

WORK, COMMITMENT TO WORK AND SELF-IDENTITY



WORK, COMMITMENT TO WORK AND SELF-IDENTITY  
AMONG WOMEN

By

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## Abstract

This thesis focuses on an empirical study of commitment to work and the importance of work for self-identity among working women. In the first chapter, a Meadian conceptualization of the self is expounded from which it is hypothesized that current adult involvements will be more relevant for current adult self-identity than will early socialization experiences. This is followed by a review of the relevant occupational and sex roles literature. Some of the traditional assumptions about working women are made explicit: women have a primary commitment to their marriage and family roles and a secondary commitment to work; it is women's part-time and temporary involvement in the labour force which is largely responsible for their secondary commitment to work; commitment to work and the importance of work for self-identity are synonymous or at least highly and positively correlated with one another. These assumptions are questioned and a conceptual distinction between commitment to work and the importance of work for self-identity is made.

The data are collected using personal interviews among working women in four occupational groups: social workers; newspaper reporters; fashion models; and privates and corporals in the Forces. These groups are chosen specifically to permit a test of the differential influence of occupational prestige and the traditional sex-characterization of the occupation on both commitment to work and the importance of work for self-identity.

The data are analyzed using regression analysis for: the sample

as a whole; married working women; working mothers; and each of the four occupational groups separately. The results confirm the Meadian suggestion that current adult involvements would be more influential for current adult self-identity than would early childhood experiences. The conceptual distinction between commitment to work and the importance of work for self-identity is supported empirically. These findings point to the need for further clarification between these concepts and suggest the inadequacy of current writings which assume they are synonymous.

Factors leading to an increased importance of work for self-identity do not support the traditional assumptions about working women. Rather, the actual proportion of other women which the respondent knew is associated with an increased importance of work. This is interpreted in terms of establishing work as a legitimate role for women. Marital status, or involvement in the marriage role, leads to an increased importance of work. Finally, among working mothers, outside assistance with the children leads to an increased importance of work.

Findings for commitment to work also debunk some of the common assumptions found in the literature. It is not affected by marital status, the presence of children, the number of children, or past involvement in the labour force. Like men, women increase their commitment to work as their occupational prestige increases. However, different findings are evident when different indicators are used. The use of less valid but nevertheless popularly employed indicators leads

to findings which support some of the traditional assumptions. The selection of indicators is then discussed as a possible reason for some of the contradictory findings in the literature.

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## INTRODUCTION

This thesis focuses on an empirical investigation of working women. In particular, it is concerned with their role-specific behaviour within their occupational engagements, i.e., commitment to work, and with the differential effect of their occupational experiences on their self-identities. As such, it seeks to analyze both a role-specific aspect of the social environment and the differential effects of various roles within a broader and more inclusive perspective. As Wilensky (1960) states:

Our job ... (as sociologists) is not merely to describe roles (worker, husband, guest) or explain variations in interpersonal relations in little grouplets (work crew, family, party), but to see the connexions between them and thereby construct a more complete picture of what other disciplines view as a residual 'social context' or 'social environment'.

The decision to focus on self-identity as the dependent variable was probably most influenced by the writings of George Herbert Mead. It is now almost half a century since he established the relevancy of social groups for the individual personality by arguing convincingly that the self is a social emergent. Self arises within society, changes as the social structure changes, and concomitantly effects change in the social structure. Furthermore, his concept of self accounts for both regularities in behaviour and the uniqueness of each individual. Mead expressed the legitimacy of social psychology for our discipline when he said: "In social psychology we get at the social process from the inside as well



as from the outside" (1934:7).

A social psychological perspective can move in more than one direction. Swanson (1972) notes two of them: the study of how social structures shape the character and behaviour of individuals and the explanation of how the behaviour of individuals reacts upon, shapes, and alters the social structure. Becker (1968) emphasizes a third possible focus: it can also seek an understanding of the kinds of mechanisms operating to produce the observed changes in individuals. This thesis is not concerned with how individuals alter the social structure. Rather, it attempts to understand both how social structures influence individuals and the underlying processes leading to this effect. By incorporating both of these directions, an understanding of the processes at work and an explanation of regularities and differences in behaviour are sought (Lewis,1972).

Occupational participation was chosen as a concept of special concern because of the general importance it is assumed to have for individuals in present-day North American society. Salaman (1971a; 1971b) and Simon (1957:xv) are but two of the many authors who consider it obvious that work experiences have consequences for the individuals themselves. Similarly Hall (1971) and Kahn et al. (1964:6) note that each new experience must somehow be integrated with the existing sense of self, somehow made meaningful in terms of self-identity.

The reasons for this assumption are relatively clear. The individual's self emerges in interaction with others and in turn guides and influences the behaviour of that individual (Kinch,1968). In the

course of our working lives, people find their places within the forms of collective behaviour and collective action in which people 'go on', carry on our active lives with reference to other people and interpret the one life we have to live (Hughes, 1938). Work is of particular importance because most persons spend a large proportion of their time working, a high value is placed on work in our society, rewards (or the lack thereof) such as money, power, status, and esteem are derived from work, and the work situation is able to provide meaningful life experiences often interpreted in terms of psychological success or failure (Hughes, 1938; Blakelock, 1959; Rosenberg, 1957:1-9; Lipset and Bendix, 1966:61; Friedmann and Havighurst, 1962; Hall, 1971; Blankenship, 1973).

In addition, some authors suggest an increased importance of work for self in today's society. Parker (1971) points to a levelling of skills together with mass consumption. This combination, he argues, makes it more difficult than in the past to assess what people do from their off-work experiences. Wilensky (1960) and Blauner (1964:30) suggest differentiation is now to be found in the specific variations in the work situation with its concomitant mobility experiences, aspirations and expectations. Even those authors who suggest leisure-time activities will replace work as a major source for self development maintain that this has not yet occurred and emphasize the alienating effects of work. Although they interpret work experiences negatively, they do not deny the profound effect on self (Underwood, 1964; Mills, 1951: 228; Klapp, 1969:17-18, 184-185, 210).

The conceptual distinction between commitment to work and the importance of work for self-identity stems from the use of two different types of indicators in the research literature. One type restricts the data to information related to the work role and work-related behaviours. The other type gathers information on the work subidentity as an aspect of total identity. However, despite the differences in these data, the terms commitment to work, identification with work and work subidentity are often used interchangeably. Furthermore, implications are drawn from either set of data to the importance of the work role for the total self (Alutto, et al.,1973; Coe,1965; Grusky,1956; Hall, et al.,1970; Hrebiniak and Alutto,1972; Lodahl and Kejner,1965; Ritzer and Trice,1969; Sheldon,1971; White,1967). It is argued in this thesis that commitment to work and the importance of work for self are conceptually distinct and that the relationship between them is an empirical question. Data are then collected to examine that relationship and test the assumption that a greater commitment to, identification with or involvement in the work role does indeed lead to a greater importance of work for self.

The decision to restrict the study to working women and to exclude working men arose from the difficulty if not impossibility of separating the effects of sex and job empirically. Others have noted the prevalence of this situation throughout the labour force. Ostry (1967:1-13,27) informs us that in 1901 the typical male worker was a farmer and the typical female worker was a domestic servant. Although female participation in the labour force has increased since that date, women are still



heavily concentrated in a few occupations (Hall, 1969:327; Vickers, 1976; Krause, 1971:125). Most of these are an extension of her traditional functions in the home (nursing, teaching, social work, clerical and sales). Occupations which accept both men and women evidence a sexual division of labour. Warner and Low (1962) illustrate it in shoe factories, Blauner (1964:70) in textile mills, and Grusky (1965) among managers. The Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (1970) and Henshel (1973:52-71) document the occupational, income and status differentials between working men and working women. Women are lower than men on all three dimensions.

The fact that job and sex are confounded, together with the particular concern with studying the effects of work, led to the inclusion of only one sex group. Delimiting the thesis to one group does not eliminate the effects of sex present within the labour force but does allow a more in-depth study of the relative importance of work for at least that group.

Although the problem outlined here is equally applicable to both men and women, it was restricted to women. Much of the occupational literature which now exists focuses on men. For example, Morse and Weiss' (1955) now classical study on the function and meaning of work sampled only men. Wilensky's labour-leisure study (1960) and Kohn and Schooler's (1973) study of the effects of job on values, perceptions and orientations included only men. Rogoff (1953) and Blau and Duncan (1967) both concentrated on men for their now well-known studies on occupational mobility. In other words, occupational studies

centering on women are still scarce.

Not only are women studied less than men by occupational sociologists, but women are not provided taken-for-granted legitimations for full-time participation in the occupational role. Although their participation in the labour force has been increasing, the majority of women are not participants at any one time. In 1901 women accounted for less than 15% of the labour force. By 1950 this had risen to 20% and by 1960 to almost 30%. In 1970 women constituted 32% of the Canadian labour force and 36% of all women over 14 years of age were working. In other words, working women now represent roughly one third of the labour force and approximately one third of the female population old enough to work are engaged at work (Henshel, 1973:53; Ostry, 1968:3-4; Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, 1970:52-54). LaLonde (1975) tells us that by 1975 women constituted 35% of the total work force, showing still another increase.

Most women, unlike most men, do not work full-time and continuously within an occupational context for pay. Women's work patterns are different from men. Married women are less well-represented during the childbearing years (25 to 35). As Marchak (1973) reports, many but not all return after this period. However, while many women do not work continuously throughout their lives, many do spend years working. Marchak reports 52% who participated in the labour force for 10 or more years and 33% for five to 10 years.

It is precisely because women who work do not have ready-made sanctions for their participation and because their work patterns

are different from men that the processes underlying this integration of work and non-work roles should be more accessible to researchers. This is largely an ethnomethodological argument in which problematic situations are sought as best being able to uncover the formula used by members to integrate their experiences and make them meaningful (Lyman and Scott, 1970:3; Garfinkel, 1967:36-37, 173; McHugh, 1968:17-18, 35-38, 50). Mead makes a similar argument when he states that process and reconstruction can only be studied in problematic situations and by asking respondents to 'make sense' of what they take-for-granted (1934:8; 1938:198, 607).

Others have noted that sociological literature is written mostly by men, about men, and from men's perspectives (McCormack, 1975; Smith, 1973; 1975; Daniels, 1975). Knowledge about women and from women's perspectives is lacking.

This thesis then, is a study of working women. The next chapter presents a Meadian theory of the self in adulthood. Mead provides not only a view of the self as a social emergent but also a theoretical perspective for guiding the empirical investigation. Of particular importance is his discussion of the temporal order and the present as the locus of reality. Two main conclusions are drawn from his writings: selves are always 'becoming', they are not static and; current adult experiences should reveal a stronger association with current adult self-identity than should childhood and past experiences.

While Mead provides a detailed and comprehensive theory of the



self and a useful theoretical framework, he does not focus on working women or many of the changes within society which are relevant for them. The second chapter reviews both the occupational and sex role literature for additional information on the relative importance of work for women. The traditional arguments found in the sociological literature pertaining to working women are discussed and the assumptions underlying these arguments made explicit. These assumptions are then presented for empirical testing in later chapters. In particular, the role of work interruptions and intermittent careers, of family involvements and child-rearing activities, and of various time and energy demands for working women's commitment to work and for the importance of work for their self-identities is explored as it is found in the literature.

The third chapter turns to a discussion of the decision to collect the data using personal interviews rather than using other techniques such as questionnaires or participant observation. This chapter also includes a discussion of the decision to restrict the sample to four different occupational groups, two relatively high prestige occupations and two relatively low prestige occupations but including two traditionally female occupations and two traditionally male occupations. This chapter ends with a description of the sample characteristics. Chapter four presents the operationalization of the concepts.

Chapter five presents empirical support for the earlier conceptual distinction between commitment to work and the importance of

work for self-identity. Both concepts are discussed in relation to each of the four occupational groups. The association between the importance of work for self and other related aspects (reasons for working and the perceived effects of work on the self and on different subidentities) found in the empirical data are also discussed.

Chapter six presents data confirming the Meadian hypothesis that neither early childhood experiences nor one's past job history emerge as particularly important for current adult self-identity. These findings lead to a discussion of the common assumption that women's intermittent careers and the existence of an acceptable alternative for women in the form of not working, leads to a decreased commitment to work and a lesser importance of work for their self-identities.

Chapter seven presents data debunking the traditional assumptions about the relationships between women's marital status, the existence of children, and other current involvements and commitment to work and the importance of work for their self-identities. The interpretation of the data is presented here. Comparisons with other populations (such as women not working for pay within a family context and with men) are presented in the conclusions.

This study then, is an empirical study of working women's commitment to work and the importance of their work role for their self-identities. It draws on sociological literature for hypothesizing the effects of various experiences and seeks to test some of the common



assumptions within existing arguments. It does not however, develop a theory of sex differentiation or a theory for explaining the position of women in our present-day society. As such, it is unlike the work of such authors as Engels (1942) or Smith (1973; 1975). Engels for example argues that a primary reason for the stratified positions of men and women is the development of a 'surplus of production' within a society already accepting the nuclear family, monogamy, and having established an institution of private property. It is only when surplus capital is produced that man's position as breadwinner gives him additional power over women. This situation arises because household work, the responsibility of women, does not provide them with direct access to the surplus. Benston and Davitt (1975) discuss the role of technological developments in the rise of surplus, the consequent diversification of economic interest, and the greater need for centralized regulation in the evolution of the position of women relative to men in society.

Smith (1973; 1975) discusses women's exclusion from public spheres of action and consequently from participation in creating forms of thought, ideas, images and themes. She notes however, that women's exclusion from these areas has not prevented their experiencing the consequences of that sphere. Using a somewhat different framework, Benston (1971) suggests women's position in society is in a pre-market stage, outside of the money economy. Their work has use-value; it is reduplicative, kin-based and private. Their work however, does not have commodity value.

Wallace (1976) on the other hand adopts an explanation in terms of values and norms of the society. She claims that the belief in the superiority of males over females is the result of the male interpretation of religion (specifically Christianity and Judaism). This religious interpretation, she argues, has its roots in Greek philosophy (in particular Aristotelian) which argues for the inferiority of women. Wallace then goes on to suggest that one of the reasons for changing values associated with women today is due to the secularization of the society. Presumably Engels would account for it in terms of the changes in the society which are leading more women into the work force and into more direct access to the surplus.

Parsons (1942; 1949) of course uses a functionalist approach to explain sex differentiation by referring to universal and necessary requirements of the family as a social system or of the total society. He argues that sex role differentiation is a social device for protection of a stable and monogamous marriage institution. The instrumental function of the man and the expressive function of the woman are perhaps the best known of his distinctions. Holter (1970:115-155) characterizes men and women according to Parson's pattern variables with the resulting classifications: men - universalistic, specificistic, neutral, and achievement oriented; women - particularistic, diffuse, affective, and ascription oriented. Her empirical data however do not confirm these distinctions.

Rather than developing a theory of sex differentiation in today's society, this thesis begins with the premise that sex differentiation

exists and reviews the relatively recent arguments for this differentiation as they relate to the possible relationships between working women and their occupational roles. In other words, this thesis is concerned with such theories only to the extent that they are relevant for commitment to work and importance of work for self-identity among working women. It is further assumed that while there are biological differences between the sexes, these differences do not necessarily mean that one sex is superior or inferior to the other.

Although this thesis draws on others' discussions of the differences between men and women, it is not a comparative study of the two sexes. Holter (1970) does present a comparison of the two by empirically studying some of the patterns of sex differentiation in current Norwegian society. This thesis focuses on sex differentiation only to the extent that it is relevant for working women's commitment to work and the importance of work for their self-identities. It is however, acknowledged that comparable studies among both sexes need to be conducted before some of the implications reported at the end of this study can be confirmed.

This study also excludes housewives, or women who are not working for pay within an occupational context, from consideration. The concern here is to investigate the impact of working within an occupational context. Lopata (1971) however has reported the findings from her comprehensive study of housewives. Her work is drawn upon later for a discussion of the potential comparisons between housewives and the sample of working women studied here.



In sum, this thesis does not empirically investigate male and female differences nor housewife and non-housewife differences. Its efforts are directed towards empirically studying the various factors associated with commitment to work and importance of work for self-identity among working women. Specifically, factors emerging from the literature include: childhood socialization, intermittent careers, involvement in the family role, and demands on the women's time and energy. The relevance of the findings are discussed in relation to some current assumptions about working women and their potential comparisons with men and housewives for future research.

Before proceeding, a note on the terminology used in this thesis may be warranted. Although a Meadian theory of the self is expounded, the restrictions of the particular methodology employed (see chapter three) result in the designation of the concept as 'self-identity'. However, the terms self, self-identity and identity are used interchangeably throughout. While a general definition of 'work' is offered in chapter two, no distinction is made between the terms work, job and occupation. The use of the term 'work' and the phrase 'working women' is not meant to imply that housewives do not work, do not expend energy, or do not expend effort within their roles. It is however, intended to distinguish between those working at paid employment within an occupational context from those engaged in unpaid activities within the familial context. Working women, of course, can also be housewives (Meissner, 1977).

There is a distinction made between sex differentiation and sex stratification. The former refers to differences while the latter refers to the ordering or ranking of the two sexes in terms of power and prestige. A distinction is also made between status, prestige and self-identity. Status refers generally to a position within the social structure with its associated behaviours and activities. Prestige refers to differential evaluative judgements (see chapter two for a detailed discussion of occupational prestige). Prestige may or may not be derived from a particular status of which the person is an incumbent. Similarly, self-identity may or may not be derived from a particular status of which the person is an incumbent. Furthermore, whether or not a person derives both prestige and self-identity from the same status is considered an empirical question. The literature suggesting an interrelatedness between these concepts is noted as it is relevant.

The designation 'sex roles' is used throughout. The appropriateness of sex versus gender in this context appears to be an unsettled issue in the literature. For example, the American College Dictionary (1967:504,1109,1110) distinguishes gender as a grammatical set of classes (usually referring to feminine, neuter and masculine) and sex as either the character of being female or male or the anatomical and physiological differences by which females and males are distinguished. Oakley (1972:16) however distinguishes between sex as referring to the biological differences between female and male and gender as referring to the social or cultural classification into feminine and masculine.

Unlike Oakley, Ambert (1977:iii) uses the terms synonymously. David and Brannon (1976:1) use the term sex role rather than gender role.

Finally, as Hunter and Latif (1973) have noted, it is risky to generalize from research conducted in the United States when studying Canada. Unfortunately the lack of empirical data in this country offers little alternative. Data from both countries are therefore drawn upon throughout the following chapters.

## CHAPTER 1 - A MEADIAN CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE SELF

Different authors within sociology use the terms self and identity variously and often synonymously with self-concept, self image, self-identity and/or social identity (Luckmann and Berger,1964; Kinch, 1968; Sherwood,1965; Miller,1963; Klapp,1969:viii; Hall,1971; Gergen, 1971:22-23; Kuhn,1956). Despite differences, most fall within the symbolic interactionist perspective and are assumed to have been derived from George Herbert Mead's social behaviorism. The conceptualization of self-identity used in this thesis is interpreted directly from Mead's writings. The decision to return directly to Mead's works was made for two main reasons. First, Mead provides a consistent and detailed theory which is lacking in the occupational and sex roles literature. Both subareas of the discipline tend to adopt an already existing theory from social psychology when investigating self-identity. Second, current differences among symbolic interactionists (Vaughan and Reynolds,1968) are avoided by referring directly to the man considered the father of social psychology in our discipline.

The purpose of this chapter is to outline a Meadian concept of self-identity. Beginning with a brief presentation of Mead's view of the characteristics of the biological organism at birth and the development of the self in childhood, it proceeds to a discussion of the temporal order and change during adulthood. The prefatory remarks on the biological organism at birth and during childhood socialization



are included to aid in an understanding of self-identity in the adult years, which is the concern of the empirical data which follow.

### Developing a Self

For Mead, the social process temporally precedes the individual and is the context within which the individual self develops. In other words, he posits the plasticity of the biological form from birth (1934:337; 1964:76). Although the biological organism is subject to extensive modification through interaction with its environment, it is born with certain basic or 'given' characteristics. From the start it is assumed to have a co-operative attitude, that is, a well-defined tendency to act under the stimulation of another individual of the same species (1934:240; 1964:212-213). In Homans' words (1950:385), it is essentially social in character. In Morris' words (1962:xxi), it is essentially a role-taking animal. It also possesses biological "stuff", variously referred to as impulses, instincts and "primal stuff" which not only exist but seek expression (1934:337; 1964:76,98, 212, 358-359, 393).

While Mead is explicit in his belief about the importance of the biological level, his writings are unclear about its exact nature. The confusion resulting from his constant intermixing of terms led Meltzer to comment:

Whether impulses are biological in character, or can also be socially derived, is not clear from Mead's exposition. However the contexts in which the term sometimes appears suggest that the latter interpretation would be more valid. (1972:19)



When Mead is consulted it seems clear that he uses the term in both of the ways suggested by Meltzer.<sup>1</sup>

Mead also recognizes the existence of emotions (such as joys and sorrows) which he claims are part of our affective experience (including here emotions, interests, pleasure, pain, satisfactions and dissatisfactions) and arise out of our impulses. (1956:33,75; 1964:139, 297). He considers emotions with other noncognitive factors, as part of our environment (1934:129; 1964:297). Gestures become identified with the content of our emotions which are revealed to the observer during gestures (1964:111,125).<sup>2</sup>

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1.) Mead refers to an impulse as a "congenital tendency" to react in a specific manner to a certain sort of stimulus, under certain "organic" conditions and to the sensitivity on its "motor" side as simply the relationship of a performed tendency to act to the stimulus which "sets" the impulse "free" (1964:337,358-359). On the other hand, he explicitly states elsewhere (1964:98) that impulses arise out of social instincts (i.e., the social nature of man). To add to this confusion, he sometimes uses the word 'instinct' to refer to something that is rigid and not subject to extensive modification to emphasize the openness of the impulses (1934:337) and sometimes refers to instinctive reactions being determined by experience (1964:76). Finally, he refers to impulses arising from social instincts while in another place refers to the "primal stuff" as social "impulses" (1964:98). In other words, impulses and instincts seem to be both biological in character and can be socially determined.

2.) Other authors have provided a more extensive social account of emotions. Cooley (1972) for example includes emotion as an important aspect of the self and while he regards it as instinctive, it is defined and developed by experience and in turn stimulates and unifies the activities of the person. He goes on to say that the meaning of emotions (such as hope and regret) is learned in association with others, just as other meaning is learned. Shibutani (1961:323-366) concurs and suggests that we respect or despise ourselves in the same manner in which we act towards others when we respect or despise them. Goffman (1955) and Rustin (1971) note that emotions can be a group product and that the group can determine the amount and distribution of emotion that is appropriate in a particular situation. Meltzer and Petras (1972) add that group membership is a prerequisite for individual satisfaction because it is through group membership that the ends of satisfaction become defined for individual members.

Although Mead's treatment of the biological is inadequate, there is no doubt that he includes both the biological and the social in the discussion of the individual. He is neither a biological determinist nor a social determinist (Reck,1964:xxxviii; Strauss,1956:xii-xiii).

From the beginning, the biological organism is living in an ongoing social process (1964:102). The basic mechanism whereby this process goes on is the gesture, or the movement of one organism which acts as a specific stimulus calling forth responses from another organism. The infant initially interacts in a conversation of gestures where one's movements call out a response in another and that response serves as a stimulus for the first and so on. Mead refers to the responses which are present in behaviour, either in advance of the stimulation of things or already aroused, but not yet fully expressed, as attitudes (1934:13-14,63,362; 1964:286,336).

The term for this relation between organism and environment, between stimulus and response, is the act and Mead refers to it as the unit of existence. An act is an ongoing event that consists of stimulation and response and the results of the response (Mead,1956:92; Reck,1964:xix).

Furthermore, the responses are meaningful only insofar as they lie inside a conversation of gestures. Meaning refers to the later stages of the oncoming act and the objects indicated (Mead,1934:76-78, 181; Morris,1962:xx-xxi).

Although these acts are meaningful, the infant is not yet conscious of them for there is nothing in the mechanism of the act



which brings this relation to consciousness (1964:129). At this point the infant experiences the body, its feelings and sensations but does not distinguish them from the environment. The significance of this characterization of the biological infant is the fact that it does not yet have a self. For Mead, it is initially no different from other "lower" animal forms. It is not born distinctively human (1934:172).

The infant then, interacts meaningfully with its environment from the beginning but is as yet not different from other animal forms. It is only with the development of the mind and self that the organism gains human status. The rise of mind and self takes place within the social process through the complex development of a number of contributing factors.

Consciousness of meaning cannot occur until images are formed. As past experiences accumulate, gestures become identified with the content of the child's emotions, feelings, and attitudes and images arise of the response which the gesture of one form will bring out in another (1964:111). The image is the suggested object-stimulus, adapting itself to the conditions involved in the problem. The image however cannot be distinguished from the object by its content or function but only in its appearance in the absence of the object to which it refers. Once images arise, our sensitivity to them serves the same function as does our sensitivity to other perceptual stimulations, namely, that of selecting and building the objects which will give expression to the impulses (1934:338-346; 1964:57-58; Meltzer, 1972).

When gestures possess meaning for the child and are more than

mere substitute stimuli (i.e., when they are significant symbols), it has consciousness of meaning (1934:75-78,80; 1964:24). Consciousness of meaning is the consciousness of one's own attitudes of response as they answer to, control and interpret the gestures of others (1964:132-133). Crucial for this development are attention and reflexiveness. Attention mediates the reference of the act to the self and brings about a conscious organization of the act with the individual as a whole. Reflexiveness, the turning back of the experience of the individual upon oneself, permits the whole social process to be brought into the experience of the individuals involved in it (1934:121-122,134; 1956:41-42; 1964:120-121).

Consciousness of meaning is the essence of mind. Mind is nothing but the importation of the external (social process) into the conduct of the individual so as to meet the problems that arise. It is the interplay of gestures in the form of significant symbols (1934:188-189; Reck,1964:xxvii). When mind arises, the individual becomes aware of its relation to the social process as a whole and to the other individuals participating in it with one. Through mind, or intelligence, the individual can consciously adjust oneself to that process and modify the resultant of that process in any given social act. It is through thought that the individual interprets experiences (1934:121-122; 1956:41-42).

In the development of the child, there are two stages which represent the essential steps in attaining self-consciousness: play and game. In the play stage, the child acts the teacher, the pirate,



etc. and acquires the roles of society. In this stage the child is taking the role of the other by continually exciting in oneself the responses to one's own social acts. In this way one learns the organization of particular individual attitudes. In the game stage, the child must assume the various roles of all the participants in the game and govern one's actions accordingly. The organized reactions to the child are embedded in the child's own playing of different positions and this organized attitude becomes the 'generalized other', i.e., the crystallization of all the particular attitudes of others into a single attitude or standpoint (1934:90,158,364-367; 1964:383-386).<sup>3</sup> The organization of the self is this organization of attitudes towards the social environment from the standpoint of that environment which the individual assumes.

The self includes mind but the two are not synonymous. Mind refers only to that part of the self which enters consciousness. Self includes this part as well as a whole "bundle of ... habits" which help make up the unconscious self (1934:144,163). Self-consciousness, which is the recognition or appearance of a self as an object, is the primary core and structure of the self. This is to be distinguished from consciousness, which is the answering to certain experiences such as those of pain or pleasure. Perhaps the distinction is clearest when it is recalled that Mead was, first and foremost, a social behaviourist. In other words, the appearance of the self as an object refers to a behavioural recognition. One can behaviourally respond to the self as an

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3.) Oestereicher (1972) and Piaget (1963) are examples of two authors who discuss experimental findings supporting the existence and functions of these stages as presented by Mead.

object without a conscious or sensual or psychological awareness of this occurrence. The core of the self is cognitive, not emotional or affective. Furthermore, once the organism has developed a self it is fully human within a Meadian perspective.

#### The Nature of the Self

For Mead, the self cannot be simply located in the organism. Rather, the term refers to both organism and environment, to the relation between them. The distinction between the terms 'organism' and 'environment' is, for Mead, functional not metaphysical (1934:332-333). That is to say, the self is not so much a substance but essentially a social process (1934:178; 1956:13).

Like any social process, the self has two basic and complementary logical aspects. One is that:

... the gesture of one organism and the adjustive response of another organism to that gesture within any given social act bring out the relationship that exists between the gesture as the beginning of the given act and the completion or resultant of the given act to which the gesture refers. (1934:79)

The other basic and complementary logical aspect to the social process is that the:

... social process, through the communication which it makes possible among the individuals implicated in it, is responsible for the appearance of a whole set of new objects in nature, which exist in relation to it. (1934:79)

These two aspects simply refer to the necessary components for a 'social process' to exist, i.e., the 'social' is a relationship between the parts

(individuals) such that together they constitute a whole which is more than and different from the sum of the parts and the 'process' is ongoing change. In the self, the first phase of the process is referred to as the 'me'. It is the conventional phase and maintains the individual in the community. It is the organization of attitudes from the group, an importation of the social organization of the outer world (1934:90, 163-164,209; 1964:204,212-245). The latter phase of the process is referred to as the 'I'. It is the response of the individual to the attitude of the community and includes the novel, something which was not present before (1956:309,312).

To understand the self as a process one must understand Mead's notion of the temporal order. For Mead, the locus of reality is the present. The chief referent of the present is the emergent event, that is, the occurrence of something which is more than the processes that have led up to it and which by its change, continuance, or disappearance, adds to later passages a content they would not otherwise have possessed. That is to say, the present includes what is disappearing and what is emerging (Mead,1934:197-200; 1956:332-335; 1964b; Reck 1964:xlvi; Tillman,1970). The emergent event as present gives us the basic structure of time. We are immediately considering something but we are already going on to something else. We are continually interpreting our present by the something that is represented by possible future conduct (Mead, 1964:66-68; Reck,1964:xlviij).

The present then is not a piece of time cut out anywhere from the temporal dimension of uniformly passing reality. As there is a



spatial thickness, so too is there a temporal thickness (sometimes referred to as the specious present). We construct our past from the standpoint of the present and as new presents arise tomorrow we reconstruct different continuities in history. This is not to deny that what is going on would be otherwise if the earlier stages of the occurrence had been of a different character. The order within which things happen and appear conditions that which will happen and appear. But the main character of the past is that it connects what is unconnected in the merging of one present into another and provides "elbow room" in our narrow present for coping with the evolving present. As we extend from the present in memory and history, we similarly extend from the present to the future in anticipation and forecast. The future provides direction and helps determine our courses of action (1956:92,332-335; 1964:345-352).

Basic to Mead's notion of the temporal order is the basic idea that change is always taking place. Life is happening, things take place, the self is always 'becoming'. However slowly, gradually or subtly, the self is always changing. Within this ongoing process, the novel is always arising (1956:309,312).

This understanding of the self as a process rather than as a substance is crucial for a correct interpretation of Mead. This needs emphasizing because, as Lindesmith and Strauss point out, the use of the term 'self' as a noun seems to imply the existence of a corresponding entity or object. This is as erroneous however as it would be to think of 'speed' in the same manner. We cannot buy '60 miles an hour' or



hold it in our hands. Both terms refer to events and relationships rather than to entities having a definite location in space. It is for this reason that the self has been called a grammatical illusion (Lindesmith and Strauss, 1968:314-343). This illusion is reinforced by the fact that the human body can readily be set off as an organic unit, by the continuity of experiences in time, by our identification with a certain act which tends to isolate the self and render it definite, and by our sense of personal autonomy (Mead, 1956:96; Shibutani, 1961:213-248). However, this sense of being a separate entity, this illusion is not to be confused with the essence of the self as a process. When Mead refers to the self as an object he uses the term to denote the expression of a relation which is part of a whole process. The self is this relation, this process<sup>4</sup> (Mead, 1964:278; Reck, 1964:1-111).

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4.) An emphasis on the substantive nature of the self is perhaps the most common distortion of Meadian theory. When the substantive aspect is considered its essential and defining character, its processual nature becomes neglected and the 'I' virtually forgotten. The self then becomes a passive and, in Lichtman's (1970) terms, trivial aspect of life (Glaser and Strauss, 1972). Evidence of this is readily available in many current writings on the self in which it is defined as the totality of a person's self attributes (such as intelligence, ambition, etc.) and/or the roles in which the person participates (such as father, doctor, etc.) (Sherwood, 1965; Couch, 1966; Kinch, 1968; Stebbins, 1972; Miller, 1963). Others redefine this aspect of the self as identity so that, by definition, all other aspects of the self are excluded (Kuhn and McPartland, 1972; Gross and Stone, 1970). In either case, the result becomes a relatively static, socially determined attribute theory of the self as a separate entity. Such authors often find support for their position in the writings of Mead himself. He refers to the 'me' as an organized set of attitudes of others which the individual assumes (1934:175-178, 206, 280-281). The 'me' sometimes sets limits to and controls the 'I' (1934:210-211). The individual can never get the 'I' fully before oneself, it cannot appear in consciousness as an 'I', it always appears as an object or a 'me'. Even the 'I' of introspection is really a 'me' which is criticizing, approving, suggesting and consciously planning (1964:141-145). The 'I' is therefore considered difficult if not impossible to study and is consequently deemed unimportant or is over-looked. However, this selective reading of Mead not only neglects much of his

### The Self in Adulthood

Mead's account of the development of the self provides a clear conceptual distinction between childhood and adult socialization. During the former, the infant becomes human, develops self-consciousness and concomitantly a generalized attitude or standpoint towards others. The rise of mind and self-consciousness can therefore be viewed as the end of childhood socialization and the beginning of adult socialization. The difference between the two is obviously qualitative since mind and self-consciousness are what differentiate humans from lower animal forms.

This approach to socialization differs from many current writings in the area. For example, Shibutani (1961:63-95) describes socialization as the process of learning to participate in social groups and differentiates childhood socialization on the grounds that such learning is more extensive than during adult socialization. Sarbin and Allen (1968) state that childhood socialization refers to the acquisition of ascribed roles and adult socialization refers to the acquisition of achieved roles. For Mead of course, the child learns particular roles (both ascribed and achieved) during the play stage even before adapting the viewpoint of the generalized other and the development of a self. There is no reason to assume the child learns only ascribed roles during the play stage. Indeed, Mead's examples of mother, pirate, and teacher clearly include both types.

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theory (in particular the central importance of emergence, temporality, perspective and sociality) but also falsely portrays the nature of the self which he expounds.



Even many who agree with Mead's account of childhood socialization as the process of becoming human or of transforming the newly born organism into the basic model of a human being (Wrong, 1970; Cavan, 1970; Rafky, 1973; Berger and Luckmann, 1967:130-133) depart from him when expounding their views of the nature of adult socialization. For example, Cavan (1970) claims that adult socialization is simply an addition to or an extension of the basic form developed in childhood. Berger and Luckmann (1967:134-148) say it is less firmly entrenched or is more 'artificial' than childhood socialization. Brim (1966) claims that it deals mainly with the acquisition of roles.

There are two main reasons why Meadian theory opposes the notion of adult socialization as a mere extension of childhood socialization. First, the social process is continuous. It does not cease when the individual develops a self. The continual emergence of the novel arises through the communication made possible by the social process and necessitates continual reorganization and reconstruction of the self. The individual is always becoming and through reflexive consciousness identifies with the process of development. In other words, one does not perpetuate oneself as is. Furthermore, as the individual adapts to a certain environment, a different individual emerges and in becoming a different individual, the community in which one lives changes. The self constantly evolves in an ongoing process of interaction with the environment (Mead, 1934:25; 1956:96; 1964:5,49,209; Strauss, 1969:25). This is not to say that changes are sudden, drastic or even noticed. Rather, change is part of the individual's day-to-day experience and

is often gradual and subtle (Salaman,1971a; Strauss,1969:58; Ruitenbeek, 1964;30).

