimilation, i.e.:

"the tendency to respond to new activities and interests that are consistent with old ones....
It implies both the tendency to autonomous

24

L. Kohlberg, "A Cognitive-Developmental Analysis of Children's Sex-Role Concepts and Attitudes," in E. Maccoby, op cit., pp. 82-173.

expansion and generalization of interests of new activities and objects, and the tendency for these new interests to have a relationship to match, or consistency, to old interests and schemata."²⁵

By the age of two there are clearly established differences between the sexes - differences "in the interest value of toys,...in activity rate, in aggressiveness,...and fearfulness." This has the effect of helping the process of childrens' later strivings to maintain their self-identity as males or females, since these early schema are consistent with those identities which will be developed later in life.

Only by the age of three or four does the child develop a concept of self, and a sense that he/she is of a specific gender. At this stage,

"the child has a naive or egocentric tendency to value anything associated with or like himself. Accordingly, the child tends to value positively objects and activities that represent his gender identity because his gender identity is part of himself."²⁶

From this time on, Kohlberg proposes that the child acts primarily to achieve cognitive balance or consistency between his self-concept and his activities. For example, if he/she equates "the self with the good, (this) causes the child to engage in activities or to acquire objects judged to be good."²⁷ The implications of this consistency theory are clear. Upon the child identifying him/herself as a male/female, he/she

²⁵
Ibid., p. 112.

²⁶
Ibid., p. 113.

²⁷
Ibid.

is likely to actively pursue sex-typed models in order to achieve consistency. Once this process has begun, it is likely to continue with considerable effects. The child will emulate the acts, values and interests of his/her appropriate sex models.

Not unlike the social-learning theory, then, cognitive-developmental theory suggests that it is this key process of modelling or imitation which is largely responsible for peoples' conformity to sex-specific behaviour patterns. In the case of cognitive-developmental theory, though, children do not imitate because they seek simply to maximize their reinforcements from others around them. Instead, they do so as a consequence of their attempts to be consistent. Once they become aware of their gender identity, they consciously and actively attempt to realize its socially defined behaviours and values.

(iii) Symbolic Interaction Approach

Symbolic interaction theory, much like the other two presented above, is an attempt to explain behavioural regularities which occur in societies. As such, it may be considered to be as "behaviorist" as social-learning theory. G.H. Mead discusses this very point:

Social psychology is behavioristic in the sense of starting off with an observable activity - the dynamic, ongoing social process and the social acts which are its component elements - to be studied and analyzed scientifically. But it is not behavioristic in the sense of ignoring the inner experience of the individual - the inner phase of that process or activity. On the contrary, it is particularly concerned with the use of such experience within the process as a whole. It simply works from the outside, so to speak, in its endeavor to determine how such

experience does arise within the process. The act, then,...has both an inner and an outer phase, an internal and an external aspect.²⁸

So the expressed aim of this theory is to understand 'internalization'; the process whereby the individual becomes a full and participating member of his society.

The first point which should be noted is that Mead conceives of this process of internalization as that of the individual actively gaining an awareness of the system of symbolism which exists external to him in his society. To Mead, the social structure (system of symbolic interaction) lies logically prior to the individual. The key concept which he utilizes in attempting to explain this process of "internalization of external reality" is the "self". The self becomes developed in childhood primary as a consequence of the child's ability to see himself as an object, ie. as others see him. It is developed by the individual every time he engages in any social encounter. The individual comes to think of himself as others think of him (Cooley's "looking-glass" self), perhaps primarily because he has no other point of reference or criteria upon which to rely in making such a judgement. In fact this is what Berger and Luckmann suggest to be the most crucial reason why children develop themselves as they do:

In primary socialization there is no problem of identification. There is no choice of significant

others. Society presents the candidate for socialization with a predefined set of significant others, whom he must accept as such with no possibility of opting for another arrangement. ...This unfair disadvantage inherent in the situation of being a child has the obvious consequence that, although the child is not simply passive in the process of his socialization, it is the adults who set the rules of the game. The child can play the game with enthusiasm or with sullen resistance. But, alas, there is no other game around. This has an important corollary. Since the child has no choice in the selection of his significant others, his identification with them is quasiautomatic. For the same reason, his internalization of their particular reality is quasi-inevitable. The child does not internalize the world of his significant others as one of many possible worlds. He internalizes it as the world, the only existent and only conceivable world, the world tout court. It is for this reason that the world internalized in primary socialization is so much more firmly entrenched in consciousness than worlds internalized in secondary socialization....Primary socialization thus accomplishes what (in hindsight of course) may be seen as the most important confidence trick that society plays on the individual - to make appear as necessity what is in fact a bundle of contingencies, and thus to make meaningful the accident of birth.²⁹

In brief, then, we come to see ourselves as others define us during primary socialization. The implications of this idea are directly relevant to an understanding of how sex-specific behaviour is maintained from generation to generation in our society.

Within this framework, the development of a gender identity early in life is explained to be "quasi-automatic". Children, then, come

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P. Berger and T. Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality, (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966), pp. 134-135, (Emphasis added).

to conceive of themselves as members of a specific sex - as well as with all the cultural connotations associated with that sex. Once this sex identity is established within the individual it then has the effect of guiding his behaviour patterns. "The different attitudes that a child assumes are so organized that they exercise a definite control over his response."³⁰ As such then, the individual's conception of self as a specific gender implies the internalization of very specific beliefs about what behaviour, values and attitudes are "right" or "wrong", appropriate or inappropriate. We control our own behaviour in accordance with these internalized beliefs, be they sex-specific or not. "This...is the basis of the profound ethical feeling of conscience - of "ought" and "ought not" - which we all have, in varying degrees, respecting our conduct in given social situations."³¹

Although symbolic interactionists have yet to empirically demonstrate the above-mentioned relationship between "the external symbolic system of 'rights' and 'wrongs' associated with each sex", "the self-concept", and "behaviour" - some limited research has indicated the potential fruitfulness of such an approach. Firstly, evidence does exist in support of the contention that in our society "knowledge" about what girls and boys "should" be like differ considerably. For example, D.F. Aberle, et.al.³² interviewed middle class American fathers to find out what

³⁰ G.H. Mead, On Social Psychology, p. 224.

³¹ Ibid., p. 275.

³² D.F. Aberle and K.D. Naegele, 'Middle-class Fathers' Occupational Role and Attitudes Toward Children,' American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 22, (1952), 366-378.

expectations they held for their sons and daughters. The results reveal that they expected their sons to have a professional or business career, but did not consider these goals as important for their daughters. The latter were expected to marry, rather than have careers. The fathers were asked what behaviours in their children caused them most concern. For boys, lack of responsibility and initiative, poor school work, insufficient aggressiveness, athletic inadequacy, overconformity, excitability, excessive tearfulness, and "childish" behaviour ranked high in importance. Girls were also mentioned in these categories, but much less frequently. Even though "...the girls were by and large less athletic, less aggressive, and more tearful and emotional than boys, this does not bother the father(s)....In fact some fathers are troubled if their daughters are bossy - a term not used for any of the boys."³³ If the daughter is pretty, sweet, affectionate and nice - that certainly is considered to be more than enough.

This study lends strong support to the idea that the system of "rights and wrongs", values, and acceptable behaviours differ systematically according to sex in our society. Furthermore, evidence has been gathered to support the contention that in general, such external environmental conceptions indeed influence the development of self-concepts among boys and girls. In a study conducted by Carl Couch,³⁴ a

³³
Ibid., p. 373.

³⁴
Carl J. Couch, "Family Role Specialization and Self-Attitudes in Children", Sociological Quarterly, 3, (1962), 115-121.

direct relationship was found between the "patriarchal" family pattern and positive self-identification by sons, negative self-identification by daughters:

...those families with a high degree of role specializations are patriarchal families, in which high role specialization is associated with high evaluation of male and son statuses. This leads to positive self-identification as male or son by the males for the value assigned to both statuses is consistent with the value placed upon the self as a general object. In contrast, females with a family background of high role specialization learn that the statuses of female and daughter are somewhat negatively evaluated. This is in conflict with the positive value placed upon the self as a general object. As a consequence, they think of themselves less frequently as daughters and as females than do females from families with low role specialization (ie. non-patriarchal, or more egalitarian families).³⁵

So we may at least tentatively conclude that the process seems to work-- self-conception and definition of the self by others are intimately related.

But what of behaviour and its relationship to self-concept?

To date, some evidence has been gathered by symbolic interactionists to substantiate the claim that behaviour is controlled by our definitions of ourselves and surrounding situations. For example, Goffman's Asylums³⁶ or Gans' Urban Villagers³⁷ use and explain self-concept to be

³⁵ Ibid., p. 121.

³⁶ E. Goffman, Asylums, (Garden City, N.J.: Anchor Books, 1961). He emphasizes here that developed "selves" operate with relative autonomy to guide behaviour despite direct lack of institutional support and legitimacy.

³⁷ H.J. Gans, The Urban Villagers, (New York: The Free Press, 1962). Note especially pp. 93-97, 97-103.

prior to and logically related to existent behaviour patterns. As yet, though little conclusive research exists attempting to explain male-female behaviour differences within this theoretical framework. The possible rewards of such an undertaking seem potentially quite rewarding.

3. The Structural Approach

The fundamental features distinguishing this approach from those discussed above is that it tends to be both a-historical and extra-individual in its attempt to explain behaviour. Yet it should not be confused with the well-known structural-functional approach, which posits the functional interrelationship between various social units. At the same time, no formal assumption about the intimate relationship between the system as a whole, and its interrelated parts need be made. The social system is not seen as the societal equivalent of the biological organism with its innate tendency toward homeostasis, or balance.

Instead, the 'structural' sociologist simply maintains that social or cultural forces do exist and act to influence or guide human behaviour. However, in contrast with the previously discussed positions, acts that they and the man-on-the-street might normally interpret to have originated from within the individual become conceived of as having an extra-individual component or cause. Structures act to make certain kinds of behaviour more or less inevitable within a given social framework. Not to conform to these roles or specific sorts of behaviour demands which structures suggest is to face the accompanying negative sanctions which are often built into the institutional framework. At the same time,

conformist behaviour is most often accompanied by positive sanctions.

Assumed in this approach is the idea that socialization into the appropriate basic value system of "dos" and "don'ts", "rights" and "wrongs", is by and large successfully completed by "socialization agents".

Psychologizing about why groups of people respond to structural demands is normally done without reference to specific individuals' motives.

The assumption is made that large numbers of people respond to structural demands because they hold dear the same basic values which they must have internalized in childhood. So, for example, the structural sociologist could explain the increasing proliferation of white collar (as apposed to blue collar) lifestyles and behaviours by referring to the logically prior structural phenomena of "the shift in industry toward mechanization in order to remain competitive." But implicit in such an "explanation" is the notion that people will continue to work and actively seek new employment when old blue-collar jobs become less readily available. The relative stability of the structure of people's values motives, expectations, desires, etc. is assumed.

This perspective is utilized by Cynthia Epstein³⁸ in her attempt to understand women's apparently limited participation in high status occupational roles. Her book incitefully points out several structural conditions in our society which likely cause many women to drop out of the

38

Cynthia Epstein, Woman's Place, (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1970).

labour market or assume low status roles within it. Space limitations allow only a brief summary of her major arguments.

Epstein argues that one important cause of women's lack of success in the occupational sphere lies in the ambivalence and ambiguity which results from contradictory images of the female role presented by our society. She makes it clear that "this ambivalence (is) rooted in the social structure and is not a product of any individual's personality problems."³⁹ The "traditional" image of the woman in our society is that she is warm, nurturant, yielding, lovable, willing to accept the will and domination of the male, and is lacking in aggressiveness, persistence and personal ambition.⁴⁰ On the other hand, occupational roles are normally considered to be masculine in our society, requiring such traits as "persistence and drive, personal dedication, aggressiveness, emotional detachment, and a kind of sexless matter-of-factness equated with intellectual performance."⁴¹ It is this particular arrangement of knowledge about the qualities appropriate for female and occupational roles which Epstein posits as a major cause of women in our society not considering occupations as a serious career option:

Since the female and professional role configurations are painted by this society as mutually exclusive rather than overlapping or concurrent, most American

³⁹
Ibid., p. 20. (Emphasis added)

⁴⁰
Ibid., p. 22.

⁴¹
Ibid., p. 23.

women feel they must choose between them. Those who attempt to combine them must deal with many strains.⁴²

The fact that women have for the most part accepted these stereotypic images of the traditional and professional female means that they have accepted the idea that the two roles are mutually exclusive. Thus they feel that they must choose between these two diverse roles.

Usually the decision is made to follow the 'traditional' course, since any attempt to combine the roles or follow the professional route inevitably meets with strains. Some sources of these strains are elaborated by Epstein, which we may summarize as follows:

- (1) Women in male-dominated occupations in particular are often thought to be sexless, and overly aggressive.⁴³
- (2) Negative or ambivalent feelings have been found to be associated with women who fill work roles which are demanding or require assertive characteristics.⁴⁴

Those attempting to combine the two roles meet with additional sources of strain.

- (3) The woman (unlike the man) has almost unlimited role demands in her role as mother and wife, which may often intrude upon her performance in the occupational realm. As a result, she may find herself under strain to perform both roles adequately.⁴⁵
- (4) There are few institutional arrangements upon which most women can rely to help meet the requirements of the mother-wife role (eg. day-care centres, bonded housekeepers),

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 25-27.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 98-100.

and few norms exist to legitimize their use. As a result, women may not legitimately reduce the demands which these roles demand.⁴⁶

In sum, then, Epstein demonstrates that institutionalized barriers do exist which act to discourage women's active participation in a career. In fact, lack of material incentives does not appear to be the only cause of this situation. Just as importantly, ideas (common everyday knowledge about things) act to limit and channel behaviour, as evidenced by the above argument.

Before leaving this rather interesting approach, a brief review of some of Epstein's other institutional causes of females' apparent absence from high status jobs should be presented. For the sake of brevity, this will be accomplished by point form.

1. The absence of social pressure upon women to remain and succeed within the occupational realm means that (unlike the men) they may "cop out... with society's full approval and... be given credit for having reached whatever level they have attained."⁴⁷ As a consequence of this, many women do give up when they feel so inclined. Men normally do not have this option, so must continue to work despite their feelings that they might like to quit.
2. Role models presented to children normally represent women in the traditional housewife role as being normal, happy and adjusted. "The single working woman past her early twenties is likely to be portrayed as embittered, frustrated, forsaken, displacing her real desires for marriage and children to a career."⁴⁸ These two contrasting stereotypes make imitation of the second model most unlikely.

⁴⁶
Ibid., pp. 105-108.

⁴⁷
Ibid., p. 131.

⁴⁸
Ibid., p. 30.

3. Men act to protect their own interests and superior power position by excluding women who attempt to encroach upon their power. Because men feel "threatened" by career-seeking women, they sometimes respond by upsetting and hindering such plans, "often with the excuse that it is in the best interests of the woman."⁴⁹ Husbands similarly are prone to feeling that the possibility of their wives working is potentially quite threatening to their position - hence they actively discourage such action.
4. The amount of remuneration received when the average housewife works is quite negligible when all the additional expenses are computed (eg. housekeeper, added clothing). "When the family's books are balanced, the typical woman's work is not likely to show a sizeable economic return, at least when compared to that of her husband."⁵⁰ Since the decision to work is made using this method of accounting naturally many women make the decision that to work would be irrational.
5. Even an ecological variable seems to be causal. "The rapid suburbanization of residential America has not been accompanied by a parallel decentralization of educational or career opportunities."⁵¹ As a consequence of women typically having to combine the wife-mother role with their career role, the additional inconveniences associated with distance and travel time are a serious deterrent against their entering the labour force or augmenting their education.
6. The middle class woman in the housewife role has "a substantial interest in the status quo."⁵² This is so because of the significant "secondary gains" which she has realized - eg. she may schedule her time as she pleases, she has much leisure time, she has considerable time to devote to herself, and her income bears no relationship to her expended effort.⁵³

These then are (according to Epstein) the main social structural causes of female lack of participation within the occupational realm. Of course it should not be considered to be the final and definitive word on

⁴⁹

Ibid., p. 118.

⁵⁰

Ibid., p. 125.

⁵¹

Ibid., p. 133.

⁵²

Ibid., p. 129.

⁵³

Ibid., pp. 129-132.

this subject - it is more of a pioneer effort for this type of analysis. But it does give us insight into some of the factors which seem to be important influences on men and women's decision-making in this area of their lives. Most of her arguments have, to this writer, an intuitively pleasing logic which cannot be denied.

4. The Functional Approach

The functional or structural-functional approach to the study of human behaviour is similar to the structural one outlined above in that it claims that behaviour can only be adequately understood as stemming from the ongoing society and its institutional units. However, key differences are apparent. The functional approach is distinct in that it maintains that this series of units or institutions make up an interdependent "system" such that changes occurring in one unit are bound to influence the operation of others. At the same time, each unit is said to exist as it does because it is somehow "functional" for the maintenance of the whole social system. Talcott Parsons - one of this school's leading theorists - has proposed that this approach can give us real insight into why personality and behaviour differences between the sexes have developed and maintained themselves. Somehow, they must be "functional" to the maintenance of our social system. Notice that this perspective abandons the notion of locating the cause of such phenomena as sex differences - instead, functional importance is judged to be sufficient explanation for behaviour.

Parsons, in his book entitled Family, Socialization and

Interaction Process,⁵⁴ suggests that our nuclear family system performs two main functions which are important for the maintenance of our society: (1) socialization of children, and (2) what he calls the stabilization of adult personalities in our society.⁵⁵ He would maintain that adequate fulfillment of these two functions is absolutely necessary for our social system to survive (with all the positive connotations which that implies). But in order for the first (socialization) function to be adequately performed by our nuclear family, Parsons maintains that a sexual division of labour must occur. Some ego must assume what he calls an "expressive" role, some alter an "instrumental" role. We may best understand this distinction by referring to the relationship between ego and alter within the family when (1) ego is assuming an instrumental role, (2) when alter is assuming an expressive role:

1. When ego is instrumental...

Alter shows respect to ego; the relations to ego and alter are constrained, reserved; alter on occasions indicates hostility toward ego.⁵⁶

2. When ego is expressive...

Alter is at ease in ego's presence, emotionally attached to ego, is close and warm in relation to ego.⁵⁶

Again, Parsons maintains that it is primarily because of the fact that the socialization function must be adequately performed that this male-female

⁵⁴ T. Parsons, Family Socialization and Interaction Process, (New York: The Free Press, 1955).

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 16-17.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 319.

instrumental-expressive role difference emerges. He relies upon the Freudian theory of socialization to explain the necessity of this development.

According to Parsons (and Freud), two basic kinds of parental authority are necessary in order to ensure proper completion of the socialization process. One adult must assume an expressive role, "because young children do not have highly developed instrumental motive systems and are not capable of responding to them."⁵⁷ Another adult must have a more highly developed instrumental "complex of motivational components...in order to serve (the) function as a socializing agent at the critical oedipal phases, as the primary symbolic source of the superego."⁵⁸ "Some significant member of the nuclear family must 'pry the child loose' from the mother-dependency so that it may 'grow up' and accept its responsibilities."⁵⁹ Thus, it is concluded by Parsons that some division of labour among socializing agents must occur. In fact he presents cross-cultural evidence to 'demonstrate' the universality of this phenomenon.⁶⁰

As yet, though, we have not explained why the assignment of the instrumental and expressive roles are arranged according to sex as they presently are. Here is where male-female biological differences become important. The facts that women give birth to their children, and are the

⁵⁷
Ibid., p. 153.

⁵⁸
Ibid.

⁵⁹
Ibid., p. 314.

⁶⁰
He demonstrates this point in Ibid., pp. 320-342.

only ones who can nurse them during the early stages of growth both play a key role in this distribution according to sex of the two "socializing" roles:

Only in our own society (so far as I know, that is) have we managed to invent successful bottle-feeding, and this is undoubtedly of importance for our social structure. In other societies necessarily - and in our own for structural reasons which have not disappeared with the advent of the bottle - the initial core relation of a family with children is the mother-child attachment. And it follows from the principles of learning that the gradient of generalization should establish "mother" (not "father") as the focus of gratification in a diffuse sense, as the source of "security" and "comfort"...Thus, because of her special initial relation to the child, "mother" is the more likely expressive focus of the system as a whole.⁶¹

The female's initial and biologically-determined expressive role then becomes generalized to include many other elements of her role. The father then adopts the remaining role which is functionally necessary for child-rearing - the instrumental role. He takes on the functions of discipline and control in the socializing process.

Thus it becomes clear what Parsons is saying: the differentiation of personality and role according to sex is a natural adaptation of man to his biology and to his environment. Given his theoretical framework, it hardly seems likely that things could have developed otherwise. Parsons sees the division of labour according to sex as a phenomenon which helps to maintain the efficient socialization of children in our society. Since it

⁶¹

Ibid., pp. 313-314.

has become "generalized," it now also helps to stabilize and integrate adult personalities. Thus, it makes important functional contributions to both social system and personality maintenance.

Summary

This chapter has attempted to show the broad scope and variety of academically acceptable explanations which have been used to understand the phenomenon of sexual dimorphism. The first approach considered the nature of biological differences between the sexes, and how these may in fact cause observable differences in behaviour patterns. To Tiger and D'Andrade, our current division of labour according to sex is seen as being caused by divisions of labour which were adaptive in the old hunting and gathering societies. These were based upon biological differences between the sexes, such as their relative abilities to lactate and bear children, their ability to run great distances, and their relative strengths. The simple divisions of labour developed in these hunting and gathering societies is seen by these authors as having slowly developed into the sexual division of labour now prevalent among modern nations. Tiger adds that a biological programming of an anti-female 'bond' in males has paralleled this growth from simple to more complex social forms, acting to maintain our sexual division of labour indefinitely.

These theories have been referred to here as being historical-biological, mainly because they attempt to piece together the origin and development of sexual dimorphism, based upon the differing biological properties of the two sexes. In fact, the authors present a rather convincing

argument in support of their case. It may be seen as a rather interesting attempt to reconstruct a period in history about which we have very little concrete knowledge. The weakest element, however, seems to lie in Tiger's assertion about present male-female genetic differences which he suggests act to maintain our division of labour according to sex. We can see no reason why we should accept this part of his theory, since he himself admits that he has as yet been unable to specify it genetically. Our theory, then, will be developed upon the assumption that the maintenance of our division of labour is not genetically, but socially caused.

This is where our theory concurs with some of authors presented here. A variety of socialization explanations have been discussed above -- each attempting to articulate the process underlying our learning of sex-appropriate behaviours. For our purposes, the three theories -- social learning, cognitive-developmental, and symbolic interaction -- may be seen as attempting to simplify and explain the extremely complex process whereby human learning occurs, and how this learning is related to subsequent action patterns. All three discussions agree about one thing: male-female attitude and behaviour differences exist, and these are caused by regular differences in their stimulus histories. The theories have been referred to as a-historical, since they make no attempt to explain how these "stimulus history" differences came into existence. Our theory to be presented in the following chapter, essentially begins at the point where these theories end: we accept the given that attitude and overt behaviour differences are existent between the sexes, and will attempt to

specify the logical repercussions of this within our system of social stratification. This is a necessary exercise, since we can imagine the possible repercussions of given socialization patterns as being quite diverse, depending upon the "social system" in which these attitudes and behaviour differences occur.

Finally, the structural and structural-functionalist perspectives were considered above. These approaches deal with the influence of society (through its institutions) upon the individual, the latter approach also attempting to understand why social institutions developed as they did. The theoretical position which this study adopts is most akin to these two approaches, in that the common assumption as to the importance of man's social milieu is accepted. However, the specific contents of these theories have certain difficulties. In the case of the functionalist explanation of the sexual division of labour, one must be willing to accept the Freudian imperative that two different kinds of parental authority are absolutely necessary for proper completion of the socialization process. This assertion is a tentative one, at best. Without it, though, the theory loses much of its potency. With respect to Epstein's study -- again, we may say that we agree with the general approach used, but would like to see it placed in a more general framework, which includes the stratification of males as well as females within our occupational structure. She tends to limit herself to an analysis of the specific ways in which barriers exist to impede female career advancement. Her assumption is, of course, that the means whereby people are allocated to work roles is not the same

for women as it is for men. Our study, however, will start out from the opposite assumption: i.e. that the system of stratification into occupational roles is likely based upon the same kinds of criteria for males and females. We conceive of success within our occupational system as stemming mainly from the possession of value orientations which facilitate the practise of "instrumental" work patterns. Epstein's emphasis upon "male discrimination," and "female role strain" are not shared by this author. Instead, one's ability to succeed at the work place is seen as being related to the internalization of the "appropriate" personality type -- a fact which biases occupational rewards considerably in men's favour.

The next chapter will present this theoretical orientation with considerably greater detail. Let us turn now, then, to the theoretical position which this study adopts.

CHAPTER III

Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, we will present in detail our theoretical notions as to how the process of male superiority within our occupational realm maintains itself. As noted above, our emphasis here will be upon the importance of people's values in their allocation to work roles. More specifically, a value orientation scheme developed by Florence Kluckhohn and Fred Strodtbeck¹ will be utilized to predict people's prestige level within our occupational system. In order to make this prediction, we must first understand something about the structure of our system of social stratification. By referring to Talcott Parsons' theory of stratification, it will be argued that high prestige jobs differ systematically with respect to the nature of the demands which they require of their role incumbents. The logical relationship between the Parsonian and Kluckhohn, et. al. schemes allows us to use them in conjunction, such that value orientation may be seen to logically precede people's stratification within the occupational sphere, and thus act as a causal agent. In other words, we will present evidence that there is a closeness of fit between the role demands which occupations make upon their incumbents, and the personalities which those same incumbents possess.

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F. Kluckhohn and F. Strodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations, (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Co., 1964).

Since we have already presented evidence to the effect that women, by and large, have achieved relatively low prestige within our occupational realm, our theory would predict that they maintain such a status because of value orientation differences between themselves and men. Indeed, there is evidence to the effect that such value orientation differences do exist according to sex in our society. This being the case, then, our observed prestige difference between males and females is quite understandable in terms of the context within which prestige is distributed. Thus, if women are more likely to possess those value orientations which are associated with low prestige work roles, then this explains, at least in part, our division of labour according to sex.

Let us begin our analysis by considering Parsons' theory of prestige distribution within our society.

The Nature of Our System of Social Stratification

Talcott Parsons has suggested that the basis upon which people are stratified in any society depends upon the particular way in which the people of that society believe they "ought" to behave.² He has further argued that the American stratification system is based primarily upon an "instrumental pattern". Since people in our society believe that they "ought" to behave in an instrumental manner within the occupational realm, his theory predicts that those people most able to do so will receive the most "rewards" in terms of income, prestige and status.

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See E. Kluckhohn, "Dominant and Substitute Profiles of Cultural Orientations: Their Significance for the Analysis of Social Stratification," Social Forces, 28, 1950, p. 385.

But let us examine exactly what this instrumental action is which is so important to our stratification system. Instrumental action on the part of an individual is behaviour which is very well-disciplined, and directed towards a concrete and foreseeable goal in the future. When we think of instrumental action, it is normally associated with that action characteristic of such high prestige people as scientists or successful politicians.

...Action may be oriented to the achievement of a goal which is an anticipated future state of affairs, the attainment of which is felt to promise gratification.... Such instrumental or goal-orientation introduces an element of discipline, the renunciation of certain immediately potential gratifications, including that to be derived from passively "letting things slide" and awaiting the outcome. Such immediate gratifications are renounced in the interest of the prospectively larger gains to be derived from the attainment of the goal³...

The individual who is acting in an instrumental manner is aware of the fact that there is a relationship between his goal and his proposed means of action designed toward its attainment. He feels that he is of absolute importance in the process of completing his goal, and hence must actively pursue knowledge which may help him towards its attainment. Work towards the goals attainment must outweigh immediate gratification interests. Thus, Parsons argues that, given the goal, "primacy is given to cognitive considerations... that is, knowledge of the conditions necessary to attain the goal over immediate cathectic

3

T. Parsons, The Social System, pp. 48-49.

(i.e. immediately pleasing) interests..."⁴ Parsons decided upon the use of such words as "competence" and "responsibility" as a shorthand to connote the meaning of instrumentalism.

This concept is of importance in our understanding of our system of stratification for a number of reasons. Parsons conceives of social stratification in much the same way as "the problem" which has been presented here:

"Social stratification is regarded here as the differential ranking of the human individuals who compose a given social system and their treatment as superior and inferior relative to one another in certain socially important respects."⁵

His stated task is to determine the process of just how this "differential ranking" occurs: he asks what the criteria are which account for the empirical evidence of such qualities as moral superiority, or "respect", and its antithesis, "disapproval", and in extreme cases, "indignation".⁶

Parsons admits to the possibility that the bases upon which individuals are ranked in our social system differ considerably from person to person. But to him this would represent "a functionally impossible state of lack of integration of the social system - the evaluations by A and B of their associate C must come somewhere near

⁴ Ibid., p. 49.

⁵ T. Parsons, "An Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification" in T. Parsons, Essays in Sociological Theory, (New York: The Free Press, 1954), pp. 69-88.

⁶ Ibid., p. 70.

agreeing."⁷ Furthermore, there is always the possibility that all people in the society may be equally evaluated and marked as exact equals. But this is a limiting case, and is presently not the case in ours or any other "complex" industrial society. This is evidenced by the fact that "the normal reaction to a conspicuous error in ranking is at least in part one of moral indignation - either a person thinks he is 'unjustly' disparaged by being put on a level with those who are really his inferiors, or his real superiors feel "insulted" by having him, in the relevant respects, treated as their equal."⁸ Thus, it is legitimate for us to talk about a "system" of ranking as existing in our society - a system based upon an intersubjective "moral" code.

The specific criteria upon which people are ranked may differ considerably, depending upon the moral order of the particular social system:

"It follows from the definition of a scale of stratification adopted here that this variation (between social systems) will be a function of the more general variations of value orientation which can be shown empirically to exist as between widely differing social systems."⁹

Thus it is upon peoples' shared system of values that our and other social systems base their systems of social ranking. The status of any given individual within a system of social stratification is then the

⁷ Ibid. (Emphasis added).

⁸ Ibid., p. 70.

⁹ Ibid., p. 74 (Emphasis added).

result of evaluation by others on the basis of their system of "social ranking" values.

In our society, Parsons suggests that the institution which takes on the main responsibility for assigning rank to individuals is the economic realm.¹⁰ It is the internal stratification system within this sub-system of our society which is largely responsible for the distribution of inequalities. In The Social System, this occupational system is characterized as one emphasizing instrumental values and actions.¹¹ He concludes that since our occupational system (and hence the more general system) of stratification is based upon instrumental values, the distribution of rewards is based upon the same criteria. Hence these individuals who are most able to fulfill occupational roles in an instrumental manner will be given positive evaluation, high rewards, prestige, income, etc. Similarly, those unable to orient themselves to their work in an instrumental way will likely be accrued few rewards - ie. low prestige, income, etc.¹²

On the basis of this theory, then, two related hypotheses are suggested:

Hypotheses 1-1: The system of social stratification in our society is

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 83

¹¹ T. Parsons, The Social System, pp. 159-160.

¹² Clearly, this scheme represents a gross simplification of reality in that some high prestige jobs call for "expressive" qualities (eg. priests), while some occupations of relatively low prestige call for the "instrumental" qualities of organization and "responsibility" (eg. commercial farmer). The primary concern of this study is with the overall pattern, in order that we may make a general first approximation of reality. Further research will likely refine broad generalizations such as this.

based upon the positive valuation of instrumental patterns of action within the occupational realm. Thus we expect those positions generally occurred high prestige to be more likely than those of low prestige jobs to be filled by incumbents who orient themselves toward their work in an instrumental manner.

Hypothesis 1-2: Individuals who most orient themselves to their work role in an instrumental manner are the ones who receive high reward within the occupational realm -- eg. prestige, income, and upward mobility.

In order to more fully understand the repercussions of these hypotheses upon individual men and women living within this social system, an attempt will be made to extend their meaning closer to that of the individual "personality". To do this, the "value orientation" concept has proven to be very useful.

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's Value Orientation Scheme

Before we can go on to explore the possible relationships between the individual "personality" and his place within our system of social stratification, we must first examine the way in which we are going to use the concept "personality". In this study, we will base our understanding of "personality" differences between people upon the approach developed by Florence Kluckhohn and Fred Strodtbeck in their book entitled Variations in Value Orientations. Their approach

is one which is basically quite similar to the "cognitive" approach discussed in chapter 2, in that the assumption is made that man mediates his actions. They feel that by better exploring the precise nature of these mediation processes, action can become more understandable. Before we are fully able to explain precisely why Kluckhohn and Strodbeck's approach was adopted here, a fairly in-depth discussion of their concepts and research should be presented. Then it will be possible to start to bring together an understanding of our division of labour in their terms.

The key concept around which they centre their research is that of "value orientation", which they define as follows:

Value orientations are complex but definitely patterned (rank-ordered) principles, resulting from the transactional interplay of three analytically distinguishable elements of the evaluative process -- the cognitive, the affective, and the directive elements--which give order and direction to the ever-flowing stream of human acts and thoughts as these relate to the solution of "common human" problems.¹³

This concept is derived mainly from the literature in anthropology on "culture and personality". Anthropologists such as Ruth Benedict have attempted analyses of societies in terms of their major value patterns, which can be identified as "modal personality types". In Patterns of Culture,¹⁴ Benedict differentiates three of these personality types:

¹³

F. Kluckhohn and F. Strodbeck, Variations in Value Orientations, p. 4.

¹⁴

R. Benedict, Patterns of Culture (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934).

Apollonian, Dionysian, and Paranoid. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck note¹⁵ that other authors have used a multitude of terms in referring to a people's value orientations. Among them are Sapir's 'unconscious system of meanings', C. Kluckhohn's "configurations," Opler's "cultural themes," Kardiner and Linton's "basic personality type," Wallace's "mazeways", and Redfield's "world view".

By using the value orientation concept, Kluckhohn makes three major assumptions. The first is that there is a limited and given number of basic problems which all human beings must face during the process of living their day-to-day lives. Kluckhohn refers to these problems as universals: "these are founded in part, upon the fundamental biological similarities of all human beings. They arise out of the circumstance that human existence is invariably a social existence".¹⁶ The second assumption is that the variability which solutions to these problems may take is limited to a relatively narrow and identifiable range. The third assumption is that all variations of the different solutions are present in all societies at all times, but these are "differentially preferred". There exists in every society not only a dominant value orientation for each of the common human problems, but also numerous variant value orientations for each problem.

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F. Kluckhohn and F. Strodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations, pp. 1-2.

¹⁶

C. Kluckhohn, "Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action" in T. Parsons and E. Shils, et al., Toward A General Theory of Action, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 418.

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck have delineated five such "common human problems"¹⁷ to which all people must find solutions. These five problems concern the nature of innate human nature, the nature of man's relationship to nature (and supernature), the temporal focus of human life, the modality of human activity, and the relationship of man with other men. The respective names which Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck give to the value orientation relating to each of these five problems are human nature, man-nature, time, activity, and relational.

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck developed an interview schedule to measure the value orientations of five cultures in the Southwestern United States. In their schedule, only four of the five value orientations were actually operationalized--"due to limitations in time and research funds." The one omitted was that testing human nature. Since our schedule is a modified version of the one developed by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, the human nature orientation shall also not be dealt with herein. This does not pose a problem to us, however, since the solutions to the problem of human nature are not of particular theoretical relevance to this study since they seem to bear no logical relationship to our system of prestige distribution.

As already mentioned, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck suggest that each of the four value orientation problem areas have various alternative solutions, all of which are always present in societies.

¹⁷

Ibid., pp. 10-20.

They postulate that there are three such solutions for each of the problems being considered. Let us consider the alternative solutions to these problems, in turn.

The three solutions to the problem of man's relationship to nature and supernature are: Subjugation-to-Nature, Harmony-with-Nature, and Mastery-over-Nature. The Subjugation-to-Nature solution involves a belief that man can do nothing to alter the process of nature. Natural forces are seen as inevitable, and are accepted as such. In the Harmony-with-Nature solution, there is no real separation between man, nature and supernature - one is simply an extension of the others. A feeling of completeness and well-being is derived from this felt unity. In the Mastery-over-Nature solution, natural forces of all kinds are to be overcome and put to the use of human beings - man is obliged to overcome obstacles.

The three solutions to the problem of the temporal focus of life are: Past, Present, and Future. In the Past solution, a strong emphasis is placed on what has happened in the past, e.g. ancestor worship and strong family tradition. The attitude is prevalent that nothing new ever happens in the present or future--it has all happened before. The Present solution involves paying little attention to what has happened in the past, yet the future is vague and unpredictable. No strong feeling exists that things will be better in the future. In the Future solution, emphasis is placed upon an anticipated "bigger and better" future; one is never content with the present. A high evaluation is placed on change, providing it does not threaten the

existing value order.

The three solutions to the problem of the modality of human activity are: Being, Being-in-Becoming, and Doing. The Being solution involves a preference for the kind of activity which is a spontaneous expression of impulses and desires (which are culturally determined); e.g. Mexican fiesta activities. Emphasis is placed upon what the human being is, rather than what he can accomplish. In the Being-in-Becoming solution, emphasis is placed on the kind of activity which has as its goal the development of all aspects of the self as an integrated whole. There is more of an idea of development than in the Being solution. In the Doing solution, there is a demand for the kind of activity which results in accomplishments that are measurable by standards conceived to be external to the individual.

Finally, the three solutions to the problem of the relationship of man with other men are: Lineal, Collateral, and Individualism. Lineal relations are those in which group goals have primacy. The continuity of the group through time, and ordered positional succession within the group are both stressed. The Collateral solution also emphasizes that group goals have primacy, but in this case the group is laterally extended, i.e. founded in the ties among siblings. In the decision-making process, preference is for general group discussion until consensus is reached. In the Individualism solution, individual goals have primacy over those of the Lineal or Collateral group. The individual is responsible to the total society--this responsibility is defined in terms of goals and roles which are autonomous of the Lineal

and Collateral groups. An emphasis is placed upon the individual making his own decisions, and acting relatively independently of other people.

Let us just briefly consider how Kluckhohn went about measuring people's value orientation, to give a feeling for the actual substance of this concept. The final version was an interview schedule consisting of twenty-three items, divided among the four problems as follows: six "activity" items, five "time" items, five "man-nature" items, and seven "relational" items. Two items should be sufficient to serve an illustrative purpose.¹⁸ The value orientation positions which each response represents is indicated on the left, and did not appear on the schedule given to the respondent:

Job Choice: Activity Item

A man needed a job and had a chance to work for two men. The two bosses were different. Listen to what they were like and say which you think would be the best one to work for.

Doing One boss was a fair enough man, and he gave somewhat higher pay than most men, but he was the kind of boss who insisted that men work hard, stick on the job. He did not like it at all when a worker sometimes just knocked off work for a while to go on a trip or to have a day or so of fun, and he thought it was right not to take such a worker back on the job.

Being The other paid just average wages but he was not so firm. He understood that a worker would sometimes just not turn

¹⁸

The interested reader should refer to Ibid., pp. 80-90, or to Appendix 1 herein, where my whole revised schedule appears.

up--would be off on a trip having a little fun for a day or two. When his men did this he would take them back without saying too much.

Which of these men do you believe that it would be better to work for in most cases?

Help in Misfortune: Relational Item

A man had a crop failure, or let us say, he lost most of his sheep or cattle. He and his family had to have help from someone if they were going to get through the winter. There are different ways of getting the help. Which of these three ways would be best?

Coll Would it be best if he depended mostly on his brothers and sisters or other relatives all to help him out as much as each one could?

Ind Would it be best for him to try to raise the money on his own outside the community from people who are neither relatives nor employers?

Lin Would it be best for him to go to a boss or to an older important relative who is used to managing things in his group, and ask him to help out until things get better?

Which way of getting the help do you think would usually be best?

Which way of getting the help do you think is next best?

The intricacies of some of the methodological problems associated with asking questions such as these will be considered in the next chapter. However, for now, we must understand why it is that this conceptual scheme was chosen for our study.

As stated in the introduction, our essential aim here is to broaden our understanding of the principal mechanisms which operate to

maintain a system of "male dominance" in the work world of our society. It is assumed here that people act in response to their own conceptions about the way things are and ought to be in the world. Hence, we suggest that because the actual content of these theories upon which people base their actions vary somewhat from individual to individual, the resultant action systems differ. It is this relationship between action and value systems which the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck approach will help us to understand and quantify. As they themselves suggest, it is useful because it is our value orientation which "gives order and direction...to the solution of common human problems."¹⁹ To the extent, then, that value orientations precede our actual behaviour, their study should likely be invaluable to our understanding of behaviour in the field of work.

This analytical scheme is social psychological in that it sees human behaviour as primarily the result of individual selection from among alternative choices. It assumes that "...the human individual is endlessly simplifying, organizing, and generalizing his own view of his own environment; he constantly imposes on this environment his own constructions and meanings."²⁰ Put differently, it assumes that "there is a philosophy behind the way of life of each

¹⁹

Ibid., p. 4.

²⁰

G. Bateson, "Cultural Determinants of Personality," in J. Mat. Hunt (Ed.), Personality and the Behavior Disorders, (New York: Ronald Press, 1944), Vol. II, p. 273, as quoted in Ibid., p. 2.

individual,"²¹ and it is upon this philosophy which people base their actions. Thus by gaining insight into people's "implicit personality theories," we should be better able to understand such phenomena as our system of social stratification, and eventually the place of females within that system.

The Relationship Between Value Orientations
and Social Stratification

At this point, we are now able to "fit" the two pieces of our theory together: we will propose that there is an intimate link between individuals' value orientations, and their ability to achieve high ranking within our occupational system. In order to do this, different positions of value orientation will be evaluated with respect to the degree to which we would expect them to predispose an individual to adequately fulfill instrumental role demands. In other words, we are attempting to understand which set of value orientations would be most conducive to the proper execution of high prestige occupational roles in our society. This hypothesis may be seen as an extension of hypothesis

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C. Kluckhohn, "Values and Value Orientations in the Theory of Action," In T. Parsons and E. Shils, et al., Toward a General Theory of Action, p. 409.

1-2 (above), which suggests that there is a relationship between instrumentalism and occupational rewards. Here we are adding a value orientational dimension to the above prediction.

Hypothesis 2A: An Individualism relational orientation is most important for "proper" completion of instrumental role expectations. Hence we expect those individuals having a dominant Individualism relational orientation to (1) be more likely to have an instrumental orientation to their work roles, and (2) be more likely to be ones receiving high "rewards" within our occupational structure than those individuals having a Collateral or Lineal relational orientation.

When we compare the three possible relational orientations and their common-sense relationship with our instrumental occupational roles, the likely validity of hypothesis 2A will hopefully become more clear. For one to have either a Lineal or a Collateral value orientation is to necessarily feel that one must orient one's actions primarily toward meeting the goals of one's ancestral group (Lineality) or those of one's extended family group (Collaterality). Neither of these orientations are particularly conducive to proper execution of the instrumental roles within our occupational system. The individualistic orientation is one which leaves the individual free to develop his own goals, independent from ancestral or family traditions. As such it is most conducive to "proper" completion of occupational roles, because they call for incumbents to perform tasks as individuals--not as members of extended groups. Hence the risk of conflict between the "ways" and aims of the family and the economic institution are minimized.

Hypothesis 2B: A Mastery-over-Nature orientation is the most likely man-nature orientation to allow one to successfully complete instrumental role expectations. Hence, we expect those individuals having a dominant Mastery-over-Nature orientation

to (1) be more likely to have an instrumental orientation to their work roles, and (2) be more likely to receive high "rewards" within our occupational structure than those individuals having a Subjugation-to-Nature or Harmony-with-Nature man-nature orientation.

Referring back to Parsons' explanation of instrumental action, it will be recalled that one of the key elements representative of such action is that the role player must actively pursue knowledge which may help him towards the attainment of his goal. That is, he must have an active desire to meet and conquer the forces which may impinge upon his successful completion of his immediate tasks. But the Subjugation-to-Nature man-nature orientation sees natural forces as inevitable yokes which man can do nothing to alter. Similarly, the Harmony-with-Nature orientation is one in which reluctance to "overcome" natural forces is evident. The individual with such an orientation is most likely to feel "at one with" those forces which impinge upon him. Only the Mastery-over-Nature orientation purposefully commands people to overcome natural forces and put them to the use of man. Hence, this orientation is most conducive to proper completion of occupational roles in our society.

Hypothesis 2C: A future time orientation is the most likely time orientation to allow one to successfully complete instrumental role expectations. Hence, we expect those individuals having a dominant Future orientation to (1) be more likely to have an instrumental orientation to their work roles, and (2) be more likely to be ones receiving high "rewards" within our occupational structure than those individuals having a Present or Past time orientation.

Once again referring back to Parsons' definition of instrumental action, one of the most important elements lies in the fact that the actor

must take the time dimension into account: "Action (must) be oriented to the achievement of a goal which is an anticipated future state of affairs..."²² But the person who has a Past time orientation places most of his emphasis and interest upon traditions and events which are rooted in the past. The Present time orientation shows a dominant concern for what is happening in the here and now. Accompanying this is the feeling that the future is vague and unpredictable. Only the Future time orientation places a definite emphasis upon planning for the future, so that it may be an improvement over the present. As such, we predict this orientation to be the time orientation most conducive to adequately fulfilling instrumental role demands, since this makes the role and the personality most mutually complementary. Individuals possessing a Future time orientation are most likely, then, to receive the "rewards" which our occupational system is able to accrue to its members.

Hypothesis 2D: A Doing activity orientation is the most likely activity orientation to allow one to successfully complete instrumental role expectations. Hence, we expect those individuals having a dominant Doing orientation to (1) be more likely to have an instrumental orientation to their work roles, and (2) be more likely to be ones receiving high "rewards" within our occupational structure than those individuals having a Being-in-Becoming or Being activity orientation.

An individual having a Being activity orientation is by definition one who lacks the self-discipline which is so crucial an element of instrumental action patterns: The Being solution involves a

"preference for the kind of activity which is a spontaneous expression...of impulses and desires."²³ Quite opposed to this philosophy of life is the instrumental pattern, which asks its role incumbents to defer immediate gratification interests in favour of the potentially great satisfaction which can be derived from the satisfactory completion of long-range goals. The Being-in-Becoming orientation implies the dominant importance to the individual of the development of all aspects of his self as an integrated whole. This philosophy of life is not in open contradiction to the instrumental pattern, since the idea of development is present in both. However, the Doing orientation seems to be actually supportive of the instrumental pattern. This is because the individual holding such an orientation feels that he must "demand...the kind of activity which results in accomplishment that are...(real)."²⁴ Instrumental action demands precisely this motivational predisposition since it is goal-oriented, self-restrained behaviour which demands real results. Hence, a Doing (as opposed to Being or Being-in-Becoming) orientation is the activity orientation most conducive to proper fulfillment of instrumental role demands. Individuals possessing such an orientation are most likely to receive high "rewards" within our occupational system.

Hypotheses 2A-D suggest that one further value orientation

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F. Kluckhohn and F. Strodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations, p. 16.

²⁴

Ibid., p. 17.

element is likely to be of importance in influencing instrumentality and occupational rewards. This is that the achievement of a relatively high Total Personality score -- i.e. the average of the achieved scores along all four value orientation dimensions -- is important for the attainment of "high" occupational rewards. The extension of hypotheses 2A-D in this manner is logical, since an individual's Total Personality score represents the average of his scores along the Doing, Future, Mastery-over-Nature, and Individualism value orientation dimensions. A combination of high scores along these four dimensions is predicted, then, to be associated with the attainment of high occupational rewards within our society:

Hypothesis 2E: A high Total Personality score is likely to allow one to successfully complete instrumental role expectations. Hence, we expect those individuals having a high Total Personality score to (1) be more likely to have an instrumental orientation to their work values, and (2) be more likely to be ones receiving high "rewards" within our occupational structure than those individuals having lower Total Personality scores.

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck concur with these predictions, maintaining that the Doing, Individualism, Future and Mastery-over-Nature orientations are the dominant ones for American society in general.

...but (they are) most marked in the occupational system, which is the primary focus of the instrumental patterning....Individuals who are released as early as possible from lineal ties and given freedom to move; individuals who are trained for autonomous independence and for flexible adjustments are the kind of individuals who have made it the productive system it is.²⁵

The occupational prestige of an individual is thus seen as being

influenced in a very real way by the degree to which that individual has internalized the dominant value orientations of that society. In the case of our society, those value orientations have been identified as Doing, Individualism, Future and Mastery-over-Nature.

Value Orientation. Sex, and
Work Status

Thus far, one essential argument has been put forward in this chapter: i.e. that one's value orientation is an important factor in influencing one's ability to achieve occupational rewards in our society. If we are correct in this assertion, then it is quite likely that this provides us with a clue as to one possible mechanism which acts to keep women out of the labour force, or in low prestige occupations. We may induce from this theory that women in our society are likely to have the type of value orientations which are not conducive to their occupational "success". This is so, since if our general prediction that certain value orientations are closely associated with high prestige occupations is true, and if males much more than females tend to possess these high prestige occupations, then males should likely differ from females in value orientation. More specifically, our theory leads us to make the following prediction concerning male-female value orientation differences:

Hypothesis 3: Males more than females in our society are inclined to have:

- (a) more of a Mastery-over-Nature than a Subjugation-to-Nature or Harmony-with-Nature man-nature orientation;
- (b) more of a Future than a Present or Past time orientation;

- (c) more of a Doing than a Being-in-Becoming or Being activity orientation;
- (d) more of a Individualism than a Collateral or Lineal relational orientation ; and
- (e) a combination of Doing, Individualism, Future and Mastery-over-Nature value orientations.

Should these value orientation differences between the sexes turn out to be a reality, they will shed considerable light upon the question of why women show such a poor occupational performance, when compared with men.

In fact, there is considerable evidence from socialization research that our results should turn out as expected. For example, we earlier noted that Mischel, relying upon studies by Sears, et al. and Bandura, reported the finding that boys manifest considerably more "agressive" behaviour than do girls. We suggest that the exhibition of this behaviour is likely to be accompanied by a Mastery-over-Nature orientation--one in which the feeling that "forces of all kinds are to be overcome" is subjectively felt. On the other hand, the girls, who have been found to show less aggression, likely have more Harmony-with-Nature or Subjugation-to-Nature Orientations. The fact that they seem not to aggress against their environment as much as do boys likely means that they do not feel as obliged to overcome obstacles and forces around them. Thus we expect males moreso than females to have a dominant Mastery-over-Nature orientation to their worlds.

Similarly, Bennett and Cohen²⁶ have demonstrated that women

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E.M. Bennett and L.H. Cohen, "Men and Women: Personality Patterns and Contrasts," Genetic Psychological Monographs, 59, 1959, 101-155.

tend to show greater benevolence toward social activities and have a greater social orientation in general than do males. Other studies have yielded similar results to this. For example, Mischel reports the finding that girls are more "prosocial" than boys, who tend toward being "antisocial" in many cases. In Kluckhohn's terms, these findings likely reveal men to have more of an Individualistic orientation than women, who would be expected to be more Collateral or Lineal in their orientations. This is because the terms Collaterality or Lineality, and sociality mutually imply each other. The "social" person is one who emphasizes the primacy of the wishes and desires of other people--in other words, the "social" person has a Collateral or Lineal orientation. On the other hand, the antisocial individual is often so labelled because he is one whose "individual goals have primacy over those of the...group"²⁷--in other words, he has an Individualistic orientation. Thus, evidence would have us predict males moreso than females to have an Individualism value orientation.

In chapter 2, we also noted that Kohlberg reported boys to be more active than girls, who on other hand tend to be more passive. Bennett and Cohen's study concurs with this finding, where they conclude that men moreso than women feel a greater capacity and need for attainment. In a sense this is the same thing as suggesting that men

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F. Kluckhohn and F. Strodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations, p. 18.

have more of a Doing orientation than women, since the latter is the subjectively felt desire "for the kind of activity which results in (real) accomplishments..."²⁸ So again, evidence exists which tends to support the validity of our hypothesis.