Those maintaining the self in adulthood is an extension of that formed in childhood may object on the grounds that they do not deny change per se. They deny qualitative change except on rare occasions or in infrequent cases of resocialization (which they distinguish from adult socialization, McHugh,1970). These authors argue that one's core identity is formed in childhood and changes taking place in adulthood are evidenced in the peripheral or labile identities or that additional subidentities serve to expand the core identity as the individual enters new roles (Schein,1971; Miller,1963; Ruitenbeek,1964:10; Sarbin and Allen,1968; Brim,1966:14-17).

Examples of this viewpoint are readily available in the literature on occupational socialization. Super (1951/52) posited that by adolescence the person's self-concept has already begun to emerge and crystallize and that adolescence serves to clarify, elaborate upon and confirm it. Choosing an occupation is, in effect, choosing a means of implementing a self-concept. Similarly, Schein (1971) states that the more enduring underlying qualities or the basic self-image is learned in childhood. Change in the course of a person's career and as a result of adult socialization is likely to be change in the nature and integration of the most peripheral selves. Berlew and Hall (1966) join Schein in arguing that changes taking place are most likely to occur immediately after entrance into the occupation. It is at the start that the new worker is motivated to be accepted by the new social



system and to make sense of the surrounding ambiguity.

The reply to the claim that change takes place in adulthood but that it is not qualitative change, is found in Mead's discussion of the self-conscious individual. The person now has use of a mind, thought, and intellect for help in solving problems. This mechanism was not present in childhood. One can now select, using intelligence, sort among various alternatives, reject in favour of those which are in fact carried out or acted upon, and so reconstruct the self and the environment (Mead,1956:309).

Mills (1970) criticizes this 'sociological rationality' as replacing biological individualism (instinctivism) by a perspective which makes rational mind, individuality itself, strongly dependent upon social education. However, as we saw earlier, Mead does not deny the social value and influence of noncognitive factors. The task of intelligence is not to replace the noncognitive but to recognize it and to mold it together in such a way as to maximize the possibility of its satisfaction (Mead,1964:212; Reck,1964:xxxviii). Man is active, not passive. The rise of mind engenders an 'intellectual competence' to reflect upon and evaluate alternatives (Oestereicher,1972).

In relation to this whole issue of change and stability in the self, it is interesting to note that while change is inherent to Mead's works, he posits the individual's search for continuity. This belief in or search for continuity or consistency extends to the past and to the future. We extend in memory and history and we do so to maintain continuity in the advance towards the goals of our conduct. But we

do so in light of the present, in relation to the emergent event in the present situation and as an extension of this present. Furthermore, we find this continuity for every novelty that arises. As Gerth and Mills (1953:130-162) note, the influence of childhood experience may be due to the simple fact that the adult develops temporally after childhood so that we have these past experiences upon which to draw. Since childhood is temporally prior to adulthood, the adult self necessarily develops from that form. Similarly, we project into the future from the present and find continuities there. The future is temporally later than the present and necessarily develops from the present. We are able to make such connections, to maintain a sense of continuity and consistency, through the use of linguistic categories and concepts which unite otherwise diverse things. These categories, with their implied groupings and connections, and even the degree of consistency necessary in the individual's behaviour are socially negotiated, established, maintained and changed (Lindesmith and Strauss, 1968:314-343).

What is important in Meadian theory is not an actual continuity, but the tendency to seek continuity and construct it from the past and into the future. We find such continuities within our constantly changing environment and self, but the continuities which we find are themselves constantly changing as the novel emerges in the present. This construction and reconstruction of continuity with the past and with the future, in relation to the present, is not to be misinterpreted as a determinism from the past to the present and the future.

Mead of course accepts the influence which the past does exert on the present and future, but emphasizing this influence to the neglect of the influence which the ever-changing presents have on the past and the future can result in what Becker and Strauss (1956) contend is an over-emphasis on childhood experiences by Freudians and psychiatrists.<sup>5</sup>

#### Accounting for Situational and Trans-Situational Behaviour

Mead's theory of the self accounts for both situated behaviour and trans-situational behaviour. The temporal order and the paramount importance of the specious present assure a dynamic conception of the self. The continual emergence of something new and the processual nature of reality necessitate continual reorganization and reconstruction. We are always 'becoming' and through our reflective consciousness, identify ourselves with the process of development. This is not to say that we are always conscious of our adjustments. Selective attention may be given to different features of the objective field without our pointing them out to ourselves (Mead, 1934:25; 1956:96; 1964:5, 49, 209). In other words, we do not simply receive impressions and then answer to them. We seek certain stimuli. We act as well as react. We use our mental processes to reconstruct values and consciously direct conduct.

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5.) Data presented by Sewell (1970) on the effect of infant-training practices supports this view of an over-emphasis on the impact of childhood experiences. He found no relationship between such practices and personality. Similarly, Martinussen (1972) reports adult experiences have more effect on political orientations than do socialization experiences during childhood and adolescence.



We can also use our intellect to abstract from situations and generalize to larger acts within which our attention is focused (Mead,1934:215; 1956:68-69,100-103,215; 1964:406).

Nevertheless, actions are not wholly situated. Through our individual perspectives (generalized standpoint), our past comes in to influence our present conduct. This is not a rigid determinism though, since our present always determines our choice of pasts on which to draw. Nevertheless, we carry our past with us, in our perspective. We draw on our past through generalization of the identity of responses, through an association of the new with the old. Certain stimuli call out certain responses and inhibitions are built up through experience so that certain responses tend not to be called out. This influence of the past can be either conscious or not conscious.

In addition, the mind enables self-conscious selection and purposive conduct. When individuals self-consciously direct attention, that to which we do not direct our attention comes to us in memory images as the familiar and is assumed insofar as it is valid. To the extent that we are living in our well-established habits, we tend not to be conscious of them. The habitual response shows itself in the total response of individuals and not in any isolated memory images. This unconscious habitual response points to the fact that only a portion of the self is changed at a time and that it is the part which is engaged in that part of the world which is problematic at the time. The portion which is unproblematic and unquestioned comes from the past unchanged (Mead,1934:114-117,122-125; 1938:106-107,151-153,548,



607-611; 1964b; 1964:76-79,90-91; James,1970; Farris and Brymer,1965).

Regularities in behaviour should therefore be evidenced trans-situationally. This is so while at the same time each new experience or situation in turn affects the person's perspective. In other words, behaviour is neither totally situationally determined nor totally unaffected by situations (1938:151-153). Rather, perspectives or generalized standpoints are in a continual process of fading, gradually and subtly into new perspectives.

#### Individuality and Joint Action

Mead's discussion of temporality also accounts for the uniqueness of each individual even though the self develops within the same society as others. Each person's perspective is a unique combination of intersectings in relation to a specific past and future so that it reflects a different aspect of the relational pattern of the social process. No one's perspective reflects the totality of all relational patterns, but each one represents a different aspect of the whole. The common social origin and constitution of individual selves, then, does not preclude wide individual differences and variations of them. Each individual has that which is unique in one's experience (Mead, 1934:201-203; 1956:32; Tillman,1970).

Within this diversity, joint action and co-operation take place because of the capacity of each individual to take on multiple and constantly intersecting views of the group. This capacity of being several things at once is referred to as sociality. Furthermore, the

biological organism is assumed to possess this capacity at birth. It will be recalled that the infant is assumed to have a co-operative attitude. Because of the capacity to take the role of the other, there is an interconnection of selves from which unity arises. Insofar as two or more individuals interacting with one another share the others perspective there is an identity which amounts to the irrelevance of the differences of the different perspectives for the co-operative process in which they are involved. This identity (referred to as a universal) which belongs to different perspectives is organized into a single perspective for the co-operative activity at hand. As Blumer (1970) notes, it is not the structure of common values and norms that holds society together, controls or regulates activities in an orderly relationship. Rather, society consists of the fitting together of acts to form joint action and this is dependent on the capacity of the individuals involved to take the roles of others effectively and to integrate them into a single perspective that is important for co-operative activity (Mead, 1934:89, 376; 1964:359; Reck, 1964:1-lvi; Tillman, 1970).

Differences, however, do arise between different individuals occupying different perspectives, between different phases of individual selves, and between different selves of the same individual occupying different perspectives. Problems arise within our ever-changing experience causing some disintegration in the organization of the self. In all of these cases the differences or conflicts are settled or terminated by reconstruction. The social situation, the given framework of social relationships, or the self may be reconstructed and a reconstruc-

tion in one of these areas affects the other. The relation between social reconstruction and self reconstruction is reciprocal and internal (Mead, 1934:307-309; 1964:147-149,342).

### Conclusions

Mead's particular interest in showing that mind and self are social emergents and his broad theoretical focus say little specifically about working women. The occupational and sex role literature address this narrower focus. The next chapter therefore turns to a review of the literature in these subareas and attempts to integrate some of the diverse findings reported by others. Throughout, reference is made to Mead's theoretical framework, specifically as the background against which contradictory findings can be assessed.

The utility of a Meadian perspective however, extends beyond a background against which to assess the works of others. His writings provide a detailed and comprehensive theory of the self as a social emergent, justifying the inclusion of the concept in sociological studies. His perspective accounts for the uniqueness of each individual while explaining joint action and co-operation. It accounts for both situational behaviour and regularities in behaviour, for both change and stability in the self.

Of particular interest for this study, is the relevance of the specious present and the temporal order for the study of the self in adulthood. There is no doubt that, within a Meadian perspective, change



during adulthood is basic and universal. It is inherent in the nature of the social process and concomitantly in the self. The specious present as the locus of reality and as that which determines the choice of pasts on which to draw, supports the view that current adult experiences should be more determining of current adult self-identity than childhood or past experiences. It is therefore hypothesized that current adult experiences will be more important for (and empirically reveal a higher association with) current adult self-identity than will childhood or past experiences.

## CHAPTER 2 - WORKING WOMEN: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Although Mead provides a conceptualization of the self and of the temporal order, he does not provide details on the differential influence of various current roles for women's adult selves. This chapter therefore focuses on the occupational and sex role literature as they are pertinent to this study of working women.

The discussion begins with a conceptualization of work and proceeds to a review of the occupational literature positing the paramount importance of occupational prestige. Sex, or being female, is then introduced. The arguments presented in the literature along with their assumptions in relation to women (as opposed to men) are made explicit. This entails a discussion of the special effect women's intermittent careers and the primacy of the family role are supposed to have for working women. The entanglement of the purported effects of both occupational prestige and being female are further confounded by current societal changes which are suggested as effecting working women. These are discussed.

The last part of the chapter includes a discussion of various non-work experiences (other than sex) which may be relevant for working women. This is necessitated by the concern with the relative influence of work on self-identity, compared with non-work factors. A discussion

of theories and empirical findings which are contrary to Mead's relative de-emphasis on childhood socialization is found here.

### Conceptualizing Work

Many authors have defined work, the work role, job, or occupation for sociological study. Most of these definitions, however, are problematic for this study. A large part of the problem revolves around specifying the boundaries of a particular role. Mead offers virtually no assistance because he uses the term role to describe the processes of co-operative behaviour and of communication (i.e., taking the role of the other). As Lindesmith and Strauss (1968:276-295) point out, his use of the term is different from that of role theorists. The latter generally use the term in association with position or status to link individual activities with the larger organization of society.

Unfortunately, the numerous definitions offered by role theorists do not solve the problem. Their definitions include a role as: participation in a specific group; cultural patterns of behaviour or socially prescribed activity patterns; the rights, duties, obligations, and privileges associated with a particular social position in the social structure; an internally consistent series of conditioned responses shared with other occupants of the particular position; and/or a normative concept referring to the expectations with regard to behaviour (Neiman and Hughes, 1951; Bar-Yosef, 1968; Gerth and Mills, 1972; Weinstein and Deutschberger, 1970; Gross, et al., 1958:11-20; Coutu, 1951; Cottrell, 1942; Stryker, 1972; Turner, 1956; Goffman, 1961:85-152).



Perhaps the difficulty is best highlighted by those attempting specifically to define the work role. Udy (1970:3) for example, refers to work as any purposive human effort to modify man's physical environment. He does not, however, expound how one determines whether or not their efforts are directed towards such a purpose or if unintended consequences are to be considered. He does not include monetary reward, a commonly accepted everyday criterion. Reiss (1961) defines job as the specific kind of work a person does in a socially evaluated work situation, and occupation as the job characteristics which are transferable among employers. Work and work situation remain undefined. Moore (1966) speaks of the occupational structure as a number of ways whereby economic performance roles are differentiated and organized. "Economic performance roles" are not defined. Hall (1969:5-7) defines occupation as the social role performed by adult members of society that directly and/or indirectly yield social and financial consequences that constitute a major focus in the life of the adult. Work is considered as that activity which is performed in the occupational role. Such a definition seems to exclude persons normally considered to be working but for whom work is not particularly satisfying (such as a secretary who may dislike her job and not consider it a major life focus). Turner (1970) speaks of an occupation as similarities of activities carried out within a general scheme of a division of labour. This definition seems to include areas of activity commonly not regarded as work. For example, within a marriage relationship a husband and wife often agree upon a division of labour. In a

family with children there may exist similarities of activities within the division of labour. Turner does not however explicitly exclude such household activities from his definition of an occupation. Salz (1962), who provides the last example here, defines an occupation as a specific activity with a market value which an individual continually pursues for the purpose of obtaining a steady flow of income. The association with income is consistent with the popular usage of the term but his requirement of continually being in the pursuit of, is unclear. Many women experience intermittent careers but nevertheless are seen as and see themselves as working and having an occupation.

In other words, being able to specify precisely the boundaries of the work role seems to have eluded scientific definition. Nevertheless few problems seem to arise when people use the term in everyday conversation. People use the terms work, job, and occupation to refer to certain things and not to others, indicating a commonly understood meaning. For example, few women would say that washing and ironing clothes for work the next day are part of the work role but they would say that some additional household duties are the result of their working.

Within the everyday usage of the term, income or financial return is associated with work. Similarly, in most instances although not all, work takes place outside the home. If a person works inside the home but receives income for it, it is commonly referred to as work. The term therefore can be used as convenient 'intellectual shorthand' for a complex area in social life which is at present not

amenable to precise definition but nevertheless carries with it a common sense understanding of what it entails. In this usage it is a convenient labelling device for social scientists, but also extends beyond the boundaries of academics and into the non-academic world where it is popularly used (Cicourel,1970; Day,1969). Such usage is obviously open to disagreement at the specific level where consensus will not always exist about whether or not certain activities are part of a person's work role. For the purposes of this thesis the terms are not used to refer to such problematic areas. An attempt is therefore not made to define the terms. Instead, they are used as 'intellectual shorthand' referring to the common sense understanding of what they entail.

#### Occupational Prestige

The literature on occupational differences includes the now well known studies in stratification which amply document the hierarchical nature of the occupational system in present day North American society. Similarly, the correlates of occupational status, income and education have been noted again and again. Income is viewed as the reward for performing tasks and also as an inducement for those entering the system to undergo a lengthy training period in preparation for such future rewards. The consistently high correlations between these variables and the assumptions that: occupation determines one's standard of living; occupations are the major roles through which rewards are distributed and power exercised; and the occupational



structure is the major foundation of the stratification system which serves as the connecting link between different institutions and spheres of social life, have led to the claim that occupation is the best single indicator of social class<sup>6</sup> (Pineo and Porter, 1967; Inkeles and Rossi, 1956; Hodge, et al., 1966a; Hodge, et al., 1966b; Reiss, 1961; Blau and Duncan, 1967; Tuckman, 1947; Blishen, 1967; Wrong, 1966; Parker, 1971; Haug and Widdison, 1975).

The hierarchical nature of the occupational system, the high correlations between status, income and education, point to the fact that occupational prestige can be used as a summary or umbrella concept. It refers to more than a simple evaluation, more than a hierarchical ranking associated with a collection of work activities. It refers to all of these variables and to the relationships between them (Hebden, 1975; Porter, et al., 1973).

The importance of occupational prestige for self-identity is explicit when referring to males. Berger (1964) speaks of a threefold division of work in terms of primary self-identification (the professions and the upper echelons), a threat to self (the unskilled occupations

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6.) These general findings seem to hold despite the many difficulties with stratification studies. For example, large groups of sales, clerical and kindred occupations were omitted from the famous NORC study; informants are less sure about the occupations in the middle than about those at the extremes; in middle-sized cities small business and white-collar workers are least clearly defined in social position for both objective and subjective measures; and occupational prestige varies in different regions of the country, with differences in social status of informants and with differences in how much an informant knows about an occupation (Reiss, 1961:77; Mills, 1966; Davies, 1962). Other difficulties pertaining specifically to working women are discussed later in the body proper of the thesis as they are relevant.

and those at the bottom of the hierarchy), and those in which work is neither of the above (white collar and blue collar occupations). In similar vein, Blaumer (1966) informs us that those in the upper echelons and especially the professions are expected to have an intense intrinsic interest in their work while those at the bottom are not expected to have anything other than an extrinsic interest in their work. White collar workers are expected to have more interest in their company than in the work itself. Mills (1956:228) argues that for those who find no intrinsic meaning at work (white collar workers), meaning must be sought elsewhere.

The explanatory principles supporting these contentions argue that activities which permit a man to see himself in a favourable light are more likely to be used as the referents by which he judges himself (Shepard, 1972). Since a person judges himself largely through the evaluation given him by society and others (Lipset and Bendix, 1966: 11-75), those engaged in highly prestigious occupations are more likely to view themselves in terms of their occupational roles. Numerous variables are suggested as contributing to this greater importance of the occupational role for self. Increased occupational training, specialized training which can only be used in the particular occupation, generalized social prestige which would be lost if one left the occupation, prerequisites of the job to which one has become accustomed, rewarding personal involvements at work, promotional opportunities and other career possibilities, and the effects of the expectations of non-work groups are all acknowledged (Becker, 1968; Carper and Becker,

1958; Wilensky,1964).

Empirical data tend to support these contentions. Using the Twenty Statements Test, Tucker (1967) found a positive relationship between increased skill and professionalization and the tendency to make references to occupation and occupational position. Similarly, Kuhn (1960) reports the mention of professional role increases with each year in professional school. Mulford and Salisbury (1964) report the same positive relationship between occupational prestige and frequency of mention on the TST.

The same relationship emerges between occupational prestige and commitment to work as between occupational prestige and the importance of work for self-identity. Indeed, a conceptual distinction between commitment to work and the importance of work for self-identity is seldom made explicit. Implicit distinctions generally assume the two are positively related, i.e., a greater commitment to work and a greater importance of work for self-identity occur together. For example, some authors simply use the terms commitment to, identification with, involvement in, and occupational identity interchangeably (Blankenship,1973; Box and Cotgrove,1966; Blauner,1964; Berger,1964: 218-219). Others define commitment in terms of identification with the occupation or occupational identity. Sheldon defines it as an attitude or orientation toward the organization which links or attaches the identity of the person to the organization (Sheldon,1971; Hall,1971).

Some define commitment more explicitly. Johnson (1973) and Abramson et al. (1958) distinguish between personal and behavioural



commitment. The former refers to a strong personal dedication to a decision to carry out a line of action. The latter refers to an individual who has acted in such a way that the line of action must be continued, with or without personal commitment. Becker's (1961) concept of commitment refers only to the behavioural aspect, i.e., consistent lines of activity. Kanter (1968) combines both meanings in her definition. Her usage refers to the process through which individual interests become attached to the carrying out of socially organized patterns of behaviour which are seen as fulfilling those interests and expressing the nature and needs of the person.

However, the relationship between commitment and self-identity has not been tested empirically. Furthermore, the types of indicators used tend to differ although assumptions are drawn from one concept to the other (see chapter three for a discussion of indicators for the two concepts). Indicators of commitment to work include such items as the respondent's intentions of working five years from now, whether or not he/she would quit if he/she inherited enough money to live comfortably without working, etc. Indicators of the importance of work for self have focused noticeably on the Twenty Statements Test in sociology. This is an open-ended instrument in which the respondent is asked to write statements in response to the question 'Who am I?' as addressed to him/herself. Number or percent of work statements listed are then interpreted as a measure of the importance of the work role for self. In other words, measures of commitment tend to be role-specific questions while those for the importance of work for

self tend not to be role-specific but to refer to a broader or general organization of the person.

It is suggested here that the two are at least conceptually distinct and that the relationship between them is an empirical question. The distinction between the two concepts is the distinction Mead refers to when he talks about different selves of the same individual and then about the organization of the whole (self) which gives unity to the individual. It can also be seen as a distinction between one's role subidentity (usually defined as that aspect of an individual's total self which is engaged when the person is behaving in a given role (Miller,1963)) and one's total self. This distinction is supported by the use of different indicators for the two concepts in the literature.

Distinguishing between the two concepts raises the possibility that an individual could show a high commitment to work while at the same time reveal a low importance of work for self. This is theoretically possible if the person maintained role-distance from his/her occupational involvements. In this instance role-distance would not refer to a desire to dissociate from the role because of a 'threat' to self as some use the term (Stebbins,1969). Rather, it would refer to successfully fulfilling expected role obligations while at the same time not having one's identity become the work subidentity. Stated another way, it would refer to compliance at the behavioural or activity level without subjective identification. Mayntz (1970) coined the term 'amoral role behaviour' to avoid much of the confusion resulting from the different

uses of the term. Similarly, Goffman (1961:91-132) notes the individual in this case is not denying the role but simply the self which the role implies. When used in this way, role-distance can become part of the role definition itself since it is accepted that each individual participates in numerous roles and total identification with all of them at the same time, if at all possible, would be at the cost of total compartmentalization.

A person could also reveal a high importance of work for self but a low commitment to work. In other words, there is no reason why a person's involvement in the work role (while an incumbent) cannot have an effect on the self even though that person may leave that role at any time. Indeed, if the effect is perceived as negative it may prompt the person to leave.

In sum, commitment to work and the importance of work for self are considered conceptually distinct in this thesis. The former refers to role-specific behaviour while the latter refers to the impact of the specific role on the organization which gives unity to the person or the self. While the relationship between the two is an empirical question which will be investigated later, it is suggested here that the conceptual distinction will be evidenced empirically.

#### Occupational Prestige and Working Women

The relationship between occupational prestige and self-identity is less clearly portrayed in the literature for working women than for men. Until recently, it was assumed that women, even if they worked,



had a secondary commitment<sup>7</sup> to all roles other than their marriage role. With a primary sense of identification which focused on their families, it was assumed that they had to be less intrinsically committed to their work (Sacks,1970). This secondary interest in work, it was argued, resulted from their temporary and part-time participation in the labour force (Haug,1973). Although single women were viewed as departing somewhat from this stereotype, they still were not similar to men. They would probably leave the labour force for marriage and/or childbearing and most would not return (Simpson and Simpson,1969; Nosow,1962; Hall,1969:328; Krause,1971:121). Mills (1956:203) even went so far as to claim that it is only after the white collar girl "does not get her man" that love becomes secondary to her career.

Since women are only part-time members of the labour force and do not have a primary commitment there, but prestige, power and fulfillment are derived from work (Lynn,1972; Sacks,1970), it was further assumed that they necessarily derived their status from their husbands' occupations and not from their own. This assumption is vividly implemented in the stratification studies. As others have now pointed out (Watson and Barth,1964; Haug,1973; Acker,1973), these studies usually accord all members of the family the same general rank based on the occupation of the head of the household. Working women who are single are therefore classified according to their own occupation but

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7.) The interchangeability of the terms commitment and identification with and identity is evidenced in the literature on women as that found on men and discussed in the preceding section.

as soon as they are married they are classified according to their husband's occupation and their own is ignored.

Increasingly today these assumptions are being questioned. Authors are arguing that marriage versus work is a faulty dichotomy (Eichler,1973), that a woman can have a dual commitment to work and family (Greenglass,1973). Support for this argument includes the fact that the increase in female participation in the labour force during the past few decades has been due primarily to an increase in the number of older and married women in the labour force (Haug,1973; Ostry,1967:33-39; Hall,1969:328; Labour Canada,1975). (See Table 1, p.51). LaLonde (1975) informs us that in 1951 there were less than 300,000 married women working in Canada. By 1971 there were just under two million (1,803,870), an increase of 506% in two decades.

Other facts have contributed to debunking the belief that women who work do so for the 'extras', not because they need the money. For example, in 1974 42.9 percent of the female labour force were single, divorced or widowed. That is, a substantial proportion were self-supporting (Labour Canada,1974:31). Furthermore, although only 15.8 percent of Canadian families were classified as low income families in that year, 43.7 percent of those with a female head fell within this classification. Only 7.4 percent of all families were headed by women in that year but 20.4% of low income families were headed by women (Labour Canada,1974b).

Recent studies on the absenteeism rates of women compared to those of men have contributed to debunking the belief that women are

Table 1

## Labour Force Participation Rates

## A.) Changes in Labour Force Participation Rates: 1968-1971

Age:	Sex	
	Men	Women
14-24	.5%	2.1%
25 years and older	-1.2%	7.3%
Marital Status:		
single	.0%	-.8%
married	-1.4%	11.5%
other	12.1%	-.4%

Source: White (1973:216), calculated from The Labour Force, March, 1972, Statistics Canada.

## B.) Participation Rates for Women: 1964-1974

Age:	Year	
	1964	1974
14-19	30%*	37%
20-24	51%	63%
25-44	32%	47%
45-64	32%	37%
65 and older	6%	4%
Marital Status:		
single	48%	52%
married	24%	37%
other	28%	30%

\* Rounded to the nearest whole number.

Source: Labour Canada (1974:29; 1975)



absent from work significantly more than men. In 1974, 1.86 percent of women in full-time employment were absent from work because of illness for the whole of a particular week while 1.98 percent of men were absent from work because of illness for the whole of a particular week (Labour Canada, 1975). The Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women informs us that differences in rates between the sexes generally show that women are absent two days a year more than men. Furthermore, a study of the federal Public Service found that women's turnover rates were generally higher than men's but that women who left were more likely to return than were the men. In other words, their training and experiences were less likely to be lost to the organization (1970:94-95; Hartman, 1976).

Numerous changes within society are posited as contributing to the changing role of work for women. For example, more reliable methods of contraception mean that the reproductive function of women no longer necessarily dictates the destiny of most women as it did in the past. The fact that most women give birth to their last child around 30 years of age together with the fact that women's expected life span has increased (to 76 in 1970) means that women have approximately 40 years after their last child enters school and before their death. These years have been referred to as equivalent to another life for most women. Furthermore, the divorce rate continues to increase, suggesting less secure marriage relationships than in the past (Vickers, 1976; The Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, 1970:5-10).

Recent substantive studies also support the claim that occupa-

tional participation is important for working women. Guppy and Siltanen (1976) found that women employed in a particular occupation are accorded a higher status ranking by others than are the wives of husbands who are employed in that same occupation. These authors also report a correlation between a wife's class identification and her occupational position, after controlling for the husband's occupational position. Nilson (1976) notes that respondents in her study had no problem assigning 'housewife' an independent social standing score with no knowledge of the husband's occupation. DeJong et al. (1971) found that working females achieved similar patterns of occupational mobility as males. From this they suggest the possibility that women may derive their social status from their own occupations. These studies suggest that working women need not necessarily derive their status exclusively from that of their husbands once they are married and that others do not necessarily assign status to women based exclusively on that of their husbands.

The problem is to incorporate the effects of both occupational prestige and sex. Although the argument which follows could be modified to apply to men. (see for example Guppy and Siltanen, 1976; Bose, 1973; Nilson, 1976), it is developed here only for women. Sex therefore refers to 'being female'.

Beginning first with occupational prestige, it seems clear that this variable operates in a similar way for both sexes. Treiman and Terrell (1975) report a high correlation with income and education for both sexes. Coe (1965) found that nursing students increased their



mention of nursing from the beginning to the end of their freshman year, suggesting that work becomes more important for self as occupational socialization increases. Simpson and Simpson (1969) argue that professional success, high status and extensive training all serve to increase a woman's commitment to her occupation. The same mechanisms then, seem to be present for influencing the relationship between work and self (longer socialization, more income, education, etc.) for working women as for working men. Occupational prestige can therefore be viewed as relevant for the same reasons.

Introducing the effects of sex complicates this relationship<sup>8</sup>. Sex, it is argued, is an enduring ascribed characteristic which has an effect upon the evaluation of persons and positions. It is the basis of the persisting sexual division of labour and sex-based inequalities. The evaluation of being female is lower than that of being male (Acker, 1973; Baumrind, 1972). Within the occupational hierarchy, this general devaluation of the female sex is reflected in the lower prestige accorded to traditionally female occupations and the fewer rewards which accrue to them (Baker and Fitzgerald, 1972; Etzioni, 1969; Simpson and Simpson, 1969, Henshel, 1973:35).

An emphasis on the enduring nature of this ascribed characteristic has led to the development of a model in which sex is the over-riding factor. In this case, all women receive lower prestige than all men but among women there is a prestige hierarchy (Acker, 1973). Some empirical findings seem to support this view. Reiss (1961:185) reports data

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8.) It can of course be argued that other variables such as race, ethnicity, etc. similarly have an important effect (Acker, 1973).



confirming that men and women evaluate occupations differently. Women place a higher evaluation on the higher status female occupations and men on the higher status male occupations. Rosenberg (1957:25-35) reports that college women express more faith in people than do men and tend to choose such occupations for a career (such as social work).

If this model accurately reflected reality, one would expect women in traditionally female occupations to have a higher status than those in similar prestige occupations which were traditionally male. This expectation is premised on the belief that men and women alike equate intellectual achievement and self-assertive, independent strivings in women with a loss of femininity. Descriptive adjectives such as masculine, aggressive, and castrating, used negatively towards women who successfully compete in male-dominated fields lend credence to this idea. Women who do not conform to the role expectations of their sex tend, in this case, to be penalized rather than rewarded (Baumrind, 1972; Kimball, 1973). Indeed, both Bose (1973) and Guppy and Siltanen (1976) found that women engaged in traditionally male occupations received lower status from others than women engaged in appropriate female occupations. Nilson (1976) reported that those in wrong-sex occupations were penalized but men penalized women more than women did<sup>9</sup>.

However, this argument in favour of sex as the major determining factor over and above occupational prestige becomes unconvincing when

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9.) Horner (1970) reports data confirming a motive to avoid success among white college women and the reverse among black college women. However, in a replication of Horner's study, Levine and Crumrine (1975) did not support her findings and subsequently questioned her methodology.

women in low prestige, traditionally female occupations are compared with those in high prestige, traditionally male occupations. If conformity to sex role prescriptions were the determining factor, one would expect those in appropriate female occupations to have higher status than those in traditionally male occupations, even though the latter may be higher on standard correlates of occupational prestige (i.e., income and education). Existing studies refute this suggestion. Guppy and Siltanen (1976), Nilson (1976) and Treiman and Terrell (1975) all found that women in higher prestige occupations were accorded higher status.

A second alternative offered in the literature is to view sex as an added dimension in the ranking of occupations. In this case, occupational prestige includes income, education, etc., plus sex and the fact of 'being female' lowers women compared to men. Acker (1973) describes this approach as the case where sex is a basis of evaluation which effects the placement of individuals in particular hierarchies. Eichler (1973) argues that this accounts for the fact that women are under-represented in the upper strata and within each stratum women as a group occupy a lower level than men.

This interpretation reflects the trends in research findings more accurately than did the first interpretation. It accounts for the fact that women in lower prestige occupations, whether traditionally male or female, receive lower status than do those in higher prestige occupations, whether traditionally male or female. In addition, it accounts for the finding that women in traditionally female occupations

receive higher status than those in traditionally male occupations of equivalent prestige.

The theoretical implications of this approach are interesting. Here the ascribed characteristics of sex are not as rigidly portrayed as in the first alternative since a woman can raise her status through the occupational hierarchy, but the effects are still profound. Violating the societal norm expectations still carries greater sanctions than successfully complying with the achievement ethos for which men are so highly regarded (i.e., women in traditionally male occupations). This interpretation appears consistent with Holter's (1970:97-98) suggestion of the existence of two different but overlapping cultures for the two different sexes.

Despite the fact that most studies support this second interpretation, a few exceptions found in the literature indicate the possibility of a third alternative. Studies comparing different groups of working women and focusing on the women's attitudes themselves rather than comparing women with men, or women's evaluations of traditional versus non-traditional occupations, or others' evaluations of women, point to a third interpretation. Miller et al. (1975), in a study of both men and women working for one company, found that only the women in jobs of high status, requiring expertise and/or autonomy, evidenced a loss of friendship and respect, of influence and access to information. This finding was found for subjective measures of the perceived loss as well as objective measures of actual loss. Lower status women were not negatively sanctioned at work. Rosenberg (1957:48-61) found that



career women (college women who wanted a career) resembled men in their work values but that non-career women did not. The career women tended to say their careers would represent their major life focus and considered it more important to get ahead than did non-career women. Finally, Trigg and Perlman (1975) found that women training for non-traditional careers held less traditional female values (they had lower affiliative needs) than did women training for traditionally female careers.

These studies suggest women themselves who are pursuing non-traditional careers may well perceive their own status as higher, or at least not lower, than others pursuing traditional careers. This seems reasonable since those following traditionally male careers would probably have adopted the male achievement ethos and would therefore be successful in their own eyes. This is consistent with a Meadian perspective since it is the perceived perceptions of others, as opposed to the actual perceptions of others, which most influence the self-concept (Quarantelli and Cooper, 1972). Nilson's findings that women are more tolerant of wrong-sex occupational involvement and hardly penalize a woman at all for being in a masculine pursuit lend support to this contention. Indeed, if men and men's work are more highly valued, it seems reasonable to expect that those who have achieved this level would accord themselves higher status than those who have not, even among the lower level occupations. This third alternative then, is arguing for a select group of women who deviate from the general population of women.

In this third model, one would expect women in higher prestige

occupations to have higher status than those in lower prestige occupations but within the same prestige level, women in traditionally male occupations would accord themselves higher status than they would those in traditionally female occupations. There are two contributing reasons for this: women in traditionally male occupations have achieved entrance into the male occupations and the male occupations are those which have more power, authority and prestige. This model postulates the primacy of achieved occupational prestige over ascriptive sex characteristics. While it is suggested here that only a select group of the population may conform to this model, in time one would expect greater proportions of the population to conform to it. Furthermore, over time one would expect the achievement ethos to completely replace the ascription orientation so that the latter would be irrelevant to type an occupation as appropriately male or female. If the latter situation arose, only factors contributing to occupational prestige would effect a woman's occupational status.

The three alternative interpretations presented above can be viewed as a progression from a totally ascriptive occupational hierarchy based on sex, to a partially ascriptive and partially achievement-based hierarchy where the achievement ethos is present but some of the ascriptive qualities are retained, and finally to a totally achievement oriented hierarchy where sex does not enter into the evaluation of occupational prestige. Williams (1976) argues that as whole societies move in the rationalistic direction, it is first manifest in those statuses where the rational efficient utilization of technology is

emphasized. In particular, it should be evidenced first in occupational statuses. He further argues that as societies move towards becoming rationalistic, achievement orientations are first accepted while retaining some of the ascriptive characteristics. Eventually the ascriptive assignment of status comes into conflict with the more rational criteria of achieved status and the former must give way to the latter. If the three models presented above are interpreted as three stages towards a rationalistic society, existing data indicate we are now at stage two, with some indication of beginning to move into stage three.

#### Non-Work Participation and Working Women

Participation in non-work roles assumes particular importance when studying working women. As discussed in the preceding section, it is women's child-bearing function, family and marriage involvement, and history of intermittent work experiences which have been used in traditional arguments professing women's lower and secondary commitment to work.