The last value orientation difference which we predict is that males are more future oriented than are females. Frankly, no documented evidence in support of this prediction could be found in the literature. Instead, we may just consider this as a working hypothesis - the result of an "educated guess". We predict that men, because of their work roles, are more often led to emphasize "an anticipated "bigger and better" future"--for it seems to be the occupational realm more than any other in our society where such an attitude is located. If our cultural stereotypes have an validity, the notion of the housewife being more conservative than the husband in her expectations about the future seems to be supportive of our hypothesis. We tentatively predict, then, that women are less inclined to be Future oriented than men.

So evidence seems to exist then, which support our hypotheses concerning value orientation differences according to sex. Now we ask if our theory allows us to make any particular prediction concerning the over-all rank-order of value orientation scores among males, as well as working and non-working females. Upon reconsidering our theory, we would expect those females working within our occupational realm to be more

²⁸

Ibid., p. 17.

likely than housewives to possess high value orientation scores. The logic behind this prediction is essentially the same as that behind the rest of our theoretical formulation. That is, if we assume that people seek to find behaviour patterns which are consistent with their internalized value orientations, and if we agree with Parsons when he maintains that the occupational world demands more instrumental behaviour patterns than the home,²⁹ then it is logical for us to suggest that women working in the occupational world likely have higher value orientation scores than do housewives. In other words, we predict that housewives remain housewives at least in part due to their having value orientations which would make their fulltime employment undesirable to them. Similarly, we predict that working females have decided to join the labour force at least partly because of their value orientations' compatibility with those demanded within the work world. Our theory, however, does not immediately indicate to us which of males or working females' value orientation scores should be higher. Our only clue in this regard is that working females, by and large, have jobs of less prestige than men, and thus may also be expected to have lower value orientation scores. However, we hesitate to make such a prediction, since such factors as employer discrimination against women in hiring and promotion practices, and the "role strain" associated with married female employment likely act to distort females' direct relationship between value orientation and

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T. Parsons, The Social System, pp. 157-158.

occupational prestige attainment. Thus, the working male - working female value orientation difference (if any) remains an open empirical question.

Our prediction concerning the rank-ordering of value orientation scores among our various sub-groups is summarized in the following hypothesis.

Hypothesis 4: We expect working females and males employed in the occupational world to be the ones most likely to achieve high value orientation scores, while non-working housewives are expected to achieve relatively lower scores. Our best estimate for part-time working females is that their value orientation scores will likely fall in between those of the housewives and full-time employed women.

These predictions are based upon people's relationship to our occupational world, which is seen as rewarding or rejecting them, depending upon their value orientation scores.

Summary

Thus far, two essential arguments have been made: (1) that one's value orientation is an important factor in influencing one's ability to conform to role demands within our occupational realm, and (2) that men and women in our society have regular differences in their value orientations. The logical conclusion from these two observations is that this differential between male and female value orientations may at least in part be responsible for our division of labour according to sex.

But this approach does not deny the crucial importance of structural factors impinging upon this process. The arguments advanced

by Cynthia Epstein (discussed in chapter 2) certainly add credence to the argument that women do not actually partake in the labour market because of many structural barriers impinging upon their free entry and stay--arguments too numerous and lengthy to mention here. In a sense, we may see this study as somewhat of an extension of her approach in that the potential influence of just one more structural variable is being considered--a personality variable called value orientations. This "personality" approach is selected here for mainly one reason. Evidence has it that a large minority of women (nearly one-third) are in fact members of our main stream labour force, and a significant (although small) minority of these have what may generally be referred to as high prestige jobs. In fact there are successful women doctors, lawyers--professionals in general--who have been able to overcome those seemingly insurmountable structural barriers impinging upon their chances for success. The fact that this minority exists suggests to us that additional factors which must explain this phenomenon have not been included by the authors discussed in chapter two. It is suggested here that one such factor may in fact be a "personality" one. Using this approach we attempt to go beyond an emphasis upon structures purely external "and seek to explain what has occurred; the actor is not only a point of reference, but also definitely a system of action which we call personality."³⁰ Through this categorizing of personality types, and understanding their

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T. Parsons and E. Shils, "Categories of the Orientation and Organization of Action" in T. Parsons and E. Shils (eds.) Toward a General Theory of Action, p. 62. (original emphasis).

relationship to our system of social stratification, hopefully an increased knowledge of the causes of male-female differences will emerge.

The perspective adopted here assumes that people are actively engaged in a decision-making process when they decide to and continue to work within an occupational role. They must first decide that they want to work, then choose what job to take, and then decide upon what the nature of their relationship will be with that job (thus influencing their chances for promotion). People are not seen as social atoms responding to institutional dictates--rather, they are individuals acting out in the ways which they feel are "best". What this study is attempting to demonstrate is that there are negative and positive repercussions in terms of prestige for holding different conceptions of what is best--value orientations and occupational prestige are inextricably interwoven.

The important point to note is that if our characterization of male-female differences is indeed correct, Canadian females may be characterized as a group of people who possess value orientations which are variant from those of the dominant economic group in their society--they are competing within an institutional framework which values Mastery-over-Nature, Future, Doing and Individualism value orientations. Males, on the other hand, tend to have the established power within these institutions in the vast majority of cases. Thus, they dictate the standards of performance, which we have characterized as being based upon an instrumental pattern of action. It is clear, then, that if our observations are correct, women are forced to compete with men by using value orientations which are not their own. As a result, they will

tend to be clustered in positions not considered by those in power (as well as the general public) to be of particularly high prestige.

It remains for us to empirically test the accuracy of these arguments. In order to do this, an interview schedule was devised. But before going on to evaluate its results, let us consider in detail the precise nature of the developed research instrument, and how it purports to "test" the above theoretical scheme.

CHAPTER IV

Explanation of Methodological Procedures

In this chapter, we will be presenting many of the techniques and procedures which have been utilized throughout all stages of this study. Specifically, three main topics will be explored. First, we will discuss the nature of our sampling techniques, including some of the characteristics of our final sample group. Then the research instrument itself will be explored -- we will explain its development over time, as well as some of its most crucial design features. This is done so that the reader may make a relatively independent judgement as to the validity of our theoretical inferences from this data. The usual discussions about the validity and reliability of our measures will be included here. Lastly, a brief discussion will be included concerning the interviewing and data manipulation, in order to give the reader a feel for the actual nature of these processes.

Let us begin then, with the closer look at our sampling techniques.

(i) The Sample

In choosing our method of sampling, naturally we looked for one which would be most conducive to the proper testing of our major hypotheses presented above. Our third hypothesis is one inferring certain personality differences between Canadian males and females "in general". The remaining hypotheses deal with the interrelation between these personality

variables and one's position in the occupational structure of our society.

In order to adequately test these hypotheses, we decided that a sample which has the following characteristics would be best:

- (1) one which allows us to generalize the results to a population which we may refer to as urban English Canada. Hence,
- (2) it contains a group of people from diverse religious, class, educational and occupational backgrounds, randomly selected from the population at large, and
- (3) it must be composed of a near equal number of males and females.

But to ask for a sample of such dimensions is not to be very modest in the demands which one makes upon the solitary researcher. As a consequence of cost and time considerations available to this researcher, fulfilling the above demands becomes a question of attempting as good a second approximation as possible. As a consequence, we settled upon a small sample of 80 individuals -- 40 males and 40 females -- all living in Dundas, a small town near Hamilton, Ontario. This town was selected for two main reasons: (1) because of its close proximity to the university, and (2) because it represents a small, manageable unit containing a population of diverse religious, occupational and class groups.

The gross sample (from which the final sample was derived) was chosen in accordance with the following rule:

All those between the ages of 30 and 40
(inclusive) on June 1, 1972, who are
listed as Dundas residents in the assessment

list of the Town of Dundas¹ are equally eligible.

The criteria that respondents must be between the ages of 30 and 40 was introduced in order to try to eliminate the possibly distortive influence of the age factor upon both the independent and dependent variables. If our sample had been larger, this measure would have been unnecessary. But the limitations of sample size must be acknowledged and taken into account.

The method of randomly selecting the sample was as follows.

One name was drawn from each group of 4 pages within the assessment -- which one of the 4 pages was decided by the use of a random number table. Upon selecting the page, the individual's name was then selected by using a random numbers table: a number was randomly chosen, representing the number of names down the list to proceed for selection of the individual. If the individual did not meet our age criteria, we then proceeded down to the next name on the list (and if necessary, the next...) until our criteria was met. Using this method, 110 men and 100 women between the ages of 30 and 40 were randomly selected from the population of Dundas to be part of our gross sample.

The only major bias which is built into this sampling technique and of which we have knowledge is that those who have moved from Dundas during the approximately 17-20 month period between the assessment enumeration and the actual interviewing had to be omitted. In fact we found that there was a significant percentage of people (17 out of 112, or 15% of the total sample which we called upon) who had moved from Dundas during that time period. We suspect, however, that this fact does not

¹ This is a list including all residents of the township, be they tenants or landlords. It was enumerated by the Province of Ontario Regional Assessing office in Hamilton, December 21, 1970.

seriously throw into question the findings which eventually emanate from this study. Firstly, the number is relatively small (only 17 people). But secondly, and more importantly, our theory would predict that those people who are more geographically mobile are not likely to be exceptions to the types of relationships which our study has hypothesized. We suggest, then, that the absence of these people does not seriously impair our ability to generalize, and at least talk about observed "trends" or "tendencies".

Of all those people whom we contacted, only 16% (i.e. 15 out of the total number of 95 persons) refused to be interviewed. The most frequent excuses used were in the order of "Sorry, I'm too busy...", or "I'm just not interested". Other reasons ranged from "I don't speak English very well" to "My husband won't let me be interviewed by you." The following table summarizes these potential respondents' stated reasons for refusing to be interviewed.

Table IV-1: Frequency of reasons for refusing to be interviewed.

| <u>Reason</u> | <u>Frequency</u> |
|--|------------------|
| "Not interested..." | 7 |
| "Too busy..." | 4 |
| Husband's decision not to permit interview | 2 |
| Not speak English well enough | 1 |
| "Not like academics - they're useless" | <u>1</u> |
| TOTAL | 15 |

This 16% refusal rate appears to be about average for Canadian studies of this type. For example, the Pineo-Porter occupational prestige study of Canada² eventually reported a 30 per cent refusal rate, stating that a refusal rate of 7 or 8 per cent is considered excellent in American studies, which somehow seem to do better in this regard. As such, then, our refusal rate of 16% appears to be quite respectable in Canadian terms, and likely is not a source of serious distortion for our sample.

The final sample of 40 men and 40 women was selected randomly from among the gross list of 110 men and 100 women, using a random number table. Since such factors as number of refusals and the number moved could not be known in advance, this two-stage method of sampling seemed most conducive to our purposes at hand. At both stages involving selection of possible candidates for inclusion within our sample, care was taken to insure the randomness of that selection. Given the absolute size of our sample, then, it would be presumptuous of us if we were to make any self-assured pretenses of being representative of the English-speaking Canadian population within the specified age group. Within our means we have tried to be as closely representative of this population as possible. But gross discrepancies due to sampling fluctuations alone must be expected. Because of this sampling problem which must remain

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P. Pineo and J. Porter, "Occupational Prestige in Canada," in J. Curtis and W. Scott, *Social Stratification: Canada*, (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. 57.

unsolved for the purposes of this study, its fundamental purpose must be somewhat redefined. In effect, we will likely not be able to make conclusive generalizations about Canadian society (except in the face of enormous consistencies). Rather this study should be seen as a place to develop measures for our theoretical concerns at hand, and to try to test out these ideas on a few males and females. Some information about these 80 people whom we have interviewed will be derived in this study, but we must exercise extreme caution so that we do not overemphasize our ability to generalize from these few.

Nevertheless, our average sample person turned out to be not unlike the average English Canadian in many ways. He or she has an average of 12.9 years of formal education, is of the Protestant religion, holding a very middle class job, and having a slightly above-average income. Tables IV-2 - IV-7, comparing the Canadian, Dundas (when available) and sample characteristics follow.

Table IV-2: Religious affiliation of respondents compared with that of the Dundas and Canadian populations.

| Percentage responding: | | | |
|------------------------|------------|---------|---------|
| | Sample | Dundas* | Canada* |
| Anglican | 17.5 (14) | 8.7 | 13.2 |
| Lutheran | 3.7 (3) | 7.3 | 3.6 |
| Presbyterian | 10.0 (8) | 10.5 | 4.5 |
| United | 27.5 (22) | 48.0 | 20.1 |
| Roman Catholic | 20.0 (16) | 14.2 | 45.7 |
| Jewish | 3.7 (3) | 10.2 | 1.4 |
| Other | 17.6 (14) | 11.1 | 11.5 |
| TOTALS | 100.0 (80) | 100.0 | 100.0 |

*Source: 1961 Canadian Census, Bulletin 12-6, 15-11-1962, pp. 41-1, 42-2, 44-13, 44-14.

Table IV-3: Sex of respondents compared with that of the Dundas and Canadian populations.

| | | | |
|---------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| Percentage who are: | | | |
| | <u>Sample</u> | <u>Dundas*</u> | <u>Canada*</u> |
| Male | 50.0 (40) | 48.6 | 50.2 |
| Female | 50.0 (40) | 51.4 | 49.8 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 (80) | 100.0 | 100.0 |

*Source: 1961 Canadian Census, Bulletin 1.2-1, 3-10 -1962, pp. 15-1, 16-3.

Table IV-4: Birthplace of respondents, compared with those of the Canadian population, 21 and over.

| | | |
|---------------------|---------------|----------------|
| Percentage born in: | | |
| | <u>Sample</u> | <u>Canada*</u> |
| Canada | 78.7 (63) | 76.5 |
| United Kingdom | 11.2 (9) | 8.3 |
| Continental Europe | 8.8 (7) | 11.8 |
| Other | 1.2 (1) | 1.0 |
| TOTALS | 99.9 (80) | 97.6 |

*Source: 1961 Canadian Census, Bulletin 1.2 -7, 17-1-1963, p. 48-1.

Table IV-5: Years of schooling of respondents compared with that of the Canadian population aged 25-44.

Percentage reporting schooling as:

| | <u>Sample</u> | <u>Canada*</u> |
|-------------------|---------------|----------------|
| under 8 yrs. | 2.6 (2) | 13.3 |
| 8 yrs. | 10.1 (8) | 16.7 |
| 9-12 yrs. | 36.7 (29) | 36.8 |
| 13 yrs. | 8.9 (7) | 21.0 |
| some college | 16.4 (13) | 6.0 |
| university degree | 25.3 (20) | 6.2 |
| TOTALS | 100.0 (79) | 100.0 |

*Source: Special Labour Force Study No. 7 (Cat. No. 71-512), 1966, p. 41.

Note: The 6 cases considered "vocational and technical" are omitted from the "college" and "university degree" categories. Those in school but over 24 years of age are omitted in the census.

Table IV-6: Marital status of respondents compared with that of the Hamilton and Canadian populations, aged 30-40.

Percentage giving marital status as:

| | <u>Sample</u> | <u>Hamilton*</u> | <u>Canada*</u> |
|------------------------------|---------------|------------------|----------------|
| Single | 0 (0) | 6.8 | 10.0 |
| Married, Divorced, Separated | 98.7 (79) | 92.5 | 89.2 |
| Widowed | 1.2 (1) | 0.7 | 0.8 |
| TOTALS | 99.9 (80) | 100.0 | 100.0 |

*Source: 1971 Canadian Census, Bulletin 1.4-2, pp. 1-1, 3-3.

Table IV-7: Income of respondents compared with that of the Ontario and Canadian populations, aged 30-40.

Average income in dollars:

| | <u>Sample</u> | <u>Ontario*</u> | <u>Canada*</u> |
|---------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Males | \$13,800 | \$11,066 | \$10,060 |
| Females | 3,960 | 4,048 | 3,713 |

*Source: The Canada figures were calculated as follows: 10% (the mean rise in wages in Canada from 1971 to 1972) was added to the average of the 25-34 and 35-44 age groups' income for 1971, for each sex. The Ontario figures were calculated as follows: To obtain the male figure, the male Canadian figure was multiplied by 1.1, which is the increase in average wages received by Ontario males as compared to Canadian males, 1971. To obtain the female figure the female Canadian figure was multiplied by 1.09, which is the increase in average wages received by Ontario females as compared to Canadian females in 1971; Statistics Canada, Income Distribution By Size in Canada, 1971, Cat. 13-207, pp. 107-8,24.

From the above figures we can see that our sample, although not having the exact same characteristics as English Canadians, is somewhat representative of that population. The features of this sample describe a town which is likely not too dissimilar from many others across Canada. Not unexpectantly, the main point of difference from the average lies in the relatively high income and educational achievements of the Dundas inhabitants -- the males earn an average of \$2,400 more than the Ontario average. The relatively high number of university degrees also can probably be explained by the town's close proximity to Hamilton's McMaster University. As a consequence, many university staff members have chosen

this location of residence. With respect to the religious differences between our sample and that of the average Canadian: the most glaring divergence lies in the Catholics being underrepresented in our sample. This, of course, is to be expected, considering the predominantly Catholic nature of the province of Quebec, which so influences the national figures. The Dundas census figure and that of our sample are considerably closer in agreement, as table IV-2 indicates. So, we can see that our sample shares many of the essential characteristics of Canadians as a whole, even though it does differ in some respects.

We must now further consider some of the methodological implications associated with basing our study on a sample of this sort. One problem of major concern lies in the valid testing of Hypothesis 3, concerning the possible value orientation differences between males and females in Canada. Since our type and number of Canadian males and females is limited by our sample size, any conclusive statement along these lines will have to be accompanied by highly persuasive data. But of course, the decision as to what data is "convincing" and what has merely occurred by chance will be made for us by the use of accepted statistical procedures. The small size of our sample is naturally a major factor which our statistical methods will have to take into account in the making of these decisions.

The remaining hypotheses may perhaps be even more confidently confirmed or disconfirmed by the data derived from this sample. This is because they deal with the relationship between value orientations and

(1) the instrumentalness of approach to work, and (2) "success" within our occupational sphere. There is no theoretical reason which indicates to us that our sample biases will yield results which may be different from those which would be achieved elsewhere in Canada. For example, one glaring sample bias is that our males have a relatively high mean income when compared to the rest of Ontario or Canadian males. Our contention here is that a bias of this nature makes for little or no distortion in the valid testing of these hypotheses. This is so because they attempt to measure the relationship between value orientations, instrumentalness and various occupational "rewards" (income being one of them). The worst effect which this sampling bias could have is to over-represent high incomes in the reporting of our results. Due to the nature of the hypothesized relationships under investigation we would not expect an overrepresented "high" income group to significantly alter the validity of these results.

(ii) The Instrument

The nature of the theoretical questions being asked in this study demand that as many people as possible be contacted and questioned, given the time and expense limitations. Upon considerable deliberation, we decided that the structured interview is the best type of research method for this type of study. The other major alternative considered is the mailed questionnaire. This of course has the alluring advantage of facilitating the achievement of a large sample with relatively little time and effort expended on the part of the researcher. However, there are

several major drawbacks to this method. One major weakness is that those who return the completed questionnaire may differ from the nonrespondents along the value orientation dimensions which are so very crucial to our study. As a consequence, this method would leave us with very limited ability to generalize from our sample to the population at large.

Another key drawback associated with this technique is that we want the respondents to respond to the questions (particularly those measuring value orientations and instrumentality) without the aid or influence of others, and in a climate which is conducive to thoughtfulness. The mailed questionnaire satisfies neither of these two criteria, for we have no idea as to the conditions under which any individual respondent responds to the questions. Lastly, there is the problem of misunderstood questions. Since the nature of many of the questions which we want to ask are quite complex, many people who have relatively underdeveloped reading skills may have considerable difficulty in attempting responses to them. As a consequence of all these factors, then, the mailed questionnaire procedure was confidently abandoned as inappropriate.

On the other hand, the interview technique seemingly overcomes most of these shortcomings. Of course values likely play a part in influencing who refuses to allow an interview. But the fact that the refusal rates for interviews are typically considerably below those for mailed questionnaires means that this potentially distortive influence becomes diminished. The interview method in most cases is able to adequately deal with the remaining problems noted above: the problem of

the influence of others upon the respondent, the problem of attentiveness, and the problem of discrimination against those with poor reading skills. Because of these advantages, the interview method was chosen as being most appropriate, despite its drawbacks. The major drawback besides the necessarily small sample size is a relative intangible: the presence of an interviewer may act to prompt the respondent to respond as he thinks the interviewer would like him to, thus distorting the results. No doubt the interviewer's presence is likely to effect respondents' responses to some questions, but we could see no alternative method which could further eliminate this bias. On the whole, then, structured interviewing seemed to be our best bet.

The final version of the questionnaire included 18 pages, 2 of which were filled out by the respondent himself (see Appendix I for the complete version of the final questionnaire). A pre-test of approximately 30 men and women was used to "iron out the bugs" before proceeding with the final sample. Most of the changes which occurred between the pre-test and the final interview schedule were of the nature of word and sentence structure modifications to ensure clear communication of ideas to the respondents. The schedule is roughly broken down into 4 identifiable sub-sections: (1) general background information about the respondent, eg. age, sex, religion, occupation; etc. (#1-4, 17-43); (2) a series of questions representing an "instrumentalness" scale (#5-16); (3) questions tapping basic value orientations (#44-54, Part C, #1, 3-5, 7-8, 10-11); and (4) a question revealing the prestige of various occupations (Part D). A detailed discussion of the nature of the interviewing process

will follow this section. Before we come to that, though, each of the last three sub-sections outlined above must be explained and legitimated to the reader. Appendix II contains detailed coding instructions and explanations for the remaining "background" questions.

The Instrumentalness Scale

In order to adequately test hypotheses 1+2 dealing with the nature of our system of social stratification, it became necessary to develop a scale which reveals the differences (along several dimensions) in the way people approach their work roles. Stated in general terms, the hypotheses suggest that there is a relationship between these various possible approaches by persons, and their ability to "succeed" with our occupational system. It is our immediate task here to explain just what these dimensions are, and how we went about measuring them.

The scale is referred to as an instrumentalness index simply because the dimensions which it attempts to operationalize are the ones developed by Talcott Parsons in his twin related concepts of "instrumental" and "expressive" action patterns. Before we can continue on to discuss the content of these two radically different modes of action and their operationalization, we must first understand what it is that Parsons means when he speaks of actors having "goals":

...A future state of the actor-situation system in which the actor takes merely a passive interest, may be called "anticipation," while a future state which he attempts actively to

bring about (including the prevention of events he does not want to happen) may be called a "goal."³

Later, it will be clear how important the concept of "goal" is for adequate understanding (and operationalization) of Parsons' instrumental-expressive continuum. Before examining the precise meaning of this continuum, three additional Parsonian concepts must be understood in order to explain action on the part of individuals in his terms: the cognitive, the cathectic (or affective), and the evaluative (or directive) elements. The cognitive element in action is the "rational" aspect, in Max Weber's sense of the term. It refers to our seeming cognitive ability to intellectually define relevant problems and fundamentally orient ourselves toward their solution.⁴ The cathectic element of our action, on the other hand, is non-rational and emotionally-based. It refers to the idea that people have emotional relationships with objects and actions which are not rationally-based, but instead rest upon immediate gratification principles. According to Parsons, both these elements must be present in all action. A third element is also operative, seeking to unify and direct the above two: the evaluative. It is this element which gives continuity to the actor's action-system by having him evaluate the action possibilities in order to do what is "best". Action, then is seen as being fundamentally guided by the evaluative process within man, which in turn relies upon

³ T. Parsons, The Social System, p. 8.

⁴ Ibid., p. 47.

both the cognitive and the affective elements which are always present.

We are now in a position where we may begin to define the instrumental-expressive action continuum, as well as our operationalization thereof. We have determined seven dimensions along which this continuum may be said to exist. Each will be explained in turn, along with our operationalization of it.

The first and most important precondition distinguishing instrumental action from its expressive counterpart is that the former is what we may call goal-directed behaviour (as defined above), whereas the latter is not: "A further differentiation of the organization of action occurs when the time dimension is taken into account. Action may be oriented to the achievement of a goal which is an anticipated future state of affairs."⁵ On the other hand, expressive action is not of the goal-oriented type: "Here the primary orientation is not the attainment of a goal anticipated for the future, but the organization of the "flow" of gratifications (and of course the warding off of threatened deprivations)."⁶ Stated simply, then, one crucial criteria which may be used in judging the instrumentalness of one's action lies in whether or not one has a goal ("an anticipated future state") toward which the action is directed. The following questions are the ones utilized in this study to operationalize this important distinction in people's work behaviour:

⁵
Ibid., p. 48.

⁶
Ibid., p. 49.

5. Some people work at their jobs just because they somehow must earn a living, while other people work in order to achieve some long-term goal which they have in mind. Why is it that you are working as a _____? Does it fulfil any personal goal or goals which you have?

1. Yes _____ 2. No _____

6. IF R ANSWERED 'NO' TO Q5, SKIP TO Q 14.

What is this goal, or what are these goals?

The validity of the coding of the answers to this question may on a first impression appear to be rather obvious and self-evident. Each respondent was simply asked whether or not he has any particular goal which his actions at work help him to fulfil. A 'yes' answer should theoretically receive a score in the order of 5 points, a 'no' answer, 0 points. By assigning scores in this manner, instrumental type answers become differentiated from those of an expressive nature, by receiving more points.

But problems arose in making the decision as to whether the respondents' answers were indeed of the 'yes' or 'no' type. For this reason, I decided to code question 5 after question 6 was answered. This was done because many respondents would answer 'yes' to question 5, and then list goals which I felt were unacceptable in terms of Parsons' concept. For example, a typical response of this nature would be:

Q5: "yes"

Q6: "Well,...I enjoy doing my work very much and derive much satisfaction from it."

I decided that this type of response must be coded "no goal," since there is no reference to the attainment of future ends. A typically acceptable type of goal for housewives was:

Q6: "I would like to get my children to be more self-sufficient, and to provide a good home for my husband."

A typical male acceptable response was as follows:

Q6: "I would like to make my life worthwhile by making some contribution to society, and achieving personal independence."

Of course there were some responses which wavered in between "acceptable" and "unacceptable": here, my personal judgement was exercised in trying to assess whether or not the stated goal complied with Parsons' concept. In all, little more than one third (35%) of the sample could talk of their work in terms of expectations of the future achievement of a goal.