In addition to recent arguments and data questioning these assumptions, a Meadian formulation leads to the necessity of empirically testing rather than simply assuming the relevance or irrelevance of non-work involvements. Within a Meadian formulation, individual selves are derived from all of the roles in which we participate. As participation in the occupational role influences our self-identities so too does our participation in other societal roles. Furthermore, participation in other roles influences the effect which



the occupational role will have (Musgrave,1971; Lieberman,1956; Gross et al.,1958;319-327). To quote from Lichtman and Hunt (1971):

... since persons occupy multiple positions in life and are only partly involved in any single position they occupy, they have multiple identities that combine in various ways to effect their views and the enactments of their singular roles. ... the modes of a man's participation in structured social intercourse will be reflected in his concept of himself and in the fabric of his personality.

By incorporating the study of non-work experiences into a study of self-identity and work, this thesis deviates from those restricted to occupational sub-identity. The exclusion of the total self from much existing research is evidenced in the literature on personal occupational adjustment. For example, Hall (1971) and Levinson (1959) study role and career subidentity. Child (1963), Carper and Becker (1958), Jacobson et al. (1951/52), Katz and Kahn (1966), Kahn, et al. (1964), Goode (1960), and Gullahorn (1956) all restrict their discussion to conflict between roles. Kornhauser (1968) refers to different subidentities but not the total self. Presthus (1962) includes a discussion of role, subidentity and total identity, but his writings are impressionistic.<sup>10</sup>

Restricting empirical studies to occupational subidentity seems to imply that the self is sufficiently segmented that a person can spend a large amount of time in one role without these experiences

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10.) All of these authors refer to personal occupational adjustment in their writings. Authors neglecting the effect on the individual as part of their definition however, were excluded. For example, Heron (1952) defines occupational adjustment as the extent to which a man is a source of concern to his supervisors.

effecting the remainder of self-identity<sup>11</sup>.

Reference to such compartmentalization is sometimes explicit in the occupational literature. Hughes (1945) argues that in societies where statuses are relatively ill-defined and not entered chiefly by birth or a few well-established sequences of training or achievement, the particular personal attributes proper to each status are less woven into a whole and more thought of as separate entities. Vollmer and Mills (1966:72) state that today work tends to be compartmentalized from other aspects of our lives. Similarly, theorists in social psychology speak of the possibility of compartmentalization. Mead himself (1934:307-309; 1964:147-149) discusses the possibility of conflict between different selves of the same person. (Also see Shibutani, 1961:432-467; Kitahara, 1970; James, 1970; Stryker, 1972.)

However, if the study of work experiences and the self is approached within a Meadian framework, the compartmentalization of the work role within the total self becomes an empirical question, not a guiding assumption with which to begin research or a justification for limiting the investigation to the work role and its subidentity. As an organization of attitudes which are integrated into a single perspective, the self refers to a whole. Before a specific segment can be isolated for study, other questions need answering: How do work experiences influence the totality and how are they integrated into it;

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11.) Davis and Olesen (1966) point out that the restriction of such studies could also imply congruence between the person's emerging occupational role and the other life roles. These authors also suggest that this has led to the unwitting depiction of career socialization as a uni-dimensional and institutionally self-contained process.



If the totality is found to consist of several relatively disparate and independent selves, how are experiences segmented and how are the segments organized into a whole; How does change in one effect the other segments? As Tucker (1967) notes, self theorists ignore the problem of which self-identities are to be combined and which are to be treated as separate identities. Although Mead provides us with this framework, he offers few answers to such questions.

Even if one accepts that present-day society involves a greater compartmentalization of the self than in some earlier period in history, it is not at all clear that work experiences are totally segmented from non-work experiences. Some existing data suggest they are integrated into the whole, even omitting a discussion of the professions which are often characterized by the convergence of work and non-work identities (Goode, 1957; Salaman, 1971a; 1971b; Jackson, 1970; Carr-Saunders, 1966). Pellegrin and Coates (1956) show supervisors, with relatively low levels of aspiration and an emphasis on security, respect and happiness, nevertheless internalize their experience at work no less than do executives who have higher mobility drives and a greater need for esteem and personal accomplishment. Smith's (1955) study of repetitious jobs revealed susceptibility to monotony at work was not only related to task performance but also to other more general factors extending beyond the work role such as 'restlessness' in daily habits and leisure-time activities. Kahn et al. (1964:6-7) report that the quest for identity (referring to a general identity and not a role-specific identity) at work is a significant problem for many people. Kohn and



Schooler (1969) empirically tested the assumption that the work men do effects not only their view of work and of their role at work, but also of the world and of themselves. Their data confirmed this assumption.

This thesis assumes from the beginning that both work and non-work experiences are potential sources of self-identity and that the relative importance of each needs further investigation.

#### Specific Aspects of Participation in Non-Work Roles and their Relevance for Working Women

Within a Meadian perspective, it was argued that current or present experiences would contribute more to current self-identity than those in the past. Kelly (1973) reports the results of secondary analysis which confirm the Meadian approach. Family background had no direct effect on current occupational status among men but acted indirectly through education. Education operated most strongly as the individual's career was well under way. Other measures of the remote past were largely irrelevant for current occupation. Only the very recent past made a contribution. Kelly's finding in relation to education is, of course, consistent with the general occupational literature documenting the high correlation between occupational prestige, income, and education.

Other literature suggests that early socialization may be more important than a Meadian perspective would argue. The popularity of the view that core personality or basic norms and values are formed in childhood and change in adulthood takes place only in one's more

peripheral identities can easily lead to such a conclusion. Within this approach, early cultural influences, differential access to opportunity, and expectations of others during this time period all take on greater significance. Empirically, they are often reflected through the person's age, race, nationality, type and size of childhood residence, and social class origins (Parnes, et al., 1970; Spitz, 1970; White, 1967). Within this perspective, the role of the mother has emerged as particularly important. White (1967) writes about the working mother as a role model for her daughter. Veevers (1973) argues that women whose mothers worked learn first-hand that being married and having children can be combined with a career. Trigg and Perlman's (1975) data show that women training for non-traditional careers are more likely to report mothers' attitudes as favourable to such pursuits than are those training for traditional careers. The Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (1970:174) notes that girls from families where the mother worked outside the home often seem to have less traditional ideas of the woman's role than do girls from families where the mother did not work outside the home.

The literature reveals the same conflict of approaches when looking at early job experiences. Kelley (1973) found that recent job history (referring to the past two or three years) was important for current occupational status. Distant job experiences (referring to eight or ten years ago) had no relevance other than the indirect effect of family background through education. Becker's (1961) concept of commitment, on the other hand, argues in favour of the relevance of

job history. Investments and side-bets accrue over time so that length of time in the labour force would increase the investment in and exposure to the culture of the working world (Parnes, et al., 1970). Many of the authors discussed earlier, however, argued that it was the temporary and part-time employment of women which resulted in their decreased commitment to work. They are implying that length of time in the labour force is effective only if the experience is continuous.

Variables referring to both childhood socialization and job history will be included in this study to empirically test the accuracy of the Meadian hypothesis on the relative lack of importance of the past. The literature just discussed points to the possibility that the past may well have an influence on current adult self-identity.

Moving from the past to the present, there is no doubt that Mead argues for the relative importance of current experiences. As already noted, he tells us nothing about the relative impact of participation in non-work roles compared with that of participation in work roles. Other literature does deal with this question (Crozier, 1963: 23; Leggatt, 1970; Krause, 1971: 51).

In particular, marital status seems to be particularly important, but, as has been true throughout this chapter findings are not always consistent. Hrebiniak and Alutto (1972) report that married women have greater organizational commitment (reluctance to leave for employment in another organization even when offered more pay) than do single women. Among elementary teachers, White (1967) finds married women more likely to consider their careers important than single women.



Since most women now experience an average five-year interval of employment before marriage (The Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, 1970:227), and only some will remain in the labour force after marriage, there may be a screening process at work which helps explain this relationship (in 1974, 36.7% of married women were working, Labour Canada, 1975:29).

Contrary to this view, however, Shea (1970b) reports that non-married women in his study were more likely to say they would work even if they were to receive enough money to live comfortably without working, than were married women. It could be argued here that non-married women do not have a major competing role (marriage) which interferes with their commitment. On the other hand, this discrepancy in findings may be accounted for in terms of an intervening influence. Other factors, such as the presence and age of children, the necessity for financial remuneration, employment possibilities in the area, education and position in the occupational hierarchy have all been suggested as mediating the effect of marital status (Hall, 1969:331-333; Egge and Meyer, 1970; Shea, 1970b; Kim and Murphy, 1972; Department of Labour 1961; Treiman and Terrell, 1975; Lopata, 1971:30-36). There is some indication that having children, rather than getting married, may be the event which prompts an exit from the labour force. A study undertaken for the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (1970:16) found that among a sample of technical school and university students, 58% of those surveyed thought a woman should stop working after the birth of her first child. A greater percentage of girls thought this

than did boys. Walker (1969) reports that women with older children are more likely to work than is true of women with younger children. Meissner et al. (1975) report that working women with a child under 10 years of age are more likely to work less (nearly an hour a week less) than women without young children.

Researchers have also pointed to the particular importance of the attitudes of male peers as a group of significant others for women (Mackie, 1976). Horner (1970) reports that the attitude of male peers toward the appropriate role of women was the single most significant factor in arousing a motive to avoid success among single college women. Once the woman marries, the attitude of the husband takes on this importance (Hall, 1969:329). If the husband has a positive attitude towards the wife working outside the home, she is more likely to do so (Holter, 1970:50).

The relative importance of female peers is unknown. As Acker Husbands (1972) points out, this is a little researched area. Nevertheless, especially in light of the recent Women's Rights, Women's Liberation, and Feminist movements (Teather, 1976; Holter, 1970:217), the attitudes of female peers may well have an important influence.

Finally, what may be considered time and energy constraints can also effect the relationship between work and self-identity. It is said that a married woman working outside the home has a full-time job plus one half or two thirds of a job in the home (Holter, 1970:31). The Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (1970:33-34) reports that the housewife works fewer hours in the home when she has

outside employment. However, even when the woman has full-time employment outside the home, she still works approximately four hours daily at home as well. Women with two or more children are likely to work over 11 hours a day. Walker (1969) reports that the total time for housework has not decreased since 1927/28. Meissner and his associates (1975) found that, compared to their husbands, working women devoted significantly more time to housework. Furthermore, the added time constraints of working decreased women's leisure time but not that of their husbands. Mackie (1976) found in her study of role strain and role conflict, that the only serious type of role constraint was that due to role overload. A substantial number of working women in her sample of couples (including both housewives and those employed outside the home) reported strain placed upon their energy due to the combined demands of occupational work and housework.

The amount of household help, assistance with the children if applicable, flexibility of working hours, and the time spent commuting to and from work have all been suggested as having an important effect on the influence which work will have on women (Callahan, 1972; Blauner, 1964:70; Gould, 1972). Mead also acknowledges the relevance of both the physiological and physical environment in which we live, both as means and instruments of our behaviours but also as imposing limitations (1934:172, 245-246; 1956:92; 1964:294).

Numerous non-work factors emerge from the literature as potentially effecting the relationship between work and self-identity. They include: childhood socialization experiences; early job experiences;



marital status; the presence and age of children; attitudes of male peers; attitudes of female peers; and time and energy constraints.<sup>12</sup>

12.) The various forms of non-work participation discussed in this section can be integrated into the three-stage model suggested by Williams (1976) and noted earlier. Incorporating non-work factors into this model points to the fact that women may not experience their work as a primary source for self-identity. In the first stage of that model, the ascription-oriented society was posited. Achievement sources were considered irrelevant for women. In such a society one would expect women to derive their concept of themselves from their husband's occupational status and from their marriage and family roles. If the husband's occupational status was of primary importance, it could be argued that the society was in an early phase of this type of society. If the marriage and family roles were of primary importance, it could be argued that the society was in a later phase of this type of society. The distinction of phases results from the different types of identity sources. Husband's status refers to a source other than the person's own involvements. Marriage and family roles refer to a source which is the person's own involvement. The former is an identity derived from others while the latter is one derived from own, ascribed sources. The work role would not be expected to contribute as an identity source in either phase of this stage but if it did, the sex characterization of the occupation would have greater importance than occupational prestige. An occupant of a traditionally male occupation would have less status than that of a traditionally female occupation because she would be violating the characteristics of her ascribed status (being female).

In the second stage, achieved status is partially accepted but the vestiges of the ascribed status remain. Here both the work role and the non-work roles could be expected as identity sources. Within the occupational component, prestige could be expected to outweigh the sex characterization of the occupation. Within similar prestige levels, the literature suggests that those involved in traditionally female occupations would still have a higher status than those in traditionally male occupations. The relative effects of work versus non-work cannot be estimated from the literature. In the third stage, the principles of achievement are accepted over those of ascription. A woman's own occupation would contribute more to her own self-identity than would others' statuses or her own ascribed sources. Within the occupational component, a traditionally male occupation could be expected to receive greater status than a traditionally female occupation. Eventually, the sexual division of labour could be expected to become obsolete with a corresponding irrelevance of the sex characterization of the occupation for self-identity.

These stages assume, of course, that all non-work involvements and in particular participation in marriage and family roles are ascribed sources. It also assumes that society will progress in a relatively simple and linear fashion.

## Conclusions

This chapter has presented a review of the literature relevant to occupational participation among women. Despite the apparent tendency in the literature to use the terms commitment to work, identification with work, and the importance of work for self-identity interchangeably, the two are considered conceptually distinct for the purposes of this thesis. However, the intermixing of terms in existing literature makes it difficult to discern differential factors effecting the two different concepts.

Occupational prestige emerges as particularly important for women's commitment to work for the same reasons as it has been documented as associated with men's commitment to work. The higher the working woman's occupational prestige, the higher her commitment to work is likely to be.

The introduction of other factors, especially that of sex or of being female complicates this relationship. Furthermore, the assumption in the literature that commitment to work and the importance of work for self-identity are positively related leads to an argument that the same factors effect both concepts.

The general argument states that women have a secondary commitment to work and that work is of secondary importance for their self-identities because women tend to have temporary and part-time involvement in the labour force and because their primary commitment is to and their primary identity source is from the family role. In other words, it is assumed that the amount and continuity of the time spent in a



particular role is a main factor effecting the woman's commitment to that role and the importance of that role for her self-identity. It is further assumed that a primary commitment to one excludes a similar commitment to another role and that if one role is a primary source of self-identity then another role cannot also be a primary source of self-identity. The assumed mutual exclusiveness of the work and family roles presumably stems from the fact that 'women's work' is unpaid in a society where individuals are largely judged by the standards of paid work (The Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, 1970:32,37). Furthermore, the standards for judging a person's involvement in the family are different from those used for judging a person's involvement in the work role.

Numerous other factors emerged to further confound the relationships of occupational prestige and 'being female' with commitment to work and the importance of work for self-identity. These included: childhood experiences; attitudes of different others; the number of and age of children; and different forms of time and energy constraints.

Two dependent variables, then, are utilized in the analyses which follow. Commitment to work is considered conceptually distinct from the importance of work for self-identity. The former refers to role-specific behaviour and the latter to a broader and more general concept which, in Meadian theory, is the generalized standpoint or perspective of the individual which consists of an organization of attitudes and which gives unity to that individual.

The independent variables can be summarized as five general



concepts: early childhood socialization; job history experiences; participation in and with others in specific non-work roles; participation in the work role; and time and energy constraints. The actual variables chosen within the larger concepts are discussed in the fourth chapter.

Chapter three now turns to the methodological technique chosen for collecting the empirical data to test the conceptual distinction between the two dependent variables and to test some of the assumptions in the literature about women and their occupational involvements. A description of the sample characteristics also appears in the following chapter.

### CHAPTER 3 - METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

The preceding chapters elaborated on the areas of concern of this thesis, the general theoretical framework within which it is being conducted, the concepts of particular relevance, and a discussion of pertinent literature and existing research findings. In particular, the main concerns which were discussed included: Are commitment to work and work as a source of self-identity among women similar or different concepts? What are the factors leading to an increased commitment to work among women? What are the sources of self-identity among working women? The relative importance of past versus current experiences, of current work role participation versus current family role participation, and of continuous versus intermittent work role involvement all received attention. A review of the occupational and sex role literature suggested that occupational prestige will show a positive relationship with commitment to work and that the current work role may show some signs of being a source of self-identity for working women but the family role will still serve as an identity source.

This chapter focuses attention on some of the methodological issues involved in a study which seeks empirically to compare the concepts of commitment to work and the importance of work as a source for self-identity and to compare the differential relevance of various past and present factors for each of these concepts. It begins with a discussion of the decision to use personal interviews as the data

gathering technique, the particular sample which was chosen (to consist of newspaper reporters, social workers, privates and corporals in the Forces, and fashion models), and how access was obtained to each group. This is followed by a description of the characteristics of the resultant sample. The operationalization of the particular concepts is discussed in the next chapter.

### Choosing to Interview

Measurement of self or self-identity, as expounded through a Meadian perspective as a total organization which gives unity to the individual, appears problematic. The 'I' phase of the self, through which the novel is always appearing, is no longer the novel once we have had time to capture it in reflection, in words, on paper. However, Mead provides an argument for the utilization of language to study those characteristics which are most persistent and enduring. This section begins with a brief discussion of this characteristic of language and then turns to the decision to implement the use of language through the interview situation.

For Mead, those characteristics which are most persistent or "more inclusive universals" are those which can be indicated to oneself and to others. Language consists precisely of these universals. In the vocal gesture, that which is indicated must last while attention is held upon it and directed toward it. In other words, language involves the picking out, holding, and isolating of responses. Obversely, all such persistent characteristics tend to become language symbols



(1938:14-15,371-372,388). Language then can be used as an appropriate mechanism through which to study the more persistent or enduring characteristics of the self.

While it may be objected that the 'total' self is not being measured through this mechanism, operationism may still be avoided. Measurement of the totality of a concept need not be crucial provided that which is measured reflects the differences and similarities between the groups being studied.

It may further be objected that language is not necessarily related to behaviour or activity. Existing research suggests this problem can be surmounted through the use of particular types of questions. Questions referring to specific situations have been found to be more related to actual behaviour than those referring to general attitudes. Crespi (1971) found expressed attitudes correlated more highly with and were more predictive of actual behaviour when "specific dimensions of attitudes with respect of a specific point in time" were measured. His data referred to voting, movie attendance, and food buying. In similar vein, Schuman (1972) reported (from a secondary analysis of data pertaining to racial discrimination) the need to write and ask questions which "reflect the genuine dilemmas in life between competing forces manifested or expressed in value terms". In other words, the more specific the question and the closer it resembles real life situations, the more likely the answers obtained will be predictive of actual behaviour.<sup>13</sup>

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13.) The relevance of this for the operationalization of the concepts used in this study (in particular for measuring the self) is discussed in the following chapter.

Finally, it may be objected that, especially in light of the concern of this thesis with past childhood experiences and past work role involvements, individuals have faulty recall when it comes to past events and their perceived importance of these events may change over time. Within a Meadian perspective this is not a problem. Indeed, a 'distortion' of one's personal history confirms Mead's contention that the present always determines which of our pasts we remember and how we remember them. The factual or actual past is important only to the extent that if it were different, what is now happening would be different. Otherwise, the interpretation of the past is always determined by the present.

Personal interviews were chosen for utilizing these characteristics of language. Interviews are sufficiently flexible to at least partially prevent some of the drawbacks of some other data collection techniques. For example, the questionnaire offers no assurance that the respondents are answering the question the research is trying to ask and does not allow the exploration of new issues which may arise after the research has begun. Personal interviews, on the other hand, permit the interviewer to use the wealth of non-verbal cues such as tone of voice, facial expression and body posture to assist in the communication process and avoid misinterpretation. They also permit the rephrasing of questions which are being misinterpreted by the respondent and the exploration of new issues which seem pertinent to the research.

Participant observation serves as another example. Aside from the practical difficulties of using this methodology and the amount of

time it would require, it has not been established that it is appropriate for all research projects. The ability of an outsider to enter certain types of interaction without effecting and changing that interaction is questionable. Certain relationships between husband and wife serve as an example. For this thesis, the use of participant observation would also restrict the sample size to such an extent that attempts at generalization to a larger population would be questionable. Obviously direct participation and observation of past events is not possible (Webb et al., 1966:79).

Personal interviews allow for the use of part-time or temporary participant observation if it is deemed necessary. They also allow for the inclusion of more qualitative data or a variation in the amount and type of data through the use of open-ended questions and their probes. Closed-ended questions can be included if it is believed that the respondent may not think of a particular influence and mention it. Informants may be used together with interviewing (Psathas, 1972; Mead, 1934:8; 1938:198,607; Blumer, 1972).

The use of these various strategies does not, of course, negate all of the possible bias which may be introduced because of faulty recall, the respondent's own unawareness of significant influences (see a discussion of influences of the past in the habitual response and not necessarily coming to consciousness in unproblematic situations in chapter one), a deliberate misrepresentation of attitudes, or the lack of correspondence between verbal and non-verbal behaviour (LaPiere, 1973; Ehrlich, 1973). Nevertheless, the theoretical drawbacks and



practical difficulties of using either questionnaires or participant observation led to the decision that personal interviews were the most appropriate methodology for this study. Personal interviews were chosen as the most suitable methodology for capturing the persistent and enduring aspect of the self through the use of language.

An interview schedule (see Appendix A) was employed to assure comparability of data from different respondents. Both closed-ended and open-ended questions were included. The former help mitigate against the non-mention of factors which may be important but which the respondent does not recall at the time. The latter allow the individual to answer the question in terms of one's own frame of reference using one's own personal constructs rather than having those of the researcher imposed.

Respondents were also asked to write a short essay after the interview was over, elaborating on the perceived effect or lack of effect of work on self (and returned by mail). This provided the opportunity for adding to or changing any information a few days after the interview took place. However, only one respondent in fact changed the information. This person stated that working had had no effect on her concept of herself during the interview. When the essay was received she stated that, upon reflection, she thought that it had and proceeded to elaborate on the changes she thought had taken place. (Appendix B provides an example of an essay received from the respondents).

Use was also made of informants in each of the four

occupational groups studied. Time was spent with the informants in their homes, in the researcher's home, at work and at other places (for example, shopping, eating out, nightclubs, going for walks). The informants included persons both in the actual sample (after they had been interviewed) as well as some not included in the sample but members of the particular occupational group. The former included two such persons in each occupation and were selected when, in the interviewer's judgement, they displayed insight into the areas of concern of the thesis and agreed to spend additional time with the researcher. The latter included a minimum of two such persons in each occupation and were selected from among various persons who became known to the researcher through those already interviewed or those contacted when initially gaining access to the groups (such as the fashion editor of a magazine). Those who, in the interviewer's judgement, were insightful and knowledgeable about the occupation were chosen. The activities engaged in with these persons included conversations about the work itself and others involved in that work, participation in a 'normal' day's work activity, visits to typical off-work 'hangouts' of that occupational group, and participation in non-work activities such as a leisurely meal, shopping for clothes, attending a concert together, etc. The data obtained from these situations were recorded as field notes and used primarily for two purposes: during the data collection, as a check to see that the answers elicited from the questions were adequate and; during the data analysis, as a check against misinterpretation of the data and as a pool of information from which to draw for illustrating and expanding upon the meaning of the data.

### Choosing the Sample

The sample was chosen to depict unambiguous differences in occupational prestige and the traditional sex characterization of the occupation in order to analyse the differential effects of these two aspects of the work role. The emergence of these two variables from the literature as worthy of particular attention necessitated maximizing the conditions for testing their effects. Concern was not, therefore, directed towards obtaining a representative listing of occupations within the labour force.

Two high prestige occupations, one traditionally male (newspaper reporters) and one traditionally female (social workers), and two low prestige occupations, one traditionally male (privates and corporals in the Forces) and one traditionally female (fashion models), were selected. The number of occupational groups was restricted to four to allow a larger number of respondents for each group, permitting in-group analysis.

Following the results reported by Reiss (1961:77), Hodge et al. (1966) and More and Suchner (1976), occupations with a relatively large difference in prestige scores were selected. These authors report the greatest differences between occupations which are attributable to occupational prestige are found between high and low prestige occupations rather than, for example, between low and medium prestige occupations. Occupations showing only slight differences in prestige may reflect sampling idiosyncracies. To ensure differences in occupational prestige, those selected for this study were twenty points apart on the 1973



Blishen scale (Blishen and McRoberts, 1976). Although the Blishen scale does not refer to working women, no prestige scale referring to women was available prior to the start of data collection. In addition, there was no reason to believe that female incumbents of occupations revealing a twenty point difference for men would reveal a lack of difference when compared along the prestige dimensions of income and education. As the next chapter reveals, the incumbents of the occupational groups chosen did in fact reveal the desired prestige difference.

Since occupations with the highest prestige scores (doctors, lawyers, architects, etc.) tend to be traditionally male occupations (Vollmer and Mills, 1966:340), the occupations for the high prestige category were selected from those often considered the semi-professions. This assured the inclusion of both traditionally female and traditionally male occupations with equivalent prestige. The actual occupations chosen were:

Social workers and social work supervisors, a traditionally female occupation, receiving a score of 62 on the 1973 Blishen scale and classified as a high prestige occupation for the purposes of this study.

Newspaper reporters and editors, a traditionally male occupation, receiving a score of 63 on the 1973 Blishen scale and classified as a high prestige occupation for the purposes of this study.

Fashion models, a traditionally female occupation, receiving a score of 44 on the 1973 Blishen scale and classified as a low prestige occupation for the purposes of this study.

Privates and corporals in the Canadian Forces, a traditionally male occupation, receiving a score of 43 on the 1973 Blishen scale and classified as a low prestige occupation for the purposes of this study.

Labelling occupations traditionally male and traditionally

female refers to a sex-typing of occupations which refers not only to the relative numbers of women compared with men who are engaged in that occupation, but also to sex-typed characteristics of the behaviour of the incumbents and the milieu within which they work. Marsden and her associates state:

This sex-typing is part of the cultural baggage of this society and, although, it bears no apparent relationship to abilities, it nonetheless exists. Women enter these occupations in large numbers ....  
(1975:400)

The remainder of this chapter discusses the characteristics of each of the selected occupations in terms of being a traditionally male or a traditionally female occupation. These sex linked characteristics are taken from the social science, and in particular sociological, literature.

Social work is referred to as a traditionally female occupation (Pestieau, 1976; Marsden et al., 1975). Even though growing numbers of men are entering it as an occupation today, more women than men still enter social work (The Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, 1970:59-60). In 1967, more than half of the Canadian graduates in social work were female (The Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, 1970:9) and in 1971-72, 64.8% of the social workers in Canada were women (Vickers, 1976). In addition to the proportion of female incumbents, social work has been characterized as appropriately female because of some features of the organization of work. For example, sociologists have theorized about and researched its: organizational and bureaucratic control rather than professional control; lower



autonomy for occupational incumbents; and commitment to humanitarian goals and social reform (Scott,1969; Toren,1969; Feldman,1971; Greenwood, 1966). The fact that women are not prominent in the higher levels of the occupation (for example, teachers in the prominent schools of social work and the administrators of social agencies tend to be male), necessitated restricting the sample to the lower levels. Social workers and social work supervisors were therefore included but anyone above the rank of supervisor was excluded from the sample<sup>14</sup>.

The media, and specifically newspaper reporting, is considered a male domain (Stephenson,1973; Van Gelden,1970). The Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (1970:93) remarks on the lack of women at the senior levels of this industry. Some claim the orientation of this industry is capitalistic rather than humanitarian because its reason for existence is money (and indirectly audiences since without them they would go bankrupt and therefore out of existence). Women in this field tend to be stenographers and researchers rather than reporters and editors. The few reporters that are women have tended to write the fashion columns or act as 'sob sisters' (Altheide and Rasmussen,1976; Hobson,1970; Stephenson,1973). The predominance of men at this level is reflected in the common stereotype of the newsroom:

The newspaper city-room is still the place where you

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14.) Those included in this study were restricted to various groups within the Blishen categories. Appendix C provides a list of the census categories corresponding to each Blishen classification. The restriction was necessary to achieve some homogeneity within the small size permitted when interviewing women in four occupational groups.



sit in your shirtsleeves, flick your cigarettes on the floor, and keep a bottle in the desk drawer. You can even yell 'shit' at the top of your lungs, and no one will be offended. (Van Gelden,1970:81)

Despite their different sex characterizations, social workers and newspaper reporters nevertheless share some similarities (at least more so than some other possible combinations such as school teachers and reporters). Both have offices where they spend part of their time but also go 'into the field' as a major part of their work. Work hours are partially dependent on the job and not totally dependent on the bureaucracy. Children's crises arise at any time. Similarly, stories do not 'break' only between nine and five. In both occupations individuals write reports which must be sent to supervisors and editors for approval and revision. Not long ago, the prerequisites for both jobs were an interest in and experiences in the area rather than formal education. Increasingly, occupational entrants have university degrees.

The two low prestige occupations were also selected on the basis of their opposite sex characterizations. Models are an extreme symbolization of the ascriptive qualities of 'being female'. The emphasis is on looks, not accomplishments. Fashion is directed towards women but symbolizes the social and economic status of their husbands. This can be seen in the impracticality of women's clothes, such as skirts and high heel shoes (Barber and Lobel,1952; Davis,1944; Sapir,1937). As woman herself is viewed as a possession and as a sex object, so models are used to sell objects to others by reflecting the ascribed role of women in ads and commercials. In other words, they can be said to represent the 'feminine sell' (LaLonde,1975).

The Forces<sup>15</sup>, on the other hand, are a traditionally male occupation. In 1969, only 1.6% of Canada's total military strength consisted of women (The Report of the Royal Commission on the Status on Women, 1970:134--138). They symbolize the characteristics ascribed to males. In the extreme, they can be envisaged as consisting of tough fighting men organized to encourage the cult of masculinity which is assumed necessary to forge a fighting force for war (Thomas,1976). Even the changing image of the military in today's society reflects this masculine role: guns; brass bands; spit and polish; international peace keeping; developing the Arctic wilderness; and rescuing the lost and wounded. Basic training and the continued emphasis on drill and physical fitness support this claim (The Canadian Armed Forces,1975).

The similarities between these two groups seem to revolve around the lack of power and autonomy which the individuals are accorded. Unlike the similarities of the two high prestige occupations, models and privates and corporals share something in common by virtue of their position within the hierarchy and some characteristics of the occupational incumbents. Social workers and newspaper reporters, on the other hand, share their position in the hierarchy and some aspects of the organization of their work.

Models are considered low on the fashion hierarchy and are not credited with any 'brains'. They are moved from location to location for different jobs and indeed the limbs of their bodies are literally moved into place at any particular job (Young,1975; Martin,1975).

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15. Only the lowest ranks of the Forces, privates and corporals, were interviewed in this study so as to maintain prestige score comparability with the models.

Privates and corporals work within a setting where primacy is given to impersonal rules and bureaucratic authority. Job rotation is based largely on bureaucratic rather than individual need. Rank assumes more authority than competence or expertise (Segal, 1976; Solomon, 1961; Jones, 1961). Neither job requires extensive formal education or training. Modelling requires none and privates must have only grade eight. For both, the accent is on youth. To enter the military as a private, one must not be over 25 years of age. Modelling, of course, is an occupation in which age-consciousness has centrality (The Armed Forces, 1975; Faulkner, 1974).

All respondents from the four groups were drawn from the metropolitan Toronto area, rather than Hamilton-Wentworth, because its size assured the availability of sufficient numbers of respondents in each of the occupational categories.

Obtaining access to each group brought its own problems, some of which varied according to occupational group. The next section discusses some of those encountered and how they were resolved.

#### Obtaining Access

The inclusion of multiple jobs under the label 'social worker' (see Appendix C) and the varying job activities performed by different persons with the same title (such as children's counsellor, or case investigator), led to the possibility that someone in a social work position may not be doing social work or conversely, someone having a different title may be doing social work. The sample of social workers



was therefore drawn from an agency where there would be little doubt that the persons did social work, the Children's Aid Society of Metropolitan Toronto<sup>16</sup>.

The Children's Aid Society of Metropolitan Toronto (C.A.S.) employed 235 social workers. The organization itself volunteered to draw a random sample of 75 social workers and social work supervisors to ensure a final sample of 50. A letter was sent to all 75 persons introducing the study, asking for their co-operation, and accompanied by a letter of support from the administrative levels of the agency. As Table 2, pages 89 and 90, reveals interviews were obtained with 50 persons. Three did not receive the letter requesting participation, three were no longer working at the agency, and 19 refused to participate.

Initially newspaper reporters and editors were to be obtained from the three general daily newspapers in Toronto to avoid the possible differences among those working for tabloids, special interest papers, and general newspapers. Since no central listings were available, names were obtained from the organizations themselves. However, when these listings were checked against the names of journalists appearing in the papers and when various people in the business were asked to assess the lists, they were found to be incomplete. Missing names were therefore added to the lists, bringing the total for only two of the three papers to 61. Since it had been decided that 50 persons within each occupational group was the maximum number that time

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16.) In consultation with Dr. Michael Wheeler, professor, School of Social Work, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Spring, 1975.

Table 2  
Initial Sample

A. Social Workers and Social Work Supervisors		
	N	%
Interviews	50	67
Refusals	19	25
Letter requesting participation not received*	3	4
No longer working with agency	3	4
total	75	100

  

B. Newspaper Reporters and Editors		
	N	%
Interviews	47	77
Refusals	5	8
Out-of-town reporters	3	5
No longer working for either paper	1	2
Indefinitely out-of-town or in the hospital	5	2
total	61	99

(CONTINUED ...)

C. Models		
	N	%
Interviews	42	69
Refusals	2	3
Moved out of the city	6	10
No longer modelling	6	10
Not contacted after three call backs	5	8
<b>total</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>100</b>

D. Military Women		
	N	%
Interviews	35	90
Refusals	1	3
Lengthy sick leave	3	8
<b>total</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>101</b>

\* Respondents returned replies to the agency expressing their willingness to participate. If no reply was received, they were telephoned and asked for their decision. Three persons had not received a letter.



constraints would allow, the two newspapers which were judged to be most comparable were retained and the third paper deleted from the listings. As far as could be ascertained, the 61 persons listed for the two papers remaining in the sample contained the total populations of women reporters and editors at these two organizations. Eight of these persons were inaccessible due to prolonged illness, lengthy trips out-of-town, or residence in another city. One no longer worked at the newspaper, five refused to participate and 47 were interviewed (see Table 2, pages 89 and 90).

No central listing was available for fashion models. A 'typical'<sup>17</sup> modelling agency, one without a disproportionate number who were very successful or who could not 'make it', was therefore approached. A listing of all models signed with that agency was obtained. The apparent tendency for models to change agency, to freelance, to combine signing with an agency and freelancing, and to move into and out of the occupation resulted in only 26 interviews from a list of 40 models. A return visit to the agency as well as requests for names and telephone numbers of models each respondent knew, led to an additional 16 interviews. From the final listing of 61 models, 42 interviews were completed. Although the representativeness of the sample cannot be measured, it should be noted that the names suggested by the last half a dozen models were people who had already been

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17.) The judgement of which agency was most likely to have 'typical' models was made on the basis of conversations with the directors of numerous modelling agencies, various informants both models and ex-models, fashion columnists of magazines and newspapers, and the director of the agency finally chosen.

interviewed. In other words, the particular network of models that these women knew appears to have been well covered. The comprehensive-ness of this particular network cannot be assessed but it did include models ranging in age from 14 to 67, those who modelled part-time and those who modelled full-time, those who were not well known in the business and Toronto's 'top' model, as well as those who did not earn enough to live by modelling alone and some who earned over \$30,000 a year.