The next 5 dimensions along which we are able to distinguish instrumental from expressive action patterns all pertain directly to the individual's relationship with his stated goal for working. So, for example, Parsons contends that one indication that a person is instrumentally approaching his work is when he feels the attainment of his goal to be quite satisfying in itself: "Action may be oriented to the achievement of a goal...the attainment of which is felt to promise gratification."⁷

7

Ibid., p. 48 (Emphasis added).

Question 7 attempts to tap this dimension of instrumentality:

7. How disappointed would you be with yourself if you could not fulfil this goal of _____?
- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Extremely dis _____ | 2. Quite dis _____ |
| 3. Moderately dis _____ | 4. Not so very dis _____ |

Coding:

| | |
|-------|------------|
| 1.... | 2 points |
| 2.... | 1.5 points |
| 3.... | 1 point |
| 4.... | 0.5 points |

This question may be seen as one attempting to pinpoint a respondent's involvement emotionally with his goal. A person who would be extremely disappointed at not being able to fulfil his goal as assumed to be the one who finds that goal to be most satisfying in and for itself. Hence, in Parsons' terms, he is more instrumental. The coding reflects this sentiment. It should be noted that this and the four succeeding questions are coded such that the total number of points assigned may only be a maximum of 2, not 5 as in questions #5 and # 6. This was done to insure that those people (65% of our sample) who were unable to state a goal were given some chance to at least register a somewhat instrumental orientation. Since those who responded "no goal" were eliminated from these five questions concerning their relationship with their goal, they were in effect given a second chance to "redeem" themselves in the final question, worth a maximum of 5 points.

The next dimension which Parsons cites as being useful in distinguishing between instrumental and expressive actions is the degree to which an individual is aware of the relationship between his goal and his

actual means for its attainment. It is argued that the person who is acutely aware of his actions, and their relationship to a broader goal is indeed more instrumental than the one who seldom thinks of his relationship between action and goals. Parsons makes it clear that instrumental action is planned action: "the attainment of the goal...is felt to be contingent on fulfillment of certain conditions at intermediate stages of the process."⁸ Thus, in order that actions be instrumentally planned, their relationship to the central goal must be considered often. Question 8 operationalizes this dimension:

8. When you are working as a _____, do you ever think about how the work you are doing then and there is related to your goal of _____? (IF YES) Do you think about this relationship only from time to time, or quite often, or perhaps somewhere in between these two?

1. Relation thought about quite often _____
2. Relation thought about in a moderate amount _____
3. Relation thought about only from time to time _____

Coding:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------|
| 1. "quite often"... | 2 points |
| 2. "moderately"... | 1 point |
| 3. "only from time to time"... | 0 points |
| 4. "no"... | 0 points |

Another point differentiating instrumental from expressive action orientations is that the former must feel that he is absolutely instrumental to the process of completing his goal -- in other words, he feels that it

will not get done without his interference: "Action (is) oriented to the achievement of a goal,...a state of affairs which will not come about without the intervention of the actor in the course of events."⁹

Question #9 (below) attempts to operationalize this by distinguishing those who feel that their personal effort is instrumental to the possible attainment of their goal, from those who do not. Clearly, those responding (1) or (2) are less instrumentally oriented than those responding (3).

9. Do you have the feeling that your goal will be fulfilled even if you don't consciously direct your efforts towards its attainment?
1. Yes, it will probably come about even if I don't exert effort _____
 2. No, it will probably not come about even if I exert effort _____
 3. No, it will probably come about only if I exert effort _____

Coding:

- | | |
|--------|----------|
| (1)... | 0 points |
| (2)... | 0 points |
| (3)... | 1 point |

The next two points of differentiation between the instrumental action orientation and that which is more expressive concern the degree to which an individual works toward fulfilling his goal, not "goofing off" at any chance. The person who feels that he must actively pursue any knowledge which may possibly help him toward the attainment of his goal

is considered to be more instrumentally oriented than the one who does not pursue such knowledge. Similarly, those who feel that their work should outweigh immediate gratification interests must be considered more instrumental than those who take every opportunity to do otherwise.

Parsons summarizes his position on these points as follows:

It involves the givenness of a goal, but given the goal, the evaluative selection gives primacy to cognitive considerations; that is, knowledge of the conditions necessary to attain the goal over immediate cathectic interests, defined as interests in taking advantage of the immediately available gratification opportunities in the meantime, even though they might interfere with the attainment of the goal.¹⁰

Question #12 and 13 (below) attempt to measure how actively a respondent actually feels that he works toward pursuing knowledge which may help him attain his goal. Those who work harder are naturally assigned more points than those who do not. Question #15 attempts to understand why it is that people do not refrain from doing "real" work more often. Response (1) is obviously more instrumental than is (3), since the instrumentally-oriented person is supposed to be primarily dedicated toward adequately fulfilling his goal. Response (2) is not strictly an instrumental answer, but neither is it an expressive one. In a sense, it does imply a renouncing of immediate gratification interests, so it was coded appropriately. Questions #12, 13, and 15, and their coding follows.

¹⁰

Ibid., p. 49.

12. Do you actively work to find out about all these factors which may help you towards the realization of this goal?

1. Yes ____ 2. No ____

13. IF R ANSWERED 'YES' TO Q. 12:

How actively do you work to find out about these things?

1. Extremely actively ____ 2. Very actively ____
3. Moderately actively ____ 4. Not very actively ____

Coding:

| | |
|---------------------------|------------|
| 1. Extremely actively.... | 2 points |
| 2. Very actively.... | 1.5 points |
| 3. Moderately active.... | 1 point |
| 4. Not very active.... | 0.5 points |
| 5. 'No'.... | 0 points |

15. Why do you not spend more time engaging in these (extra-curricular) types of activities (while at work)?

1. Because it might interfere with my goals ____
2. Because it is not morally correct ____
3. Because my boss might catch me ____
4. Other non-instrumental responses ____

Coding:

| | |
|-------|----------|
| 1.... | 2 points |
| 2.... | 1 point |
| 3.... | 0 points |
| 4.... | 0 points |

The last dimension along which we will discriminate instrumental from expressive action-orientations is what may be referred to as the degree of self-denial exercised by the individual while at work. Those individuals who show a considerable amount of self-discipline on the job must be considered to be more instrumental than those who do not. Parsons puts it this way:

Such instrumental goal-orientation introduces an element of discipline, the renunciation of certain immediately potential gratifications, including that to be derived from passively "letting things slide" and awaiting the outcome.... (The expressive action-orientation) also is a version of evaluative primacy, but with the relationship of the two elementary components reversed (from the way it is in the instrumental action-orientation). Given the cognitive definition of the situation the primacy is cathectic, (not cognitive).¹¹

Put simply, then, an instrumental orientation is one that renounces immediate gratifications in the interest of the more long-term pleasures to be derived from adequately completing one's goal. Question #16 attempts to operationalize this dimension.

16. Do you frequently purposefully deny yourself the pleasure of these (extra-curricular) activities, or do you never deny yourself these pleasures, or perhaps somewhere in between?
1. Denies himself frequently _____
 2. Denies himself from time to time _____
 3. Denies himself never _____

Coding:

- | | |
|-------|----------|
| 1.... | 5 points |
| 2.... | 2 points |
| 3.... | 0 points |

It will be recalled that the reason why this question was weighted 5 points (as opposed to 2) is to enable those respondents without acceptable goals to register at least somewhat of an instrumental score.

The final instrumental score was achieved by a simple summation of each individual's points on the above seven questions. The mean score

¹¹

Ibid., pp. 48-49.

turned out to be 6 points, with 75% of the scores ranging between 0 and 9. The predominance of low scores is due mainly to the large proportion of people (65%) not being able to express a work goal.

The validity of this index can be demonstrated by the fact that its hypothesized relationships with occupational prestige (hypothesis 1) actually turned out to be highly correlated in the predicted direction ($\tau = .301$, sig .001). At the same time, the closeness of fit between value orientation score and instrumentalness score (hypothesis 2) revealed itself to be highly significant ($\tau = .206$, sig .004). According to Seltiz, et.al, results such as these are very good indicators of the validity of the index:

...the ability of the measure to distinguish in terms of the single criterion toward which it is directed is the test of its validity....Failure to confirm any one of the predictions would of course, call into question the validity either of the measure or of the underlying hypotheses. However, even if each of the correlations proved to be quite low, their cumulative effect would be to support the validity of the test and its underlying theory.¹²

As such, then, this "pragmatic" validity, along with the apparent "face" validity which this section has been attempting to demonstrate both point to the credibility of the index.

The Value Orientation Scale

Since the concept of value orientation is of such central

¹²

C. Seltiz, et al, Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1965), p. 160.

importance to this study, an adequate test had to be developed to measure them in each respondent. This test must be one which is able to distinguish between the people having Mastery-over-Nature, Future, Individualism, and Doing value orientations, and those who hold alternative orientations. One of the main theoretical postulates which this study is exploring is the degree to which holding one or the other of these value orientations is important in determining one's "rewards" within our occupational system. Immediately, we shall explain the scale which was developed and used here to measure value orientations. It consists of two main parts: one developed by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, and the other developed by myself. Let us first discuss the former group of questions.

The twelve questions which constitute Part B are modifications of the schedule devised by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, based upon their theory of value orientations (see chapter 3). A series of situations are presented one by one to the respondent, and he is asked to choose the best from among two or three presented alternative solutions to the problem. The situations and problems chosen are ones which we thought would have a relatively equal degree of significance to most people in our society. So, for example, question #4 of the original Kluckhohn schedule was modified slightly when it became our question #47. Instead of it being a story about a man whose livestock had mostly died off, we felt that the Canadian public would be better able to relate to a similar story about a man whose successful business eventually went bankrupt. Other changes of a similar nature were made in the original schedule.

It is because the respondent is asked to choose the "best" from

among the two or three presented solutions to the problems (eg. the problem of bankruptcy) that we can say he is relying heavily upon his evaluative process. The typical respondent took considerable pride in evaluating the relative merits and dismerits of each of the various presented solutions, considering all the foreseeable effects which are associated with each solution. The assumption made by this schedule is that the answers given to these problems give us insight into the type of general orientations which individuals use in responding to most problems - including those met in daily life. So to characterize a person's answers to these questions, say, as reflecting a Mastery-over-Nature orientation, is to suggest that he is likely to approach day-to-day problems in a manner appropriate to such an orientation.

The coding of the twelve Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck questions is relatively simple. Our goal was to give the most points to those individuals responding such that their "first choice" response agreed with the value orientations which we have predicted to be most dominant in our society - i.e. Doing, Mastery-over-Nature, Future and Individualism orientations. Thus, 5 points were assigned to all "first choice" responses of the above types, while no points were given to any "alternative" answers. In this way, our value orientation scores represent the degree to which a person has orientations of the dominant type in our society. The higher one's score, the closer are one's value orientations to the Doing, Mastery-over-Nature, Future, and Individualism types. Any score above 5 represents some commitment to dominant value orientations.

Because we felt that an index based upon only three questions

for each of the four orientations may be rather risky (because of the small number of questions), eight additional quick-answer self-administered questions were added - two tapping each orientation. These are the questions in Part C, #1, 3-5, 7, 8, 10-11. They consist of a simple statement which is supposed to represent one of the various orientations. The respondent then has the opportunity to agree or disagree in various "strengths" with each statement. Three typical examples follow:

(Doing) 1. It is most important for people to accomplish things.

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|-----------|----------|----------|
| A | B | C | D | E |
| Strongly | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly |
| Agree | | | | Disagree |

(Individualism)

4. A person has to look out for his own interests, even when they conflict with others around him.

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|-----------|----------|----------|
| A | B | C | D | E |
| Strongly | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly |
| Agree | | | | Disagree |

(Subjugation-to-Nature)

7. Man can do little to control his own destiny. Most things that happen are beyond his control and must be accepted as inevitable.

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|-----------|----------|----------|
| A | B | C | D | E |
| Strongly | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly |
| Agree | | | | Disagree |

The first two examples are quite straight forward. Their statements represent what we have predicted to be two dominant orientations among Canadians - Doing and Individualism. In such cases, points were distributed as follows: S.A., 5; A., 4; U, 3; D, 2; S.D., 1. Other questions, such as #7 are statements which represent one or another of the alternative orientations in our society - in this case, a Subjugation-

to-Nature orientation. Disagreement with this orientation was assumed to indicate agreement with the dominant (in this case, Mastery-over-Nature) orientation. As such, then, these were coded as follows: S.A., 1; A., 2; U, 3; D, 4; S.D., 5. Of the 8 questions, 6 were of this type. The remainder were statements of one or another of the dominant orientations. Complete coding information on these and other questions is available for the interested reader in Appendix II.

In order to arrive at the respondent's total score for each of the four orientations, the sum of all the points (from both sections of the scale) measuring each value orientation was computed. The higher the number of points, the closer one's orientation is to the Doing, Mastery-over-Nature, Individualism or Future orientations. In addition to the individual scores along each of the four value orientation dimensions, an over-all "total personality" score was computed -- simply the sum of a respondent's points along all four dimensions. This total personality score represents the closeness of fit between each respondent's value orientations, and those which are dominant in our society. The typical respondent scored 80% in his Doing activity answers, 64% in his Future time answers, 53% in his Individualism relational answers, 70% in his Mastery-over-Nature answers, and 67% in his over-all "total personality" score. This indicates that the average respondent's value orientations are quite close to the ones which we expected to be dominant in our society.

Aside from this fact that the dominant orientations turned out as expected, how do we know that this instrument actually measures what it

claims? Two different sources can be used in defence of the instrument's validity: (1) evidence cited by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, and (2) a small test of validity carried out by myself. Let us first consider the former evidence.

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck claim validity for their research instrument on the basis of its apparent (face) validity, but also because of the results achieved using their schedule. The 5 cultures which they examined were extremely well-known and studied. Before actually doing their research, then, they had access to the studies of others which allowed them to make certain predictions concerning the likely nature of the dominant value orientations of those communities. In the vast majority of cases, the results indicated by the schedule concurred with those predicted on the basis of the reports of other anthropologists:

...the observed results agree well, although certainly not fully, with the predictions made prior to the administration of the schedule to the five samples of respondents....On balance, a great majority of both the consistencies and inconsistencies of patterning in ranking patterns which were predicted did actually emerge in the analyses of the data obtained from the value-orientation schedule.¹³

Results such as these lend strong support in favour of the alleged validity of the schedule. The fact that the same test items were used cross-culturally achieving widely differing results (as predicted) means that the questions by and large were indeed meaningful to the respondents.

13

F. Kluckhohn and F. Strodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations, p. 172.

This means that even if no marked regularities happen to appear in one orientation in one culture, this is likely due to cultural inconsistency rather than a faulty question.

A small test of my schedule's validity was also attempted. A pre-test of the schedule was administered to a group of seven office workers, all under the supervision of one person (who happens to be a sociology graduate student here at McMaster). Upon explaining to this supervisor the purpose of my task, he allowed me to elaborate upon the various value orientations which the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck theory postulates. I then asked him to rank his workers from those who are most pronounced in their possession of a Mastery-over-Nature, Doing, Future and Individualism orientations to those who possess mainly alternative orientations. The comparison of his ranking and the one predicted by the test follows:

| <u>Person</u> | <u>Supervisor's Ranking</u> | <u>Test Score</u> | <u>Test Ranking</u> |
|---------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| A | 1.5* | 83% | 1 |
| B | 1.5* | 80% | 2 |
| C | 3 | 76% | 3 |
| D | 4 | 66% | 6 |
| E | 5 | 71% | 4 |
| F | 6 | 70% | 5 |
| G | 7 | 54% | 7 |

*Supervisor was unable to distinguish between A's and B's relative position.

One can see that except for individual C's test score, all the remaining rankings are identical. This result, coupled with the ones achieved by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck both point to the likely validity of the schedule.

Evidence suggests that in fact it does measure what it purports to: people's value orientations.

The Occupational Prestige Scale

The occupational prestige study carried out by P. Pineo and J. Porter¹⁴ has been replicated here in order to determine the prestige of two groups of women omitted in their study: housewives, and those engaged in part-time work. This is important to our study because one of the relationships which we want to investigate is that between such factors as value orientations and "instrumentalness", and one's ability to gain prestige within our society. Aside from these two groups, the Pineo-Porter study provides us with occupational prestige rankings for 174 job titles, based upon a national sample of 793 respondents. As described in Appendix II, these proved to be quite useful in our ranking of the relative prestige of all of our male respondents as well as our full-time working female respondents.

The Pineo-Porter study had each respondent rank 300-400 job titles -- each title being printed on a card. Each card was to be placed on a ladder with nine spaces on it in accordance with the "social standing" of that occupation. Jobs of high social standing were to go on the top of the ladder, and those of lower social standing on the

¹⁴

P. Pineo and J. Porter, "Occupational Prestige in Canada".

bottom. The computation of the final prestige score for the specific occupations was done as follows. Points were assigned to each occupation in accordance with the box in which respondents placed it. Box 1 was weighted 100 points; box 2, 87.5 points; box 3 65 points;...and box 1, 0 points. Then an average score was computed for each job title, thus becoming the final prestige score for that occupation.

Our study duplicated this methodology exactly, except that we only asked the respondents to rank 25 instead of 300-400 job titles. In addition to the 20 job titles which we randomly selected from the Pineo-Porter list of occupations, 5 key female-specific jobs were added: housewife, part-time housewife part-time registered nurse, part-time housewife part-time saleslady, part-time housewife part-time social worker, part-time housewife part-time waitress. In effect, these were the only occupations for which we were seeking occupational prestige scores, since all the rest had already been ranked in the Pineo-Porter national survey. The validity of our results is suggested by the fact that they correspond extremely closely with those achieved in the national (English) survey. Table IV-8 (below) presents the two sets of scores for the 20 comparable job titles.

Table IV-8: Comparison between Pineo-Porter national (English) results and those of the Dundas sample on comparable job titles.

| <u>JOB TITLE</u> | <u>P-P Index</u> | <u>Dundas-based Index</u> |
|------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Aircraft Worker | 43.6 | 40.5 |
| 2. Book Binder | 33.5 | 28.7 |
| 3. Building contractor | 56.4 | 65.1 |
| 4. Bus driver | 35.8 | 32.8 |
| 5. Economist | 63.0 | 74.4 |

| <u>JOB TITLE</u> | <u>P-P Index</u> | <u>Dundas-based Index</u> |
|------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| 6. Elevator operator | 21.8 | 18.2 |
| 7. Garbage collector | 15.0 | 19.1 |
| 8. Housewife | - | 47.0 |
| 9. Locomotive engineer | 50.9 | 44.1 |
| 10. Longshoreman | 26.5 | 25.5 |
| 11. Manager of a Supermarket | 52.7 | 57.9 |
| 12. P.T. Hswf., P.T. Reg. Nurse | - | 55.1 |
| 13. P.T. Hswf., P.T. Saleslady | - | 32.0 |
| 14. P.T. Hswf., P.T. Social Worker | - | 52.5 |
| 15. P.T. Hswf., P.T. Waitress | - | 25.5 |
| 16. Plumber | 42.7 | 46.5 |
| 17. Prime Minister of Canada | - | 97.0 |
| 18. Professional babysitter | 25.2 | 25.2 |
| 19. Public school teacher | 59.8 | 62.7 |
| 20. Real estate agent | 46.2 | 46.0 |
| 21. Research technician | 67.1 | 69.6 |
| 22. Sawmill owner* | - | 57.8 |
| 23. Trailer truck driver | 31.8 | 31.7 |
| 24. Travel agent | 45.0 | 42.1 |
| 25. Used car salesman | 30.4 | 25.2 |

* No P-P score is available for this particular job -- an error on my part misinterpreted their title "Sawmill operator".

This information allows us to assign females' prestige ranks for their occupations -- something which could not have been done before. The case of the housewife is straight forward: her prestige score becomes represented by the score 47. Considering the part-time housewife, part-time (something else) status results, an interesting phenomena occurs:

Table IV-9: Full-time and Part-time prestige scores for various female occupations.

| | <u>Full-time P-P score</u> | <u>Part-time Dundas score</u> |
|------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Waitress | 19.1 | 25.5 |
| Saleslady | 26.6 | 32.0 |
| Social Worker | 57.4 | 52.5 |
| Registered Nurse | 19.1 | 25.5 |

The part-time housewife, part-time (something else) status seems to be an equal function of the housewife role and the formal occupational role! Those whose occupational prestige would be higher than the housewife's of 47 (eg. Registered Nurse) are brought down by the fact that they share the housewife status on a part-time basis. On the other hand, part-time housewives who engage in an occupation of normally low prestige (eg. Waitress) seems to be accrued visibly higher prestige than the occupation would dictate, due to their shared status as Housewife. Let us compare our part-time scores with those which this theory would suggest.

Table IV-10: 50% Pineo-Porter - 50% Housewife Score vs. Dundas Sample's Part-time Score for Four Occupations.

| <u>Occupation</u> | <u>Full-time Occupational Score</u> | <u>50% Occupational Score 50% Housewife Score</u> | <u>Dundas Sample Part-time Score</u> |
|----------------------------|---|---|--|
| Part-time Waitress | 19.1 | 33.0 | 25.5 |
| Part-time Saleslady | 26.6 | 36.8 | 32.0 |
| Housewife | 47 | - | - |
| Part-time Social Worker | 57.4 | 52.2 | 52.5 |
| Part-time Registered Nurse | 66.1 | 56.5 | 55.1 |

Table IV-10 indicates that our 50-50 formula is quite a good predictor of the actual prestige which Dundas residents have assigned to the four part-time female occupational roles.

$$\text{50-50 Formula: } 47/2 + \frac{\text{Occ. Pr}}{2} = \text{P.T. Occ. Pr.}$$

If we had a larger sample, it is quite likely that a more precise formula could be calculated. However, for now, the 50-50 formula seems to be our best estimate. On the basis of this formula, then, the occupational

prestige scores of our part-time female respondents were calculated. Also, our housewives' prestige scores were all assigned the average score of 47. The relative merits of these decisions are taken up in the section on coding occupational prestige in Appendix II.

(iii) Research Procedures

The Interview

The initial contact with each respondent was established by a cover letter which I sent out approximately one week before starting the interviews. In this letter, I briefly stated the nature of my study and how people could help me by permitting me to interview them for approximately one hour.¹⁵ These letters had the effect of preparing the potential respondents for the fact that I would be calling on them in a short while. On the whole I would estimate that having sent this introductory letter out in advance of my arrival at the door-step was somewhat to my advantage -- it gave both me and the respondent something which we could immediately and commonly refer to during the first moments of our meeting. Many people told me that they were in fact looking forward to my coming with anxious anticipation (as a result of the letter). Of course, I also received the impression that often those who were "refusals" had planned their "line" for me well in advance, also as a result of the letter. But generally, I had the impression that a well-prepared letter can be

¹⁵

The full text of this letter is to be found in Appendix III.

an invaluable aid to the interviewer in his attempt to lower the refusal rate.

Typically, my first call upon a potential respondent would result in an interview, if he or she was home at the time. Upon gaining entrance to the house, the interview typically took place either in the kitchen or the living room. As much as possible, I attempted to interview the respondent alone, but this was often an impossibility. Most often, the offenders were young children who tended sometimes to break into and upset the flow of the interview. Interruptions of this sort are not serious, though, since children are not likely to influence the respondent's answers to our questions. In just a very few instances (perhaps 2 or 3) the interview took place in the presence of another adult or adults. In cases such as this, I permitted them to listen, but discouraged them from participating in any way. Perhaps this was somewhat of a tactical error on my part, but realistically, this group made up less than 4 or 5 out of our total sample of 80. In sum, then, we must judge the over-all effect of this "mistake" upon the creditability of the data to be negligible.

The by far most interesting part of the interview for both myself and the respondents were sections B and C, which attempt to measure value orientations. Most of the people interviewed expressed the idea that these questions were quite relevant, involving serious ideas and issues. In general, most people seemed to comprehend these questions with no help from myself -- but in some cases additional explanation was necessary. In short, for some people who do not have a good command of the language or

are not accustomed to making general and abstract evaluations about things, some difficulty was apparently encountered in understanding what was expected of them. In these few cases (perhaps numbering 2 or 3) I had to deviate from my normal rule of not rephrasing the questions for respondents. I am satisfied, though, that even in these cases the respondents' true feelings on each "problem" were properly represented in his answers.

If the respondents biased their responses to these questions in a way which they thought would be pleasing to me, I did not know about it. Part of the reason for this lack of bias may lie in the wording of the questions themselves. Respondents were continually reminded to give their opinion as to the best solution to the problems -- implying that there are no "right" answers. Another contributing factor may be that respondents did not grant me any great deference or respect. I suspect that the age difference may have played an important role here, since the entire sample was made up of people between 30 and 40 years of age, while I was only 22 at the time. As such, some saw me as "sort of interesting" at best, but certainly not someone who it is very important to please.

In sum, then, we may say that very few difficulties were encountered during the interviewing of the sample. Once allowed into the home, people were by and large very courteous and eager to do a good job in responding to my questions. Despite minor problems involving the interpretation of the value orientation questions by a few respondents, the overall understanding of the questions appeared to be adequate.

Manipulation of the Data

Upon completion of the interviewing process, all coding was done on the schedules themselves in accordance with the procedures described above and in Appendix II. Data was first transferred onto master sheets, and then onto IBM data cards in preparation for computer analysis. All actual manipulation of the data was carried out by means of a specialized set of computer programs for social scientists, call SPSS: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences.¹⁶

Without further ado, let us proceed to chapter 5, where we will present the results of this study.

¹⁶

N. Nie, D. Bent, and C. Hull, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970).

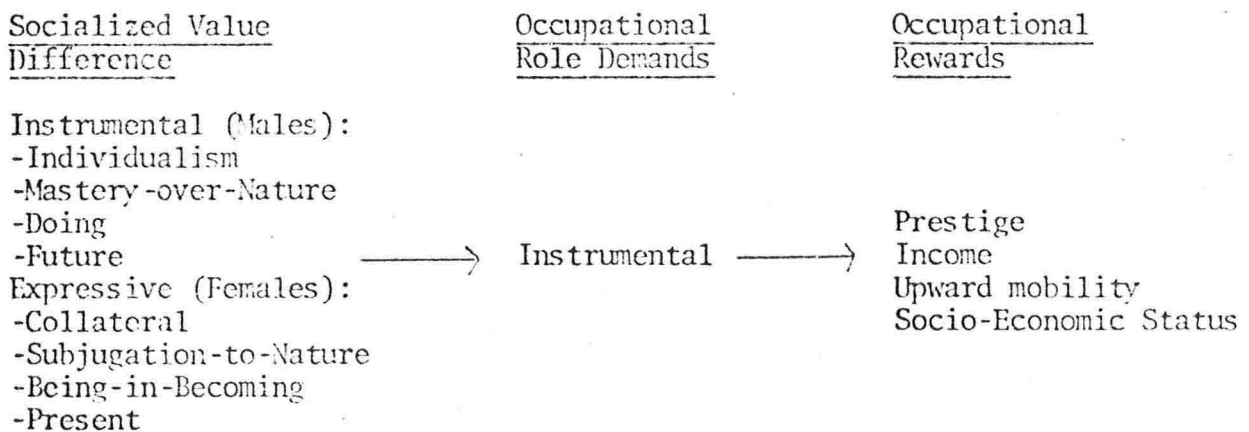
CHAPTER V

Research Findings

We have now arrived at the point where we can begin to evaluate the legitimacy of our theoretical scheme as presented in Chapter 3. In this chapter, we will report upon the findings of our interviewing in Dundas as they relate to our preconceived theoretical notions about sexual dimorphism in Canada.

It will be recalled that our theoretical discussion envisioned male-female stratification "differences" to be the consequence of three main phenomena: (1) our system of social stratification being based upon the positive valuation of a type of action which we have referred to as "instrumental"; (2) an expectation that those people who have a Doing, Mastery-over-Nature, Future and Individualism value orientation will be most likely to be able to orient themselves to their work in an instrumental manner and hence achieve high occupational "rewards", and (3) if women are less likely than men to possess the above value orientation, then this value orientation difference in part explains their differential access to prestige within our society. Diagram V-1 may help explicite this theory.

Diagram V-1: Theoretical Framework Explaining Social Stratification Differences According to Sex.



As the arrows attempt to represent, movement from left to right on the diagram indicates the expected consequence of each factor upon the one next to it. So, for example, we have suggested that the possession of high value orientation scores is quite helpful in influencing one's propensity to orient oneself to one's work role in an instrumental manner. It will be recalled that in chapter 3, a clear distinction was drawn between these two 'levels' of our analysis. Instrumentalism was defined as a specific type of action-pattern characterized by discipline, renunciation of immediate gratifications, and the necessity of giving consideration to cognitive (as apposed to cathectic) plans for action. The four value orientation dimensions, on the other hand, have been described as being considerably more general "predispositions to action" by individuals. They represent people's "philosophies of life" -- their solutions to the four human problems of the nature of man's relationship to nature (and supernature), the temporal focus of human life, and modality of human activity, and the relationship of man with other men. Depending, then, upon one's individual choice of solutions to these "common human" problems, we have predicted this to influence the likeliness that one would orient oneself to one's work role in an instrumental manner. At the same time, we have suggested that the possession of a highly instrumental score is likely to lead one to receive such occupational rewards as prestige, income, upward mobility, and high socio-economic status. We contend that this model is likely to represent the relationship between value orientation and occupational achievement for both males and females in our society.

To repeat: should males' and females value orientations be significantly different, and should this difference correlate positively in the predicted direction with the occupational rewards achieved by both sexes, then our total explanation will have been generally substantiated by the data. In analyzing our results, we will consider three separate phases of our model in turn. First, we must establish the accuracy of our model linking value orientations with our system of social stratification. We will test Parson's suggestion that our system of social stratification is based upon an instrumental pattern of action. Following that, our proposed relationships between value orientation, instrumentalness of action, and achievement of occupational rewards will be evaluated for their ability to represent the causes of occupational rewards for each sex. Upon analysis and discussion of all these relationships, we will then establish whether or not a value orientation difference according to sex does exist in our society. At this point, we will be in a good position to evaluate the usefulness of our whole theoretical model. Let us first begin with a discussion of our results as they pertain to Parsons' theory of social stratification.

Social Stratification and Instrumental Action

It will be recalled that in chapter 3, it was suggested that our occupational system is based upon the positive valuation of one form

of action as opposed to another: i.e. instrumental action, as opposed to the expressive kind. This means that we have predicted that those occupations whose incumbents fulfil their role demands in an instrumental manner are the same ones which are of high prestige in our society. Stated more formally, hypothesis 1-1 summarizes our position:

Hypothesis 1-1: The basis upon which our society establishes its system of social stratification is the positive valuation of instrumental patterns of action within the occupational realm. Thus we expect those positions generally accrued high prestige to be more likely to be filled by incumbents who orient themselves toward their work in an instrumental manner than those of low prestige jobs.

It will be recalled that respondents' instrumental scores were arrived at by means of a series of questions which specifically asked them to relate their actual behaviour patterns while working (either on the job or while performing housewife-mother duties). The first and foremost criteria which we used to distinguish instrumental from expressive action patterns was whether or not the respondent had any particular goal which his actions at work helped him to fulfil. This responds to Parsons' criteria that instrumental action must be goal-oriented. Five subsequent questions all pertained directly to the respondent's relationship to his stated goal for working. Instrumental (as opposed to expressive) action involves:

- 1) The feeling that the achievement of the goal would be satisfying in and for itself;
- 2) An awareness of the fact that there is a relationship between one's goal for working and the actual behaviour which one performs on the job;

- 3) The feeling that one is absolutely instrumental to the process of completing one's goal -- i.e. it will not get done without one's own interference;
- 4) The feeling that one must actively pursue any knowledge which may possibly help towards the attainment of one's goal; and
- 5) The feeling that one's work should outweigh immediate gratification interests.

The last dimension along which we discriminate instrumental from expressive action is the degree to which the respondent exercises self-denial or self-discipline while working. The final instrumental score was based upon the addition of each respondent's points allotted in the above seven questions.

The results of our study very strongly agree with the above prediction. A considerably high and positive correlation was found to exist between the prestige of an occupational role and the instrumentality of its incumbents. Table V-1 (below) illustrates this relationship. It should be noted that the measure for the occupational prestige of respondents was based upon the list of 196 occupations developed by Pineo and Porter. The occupational prestige of part-time working women and housewives was assigned on the basis of our developed measures of part-time and housewife statuses (see Chapter 4).

The use of the terms "low", "medium" and "high" in this and subsequent tables is made only to illustrate the data in a meaningful way to the reader. All tests of statistical significance, however, are based upon respondent's actually attained scores on each variable; i.e. not the collapsed categories of low, medium and high. The decision as to the exact placement of the cut-off points for the categories was made on the

basis of what seemed to be the most perfect division into three equal-sized groups.

Table V-1: Prestige of Occupation by Incumbents' Instrumental Score, Also by Sex.

(a) Males and Females

| <u>Prestige of Occupation</u> | <u>Instrumental Score</u> | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|----------|---------------|----------|-------------|----------|
| | <u>Low</u> | | <u>Medium</u> | | <u>High</u> | |
| | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> |
| Low | 8 | | 10 | | 2 | |
| | | (35) | | (34.5) | | (7) |
| Medium | 12 | | 9 | | 11 | |
| | | (52) | | (31) | | (39) |
| High | 3 | | 10 | | 15 | |
| | | (13) | | (34.5) | | (54) |
| Number | 23 | | 29 | | 28 | |
| | | (100) | | (100) | | (100) |

Tau B = .301

P < .001

(b) Males:

| <u>Prestige of Occupation</u> | <u>Instrumental Score</u> | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|----------|---------------|----------|-------------|----------|
| | <u>Low</u> | | <u>Medium</u> | | <u>High</u> | |
| | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> |
| Low | 6 | | 0 | | 1 | |
| | | (33) | | (0) | | (5) |
| Medium | 10 | | 1 | | 8 | |
| | | (56) | | (100) | | (38) |
| High | 2 | | 0 | | 12 | |
| | | (11) | | (0) | | (57) |
| Number | 18 | | 1 | | 21 | |
| | | (100) | | (100) | | (100) |

Tau B = .394

P < .001

(c) Females

| <u>Prestige of Occupation</u> | <u>Instrumental Score</u> | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|----------|---------------|----------|-------------|----------|
| | <u>Low</u> | | <u>Medium</u> | | <u>High</u> | |
| | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> |
| Low | 2 | (40) | 10 | (35) | 1 | (14) |
| Medium | 2 | (40) | 8 | (29) | 3 | (43) |
| High | 1 | (20) | 10 | (36) | 3 | (43) |
| Number | 5 | (100) | 28 | (100) | 7 | (100) |

Tau B = .180
P < .05

As a consequence of these strongly consistent results, considerable credence must be paid to Parson's theory of stratification, as summarized in the hypothesis 1-1. It appears from our data that the kind of action which characterizes high prestige occupations is indeed instrumental. At the same time, occupations accrued less prestige are by and large performed by individuals acting in a less instrumental, or expressive manner. No attempt was made here to correlate occupational prestige with instrumental score for the part-time or full-time employed female groups only, since their small numbers (7 and 9 respectively) make such relationships quite difficult to observe. Our observed relationship between occupational prestige and instrumentalism is noticeably weaker among our females than among our males, as indicated by the significance of tau B dropping off to .05 from a very high .001. The reason for this weaker relationship may lie in the fact that we have assigned all 24 housewives the same occupational prestige score: 47. As a result of this, the statistical results are bound to be

lowered somewhat. Despite this observed male-female difference, though, these findings support the contention that systems of social stratification inevitably rest upon core societal values -- in our case it is the valuation of instrumental types of action patterns which occupies this focal position of importance.

At the same time, the above data may also be seen as supportive of hypothesis 1-2, which suggests that the possession of an instrumental approach on the part of individuals is likely to be associated with their achieving occupational rewards such as prestige, income and upward mobility. The same data which indicates that high prestige occupations are normally fulfilled in an instrumental manner also tells us that those individuals who orient themselves to their work in an instrumental way are likely to be accrued higher prestige than the average. Hypothesis 1-2 represents a formalization of this prediction:

Hypothesis 1-2: Individuals who most orient themselves to their work role in an instrumental manner are the ones who receive high rewards within the occupational realm - eg. prestige, income and upward mobility.

Again, the significant results indicated by table V-1 lead us to accept the above hypothesis as applicable to males in our society. It should be noted, however, that the strength of our observed relationship for women ($\tau = .180$, $P < .05$) is not as strong as in the case of men. If this trend is repeated along our other indicators of occupational reward, then this may be interpreted as a clue that the stratification system in Canada does not seem to work in an identical manner for females as it does for males. This diminished correlation forewarns us that other variables not

included in our model may act upon females in influencing their ultimate occupational prestige.

Let us turn now to see how our respondents' instrumental scores are related to another occupational reward: income. Table V-2 reviews these findings.

Table V-2: Instrumental Score by Income, Also by Sex.

(a) Males and Females

| <u>Instrumental Score</u> | <u>Low</u> | | <u>Income Medium</u> | | <u>High</u> | |
|-------------------------------|------------|----------|--------------------------|----------|-------------|----------|
| | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> |
| Low | 10 | | 1 | | 1 | |
| | (39) | | (6) | | (8) | |
| Medium | 12 | | 8 | | 6 | |
| | (46) | | (47) | | (46) | |
| High | 4 | | 8 | | 6 | |
| | (15) | | (47) | | (46) | |
| Number | 26 | | 17 | | 13 | |
| | (100) | | (100) | | (100) | |

Tau B = .293

P < .001

(b) Males

| <u>Instrumental Score</u> | <u>Low</u> | | <u>Income Medium</u> | | <u>High</u> | |
|-------------------------------|------------|----------|--------------------------|----------|-------------|----------|
| | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> |
| Low | 5 | | 1 | | 1 | |
| | (45.5) | | (6) | | (8) | |
| Medium | 5 | | 8 | | 6 | |
| | (45.5) | | (50) | | (46) | |
| High | 1 | | 7 | | 6 | |
| | (9) | | (44) | | (46) | |
| Number | 11 | | 16 | | 13 | |
| | (100) | | (100) | | (100) | |

Tau B = .346

P < .001

(c) Females

| <u>Instrumental Score</u> | <u>Low</u> | | <u>Income Medium</u> | | <u>High</u> | |
|-------------------------------|------------|----------|--------------------------|----------|-------------|----------|
| | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> |
| Low | 5 | | 0 | | 0 | |
| | (33) | | (0) | | (0) | |
| Medium | 7 | | 0 | | 0 | |
| | (47) | | (0) | | (0) | |
| High | 3 | | 1 | | 0 | |
| | (20) | | (100) | | (0) | |
| Number | 15 | | 1 | | 0 | |
| | (100) | | (100) | | (0) | |

Tau B = .239
P < .10

The pattern remains almost identical to the "prestige" occupational reward discussed above. The instrumental score is highly significantly related to income for our total sample and for males, but not so for females. For women, there is only an observable trend in the predicted direction (significant at the .10 level). Again, this finding seems to point to the inadequacy of our model in explaining the distribution of occupational rewards for women. Nevertheless, our hypothesis seems to be extremely accurate for the male population: income distribution does seem to follow the rule of high salaries being accrued to those most willing and able to be highly instrumental in their approach to their work role.

Let us explore the relationship between instrumentality and upward mobility before attempting to elaborate on our understanding of these results. As described in Appendix II, upward mobility has been defined as the difference between the respondent's occupational prestige

and that of his or her father.

Table V-3: Instrumental Score by Upward Mobility Also by Sex.

(a) Males and Females

| <u>Instrumental Score</u> | <u>Upward Mobility</u> | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|----------|---------------|----------|-------------|----------|
| | <u>Low</u> | | <u>Medium</u> | | <u>High</u> | |
| | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> |
| Low | 8 | | 8 | | 4 | |
| | | (35) | | (29) | | (15) |
| Medium | 11 | | 11 | | 9 | |
| | | (48) | | (39) | | (33) |
| High | 4 | | 9 | | 14 | |
| | | (17) | | (32) | | (52) |
| Number | 23 | | 28 | | 27 | |
| | | (100) | | (100) | | (100) |

Tau B = .253

P < .0005

(b) Males

| <u>Instrumental Score</u> | <u>Upward Mobility</u> | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|----------|---------------|----------|-------------|----------|
| | <u>Low</u> | | <u>Medium</u> | | <u>High</u> | |
| | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> |
| Low | 4 | | 2 | | 1 | |
| | | (29) | | (18) | | (7) |
| Medium | 8 | | 7 | | 4 | |
| | | (57) | | (64) | | (27) |
| High | 2 | | 2 | | 10 | |
| | | (14) | | (18) | | (67) |
| Number | 14 | | 11 | | 15 | |
| | | (100) | | (100) | | (100) |

Tau B = .407

P < .0001

(c) Females

| <u>Instrumental Score</u> | <u>Upward Mobility</u> | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | <u>Low</u> <u>n</u> <u>%</u> | <u>Medium</u> <u>n</u> <u>%</u> | <u>High</u> <u>n</u> <u>%</u> |
| Low | 4 (45) | 6 (35) | 3 (25) |
| Medium | 3 (33) | 4 (24) | 5 (42) |
| High | 2 (22) | 7 (41) | 4 (33) |
| Number | 9 (100) | 17 (100) | 12 (100) |
| Tau B = .108 Insignificant | | | |

It is clear from these results that those men who are highly instrumentally oriented to their work are the ones who have been most upwardly mobile in our society. However, this is not repeated for our female sample. For women, there is apparently no relationship between their instrumentalness and the degree to which they achieve higher occupational prestige than their families of origin. One of the reasons why this relationship (as well as the others relating instrumental score to occupational rewards) turned out to be so insignificant may be because of methodological problems. Firstly, only 16 (out of a total sample of 40 women) worked within our formal occupational system. Out of these 16, 9 worked on a full-time basis. Because all the rest were assigned one single occupational prestige score for housewives (i.e. 47), it would seem quite unlikely for the occupational reward correlations to turn out significantly. With respect to the income-instrumental relationship for women, we have an additional complication. Since 9 women in our sample work on a full-time

basis, and 7 work on a part-time basis, entering these two groups into the same category is much like comparing apples with oranges. Yet, dividing the women into these groups is not practical, because of the small number involved. With groups of these sizes, any significant relationship would be most surprising.

On the other hand, there still exists the logical possibility that the above results are inherently "correct", revealing that the stratification system for women does not operate in the same manner as it apparently does for men. Likely, other factors not considered in this study act to mediate between women's instrumentalness and their achievement of occupational "rewards", rendering our model relatively ineffectual in explaining the process of female social stratification. One of these intervening factors may be described as employer discriminatory wage, hiring and promotion practices. Many studies have been done to illustrate the point that women with equal qualifications to those of men have been discriminated against in all three of the above areas.¹ The effect of this discrimination would be to reduce the applicability of our model, since it tends to assume that "merit" (i.e. instrumental action orientations) by and large gets rewarded in the appropriate manner, without partiality.

¹ See Marianne A. Ferber and Jane W. Loeb, "Performance, Rewards and Perceptions of Sex Discrimination among Male and Female Faculty," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 78, No. 4, January, 1973, 995-1002; also William Hamovitch and Richard D. Morgenstein, "Sex Discrimination: A Case Study of an Unlikely Place to Find It," Unpublished Typescript, 1972.

Another factor which may act to reduce the applicability of our model vis-a-vis women would be their not being encouraged or given facility to adequately train themselves for highly skilled, high status occupations. In fact there is evidence that many families purposefully forego the post secondary school education of their girl(s) for traditional or economic reasons.² Many families simply prefer to concentrate their resources on the education of their son(s) (not daughters), since they are the ones who must eventually go out and support a family. An influence such as this acts to negate the accuracy of our model. While our model will correctly predict that women with low instrumental scores will achieve relatively few occupational rewards, it will fail to take into account the fact that many highly instrumental women do not receive rewards due to inadequate educational preparation.

One more factor which may account for the inadequacy of our model has been suggested by Epstein (see chapter 2). She suggests that women who attempt to combine the housewife-mother role with that of an outside occupation meet serious "strains" which often impair them from adequately meeting occupational role demands. Because the nature and seriousness of these strains likely differ considerably from individual to individual, so do the effects upon job performance. Unfortunately, our

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Duncan attests to the relative importance of family financial resources upon the educational achievements of children; see O.D. Duncan and P.H. Bleu, *The American Occupational Structure*, (New York: Wiley; 1967), pp. 295-330. Aberle's study suggests that daughter's career opportunities are not generally considered to be as important as those of sons; see D.F. Aberle and K.D. Naegle, "Middle-Class Fathers' Occupational Role and Attitudes Toward Children," pp. 366-78.

model fails to take these factors into consideration as well, and hence its ability to explain is reduced.

In sum, then, we cannot say for sure that our prediction about an instrumental action orientation being logically and causally prior to occupational rewards holds true with respect to women in Canada. The data confirms Parsons' thesis that our system of social stratification is based upon the valuation of instrumental action patterns, but the possession of such an action orientation by our women was not found to be consistently associated with high occupational rewards. This result, we have said, may be interpreted in two ways: (1) either the female pattern of stratification is really quite different from the male one, or (2) our data (for various reasons) is not adequately representing "reality". Just which of these two "problems" are responsible for our results, we cannot say. Only further research can answer such questions. On the other hand, we have concluded that the same prediction concerning the relationship between instrumentalness and occupational rewards is entirely accurate for the Canadian male population. Instrumental (as opposed to expressive) forms of action are obviously a prerequisite for the Canadian male who wishes to achieve prestige, income, and upward mobility.

Let us continue, now, with an analysis of our results as they pertain to the relationship between value orientation and occupational rewards.

Value Orientation, Instrumentalism, and Occupational Rewards

It will be recalled that at the beginning of this chapter, we

described our system of distribution of occupational rewards as dependent upon two logically prior factors: (1) the degree to which an individual orients himself to his work in an instrumental manner, and (2) the closeness of fit between an individual's value orientation and the Doing, Mastery-over-Nature, Individualism and Future types. Our original theory suggested that these relationships between occupational rewards, instrumental score and value orientation hold true for males and females in our society. The intermediary concept of instrumentality helps to meaningfully unify the value orientation and occupational reward concepts. On the one hand, Parsons has postulated it to be an element of social structure -- the basis upon which we legitimize our stratification system. Yet at the same time the concept is useful because it allows us to readily understand how value orientation can be of such importance in differentially predisposing people to adequately perform instrumental action patterns.

The method used to measure these value orientations was a modified version of the instrument developed by Florence Kluckhohn and Fred Strodtbeck (described in chapter 4). Scores were assigned to each respondent, representing the degree to which his or her answers reveal Doing, Future, Mastery-over-Nature, and Individualism value orientations. At the same time, each respondent received an over-all total personality score, represented by the average of his scores along all four value orientation dimensions. The higher one's scores, the closer we estimate that person's value orientation is to the above four "dominant" types. A low score on any value orientation dimension indicates that the respondent's value orientation is of one or another of the "alternative"

types in our society.

The following hypothesis is an articulation of a formal link between value orientation, instrumental action, and occupational reward. Later, it will be argued that this view of our system of social stratification is potentially quite helpful to us in our attempts to understand our division of labour according to sex.

Hypothesis 2:

- (a) An Individualism relational orientation,
- (b) a Mastery-over-Nature man-nature orientation,
- (c) a Future time orientation,
- (d) a Doing activity orientation, and
- (e) a High Total Personality Score are all important for "proper" completion of instrumental role expectations. Hence we expect those individuals having the above qualities to (1) be more likely to have an instrumental orientation to their work roles, and (2) be more likely to be ones receiving high "rewards" within our occupational structure than those individuals having alternative value orientations.

Tables V-4a-c (below) show (1) our observed correlations between value orientations and instrumental score, and (2) the correlations between occupational rewards and value orientations. Table V-4a represents our findings for the total sample of 80, tables V-4b and V-4c the findings for our male and female respondents respectively. The statistic tau B is used to measure the strength of these relationships, making the minimal assumption that our scales are ordinal and not interval in nature.

Table V-4a: Observed Correlations Between Value Orientations and (1) Instrumental Score, and (2) Occupational "Rewards" for all Respondents (n=80).

| | <u>Value Orientation</u> | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|------|-----------------------------|------|----------------|--------|-----------------------|--------|---------------|--------|
| | Tot. Personality TauB | sig. | Mastery-over-Nature tauB | sig. | Future tauB | sig. | Individualism tauB | sig. | Doing tauB | sig. |
| 1. Instrumental Score | .2061 | .005 | .1962 | .005 | .1989 | .05 | .1771 | .01 | .1360 | .05 |
| 2. Occupational "Rewards" | | | | | | | | | | |
| a) Occupational Prestige | .1237 | .05 | .2562 | .001 | .0166 | insig. | .0648 | insig. | .0646 | insig. |
| b) Income | .2308 | .010 | .2727 | .005 | .1602 | insig. | .1795 | .05 | .0137 | insig. |
| c) Upward Mobility | .1205 | .10 | .1703 | .01 | .1094 | insig. | .0150 | insig. | .1197 | .10 |
| d) Socio-economic status | .3059 | .001 | .3584 | .001 | .1975 | .005 | .2045 | .005 | .1262 | .05 |

Table V-4b: Observed Correlations Between Value Orientations and (1) Instrumental Score and (2) Occupational "Rewards" for all Male Respondents (n=40).

| | <u>Value Orientation</u> | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|------|-----------------------------|------|----------------|--------|-----------------------|--------|---------------|--------|
| | Tot. Personality TauB | sig. | Mastery-over-Nature TauB | sig. | Future TauB | sig. | Individualism TauB | sig. | Doing TauB | sig. |
| 1. Instrumental Score | .2059 | .05 | .2103 | .05 | .1383 | .10 | .0975 | insig. | .1610 | .10 |
| 2. Occupational "Rewards" | | | | | | | | | | |
| a) Occupational Prestige | .2801 | .005 | .3688 | .001 | .0925 | insig. | .1583 | .10 | .0937 | insig. |
| b) Income | .3364 | .005 | .3281 | .005 | .1750 | .05 | .2374 | .01 | .0935 | insig. |
| c) Upward mobility | .3183 | .005 | .4353 | .001 | .1731 | .10 | -.0042 | insig. | .2064 | .05 |
| d) Socio-economic status | .2569 | .01 | .3532 | .001 | .1276 | insig. | .1543 | .10 | .0718 | insig. |

Table V-4c: Observed Correlations Between Value Orientations and (1) Instrumental Score, and (2) Occupational "Rewards" for all Female Respondents (n=40).

| | <u>Value Orientation</u> | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------|-----------------------------|--------|----------------|--------|-----------------------|--------|---------------|--------|
| | Tot. Personality TauB | sig. | Mastery-over-Nature TauB | sig. | Future TauB | sig. | Individualism TauB | sig. | Doing TauB | sig. |
| 1. Instrumental Score | .2108 | .05 | .1586 | .10 | .1513 | .10 | .2763 | .01 | .1075 | insig. |
| 2. Occupational "Rewards" | | | | | | | | | | |
| a) Occupational Prestige | -.1339 | insig. | .0777 | insig. | -.1190 | insig. | -.0548 | insig. | -.0934 | insig. |
| b) Income | .1056 | insig. | .5024 | .005 | .1190 | insig. | .0985 | insig. | -.0999 | insig. |
| c) Upward Mobility | -.1189 | insig. | -.1481 | insig. | -.0317 | insig. | -.0135 | insig. | -.0151 | insig. |
| d) Socio-economic status | .4139 | .001 | .3622 | .001 | .2919 | .005 | .2576 | .01 | .2252 | .05 |

The first two columns in tables V-4a-c indicate the degree to which the total personality score -- that is, the combined effects of all four value orientation dimensions -- is related to our dependent variables. The results for our total sample and for males only reveal the predicted patterns: value orientations are very highly related to the instrumental scores which individuals achieve, and only slightly less consistently related to the various occupational rewards achieved by respondents. The result that the achieved correlations between value orientations and occupational rewards are generally somewhat less significant than those achieved with the instrumental score was to have been expected by our theory. This is because we hypothesized that the value orientation-occupational rewards relationship is an indirect one, mediated through the two more direct relationships with the instrumental score.