Access to the military privates and corporals was obtained through the permission of the commanding officer of the Personnel and Applied Research Unit (CFPARU) of the Canadian Forces Base at Downsview, Ontario, the commanding officer of that Base, and finally from 'Ottawa' <sup>18</sup>. All 33 female privates and corporals on that Base were asked to volunteer. The Base itself sent letters informing these persons of the study, arranged for a 'briefing session' on the study and arranged the time and place of the interviews. Omitting the three persons who were away indefinitely on sick leave, 23 privates and nine corporals were interviewed. One person refused to participate. To increase the number of corporals for in-group analysis, three additional corporals were included. They were military personnel working on the Base at the time but were not officially under Base Command. This brought the number of corporals in the sample to 12.

The highest refusal rate (see Table 3, page 93) was found among

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18.) The support of Captain Frank Pinch, sociologist, CFPARU, played no small part in contributing to the access which was finally obtained.

Table 3  
Sample Contacted

Occupational Group	Interviews		Refusals		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Social workers	50	72	19	28	69	34
Newspaper reporters	47	90	5	10	52	26
Models	42	96	2	4	44	22
Military women	35	97	1	3	36	18
Totals	174	(87)	27	(13)	201	100



the social workers (28%), with whom no personal contact was made other than a letter sent by the researcher and one by the employing agency. Since 50 replies were received expressing a willingness to participate, no additional efforts were made to persuade the refusals to change their minds. Lower refusal rates were found among newspaper reporters (10%) and models (4%), perhaps because of the personal approach taken. Each individual was telephoned personally, told about the study, and given an opportunity to ask questions before deciding on their participation. These groups received no letters from their employing organizations. Their low refusal rates suggest that personal contact is more effective than having only the support of the employing organization. The lowest refusal rate was found among the military (3%) who received a letter from the Forces as well as a personal briefing where they raised questions about the study. Having both personal contact and the support of an employing organization which is vested with much authority seems to be the most effective means of achieving high participation rates. The impact of additional factors on the differential refusal rates cannot be assessed but could well include any of the following: participation in other research studies, personal and/or professional interest in the particular topic of the research, attitudes of others who participated in the study, belief in the value of research, or time available when requested to participate.

In the final sample (see Table 3, page 93) 201 of the original 236 persons on all listings were contacted. This constituted 81% of the original list. Of the persons contacted, 174 were interviewed.

Those interviewed constituted 74% of the original 236 persons and 87% of those contacted.

### Representativeness

Assessing the representativeness of this sample of working women is particularly difficult. The occupational categories in the Canadian census are more inclusive (see Appendix C) than the restricted sample interviewed for this study. The statistics which are available for these larger groupings use different classificatory schemes which are not comparable to those used in this study. Furthermore, no information was available for those who refused to be interviewed, preventing a comparison for judging any bias resulting from the refusal rate.

The sample does however, over-represent women in the high prestige occupations. The median income of the women studied here is \$13,000 for the income from the occupation studied. The median category for their income from all sources (including other jobs in addition to the ones studied here) is between \$13,000 - \$13,999. The Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (1970:312) informs us that the average income for women in 1967 was only \$2,303. This difference is not unexpected considering the fact that most women are not employed in high prestige and high paying occupations. This sample however, was specifically designed so that approximately half of the respondents were working in high prestige occupations.

In addition, the sample tends to under-represent the young

working woman. The Royal Commission's report (1970:56-57) informs us that the female participation rate is highest for the 20 to 24 age group. The rate declines sharply after that then begins to rise again before 35 and reaches a second but lower peak for the 45 to 49 age group. After 50 it declines gradually and then more rapidly. As Table 4 below reveals, this sample shows a high participation rate for those between the ages of 25 and 35. One of the reasons for the differential age distributions again may stem from the inclusion of the high prestige occupations. It is these occupations which tend to recruit women of higher education and it is women with higher education who are more likely to remain in the labour force (Holter, 1970:117).

Table 4  
Total Sample: Age Distribution

Age:	N	%
less than 20 years of age	5	3
20 to 24 years of age	42	24
25 to 35 years of age	77	44
36 to 44 years of age	19	11
45 to 49 years of age	12	7
50 years of age and older	19	11
total	174	100



An assessment can be made of how well the sample for each occupational group represents the larger occupation. Since a random sample of social workers was drawn, they should be representative of C.A.S. assuming the refusal rate did not bias the sample. However, social workers employed elsewhere, especially at agencies where concerns are not directed specifically and necessarily towards children, may well differ from this group. A social worker in the ghetto of New York or in a smaller city in western Canada would probably have very different experiences from those working at C.A.S. in Toronto.

Both the newspaper reporters and the service women represent a near total population of their particular organizations or branches at the Toronto location. Their refusal rates were both low. However, the newspaper women were restricted to the two largest papers in the country. No doubt smaller papers with different foci would reflect differences in experiences for those they employ. Similarly, the military women were all based at Downsview which is apparently different from other military locations. Personnel posted elsewhere are isolated from large metropolitan areas. In other words, generalization to other newspaper or military women cannot be made with confidence from those sampled here.

As noted earlier, neither a random sample nor a total population of models was obtained. Nevertheless, there is some indication that the network they represent might be that of models in Toronto. This is based on the wide variety of different types of models interviewed and the fact that few new names were encountered. But even if they did

represent models in Toronto, this city is apparently quite different from other Canadian cities. Toronto is 'the' place for models in the country but is less esteemed than either New York or Europe.

Given the numerous problems, any generalizations to other groups of social workers, newspaper reporters, models or military women seems, at best, risky. The following section therefore includes a comparison of these groups with others groups of incumbents from these occupations. That comparison suggests that this sample is more typical of respondents from these four occupations than the foregoing might indicate.

Despite the fact that the representativeness of this sample cannot be assessed more adequately, the analysis is still considered worth pursuing. The occupations were chosen for their theoretical relevance and not as a representative listing of occupations. Furthermore, random sampling procedures are not crucial provided the differences which emerge from the sample which is selected reflect those found in the total population. Considering the relatively unexplored area of sociology which this thesis is investigating, any results from this study can suggest directions to pursue in future research. As others (Holter, 1970:97) point out, sociologists have paid most attention to the world of men, to the neglect of the world of women. Finally, the directions emerging from this research can provide guidelines for studying either the same groups in other setting or other groups with similar theoretical aspects.

### Sample Characteristics

This section provides a comparison of the four occupational groups along selected characteristics and a description of the occupational contexts for each occupational group. The occupational context reveals the distinctiveness of each job and of those involved in it. It includes reports by occupational incumbents who, in Faulkner's terms, have come of occupational age:

... coming to terms with the work world consists of learning a set of assumptions. These assumptions are known, used, and taken for granted by organizational incumbents. They direct attention to the practical ways in which careers are to be interpreted as well as to the facticity of their design. More than a method of modifying career expectations, the coming of age in adult work is a way of conceiving what is possible and what is not, what is real and what is not. (1974:168)

The occupational context of the social workers is largely determined by the mandate of the Children's Aid Society. Under Ontario law it is charged with the responsibility of providing protection and care to the child who is not receiving it elsewhere (Thompson,1975; Monypenny,1975; Children's Aid Society,1975). The determining influence of this mandate is reflected in the respondents' descriptions of their job tasks (Table 5, page 100). They are involved in family and individual counselling, placement of children for adoption, placement of children in foster homes and investigation of neglect.

Like other groups of social workers (Scott,1969; Toren,1969; Feldman,1971; Greenwood,1966), this group reveals a humanistic or people orientation. When asked the type of person who enters social



Table 5

## Sample Characteristics: Job Tasks

A. Social Workers and Social Work Supervisors		
	N	%
Supervise* other social workers and volunteers	17	34
Child placement (for adoption or in special homes)	7	14
Investigating neglect, assessment	9	18
Family and individual counselling	8	16
Work with children in care (foster or group homes)	4	8
Other (social work nurse, social work secretary, finding resources)	5	10
	50	100
B. Newspaper Reporters and Editors		
	N	%
Women's, family, entertainment sections	14	30
News, business, financial, political sections	19	40
Education, sports, specialist (medical, science)	12	26
Whatever's left over	2	4
	47	100
C. Fashion Models		
	N	%
All types of modelling	36	86
Primarily runway and fashion shows	5	12
Primarily photography	1	2
	42	100
D. Military Women		
	N	%
Administrative clerk	11	31
Finance clerk	7	20
Supply Technician	17	49
	35	100

\* C.A.S. has a team approach whereby the supervisors are part of a team and themselves do social work.

work, over half (29 or 58%) referred to a humanistic person (see Table 6, page 102). Although half (25 or 50%) claim that the work itself has no effect after the person enters or that it simply reinforces the type that enters, a substantial minority (19 or 38%) state that the job itself makes the person more humanistic (Table 7, page 103).

Respondent 124, a 33 year old social worker stated it this way:

Yes, they're humanitarian, they have a human need orientation and a sensitivity to others. They want to improve the quality of life, they're idealistic. This type enters and gets reinforced. If other types enter, they soon leave the field.

Respondent 129, a 31 years old social worker expressed a similar opinion:

Yes, they're more people-oriented, humanistic ... more in tune to the social system and its influences because they see the disadvantaged and the frustrations of trying to deal with the system to help them. They're more politically aware, they have to find ways to help people within the limits of the system .... They're more willing to get involved and try to change things ... it's often not the person's fault, it's circumstances. This type enters and gets reinforced.

The two newspaper organizations resembled the stereotypical newsroom. Each had a large room with numerous desks, each with a phone, typewriter and filing cabinet. Sections were separated by filing cabinets, a few extra feet of floor space, or occasionally by a portable room-divider. Despite this similarity with newsrooms of the past, a substantial change seems to have taken place in the sexual division of labour. These data show that women no longer write primarily for the women's section. Less than half (14 or 30%) of those interviewed were involved in the women's, family or entertainment

Table 6

## Sample Characteristics: Types of Persons Entering

Types	Social Workers		Newspaper Reporters		Models		Military Women	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
competitive, determined, egotistical	3	6	4	9	21	50	14	40
empathetic, people-oriented	29	58	7	15	2	5	4	11
insecure, phoney, unrealistic	1	2	2	4	8	19	6	17
skeptical, cynical, curious	1	2	15	32	0	0	1	3
no special type	16	32	19	40	11	26	10	29
<b>totals</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>



Table 7

## Sample Characteristics: Effect of Work

Differences due to work:	Social Workers		Newspaper Reporters		Models		Military Women	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
competitive, egotistical	3	6	6	13	31	74	4	11
skeptical, curious	3	6	20	43	1	2	0	0
nonconforming, broader	19	38	14	30	2	5	1	3
no difference	25	50	7	15	8	19	30	86
<b>totals</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>

sections (Table 5, page 100).

Writing is basic to the job of the reporter but as one informant noted, newspaper work always assumes that the readers have never read about the topic before. This prevents in-depth writing and was offered as the reason for the distinction between 'newspaperman' or 'reporter' and 'journalist'. The former implies hard-nose description while the latter involves critical and interpretive analysis. In newspapers, the story has priority and deadlines must always be met, but when asked about the type of person who enters this line of work (Table 6, page 102) the curious and skeptical person was mentioned most frequently. As respondent 216, over 60 years of age and having worked in the area for 44 years, said:

Yes, those who have a great curiosity about everything, notice everything and like reading newspapers enter. They have a sense of responsibility so they can meet a deadline, can work quickly and make decisions on their own, see where the story is. (This type enters.) Yes, they become restless, want to move around because they're always after a story and meeting a deadline. The newspaper often comes first in their lives or awfully close. (They become like this as a result of the job.)

Respondent 215, a 30 year old newspaper reporter claims:

Yes, the people who enter newspapers are inquisitive, they question everything, won't take things on face-value. They are more cynical, have to look beneath the surface to see what's going on. This gets reinforced after they've been in the job awhile because they see all the ugliest things in life, the lousy side of too many things and too many people.

Models work within still another occupational context. As

noted earlier, they seldom work exclusively for one agency over a period of time. One informant explained that it is usually the new girls who sign with agencies until they know the people in the business and develop their own contacts. In this sample, 25 of the 42 models were signed with The Agency and 17 freelanced or combined freelancing with agency work. Unlike some other jobs, modelling offers little job security and, especially in Toronto, little specialization. Versatility of style was emphasized again and again for survival in this city. Promotion work (catalogues in particular) is the bread and butter of the trade. The scarcity of fashion and photography work allows only a few to delimit their jobs to this type of work. This is supported by the data (Table 5, page 100). Most of the models (36 or 86%) do all types of modelling. Few specialize (6 or 14%). Modelling however, lends itself to part-time involvement or participation in conjunction with other jobs. In this sample, over half (22 or 52%) considered their modelling part-time and under half (20 or 48%) considered it a full-time job. Two-thirds of the sample (28 or 67%) actually worked at other jobs (compared with 26% of the newspaper women, 6% of the social workers and 6% of the military women).

When asked what type of person enters modelling, half of the respondents characterized occupational entrants as egotistical, competitive, and success-oriented. An additional eight or 19% said they were insecure and phoney (Table 6, page 102). Thirty-one (74%) claimed the job itself turns the person into this type (Table 7, page 103). Respondent 306, a 24 year old model, stated:



Most girls who go into modelling are really insecure, that's why they go into it, they think the glamour will put them on top of the world. Being in the job makes you competitive and catty because of the competition. You have to fight for every job you can get and pound the pavement to get it. But it makes you more interesting and active generally.

Respondent 307, a 23 year old model said:

Yes, you have large ego, a good opinion of yourself. You're on an ego trip, you like the glamour and excitement of being a 'model'. If you're successful the money makes it worth your while. This is the only type that stays in it, the narcissistic type. The job itself reinforces this, you have to be egotistical so when you don't get a job you don't take it personally. You exist on the public's image of a model, 'glamour'. You're put in a position where you're more in the public eye and have to react to that so you learn to play roles, you can't just be yourself.

Military women, on the other hand, are part of a larger organization. As part of the Forces, they must participate in basic training, drills, and physical fitness programs which are part of this larger organization. Otherwise, the female corporals and privates actually performed jobs quite similar to civilians. All of the women in this group were either administrative clerks (11 or 31%), finance clerks (7 or 20%), or supply technicians (17 or 49%). (See Table 5, page 100). Their job tasks included typing, keeping pay ledgers, taking inventory, selling clothing, etc. The similarity with civilian jobs is evidenced in their replies to a question asking if their particular job (administrative, finance or supply clerk) made them into a particular type of person. Most (30 or 86%) of the respondents said that it did not and many added that the job itself was just like a 'civvy' job

(Table 7, page 103). On the other hand, most (25 or 71%) thought a particular type of person enters the Forces (Table 6, page 102). Fourteen (40%) thought a person who is competitive and determined enters. As respondent 405, 27 years old, put it:

Yes, people who are more disciplined, who try and stick things out. They aren't afraid of competition. They tend to be like this when they enter but then become more so.

Respondent 408, 21 years old, said:

Yes, someone who can meet a challenge, who is not afraid to meet one. Someone who isn't determined and self-disciplined doesn't make it (in the Forces). You're that way when you enter and it becomes reinforced.

This distinction between being part of the military and their particular job in the Forces was important to these women. As one of them said: "Working as a civilian, my job was just a job. ... here I'm part of the Forces." When asked whether they identified more closely with their job or with the Forces only 10 (29%) said with their job. Twenty-five (71%) said they were members of the Forces first. One of the main attractions of the Forces seems to be the feeling of belonging to a larger group. Twenty-four (69%) said they would miss the esprit de corps most if they left the military (and the discipline and extra duties least).<sup>19</sup>

In other words, each of the four occupational groups has its own distinctive 'occupational context' and its distinctive jobs to perform. The foregoing description of the types of persons entering

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19. For an elaboration of this feeling of belongingness or esprit de corps among this sample of military women, see Chappell (1977).

each occupation and the perceived effects of that occupation on the incumbents reveals the different assumptions and interpretations learned during the process of coming of occupational age.

Along other dimensions, the incumbents of these four occupational groups show similarities with one another. Virtually everyone (161 or 93%) came from a family of orientation consisting of both mother and father<sup>20</sup>. Similarly, almost all of the women (159 or 91%) plan or planned on working after marriage (although not all planned on working after having children). These data suggest that marriage is not the event which necessarily prompts an exit from the labour force although, as discussed later, childbearing and childrearing may well prompt this exit.

More interesting in terms of the traditional argument that women's involvements in the labour force are part-time and temporary, are the findings relating to their work interruptions. Almost all of the women (161 or 93%) who have had interruptions in their careers report leaving with the intention of returning. These data suggest that it may be the time women spend out of the labour force which they consider temporary and intermittent rather than the time which they spend working. In other words, the non-discriminatory nature of these responses questions the traditional assumption that working women themselves consider their involvement in the labour force part-time or intermittent.

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20. All items for which 90% or more of the responses were contained in one category were labelled non-discriminatory measures (Rummel, 1970: 216-217) and are listed in Appendix D.



Finally, 167 (or 96%) of the respondents failed to mention their husband's job when asked an open-ended question about the criteria used for assessing their social status. Such results confirm the suggestion of others (Nilson, 1976) that women may well derive their own status from sources other than their husband's occupational status.

These non-discriminatory measures, of course, may reflect a biased sample to the extent that all of these women are currently working and if they left the labour force in the past they did return to work. Nevertheless, they suggest more involvement in the work role than is evident in the traditional assumptions about working women found in the occupational literature.

Turning to the demographic characteristics, it is clear that some similarities are shared according to the prestige of the occupation and others according to the traditional sex characterization of the occupation. Those with higher levels of formal education, at least some university education, are concentrated in the two high prestige occupations. Those with lower levels of formal education, high school, community college, business, or military trades training, are concentrated in the two low prestige occupations (see Table 8, page 110). Similarly, the older respondents tend to be in social work and newspaper reporting/editing while the younger respondents tend to be concentrated in modelling and the military. Table 9 (page 111) shows a greater proportion of those aged 36 or over in the two high prestige occupations, and a greater proportion of those aged 25 or less in the two low prestige

Table 8

## Sample Characteristics: Education

Occupation	Education					
	some or all high sch.		community, bus., military college		at least some university	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
social work	0	0	7	8	43	52
newspaper reporting	3	38	6	7	38	46
modelling	5	63	35	42	2	2
military career	0	0	35	42	0	0
totals	8	101	83	99	83	100

gamma =  $-.81$ , significance level =  $.001$

(When the two high and two low prestige occupations are collapsed, and the first two education categories are collapsed,  $x^2 = 115$  with D.F. = 1 and significance level =  $.001$ .)

Note: Throughout this thesis, when measures of association for cross-tabulations are reported, lambda and chi square are shown for nominal measures and gamma and chi square for ordinal measures. Although gamma is considered more appropriate for ordinal measures, chi square is reported here for three reasons: the ordinality of any measure is conceptually based, it provides a basis for comparison as suggested by Taylor (1977) and Hunter and Latif (1973) and, it provides a more conservative test. In addition, Blalock (1960:214) notes that chi square can be used for ordinal measures.

Table 9  
Sample Characteristics: Age

Occupation	Age					
	less than 25		26 - 35		36 or over	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
social work	3	5	20	29	27	54
newspaper reporting	6	11	24	35	17	34
modelling	23	41	14	21	5	10
military career	24	43	10	15	1	2
<b>totals</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>

gamma =  $-.68$ , significance level =  $.001$   
 $\chi^2 = 64.60$ ; D.F. = 6; significance level =  $.001$



occupations. Although the distribution of those aged 26 to 35 inclusive, is less skewed than for the other two age categories, those between these ages tend to be found in social work and newspaper reporting.

Those who are married are more likely to be engaged in the traditionally female occupations, social work and modelling. There is a tendency for those who are single to be engaged in the traditionally male occupations, newspaper reporting and the military. Those separated, divorced or widowed tend to be engaged in the newspaper business. Although this relationship is not statistically strong ( $\gamma = -.13$ ), it is statistically significant when the two traditionally male occupations are combined and the two traditionally female occupations are combined (see Table 10, page 113). Furthermore, when controlling for age, the relationship between the sex characterization of the occupation and marital status remains statistically significant for those 26 years of age or older (see Table 11, page 114).

This section began with a discussion of the different occupational contexts and different job activities of each of the four occupational groups studied here, followed by a discussion of the non-discriminating measures which characterized the sample as a whole. These data indicated the possibility that these working women consider their work more important than the literature would suggest. The section closed with a discussion of some of the demographic characteristics for the sample. Not unexpectedly, the education and the age of the respondent was associated with the prestige of the occupation, and the marital status of the respondent was associated with the sex typing

Table 10

## Sample Characteristics: Marital Status

Occupation	Marital Status					
	single		other		married	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
social work	20	23	3	16	27	40
newspaper reporting	24	28	10	53	13	19
modelling	19	22	5	26	18	27
military careeer	24	28	1	5	10	15
totals	87	101	19	100	68	101

gamma = - .13 , not statistically significant

(When the two traditionally male occupations are combined and the two traditionally female occupations are combined,  $\chi^2 = 7.89$ ; D.F. = 2; significance level = .02.)

Table 11

Sample Characteristics: Sex Typing of Occupation, Marital Status, Age

Sex Typing of Job	Marital Status of those 25 or less			
	not married		married	
	N	%	N	%
traditionally female	20	47	6	46
traditionally male	23	53	7	54
totals	43	100	13	100

lambda = .08 with occupation dependent  
 $x^2 = 0.00$ ; D.F. = 1; not statistically significant

Sex Typing of Job	Marital Status of those between 26 and 35			
	not married		married	
	N	%	N	%
traditionally female	15	39	19	63
traditionally male	23	61	11	37
totals	38	100	30	100

lambda = .29 with occupation dependent  
 $x^2 = 3.8$ ; D.F. = 1; significance level = .05

Sex Typing of Job	Marital Status of those 36 or over			
	not married		married	
	N	%	N	%
traditionally female	12	48	20	80
traditionally male	13	52	5	20
totals	25	100	25	100

lambda = .22 with occupation dependent  
 $x^2 = 5.6$ ; D.F. = 1, significance level = .05



of the occupation.

### Conclusions

- This chapter has dealt with some of the methodological issues encountered in a study which seeks to investigate empirically: the similarities or differences between commitment to work and work as a source of self-identity among working women and; the relationship between various factors including childhood experiences, previous work experiences, and current work and non-work involvements, and both commitment to work and the importance of work as a source for self-identity. Personal interviewing was chosen as the technique for collecting the data. While acknowledging the possible disadvantages of this methodology, the particular use of language which it permits suggests its utility.

The sample itself was chosen to enable a test of the differential effects of occupational prestige and the traditional sex-characterization of the occupation. Because the sample was selected to allow an analysis of the effects of these two aspects of the work role, the sample as a whole over-represents women in high prestige (and traditionally male) occupations. Nevertheless, there is some indication that the respondents from each of the four occupational groups reveal at least some characteristics found among samples from these occupational groups which have been studied by other researchers. For example, these social workers revealed a concern with humanistic orientations, confirming Scott (1969), Feldman (1971) and Greenwood's (1966) discussions of this characteristic

of social workers. The models and privates and corporals tended to be relatively young, as suggested by Thomas (1976) and Faulkner (1974). The absence of a more definitive assessment of the representativeness of this sample means, of course, that generalization to other groups of working women should be made with caution.

Having elaborated on the technique chosen to collect the sample and the final sample which was obtained, the next chapter presents the operationalization of the concepts which were discussed in the first and second chapters.

## CHAPTER 4 - OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE CONCEPTS

This chapter presents the operationalization of the concepts discussed earlier and, as such, focuses on the transition from the theoretical-conceptual level to the empirical-observational level. Although the problem is the utilization of measures which are satisfactory indicators of the concepts, a perfect congruence between the conceptual and operational definitions is often not possible. Such congruence is also not necessary provided the operationalization permits theorizing about the relations between the concepts (Nachimias and Nachimias, 1976:17-20; Selltiz et al., 1976:70-73). In other words, the inability of an indicator to totally measure a concept is not crucial if that which is measured reflects the differences or similarities between the groups being studied.

The indicators used in this study, then, are to be interpreted as (partial) representations of the concepts. They are not, however, to be interpreted as replacements of the various concepts.

In an attempt to assure the measurement of the differences and similarities between the groups being studied, multiple indicators are frequently employed. The decision to adopt this strategy is based on the argument that each single operationalization reveals a different aspect of what is being studied. Therefore, the more indicators used the greater the likelihood of adequately capturing the reality that is being studied. From this perspective, each single indicator can be



viewed as a unique representation of one aspect of a larger concept and a co-representation with other indicators of that concept (Curtis and Jackson, 1962; Hirschi and Selvin, 1967:201-215).

As Curtis and Jackson (1962) have noted, this strategy is recommended whenever:

... the researcher has definite theoretical concepts which he wishes to relate, but for which he is unable to obtain or defend single, unambiguous, direct, operational definitions.

In addition, it can be used to scale various items into one measure of a concept and so reduce the random error in the score assigned to each individual. It was this type of reasoning that led to the use of multiple indicators for many of the concepts being employed in this study.

This chapter begins with a discussion of the indicators chosen to measure the two dependent variables: commitment to work and the importance of work for self-identity. The discussion then proceeds to the concepts being viewed as the independent variables: childhood socialization; job history or former involvements in work roles; current involvements in non-work roles; current time and energy constraints; and current involvement in the work role. Different aspects of these concepts which emerged from the review of the literature (such as occupational prestige and the sex characterization of the occupation as two different aspects of current work role involvement), are described as different variables subsumed under the larger concept and their separate indicators presented.

### Commitment to Work and the Importance of Work for Self-Identity

Commitment to work was defined as role-specific behaviour referring to patterns of activity and not to either general behaviour across roles or to the effect of involvement in this role on the total self or on the role-specific sub-identity. As such, commitment to work refers to behavioural activity within the work role and in particular to a continuance of that activity or of involvement within that role. The selection of indicators for this concept therefore included those referring to work activity but excluded those referring to the effect on total self or on work role sub-identity.

Among the numerous indicators in the literature which refer to activity, two different types were chosen. The first type referred to general commitment, that is, questions asking generally about work behaviour. The second referred to work behaviour in specific situations. These two types of indicators were distinguished because of existing research suggesting the latter type is more related to actual behaviour than the former type. Crespi (1971) analyzed voting, movie attendance, and food buying data. He found that expressed attitudes correlated more highly with and were more predictive of actual behaviour when "specific dimensions of attitudes with respect to a specific point in time" were measured. In similar vein, Schuman (1972) did secondary analysis on data pertaining to racial discrimination and reported on the need to write and ask questions which "reflect the genuine dilemmas in life between competing forces manifested or expressed in value terms". In other words, the more specific the question and the closer its

resemblance to real-life situations, the more likely the answers obtained will be predictive of actual behaviour in the future. Both types of measures were retained for a comparative analysis, but the specific commitment measures are considered more valid.

Three general questions were combined in a summated scale and labelled the 'general commitment' indicator. This scale refers to the first type of indicator noted above and was constructed from the three following questions:

- 1.) Do you expect to be working five years from now? (Probe for reasons.) If yes, in what type of job? With this organization (agency)?
- 2.) Do you intend to work until old age, or have a life-long career? (Probe for reasons.) If yes, in what type of job? With this organization (agency)?
- 3.) If by some chance you inherited enough money to live comfortably without working, do you think you would work anyway or not? (Probe for reasons. If not, note involvements in voluntary organizations, other activities, etc.) (Adapted from Morse and Weiss, 1955.)

Specifically, it consisted of the following answers to the above questions:

- 1.) I don't know if I will be working five years from now or I do not plan on working five years from now.
- 2.) I don't know if I will have a life-long career or I do not plan on having a life-long career.
- 3.) I don't know if I would work if I inherited enough money not to work or I do not plan on working if I inherited enough money not to work.

A respondent received a score of one (1) each time she answered one of the above questions with 'don't know' or 'no, do not plan on working'. Her total score was then summated so that a score of one on the scale indicated a 'negative' answer for one of the three questions, a score



of two (2) indicated a 'negative' answer for two of the three questions, and a score of three (3) indicated a 'negative' answer for all three of the questions. (Cronbach's alpha = .63)<sup>21</sup>. The categories were then recoded such that a higher score referred to higher commitment to work and a lower score referred to a lower commitment to work.

Table 12, page 122 shows the frequency distribution for this general commitment scale. Approximately half (89 or 51%) of the respondents revealed a high commitment to work (they answered none of the three questions negatively). Approximately one third (57 or 33%) revealed a medium general commitment to work, they answered one of the three questions negatively. Twenty-four (14%) of the respondents answered two of the three questions negatively and four (2%) of the respondents answered all three of the questions negatively. These two categories were combined and labelled low general commitment to work.

Because less than 30% of the respondents revealed a low commitment to work, the subsequent analysis was conducted using this measure as both a three and two category variable. The latter distinguished

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21.) Cronbach's alpha refers to the internal consistency reliability of the scale. It uses several different items which are assumed to indicate the same underlying construct. The items will correlate with one another to the degree that the items are independent measures of the same construct (Bornstedt, 1969; Cureton, 1966). In Cronbach's words, alpha estimates the proportion of test variance attributable to common factors among the items (Cronbach, 1951). Bornstedt provides the following formula:

$$\alpha = \frac{k}{k-1} \left[ 1 - \frac{a}{a+2b} \right]$$

where k = the number of items

a = the sum of the elements in the diagonal of the covariance matrix

b = the sum of the off-diagonal elements in the covariance matrix.

Table 12  
General Commitment to Work

Commitment	N	%
high	89	51
medium	57	33
low	28	16
totals	174	100

between those with a high general commitment and others. As later chapters reveal, the results were unchanged for each analysis.

The general commitment measure, then, represents the woman's intentions of working in the near future, the remote future, and under a hypothetical situation which has little probability of occurring (inheriting large sums of money). None of the questions refer to specific situations which entail any potential conflict. This measure can be said to document the woman's future plans for remaining within the role.

The second measure of commitment combined three situationally-specific questions into a summated scale. It was labelled the 'specific commitment' indicator and was constructed from the following three questions:

- 1.) Did (are) you plan(ning) on working after you (have) had children? Note the reasons.
- 2.) Would you give up your present job if your husband were offered a promotion but had to move to receive it? If yes, would it upset you?

3.) Do you (think you would) try to commit yourself equally to both your children and your work or more to one of them? If more to one, which one? Why? (Adapted from Berger, 1964; Rambusch, 1972; Diaz, 1972; Gordon, 1972.)

Specifically, it consisted of the following answers to the above questions:

- 1.) I don't know or I do not plan on working after having children.
- 2.) Yes, I would give up my present career for my husband's promotion.
- 3.) I (would) have a greater commitment to my children than to my work.

A respondent received a score of one each time she responded with one of the above answers. Her total score was then summated so that a score of one on the scale indicated a 'negative' answer for one of the three questions, a score of two indicated a negative answer for two of the three questions, and a score of three indicated a negative response for all three of the questions (Cronbach's alpha = .35). Again, the responses were recoded so a higher score referred to higher commitment to work.

Table 13, page 124, shows the frequency distribution for the specific commitment scale. Similar to the general commitment measure, approximately half of the respondents (86 or 49%) are found in one category. Unlike the general commitment measure, this category refers to those responding negatively to two of the three questions, to those with a medium commitment. Those responding negatively to none or to one of the questions were combined into a high commitment category because of the relatively small proportions within each (13 or 8% and 43 or 25% respectively). Only 32 (18%) responded negatively to all



Table 13  
Specific Commitment to Work

Commitment	N	%
high	56	33
medium	86	49
low	32	18
totals	174	100

three questions. They were classified as having low commitment to work.

Again, like the general measure, the specific commitment measure was used in subsequent analysis as both a three category and a two category variable. The two category distinction differentiated between those with high commitment and those with a medium or low commitment. As later chapters reveal, the results remain the same whether commitment is a three category or a two category variable.

This specific measure of commitment represents the woman's intentions of working when confronted with specific situations which potentially contain conflicting roles. Two of the questions refer to children and work while a third refers to the husband and work. Both the husband and the children represent the two major roles which the literature argues are the reasons for the woman's lower commitment to work and her temporary involvement in the work role, i.e., the marriage and family roles. This measure documents the woman's future plans for remaining in the labour force when confronted with specific, and

realistic situations.

Both measures of commitment, the general and the specific, refer to the woman's plans for continuing work. The choice of indicators referring to the woman's intentions to remain in the work role rather than those referring to specific behaviours within that role was influenced by an attempt to maintain comparability with the literature. As noted earlier, however, the specific measure is considered more valid as a predictor of future behaviour. The general measure is retained for a comparison. Imagine, for example, that the general measure reveals very different findings from the specific measure. Furthermore, the findings for the general measure support past findings consistent with the traditional arguments noted earlier. Suppose the findings for the specific measure suggest these arguments are inaccurate. Together, both sets of findings would vividly illustrate some of the reasons for current reports supporting the traditional arguments since the items used for the general measure are commonly employed in such findings. In addition, the use of both measures would permit greater confidence that different findings for the specific measure were not due to sampling idiosyncracies (if the findings for the general measure were consistent with past studies). If, on the other hand, both measures yield the same findings, greater support is yielded than if only one measure were utilized.

The relationship between marital status and these two measures serve as an example. Table 14, page 126, shows a significant relationship between marital status and general commitment to work. Working

Table 14

## Marital Status and Commitment to Work

A.) Marital Status and General Commitment							
General Commitment	Marital Status						
	single		other		married		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
high	40	56	12	63	37	45	
medium	26	36	6	32	25	30	
low	6	8	1	5	21	25	
totals	72	100	19	100	83	100	

gamma = .25, not statistically significant  
 $\chi^2 = 10.39$ ; D.F. = 4; significance level = .05

B.) Marital Status and Specific Commitment							
Specific Commitment	Marital Status						
	single		other		married		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
high	23	32	9	47	24	29	
medium	41	57	7	37	38	46	
low	8	11	3	16	21	25	
totals	72	100	19	100	83	100	

gamma = .16, not statistically significant  
 $\chi^2 = 7.59$ ; D.F. = 4; not statistically significant



women who are married are more likely to show a low general commitment to work than are women who are single, separated, divorced or widowed. Married women are the least likely to reveal a high general commitment to work. However, the relationship between marital status and specific commitment to work is considerably weaker and does not reach statistical significance. (It is interesting here to note that neither of the commitment measures is related to the presence of or number of children the women have, see Table 15a below and 15b, page 128.)

Table 15

## Number of Children and Commitment to Work

A.) Number of Children and General Commitment						
General Commitment	Number of Children					
	none		one		two or more	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	65	52	10	48	14	48
medium	38	31	10	48	9	31
low	21	17	1	5	6	21
<b>totals</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>100</b>

$\gamma = .04$ , not statistically significant

$\chi^2 = 3.85$ ; D.F. = 4; not statistically significant

	none		any	
	N	%	N	%
high	65	52	24	48
medium	38	31	19	38
low	21	17	7	14
<b>totals</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>

$\chi^2 = 1.15$ ; D.F. = 2; not statistically significant

B.) Number of Children and Specific Commitment						
Specific Commitment	Number of Children					
	none		one		two or more	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	38	31	10	48	8	28
medium	67	54	7	33	12	41
low	19	15	4	19	9	31
<b>totals</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>100</b>

$\gamma = .07$ , not statistically significant  
 $\chi^2 = 7.01$ ; D.F. = 4; not statistically significant

	none		any	
	N	%	N	%
high	38	31	18	36
medium	67	54	19	38
low	19	15	13	26
<b>totals</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>

$\chi^2 = 4.84$ ; D.F. = 2; not statistically significant

The other dependent variable, the importance of work for self, was defined as the effect of the work role on total self. Self was viewed through a Meadian perspective as the organization of a whole which gives unity to the individual. However, the very nature of Mead's concept of the self seems to assure the impossibility of measuring it in its totality. The 'I' phase, through which the novel is always appearing, is no longer the novel once we have had time to capture it in reflection, in words, on paper. We can however, capture those characteristics which are most persistent through language. It is these more persistent characteristics which the indicators will presumably tap. We turn now to a discussion of these indicators.