Our results in tables 4a-c reveal a different patterning for women than they do for men. As a consequence, the two sexes will be considered separately here. First, we will interpret our results as they pertain to the male system of social stratification. The observed relationship between value orientations and the dependent variables were not the same along all of the various value orientation dimensions. The single most important value orientation in its predictive ability is the Mastery-over-Nature dimension, as evidenced by its consistently high and positive correlation with the dependent variables. The remaining three orientation dimensions do contribute to the over-all significance of the total personality score, but individually do not reveal as consistently high correlations with the dependent variables as the Mastery-over-Nature

dimension. This means that a belief that "natural forces of all kinds are to be overcome and put to the use of human beings" is of utmost importance to one's "getting ahead" in our society. To believe that "man can do little to alter the process of nature" is to severely limit one's chances for occupational rewards.

The results of table V-4c reveal that the patterning of these variables for women is not identical to that of men. The correlations between the various value orientation dimensions and the instrumentality score is very close to the expected pattern: there is a significant relationship (at the .05 level) between women's total personality scores and their instrumentality score. But it is evident that value orientations are not as closely related to the direct occupational rewards of women as they are for men. This is evidenced by the observation that 18/25 correlations in tables V-4c are significant in the male and total samples, while only 10/25 correlations are significant in the female sample. These results are quite understandable in light of our results in the previous section, where we found little relationship to exist between females' instrumentality scores and their ability to achieve occupational rewards. In that section, we discussed some of the possible explanations for this deviation from our expected pattern.

One very interesting result is the observed strength of the relationship between all the value orientation scores and the achievement of socio-economic status by women. Because the socio-economic status index is based upon the husband's education, income and occupational prestige, this result must be taken as an indication of the high correlation between

women's value orientations and their husbands' occupational success. These facts indicate that women with high total personality scores do not attain occupational rewards themselves, even though they score high on the instrumental score. Instead, they tend overwhelmingly to marry those men who are most "successful", thereby achieving prestige in an indirect way.

Before going on to speculate about some of the repercussions of these findings upon our pre-conceived theoretical model, let us investigate our results as they pertain to our predictions about value orientation differences according to sex.

(iii) Value Orientations, Sex and Work Status

In general, we may report that the findings of this study support our hypothesis that the sexes differ from one another in the degree to which their value orientations are of the Doing, Future, Individualism, and Mastery-over-Nature types. Table V-5 (below) indicates the mean value orientation scores for males, females, full-time working females, part-time working females, and housewives.

TABLE V-5 ON FOLLOWING PAGE

The following graphs are illustrative of the relationship presented in the above mentioned table. In general, they reveal that the highest mean value orientation scores are accrued to males and those females who work at full-time occupations. A somewhat lower score was found among those females working on a part-time basis, and a still lower score was found among the vast majority of women who report themselves to be housewives.

Table v-5: Mean Value Orientation Scores by Sex and Work Status.

| <u>Sex and Work Status</u> | <u>Value Orientation Score</u> | | | | | <u>Tot. Personality</u> |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------|---------------|----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| | <u>Number</u> | <u>Doing</u> | <u>Future</u> | <u>Individualism</u> | <u>Mastery-over-Nature</u> | |
| Males, Total (all Employed)... | (40) | .796 | .686 | .535 | .738 | .689 |
| Females, Total... | (40) | .789 | .588 | .526 | .664 | .642 |
| Females, Employed: | | | | | | |
| a) Full-time... | (9) | .791 | .671 | .533 | .769 | .691 |
| b) Part-time... | (7) | .845 | .657 | .509 | .669 | .670 |
| Females, Housewife,... | (24) | .772 | .537 | .528 | .623 | .615 |
| TOTAL | (80) | .792 | .637 | .530 | .701 | .665 |

Figure 1: Mean Mastery-over-Nature scores for various sex subgroups.

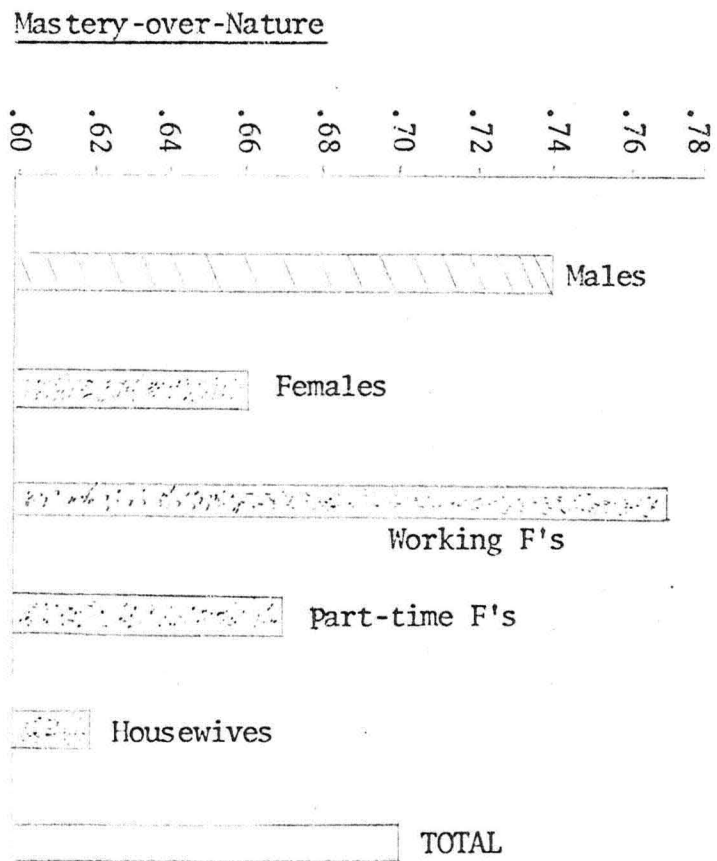


Figure 2: Mean Future scores for various sex subgroups.

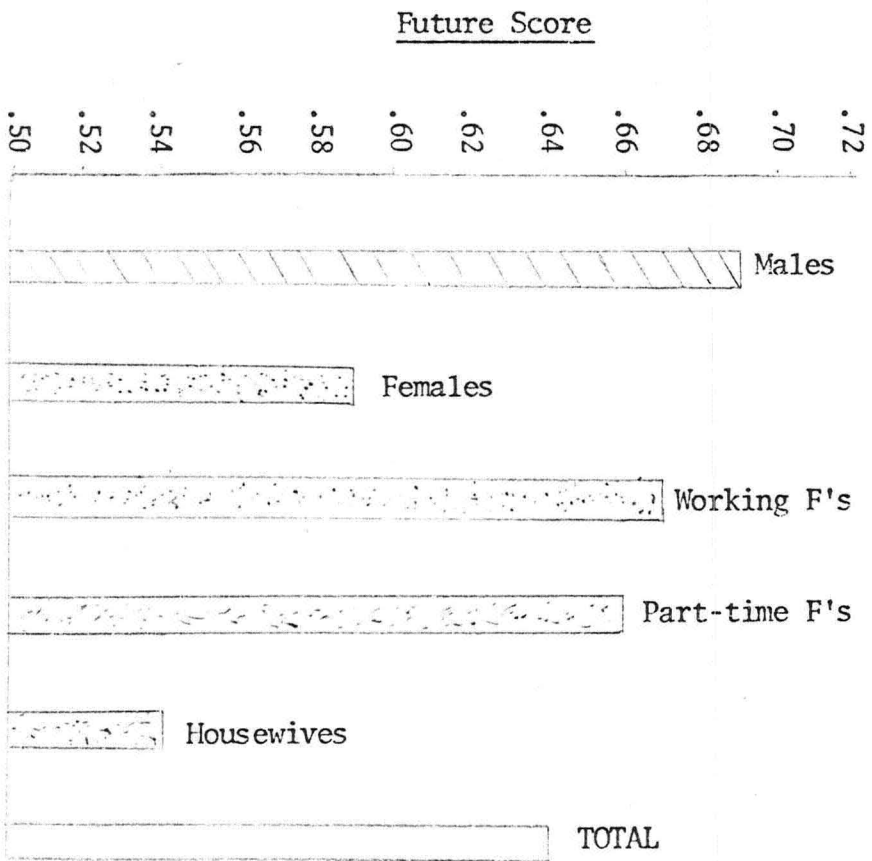


Figure 3: Mean Doing scores for various sex subgroups.

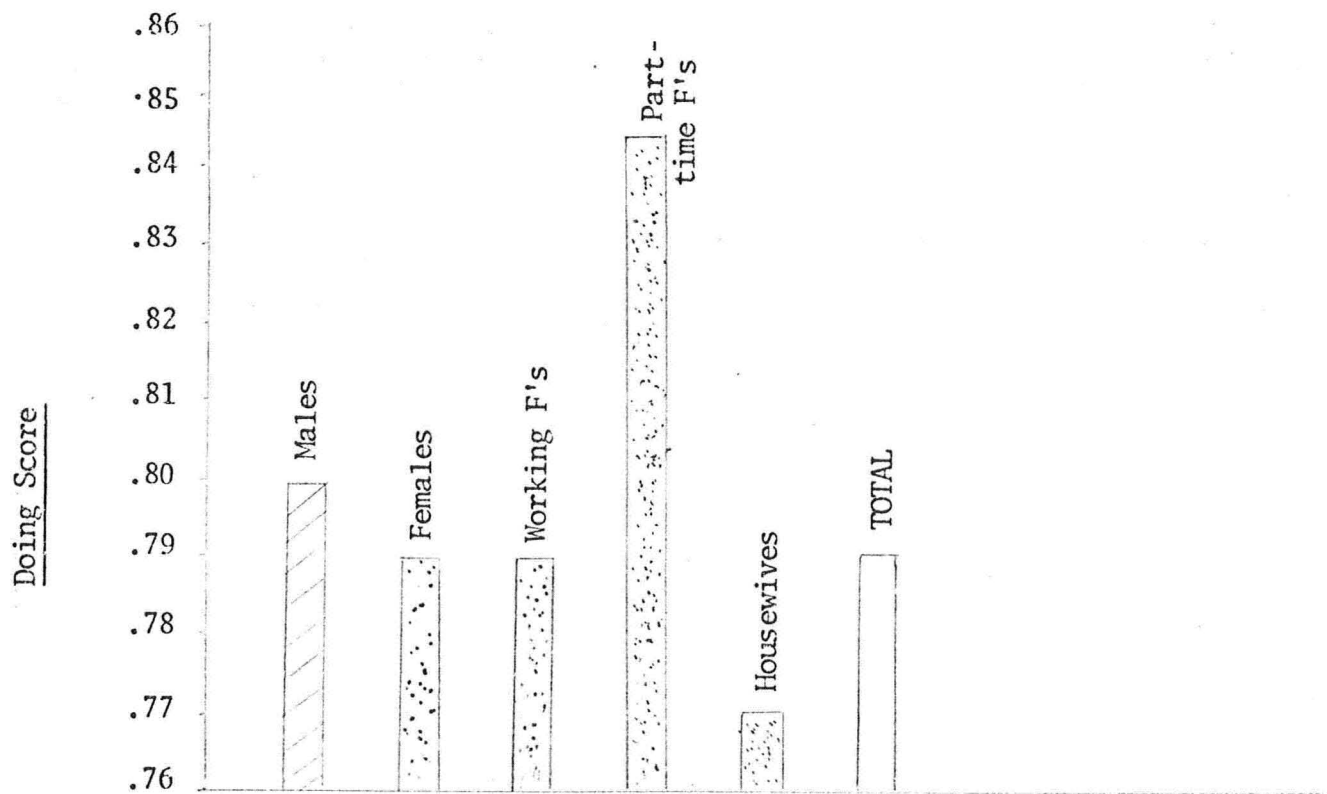


Figure 4: Mean Individualism scores for various sex subgroups.

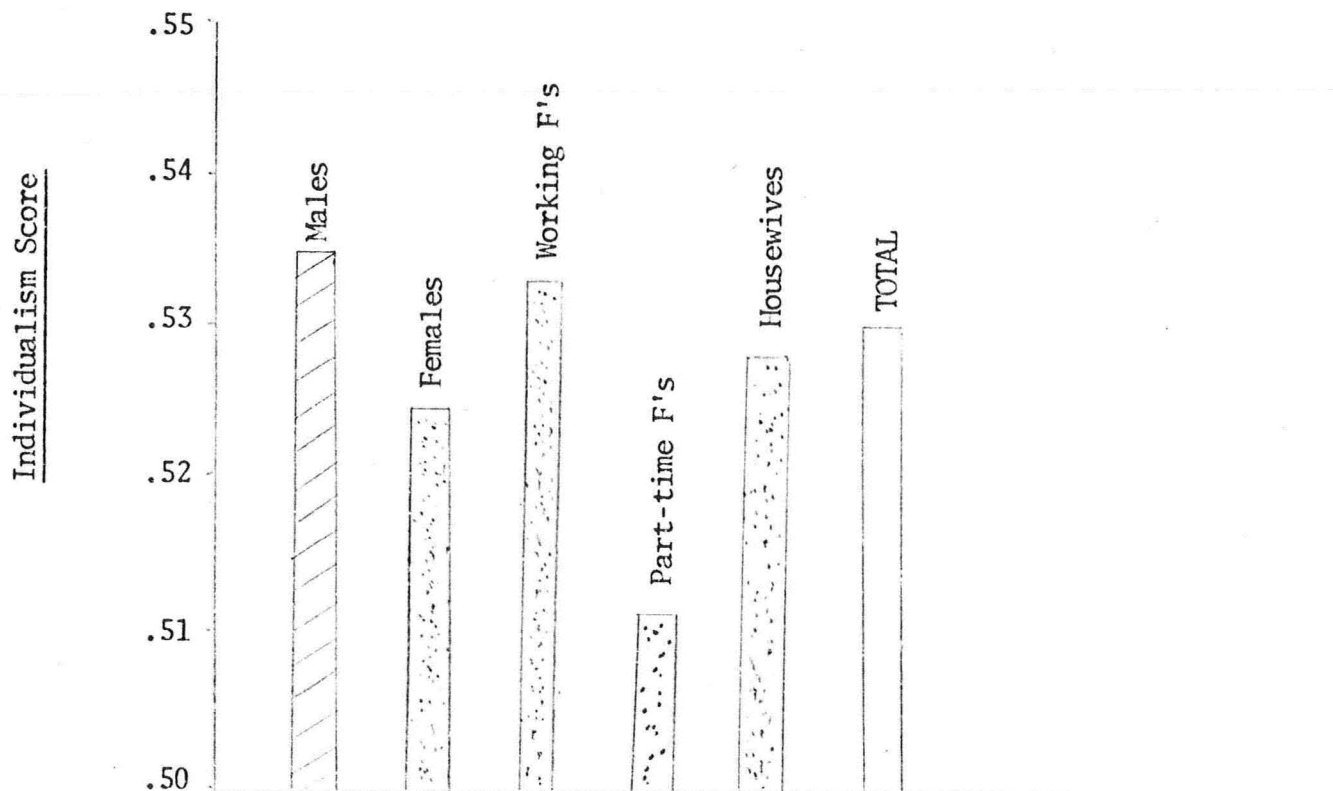
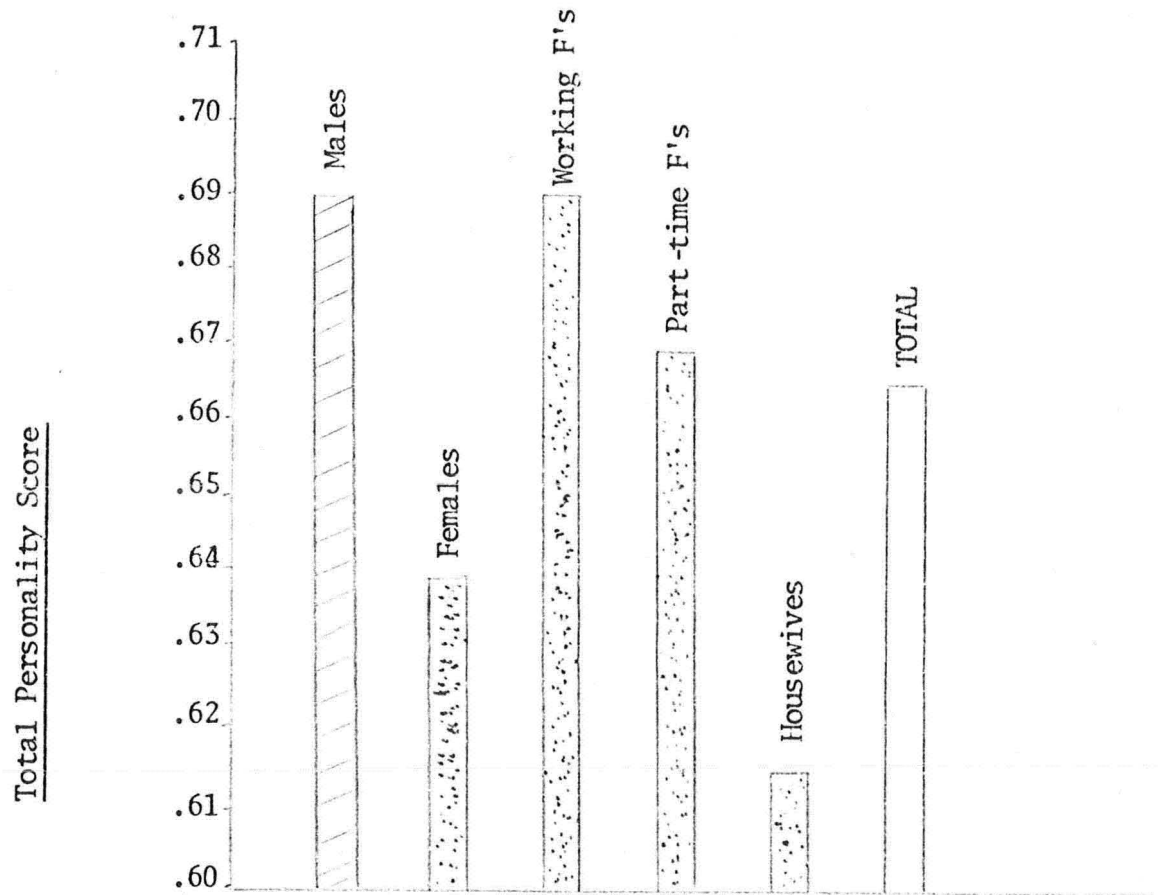


Figure 5: Mean total personality score for various sex subgroups.



A discussion of the statistical significance of these observed relationships between sex, working status and value orientation scores follows.

The first value orientation dimension which we shall consider is the Man-Nature relationship. In chapter 3, we hypothesized that males have more of a Mastery-over-Nature value orientation than do females:

Hypothesis 3a: Males more than females in our society are inclined to have more of a Mastery-over-Nature than a Harmony-with-Nature or Subjugation-to-Nature man-nature orientation.

This means that we expect females to be less inclined to have the feeling that "forces of all kinds are to be overcome and put to the use of human beings." Table V-6b directly tests the significance of this proposed value orientation difference between various groups of males and females. Table V-6a, on the other hand, presents the actual distribution of achieved Mastery-over-Nature scores on the part of our respondents, as divided into sex and occupational categories.

Table V-6a: Mastery-over-Nature Score by Sex and Occupational Status.

| <u>Mastery-over-Nature Score</u> | <u>Males</u> (All Employed) | | <u>Females</u> <u>Housewife</u> | | <u>Total</u> | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------|------------------------------------|----------|--------------|----------|
| | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> |
| Low | 12 | (30) | 5 | (31) | 11 | (46) |
| Medium | 14 | (35) | 7 | (44) | 9 | (38) |
| High | 14 | (35) | 4 | (25) | 4 | (16) |
| Total | 40 | (100) | 16 | (100) | 24 | (100) |

Table V-6b: Tests of Statistical Significance for Mastery-over-Nature Value Orientation Differences Between Various Sub-groups.

| Sub-group | Test of Significant Difference | |
|--|--------------------------------|-------------|
| | <u>TauB</u> | <u>Sig.</u> |
| Males, Total vs. Females, Total... | -.154 | P < .05 |
| Males, Total vs. Females, Housewife... | -.217 | P < .01 |
| Males, Total vs. Females, Employed... | -.064 | P > .10 |
| Females, Employed vs. Females, Housewife... | -.230 | P < .05 |

These results indicate that males, as hypothesized, are more inclined than females to have a Mastery-over-Nature value orientation. Table V-6a reveals that this difference is even more marked when comparing males with housewives, the latter group tending to feel that they are bound to significant forces in nature which are beyond their control. Table V-6b, on the other hand, reveals that there is no significantly appreciable man-nature value orientation difference between males and those females who work in the labour force. This lack of value orientation difference was predicted by hypothesis 4, which follows:

Hypothesis 4: We expect working females and males employed in the occupational world to be the ones most likely to achieve high value orientation scores, while nonworking housewives are expected to achieve relatively lower scores. Our best estimate for part-time working females is that their value orientation scores will likely fall in between those of the housewives and full-time employed women.

Table V-6b also confirms that there is a significant value orientation

difference between housewives and working females along the Mastery-over-Nature dimension. The fact that these results have been achieved despite the fact that we are working with such a small female sample is quite significant indeed.³

In sum, then, the data lead us to accept hypotheses 3a and 4, suggesting that women with high Mastery-over-Nature scores are more likely to be part of our regular labour force than those with lower scores. As predicted, the statistically significant rank-ordering of Mastery-over-Nature scores places working women and men at the top, followed by part-time working women, and then housewives.

The next value orientation dimension for consideration is the time orientation. Our original hypothesis was that males tend to be more Future oriented than females:

Hypothesis 3B: Males more than females in our society are inclined to have more of a Future than a Present or Past Time orientation.

We expect, then, that men will place a strong emphasis upon what is going to happen in the future. When compared with men, women are predicted to show considerable concern about the Present and Past.

Tables V-7a and b illustrate the results of our survey as they pertain to this question.

³ H.M. Blalock, Jr., Social Statistics, 2nd edition, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), p. 163: "A factor that is large enough to produce differences which are statistically significant in a small sample is therefore much more worthy of one's attention than a factor which produces small differences that can only be shown to be statistically significant with a very large sample."

Table V-7a: Future Score by Sex and Occupational Status.

| Future Score | Males (All Employed) | | Females Housewife | | Total | |
|-----------------|-------------------------|----------|----------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> |
| Low | 12 | | 3 | | 20 | |
| | (30) | | (19) | | (50) | |
| Medium | 17 | | 9 | | 13 | |
| | (43) | | (56) | | (33) | |
| High | 11 | | 4 | | 7 | |
| | (27) | | (25) | | (17) | |
| Total | 40 | | 16 | | 24 | |
| | (100) | | (100) | | (100) | |

Table V-7b: Tests of Statistical Significance for Future Value Orientation Differences Between Various Sub-groups.

| Sub-group | Test of Significant Differences | |
|--|---------------------------------|---------------|
| | <u>Tau B</u> | <u>Sig.</u> |
| Males, Total vs. Females, Total... | -.215 | $P < .005$ |
| Males, Total vs. Females, Housewife... | -.376 | $P < .0001$ |
| Males, Total vs. Females, Employed... | .052 | Insignificant |
| Females, Employed vs. Females, Housewife... | -.359 | $P < .001$ |

Interestingly enough, these results reveal the same pattern as was achieved with the Man-Nature Relational orientation. Men, on the whole, are found to be considerably more Future time oriented than are women (significant at the .005 level). At the same time, this time orientation "difference" becomes even more accentuated when we compare the males with housewives (as predicted in hypothesis 4). Tables V-7a and b reveal that

there is no apparent time orientation difference between working females and the males. Future time orientation score, then, is an excellent predictor of the work status of women: the more Future oriented a woman is, the more inclined she is to be a member of the labour force.

Our data, then, confirms both hypotheses 3b and 4. The average male is significantly more Future oriented than the average female, while at the same time, women's Future scores are distributed in the predicted manner: full-time workers, part-time workers, and housewives (in that order).

The next value orientation dimension along which we expected a sex difference is that of the Activity orientation. On one end of this continuum is the Being orientation, in which the preference is for spontaneous and impulsive forms of expression. On the other end is the Doing orientation, in which there is a marked preference for the kinds of activity which result in "real" and measurable accomplishments. The results of previous studies have led us to expect that men are likely to have more of a Doing orientation than women. Hypothesis 3c summarizes this prediction:

Hypothesis 3c: Males more than females in our society are inclined to have more of a Doing than a Being or Being-in-Becoming activity orientation.

Tables V-8a and b present us with the results of our survey along this dimension:

Table V-8a: Doing Score by Sex and Occupational Status.

| Doing Score | Males (All Employed) | | Females Housewife | | Total | |
|-------------|-------------------------|----------|----------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> |
| Low | 14 | | 5 | | 10 | 15 |
| | | (35) | | (31) | | (42) |
| Medium | 7 | | 4 | | 6 | 10 |
| | | (17) | | (25) | | (25) |
| High | 19 | | 7 | | 8 | 15 |
| | | (48) | | (44) | | (33) |
| Total | 40 | | 16 | | 24 | 40 |
| | | (100) | | (100) | | (100) |

Table V-8b: Tests of Statistical Significance for Doing Value Orientation Differences Between Various Sub-groups.

| Sub-groups | Test of Significant Difference | |
|--|--------------------------------|---------------|
| | <u>Tau B</u> | <u>Sig.</u> |
| Males, Total vs. Females, Total... | -.078 | P < .15 |
| Males, Total, vs. Females, House wife... | -.119 | P < .10 |
| Males, Total vs. Females, Employed... | -.004 | Insignificant |
| Females, Employed vs. Females, Housewife... | -.139 | P < .10 |

As with the above two value orientation dimensions, the same pattern of men having the highest score, then working women, and then housewives has occurred here in the Activity orientation. However, the statistical strength of these observed differences are not significant at the .05 level. This means that we cannot accept the validity of

Hypothesis 3c, but neither should we confidently reject it. We may say that there appears to be a marked tendency in the predicted direction, but it is not strong enough to consider outright acceptance of the hypothesis.

The pattern predicted in hypothesis 4, suggesting that females with the highest value orientation scores are most likely to be part of the labour force holds true along the Doing-Being orientation dimension. Table V-8b indicates the strength of this relationship (sig. 0.10). It is clear that despite the lower statistical significance, the Doing Score, like the Future and Mastery-over-Nature scores, is a predictor of the work status of women. Those women who demand the kinds of activities which result in real accomplishments are consistently more likely to be in the labour force than those women with less of a Doing orientation.

The last basic value orientation along which we have hypothesized a difference according to sex is the relational orientation. On one end of the continuum we have the Individualism orientation, in which the individual feels that his own goals have primacy over those of the groups to which he is a member. At the other extreme is the Lineal relational orientation. A person so oriented feels that the continuity of the family group through time is most important, with ordered positional succession within this group also being stressed. In chapter 3, we hypothesized that men are more likely than women to have an Individualism orientation:

Hypothesis 3d: Males more than females in our society are inclined to have more of an Individualism than a Lineal or Collateral relational orientation.

The following tables present the sex differences in Individualism score as derived from our sample.

Table V-9a: Individualism Score by Sex and Occupational Status.

| Individualism Score | Males (All Employed) | | Females Housewife | | Total | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|----------|----------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> |
| Low | 9 | | 6 | | 12 | |
| | | (22.5) | | (25) | | (30) |
| Medium | 22 | | 8 | | 23 | |
| | | (55) | | (50) | | (58) |
| High | 9 | | 3 | | 5 | |
| | | (22.5) | | (12.5) | | (12) |
| Total | 40 | | 16 | | 40 | |
| | | (100) | | (100) | | (100) |

Table V-9b: Tests of Statistical Significance for Individualism Value Orientation Differences Between Various Sub-Groups.

| Sub-groups | Test of Significant Difference | |
|--|--------------------------------|---------------|
| | <u>Tau B</u> | <u>Sig.</u> |
| Males, Total vs. Females, Total... | -.136 | $P < .05$ |
| Males, Total vs. Females, Housewife... | -.091 | $P < .15$ |
| Males, Total vs. Females, Employed.... | -.159 | $P < .05$ |
| Females, Employed vs. Females, Housewife... | +.105 | Insignificant |

These tables indicate that men, on the whole, are significantly more Individualism oriented than are women. This leads us to accept hypothesis 3d, which makes the same prediction. However, these same tables and Figure V-4 (above) indicate that the predicted pattern of working women having higher value orientation scores than housewives

(Hypothesis 4) is not consistently repeated in this value orientation dimension. The females with the highest Individualism score are the full-time workers, followed by the housewives, and then the part-time workers. A result such as this presents the researcher with a considerably difficult problem in interpretation. The fact that the full-time working females possess Individualism scores above the female average is quite consistent with our expectations. In chapter 3, we suggested that an Individualism relational orientation was quite important for proper completion of most occupational role demands in our society. The interesting deviation from this pattern is the part-time working females, whose scores indicate that they tend toward Lineal and Collateral orientations. This finding tends to support the idea that many women who work on a part-time basis are motivated to do so for economic reasons, rather than those of career pursuit. Their relatively low Individualism scores reflect their belief that familial goals are of prime concern to them: hence, we would not expect them to seek work in order to realize independent and individual aims. The full-time female workers, on the other hand, likely differ from the part-time workers in that they are motivated to work in response to some felt desire to achieve as individual entities different from their usual place within the familial group.

In sum, then, we have found that women, on the whole, tend to have more of a Lineal and Collateral relational orientation than do men. Women who work on a full-time basis are those most likely to have an Individualism orientation, this link being a logical one in light of hypothesis 4. The at first surprising finding that part-time women have

low Individualism scores was explained as possibly being related to their entering the labour force as the result of a desire to help the family unit economically.

Our last value orientation score difference which we expected according to sex is in the Total Personality Score -- i.e. the average of respondents' all four value orientation scores. By using this score, a very general measure of the degree to which each respondents' value orientations approximate the Doing, Individualism, Mastery-over-Nature and Future orientation types was obtained. In chapter 3, the following sex difference was suggested to exist with respect to this variable:

Hypothesis 3e: Males more than females are inclined to have a combination of Doing, Individualism, Future, and Mastery-over-Nature value orientations.

Tables V-10a and b (below) are a presentation of our results as they relate to this hypothesis.

Table V-10a: Total Personality Score by Sex and Occupational Status.

| <u>Total Personality Score</u> | <u>Males</u> (All Employed) | | <u>Females</u> Employed Housewife | | <u>Total</u> | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------|---|----------|--------------|----------|
| | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> |
| Low | 12 | | 3 | | 11 | |
| | (30) | | (19) | | (46) | |
| Medium | 16 | | 11 | | 11 | |
| | (40) | | (69) | | (46) | |
| High | 12 | | 2 | | 2 | |
| | (30) | | (12) | | (8) | |
| Total | 40 | | 16 | | 24 | |
| | (100) | | (100) | | (100) | |

Table V-10b: Tests of Statistical Significance for Total Personality Score Differences Between Various Sub-groups.

| Sub-groups | Tests of Significant Difference | |
|--|---------------------------------|---------------|
| | <u>Tau B</u> | <u>Sig.</u> |
| Males, Total vs. Females, Total... | -.184 | P < .01 |
| Males, Total vs. Females, Housewife... | -.246 | P < .005 |
| Males, Total vs. Females, Employed... | -.086 | Insignificant |
| Females, Employed vs. Females, Housewife... | -.197 | P < .05 |

These results reflect the same patterns which have been apparent along the four value orientation dimensions discussed above. In the first place, the data lends upport to hypothesis 3e, since a highly significant difference in the predicted direction was found between the Total Personality scores of men and those of women. The usually-observed pattern of working females having a significantly high value orientation score than housewives is also true of the Total Personality Score, thus lending support to hypothesis 4. Table V-11 (below) reveals this relationship.

Table V-11: Total Personality Score By Work Status of Women

| Total Personality Score | Housewife | | Work Status Part-time | | Full-time | |
|----------------------------|-----------|----------|--------------------------|----------|-----------|----------|
| | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>n</u> | <u>%</u> |
| Low | 11 | | 2 | | 1 | |
| | (46) | | (29) | | (11) | |
| Medium | 11 | | 4 | | 7 | |
| | (46) | | (57) | | (78) | |
| High | 2 | | 1 | | 1 | |
| | (8) | | (14) | | (11) | |
| Number | 24 | | 7 | | 9 | |
| | (100) | | (100) | | (100) | |

Tau B = .205

P < .05

Unfortunately, our study cannot conclusively answer the question: "Which came first -- the working or the value orientations?" We cannot say for sure that our group of working women are working primarily due to their "general perspective on things," since the possibility exists that their value orientations are systematically changed under the influence of the work situation. However, the theory of value orientations would suggest that there is generally a certain amount of value orientation constancy after the primary socialization stage of each person's development. So, although the data does not immediately indicate the direction of causation of this phenomena, our theory would suggest that peoples' value orientations likely preceed their decision to enter the labour force. This is not to deny that value orientation changes sometimes occur as a consequence of one's presence at the work place. Likely, both processes do operate to create the observed differences between working women and housewives. Our suggestion, though, is that the primary direction of causation flows from the value orientation to the occupational role, and not vice versa.

In sum, then, we have observed that women's value orientations differ significantly from those of the males in our sample. The only value orientation dimension in which this significant sex difference was not observed is the Doing activity orientation, and here the predicted trend was present. We have at the same time found that working women are considerably more Doing, Future and Mastery-over-Nature oriented than are those women who do not hold jobs within the formal occupational sphere. We have suggested that this value orientation difference between working

and nonworking women is at least in part responsible for their different work statuses.

General Summary

These findings, taken in total, pose quite a thorny problem vis-a-vis the acceptance or rejection of our theoretical explanation for the division of labour according to sex in Canada. Our original prediction, it will be recalled, was that females achieve occupational rewards due to the same factor which so influences men: that is, based upon the possession (or non-possession) of a given value orientation "package". If this had been the case, then the additional observation that males and females differ in the possession of this set of value orientations would have made the division of labour quite understandable. However, as noted above, our results indicate that female occupational prestige is not distributed in quite the same manner as males'. As a consequence, we are forced to conclude that our theoretical scheme is not as all-encompassing as we might have hoped.

But this is not to say that nothing has been gained from our toils: for much has been learned. For one, we have observed that our mainstream occupational system does indeed distribute prestige, wealth and advancement in accordance with peoples' willingness to interpret their work roles in an instrumental (as opposed to expressive) manner. Also, the Doing, Future, Individualism and Mastery-over-Nature value orientations have been found to be closely related to the achievement of occupational "success" for males -- although this pattern is not duplicated among our

female sample. This finding has serious implications for those who may wish to see an alteration of our sexual division of labour. We have previously known that structural barriers act to seriously limit females in their occupational pursuits. But what we did not know was that the value orientation differences between the sexes (observed in this study) apparently exist, and likely contribute to the maintenance of inequalities within our occupational system. The fact that our results indicate that women's occupational rewards are not predictable on the basis of knowledge of their value orientations does not negate this conclusion. The simple finding that high prestige jobs typically call upon their incumbents to fulfil role requirements in an instrumental manner has serious implications for the male-female equality question. Despite the effects of employer discrimination, inadequacy of training, and similar obstacles, women as a group seem to face still one more barrier: their possession of value orientations which are not advantageous to the fulfillment of high prestige jobs within our occupational system. Further discussion about the possible repercussions of this finding are contained in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

Summary and Conclusion

One of the main benefits of a concluding chapter is that it offers the author an opportunity to explicate his study as a whole, in terms of its goals, frustrations, and successes. This we will try to do here. We will begin by explaining our research approach, as it evolved out of and reflects the works of other authors. In doing this, we will attempt to show the reader how our theoretical orientation developed in conjunction with and reaction to these authors. Upon this general review of our study, we will try to evaluate some of the weak as well as strong points in our work, and indicate areas for further research which seem to be most potentially fruitful. At the same time, we will examine some of the ethical and moral problems which our findings have for a society such as ours, espousing the ideals of democracy and egalitarianism.

In our introduction to this study, we envisioned its main purpose as an attempt to understand the nature of the mechanisms which account for the systematic maintenance of male dominance in our society. For our purposes, we restricted the meaning of male dominance to the amazing regularity with which men tend to supersede women with respect to the attainment of such occupational rewards as prestige, income and upward mobility. In our search for a suitable explanation for this observable social phenomenon, we reviewed some of the works of recent "feminist" authors, anthropologists, biologists, psychologists, as well

as sociologists. Somehow, though, none of these explanations reflected just the perspective which we wanted to take with respect to our problem under consideration. This does not mean that we found there to be no acceptable "truth" value among the theories of all these various perspectives. The main criticism which we levelled at most of these authors lies in their unwillingness to specifically relate their studies to the question of male-female occupational distribution, particularly as it exists in Canada today. In fact, most of the literature made little direct reference to the specifics of the problem--reflecting the relative lack of empirical research in this area. As a consequence of this and other dissatisfactions (outlined in chapter 2), a new attempt was made to explain our problem at hand.

In developing our theory of sexual dimorphism, it quickly became clear that we could not incorporate all possible facets of this complex problem at one time. We decided to assume the familiar position within sociology that values are the central motivating force within any given society. Starting out from this perspective, we asked the questions: What is the main "ideational" basis upon which our system of stratifying people is legitimated? Given this basis, are people actually stratified in accordance with their possession (or non-possession) of personal qualities logically related to that legitimized basis? Is there any evidence that men and women differ in their "idea structures" or "value orientations"? If so, what are the repercussions of this possible difference? Examining the works of many scholars greatly helped us in our attempt to respond to these questions. First and foremost was the work of Talcott Parsons, which suggested that we do have a fundamental

ideational basis for our system of social stratification: the positive valuation of instrumental action patterns (on the "cultural" as well as the "individual" levels). Given, for the sake of argument, that Parsons is correct in this assertion, we then asked if there could possibly be internal value orientation differences within a population which influence the extent to which people are capable of completing instrumental role demands. Should this be the case, then we would predict that those individuals having value orientations most conducive to fulfilling instrumental action patterns are most likely to "succeed" within our occupational system. The assumption was made that there is likely to be a good deal of logical consistency between this ideational basis for legitimizing status differences between people, and people's actual behaviour within their various occupational roles. I felt confident in making this assumption, since it seemed clear that the alternative denial of legitimately-felt values as to who has the "right" to high (vs. low) occupational rewards might conceivably be associated with considerable social disorder and chaos -- neither of which appear to be dominant in our society. So we set off in search of a set of value-orientations which we might expect to be related to Parsons' instrumental action pattern--and which operate to stratify people within the occupational system in our society.

This we found in the work of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (the former, not surprisingly, having been a student of Parsons at one time.) Their value orientation scheme divides people in accordance with their "philosophies of life". Four value orientation dimensions representing

basic human problems which all of us must solve are used to categorize people. One may be characterized by the extent to which one has a Doing, Future, Mastery-over-Nature, and Individualism value orientation. This scheme is related to Parsons' concept of instrumental action in that we have predicted that the possession of value orientations which closely approximate the above four dominant types is helpful to people in influencing their ability to perform work tasks in an instrumental manner. Logically, then, we are able to extend our theory which postulates a link between instrumentalism and occupational reward, to that of a relationship between people's value orientations influencing their ability to succeed within our occupational system. Our suggestion that the sexes likely differ in their possession of these value orientation traits could lend us considerable insight into the problem of the maintenance of sexual dimorphism in Canada. The results of our study did not seriously contradict these predictions.

We found that we were able to observe an empirical connection between the possession of Doing, Mastery-over-Nature, Individualism and Future value orientations, and one's ability to perform work duties in a highly instrumental way. The data showed that this relationship apparently holds true for females as well as males in our society. Those having the value orientations which we predicted to be most supportive of an instrumental action pattern indeed turned out to achieve high instrumental scores in our index.

However, when we came to test our theoretical notions about the relationship between people's instrumental scores and their achievement

of occupational rewards, a significant deviation from our theory was observed. Our predictions were based upon the (perhaps naive) assumption that our system of social stratification actually operates to stratify people primarily upon their relative possession of the established "legitimate" stratifier: i.e. the ability to perform instrumental action patterns. The data showed this assumption to be a false one for women, and an essentially correct one for men. The results for men could hardly have been more supportive of our theoretical notions. Their occupational rewards were shown to be intimately related to both their instrumental and value orientation scores, as predicted. Women, though, did not appear to be stratified in the same "legitimate" manner. Neither their ability to perform instrumental action, nor their value orientations were found to be consistently related to their occupational achievements. This means, of course, that "other factors" must operate to deny the smooth operation of this legitimate basis of stratifying women within our society. In chapter 4, we suggested that these factors may include "employer discrimination," "inadequacy of formal training," and the "role strain" associated with the assumption of the housewife-mother as well as the occupational or career roles. We do, however, have some considerable reservations in firmly making this conclusion. In fact, we must admit that we do not fully trust these results to be entirely reliable with respect to the question of women's stratification within our occupational system. This is due primarily to certain methodological imperfections within our study (discussed in chapter 4). Mainly because of the small number of women involved in this study, any firmly

conclusive statements about female stratification patterns must be avoided. Hence, our suggestion that females are not "legitimately" stratified within our society (as men apparently are) must be taken in view of these methodological problems. Our findings in this regard then, are largely exploratory and tentative in nature.

This being the case, then, we must ask about some of the repercussions of our semi-confirmed theory of social stratification as it applies to Canada. When we speak of repercussions, we refer here to those which are of import for the male-female inequality question. Firstly, it seems clear from our results that our on-going occupational system is based primarily upon an instrumental action pattern. At the same time, we found that men more than women possess those value orientations which are most supportive of their entry and success within that occupational system. On the basis of these two findings, it is not at all difficult to understand how value orientation acts to keep many women out of our formal occupational system, also orienting others to their occupations in a non-instrumental manner. The consequence of people not approaching their work in an instrumental manner are so obvious as to not need elaboration here. At the same time, our findings have suggested to us that women may be subject to illegitimate intermediary factors influencing their ability to succeed within our occupational system. This would not be a problem, were it not for our strong belief in the value of egalitarianism--the belief in the essential equality of all people. In fact, it is this apparent vulgarization of the egalitarian ethos which likely motivated our entire study. Right in the introduction, we

stated as the main aim of this study to be an attempt to understand and explain the logical basis of the observable prestige difference between men and women in our society. To some extent, I believe that we have made considerable progress in our attempt to accomplish this goal.

Our study has provided us with hints as to the reasons why women are discriminated against within our occupational world. The suggestion by Epstein that men employers discriminate against women in order to safeguard their advantageous power position somehow cannot be the whole story. We take the position that men, by and large, cannot be accurately characterized as such. It is likely that men base a good deal of their hiring and promotion decisions upon their concept of the "personal capabilities" of their employees. Our finding that women by and large are more Being, Subjugation-to-Nature, Present and Collateral oriented than men means that men likely have a similar conception of these male-female "differences". This, of course, is an empirical question which awaits further study. One possible method of attaining a satisfactory answer to this question would be by utilizing the Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck method. By asking men how they think "most women" would respond to given value orientation choices, an estimate of male conceptions of women's value orientations may be obtained. Our study would predict that the traditional stereotype of women being incapable of handling positions of key importance within our occupational world (i.e. the belief that they are less Doing, mastery-over-Nature, Future, and Individualism oriented than men) seem to have been internalized by most men. Those men who are in hiring and promotion decision-making

positions, then, are likely to have internalized these stereotypes, and hence be very careful to make sure that their female employees adequately "prove themselves" before making advancement decisions in their favour. This means that the "burden of proof" is shifted somewhat in the case of females, since they will inevitably have to prove themselves different from the others (or the stereotype). In this way, then, the phenomenon of "employer discrimination" is quite understandable, since the recruiters value instrumental action patterns, while females have by and large been socialized to fill non-instrumental roles. The situation must maintain itself until either of these conditions change.

Great confusion has undoubtedly arisen over this entire issue of male-female occupational differences primarily because of the diffuse set of dogmas presented by various authors. By and large, "feminist" commitment to reform does not allow them to consider alternative perspectives perhaps more "conservative" in nature. Their sincere belief that women must be liberated from the depths of male oppression puts this whole issue beyond the perspective of "intellectual curiosity" for them. Similarly, the biologist, anthropologist, or psychologist cannot but approach the subject matter in a manner native to their own particular training. The perspective from which we have viewed this issue has been sociological, or more specifically social-psychological in nature. With it, we have tried to note the importance of man's social existence for the resultant division of labour, as well as its sub-division according to sex. This means that we have emphasized the existence and impact of man's socially-derived values and value orientations upon the division

of labour. From our vantage point, we can understand some women's impatience and anger as being related to their observation that "the system" does not work for them in the same manner in which it does for men. At the same time, we are also able to understand the businessman, who conceives of his female employees as by and large being incapable of assuming positions of high responsibility, perhaps because of his experience with women who have apparently been quite ineffective in acting in a highly instrumental manner. Social phenomena such as this are essentially "understandable" and perhaps even "logical"--especially when viewed from a perspective which does not attempt to reduce the situation to that of a dichotomous conflict.

It is obvious that much work still remains to be done in order to clear up some of the unfortunate deficiencies which remain part of this study. The most glaring of these is located in our inability to clearly determine the degree to which instrumental action patterns (and hence value orientations) are related to occupational rewards for women. Another study focusing its exclusive attention upon this area could give us invaluable information with which to compare males and females in their acquisition of occupational successes and failures. There are, of course, several other questions which have been suggested as the result of this research. If it is determined that women do not join the occupational world and succeed there in accordance with the criteria developed within this study, what factors do contribute to these actions? To what extent do such factors as inadequate training, employer discrimination, and role strain act to deter the occupational advancement

of women? The answers to these and other such questions will likely help to solve the now inadequately known process whereby women are delegated to "subservient" occupational roles. To have knowledge of this process is not the same as being able to control it. However, should we wish to do so, a little bit of knowledge may certainly be beneficial.

APPENDIX I: The Interview Schedule

VALUE ORIENTATIONS STUDY conducted by Bram Hamovitch

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

GENERAL CODING INSTRUCTIONS:

Unless otherwise stated, "interviewer forgot" will be coded by 0; "R refused to answer" will be coded 8; and "Don't know" will be coded 9.

Part A:

"Before we begin the main part of the questionnaire dealing with values, I would like to ask you some questions about your background."

1. What is the highest level of schooling you have reached?

IBM

(State exact grade) _____

1 _____
4 _____

Trade or business school _____
(Field and no. of yrs.)

Some college _____
(Area and no. of yrs.)

College graduate _____
(Area and no. of yrs.)

Some grad or prof school _____
(Field and no. of yrs.)

Professional degree _____
(Field and no. of yrs.)

2. What is the formal title of your occupation?

6 _____

3. (FOR UNCLEAR OCCUPATIONAL RESPONSES) What do you actually do while working?

4. How did you get this job?

1. Normal channels _____ 2. Influence _____ 8 _____
3. Other _____

5. Some people work at their jobs just because they somehow must earn a living, while other people work in order to achieve some long-term goal which they have in mind. Why is it that you are working as a _____?

Does it fulfil any personal goal or goals which you have?

1. Yes _____ 2. No _____ 9 _____

6. IF R ANSWERED 'NO' TO Q. 5, SKIP TO Q. 14.

What is this goal, or what are these goals?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

7. How disappointed would you be with yourself if you could not fulfil this goal of _____?

- | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|----------|
| 1. Extremely dis _____ | 2. Quite dis _____ | |
| 3. Moderately dis _____ | 4. Not so very dis _____ | 10 _____ |

8. When you are working as a _____, do you ever think about how the work you are doing then and there is related to your goal of _____? (IF YES) Do you think about this relationship only from time to time, or quite often, or perhaps somewhere inbetween these two?

- | | |
|--|----------|
| 1. Relation thought about quite often _____ | |
| 2. Relation thought about in a moderate amount _____ | |
| 3. Relation thought about only from time to time _____ | 11 _____ |

9. Do you have the feeling that your goal(s) will be fulfilled even if you don't consciously direct your efforts towards its attainment?

- | | |
|--|----------|
| 1. Yes, it will probably come about even if I don't exert effort _____ | |
| 2. No, it will probably not come about even if I exert effort _____ | |
| 3. No, it will probably come about <u>only if</u> I exert effort _____ | 12 _____ |

10. Do you think that you have knowledge of all the factors which may help you towards the attainment of this/these goal(s)?

- | | | |
|--------------|-------------|----------|
| 1. Yes _____ | 2. No _____ | 13 _____ |
|--------------|-------------|----------|

IF 'YES', What are these factors?

11. IF R ANSWERED 'YES' TO Q. 10, GO TO Q. 13.

How does a person like yourself work to find out about these factors?

1. Reading books, magazines, etc., watching TV _____
2. Taking extra courses _____
3. Sitting and thinking _____
4. Talking to other people _____ 14 _____

12. Do you actively work to find out about all these factors which may help you towards the realization of this goal?

1. Yes _____
2. No _____ 15 _____

13. IF R ANSWERED 'YES' TO Q. 12:

How actively do you work to find out about these things?

1. Extremely actively _____
2. Very actively _____
3. Moderately actively _____
4. Not very actively _____ 16 _____

14. When you are working as a _____, I'm sure that you find that there are times when you may engage in pleasurable activities which are not directly related to the formal requirements of your job, for example taking an extra-long coffee break, or talking with your neighbour, or perhaps just sitting and daydreaming awhile. About what percentage of your working time do you devote to activities of this sort? Please think carefully before answering.

17 _____

15. Why do you not spend more time engaging in these types of activities?

1. Because it might interfere with my goal(s) _____

2. Because it is not morally correct _____

3. Because my boss might catch me _____ 19 _____

16. Do you frequently purposefully deny yourself the pleasure of these activities, or do never deny yourself these pleasures, or perhaps somewhere in between?

1. Denies himself frequently _____

2. Denies himself from time to time _____

3. Denies himself never _____ 20 _____

17. What are the different jobs that you have held throughout your lifetime, starting with your first full-time job?

21 _____

18. People often talk of social class, such as working class, middle class, and upper class. What social class would you say you belong to?

1. Upper _____ 2. Middle _____

3. Working _____ 23 _____

19. (BY OBSERVATION) Sex

1. Male _____ 2. Female _____

24 _____

20. INTERVIEWER'S JUDGMENT TO SES OR R.

A. TYPE OF HOUSE:

Wealthy _____

Above average _____

Below average _____

Abominable _____

B. FURNITURE:

Elaborately furnished _____

Neatly furnished _____

Not-so-neatly furnished _____

C. INSIDE OF HOUSE:

Neat and tidy _____

Average _____

Messy _____

Very messy _____

D. SES OF R:

1. Upper _____

2. Middle _____

3. Working _____

25 _____

21. (OMIT FOR FULL-TIME HOUSEWIVES) Which of these groups does your income from all sources before taxes fall in? (USE CARD)

1. Under \$1000 _____

2. 1000-1999 _____

26 _____

3. 2000-2999 _____

4. 3000-3999 _____

5. 4000-5999 _____

6. 6000-9999 _____

7. 10,000-14,999 _____

8. N.A. _____

9. D.K. _____

10. 15,000-19,000 _____

11. 20,000+ _____

22. In what year were you born? _____

28 _____

23. Where did you grow up? _____

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|----------|
| 1. Canada _____ | 2. China (Com) _____ | 31 _____ |
| 3. China (For) _____ | 4. England _____ | |
| 5. Greece _____ | 6. India _____ | |
| 7. Ireland _____ | 8. N.A. _____ | |
| 9. D.K. _____ | 10. Italy _____ | |
| 11. Scotland _____ | 12. Trinidad & Tobago _____ | |
| 13. United States _____ | 14. Wales _____ | |
| 15. Other _____ | | |

24. Size of community:

- | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|----------|
| 1. Over 250,000 _____ | 2. 100,000-249,999 _____ | 33 _____ |
| 3. 25,000-99,999 _____ | 4. 10,000-24,999 _____ | |
| 5. 0-9,999 _____ | | |

25. Would you describe the community as being rural, a small town, a sub-urb, or an urban city?

- | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|----------|
| 1. Urban _____ | 2. Sub-urban _____ | 34 _____ |
| 3. Small town _____ | 4. Rural _____ | |
| 5. Other _____ | | |

26. (IF R GREW UP IN MORE THAN ONE LOCATION, GIVE ABOVE DATA & DATES FOR EACH LOCATION)

| <u>Dates</u> | <u>Community</u> | <u>Size</u> |
|--------------|------------------|-------------|
| 1. _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 2. _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 3. _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 4. _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 5. _____ | _____ | _____ |

27. What is your religion?

- | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------|
| 1. Agnostic _____ | 2. Anglican _____ | 35 _____ |
| 3. Atheist _____ | 4. Baptist _____ | |
| 5. Greek Orthodox _____ | 6. Jewish _____ | |
| 7. Lutheran _____ | 8. N.A. _____ | |
| 9. D.K. _____ | 10. Presbyterian _____ | |
| 11. Roman Catholic _____ | 12. Ukranian (Greek) Catholic _____ | |
| 13. United Church _____ | 14. Other _____ | |

28. How religious do you consider yourself to be?

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------|
| 1. Very religious _____ | 2. Moderately rel _____ | |
| 3. Somewhat rel _____ | 4. Not rel at all _____ | |
| 5. Other _____ | | 37 _____ |

29. Where was your father born?

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|----------|
| 1. Canada _____ | 2. China (Com) _____ | 38 _____ |
| 3. China (For) _____ | 4. England _____ | |
| 5. Greece _____ | 6. India _____ | |
| 7. Ireland _____ | 8. N.A. _____ | |
| 9. D.K. _____ | 10. Italy _____ | |
| 11. Scotland _____ | 12. Trinidad & Tobego _____ | |
| 13. United States _____ | 14. Wales _____ | |
| 15. Other _____ | | |

30A. IF CANADA: In what city? _____

30B. IF CANADA: Where was your father's father born?