The totality of the self has frequently been measured using the TST (Kuhn,1960; Mulford and Salisbury,1964). This instrument was chosen for this study for numerous reasons, including a comparison with existing literature. The TST also avoids some of the problems encountered with tests like the Adjective Check List, Semantic Differential, MMPI, and Index of Adjustments and Values which are both closed-ended and measure value or personality traits. In contrast, the TST is an open-ended test which allows the respondent herself to choose and define her own personal constructs. In addition, past usage has indicated that the TST elicits a definition of self in terms of roles rather than psychological personality traits. This is perhaps its greatest advantage for the present research since it can be used as a measure of the proportion of total self which consists of an occupational (or other role) subidentity. It also documents the self as an integration of identities, allowing the researcher to say something about one identity in relation to another in the total make up of the self (Kuhn and McPartland,1954; 1972; Kuhn,1972; Spitzer et al.,1966; Spitzer et al., 1970<sup>22</sup>; Spitzer,1969; McPhail,1972; Couch,1972; Franklin and Kohout, 1971; Tucker,1967).

Since the TST is an open-ended instrument, content validity cannot be predetermined.<sup>23</sup> However, those initially developing the

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22.) The date given for Spitzer et al. (1970) has been estimated from their references because no date appears in the book.

23.) The appropriateness of test-retest reliability or of test equivalence is questionable. Test-retest reliability is not applicable to a Meadian concept of self which is continually undergoing change. Test equivalence of the TST with another test is difficult to assess until another test is devised which purportedly measures that which the TST measures (Spitzer et al,1970;60-71,113-114).



TST have argued that the responses elicited by the TST do cover the relevant domain. Kuhn and McPartland (1954) argued that the question "Who am I?" can logically be expected to elicit answers about one's identity, that the general nature of the question asked in reference to the person herself is an endeavor to seek general attitudes and avoid situated responses, and that the request for as many as twenty statements is a recognition of the complex and 'multifarious' nature of a person's statuses in society. Kuhn (1960) later derived five inclusive dimensions from the five general kinds of statuses which Linton (1945) argued were found in every society (age and sex, specialized occupation, family groups, association groups, and prestige rankings). He argued that, if a respondent is given a minimum of stimuli and responds using these dimensions, then it is likely the dimensions reported are significant to her. He found evidence of these dimensions on his TST protocols.

The criterion validity of the TST (checking test scores against some other measure of the respondent's performance, technically known as the criterion; usually scores on other personality tests, correlations with instruments and behaviour, and/or comparability of scores with known groups) can perhaps be best summarized by quoting from Spitzer et al.'s review of the relevant literature:

The quantity of validity information available on the TST is at least equal to or greater than that available on other instruments of the self-concept. In regard to the quality of the information, the magnitudes of the criterion validity coefficients compare favourably to those obtained through the use of other self-concept measures. ...  
However, in light of the many studies that have used

the TST, the total accumulation of validity evidence is rather sparse (1970:65).

One of the major problems with establishing its criterion validity has, of course, been its different conceptual basis from those of other self-concept measurements.<sup>24</sup>

Like all measures, the TST has its disadvantages. It elicits only those identities of which the respondent is aware and is willing to express. It does not capture those which may be subconscious or so firmly internalized as not to be verbalized or ones the respondent does not want to express (such as highly stigmatizing self statements). In addition, it ignores data on others' perceptions of the individual and on the individual's views of others' views of one-self (Spitzer, et al., 1970:113-120; Lindesmith and Strauss, 1968:115-143; Klapp, 1969:325).

Many of these shortcomings can be circumvented by the inclusion of other questions. It was therefore decided to retain the TST but to

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24.) In an attempt to more adequately test the criterion validity of using the TST as a measure of the importance of work for self, the literature was reviewed for variables which could serve as criterion variables and a pre-test conducted. Occupational prestige, amount of occupational socialization, and the personal cost involved in leaving an occupation were borrowed from the occupational literature and operationalized as occupation, education, length of time in the occupation, and marital status. The results of the analyses revealed a significant correlation between the percent of work statements on the TST and occupation and education but not between the TST and length of time in the occupation or marital status (35 or the 50 respondents were married). The inconsistent results revealed only partial support for the criterion validity of the TST. However, part of this problem may well stem from the lack of conceptual differentiation between commitment to work and the importance of work for self in the literature from which the criterion variables were derived and which was discussed in Chapter two of this thesis.



use it in conjunction with other questions asking the respondent about the effect of work on the self.

Table 16 below shows the percentage of work statements listed on the TST. Work statements included any reference made to work, job or occupation. They could include the occupational title (social worker, reporter, model, private or corporal), subtitle (supervisor, child care worker, columnist, editor, actress, commentator, clerk, typist), a description of the tasks involved in the job (I research any topic related to the medical profession, Much of my time is spent investigating cases of neglect, I find filing most boring), or a reference to another job (I am a nurse on weekends, I am a bartender for social functions on the Base).<sup>25</sup> Twenty-five (15%) women made no reference to work on the TST. Less than one third of the sample (47

Table 16

## Percent of Work Statements on the TST

Percent of Statements	N	%
0 (low)	25	15
1 to 10	47	27
11 to 20	71	41
21 to 50 (high)	31	18
totals	174	101

25.) Whether the percent of work statements includes or excludes those referring specifically to the occupation studied here, the results are the same. The correlation between the percent of work statements including those referring to other occupations and excluding them is .998.



or 27%) made reference to work in one to 10 percent of their statements. Seventy-one (41%) did so in 11 to 20 percent of their statements and 31 in 21 to 50 percent of their statements. No one mentioned work in more than half of their statements. The greater the proportion of statements listed which referred to work, the greater the importance of work for the person's self-identity.<sup>26</sup>

Because of the possible disadvantages of the TST as an open-ended instrument, respondents were also asked a closed-ended question about work and self-identity. The question asked:

Of the following phrases, pick the one which best describes you. (Give respondent card 2.) Now pick the one which describes you second best. And finally, pick the one which describes you the third best. (Adapted from Lopata, 1971:50-51.)

wife	working wife
mother	working mother
woman	working woman
friend	working friend
person	working person

Choosing a phrase prefaced by 'working' was interpreted as revealing a greater importance of work for self than choosing one without that adjective.

Table 17, page 134, shows that approximately two thirds of the respondents (120 or 69%) chose two or three phrases without the adjective 'working', suggesting a lesser importance of work for self.

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26.) The number of work statements listed on the TST and the percent of work statements show a correlation with one another of .58. Those who list many work statements also tend to list a high percentage of work statements. Furthermore, the analyses in later chapters remain the same whether the number or percent of work statements is used as an indicator of the importance of work for self.

Table 17  
Choosing a Descriptive Phrase

Phrase	N	%
none prefaced*	52	30
one prefaced	68	39
two prefaced	40	23
three prefaced	14	8
totals	174	100

\* by the adjective 'working'

Just under one third (54 or 31%) chose two or three phrases which included the adjective 'working', suggesting a greater importance of work for self-identity.

This closed-ended question was correlated with the percent of work statements listed on the TST (see Table 18, page 135). Those who tended to choose phrases with the adjective 'working' also tended to list a greater percentage of work statements on the TST (11% or more). Those who chose phrases not prefaced by the adjective 'working' tended to be those who listed a smaller percentage of work statements (10% or less) on the TST. ( $\Gamma = .49$ ;  $\chi^2 = 8.43$ , D.F. = 1; significance level = .003). These two questions were therefore combined into one indicator for the importance of work for self-identity. Table 19, page 135 reveals

Table 18

Percent of Work Statements on the TST and Choosing a Descriptive Phrase

TST	Phrase			
	Most not Prefaced		Most Prefaced	
	N	%	N	%
Many (11% or more) work statements	59	49	40	74
Few (10% or less) work statements	61	51	14	26
<b>totals</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100</b>

Gamma = .49, significance level = .05  
 $\chi^2 = 8.43$ ; D.F. = 1; significance level = .003

Table 19

Importance of Work for Self

Importance of Work	N	%
high importance for both measures	61	35
high importance for one measure, low importance for the other	73	42
low importance for both measures	40	23
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>



61 (35%) women answered both questions with a high importance of work, 73 (42%) answered one with a high importance of work and one with a low importance of work, and 40 (23%) answered both questions with a low importance of work. The responses were categorized high, medium and low respectively.

This importance of work indicator, then, measures the importance of work for self through the mention of work statements as a proportion of the total self and the mention of work role when describing the self. The larger proportion of the total self which consists of the work subidentity and the greater the use of the work role when describing the total self, the greater the importance of work for self. The smaller the proportion of the total self which consists of the work subidentity and the less the use of the work role when describing the total self, the less the importance of work for self.

An additional comment on the selection of indicators for this concept is in order before leaving this discussion. It was suggested in the last chapter that there is some evidence to support the notion that indicators which portray realistic situations with their conflicting values are more predictive of actual behaviour than are ones which present an over-simplified picture of the situation. The question may then be raised whether or not the indicators for the importance of work for self are adequate. In addressing this question two points need to be raised. One refers to Mead's concept of the self. As Mead uses the term, self refers to the organization of the whole which gives unity to the totality. Two refers to whether or

not data are worth pursuing (are important, relevant, or interesting) if they are not predictive of non-verbal, overt behaviour.

Although numerous studies report little or no correspondence between verbal and non-verbal behaviour (Franklin and Kohout, 1973:254, 300-302), the very justification for studying the former is often to predict the latter. A lack of correspondence between the two found in research is therefore often attributed to: the nature of the research setting in which people are not held accountable for what they say and do which is unlike day-to-day interaction; and the over-simplified and unrealistic indicators used. However, it is being suggested here that overt, non-verbal behaviour is not the only area of study in sociology and that general attitudes are worthy of sociological pursuit even when they do not predict future behaviour if those general expressions are in fact utilized by people when viewing themselves. In other words, it is suggested here that understanding how people view themselves and express their general attitudes and interpret their worlds is in itself important. It is when these general attitudes are assumed to be or interpreted as predictive of overt behaviour without an adequate test of such a relationship that the data are open to criticism. (Fendrich, 1973).

The criticism elaborated in chapter two which led to the conceptual distinction between commitment to work and the importance of work for self can be viewed in this light. The question addressed here asks whether or not the two are related. In other words, is the general expression which people use to integrate their work experiences

into their concept of themselves related to work behaviour? There are of course additional questions related to this debate about general attitudes but which are not addressed in this study. For example, what mechanisms operate to lead some people to view themselves differently than other people view themselves? Are there general ways of viewing the totality of ourselves which are related to overt behaviour?

Data were also collected on the reasons why the women work and on the types of effects work has on the self. Intrinsic reasons are usually interpreted as a sign of the greater importance of the work role for the self and extrinsic reasons as a sign of the lesser importance of work for the self (Walker, 1961; Becker and Geer, 1972; Katz, 1973; Mackie, 1976). However, the conceptual difficulties of separating the relevance of intrinsic versus extrinsic reasons led to the decision to retain this indicator as a separate measure and investigate its relationship with the importance of work for self empirically. For example, if money is interpreted as success and success is important for an individual's level of satisfaction is money an intrinsic or an extrinsic reason for working? Similarly, the respondents were asked additional questions about their perceived effect of work on various subidentities (on their concepts of themselves, and of themselves as wives, mothers, women, friends, and people). These data were not used in the analyses proper but are elaborated here to more completely describe the sample. Their relationships with occupational prestige and the traditional sex of the occupation are mentioned briefly.



The next chapter explores their relationships with importance of work.

Respondents were asked open-ended questions about their reasons for working in general, at their particular jobs, for the particular employing organization, for their expectations of working five years from now (if applicable), and for their expectations of having a life-long career (if applicable) as well as the advantages of working in general. If a person listed intrinsic reasons (for satisfaction, for a feeling of identity, for a feeling of being worthwhile) in answer to more questions than she did extrinsic reasons (for the financial return, to pay off a house), her reasons were categorized as intrinsic. If she listed extrinsic reasons in answer to as many questions as she did intrinsic reasons, her reasons were categorized as equally intrinsic and extrinsic. If she listed extrinsic reasons in answer to more questions than she did intrinsic reasons her reasons were categorized as extrinsic.<sup>27</sup>

Table 20, page 140, shows that approximately half (83 or 48%) of the women listed intrinsic reasons in response to more questions than they did extrinsic reasons. Only 24 (14%) women listed both types of answers in reply to the same number of questions. Sixty-seven (39%) listed extrinsic reasons in response to more questions than they did intrinsic reasons.

The questions asking the women about the type of effect their

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27.) Replies were counted for each question as: extrinsic only, intrinsic only or both extrinsic and intrinsic. In other words, if a respondent listed three intrinsic and one extrinsic reason(s) in reply to one of the questions, she listed both extrinsic and intrinsic reasons. Similarly, if she listed one intrinsic and one extrinsic reason, she listed both types.

Table 20  
Reasons for Working

Reasons	N	%
more intrinsic	83	48
equally intrinsic and extrinsic	24	14
more extrinsic	67	39
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>101</b>

work has had were similarly separated from the importance of work for self measure. The latter measure documented the perceived importance whereas the former measures sought information on the type (negative or positive) of effect which was perceived. The type of effect measures were then analyzed in terms of their relationships with the overall importance measure (see the following chapter).

The following questions asked the women about the type of effect on self, if any:

1.) Do you think your approach to the world, or your outlook on life would change if you were not working? (Note the reasons and if yes, how.) (Derived from Stuart,1972.)

2.) How has working affected your concept of or your view of yourself as a;

wife \_\_\_\_\_

mother \_\_\_\_\_

woman \_\_\_\_\_

friend \_\_\_\_\_

person \_\_\_\_\_

(Derived from Stuart,1972.)

The responses were categorized as positive (I am more understanding, My marriage is better, I am more interesting, wiser, have my own identity), neutral (no effect, the same), or negative (I am tired, short-tempered, less tolerant, I feel guilty, I have decreased feelings of self-confidence).

Table 21, pages 142 and 143, reveals that at least half of the respondents expressed positive effects of work for all six questions, ranging from 53% who said it had a positive effect on their concept of themselves as friends to 83% who said that it had a positive effect on their concept of themselves as persons. Approximately the same proportion of respondents perceived positive effects on the total self, concept of wife, concept of mother, and concept of friend (59%, 57%, 58%, and 53% respectively). A greater proportion perceived positive effects on the woman and person concepts (76% and 83% respectively). The large percentage of women who claimed work had a positive effect on their concept of themselves as women together with the fact that no one noted negative effects on this concept suggests that involvement in the work role is not perceived as contradictory to or inconsistent with involvement in the sex role (of being woman).

Perceptions of negative effects range from none on the woman



Table 21  
Effects of Work

A.) Effects on Total Self*	N	%
positive	100	59
neutral	45	27
negative	24	14
(no answer, don't know)	(5)	
<b>totals</b>	<b>169</b>	<b>100</b>

  

B.) Effects on Wife Concept	N	%
positive	45	57
neutral	25	32
negative	9	11
(no answer, don't know) (not applicable)	(95)	
<b>totals</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>100</b>

  

C.) Effects on Mother Concept	N	%
positive	29	58
neutral	9	18
negative	12	24
(no answer, don't know) (not applicable)	(124)	
<b>totals</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>

continued....

D.) Effects on Woman Concept	N	%
positive	133	76
neutral	41	24
negative	0	0
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>

E.) Effects on Friend Concept	N	%
positive	92	53
neutral	47	27
negative	35	20
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>

F.) Effects on Person Concept	N	%
positive	145	83
neutral	23	13
negative	6	3
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>99</b>

\* Refers to question one (1) noted on page 140.

concept to 24% who claim work has negatively effected their view of themselves as a mother. Despite the fact that only 50 respondents answered this question, it suggests that the mother role may still be perceived as contradictory to or inconsistent with the work role for a significant minority of working mothers.

Perceptions of the work role having no effect range from 13% who claim it has no effect on their concept of themselves as persons to 32% who claim that it has no effect on their concept of themselves as wives. In other words, these data suggest that a substantial minority of working wives separate their marriage (and in particular wife) roles from those of their work.

These data tend not to support some of the common assumptions about working women. They suggest that work and sex roles are not only not inconsistent but indeed that involvement in the work role leads to positive effects on self-conceptions as a woman. This is contrary to the inconsistency between these two roles suggested by Kimball (1975) and Komarovsky (1946). The data further suggest that the work and wife roles are not inconsistent as Turner (1970) for example argues. The two however may be relatively separate or distinct from one another for a large minority of working wives. Mackie (1976) however reports more positive effects among her sample of working women in Calgary. Eighty-six percent of those women reported feeling their work made them more interesting companions to their husbands. Fourteen percent thought their husbands felt neglected. Finally, the work and mother roles appear to be incompatible in the minds of at least a large minority



of working mothers. Again, a larger proportion of Mackie's (1976) Calgary sample reported positive effects than was true of this Toronto sample. Sixty-eight percent of the working mothers in her sample felt working made them better mothers.<sup>28</sup>

To summarize this section, two measures of commitment to work were used, both summated scales. One measure of the importance of work for self was used, a combination of an open-ended and a closed-ended question. This measure documented information about the effect but not the type of effect work was perceived to have had. Additional information on the women's reasons for working and the type of effect work had had on their self-identities and different role sub-identities were employed. This latter information is not used in the later analyses but is reported here for additional information about the sample. In the next chapter this information is correlated with the importance of work measure to provide a better understanding of what that measure is tapping.

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28.) Reasons for working was not related to either occupational prestige or the traditional sex characterization of the occupation (gammas =  $-.07$  and  $-.01$  respectively). The perceived effects of work on self, wife, mother, woman, friend or person concept were unrelated to the traditional sex characterization of the occupation (gammas =  $-.04$ ;  $.03$ ;  $.09$ ;  $-.08$ ;  $.14$ ; and  $.24$  respectively). The perceived effects of work on wife, mother and woman concepts were unrelated to occupational prestige (gammas =  $-.27$ ;  $.01$ ; and  $.07$  respectively). The perceived effects of work on self, friend and person concepts were related to occupational prestige (gammas =  $.32$ ;  $.34$ ; and  $-.53$  respectively). Women in the lower prestige occupations were more likely to report positive effects on their self and friend concepts. Women in the higher prestige occupations were more likely to report negative or neutral effects on their self and friend concepts. On the other hand, women in the lower prestige occupations were more likely to report negative or no effects on their concepts of themselves as persons while those in the higher prestige occupations were more likely to report positive effects on their concepts of themselves as persons.

### The Twenty Statements Test

The last section discussed the percent of work statements listed on the TST as an indication of the respondent's work subidentity. The non-work statements can be analyzed in a similar way for information about the respondents' other subidentities. The data referring to non-work statements is not used in the later analyses but is provided here for the reader's information.

Table 22, page 147, shows the average number and percent of statements referring to all of the sub-classifications. These data are presented for each occupational group. Few references were made referring to physical characteristics by any of the occupational groups. Of particular interest is the fact that models not only made few such statements but made fewer than any of the other groups. This could indicate that the emphasis on physical characteristics in their occupation has become taken-for-granted and therefore not explicitly stated in answer to an open-ended question. On the other hand, it is also possible that physical characteristics are not overly important to them. This latter interpretation is more credible when it is realized that 'objective' physical traits have a decreased importance in modelling. This is so for two reasons. First, as noted in the section on sample characteristics, models in Toronto must have versatility of style because of the scarcity of type-jobs. The 'plain face' which can be made to suit several styles is more likely to have greater success in this particular city than one with distinctive features. This points to the over-riding importance of learning the

Table 22  
The Twenty Statements Test

TST	Sw		Reporters		Models		Military	
	N*	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Physical characteristics (including age references)	.2	1.9	.4	4.0	.1	.8	.2	1.5
Sex (woman, lover, female)	.4	3.8	.6	6.4	.5	3.9	.4	4.1
Wife, mother	.9	7.8	.6	5.5	.5	3.9	.4	3.6
General family (includes family of orientation)	.5	4.7	.5	5.2	.3	2.8	.2	1.9
Organizations, institutions	.4	3.6	.4	4.1	.3	2.6	.5	4.3
Friendship, community	1.0	9.3	1.0	10.3	1.1	8.8	1.3	12.3
Idiosyncratic	4.3	39.6	4.1	41.3	6.5	54.3	4.5	41.2
Consensual	1.1	10.0	.7	7.2	1.0	8.5	.7	6.6
Total non-work references	8.9	80.8	8.4	83.9	10.3	85.7	8.2	75.3
Work title, subtitle	.5	4.5	.7	6.9	.6	4.9	1.0	9.0
General work reference (no specific job mentioned)	1.5	13.5	.8	7.7	.8	6.6	1.7	15.2
Reference to other job	.1	1.3	.2	1.5	.3	2.8	.1	.6
Total work references	2.1	19.2	1.6	16.1	1.7	14.3	2.7	24.8
Total statements	11.0		10.0		12.0		10.8	

\*Average number of statements



know-how of posture or body movements, make-up and fashion rather than the physical traits themselves. This relates to the second reason, the importance of the resultant 'look' and the part played by the camera in this. The fact that the camera 'puts on 20 pounds' emphasizes that the women must actually be other than what appears in the photograph in order for the final picture to portray the desired product. Similarly, the use of make-up is oriented to this end product.

Although respondents in all four occupational groups listed more idiosyncratic statements (I am happy, I am sad, I am egotistical) than other types of statements, models listed more such statements than did incumbents of the other groups. Models also made more references to jobs other than modelling. The idiosyncratic statements support the claims of the respondents themselves. They say occupational incumbents tend to be egotistical. They further suggest the lack of institutional involvements of models which is not surprising considering the nature of their work. They work for numerous clients, doing different jobs in different locations, at different times and involving different themes. Their references to other jobs is consistent with the fact that they were more likely to have another job than were the individuals in any of the other occupational groups.

Newspaper women listed statements referring to physical characteristics the most. Similarly they listed the most sex-identity statements (I am a woman, I am female). Whether or not these women are more aware of their sex-identity because they are in a male-dominated occupation is unknown. However, this possibility is supported by the

fact that military women also listed more such statements than did either of the two traditionally female groups. It can be suggested that interaction with the opposite sex probably contributes more to an awareness of one's sex-identity than does an outward emphasis on sexual characteristics (such as in modelling) but where most of the interaction is actually with other females. The newspaper women's particular note of physical characteristics may also be influenced by the media. They work within an institution which perpetuates the ascribed characteristics of women (LaLonde, 1975).

Statements referring to friendship and community (Friends are important to me, I am a member of a larger group) were listed more frequently by military women than by others. The privates and corporals also listed work statements more frequently than the other groups. This is consistent with the idea of the Armed Forces representing a near total institution and the esprit de corps of their incumbents which was noted previously. It should be noted that the references to work included both those made about the particular job and about the Forces. The latter statements were made more frequently than were the former.

Social workers reveal their traditional roles with references to being wives and mothers as well as their frequent mention of general family references (this category includes statements made about the family of orientation). The nature of their jobs could well reinforce these traditional roles since they are involved with child neglect which includes both the mother and the families.

Grouping the occupations according to occupational prestige and then the traditional sex-characterization of the occupation reveals some interesting findings. High prestige occupations tend to list more wife and mother and general family references, suggesting the more traditional female role. However, the occupations show more similarity when grouped according to sex-characterization. Traditionally female occupations list more consensual references. Traditionally male occupations list more statements referring to sex-identity, to organization and institutional involvement (I am a member of the Press Club, I enjoy the tennis club. References to religion were included here.), to friendship and community, and to the work title or subtitle. These data suggest the traditional sex-typing of the job has significance for involvement in non-family or non-home centered roles. This could be indicative of the tendency for such occupations to introduce the woman to the world outside of the traditional female role. This is consistent with Lopata's findings (1971:47-51). She found her sample of housewives and working women usually neglected to mention participation in the society outside the home. If they were mentioned at all, a low rank of importance was assigned to them. Working women in her sample mentioned them even less than did the housewives.

Before leaving this section it should be noted that work statements were listed the most often, second only to the idiosyncratic statements. This was true for all four of the occupational groups.

The next section now returns to the indicators to be used in the later analyses.



## Early Socialization

This study focuses on an empirical investigation of the relative importance of the work role in comparison to other role involvements. As such, it is necessary to collect information on other, non-work involvements. Doing so permits both a test of the Meadian hypothesis that past experiences will be less important for current self-identity than will current experiences and a test of opposing theories arguing for the greater importance of childhood socialization for adult self-identities.

The selection of indicators to measure experiences during childhood socialization was based partially on the Meadian assumption that if the past has an effect on the present, it will be found in the more objective or factual data and not in their subjective interpretation. Consequently only a few of the items tap the latter dimension. Those which are included provide a safeguard in the event that Mead's dictum was wrong, a test for opposing arguments, and an opportunity to explore the possibility of a relationship between the factual and interpretive data.<sup>29</sup>

The literature (see chapter two) pointed to different aspects

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29.) Since most of the questions on the interview schedule were open-ended, categories for analyses were constructed after the data were collected. One of the advantages of interviewing is its facilitation in the construction of analytical categories representing distinctions which are meaningful in terms of the people themselves. Schutz refers to this as the postulate of adequacy and states it as one of the two conditions of scientific investigation (Schutz, 1971:5, 36-38, 59-66; Stonier and Bode, 1937; Zijderveld, 1972).

or sub-concepts of early socialization which may be particularly important for one's adult self-identity. These different aspects can be summarized as: early cultural influences; differential access to opportunity; and the expectations of others (Parnes, et al.,1970; Spitz, 1970; White,1967).

Early cultural influence was measured by: age, ethnicity, nationality, type and size of childhood residence and the mother's work history during the respondent's childhood years. Age, of course, suggests not only the length of one's life span but also the time in society's history when the person went through her childhood experiences. Societal expectations of women were quite different during the 1920's and 1930's from the 1950's and 1960's, as the rising participation rates of women in the labour force reflect. (See Table 4, page 96, for the age distribution of this sample.)

Size of childhood residence suggests Gouldner's cosmopolitan-local dimension (1957a; 1957b). Those raised in large metropolitan cities live in a different social environment with different alternatives than those from smaller places. Table 23,page 153 reveals under half of the sample (68 or 41%) lived in cities with a population of 50,000 or less during their childhood. One quarter of the sample (42 or 25%) lived in cities with a population greater than 50,000 but no more than one million. Fifty-six (34%) lived in cities of more than one million.

Ethnicity, birth place, and place of childhood residence identified Canadian versus non-Canadian affiliation. These three items were summated

Table 23

## Size of Childhood Residence

Size of Childhood Residence	N	%
less than or equal to 50,000	68	41
greater than 50,000 but no more than one million	42	25
greater than one million	56	34
not applicable (moved all over)	(8)	
<b>totals</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>100</b>

into a scale (Cronbach's alpha = .72). A respondent received a score of zero (0) if she was born outside of Canada, did not claim Canadian identification when asked about her ethnicity, and was raised outside of Canada during her childhood. She received a score of one (1) if she responded with Canada (or Canadian) for one of the three questions, a score of two (2) if she responded with Canada (or Canadian) for two of the three questions, and a score of three (3) if she responded with Canada (or Canadian) for all three questions. The higher the score, therefore, the greater the Canadian affiliation and the lower the score the less the Canadian affiliation.

Although country of birth and childhood residence speak to early cultural influences, they have also been found to be related to occupational prestige. Porter (1965) reported that well-trained migrants tended



to enter and occupy positions of high prestige in the labour force and that Canadians tended not to become trained for these positions and not to enter them.

Table 24, page 155, shows the frequency distribution for this Canadian affiliation scale. Over half of the respondents (97 or 56%) revealed a score of zero (0) on this scale. If Porter's findings are applicable to this sample, the high non-Canadian affiliation may be due to the relatively large proportion of women in high prestige occupations. It will be recalled that the sample was specifically drawn so that half of the women were working in relatively high prestige occupations.

The final indicators of early cultural influences referred to the mother's work history. Veevers (1973), White (1967) and Trigg and Perlman (1975) all commented on the possible relevance of the mother for providing a role model for her daughter and for establishing attitudes which would permit involvement in the work role in conjunction with involvement in the marriage and family roles. Haug (1973) has suggested that the earnings from the mother's occupation may well effect the availability of alternatives for the children in the family (for example they may help put the child through college). Ritter and Hargens (1975) argue this same point. Respondents were therefore asked whether or not their mothers worked when they were at home, what occupation they worked in and their involvement in the labour force (part-time or full-time). (See Tables 25 and 26, pages 155,156.)

More than half (96 or 55%) of the women studied report mothers who did not work when they were younger. Only 23 (13%) report having

Table 24

## Canadian Affiliation

Canadian Affiliation	N	%
none (0)	97	56
low (1)	32	18
medium (2)	27	16
high (3)	18	10
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 25

## Mother's Work History

Mother's Work History	N	%
Did not work	96	55
Worked intermittently	23	13
Worked all along	55	32
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 26  
 Mother's Occupation\*

Mother's Occupation	N	%	Adjusted %
professions (self-employed or employed)	9	5	12
high level management, low level management (including technicians and semi-professionals)	24	14	32
supervisors, skilled clerical-sales-service and skilled crafts and trades	11	6	15
farmers, semi-skilled clerical-sales-service, semi-skilled crafts and trades, unskilled clerical-sales-service, and unskilled crafts and trades	30	17	41
not applicable, no answer	100	58	
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

\* Mother's occupation refers to her major occupation while working.

mothers who worked intermittently (part-time, temporary, or full-time for only some of the respondent's childhood years). Almost a third report having mothers who worked full-time during all of their childhood (55 or 32%). Of the mothers who did work in the labour force, 25 (44%) were professionals, semi-professionals, technicians or managers (either high or low level). Forty-one (56%) worked in occupations classified in one of the other Pineo et al. (1977) groupings. The first two and the last two groupings shown in Table 26 above were combined for the later analysis because of the small sample size and subsequent frequency distribution. The occupation of the mother could conceptually



refer to differential access to opportunity of course, the other indicators of which are now discussed.

Differential access to opportunity was measured by: father's occupation, respondent's education, and placement among children in the family of orientation. The relationship between father's occupation and respondent's education, and occupational attainment has been well documented (Blau and Duncan, 1967). For the purposes of this study, father's occupation was categorized using the Pineo et al. (1977) socioeconomic classification of occupations. This particular classification corresponds to census categories but contains groupings which are more homogeneous indicators of social standing than are the Census Major Groups. The small sample size used here necessitated collapsing some of their categories. However, ordinality was maintained. Table 27, page 158, reveals approximately one fifth (35 or 21%) of the respondents classed their fathers' occupations within the highest grouping (professionals) and a similar proportion classified them within the lowest grouping (farmers, semi-skilled, and unskilled).

Both the amount of formal education received and the type of education received was recorded. Approximately half of the sample had received military trades training, business or community college training, and half received at least some university education (see Table 28, page 158). Almost three-quarters (127 or 73%) however, received education which was specifically related to their current occupational involvements (social workers received training in social work, newspaper reporters received training in journalism, models received

Table 27

## Father's Occupation\*

Father's Occupation	N	%
professionals (self-employed or employed)	35	21
high level management, low level management (including technicians and semi-professionals)	51	30
supervisors, skilled clerical-sales-service and skilled crafts and trades	47	28
farmers, semi-skilled clerical-sales-service, semi-skilled crafts and trades, unskilled clerical-sales-service, and unskilled crafts and trades	35	21
(not applicable, retired, father absent)	(6)	
<b>totals</b>	<b>168</b>	<b>100</b>

\* Father's occupation refers to his major occupation while working.

Table 28

## Formal Education

Formal Education	N	%
no more than high school	8	5
military trades training, business or community college	83	48
at least some university education	83	48
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>101</b>

Table 29  
Type of Formal Education

Type of Formal Education	N	%
specific to current occupation plus other	63	36
specific to current occupation only	64	37
related to current occupation	29	17
unrelated to current occupation	18	10
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>

training in modelling and the privates and corporals received military trades training). Another 29 (17%) received training which was related to their current occupational involvements (social workers received training in psychology, newspaper reporters held degrees in English, and models took acting or drama lessons). Only 18 (10%) took no training specific to or related to their current occupations (see Table 29 above).

The final indicator for differential access to opportunity referred to the structure of the children in the family of orientation. Blau and Duncan (1967:295-330) report that, despite the mediating influence of education, placement among sibs was related to later life occupational attainment. Specifically, being either the first born or the last born (especially the last born in large families), increased the chances for higher occupational attainment in adulthood. The order and sex of siblings was also reported as important. Older brothers



often had the disadvantage of having to sacrifice for younger ones. Although their data were collected on men, it can be suggested that the family structure may also be influential for women. For example, it might be argued that the absence of male siblings enhances a woman's chances for higher education and possibly occupational attainment since there are no brothers competing with family resources. Table 30, page 161 shows the frequency distribution for the placement among children and the sex composition of children in the family of orientation. The largest proportion of respondents (40%) were middle children in their families and came from families in which there were more female than male children (47%).

The expectations of others was measured by asking respondents their own work plans when they were little and then their parents' reactions to these plans. Approximately half (86 or 49%) of these women remember planning to work permanently when they were little. More than three-quarters (127 or 82%) remember parents' attitudes towards their working as favourable although most of these women report acceptance of their decisions to work rather than extremely positive attitudes from their parents admonishing them to work. The frequency distributions for these two variables are reported in Table 31 on page 162.

To summarize, childhood socialization was operationalized by differentiating between those experiences referring to cultural influences, those referring to differential access to opportunity, and those referring to the expectations of others. Cultural influences were measured using: age, size of childhood residence, a Canadian affiliation scale,

Table 30  
Children in Family of Orientation

A.) Placement among Children	N	%
only child	26	15
oldest child	47	27
middle child	69	40
youngest child	32	18
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>

B.) Sex of Children in the Family	N	%
only child	26	15
more female children	81	47
same number of both male and female children	39	22
more male children	28	16
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 31

## Work Plans when Little

A.) Work Plans when Little	N	%
yes, planned on working permanently	86	49
yes, but planned on working temporarily or do not remember for how long	62	36
do not remember planning to work	26	15
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>

B.) Parents' Reactions to Working	N	%
very positive, thought I should work	34	22
positive, acceptance	93	60
no reaction, up to me	13	8
qualified acceptance, disapproval, mixed reactions	16	10
(no answer, do not remember)	(18)	
<b>totals</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>100</b>



and information on the mother's work experience while the respondent was at home. Differential access to opportunity was measured using: father's occupation, respondent's educational level, and the placement of the respondent among the children in the family of orientation. Expectations of others was measured by asking about plans for working when the respondent was little and then the parents' reactions to these plans (or to working).

#### Past Work Experiences

Chapter two discussed the contradictory arguments about the relevance of past work experiences for working women's self-identity and commitment to work. Women's part-time and temporary involvement in the labour force was used by some as the reason for women's decreased commitment to work and lesser importance of work for self. On the other hand, Marchak (1973) has suggested that women's participation in the labour force is more than part-time or temporary. Becker suggests that the longer the exposure within the labour force, the greater the likelihood that investments and sidebets will increase commitment. Items referring to past work experiences therefore included both the length of involvement in the labour force and the intermittency or continuity of this involvement.

Five items referred to the number of and reasons for work interruptions and formed a Guttman scale. This scale was labelled the 'intermittent career' scale and consisted of the following items:

1.) The respondent returned to the labour force, after having left, for reasons other than financial return (for activity, fulfillment, etc.)

- 2.) The respondent left the labour force for traditional reasons (i.e., for marriage, pregnancy and/or childraising).
- 3.) The respondent's longest work interruption was for more than three years.
- 4.) The respondent experienced at least three work interruptions since she started working.
- 5.) When the respondent left the labour force, she did not intend on returning (any time that she left if she left more than once).

Those receiving a higher score on this scale experienced more intermittent careers than did those receiving a lower score. (Coefficient of reproducibility = .91; coefficient of scalability = .61).<sup>30</sup> (See Table 32 page 165.)

Those scoring three, four, or five were combined into one category because of the small number of respondents. Twenty-four (14%) then received a high score for the intermittent career scale. Approximately half of the respondents (93 or 53%) received a score of zero (low) on this scale. Because so many of the respondents received a score of zero on this scale, the number of work interruptions were retained as a single indicator which could be used in the analyses to replace this scale. The frequency distribution for the number of interruptions is shown in

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30.) The coefficient of reproducibility measures the extent to which a respondent's scale score is a predictor of her response pattern. It is the proportion of responses which actually fall into the pattern and is computed by dividing the number of errors by the total number of responses. Guttman uses the criterion of .90 as an acceptable coefficient of reproducibility while Fishbein and Ajzen consider any coefficient of reproducibility which is .85 or larger to be acceptable. The coefficient of scalability is computed by dividing the difference between the coefficient of reproducibility and the minimum marginal reproducibility by the difference between one and the minimum marginal reproducibility. A coefficient equal to or greater than .60 is considered acceptable (Guttman, 1947; Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975:65-68; Riley, 1963:469-478; Selltiz et al., 1976:423-427).

Table 32

## Intermittent Career Scale

Scale Score	left without intending to return	3 or more interruptions	left for 3 or more years	left for trad. reasons	returned for non-financial reasons
5	+	+	+	+	+
4	-	+	+	+	+
3	-	-	+	+	+
2	-	-	-	+	+
1	-	-	-	-	+
0	-	-	-	-	-

Coefficient of reproducibility = .91

Coefficient of scalability = .61

B.) Intermittent Career Scale Frequencies	N	%
3,4,5 (high intermittency)	24	14
2	21	12
1	36	21
0	93	53
totals	174	100



Table 33 below. Only 15 (9%) respondents experienced three or more work interruptions. Twice as many (32 or 18%) experienced two work interruptions since they first started working full-time. One third of the sample (61 or 35%) reported one interruption and another third (66 or 38%) no interruptions.

Table 33

## Number of Work Interruptions

Number of Interruptions	N	%
none	66	38
one	61	35
two	32	18
three or more	15	9
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>

Four items referring to the length of the woman's involvement in her current occupation and with her current employing organization were summated into a scale. This scale was labelled the 'length of occupational involvement' scale and consisted of the following items:

- 1.) The respondent has worked at her current occupation for 10 years or more.
- 2.) The respondent has worked for her current employing organization for six years or more.
- 3.) The respondent first started working at her current occupation when she was 23 years of age or older.

4.) The respondent first started working for her current employing organization when she was 33 years of age or over.

These particular items were combined because those who had worked at their current occupations longer also worked for their current employing organizations longer, had started working at their current occupation at an older age and for their current employing organization at an older age. A respondent received a score of one each time one of the four above items applied to her. The higher the score, therefore, the more statements which applied to that respondent. A higher score on this scale indicated a longer career within the current occupation than did a lower score. (Cronbach's alpha = .71.)

Table 34, page 168, shows the frequency distribution for this scale. Half of the women (83 or 48%) received a medium score while one quarter (45 or 26%) received a high score (longer career) and one quarter (46 or 26%) received a low score (shorter career). Those receiving a score of two, three or four were combined because of the small number of respondents to which these scores applied.

A single indicator referred to the type and number of other jobs the woman held in the past and was labelled the scope of job history item. Table 35, page 168, reveals 66 (38%) women have worked only in their current occupation. Fifty-six (32%) women have worked in related occupations (for example social workers worked as counsellors; newspaper reporters worked as magazine journalists; or models worked as cosmetics salespersons) but not in unrelated occupations. Twenty-seven (16%) have worked in one job unrelated to their current occupation and 25 (14%)

Table 34

## Length of Occupational Involvement Scale

Length of Occupational Involvement	N	%
longer career (2,3,4)	46	26
medium (1)	83	48
shorter career (0)	45	26
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>
Cronbach's alpha = .71		

Table 35

## Scope of Job History

Scope of Job History	N	%
no other occupations	66	38
related occupations only	56	32
one unrelated occupation	27	16
two or more unrelated occupations	25	14
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>



have worked in two or more jobs which were unrelated to their current occupation.<sup>31</sup>

The data gathered for past work experiences referred to the respondents' job intermittency, length of time in the occupation and their previous jobs. The intermittent career scale included items on the number of work interruptions, the length of work interruptions and the reasons for work interruptions. Because of the large number of respondents within one category, the number of work interruptions was retained as a single indicator. The length of occupational involvement scale included items on the respondents' age when they first started working in their current occupation and for their current employing organization and their length of time in the current occupation and with the current employing organization. The scope of job history item was a single indicator referring to the number of and type of jobs held in the past.

#### Potential Influence from Current Non-Work Sources

Indicators of current non-work involvements were included to permit a test of the relative importance of work for self-identity when compared with women's child-bearing and marriage roles. Women's child-bearing function and family and marriage involvements, it has been argued, are responsible for their decreased importance of work for self

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31.) Whenever too few persons fell into certain categories, then they were again combined for the analyses. The latter two categories were therefore combined for this indicator.

and lower commitment to work. A Meadian and reference group perspective (see chapter two for a discussion) also emphasize the possible effects from non-work sources on the particular importance which work might have.

Since non-work sources refer to the present, both factual and interpretive data were collected. In addition, both variables emerging from the literature as most likely to effect the relationship between self-identity and work as well as those not specifically researched by others but considered theoretically important, have been included. Marital status and the presence and age of children are examples of the former. Attitudes of female peers, attitudes of husband's parents, and religion are examples of the latter (Nilson, 1976; Lopata, 1971:331; Lenski, 1963).

As elaborated in chapter two, it is clear that marital status assumes theoretical importance in the traditional arguments about women's commitment to work (Mills, 1956). Marriage is said to be woman's primary role. Empirical studies of the importance of marital status were not, however, conclusive. Hrebiniak and Alutto (1972) and White (1967) both reported married women as having higher commitment to work than those who were single. Shea (1970b) on the other hand found that non-marrieds were more committed than those who were married.

The working women studied here were asked for their current marital status. Table 36, page 171, shows that half of them (87 or 50%) were single at the time of the interview. However, 15 of these women (17% of those who were single or 9% of the total sample) were currently

Table 36  
Marital Status

Marital Status	N	%
single (not living with a man)	72	41
widowed, divorced, separated	19	11
single (living with a man)*	15	9
married	68	39
	(83)	(48)
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>

\* This category refers to those living with a man in a marriage relationship. Those sharing accommodation as roommates within a 'platonic' relationship were not included.

living with a man in a marriage relationship although they were not legally married. These persons were therefore classed with the 'marrieds'. Only 19 (11%) women were widowed, divorced, or separated. Although these women were not currently married they had had experience within this role and were therefore classified between those who were currently single (not living with a man) and those who were single and living with a man or married. Sixty-eight (39%) of the women were married.

Those who were married or living with a man were also asked their husbands' education, income and occupation. Table 37, page 172, shows the frequency distributions for each of these variables. Over half of the men received at least some university education and worked in professional rather than skilled occupations (45 or 54% and 50 or 60% respec-



Table 37

## Husband's Education, Income and Occupation

A.) Husband's* Education	N	%
no university (high school and/or community or business college)	37	45
at least some university	45	54
no answer	1	1
(not applicable)	(91)	
<b>totals</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>100</b>
* Includes legal husbands and men which women are living with in a marriage relationship.		
B.) Husband's Income	N	%
less than \$14,000 per year	35	42
\$14,000 but less than \$21,000 per year	22	27
\$21,000 or more per year	25	30
no answer	1	1
(not applicable)	(91)	
<b>totals</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>100</b>
C.) Husband's Occupation	N	%
skilled	32	39
professional	50	60
no answer	1	1
(not applicable)	(91)	
<b>totals</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>100</b>

tively). Over half of the men also earned at least \$14,000 a year (47 or 57%).

The husband's occupation or his education were unrelated to the respondent's level of income (gammas equal  $-.09$  and  $.08$  respectively). A man working at a higher occupational level or having achieved more formal education was no more likely to be married to a respondent in one of the higher prestige occupations or with more formal education than was a man working at a lower occupational level or having less formal education. Similarly, the husband's occupation was unrelated to the respondent's education (gamma =  $-.07$ ). That is, a man working at a higher or lower occupational level was just as likely to be married to a respondent with more or less formal education. Husband's education showed a weak positive relationship with respondent's education (gamma =  $.21$ ). Men with professional training were more likely to have been married to respondents who had at least some university education than were men without professional training (34 or 62% versus 10 or 30%).

However, husband's level of income was related to both the level of education and level of income of his wife (see Table 38, page 174). Men earning less than \$14,000 a year tended to be married to respondents who did not have university education and who were also earning less than \$14,000 a year. Men earning at least \$14,000 a year tended to be married to respondents who had at least some university education and who themselves were earning \$14,000 a year or more. The fact that husband's income is related to both education and income of the respondent is not surprising since it is those women who have more

Table 38

## Husband's Income and Wife's Education and Income

A.) Husband's Income and Wife's Education						
Wife's Education	Husband's Income					
	less than \$14,000*		\$14,000 to less than \$21,000		\$21,000 or more	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
at least some university	12	32	15	68	17	61
community or business college, military training	26	68	7	32	9	32
no more than high school	0	0	0	0	2	7
<b>totals</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100</b>

gamma = .36, not statistically significant

$\chi^2 = 9.34$ ; D.F. = 2; significance level = .01 (when the last two educational categories are combined.)

\* per year

B.) Husband's Income and Wife's Income						
Wife's Income	Husband's Income					
	less than \$14,000		\$14,000 to less than \$21,000		\$21,000 or more	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
\$17,000 or more	3	8	7	32	9	32
\$14,000 to less than \$17,000	7	18	4	18	8	29
\$8,000 to less than \$14,000	14	37	7	32	5	18
less than \$8,000	14	37	4	18	6	21
<b>totals</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100</b>

gamma = .36, not statistically significant

$\chi^2 = 11.05$ ; D.F. = 6; significance level = .09



education who are earning more income from their occupations.

Returning to marital status, the contradictory findings for this variable which are found in the literature have been explained in terms of the mediating influence of the presence and the age of children (Hall, 1969:331-333; Kim and Murphy, 1972; Lopata, 1971:30-36). The Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (1970:16) suggests it is the existence of children and not marriage per se which leads to an exit from the labour force. As noted previously, the women studied here did not plan on leaving work because of marriage but many more planned on leaving when they had children. Because of the potentially greater importance of the existence of children than of being married, the respondents were asked how many children they had and how many were still living at home.

Table 39, page 176, shows the frequency distribution for these two variables. Almost three-quarters of these women reported having no children (124 or 71%). Only 21 (12%) reported having one child and 29 (17%) reported having two or more children. Of those having children, 40 (80%) reported their children were still living at home.

Since being married (or single but living with a man), having at least two children, and having at least two children living at home were all related to one another, they were summated into a scale (Cronbach's alpha = .66). A respondent received a score of one (1) for each of the above items that was applicable to her. Her score was the sum of these items. The higher the score, the more statements which were true for her. This scale was labelled 'family involvement'

Table 39  
Children

A.) Number of Children	N	%
none	124	71
one child	21	12
two or more children	29	17
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>

B.) Number of Children at Home*	N	%
none	10	20
one	25	50
two or more	15	30
(not applicable)	(124)	
<b>totals</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>

\* Refers to the number and percent of children living at home among those having any children.

because a lower score indicated less involvement in the marital and childrearing roles and a higher score more involvement in these roles.

Seventy-two (41%) respondents received a score of zero on this scale, indicating that none of the three statements applied to them (see Table 40 below). Approximately the same percent (73 or 42%),

Table 40

## Family Involvement Scale

Family Involvement Scale	N	%
0 (lowest)	72	41
1	73	42
2	14	8
3 (highest)	15 (29)	9 (17)
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>

Cronbach's alpha = .66

received a score of 1 (one). Only 29 (17%) received a score of two or three. Marital status and the number of children will be retained as single indicators to be used as replacements for this scale in subsequent analyses. (Unfortunately all three of these indicators have skewed distributions (Tables 36, 39 and 40, pages 171,176,177)).

The Meadian and reference group argument that we derive our attitudes from others with whom we interact led to the inclusion of numerous items on the attitudes of others' towards the fact that the woman was working. The suggestion of the particular configuration of



others' attitudes, and in particular the cumulative confirmations of others, led to the construction of such a scale (Merton and Rossi, 1968; Hyman, 1960; Gerth and Mills, 1953:80-111; Shibutani, 1972). Respondents were asked for the attitudes of their children (if applicable), their husbands or significant man (boyfriends, dates if not married) their parents, their female friends and their husband's parents (if applicable), to the fact that they were working.

These five items formed a Guttman scale (coefficient of reproducibility = .90; coefficient of scalability = .61):

- 5.) The respondent perceives a negative attitude from her children.
- 4.) The respondent perceives a negative attitude from her husband, boyfriend or dates.
- 3.) The respondent perceives a negative attitude from her parents.
- 2.) The respondent perceives a negative attitude from her female friends.
- 1.) The respondent perceives a negative attitude from her husband's parents.

This scale is labelled the 'cumulative attitudes of others'. The higher the score the more negative attitudes which the respondent perceives and the lower the score the fewer negative attitudes which are perceived. (See Table 41, page 179 for the scale pattern.)

Just over half of the respondents (99 or 57%) reported they did not perceive any negative reactions from these others (see Table 37). Forty-six (26%) perceived negative reactions from the husband's parents and 29 (17%) perceived them from other groups as well. The uneven frequency distribution, together with the fact that this Guttman scale

Table 41

## The Cumulative Attitudes of Others Scale

A.) Scale Pattern						
Scale Score	Children*	Husband	Parents	Female Friends	Husband's Parents	
5	+	+	+	+	+	
4	-	+	+	+	+	
3	-	-	+	+	+	
2	-	-	-	+	+	
1	-	-	-	-	+	
0	-	-	-	-	-	

\* Negative attitudes for each group of others listed.

B.) Frequency Distribution		
	N	%
no negative attitudes (0)	99	57
negative attitudes from husband's Parents (1)	46	26
negative attitudes from husband's parents plus other groups (2 to 5)	29	17
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>

Coefficient of reproducibility = .90  
Coefficient of scalability = .61

does not differentiate between those who did not perceive negative attitudes from a particular group of others and those for whom those others were not applicable (such as the attitudes and reactions of the children for those without any children), led to the construction of an alternate scale.

This cumulative attitudes of others, Scale 2, consisted of the number of groups which were perceived to have negative attitudes, divided by the number of groups which were applicable for that respondent. The score received therefore referred to the proportion of appropriate others who were perceived to have negative attitudes towards the fact that the woman was working. Although the same 99 (57%) women reported no negative attitudes, the distribution for the other responses is slightly less skewed than for the first scale. Thirty-four (20%) noted negative attitudes from some but less than half of the applicable others and 41 (24%) noted negative attitudes from more than half of the applicable others. (See Table 42, page 181.)

The two scales, however, are highly correlated with one another. Those receiving negative reactions from no others also received them from no proportion of applicable others. Those perceiving negative attitudes from one group of others tended to perceive such attitudes from less than 50% of their applicable others. Finally, those perceiving negative attitudes from two or more groups of others tended to perceive them from 50% or more of their applicable others. (Table 43, page 181). In other words, the number of groups having negative reactions to the woman is related to the percent of the applicable groups having negative



Table 42

## The Cumulative Attitudes of Others, Scale 2

Negative Attitudes from Applicable Groups	N	%
None	99	57
1 to less than 50%	34	20
50% or more	41	24
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>101</b>

Cronbach's alpha = .68

Table 43

## The Cumulative Attitudes of Others, Scale 1 by Scale 2

Scale 2	Scale 1					
	No Neg.		One Group Neg.		Two Neg. or more	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
at least 50% neg.	0	0	17	37	24	83
some but less than 50% neg.	0	0	29	63	5	17
no neg.	99	100	0	0	0	0
<b>totals</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>100</b>

chi square = 208.9; D.F. = 4; significance level = .0000  
 gamma = .98, significance level = .001

attitudes. The original scale is therefore retained.

The attitudes of male peers (husbands if married) was retained as a single indicator to replace the cumulative scale in later analyses. This decision was based on the possible over-riding importance of this group for working women (Horner,1970; Hall,1969:329; Holter,1970:50). Table 39, below, reveals that just over half of the women reported male peers as neutral (92 or 53%). Thirty-nine (23%) said they were positive and 42 (24%) said they were negative.

Table 44  
Attitudes of Male Peers

Attitudes	N	%
positive	39	23
neutral (fine, up to me)	92	53
negative	42	24
(no answer)	(1)	
totals	173	100

The women were also asked the proportion of other groups of women who were working. These items also formed a Guttman scale (coefficient of reproducibility = .92; coefficient of scalability = .62). This scale was labelled the 'proportion of working others' and consisted of the following items:

5.) Less than half of the mothers of the children's friends work.

- 4.) Less than or equal to half of the female friends work.
- 3.) Less than or equal to half of the wives of the husband's friends work.
- 2.) Less than or equal to half of her friends are in the same occupation.
- 1.) Less than or equal to half of her friends are at the same work place.

The scale pattern is shown in Table 45, page 184. The higher the score on this scale, the smaller proportion of other female groups which may be relevant for the woman, also work. The lower the score, the larger the proportion of other female groups which may be relevant for the woman, also work. No one reported that less than or equal to half of the women in all five groups were working (Table 45). More than one third (60 or 35%) said that less than or equal to half of her female friends worked at the same place as she did. Almost half (79 or 45%) said that less than or equal to half of their female friends worked at the same place and that less than or equal to half of their female friends were in the same occupation as themselves. Only 35 (20%) said this was true of three or more of the five groups.

The fact that this Guttman scale, like the previous one, does not differentiate between those for which a particular statement was not applicable and those for whom it was applicable but for whom more than half worked, led to the construction of an alternate scale. Scale 2 for the proportion of working others consisted of the number of groups for which the respondent said less than or equal to half of the women were also working, divided by the number of groups which were applicable for the respondent. The score received therefore referred to the



Table 45

## Proportion of Working Others Scale

A.) Scale Pattern					
Scale Score	Children's* Friends Mothers	Female Friends	Husband's Friends' Wives	Friends in same occupation	Friends at work place
5	+	+	+	+	+
4	-	+	+	+	+
3	-	-	+	+	+
2	-	-	-	+	+
1	-	-	-	-	+
0	-	-	-	-	-

\* Less than or equal to half of each group work.

B.) Frequency Distribution	N	%
less than or equal to half of all groups work	0	0
less than or equal to half of 1 group works (1)	60	35
less than or equal to half of 2 groups work (2)	79	45
less than or equal to half of 3 or more groups work (3,4,5)	35	20
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>

Coefficient of reproducibility = .92

Coefficient of scalability = .60

proportion of applicable others who were also working. These scores were divided into three approximately equal categories. Sixty (35%) stated that, of the groups applicable to them, less than 40% consisted of less than or equal to half who were working. Forty-nine (28%) said between 40% and 60% of the groups consisted of less than or equal to half who were working. Sixty-five (37%) said more than 60% of the groups consisted of such persons (Table 46, page 186).

As illustrated in Table 47, page 186, the two scales for the proportion of working others are highly correlated with one another. Those who received a score of one (1) on the Guttman scale were the same persons who said that less than 40% of the applicable groups consisted of fewer working women. Those who received a score of two (2) on the Guttman scale tended to say that between 40% and 60% of the applicable groups consisted of fewer working women. Those who received a higher score (fewer others who worked) also tended to say that over 60% of the applicable groups consisted of fewer working women. Again, the original scale was therefore retained.

The last two items referring to potential non-work influences referred to religion and the presence of other household members. Each was retained in a single indicator. Forty-one (24%) claimed their religious affiliation as atheist or agnostic. Another 37 (21%) claimed to be basically Christian but did not specify a religious denomination. Just over half (96 or 55%) did specify a religious affiliation. (See Table 48, page 188.) In other words, this item appears to have tapped a broad difference in religious outlook (perhaps traditional versus

Table 46

## Proportion of Working Others, Scale 2

Less than or equal to half work	N	%
0 to less than 40% of applicable groups (1)	60	35
40% to 60% of applicable groups (2)	49	28
more than 60% of applicable groups (3)	65	37
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>

Cronbach's alpha = .52

Table 47

## Proportion of Working Others, Scale 1 by Scale 2

Scale 2	Scale 1					
	low (3,4,5)		medium (2)		high (1)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high (1)	0	0	0	0	60	100
medium (2)	3	9	46	58	0	0
low (3)	32	91	33	42	0	0
<b>totals</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100</b>

chi square = 209.59; D.F. = 4; significance level = .0000  
 gamma = .88, significance level = .001



non-traditional views) rather than specific differences within the Christian belief system.

Respondents were also asked about the presence of other household members, in addition to themselves, their husbands, and their own children. Table 4 9, page 188, reveals that most (120 or 69%) of the women said there were no other household members. Twenty-five (14%) noted other members within the family situation (such as parents, children of the man, a live-in babysitter) and 29 (17%) noted others within a non-family situation (roommates, barracks, other boarders). In other words, this item seems to refer to the type of setting the woman was living in at the time of the interview.

To summarize, measuring the potential influences from non-work sources resulted in the identification of numerous indicators. The marriage and family dimension was identified with a family involvement scale. However, single indicators were retained for comparisons; marital status and the number of children. The occupation, income and education of the husband were also obtained. The attitudes of others were measured with a Guttman scale referring to the cumulative attitudes of various others. The attitudes of male peers was retained as a single indicator to replace and for comparison with the cumulative scale. The proportion of working others was measured using a Guttman scale. Finally, religion and the presence and type of other household members were measured using single indicators only.

Table 48

## Religion

Religion	N	%
atheist, agnostic	41	24
basically Christian	37	21
specific religious affiliation	96	55
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 49

## Other Household Members

Other Household Members	N	%
none	120	69
other family member or live-in babysitter	25	14
non-family situation (roommate, barracks, other boarders)	29	17
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>

### Time and Energy Constraints

Time and energy constraints on the working woman have been postulated as having adverse effects on the woman's involvement in her work role. Holter (1970:30), Walker (1969) and Meissner et al. (1975) have noted the additional work tasks in the home which the working woman must contend with while also working at a full-time job. The Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (1970:33-34) estimates four hours daily working in the home in addition to outside employment. Others (Callahan,1972; Blauner,1964:70; Gould,1972) have commented on the possible influence which household help, assistance with the children, and commuting time to and from work could have on the importance of work for the woman.

This particular concept seems to require largely interpretive rather than factual data. Although two different people may have the same actual time for hobbies and friends, one may consider it insufficient time and regret having to work so much while the other may not be interested in friendship and hobbies outside of work and consider it more than sufficient time. Similarly, a person engaged in many more activities than another may have more energy at the end of the day than the other and may also have her activities so organized that she has more time for other things. In other words, it is the woman's subjective assessment of her time and energy constraints which is of primary interest here.

Four items were summated into a scale, depicting the demands on the woman's time and energy. A respondent received a score of one for each of the following statements which was applicable to her:



- 1.) The respondent considers her work to be very demanding on her time and energy.
- 2.) The respondent spends an average of four or more off-work hours a week on work-related activities.
- 3.) The respondent does not feel that she has the time to spend an additional three or four more hours a week on work related activities.
- 4.) The respondent feels she currently does not have enough time for her friends and personal interests.

The higher the score on this 'work demands' scale, the greater the demands and the lower the score the fewer the demands (Cronbach's alpha = .59).

Approximately one-third of the respondents (56 or 32%) received a score of one (1) on the work demands scale. Fifty-one persons (29%) received a score of two (2) and 67 (39%) received a score of three (3) or four (4). Table 50 below shows this frequency distribution.

Table 50  
Work Demands Scale

Work Demands	N	%
low demands (1)	56	32
medium demands (2)	51	29
high demands (3,4)	67	39*
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>

Cronbach's alpha = .59

\* Mackie's (1976) Calgary sample revealed different findings. Fifty-three percent of her working women said, "A lot of the time I feel so tired".

The remaining three items were borrowed from Callahan, Blauner, and Gould and referred to factual rather than interpretive information. Each was retained as a single indicator. They referred to the presence of and type of help with the housework and with the children (if applicable) and to the time spent commuting to and from work.

Table 51, page 192, shows the frequency distributions for each of these variables. Fifty-two respondents (30%) reported having no help with the housework. Another 80 (46%) reported inside help (from husbands, children or other family members) with the housework and 67 (39%) reported having outside help (cleaning lady) with the housework. (Only 7% of Mackie's working women had outside help with the housecleaning.) A larger proportion of those with children reported having inside help with the children (56% as opposed to 46%). Approximately the same percent reported having outside help with the children (22% compared with 24%). Turning to commuting time to and from work, approximately one-third of the sample spent less than or equal to one half an hour commuting (60 or 35%), over half an hour but less than one hour (51 or 30%), and the other third spend one hour or more (62 or 36%).

Information then, was collected on four variables referring to time and energy constraints which may effect the importance of work for women. These four referred to: work demands (primarily subjective); help received with the housework; help received with the children if applicable; and the time spent commuting to and from work on an average day.

Table 51

## Time and Energy Constraints: Single Indicators

A.) Help with the Housework	N	%
none	52	30
inside help but no outside help	80	46
outside help	42	24
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>

B.) Help with the Children	N	%
no help	10	22
inside help but no outside help	25	56
outside help	10	22
(not applicable)	(129)	
<b>totals</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>

C.) Commuting Time to and from Work	N	%
less than or equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ hour	60	35
more than $\frac{1}{2}$ hour but less than 1 hour	51	30
equal to or more than 1 hour	20	12
all over (usually 2 hours or more)*	42	24
(no answer)	(1)	
<b>totals</b>	<b>173</b>	<b>101</b>

\* All of the models fell within this category since they must commute to and from different locations depending on the job. If they are working at different locations (perhaps for different jobs) in one day then they must commute between locations as well.



### Occupational Prestige and the Traditional Sex-Characterization of the Occupation

It will be recalled that the sample was chosen to depict differences in occupational prestige and the traditional sex-characterization of the occupation. The income and education of the occupational groups was therefore examined. These data confirm the earlier distinction between the two high and the two low prestige occupations based on the 1973 Blisshen scores.

Social workers and newspaper reporters both earn substantially more than either the models or the privates and corporals in the Forces (see Table 52, page 194). Combining the occupations into the prestige occupations shows the relationship between occupational prestige and income to be statistically significant. Almost no social workers or newspaper reporters earned less than \$8,000 a year. Few models and no military women earned as much as \$14,000 a year. Total income from all jobs (rather than income specifically from the occupation studied here) does not change the relationship with prestige (see Table 53, page 195). The distribution of each occupational group shows a substantial change only for the models. Eight (19%) earn more than \$8,000 a year when their total income is measured, making their overall distribution comparable to rather than lower than that of the military women.

The different prestige categories also revealed significant differences in educational attainment. Women with at least some university education were more likely to be social workers or newspaper reporters. Those with community or business college education or military training

Table 52

## Occupation and Occupational Prestige by Income

A.) Income from occupation a year	Occupation							
	Military Women		Models		Newspaper Reporters		Social Workers	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
\$17,000 or greater	0	0	1	2	27	58	13	26
\$14,000-\$16,999	0	0	2	5	14	30	20	40
\$8,000-\$13,999	15	42	8	19	5	11	16	32
less than \$8,000	20	57	31	74	1	2	1	2
totals	35	99	42	100	47	101	50	100

B.) Income from occupation a year	Occupational Prestige			
	low prestige		high prestige	
	N	%	N	%
\$17,000 or greater	1	1	40	41
\$14,000-\$16,999	2	3	34	35
\$8,000-\$13,000	23	30	21	22
less than \$8,000	51	66	2	2
totals	77	100	97	100

chi square = 108.28; D.F. = 3; significance level = .001  
 gamma = .57, significance level = .001

Table 53

## Occupation and Occupational Prestige by Income from all Sources

A.) Income from all sources	Occupation							
	Military Women		Models		Newspaper Reporters		Social Workers	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
\$17,000 or greater	0	0	1	2	28	60	13	26
\$14,000-\$16,999	0	0	3	7	13	28	21	42
\$8,000-\$13,999	16	46	15	36	5	11	15	30
less than \$8,000	19	54	23	55	1	2	1	2
<b>totals</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>

B.) Income from all sources	Occupational Prestige			
	low prestige		high prestige	
	N	%	N	%
\$17,000 or greater	1	1	41	42
\$14,000-\$16,999	3	4	34	35
\$8,000-\$13,999	31	40	20	21
less than \$8,000	42	55	2	2
<b>totals</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100</b>

chi square = 103.77; D.F. = 3; significance level = .001  
 gamma = .57, significance level = .001



were more likely to be models or privates or corporals in the Forces.  
(see Table 54, page 197).

In other words, the original high prestige-low prestige distinction is confirmed by two standard measures associated with occupational prestige, income and education.<sup>32</sup> In addition, obtaining a sample which distinguished between those in relatively higher and relatively lower prestige occupations was achieved.

It is also clear that the sex characterization of the occupation cannot be simply encompassed within the standard prestige dimensions. The distributions for income earned from the occupation show individuals working in the traditionally male occupations earn more than those in the traditionally female occupations within the same prestige levels. However, the distribution for income from all sources shows this true only within the high prestige category. Within the low prestige category, the two occupations have very similar distributions except that models sometimes earn more than do privates or corporals.

Formal education reveals yet a different pattern. Those with more education (at least some university education) are concentrated in the high prestige occupations, irrespective of the sex characterization of the occupation. Those with community or business college or military training are concentrated in the two low prestige occupations, irrespective of the sex characterization of the occupation. Those with high school education only are few in number but fall within both the high and

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32.) The positive correlation between Blishen scores and income and education suggests that occupational prestige for women consists of at least some of the same elements as occupational prestige for men since the Blishen scores included both income and education and were computed only for men.

Table 54  
Education by Occupation and Occupational Prestige

A.) Occupation	Education					
	high school		comm., bus., military		some uni.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
social workers	0	0	7	8	43	52
newspaper reporters	3	38	6	7	38	46
models	5	63	35	42	2	2
military women	0	0	35	42	0	0
<b>totals</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>100</b>

B.) Occupational Prestige	Education					
	high school		comm., bus., military		some uni.	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	3	38	13	16	81	98
low	5	63	70	84	2	2
<b>totals</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>100</b>

chi square = 115; D.F. = 2; significance level = .001  
gamma = .81, significance level = .001

low prestige categories, but the traditionally male occupation for the former and the traditionally female occupation for the latter. Furthermore, those with training which is unrelated to their current occupation are most likely to be found in the high prestige, traditionally male occupation (newspaper reporters) while those with training which is related to their current occupation are most likely to be found in either of the high prestige occupations. On the other hand, those with training specifically related to their current occupation are likely to be found in the low prestige, traditionally male occupation (military women) and those with training specifically related to their current occupation plus other training are most likely to be found in the low prestige, traditionally female occupation (models) (see Table 55, page 199).

In other words, a preliminary look at the data through the use of simple cross-tabulations supports the claim made throughout the foregoing chapters that sex characterization and its effects cannot readily be encompassed within or as part of the prestige dimension. Furthermore, it suggests that the literature pointing to the traditionally female occupations as having greater status than the traditionally male occupations within the same prestige category may be faulty when applied to the perceived status of those actually involved in the occupations.

To differentiate between the effects of prestige from those of the sex characterization of the occupation, occupations were classified according to the original distinction which led to their choice. This can result in either a two-fold or four-fold classificatory scheme. The former groups models and social workers as the traditionally female



Table 55  
Type of Education by Occupation

Occupation	Type of Education							
	unrelated		related		specific*		specific plus	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
social workers	5	28	13	45	8	13	24	38
newspaper reporters	10	56	16	55	16	25	5	8
models	3	17	0	0	10	16	29	46
military women	0	0	0	0	30	47	5	8
<b>totals</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>100</b>

\* i.e., to current occupation

occupations and the newspaper reporters and the military women as the traditionally non-female or male occupations. The latter results in an ordinal scale in which models are the extreme in terms of a traditionally female occupation and the military women are in the least traditionally female occupation. As later analyses will reveal, the use of either scheme brings comparable results. Similarly, occupational prestige can be classified within a two-fold or four-fold schema. The former groups social workers and newspaper reporters as the high prestige occupations and models and military women as the low prestige occupations. The latter ranks the four according to the 1973 Blishen scores in the following order: newspaper reporters (63); social workers (62); fashion models (44); and privates and corporals in the Forces (43). As later analyses will reveal, the use of either scheme brings comparable results.

### Conclusions

A summary of the concepts, together with their indicators appears in Table 56, pages 201-202. Single indicators which are to be used in alternate analyses for comparisons with the scales appear in brackets following the scale which they are to replace. Excluding alternate single indicators, a total of 23 independent variables and two dependent variables will be used in the analyses which follow.

The discussion of the operationalization of the concepts presented in this chapter has drawn on existing research for the choice of indicators and the data collected for this study when combining single items into multiple-item scales. Commitment to work was measured with a specific

Table 56

## Summary of Concepts and Indicators

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DEPENDENT VARIABLES

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Commitment to work:

specific commitment to work, scale, higher the score greater the commitment

(general commitment to work)\*, scale, higher the score greater the commitment to work

Importance of work for self-identity:

importance of work, single indicator, higher the score greater the importance of work for self-identity

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INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

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Early socialization:a.) cultural experiences:

age, single indicator, higher the score, the older the respondent  
size of childhood residence, single indicator, higher the score the larger the size of childhood residence

Canadian affiliation, scale, higher the score the greater the Canadian affiliation

mother's work history, single indicator, higher the score the more she worked (not at all, part-time, full-time)

mother's occupation, single indicator, higher the score the lower her occupational level

b.) differential access to opportunity:

father's occupation, single indicator, higher the score the lower his occupational level

respondent's formal education, single indicator, higher the score the more formal education

type of formal education, single indicator, higher the score the more unrelated to education to the current occupation

ordinal position in family of orientation, single indicator, higher the score the younger the respondent

c.) expectation of others:

plans for working when little, single indicator, higher the score the more the respondent did not plan on working

parents' reactions, single indicator, higher the score the more disapproval of working from the parents



Past work experiences:

Job intermittency, scale, higher the score the more intermittent the career

(number of work interruptions), single indicator, higher the score the more interruptions

length of time in occupation, scale, higher the score the longer the time

scope of job history, single indicator, higher the score the more past jobs which were unrelated to current occupation

Potential influences from non-work sources:

family involvement, scale, higher the score the more the family involvement

(marital status, number of children, and income, occupation and education of husband)

cumulative attitudes of others, scale, higher the score the more negative attitudes

(attitudes of male peers), single indicator, higher the score the more negative attitudes

proportion of working others, scale, the higher the score the more others who did not also work

religion, single indicator, higher the score the more traditionally Christian the views

other household members, single indicator

Time and energy constraints:

work demands, scale, higher the score the more demands

help with the housework, single indicator, higher the score the more help

help with the children, single indicator, higher the score the more help

commuting time to and from work, single indicator, higher the score the more time spent commuting

Occupational Prestige:

prestige, single indicator, higher the score, higher the prestige

(prestige), single indicator, four-fold classificatory scheme

Sex Characterization of the Occupation:

traditional sex-typing, single indicator, higher score, male-typed

(traditional sex-typing), single indicator, four-fold classificatory scheme

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\* Indicators in brackets refer to single items to be used in an alternate analysis for comparison with the scales which are listed immediately above them.

measure and an alternate general measure. The importance of work for self-identity was measured with a single indicator consisting of both an open-ended and a closed-ended question. Additional information was gathered on the respondents' reasons for working and the types of effect which they perceived work to have on their self-identities and role subidentities.