(Give country - code as #29)

31. Where was your mother born?

(Country - code as #29)

40 _____

31A. IF CANADA: In what city? _____

31B. IF CANADA: Where was your mother's mother born?

(Give country - code as #29)

32. About what is the highest level of schooling your father reached?

Has he had any other training?

(State exact grade)

42 _____

Trade or business school

(Field & no. of yrs.)

Some college

(Area & no. of yrs.)

College graduate

(Area & no. of yrs.)

Some grad or prof school

(Field & no. of yrs.)

Professional degree

(Field & no. of yrs.)

33. What was your father's main occupation during the years when you were growing up?

44 _____

34. About what is the highest level of schooling your mother reached?

Has she had any other training?

(State exact grade) _____

46 _____

Trade or business school _____
(Field & no. of yrs.)

Some college _____
(Area & no. of yrs.)

College graduate _____
(Area & no. of yrs.)

Some grad or prof school _____
(Field & no. of yrs.)

35. Would you consider your parents to be members of the working class,
the middle class, or the upper class?

- | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|----------|
| 1. Upper _____ | 2. Middle _____ | 48 _____ |
| 3. Working _____ | 4. Other _____ | |

36. What is your marital status?

- | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|----------|
| 1. Single _____ | 2. Married _____ | 49 _____ |
| 3. Separated _____ | 4. Divorced _____ | |
| 5. Widowed _____ | 6. Other _____ | |

SINGLE PEOPLE SKIP TO PART B

37. How many children do you have? _____ 50 _____

38. How many of your children are now living out on their own?

_____ 52 _____

39. What is the highest level of schooling your husb/wife has reached? Has he/she had any other training?

(State exact grade)

53 _____

Trade or business school

(Field & no. of yrs.)

Some college

(Area & no. of yrs.)

College graduate

(Area & no. of yrs.)

Some grad or prof school

(Field & no. of yrs.)

Professional degree

(Field & no. of yrs.)

40. What is your husb/wife's occupation?

55 _____

41. (DO NOT ASK OF THOSE WHO ASKED Q. 39 'HSWF', RETIRED, or UNEMPLOYED)

How did your husband/wife get this job?

1. Normal channels _____

2. Influence _____

3. Other _____

57 _____

42. (DO NOT ASK OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED Q. 39 'HSWF', RETIRED, or UNEMPLOYED)

Within what group would you estimate your husb/wife's income to be? (USE CARD)

58 _____

43. What are the different jobs that your husband/wife has held throughout his/her lifetime, starting with the first full-time position?

60 _____

Part B:

"Now I would like to read you some questions which describe a real-life situation or problem. Then two or three different solutions to the problem will be given. Your job is to say which of these presented solutions to the problem is best in your opinion.

44. A man needed a job and had a chance to work for two men. The two bosses were different. Listen to what they were like, and say which you think would be the best to work for.

1. One boss was a fair enough man, and he paid slightly more than the going wage. But he was the kind of boss who insisted that men work hard and stick on the job. He did not like it all when a worker sometimes just knocked off work for a while to go on a trip or have a day or so of fun, and thought it was right to fire such a worker.

2. The other boss paid just average wages but was not so firm. He understood that a worker would sometimes just not show up -- would be off on a trip or having a little fun for a day or two. When his men did this, he would take them back without saying too much.

Which of these men do you believe that it would be better to work for in most cases? 1 2

62 _____

Which kind of boss do you believe that it is better to be in most cases? 1 2

63 _____

45. Three young people were talking about how well they thought their families would do materially one day as compared with their fathers and mothers. They each said different things.

1. The first said: I expect my family to be better off in the future than my parents' family if we work hard and plan right. Things in this country usually get better for people who really try.
2. The second one said: I don't know whether my family will be better off, the same, or worse off than my parents' family. Things always go up and down even if people do work hard - so one can never really tell how things will be.
3. The third one said: I expect my family to be about the same as my parents' family. The best way is to work hard and plan ways to keep up things as they have been in the past.

Which of these people do you think had the best way of looking at things? 1 2 3

64 _____

Which of the other two persons had the better way of looking at things? 1 2 3

65 _____

46. Here are three ways in which a person may work.

1. One way is working on one's own as an individual. In this case, you are pretty much your own boss. You decide most things yourself, and how you get along is your own business. You only have to take care of yourself, and don't expect others to look out for you.
2. Another way is working in a group where you all work together without there being one main boss. Everyone in the group has

something to say in the decisions that are made, and you can all count on each other.

3. A third way is working for an owner, or someone who has been running things for a long time. In this case, you do not take part in deciding how the business will be run, but you know that you can depend on the boss to help you out in many ways.

Which of these ways is usually best? 1 2 3 66 _____

Which of the other two ways is better? 1 2 3 67 _____

47. A man once had a successful business. Gradually many different things went wrong, eventually leading to bankruptcy. People talked about this and said different things.

1. Some people said you just can't blame a man when things like this happen. There are so many things that can and do happen, and a man can do almost nothing to prevent such losses when they come. We all have to learn to take the bad with the good.
2. Some other people said that it was probably the man's own fault that he went bankrupt. He probably didn't use his head to prevent the losses. They said that it is usually the case that men who keep up on new ways of doing things, and really set themselves to it, almost always find a way to keep out of such trouble.
3. Still other people said that it was probably because the man had not lived his life right -- had not done things in the morally correct way. Men who try to keep themselves in harmony with God usually don't run into such trouble.

In cases such as this, which of these three reasons do you think is most usually true? 1 2 3 68 _____

Which of the other two reasons do you think is more true?

1 2 3 69 _____

48. There were two people talking about how they liked to live. They had different ideas.

1. One said: What I care about most is accomplishing things -- getting things done just as well as or better than other people do them.

I like to see results and think they are worth working for.

2. The other said: What I care about most is to be left alone to think and act in the ways that best suit the way I really am. If I don't always get much done but enjoy life as I go along, that is the best way.

Which of these two persons do you think has the better way of thinking? 1 2 70 _____

49. People often have very different ideas about what has gone before and what we can expect in life. Here are three ways of thinking about these things.

1. Some people believe that it is best to give most attention to what is happening now in the present. They say that the past has gone and the future is much too uncertain to count on. Things do change, but it is sometimes for the better and sometimes for the worse, so in the long run it is about the same. These people believe the best way to live is to keep those of the old ways that

one can - or that one likes - but to be ready to accept the new ways which will help to make life easier and better as we live from year to year.

2. Some people think that the ways of the past were the best, and as changes come, things get worse. These people think that the best way to live is to work hard to keep up the old ways and try to bring them back when they are lost.
3. Some people believe that it is almost always the ways of the future - the ways which are still to come - which will be best, and they say that even though there are sometimes small setbacks, change brings improvements in the long run. These people think the best way to live is to look a long time ahead, work hard, and give up many things now so that the future will be better.

Which of these ways of looking at life do you think is best?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|----|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 71 |
|---|---|---|----|

Which of the other two ways do you think is better? 1 2 3 72

50. A man had a business failure. He and his family had to have help from someone if they were ever going to regain their financial security.

There are three different ways of getting help. Which of these three ways would be best?

1. Would it be best if he depended mostly on his brothers and sisters or other relatives all to help him out as much as each one could?
2. Would it be best for him to try to raise the money on his own from people who are neither relatives nor employers?

3. Would it be best for him to go to a boss or to an older important relative who is used to managing such things, and ask him to help out until things get better?

Which way of getting the help do you think would usually be best?

1 2 3

73 _____

Which way of getting the help do you think is next best?

1 2 3

74 _____

51. There were three farmers who had fields with crops. The three men had quite different ways of planting and taking care of crops.

1. One man put in his crops, worked hard, and also set himself to living in right and proper ways. He felt that it is the way a man works and tries to keep himself in harmony with the forces around him that has the most effect on conditions and the way crops turn out.
2. One man put in his crops. Afterwards he worked on them sufficiently but did not do more than was necessary to keep them going along. He felt that it mainly depended on weather conditions how they would turn out and that nothing extra that people could do would change things.
3. One man put in his crops and then worked on them a lot of the time and made use of all the new scientific ideas he could find out about. He felt that by doing this he would in most years prevent many of the effects of bad conditions.

Which of these ways do you believe is usually best? 1 2 3

75 _____

Which of the other two ways do you believe is better? 1 2 3 76 _____

52. The provincial government is going to help a community like yours by giving them a sum of money for a more efficient transportation system. The government officials suggest that the community should have a plan for dividing the extra money, but don't say what kind of plan. Since the precise amount of extra money that may come in is not known, people feel differently about planning.

1. Some say that whatever money comes in should be divided just about like it is presently divided between busses, roads, trains, and other forms of transportation.
2. Others want to just wait until the money comes in before deciding on how it will be divided.
3. Still others want to work out a really good plan ahead of time for dividing whatever money comes in.

Which of these ways do you think is usually best in most cases?

1 2 3 77 _____

Which of the other two ways is usually better? 1 2 3 78 _____

53. An established organization in your community is to send a delegate - a representative - to a meeting away from here. How should this delegate be chosen?

1. Is it best that a meeting be called and everyone in the organization discuss things until almost everyone agrees so that when a vote is taken, almost all people would be agreed on the same person?

2. Is it best that the older, important leaders take the main responsibility for deciding who should represent the people since they are the ones who have had long experience in such matters?
3. Is it best that a meeting be called, names be put up, and then a vote taken? Then the man who gets the majority of votes is sent as a delegate, even if there are many people who are still against this man.

Which of these ways of choosing is usually best in most cases?

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|----|-------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 79 | _____ |
|---|---|---|----|-------|

Which of the other two ways is usually better?

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|----|-------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 80 | _____ |
|---|---|---|----|-------|

54. There are many different ways of thinking about how man is related to the conditions which allow him to live or die, and be happy or sad.

Here are three possible ways.

1. People and nature work together all the time; the conditions which make men the way they are depends upon whether people themselves do all the proper things to keep themselves in harmony with the forces around them.
2. There is no force which directly uses its power to control all the conditions which affect men. It is up to people themselves to figure out the ways conditions change and to try hard to find the ways of controlling them.
3. Just how the powerful forces which affect men act upon us cannot be known by man. It is useless for people to think they can change

things very much for very long. The best way is to take

conditions as they come and do as well as one can.

Which of these ways of looking at things do you think is

best? 1 2 3

81 _____

Which of the other two ways do you think is better?

1 2 3

82 _____

Part C:

Below you will find a number of statements about which there is no general agreement. People differ widely in the way in which they feel about each item. There are no right or wrong answers. We should like your honest opinion on each of these statements.

Read each item carefully and circle the letter above the phrase that best expresses your feelings about the statement. Wherever possible, let your own personal experience determine your answer. If in doubt, circle the letter that seems most nearly to express your present feeling about the statement.

1. It is most important for people to accomplish things.

IBM

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|-----------|----------|----------|
| A | B | C | D | E |
| Strongly | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly |
| Agree | | | | Disagree |

2. I feel I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|-----------|----------|----------|
| A | B | C | D | E |
| Strongly | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly |
| Agree | | | | Disagree |

3. The future looks very bleak.

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|-----------|----------|----------|
| A | B | C | D | E |
| Strongly | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly |
| Agree | | | | Disagree |

4. A person has to look out for his own interests, even when they conflict with others around him.

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|-----------|----------|----------|
| A | B | C | D | E |
| Strongly | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly |
| Agree | | | | Disagree |

5. Wasting time shouldn't particularly bother a person.

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|-----------|----------|----------|
| A | B | C | D | E |
| Strongly | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly |
| Agree | | | | Disagree |

6. I wish I could have more respect for myself.

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|-----------|----------|----------|
| A | B | C | D | E |
| Strongly | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly |
| Agree | | | | Disagree |

7. Success is more dependent upon luck than on real ability.

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|-----------|----------|----------|
| A | B | C | D | E |
| Strongly | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly |
| Agree | | | | Disagree |

8. Man can do little to control his own destiny. Most things that happen are beyond his control and must be accepted as inevitable.

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|-----------|----------|----------|
| A | B | C | D | E |
| Strongly | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly |
| Agree | | | | Disagree |

9. At times I think I am no good at all.

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|-----------|----------|----------|
| A | B | C | D | E |
| Strongly | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly |
| Agree | | | | Disagree |

10. Things were better in the old days, and as changes come, things get worse.

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|-----------|----------|----------|
| A | B | C | D | E |
| Strongly | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly |
| Agree | | | | Disagree |

11. A man has a moral obligation to at least try to fulfil the expectations which his parents held for him.

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|-----------|----------|----------|
| A | B | C | D | E |
| Strongly | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly |
| Agree | | | | Disagree |

12. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|-----------|----------|----------|
| A | B | C | D | E |
| Strongly | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly |
| Agree | | | | Disagree |

Part D:

"Now let's talk about jobs. Here is a ladder with nine boxes on it, and a card with the name of an occupation on it. Please put the card in the box at the top of the ladder if you think that occupation has the highest possible social standing in our community. Put it in the box at the bottom of the ladder if you think it has the lowest possible social standing. If it belongs somewhere in between, just put it in the box that matches the social standing of the occupation.

Here are some more cards with names of occupations. Just put them in the boxes in the ladder which match the social standing they actually have. If you want to, you can change your mind about where an occupation belongs and move its card to a different box."

AFTER THE SORTING IS COMPLETED: "Make any changes that you think may be necessary in the ordering of the cards....Try once again to sort the cards which you have placed in the 'Don't Know' pile."

| <u>OCCUPATION</u> | <u>BOX NUMBER</u> | <u>IBM COL.</u> |
|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Aircraft worker | _____ | _____ |
| 2. Book binder | _____ | _____ |
| 3. Building contractor | _____ | _____ |
| 4. Bus driver | _____ | _____ |
| 5. Economist | _____ | _____ |
| 6. Elevator operator | _____ | _____ |
| 7. Garbage collector | _____ | _____ |
| 8. Housewife | _____ | _____ |
| 9. Locomotive engineer | _____ | _____ |
| 10. Longshoreman | _____ | _____ |

| <u>OCCUPATION</u> | <u>BOX NUMBER</u> | <u>IBM COL.</u> |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 11. Manager of supermarket | _____ | _____ |
| 12. P.T.Hswf., P.T. Reg Nurse | _____ | _____ |
| 13. P.T.Hswf., P.T. Saleslady | _____ | _____ |
| 14. P.T.Hswf., P.T. Soc. Wkr. | _____ | _____ |
| 15. P.T.Hswf., P.T. Waitress | _____ | _____ |
| 16. Plumber | _____ | _____ |
| 17. Prime Minister of Canada | _____ | _____ |
| 18. Professional babysitter | _____ | _____ |
| 19. Public school teacher | _____ | _____ |
| 20. Real estate agent | _____ | _____ |
| 21. Research technician | _____ | _____ |
| 22. Sawmill owner | _____ | _____ |
| 23. Trailer truck driver | _____ | _____ |
| 24. Travel agent | _____ | _____ |
| 25. Used car salesman | _____ | _____ |

NUMBER: _____

NAME OF R: _____

ADDRESS: _____

INTERVIEW BEGINING _____ am/pm

INTERVIEW ENDING _____ am/pm

DATE _____

INTERVIEWER _____

Calls

1. Completed _____

Appointment _____

Not home _____

Refused at Dr _____

Refused by R _____

Moved _____

2. Completed _____

Appointment _____

Not home _____

Refused at Dr _____

Refused by R _____

Moved _____

3. Completed _____

Appointment _____

Not home _____

Refused at Dr _____

Refused by R _____

Moved _____

4. Completed _____

Appointment _____

Not home _____

Refused by Dr _____

Refused by R _____

Moved _____

Appendix II: Detailed Coding Instructions for Questions Not Adequately Discussed in Chapter 4.

(i) Short-Answer Value-Orientation Questions:

The explanation of the method by which these 8 short-answer questions were coded is found in chapter 4. What follows is the actual manner in which each of these questions was actually scored.

PART C

1. It is most important for people to accomplish things.

| | | | | |
|----------------|----------|-----------|----------|-------------------|
| <u>A</u> | <u>B</u> | <u>C</u> | <u>D</u> | <u>E</u> |
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |

Coding: Doing Activity Score: A=5, B=4, C=3, D=2, E=1.

3. The future looks very bleak.

| | | | | |
|----------------|----------|-----------|----------|-------------------|
| <u>A</u> | <u>B</u> | <u>C</u> | <u>D</u> | <u>E</u> |
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |

Coding: Future Time Score: A=1, B=2, C=3, D=4, E=5.

4. A person has to look out for his own interests, even when they conflict with others around him.

| | | | | |
|----------------|----------|-----------|----------|-------------------|
| <u>A</u> | <u>B</u> | <u>C</u> | <u>D</u> | <u>E</u> |
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |

Coding: Individualism Relational Score: A=5, B=4, C=3, D=2, E=1.

5. Wasting time shouldn't particularly bother a person.

| | | | | |
|----------------|----------|-----------|----------|-------------------|
| <u>A</u> | <u>B</u> | <u>C</u> | <u>D</u> | <u>E</u> |
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |

Coding: Doing Activity Score: A=1, B=2, C=3, D=4, E=5.

7. Success is more dependent upon luck than on real ability.

| <u>A</u> | <u>B</u> | <u>C</u> | <u>D</u> | <u>E</u> |
|-------------------|----------|-----------|----------|----------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |

Coding: Mastery-over-Nature Man-Nature Score:

A=1, B=2, C=3, D=4, E=5.

8. Man can do little to control his own destiny. Most things that happen are beyond his control and must be accepted as inevitable.

| <u>A</u> | <u>B</u> | <u>C</u> | <u>D</u> | <u>E</u> |
|-------------------|----------|-----------|----------|----------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |

Coding: Mastery-over-Nature Man-Nature Score:

A=1, B=2, C=3, D=4, E=5.

10. Things were better in the old days, and as changes come, things get worse.

| <u>A</u> | <u>B</u> | <u>C</u> | <u>D</u> | <u>E</u> |
|-------------------|----------|-----------|----------|----------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |

Coding: Future Time Score: A=1, B=2, C=3, D=4, E=5.

11. A man has a moral obligation to at least try to fulfil the expectations which his parents held for him.

| <u>A</u> | <u>B</u> | <u>C</u> | <u>D</u> | <u>E</u> |
|-------------------|----------|-----------|----------|----------------------|
| Strongly Agree | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |

Coding: Individualism Relational Score: A=1, B=2, C=3, D=4, E=5.

(ii) Background Questions:¹

1

Included here are only those questions where the coding procedure is not self-evident.

1. What is the highest level of schooling you have reached?

Each respondent's answer was coded in terms of the number of years of formal education he had successfully completed. When the respondent's education was received out-of-province, the number of years was converted to match the number of years which that degree or certificate would have taken an Ontario resident. For example, a migrant from the province of Quebec having a junior matriculation certificate (grade 11) is coded (grade) "12", i.e. the equivalent number of years in Ontario terms. In cases such as these, there is always some element of judgement involved -- my purpose was to try to code everybody in terms of one common system of schooling.

With respect to adult education and night training courses -- I tried to weight these in terms of the number of hours spent on the course per week, and the number of weeks which the course(s) lasted. In order to advance their score by 1 year, the respondent had to have completed courses equivalent in the number of hours to 5 full college courses (i.e. @375 hours).

2. What is the formal title of your occupation?

3. (For Unclear Occupational Responses) What do you actually do while working?

This question was coded in three distinct manners -- depending upon whether the respondent was a full-time employed person, in part-time work, or a housewife. Those fitting the latter category were all coded the same occupational prestige score: 47. This number represents the average prestige which our sample accrued to people with such a full-time

occupation (see chapter 4 for a discussion of the Pineo-Porter methodology employed here).

Those respondents who worked only part-time (i.e. less than 30 hours per week) were all women who also considered themselves to be part-time housewives. In chapter 4, we made reference to the startling way in which our sample assessed the prestige of part-time housewife, part-time occupational roles: that is, their prestige seems to be equivalent to the average prestige of their two roles. Working upon this finding, then, all part-time respondent were coded here in accordance with the 50-50 formula - - taking into account both the housewife and the more formal occupational roles.

The prestige score of the respondent's occupation (whether it be a full-time or part-time occupation) was determined with the help of the Pineo-Porter occupational prestige score list for 174 occupations.² Since there was only this limited list of job titles which we had to work with, some respondents were found to have occupations having no direct equivalents on the Pineo-Porter list. For example, respondent #21 reported his occupation to be "a pharmaceutical representative" - i.e. one who sells drugs to doctors for a drug manufacturing company. In cases such as this (making up approximately 35% of our sample), some interpretation was needed on my part. I assigned the score of the listed occupation

2

See P. Pineo and J. Porter, Op cit., pp. 64-68.

(or occupations) which seemed closest in type to that of the respondent. So in the case cited above, the Pineo-Porter listed job title "manufacturer's representative" (national English score = 51.7) seemed the one which most closely represented our "pharmaceutical representative", and he was assigned the score of 52. In another such case, a man reported his job as a "carman" -- i.e. someone who works with steel repairing railway cars. In order to arrive at a prestige score which is representative of this kind of work, it seemed appropriate to average the prestige scores of "railroad brakeman" (37.5) and "sheet metal worker" (36.8), to arrive at a final score of 37. These two examples are not at all atypical of the kinds of interpretations which had to be made in the coding of this question.

The possibility of giving these cases requiring some interpretation over to a panel of judges was considered and rejected. This is mainly because it was estimated that the additional possible increment of accuracy to be derived from such an exercise did not merit the extra time and effort that would have been necessary. I am personally satisfied that there are no systematically misleading errors in these scores. This is not to say that there are absolutely no errors in judgement at all -- just that they are unknown, and probably quite random in nature.

Question #33 asking about the respondent's father's main occupation was coded in a like manner.

Created variable "socio-economic status"

An "objective" measure of each respondent's socio-economic status was obtained by utilizing three factors: (1) occupational prestige; (2) education, and (3) income.³ For male respondents, z-scores were calculated for each one of the 3 variables, and the simple addition of these gave us a numerical index of socio-economic status. In the case of female respondents, the same procedure was applied to their husband's occupational prestige, education and income. In this way, a numerical index representing socio-economic status was arrived at for each respondent. The highest socio-economic status score was achieved by a wife of a psychiatrist, with an socio-economic status score of 9.11; the lowest by a bulldozer operator, with a score of -3.83. Most had scores between plus and minus 1.

Created variable "Upward Mobility"

This variable attempts to achieve a measure of the degree to which our respondents have increased or decreased in occupational status when compared to their families of origin. In attaining this, question numbers 2 and 33 on the interview schedule were utilized, which pertain to the respondent's and respondent's father's occupational prestige. To

3

The legitimation for the use of these three factors in determining socio-economic status may be found in Albert J. Reiss, Occupations and Social Status, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961, especially pp. 116-132.

arrive at any individual's occupational mobility score, his/her occupational prestige was simply subtracted from that of his/her father. Minus scores (i.e. negative numbers) were permitted as a possibility in this score, representing those who are downwardly mobile. In fact, 28 out of 80, or 31% of our sample were found to be downwardly mobile. However, the average respondent had gained 4.5 Pineo-Porter prestige points over his/her parent's generation.

In this way then, we were able to achieve an index which measures the degree to which individuals have personally gained (or lost) occupational prestige when compared with their parents.

APPENDIX III

McMASTER UNIVERSITY

HAMILTON, ONTARIO, CANADA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

July 21, 1972.

Dear

My name is Bram Hamovitch, and I am a graduate student in Sociology at McMaster University. Recently, I have been doing research on the subject of people's attitudes and values, and how important (or unimportant) these may be in determining the types of jobs which people take. I have now reached the stage where it is crucial for me to interview a large group of people in your community. This task will help me to determine just what the relationship between people's attitudes and their jobs actually is.

I have certain ideas on the subject, but these will remain up in the air unless they are actually tested. This is where I need your help. I have randomly selected your name from the entire adult population of Dundas. Shortly, I will be calling upon you to please contribute approximately fifty minutes of your time by answering a few questions which I have prepared. These I hope you will find to be both interesting as well as thought-provoking. No doubt you are concerned about what it is that will be done with this information once it has been collected. Let me assure you that your answers will be kept fully confidential--no one will ever know who I have interviewed in my study. Please understand that it is only through my talking with you that I, as a social scientist may come to understand this small corner of our world a little bit better.

When I come calling at your door sometime within the next few weeks, I hope you will agree to lend me these few minutes of your time.

Yours sincerely,

B. Hamovitch.

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