Early socialization was divided into three dimensions: cultural experiences; differential access to opportunity; and expectations of others. Cultural experiences were indicated by: age, size of childhood residence, Canadian affiliation, and mother's work experience. Differential access to opportunity was indicated by: father's occupation; respondent's education; and respondent's ordinal position in the family of orientation. Expectations of others were indicated by: the respondents' plans for working when they were little and their parents' reactions to these plans.

Past work experiences included measures of job intermittency within their work history (with the number of work interruptions as the alternate single indicator), length of time in the occupation, and the scope of job history.

Potential influences from non-work sources included: a scale measuring involvement in the family role (with marital status, the number of children, and the income, education and occupation of the husband as alternate single indicators), the cumulative attitudes of others (with the attitudes of male peers as the alternate single indicator), proportion of working others, religion, and other household members.

Time and energy constraints measured the women's work demands, help with the housework, help with the children (if applicable), and the time they spent commuting to and from work on an average day.

Occupational prestige and the traditional sex characterization of the occupations were indicated through the designation of specific occupations as two-category variables (and alternately as four category variables).

The remaining chapters of this thesis focus on the analysis and interpretation of the data. Chapter five discusses the empirical support for the earlier conceptual distinction between commitment to work and the importance of work for self-identity. Later chapters discuss the relationships between the dependent variables and the independent variables.



## CHAPTER 5 - CONFIRMING THE CONCEPTUAL DISTINCTION BETWEEN COMMITMENT TO WORK AND THE IMPORTANCE OF WORK FOR SELF-IDENTITY

A conceptual distinction between commitment to work and the importance of work for self-identity was suggested in chapter two. Commitment to work was defined as role-specific behaviour or behavioural activity within the work role and in particular to a continuance of that activity in the future. The importance of work for self-identity was defined as the effect of the work role on the total self or on the organization of the whole which Mead refers to as the individual's perspective. This distinction arose from two sources: the different types of indicators used in existing research; and the logical possibility of being committed to work without work being important for self or of work being important for the self without an individual being committed to that role.

This chapter examines the empirical relationship between the measures of these concepts to explore support for this suggested conceptual difference. The type of effect (positive, neutral or negative) which the individual perceives work to have had and her expressed reasons for working are then related to these two concepts. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the difference in commitment and importance of work for each of the four occupational groups studied here.

### Commitment to Work and the Importance of Work for Self-Identity

Neither the measure of general commitment nor the measure of

commitment in specific situations is related to the measure for the importance of work for self-identity (Table 57, page 207). This lack of association between these variables supports the conceptual distinction suggested earlier. A person can be committed to her work role while at the same time revealing a low importance of work for self (role-distance). Conversely, a person can reveal a high importance of work for self without necessarily having a high commitment to work. In other words, role-specific behaviour is not necessarily related to generalized self-identity; not all specific behaviour within a role is incorporated into our organization of attitudes (generalized other, standpoint, or perspective).

These data support Goffman's (1961:91-132) claim that individuals cannot totally identify with all roles since it is accepted that each individual participates in numerous roles and total identification with all of them at the same time, if at all possible, would be at the cost of total compartmentalization. They also provide a partial answer to some of the questions raised earlier by self-theorists (Tucker, 1967). In answer to the question asking how different role experiences are to be combined and how specific role experiences affect the totality, it would appear that not all roles, or all aspects of role experiences, are necessarily integrated into that whole.

Furthermore, while the two commitment measures (general and specific) are related to one another, they appear to be measuring at least partially different phenomena (or different aspects of commitment). Table 58, page 208, shows the cross-tabulation between the two commitment

Table 57

## Commitment to Work by the Importance of Work for Self

A.) General Commitment						
Importance of Work	low		medium		high	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	8	28	12	21	20	26
medium	12	43	27	47	34	38
low	8	28	18	32	35	39
totals	28	99	57	100	89	100

chi square = 2.78; D.F. = 4; not statistically significant  
 gamma = .11, not statistically significant

B.) Specific Commitment						
Importance of Work	low		medium		high	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	10	31	20	23	10	18
medium	16	50	34	40	23	41
low	6	19	32	37	23	41
totals	32	100	86	100	56	100

chi square = 5.73; D.F. = 4; not statistically significant  
 gamma = .20, not statistically significant



Table 58

Commitment in Specific Situations by General Commitment to Work

General Commitment	Specific Commitment					
	low		medium		high	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	9	28	45	52	35	63
medium	10	31	28	33	19	34
low	13	41	13	15	2	4
total	32	100	86	100	56	101

chi square = 22.81; D.F. = 4; significance level = .001  
 gamma = .40, not statistically significant

measures. Those with a low commitment when asked about specific situations also tend to reveal a low commitment when asked generally about their future. Those with either a medium or high commitment when asked about specific situations tend to reveal a high commitment when asked generally about their future.

Although these two measures are related, more respondents received high scores (higher commitment) on the general measure than on the specific measure. As many as half of the respondents (89 or 51%) received a high score on the general measure while only one-third of the respondents (56 or 32%) did so on the specific measure. This proportion is reversed for a medium score. One-third (57 or 33%) of the women received a medium score on the general measure while half of the sample (86 or 49%) did so on the specific measure. Approximately the same

Table 59  
General Commitment and Commitment in Specific Situations

Score	Commitment			
	General		Specific	
	N	%	N	%
high	89	51	56	32
medium	57	33	86	49
low	28	16	32	18
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>99</b>

proportion of women score low on both of the measures (28 or 16% on the general measure and 32 or 18% on the specific measure). (See Table 59, above.) The greater proportion of responses referring to 'positive' answers (i.e., high commitment) is consistent with other studies which have examined the differential response patterns for general versus specific measures of the same dimension (Schuman, 1972; Crespi, 1971).

As noted previously, both of these measures will be retained for comparative analyses. However, in light of others' findings, the specific measure is considered more predictive of behaviour.

#### Type of Perceived Effects of Work and Expressed Reasons for Working

The women were asked how they thought they would differ or change if they were not working and how they thought working had affected their concepts of themselves as: wives; mothers; women; friends; and persons.

The type of perceived effect (negative, neutral or positive) of work on the self or any of these sub-identities was not, however, related to the importance of work for the self. (see Table 60, pages 211-213). However, the type of effect on the self and on the women's concept of themselves as persons was related to their general commitment to work. Table 61, pages 214-216, reveals that those claiming work had some effect, either negative or positive, tended to receive a high score on the general commitment measure. Those claiming work had no effect (neutral) tended to reveal a medium score on general commitment. Similar to the importance of work for self, the specific commitment measure showed no relationship with these 'types of effect' variables (see Table 62, pages 217-219).

The reasons for the lack of relationships, especially with the importance of work measure, are unknown. However, the small cell sizes in many instances make it difficult to assess the information. Nevertheless, the data suggest the effect (as present or absent) distinguishes better between respondents than does the type of that effect (as positive, neutral, or negative).

Data were also gathered on the expressed reasons for working. Whether the women listed more extrinsic reasons, more intrinsic reasons, or the same number of both was unrelated to any of the dependent variables (importance of work, general commitment or specific commitment). This is not surprising considering the difficulty interpreting this particular measure (see chapter four for a discussion). Women listing more extrinsic reasons, more intrinsic reasons, or the same number of both, tended to receive a medium score for the importance of work (45%, 40% and 42%



Table 60

## Types of Effect by Importance of Work for Self

A.) Effect on Self						
Importance of Work	negative		neutral		positive	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	5	21	9	20	25	25
medium	15	63	19	42	37	37
low	4	17	17	38	38	38
totals	24	101	45	100	100	100

No answer, don't know N=5

chi square = 6.06; D.F. = 4; not statistically significant

gamma = .07, not statistically significant

B.) Effect on Wife Sub-Identity						
Importance of Work	negative		neutral		positive	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	0	0	8	32	13	29
medium	4	44	8	32	21	47
low	5	56	9	36	11	24
totals	9	100	25	100	45	100

Not applicable, no answer N=95

Expected frequencies too small to compute chi square

gamma = .27, not statistically significant

continued ...

C.) Effect on Mother Sub-Identity						
Importance of Work	negative		neutral		positive	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	2	17	1	11	8	28
medium	6	50	4	44	9	31
low	4	33	4	44	12	41
totals	12	100	9	99	29	100

Not applicable, no answer N=124

Expected frequencies too small to compute chi square

gamma = .04, not statistically significant

D.) Effect on Woman Sub-Identity						
Importance of Work	negative		neutral		positive	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	0	0	7	17	33	25
medium	0	0	21	51	52	39
low	0	0	13	32	48	36
totals	0	0	41	100	133	100

chi square = 2.09; D.F. = 2; not statistically significant

gamma = .03, not statistically significant

continued ...

## E.) Effect on Friend Sub-Identity

Importance of Work	negative		neutral		positive	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	4	11	14	30	22	24
medium	14	40	21	45	38	41
low	17	49	12	26	32	35
totals	35	100	47	101	92	100

chi square = 6.18; D.F. = 4; not statistically significant  
 gamma = .10, not statistically significant

## F.) Effect on Person Identity

Importance of Work	negative		neutral		positive	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	2	33	7	30	31	21
medium	3	50	11	48	59	41
low	1	17	5	22	55	38
totals	6	100	23	100	145	100

Expected frequencies too small to compute chi square.  
 gamma = .29, not statistically significant



Table 61

## Types of Effect by General Commitment to Work

A.) Effect on Self						
General Commitment	negative		neutral		positive	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	14	58	14	31	60	60
medium	7	29	18	40	30	30
low	3	13	13	29	10	10
totals	24	100	45	100	100	100

No answer, don't know N=5

chi square = 10.91; D.F. = 4; significance level = .05

gamma = .26, not statistically significant

B.) Effect on Wife Sub-Identity						
General Commitment	negative		neutral		positive	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	5	56	12	48	21	47
medium	1	11	7	28	15	33
low	3	33	6	24	9	20
totals	9	100	25	100	45	100

Not applicable, no answer N=95

Expected frequencies too small to compute chi square.

gamma = .03, not statistically significant

continued ...

C.) Effect on Mother Sub-Identity						
General Commitment	negative		neutral		positive	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	5	42	4	44	14	48
medium	6	50	3	33	12	41
low	1	8	2	22	3	10
totals	12	100	9	99	29	99

Not applicable, no answer N=124

Expected frequencies too small to compute chi square.

gamma = .05, not statistically significant

D.) Effect on Woman Sub-Identity						
General Commitment	negative		neutral		positive	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	0	0	20	49	69	52
medium	0	0	14	34	43	32
low	0	0	7	17	21	16
totals	0	0	41	100	133	100

chi square = .18; D.F. = 2; not statistically significant

gamma = .05, not statistically significant

continued ...

E.) Effect on Friend Sub-Identity						
General Commitment	negative		neutral		positive	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	24	69	20	43	45	49
medium	5	14	20	43	32	35
low	6	17	7	15	15	16
totals	35	100	47	101	92	100

chi square = 7.70; D.F. = 4; not statistically significant  
 gamma = .12, not statistically significant

F.) Effect on Person Identity						
General Commitment	negative		neutral		positive	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	3	50	7	30	79	55
medium	2	33	10	44	45	31
low	1	17	6	26	21	14
totals	6	100	23	100	145	100

Expected frequencies too small to compute chi square.  
 gamma = .30, not statistically significant



Table 62

## Types of Effect by Commitment to Work in Specific Situations

A.) Effect on Self						
Specific Commitment	negative		neutral		positive	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	9	38	14	31	32	32
medium	12	50	23	51	49	49
low	3	13	8	18	19	19
totals	24	101	45	100	100	100

No answer, don't know N=5

chi square = .61; D.F. = 4; not statistically significant

gamma = .05, not statistically significant

B.) Effect on Wife Sub-Identity						
Specific Commitment	negative		neutral		positive	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	4	44	8	32	10	22
medium	3	33	12	48	24	53
low	2	22	5	20	11	24
totals	9	99	25	100	45	99

Not applicable, no answer N=95

Expected frequencies too small to compute chi square.

gamma = .20, not statistically significant

continued ...

C.) Effect on Mother Sub-Identity						
Specific Commitment	negative		neutral		positive	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	4	33	6	67	8	28
medium	6	50	2	22	12	41
low	2	17	1	11	9	31
<b>totals</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>100</b>

Not applicable, no answer N=124

Expected frequencies too small to compute chi square.  
 $\gamma = .21$ , not statistically significant

D.) Effect on Woman Sub-Identity						
Specific Commitment	negative		neutral		positive	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	0	0	11	27	45	34
medium	0	0	24	59	62	47
low	0	0	6	15	26	20
<b>totals</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>101</b>

chi square = 2.00; D.F. = 4; not statistically significant  
 $\gamma = .06$ , not statistically significant

continued ...

E.) Effect on Friend Sub-Identity						
Specific Commitment	negative		neutral		positive	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	17	48	15	32	24	26
medium	16	46	20	43	50	54
low	2	6	12	26	18	20
total	35	100	47	101	92	100

chi square = 9.02; D.F. = 4; not statistically significant  
 gamma = .19, not statistically significant

F.) Effect on Person Identity						
Specific Commitment	negative		neutral		positive	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	1	17	6	26	49	34
medium	3	50	13	57	70	48
low	2	33	4	17	26	18
total	6	100	23	100	145	100

Expected frequencies too small to compute chi square  
 gamma = .17, not statistically significant



respectively) rather than either a high or low score. (See Table 63, page 221.) Similarly, those listing more extrinsic reasons, more intrinsic reasons, or the same number of both, tended to received a medium score on the specific commitment measure (42%, 55% and 57% respectively) rather than either a high or low score. Finally, those listing more extrinsic reasons, more intrinsic reasons, or the same number of both tended to receive a high score on the general commitment measure (45%, 60% and 44% respectively). (See Table 64, page 222.)

In other words, the additional information on the types of perceived effect of work and on the expressed reasons for working revealed no pattern or relationship with the dependent variables.

#### The Occupational Groups

A preliminary look at the occupational groups (and the occupational prestige and occupational sex-characterization which they depict) reveals different associations with each of the dependent variables. Neither occupation nor occupational prestige was related to the importance of work for self-identity. However, the traditional sex-characterization of the occupation revealed a moderate association with the importance of work for self. Women working in the traditionally female occupations (social workers and fashion models) were more likely to perceive a low importance of work for self (42%) than was true of women working in the traditionally male occupations (newspaper reporters and privates and corporals in the Forces) (27%). Women working in the traditionally male occupations, on the other hand, were more likely to perceive a

Table 63

Reasons for Working by Importance of Work for Self-Identity

Importance of Work	Reasons for Working					
	more extrinsic		same of both		more intrinsic	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	16	24	6	25	18	22
medium	30	45	10	42	33	40
low	21	31	8	33	32	39
<b>totals</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>101</b>

chi square = .92; D.F. = 4; not statistically significant  
 gamma = .09, not statistically significant

Table 64

## Reasons for Working by General and Specific Commitment to Work

A.) Reasons for Working						
General Commitment	more extrinsic		same of both		more intrinsic	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	34	45	10	44	45	60
medium	27	36	10	44	20	27
low	15	20	3	13	10	13
totals	76	101	23	101	75	100

chi square = 5.28; D.F. = 4; not statistically significant.

gamma = .21, not statistically significant

B.) Reasons for Working						
Specific Commitment	more extrinsic		same of both		more intrinsic	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	26	34	7	30	23	31
medium	32	42	13	57	41	55
low	18	24	3	13	11	15
totals	76	100	23	100	75	101

chi square = 3.90; D.F. = 4; not statistically significant

gamma = .03, not statistically significant



high importance of work (29%) than was true of women working in the traditionally female occupations (17%). (See Tables 65 and 66, pages 224 and 225.)

Although occupational prestige was unrelated to general commitment ( $\gamma = .10$ ), both occupation and the traditional sex-characterization of the occupation were related (Tables 67 and 68, pages 226 and 227). Each occupational group revealed its own distinctive pattern. Newspaper reporters were the most likely to express a high general commitment to work (79%) whereas the social workers were the least likely to do so (26%). Social workers, however, were the most likely to express a medium commitment (54%) while the newspaper reporters were the least likely to do so (19%). The military women were the most likely to express a low commitment to work (29%) and the newspaper reporters were the least likely to do so (2%). In other words, the newspaper reporters tended to express high general commitment and social workers a medium general commitment. Although fewer military women or models express a high general commitment than was true of newspaper reporters, more women in the two former occupations expressed high general commitment than medium or low commitment.

The relationship between the traditional sex-characterization of the occupation and general commitment is comparable to that between the traditional sex-characterization of the occupation and the importance of work for self. Women working in the traditionally female occupations (social workers and fashion models) were more likely to express medium

Table 65  
Occupation by the Importance of Work

Importance of Work	Occupation							
	military women		models		newspaper reporters		social workers	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	13	37	7	17	11	23	9	18
medium	17	49	17	41	19	40	20	40
low	5	14	18	43	17	36	21	42
totals	35	100	42	101	47	99	50	100

chi square = 10.52; D.F. = 6; not statistically significant  
gamma = .20, not statistically significant

Table 66

## Occupational Prestige and Occupational Sex-Characterization by Importance of Work

A.) Importance of Work	Occupational Prestige			
	low prestige		high prestige	
	N	%	N	%
high	20	26	20	21
medium	34	44	39	40
low	23	30	38	39
<b>totals</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100</b>

chi square = 1.72; D.F. = 2; not statistically significant  
 gamma = .16, not statistically significant

B.) Importance of Work	Occupational Sex-Characterization			
	traditionally non-female		traditionally female	
	N	%	N	%
high	24	29	16	17
medium	36	44	37	40
low	22	27	39	42
<b>totals</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>99</b>

chi square = 5.97; D.F. = 2; significance level = .05  
 gamma = .30, not statistically significant



Table 67

## Occupation by General Commitment to Work

General Commitment	Occupation							
	Military Women		Models		Newspaper Reporters		Social Workers	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	16	46	23	55	37	79	13	26
medium	9	26	12	29	9	19	27	54
low	10	29	7	17	1	2	10	20
totals	35	101	42	101	47	100	50	100

chi square = 33.34; D.F. = 6; significance level = .001  
 gamma = .09, not statistically significant

Table 68

## Occupational Prestige and Occupational Sex-Characterization by General Commitment to Work

A.) General Commitment	Occupational Prestige			
	low prestige		high prestige	
	N	%	N	%
high	39	51	50	52
medium	21	27	36	37
low	17	22	11	11
totals	77	100	97	100

chi square = 4.35; D.F. = 2; not statistically significant  
 gamma = .10, not statistically significant

B.) General Commitment	Occupational Sex-Characterization			
	traditionally non-female		traditionally female	
	N	%	N	%
high	53	65	36	39
medium	18	22	39	42
low	11	13	17	19
totals	82	100	92	100

chi square = 11.73; D.F. = 2; significance level = .002  
 gamma = .38, not statistically significant

or low general commitment (42% and 19% respectively) than was true of those working in the traditionally male occupations (22% and 13% respectively). Those working in the traditionally male occupations, on the other hand, were more likely to express high general commitment (65%) than was true of those working in the traditionally female occupations (39%).

Specific commitment to work is unrelated to occupational sex-characterization but is related to both occupation and occupational prestige (Tables 69 and 70, pages 229-230). Again, the newspaper reporters were the most likely to express high specific commitment to work (60%) but the fashion models were the least likely to do so (9%). Social workers, military women, and fashion models all tended to express a medium specific commitment (56%, 54% and 52% respectively). Similar to general commitment, the privates and corporals were again the most likely to express a low specific commitment (37%) and the newspaper reporters the least likely to do so (4%).

Occupational prestige is highly correlated with specific commitment to work. Women working in high prestige occupations (social workers and newspaper reporters) were more likely to express high specific commitment to work (44%) than was true of those in the low prestige occupations (fashion models and military women) (17%). Women working in the low prestige occupations, on the other hand, were more likely to express medium or low specific commitment (53% and 30% respectively) than was true of those in the high prestige occupations (46% and 9% respectively).

In other words, the traditional sex-characterization of the



Table 69  
Occupation by Specific Commitment to Work

Specific Commitment	Occupation							
	Military Women		Models		Newspaper Reporters		Social Workers	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
high	3	9	10	24	28	60	15	30
medium	19	54	22	52	17	36	28	56
low	13	37	10	24	2	4	7	14
totals	35	100	42	100	47	100	50	100

chi square = 33.35; D.F. = 6; significance level = .001  
gamma = .32, not statistically significant

Table 70

## Occupational Prestige and Occupational Sex-Characterization by Specific Commitment to Work

A.) Occupational Prestige				
Specific Commitment	low prestige		high prestige	
	N	%	N	%
high	13	17	43	44
medium	41	53	45	46
low	23	30	9	9
totals	77	100	97	99

chi square = 20.35; D.F. = 2; significance level = .001  
 gamma = .56, significance level = .001

B.) Occupational Sex-Characterization				
Specific Commitment	traditionally non-female		traditionally female	
	N	%	N	%
high	31	38	25	27
medium	36	44	50	54
low	15	18	17	19
totals	82	100	92	100

chi square = 2.48; D.F. = 2; not statistically significant  
 gamma = .14, not statistically significant

occupation was related to both the importance of work and general commitment to work. Occupation was related to both general commitment to work and specific commitment to work. Occupational prestige was related only to specific commitment to work.

### Conclusions

This chapter has presented empirical data confirming the conceptual distinction between the importance of work for self and commitment to work which was suggested earlier. Neither of the two measures of commitment was related to the measure for the importance of work for self. The two measures of commitment however were related to one another. The moderate relationship between the two and the 'more positive' response pattern to the general measure led to the suggestion that each measure, while referring in part to the same phenomenon, measured something different from the other measure. The data presented in the remaining sections of the chapter supported this contention.

Information on the type of effect which work was perceived to have had, said little about any of the dependent variables. Despite the small cell size for some of these variables, none appeared to be related to either the importance of work or specific commitment to work. Type of effect on self and person identity was, however, related to general commitment. Those perceiving either a negative or positive effect (but not neutral) tended to receive a high score for general commitment. This particular pattern heightens the utility of the earlier



distinction between the presence of or absence of a perceived effect rather than an ordinal ranking of the type of effect from positive through neutral to negative.

The information on reasons for working was unrelated to any of the dependent variables. Most of the respondents within each category perceived a medium importance of work, a medium specific commitment to work, and a high general commitment to work.

Information on the occupational groups, occupational prestige, and occupational sex-characterization revealed differential relationships for each of the dependent variables. The traditional sex-characterization of the occupation was related to both the importance of work and general commitment to work. Those working in traditionally female occupations were more likely to perceive a low importance of work and to reveal a low or medium general commitment to work. Those working in traditionally male occupations were more likely to perceive a high importance of work and to reveal a high general commitment to work. These simple cross-tabulations suggest, contrary to existing research (Nilson,1976; Guppy and Siltanen,1976), that women who actually participate in cross-sex occupations may well accord themselves greater status than women working in same-sex occupations even if others in the population do not. They also suggest greater involvement in or identification with the occupational role by women in cross-sex occupations, perhaps due to their 'special' status or less traditional processes leading them into those occupations. The following two chapters explore the change or stability in these relationships when other factors are

introduced. After exploring the role of other factors, this relationship will be discussed in more detail.

Occupation was related to both measures of commitment, general and specific. For both measures, newspaper reporters were most likely to receive a high score and the military women a low score. However, the social workers were the most likely to receive a medium score on general commitment while the social workers, models, and military women were all likely to receive a medium score on specific commitment. This difference is not surprising considering the larger proportion of women who scored high on general commitment and the larger proportion who scored medium on the specific measure. These relationships suggest being in a cross-sex occupation increases commitment only when that occupation has high prestige and decreases commitment when the occupation has low prestige. Again, the implications of these findings will be explored in greater detail in the following chapters.

Occupational prestige was related only to specific commitment. Those in high prestige occupations were more likely to receive a high score on this scale while those in low prestige occupations were more likely to receive a medium or low score on this scale. This relationship is similar to that reported for men. Assuming that this measure is more highly correlated with future behaviour than the general measure, these findings suggest those factors operating to increase commitment among women may well be the same as for men (i.e., increased monetary reward, interesting work, career opportunities, etc.).

The fact that all three of the measures discussed here reveal

different relationships with the variables under consideration demonstrates the lack of conceptual clarity in existing research on commitment to and identification with the work role. It also points to the extreme caution which should be used when choosing indicators and when interpreting results. As noted elsewhere, in this study, the importance of work for self-identity and commitment to work are considered conceptually and empirically distinct. Furthermore, the association between the two commitment measures (and their lack of association with importance of work) suggests they are measuring some of the same phenomena while also measuring some aspects which are different from one another. The specific measure is considered more valid because of past research showing the likelihood that it will be more predictive of behaviour in the future.

The next two chapters turn to a more extensive analyses of the data, taking other factors into consideration. Chapter six discusses the relevance of past variables (early socialization and job history) for importance of work and commitment to work. Chapter seven then turns to a discussion of current variables (work roles, non-work factors, and time and energy constraints) and their relationships with importance of work and commitment to work.



## CHAPTER 6 - CONFIRMING A MEADIAN HYPOTHESIS

The evolution of the self within a Meadian perspective was elaborated in chapter one. Within that perspective, change in the self during adulthood was discussed as basic and universal. Contrary to self theorists claiming the core self is formed in childhood, Mead's emphasis on the specious present as the locus of reality pointed to the greater importance of current rather than past experiences for the self. Adopting Meadian theory, it was hypothesized that current adult experiences would be more important for and empirically reveal a higher correlation with current adult self-identity than would childhood or past experiences.

The first part of this chapter explores the relevance of the early socialization data for the importance of work for self-identity (as well as commitment to work) for both the sample as a whole and for each of the occupational groups.

Chapter two discussed the assumptions made by researchers investigating commitment to work among women and the particular role attributed to women's past. Past experiences, and in particular temporary and part-time involvement in the labour force, were discussed as primary reasons for women's secondary commitment to the work role. Maintaining a Meadian perspective however, there was no reason to assume these particular past experiences would be any more important than those during early socialization. In addition, recent literature pointed to the lack of empirical research investigating these assumptions and offered

theoretical reasons for questioning them (Eichler,1973; Greenglass, 1973). The Meadian hypothesis, therefore, was not qualified to make exception to past work experiences.

The second part of this chapter explores the relationships between the dependent variables (importance of work for self-identity and commitment to work) and past work experiences. The data are discussed for the sample as a whole and for each of the four occupational groups.

#### Early Socialization

The data were analyzed using regression analysis<sup>33</sup>. Looking first at the importance of work for self-identity, the results of the analyses show few significant relationships with this dependent variable. Among the total sample and when all of the past variables are included (referring to both early childhood socialization and past work experiences), 11 percent of the overall variance is accounted for (overall  $F = 1.66$ ; D.F. = 12 and 135; not statistically significant). These results change slightly when those variables with standardized

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33.) Regression analysis was used in the analyses which follow (see Blalock,1964; Blau and Duncan,1967; Land,1969; and Mueller, et al., 1977 for a discussion). Using the rule of thumb that the number of cases should equal at least four times the number of independent variables (Taylor,1977; Shooter,1977), listwise deletion (omission of all cases missing information for any variable in the analysis) was utilized where the number of cases permitted its use. Unless otherwise specified, listwise deletion was employed. If the number of cases was small, pairwise deletion was employed (missing information for a particular variable causes that variable to be deleted from the analyses only when that particular variable is being utilized in the calculation). When pairwise deletion was used, it is noted at the end of the relevant table.

coefficients less than .10 are removed from the analyses. Table 71, page 238 shows the results for the total sample when the restricted number of variables is used. The amount of variance explained decreases to only eight percent. Looking only at the indicators for childhood socialization experiences, it is clear that none of them emerge as significantly related to the importance of work for self-identity. However, the type of formal education shows the strongest relationship with this dependent variable. Those who received training which was related or unrelated to their current occupation tend to express a greater importance of work while those who received training which was specifically related to their current occupation tend to express less importance of work.

More interesting is the finding that father's occupation, mother's occupation, and mother's work history are unrelated to the importance of work for self. This is contrary to the suggestion that the father's, or more particularly in the case of daughters, the mother's, occupation is important for the woman's own perception of her work role.

Table 72-75, pages 239-242, show the results for each of the occupational groups. Among social workers, 27 percent of the variance in the dependent variable is explained when those variables with coefficients less than .10 are deleted. None of the childhood socialization variables are related to the importance of work among this group of working women.

Similar results are shown for newspaper reporters. Although



Table 71

Regression Coefficients: Past Experiences and Importance of Work

Dependent Variable - Importance of Work			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
number of work interruptions	-.20	5.11	.05
(intermittent career scale)	(-.19)	(4.86)	(.05)
type of formal education	-.18	3.90	NS**
length of job involvement	.15	2.69	NS
parents reactions	.12	2.28	NS
ordinal position in family of orientation	.10	1.52	NS
Canadian affiliation	.03	.11	NS
Overall F = 2.12; D.F. = 6 and 146; not statistically significant			
R <sup>2</sup> = .08			

\* D.F. = 1 and 146

\*\* not statistically significant

The following were not included because their standardized coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: age, father's occupation, mother's work history, plans for working when little, mother's occupation, scope of job history.

Table 72

Regression Coefficients: Past Experiences and Importance of Work among Social Workers

Independent Variables	Dependent Variable - Importance of Work		
	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
mother's occupation	-.42	.92	NS**
scope of job history	-.24	1.45	NS
plans for working when little	.23	1.61	NS
parents reactions	.25	1.88	NS
ordinal position in family of orientation	.19	1.05	NS
Canadian affiliation	.16	.79	NS
number of work interruptions	-.21	.95	NS
type of education	-.14	.59	NS
length of occupational involvement	.23	.60	NS
age	-.18	.26	NS
formal education	-.08	.24	NS

Overall F = .82; D.F. = 11 and 38; not statistically significant  
 $R^2 = .27$

\* D.F. = 1 and 38

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size

The following were not included because their standardized coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: intermittent career scale and father's occupation. (For mother's work history, Beta = .24; F = .28.)

Table 73

Regression Coefficients: Past Experiences and Importance of Work among Newspaper Reporters

Dependent Variable - Importance of Work			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
Canadian affiliation	-.25	3.83	NS**
mother's occupation	.48	3.78	NS
intermittent career scale	-.34	6.52	.05
type of education	-.23	2.79	NS
parents reactions	.17	1.20	NS
father's occupation	-.15	1.31	NS
formal education	.14	1.24	NS
ordinal position in family of orientation	-.03	.05	NS
Overall F = 3.35; D.F. = 8 and 38; significance level = .05			
R <sup>2</sup> = .41			

\* D.F. = 1 and 38

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following were not included because their standardized coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: age, plans for working when little, length of occupational involvement, number of work interruptions, and scope of job history. (Mother's work history did not enter the above analysis. Beta = .001, F = .003.)



Table 74

Regression Coefficients: Past Experiences and Importance of Work among Fashion Models

Independent Variables	Dependent Variable - Importance of Work		
	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
father's occupation	-.33	3.64	NS**
age	.30	1.66	NS
number of work interruptions	-.20	1.45	NS
formal education	-.10	.35	NS
length of occupational involvement	-.05	.05	NS

Overall F = 1.22; D.F. = 5 and 35; not statistically significant  
 $R^2 = .18$

\* D.F. = 1 and 35

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following were not included because their standardized coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: ordinal position in the family of orientation, plans for working when little, mother's work history, mother's occupation, parents reactions, type of education, scope of job history, and intermittent career scale. (Canadian affiliation did not enter the above analysis, Beta = .01; F = .003.)

Table 75

Regression Coefficients: Past Experiences and Importance of Work among Military Women

Independent Variables	Dependent Variable - Importance of Work		
	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
Canadian affiliation	.28	2.81	NS**
parents' reactions	.35	4.01	NS
scope of job history	.24	2.08	NS
ordinal position in family of orientation	-.18	1.12	NS
father's occupation	-.13	.16	NS
mother's work history	.71	3.77	NS
mother's occupation	-.70	3.44	NS

Overall F = 1.78; D.F. = 7 and 27; not statistically significant  
 $R^2 = .32$

\* D.F. = 1 and 27

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following were excluded because their standardized coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: age, formal education of the respondent, plans for working when little, length of job involvement, number of work interruptions, and the intermittent career scale. (Type of formal education did not enter the above analysis, beta = .01; F = .003.)

none of the childhood experience variables are significant, 41 percent of the overall variance is explained. Furthermore, Canadian affiliation, mother's occupation and type of education approach significance. The relationship with type of education is similar to that for the total sample. Those who received training which was related or unrelated to their current occupation tend to express a greater importance of work while those who received training which was specifically related to their current occupation tend to express less importance of work for self-identity. The association with Canadian affiliation reveals that those who have a weaker Canadian affiliation are more likely to express a greater importance of work. Those with a stronger Canadian affiliation are more likely to express a less importance of work. Newspaper women whose mothers worked in lower occupational levels are more likely to express a greater importance of work while those whose mothers worked in higher occupational levels are more likely to express a less importance of work.

Among fashion models, again none of the early socialization variables are related to importance of work (18 percent of the variance is explained). Among this group, it is the father's occupation and the age of the respondent which show the strongest relationships with the importance of work for self-identity. Those whose fathers worked at higher occupational levels are more likely to reveal a greater importance of work. Those whose fathers worked at lower occupational levels are more likely to reveal a less importance of work. The older respondents are also more likely to reveal a greater importance of work while the



younger respondents are more likely to reveal a less importance of work for self-identity.

Among military women, none of the early socialization variables are significantly related to the importance of work (32 percent of the variance is explained). Among these women, Canadian affiliation, parents' reactions, mother's work history, and mother's occupation show the strongest relationships. Those with a stronger Canadian affiliation tend to express a greater importance of work while those with a weaker affiliation tend to express a less importance of work (this is opposite to the relationship found among newspaper reporters). Those whose parents' expressed more disapproval towards plans of working when they were younger are more likely to express a greater importance of work. Those whose parents' expressed approval towards such plans are more likely to express less importance of work. Those whose mothers worked, tend to express a greater importance of work while those whose mothers did not work tend to express less importance of work. Those whose mothers worked at higher occupational levels tend to reveal a greater importance of work while those whose mothers worked at lower occupational levels tend to reveal less importance of work (this is the opposite relationship to that found among the newspaper reporters).

These findings suggest that early childhood experiences are not particularly important for these working women's expressed importance of work for their self-identities. In other words, the Meadian hypothesis discussed in chapter two is supported. Furthermore, they do not appear to be good predictors of this dependent variable (eight percent of the

variance is explained).

The different findings for the occupational groups when compared with each other and with the results for the total sample suggest that working women are not a homogeneous group. Not only are different variables related to the dependent variable for these different groups, but some show relationships in different directions. For example, Canadian affiliation is negatively related to importance of work among newspaper reporters but positively related among privates and corporals in the Forces. The different directions together with the fact that different variables show relationships with the dependent variable for the different groups help explain the lack of relationships for the sample as a whole. Combining the groups could well cancel the effects in the sample as a whole.

Similar results are shown for general commitment to work. None of the early socialization variables show a significant relationship with this dependent variable and none of the F-values approach significance. All of the past variables explain only seven percent of the variance (overall  $F = .80$ ; D.F. = 12 and 135; not statistically significant). When those variables with coefficients of less than .10 are deleted, only two percent of the variance is explained (Table 76, page 246).

The occupational groups, however, reveal different findings (Tables 77-80, pages 247-250). Among social workers, formal education shows a significant relationship with general commitment to work. Consistent with expectations, those with more formal education tend to

Table 76

Regression Coefficients: Past Experiences and General Commitment to Work

Independent Variables	Dependent Variable - General Commitment		
	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
length of occupational involvement	.17	1.54	NS**
age	-.12	.71	NS
intermittent career	.07	.54	NS
mother's work history	.08	.26	NS

Overall F = .84; D.F. = 4 and 168; not statistically significant  
 $R^2 = .02$

\* D.F. = 1 and 168

\*\* not statistically significant

The following were excluded because their standardized coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: Canadian affiliation, ordinal position in family of orientation, father's occupation, mother's occupation, plans for working when little, parents' reactions, formal education, type of education, number of work interruptions, and scope of job history



Table 77

Regression Coefficients: Past Experiences and General Commitment among Social Workers

Dependent Variable - General Commitment			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
number of work interruptions	.46	7.89	.01
(intermittent career)	(.11)	(.35)	(NS)**
formal education	.33	6.05	.05
parents' reactions	-.18	1.79	NS
scope of job history	.21	1.98	NS
father's occupation	-.14	.97	NS
length of occupational involvement	.34	1.94	NS
age	-.33	1.56	NS

Overall F = 3.64; D.F. = 7 and 31; significance level = .01  
 $R^2 = .45$

\* D.F. = 1 and 31

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size. The following were excluded because their standardized coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: Canadian affiliation, ordinal position in family of orientation, mother's work history, mother's occupation, plans for working when little, and type of education.

Table 78

Regression Coefficients: Past Experiences and General Commitment among Newspaper Reporters

Dependent Variable - General Commitment			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
formal education	.30	3.49	NS**
age	-.47	3.09	NS
number of work interruptions	.21	1.52	NS
(intermittent career)	(.29)	(3.05)	(NS)
length of occupational involvement	.25	.94	NS
father's occupation	-.14	.80	NS
mother's work history	.06	.04	NS
parents' reactions	-.10	.37	NS
plans for working when little	-.10	.36	NS
scope of job history	.04	.08	NS

Overall F = 1.71; D.F. = 9 and 32; not statistically significant  
 $R^2 = .35$

\* D.F. = 1 and 32

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following were excluded because their standardized coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: Canadian affiliation, ordinal position in family of orientation, type of education and mother's occupation.

Table 79

Regression Coefficients: Past Experiences and General Commitment among Fashion Models

Dependent Variable - General Commitment			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
number of work interruptions	-.22	1.75	NS**
length of occupational involvement	.28	2.78	NS
formal education	-.34	3.69	NS
plans for working when little	-.15	.73	NS
father's occupation	-.19	1.31	NS
ordinal position in family of orientation	.09	.35	NS
Overall F = 1.37; D.F. = 6 and 33; not statistically significant R <sup>2</sup> = .22			

\* D.F. = 1 and 33

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following were excluded because their standardized coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: age, Canadian affiliation, mother's work history, mother's occupation, parents' reactions, type of education, scope of job history, and intermittent career.



Table 80

Regression Coefficients: Past Experiences and General Commitment among Military Women

Independent Variables	Dependent Variable - General Commitment		
	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
mother's occupation	.99	11.79	.01
ordinal position in family of orientation	.41	9.02	.01
scope of job history	-.34	7.30	.05
father's occupation	.29	5.34	.05
type of education	.39	6.97	.05
Canadian affiliation	-.18	1.68	NS**
mother's work history	-.46	2.65	NS
parents' reactions	-.21	2.60	NS
number of work interruptions	-.22	2.52	NS

Overall F = 4.98; D.F. = 9 and 25; significance level = .01  
 $R^2 = .64$

\* D.F. = 1 and 25

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following were excluded because their standardized coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: age, formal education, length of job involvement, and intermittent career scale.

reveal a higher general commitment to work and those with less formal education tend to reveal a lower general commitment to work.

Among newspaper reporters, none of the early socialization variables are significantly related to general commitment to work. Formal education and age show the strongest relationships with this dependent variable. Those with more education tend to express a higher general commitment while those with less education tend to express lower general commitment. However, the younger respondents also tend to express a higher general commitment while the older respondents tend to express lower general commitment.

The results for the fashion models also show a lack of significant relationships. Among this group, formal education shows a relatively strong relationship with general commitment. However, it is those models who have relatively less education that express a higher general commitment and those who have more education who express a lower general commitment.

The military women appear dissimilar to the other groups. All past variables account for 64 percent of the variance (Table 80, page 250) and many are significantly related to general commitment to work. Among the early socialization variables, mother's occupation, ordinal position in the family of orientation, father's occupation, and type of education are all related to the dependent variable. Those whose mothers worked at lower occupational levels express higher general commitment while those whose mothers worked at higher occupational levels tend to express lower general commitment. Those who were the

youngest or were middle children in their families of orientation tend to express a high general commitment while those who were only children or the oldest children tend to express lower general commitment. Those whose fathers worked at lower occupational levels tend to express high commitment while those whose fathers worked at higher occupational levels tend to express low general commitment. Those with more formal education tend to express high general commitment while those with less formal education tend to express low general commitment.

In other words, these findings are similar in some ways to those just reported for the importance of work for self. They suggest that early childhood experiences are not particularly important for these working women's general commitment to work. The Meadian hypothesis is again supported. Furthermore, they do not appear to be good predictors of the dependent variable. Again, differential findings were reported for the occupational groups when compared with each other and with the sample as a whole. When examining general commitment to work, it would appear that working women are not a homogeneous group. There appear to be distinctive differences between the occupants of different occupations.

When all of the past variables are analyzed in relation to specific commitment to work, the results reveal no significant relationships between any of the early socialization variables (overall  $F = 2.11$ ; D.F. = 12 and 135; not statistically significant;  $R^2 = .17$ ). When those variables with coefficients less than .10 are deleted, the variance explained decreases to 10 percent and formal education shows a strong relationship with specific commitment (Table 81, page 253).



Table 81

Regression Coefficients: Past Experiences and Specific Commitment to Work

Dependent Variable - Specific Commitment			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
formal education	.18	5.26	.05
type of education	.13	2.97	NS**
plans for working when little	-.11	2.16	NS
mother's occupation	-.07	.85	NS
length of occupational involvement	.08	.85	NS
number of work interruptions	-.03	.22	NS
(intermittent career)	(-.14)	(3.27)	(NS)

Overall F = 3.17; D.F. = 6 and 166; significance level = .01  
 $R^2 = .10$

\* D.F. = 1 and 166

\*\* not statistically significant

The following were excluded because their standardized coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: age, Canadian affiliation, ordinal position in family of orientation, father's occupation, mother's work history, parents' reactions, and scope of job history.

Note: When the items for specific commitment are separated into those which are hypothetical (i.e., women without husbands and/or without children) and those which are not hypothetical, and the analyses performed with the different subsamples which result, similar conclusions are apparent. This is also the case for the analyses presented in the next chapter.

Those with more formal education tend to express higher specific commitment while those with less education tend to express lower specific commitment. This relationship is not surprising considering the well-established relationship between formal education and occupational prestige, and between occupational prestige and commitment to work.

Turning to each of the occupational groups, once again different findings are evident (Tables 82-85, pages 255-258). Among social workers, none of the early socialization variables are significantly related to specific commitment to work.

Among newspaper reporters, both plans for working when little and father's occupation show relatively strong relationships with the dependent variable. Those who planned to work when they were little tend to reveal higher specific commitment while those who did not plan to work tend to reveal lower specific commitment. Considering the retrospective nature of this variable, it suggests that at minimum the newspaper reporters maintain time perspective consistency. Those who view their past commitment to work as 'high' also view their commitment in the future to be 'high'. This is consistent with Mead's contention that we search for consistency from the present to the past and to the future. Those whose fathers worked at higher occupational levels tend to reveal a higher specific commitment and those whose fathers worked at lower occupational levels tend to reveal a lower specific commitment to work. This is consistent with past studies reporting a correlation between father's occupational level and

Table 82

Regression Coefficients: Past Experiences and Specific Commitment among Social Workers

Dependent Variable - Specific Commitment			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
formal education	.16	1.21	NS**
plans for working when little	-.11	.51	NS
number of work interruptions	.15	.69	NS
Canadian affiliation	.08	.30	NS
length of occupational involvement	.25	1.00	NS
age	-.25	1.00	NS

Overall F = .64; D.F. = 6 and 42; not statistically significant  
 $R^2 = .09$

\* D.F. = 1 and 42

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following were excluded because their standardized coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: ordinal position in family of orientation, father's occupation, mother's work history, mother's occupation, parents' reactions, type of education, scope of job history, and intermittent career.



Table 83

Regression Coefficients: Past Experiences and Specific Commitment among Newspaper Reporters

Dependent Variable - Specific Commitment			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
intermittent career	-.27	3.17	NS**
father's occupation	-.27	3.25	NS
plans for working when little	-.33	4.27	.05
Canadian affiliation	.21	1.96	NS
parents' reactions	.09	.41	NS
mother's work history	-.32	1.34	NS
mother's occupation	.30	1.03	NS

Overall F = 1.92; D.F. = 7 and 34; not statistically significant  
 $R^2 = .28$

\* D.F. = 1 and 34

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following were excluded because their standardized coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: age, formal education, type of education, length of occupational involvement, number of work interruptions and scope of job history.

Table 84

Regression Coefficients: Past Experiences and Specific Commitment among Fashion Models

Dependent Variable - Specific Commitment			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
age	-.25	2.24	NS**
mother's occupation	-.14	.25	NS
number of work interruptions (intermittent career)	-.21 (-.45)	1.51 (6.79)	NS (.05)
plans for working when little	.17	.88	NS
mother's work history	-.17	.36	NS
father's occupation	.13	.57	NS
education	.11	.40	NS

Overall F = 1.09; D.F. = 7 and 33; not statistically significant  
 $R^2 = .18$

\* D.F. = 1 and 33

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following were excluded because their standardized coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: Canadian affiliation, parents' reactions, type of education, length of occupational involvement, and scope of job history.

Table 85

Regression Coefficients: Past Experiences and Specific Commitment among Military Women

Independent Variables	Dependent Variable - Specific Commitment		
	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
plans for working when little	-.37	2.84	NS**
ordinal position in family of orientation	.31	2.40	NS
Canadian affiliation	-.24	1.72	NS
mother's work history	.01	.00	NS
father's occupation	.25	1.38	NS
age	-.43	1.33	NS
length of occupational involvement	.45	1.31	NS
number of work interruptions	-.26	.73	NS
(intermittent career)	(-.24)	(1.42)	(NS)
scope of job history	-.12	.32	NS

Overall F = .85; D.F. = 9 and 25; not statistically significant  
 $R^2 = .26$

\* D.F. = 1 and 25

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following were excluded because their standardized coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: mother's occupation, formal education, parents' reactions, and type of education



respondent's educational level, and between educational level and occupational prestige. It should be noted however, that formal education is not related to specific commitment among this group of female newspaper reporters.

Among the fashion models, none of the early socialization variables is related to specific commitment. However, age shows the strongest relationship. Older respondents show a tendency to express a lower specific commitment while younger respondents tend to express a higher specific commitment.

Finally, among military women none of the early socialization variables is related to specific commitment. Plans for working when little and ordinal position in family of orientation nevertheless show some relationship with the dependent variable. The relationship with plans when little again supports Mead's notion of the search for consistency through time. The relationship with ordinal position in the family of orientation shows those who were middle or youngest children tend to express a higher specific commitment while those who were only children or the oldest tend to express a lower commitment to work.

These findings for specific commitment to work tend to support those for the importance of work for self and general commitment to work: early childhood socialization variables tend not to be related to any of these variables for the total sample (other than education when examining specific commitment to work); working women appear not to be a homogeneous group with respect to specific commitment; and

for some of the occupational groups these past variables seem to be fairly good predictors but the variables differ for each group.

In sum, when all of the past variables are included, none of the early childhood socialization variables emerge as significantly related to any of the three dependent variables. Similarly, when those variables with coefficients of less than .10 are excluded, none of the childhood socialization variables are significantly related except for formal education and specific commitment to work. As noted earlier, this is consistent with the established relationships between formal education and occupational prestige, and between occupational prestige and commitment to work. Formal education however, is not related to general commitment to work. This general lack of relationships between childhood socialization and the three dependent variables examined here support the Meadian hypothesis that childhood socialization is probably not related to current attitudes and in particular to current adult self-identity. This is supported by the fact that the past variables explained little of the variance in any of the three dependent variables (this is discussed in more detail later in this chapter).

The second major suggestion emerging from these findings relates to whether or not working women can be viewed together as a homogeneous group. The analyses for each of the occupational groups suggests that such an assumption of homogeneity is not warranted. Different variables emerge as important for different occupational groups and different variables account for substantially different amounts of the variance for each of the three variables. Among social workers, few relation-

ships are shown between childhood socialization and the three dependent variables. Formal education is the only one that reaches statistical significance and only with general commitment to work. Among newspaper reporters, plans for working when little is the only one that reaches statistical significance and only with specific commitment to work. Among fashion models none of the childhood socialization variables are significantly related to any of the three dependent variables. Among military women none of the variables are significantly related to either the importance of work for self or specific commitment to work. However, mother's occupation, ordinal position in the family of orientation, father's occupation, and type of education are all significantly related to general commitment to work.

#### Past Work Experiences

The results for past work experiences reveal slightly different findings. When all of the past variables are analyzed, neither length of occupational involvement, intermittency of labour force participation, nor scope of job history is significantly related to importance of work for the total sample of working women. The number of work interruptions approaches significance. When those variables with coefficients less than .10 are deleted, both the number of work interruptions and the intermittent career scale are significantly related to this dependent variable (Table 71, page 238). Working women with more interruptions tend to express less importance of work while those with fewer work interruptions tend to express higher importance of work. Similarly



those with more intermittent careers tend to express less importance of work while those with less intermittent careers tend to express a greater importance of work for self. These relationships tend to support the traditional assumption that it is women's part-time or temporary employment which leads to a lesser importance of work. They also suggest that continuity or lack of continuity within the work role is more important for the importance of that role than is the idea of length of time irrespective of its continuity or constancy.

Among social workers, fashion models, and military women, none of the past work variables emerge as significantly related to the importance of work for self-identity (Tables 72, 74, and 75, pages 239, 241, and 242 respectively). Furthermore, none of these variables approach significance.

Among newspaper reporters, the intermittent career scale is significantly related to this dependent variable but the number of work interruptions is not (Table 73, page 240). The more intermittent the career, the less likely work is considered important for self-identity. Conversely, the less intermittent the career, the more likely work is considered important for self-identity. This is the same relationship reported above for the total sample.

When applied to past work experiences, the Meadian hypothesis receives partial support. Among the total sample and among newspaper reporters, intermittent participation is related to perceived less importance of the work role for self-identity. This is not the case among social workers, fashion models, and military women.

Turning to general commitment to work, past work experiences are unrelated to this variable among the total sample, newspaper reporters and fashion models (Tables 76, 78, and 79, pages 246, 248, and 249 respectively). Within the total sample, none of these variables approach significance. However, among newspaper reporters, the intermittent career shows a relatively strong relationship. Contrary to expectations, it is those who experience more intermittent careers who tend to express a higher general commitment. Those who experience less intermittent careers tend to express less general commitment. Among fashion models, the length of occupational involvement shows the strongest relationship (among the past work variables). As expected, those who have worked in their occupation for a longer time tend to reveal a higher general commitment to work while those who have worked for a shorter period tend to reveal a lower commitment to work.

Social workers, however, reveal a significant relationship between the number of work interruptions (but not the intermittent career scale) and general commitment (Table 77, page 247). Contrary to expectation and similar to the newspaper reporters, it is those who experience more work interruptions who tend to express higher general commitment and those who experience fewer work interruptions who tend to express low general commitment to work.

Among military women (Table 80, page 250), the scope of their job history is significantly related to general commitment when the restricted number of past variables is utilized. Women who have worked

in jobs unrelated to their current occupation tend to express low general commitment while those who have worked only in their current occupation tend to express higher commitment to work.

In other words, length of occupational involvement appears to be unimportant for general commitment except for a non-significant relationship among fashion models, intermittency of career appears to be unimportant except for a non-significant relationship found among newspaper reporters, the number of work interruptions tends to be unimportant except for a relationship found among social workers, and scope of job history tends to be unimportant except for a relationship found among military women. Furthermore, the relationships between career intermittency and general commitment among the newspaper reporters and between the number of work interruptions and general commitment among the social workers are contrary to the traditional assumptions that it is women's part-time and temporary involvement in the labour force which accounts for their secondary commitment to work. For these women, their part-time and temporary involvement appears to increase at least their expressed general commitment to work. These results also at least partially support the Meadian hypothesis.

All three work history variables are relatively unimportant for specific commitment to work when analyzing the sample as a whole (Table 81, page 253). Among these three variables, the strongest relationship is shown with the intermittent career scale. Those with more intermittent careers reveal less specific commitment to work while those with less intermittent careers tend to reveal more specific



commitment. This is similar to the relationship discussed with importance of work and similarly supports the traditional assumptions. These findings are repeated among the newspaper reporters (Table 83, page 256). Among social workers and military women, the findings are again repeated except for these two groups none of the past job experiences even approach significance (Tables 82 and 85, pages 255 and 258 respectively).

Only among the fashion models does one of these variables reach statistical significance (Table 84, page 257). The intermittent career scale (but not the number of work interruptions) is related to specific commitment. The more intermittent the career, the more likely the model expresses a low specific commitment to work. The less intermittent the career, the more likely she expresses a high commitment to work.

The general lack of relationships reported here between past work experiences and specific commitment to work adds further support to the Meadian hypothesis. Past work experiences appear to be relatively unimportant for specific commitment to work, especially among the total sample, among social workers, fashion models and military women.

In sum, when all of the past variables are included, none of the past work variables emerge as significantly related to any of the three dependent variables within the sample as a whole. Similarly, when those variables with coefficients less than .10 are excluded, none of the past work variables are significantly related except for the

number of work interruptions (and alternatively the intermittent career scale) and the importance of work for self-identity. However, this relationship does support the traditional argument that it is women's part-time and temporary involvement in the labour force which contributes to the lesser importance of work. No such relationship was revealed for general commitment to work and that revealed for specific commitment did not reach statistical significance. In other words, the importance of women's part-time and temporary involvement in the labour force has not been established as contributing to a secondary commitment to work in these data. The general lack of relationships then, provides support for the Meadian hypothesis that past experiences, including past work experiences, are not particularly important for current attitudes and self-identities.

The occupational groups appear to be more homogeneous with respect to past work experiences than was true of early socialization experiences. Nevertheless, differential findings are evident for the occupational groups. Among social workers, only the number of work interruptions reaches statistical significance and only with general commitment to work. That particular relationship is contrary to expectations and contrary to that discussed above for importance of work among the total sample. Among newspaper reporters, the intermittent career scale is the only variable which reaches statistical significance and only with the importance of work for self. Among fashion models, the intermittent career scale is statistically related to specific commitment to work. Finally, among military women, the scope of job

history is statistically correlated with general commitment.

### Conclusions

The data presented in this chapter on the relationships between early socialization and past work experiences and the three dependent variables seem to support the Meadian hypothesis arguing for the relative unimportance of past experiences for current attitudes and self-identities. In analyses of the total sample and of each of the four occupational groups, only two of the past variables emerged as significantly related to the importance of work for self. Among the total sample, the number of work interruptions (and alternatively the intermittent career scale) was significantly related to this dependent variable. Among newspaper reporters, the intermittent career scale showed such a relationship. None of the other past variables were significantly related to the importance of work among the total sample or among the group of newspaper reporters. None of the past variables were significantly related to the importance of work among social workers, fashion models, or military women.

In the analyses of the total sample and of each of the four occupational groups, seven of the past variables emerged as significantly related to general commitment to work. However, five of these seven variables were found among the military women (mother's occupation, ordinal position in family of orientation, father's occupation, type of education, and scope of job history). The other two, formal education and the number of work interruptions were found among the social workers.



For the sample as a whole and for the newspaper reporters and fashion models, none of the past variables were significantly related to their general commitment to work.

In the analyses of the total sample and of each of the four occupational groups, only two of the past variables emerged as significantly related to specific commitment to work. In the total sample, formal education was so related and among the models the intermittent career scale was significantly related. None of the other past variables revealed such a relationship among the total sample or among the fashion models. None of the past variables were significantly related to specific commitment among the social workers, newspaper reporters, or military women.

Despite this general lack of statistical relationships and the subsequent support for the Meadian hypothesis, the two high correlations with the importance of work which do emerge suggest that: for this dependent variable, past work experiences are more important than early childhood experiences and; the traditional assumptions about women's part-time and temporary employment leading to a lesser importance of work for self may accurately reflect reality at least for some groups of working women. The correlations with general commitment to work suggest that: neither past work experiences nor early childhood socialization is more important than the other and; traditional assumptions about working women may or may not be supported depending on the occupational group being studied. The two correlations with specific commitment to work suggest that: like importance of work, past work

experiences are more important for this variable than are childhood socialization experiences (assuming education is interpreted as relevant for work experiences) and; the traditional assumptions about women's part-time and temporary employment leading to a lesser commitment to work may accurately reflect reality for some but not all groups of working women.

In other words, both the Meadian hypothesis and those authors questioning the traditional assumptions about the relevance of women's part-time and temporary involvement in the labour force for their current commitment to work and the importance of work for their self-identities receive at least some support in these findings. At minimum, it is clear that these data do not provide strong support for those arguing for the importance of childhood socialization for adult self-identity and commitment to work. Nor do they provide support for those arguments stating that the type of women's involvement in the labour force necessarily leads to a lesser importance of work for self-identity and to a secondary commitment to work.

Furthermore, it appears that working women are not a homogeneous group and that they may be distinctive by occupational group. The different and sometimes contradictory findings (including both the significant relationships and those tending to approach significance) for each of the occupational groups and for these groups in comparison with the total sample support this contention. Additional support is evident in the amount of variance explained by the past variables for these different groups and for the sample as a whole. For the

total sample, these past variables explain little of the variance in any of the three dependent variables (eight percent in the importance of work; two percent in general commitment; and 10 percent in specific commitment). However, depending on the dependent variable and on the occupational group, they sometimes explain large amounts of the variance. For example, they explain 41 percent of the variance in importance of work among newspaper reporters, 45 percent of the variance in general commitment to work among the social workers, and 64 percent of the variance in general commitment to work among the military women.

Finally, the different findings for each of the three dependent variables adds further support to the argument made in chapter two that the three were conceptually distinct and to the data presented in the preceding chapter indicating that the three reflected their differences empirically.



## CHAPTER 7 - DEBUNKING TRADITIONAL ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT WORKING WOMEN

Within a Meadian perspective, it was argued that current experiences would be more important for self-identity and for determining the importance of work for self-identity than would the past. Meadian theory did not, however, suggest which current involvements would be most important or indicate the relative importance of the work role when compared with other role involvements. Some sociologists argued for the primary importance of the marriage and family roles for working women and the secondary importance of the work role. Others argued that work and family was a faulty dichotomy; that women could be committed to both roles. Still others suggested the intervening influences of numerous factors including: the attitudes of others, help with the housework, help with the children, and demands from work.

This chapter presents data exploring the relative importance of various current role involvements and other potential influences from the present. This discussion begins with the importance of work among the total sample and then proceeds to married women, mothers, and finally to each of the four occupational groups. The second section discusses general commitment among each of these groups and the third section discusses specific commitment among each of them.

Although the last chapter presented empirical data confirming the relative lack of importance of past experiences for the importance

of work and for commitment to work, those data are discussed in this chapter when it is relevant for a comparison with current experiences.

#### The Importance of Work for Self-Identity

The importance of work was analyzed for the sample as a whole, and then for married women, mothers, social workers, newspaper reporters, fashion models, and privates and corporals in the Forces as separate groups. The results of the regression analyses reveal somewhat different findings for each of these groups.

For the sample as a whole, both the proportion of working others<sup>34</sup> and marital status were significantly related to the importance of work (Table 86, page 273). None of the other variables is related to this dependent variable<sup>35</sup>. Although the number of work interruptions

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34.) It will be recalled that two scales were computed for both the cumulative attitudes of others and the proportion of working others and that the two scales for each variable were highly correlated. The results of the regression analyses reported here were identical for each scale. The results reported here therefore refer to only one of these scales (the first, see chapter four).

35.) All results were identical whether occupational prestige and the traditional sex-characterization of the occupation were entered as two-category or four-category variables. The results presented here therefore refer to only one of them (the two category variables). All dichotomous variables were entered as dummy variables. Furthermore, the variable referring to commuting time to and from work has been omitted from all of the regression analyses reported here because there was evidence of multicollinearity with both occupational prestige and the traditional sex-characterization of the occupation (correlation coefficients of  $-.40$  and  $-.50$  respectively). This was apparently caused by the fact that all models spent at least two hours commuting time so that the collapsing of occupational categories resulted in: women who spent less than two hours commuting time tended to belong to the high prestige and traditionally male occupations. Women who spent at least two hours commuting time tended to belong to the low prestige and traditionally female occupations. Commuting time however was not correlated with importance of work, general commitment or specific commitment:  $-.08$ ;  $.06$ ; and  $.001$  respectively.

Table 86

Regression Coefficients: Current Experiences and Importance of Work

Dependent Variable - Importance of Work			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
proportion of working others	-.19	5.79	.05
marital status	.21	6.28	.05
type of education	-.15	2.81	NS**
parents reactions	.14	3.35	NS
number of work interruptions	-.16	3.41	NS
(intermittent career)	(-.10)	(3.07)	(NS)
sex-characterization of occupation	.10	1.77	NS
ordinal position in family of orientation	.10	1.66	NS
length of occupational involvement	.08	1.01	NS
Canadian affiliation	.01	.05	NS
Overall F = 3.05; D.F. = 9 and 146; significance level = .01			
R <sup>2</sup> = .16; increase of .08 over past variables			

\* D.F. = 1 and 146

\*\* not statistically significant

The following current variables were deleted because their coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: work demands, attitudes of males, religion, help with housework, occupational prestige, other household members, rank within occupation, number of children, family involvement, and attitudes of others.



(and alternately the intermittent career scale) were statistically related when only the past variables were included and do show relatively strong relationships here, they no longer reach statistical significance when the current variables are included. Furthermore, the addition of the current variables doubles the amount of variance explained (from eight percent to sixteen percent).

Working women who report a greater proportion of other women whom they know (or with whom they are involved know such as the wives of husbands' friends, the mothers of their childrens' friends) who also work, tend to reveal a higher importance of work for self. Working women who report a smaller proportion of other women who also work, tend to reveal a lower importance of work for self-identity. In this instance it is not the perceived attitudes of others which effects the importance of work but rather the actual proportion of working others which the woman knows. Married women also tend to report a high importance of work while single, separated, divorced and widowed women tend to report a lesser importance of work for self. Analysis of variance reveals no interaction effect between these two variables (sum of squares = .982; mean square = .245;  $F = .45$ ; D.F. = 4; not statistically significant).

This relationship with marital status not only does not support the traditional assumption that marriage acts to decrease the importance of work for women's self-identities, but indeed contradicts this assumption. It is working women who are married who tend to reveal a higher importance of work. The relationship with the proportion of working

(and alternately the intermittent career scale) were statistically related when only the past variables were included and do show relatively strong relationships here, they no longer reach statistical significance when the current variables are included. Furthermore, the addition of the current variables doubles the amount of variance explained (from eight percent to sixteen percent).

Working women who report a greater proportion of other women who they know (or those with whom they are involved know such as the wives of husbands' friends, the mothers of their childrens' friends) who also work, tend to reveal a higher importance of work for self. Working women who report a smaller proportion of other women who also work, tend to reveal a lower importance of work for self-identity. In this instance it is not the perceived attitudes of others which effects the importance of work but rather the actual proportion of working others which the woman knows. Married women also tend to report a high importance of work while single, separated, divorced and widowed women tend to report a lesser importance of work for self. Analysis of variance reveals no interaction effect between these two variables (sum of squares = .982; mean square = .245;  $F = .45$ ; D.F. = 4; not statistically significant).

This relationship with marital status not only does not support the traditional assumption that marriage acts to decrease the importance of work for women's self-identities, but indeed contradicts this assumption. It is working women who are married who tend to reveal a higher importance of work. The relationship with the proportion of working

others suggests a new area of exploration in relation to working women. It suggests the relevance of what others actually do as opposed to the person's perception of the attitudes of others (Chappell, 1977b).

Looking only at the married women in this sample, Table 87, page 276, reveals that the proportion of working others is the only variable reaching significance. Married women who report a larger proportion of other women who work tend to reveal a higher importance of work for self. Those reporting a smaller proportion of other women who work tend to reveal a lower importance of work for self. In addition, one past variable (type of education of the respondent) and one other current variable (number of children) approach significance. Married working women with education which is more specifically related to their current occupation tend to reveal a higher importance of work for self and those with education which is not specifically related to their current occupation tend to reveal less importance of work for self. Married working women with children tend to reveal a higher importance of work for self while those without children tend to reveal a lesser importance of work. This latter relationship is contrary to the traditional assumption that more children would decrease the importance of work for women.

Looking now at mothers only, Table 88, page 277, shows that among the women who have children the number of children they have is not related to their expressed importance of work. Among mothers, it is the amount of help they receive with their children that is related to their expressed importance of work for self-identity. Those who report



Table 87

Regression Coefficients: Current Experiences and Importance of Work  
among Married Women

Dependent Variable - Importance of Work			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
proportion of working others	-.30	6.20	.05
type of education	-.20	3.40	NS**
husband's income	-.18	2.95	NS
(husband's occupation)	(.12)	(1.25)	(NS)
other household members	.17	2.81	NS
number of children	.22	3.37	NS
number of work interruptions	-.20	2.70	NS
sex-characterization of occupation	.03	.12	NS
occupational prestige	.04	.11	NS

Overall F = 3.58; D.F. = 8 and 73; significance level = .01  
 $R^2 = .28$ ; increase of .20 over past variables

\* D.F. = 1 and 73

\*\* not statistically significant

The following current variables were deleted because their coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: religion, attitudes of males, rank within occupation, work demands, help with housework, husband's education, attitudes of others and family involvement. Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

Table 88

Regression Coefficients: Current Experiences and Importance of Work among Mothers

Dependent Variable - Importance of Work			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
help with children	.44	5.78	.05
help with housework	.15	.46	NS**
type of education	-.24	1.60	NS
other household members	.32	2.85	NS
husband's occupation	.27	2.00	NS
proportion of working others	-.25	1.40	NS
work demands	-.17	.73	NS
occupational prestige	.14	.51	NS
mother's work history	-.24	.38	NS
ordinal position in family of orientation	.12	.40	NS
parents' reactions	.14	.37	NS

Overall F = 1.26; D.F. = 11 and 33; not statistically significant  
 $R^2 = .44$ ; increase of .25 over past variables

\* D.F. = 1 and 33

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following current variables were deleted because their coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: sex-characterization of the occupation, rank within occupation, attitudes of males, religion, marital status, number of children, family involvement and attitudes of others. (Mother's occupation and husband's income did not enter the above analysis.)

more help with the children tend to express a greater importance of work while those who report less help with the children tend to express a lesser importance of work. More help in this instance refers in particular to outside help in the form of a babysitter, live-in nanny, or child care services. Less help refers to members of the immediate family and/or friends. In other words, for these mothers priority is given to their children. If their children have external care then work is considered important to them. Whether it is the women for whom work is important who provide external care for their children or it is the availability of such services which permits a greater importance of work is unknown.

It is interesting here to look at the relationships between level of husband's and respondent's income and both help with the housework and with children. Husband's income shows a strong relationship with help with the housework while respondent's income shows a weaker relationship. Women whose husbands earn more money (\$14,000 or more a year) are more likely to have outside help with the housework. Women whose husbands earn less money (less than \$14,000 a year) are more likely to have only inside help or no help with the housework (chi square = 20.28; D.F. = 4; significance level = .00; gamma = .57). Similarly, women who themselves earn more income (\$14,000 a year or more) are more likely to have outside help with the housework and those who themselves earn less income are more likely to have help from within the family or no help with the housework (chi square = 17.11; D.F. = 6; significance level = .01; gamma = .29). In other words, the more money



available, the more likely outside help with the housework is evident. However, this is not the case for help with the children. It is mothers whose husbands earn less income (less than \$8,000 a year) who are most likely to have outside help with the children, those whose husbands earn a middle income (\$8,000 a year or more but less than \$14,000 a year) that are most likely to have no help with the children, and those whose husbands earn a high income (\$14,000 a year or more) who are most likely to have inside help with the children. (Gamma =  $-.33$ ) Although the relationship with respondent's income is similar, it is weak (gamma =  $-.09$ ). Women earning low income are most likely to have outside help with the children while those earning medium or high income are most likely to have either inside help or no help with the children. In other words, more money does not lead to the utilization of outside child care services. It does, however, correlate with the use of outside services for housework but help with housework is unrelated to the importance of work among working mothers. Furthermore, the level of the husband's income is unrelated to the importance of work among working mothers.

The results for the total sample, married working women, and working mothers again confirm the Meadian hypothesis about the relative lack of importance of past experiences, especially for current self-identity. Furthermore, these findings not only do not provide support for the traditional assumptions arguing for the negative effects of marriage and family roles on working women's perceived importance of work but suggest that involvement in marriage and family roles has

positive effects (among the total sample being married increases the importance of work; among married women, having children increases the importance of work). Whether or not married women and mothers who work represent a select sample is unknown. In other words, it is not known whether working under these circumstances leads to an increased importance of that role or if it is those married women and mothers for whom the work role is particularly important, who continue to work after marriage and after having children. Nevertheless, it is clear that for the working women studied here marital status and having children is not related to the importance of work for self in the way in which it is portrayed in much of the traditional occupations literature in sociology. The particular importance of help with the children found among the working mothers suggests the compatibility of outside childcare services and work (at least for the importance of work for the mothers). It also suggests that the children are of special importance in effecting working women but that this effect need not be negative.

Turning now to each of the four occupational groups, it is clear that differential findings emerge for these groups (Tables 89-92, pages 281-284). Among social workers, both the proportion of working others and the attitudes of male peers (but not the cumulative attitudes of others) are significantly related to their expressed importance of work. As for the total sample and for married working women, social workers who report a greater proportion of other women who work are more likely to reveal a greater importance of work for self. Social

Table 89

Regression Coefficients: Current Experiences and Importance of Work  
among Social Workers

Dependent Variable - Importance of Work			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
attitudes of males	-.37	6.58	.05
proportion of working others	-.61	9.03	.01
plans for working when little	.22	1.60	NS**
mother's occupation	.35	2.17	NS
scope of job history	-.26	2.59	NS
parents' reactions	.28	1.18	NS
rank within occupation	.26	2.35	NS
work demands	-.24	2.31	NS
marital status	.27	2.11	NS
ordinal position in family of orientation	.09	.38	NS
other household members	-.08	.21	NS
(number of work interruptions)	(-.29)	(3.53)	(NS)
(formal education)	(-.09)	(.43)	(NS)
(type of education)	(-.08)	(.30)	(NS)
(Canadian affiliation)	(-.03)	(.06)	(NS)

Overall F = 2.08; D.F. = 11 and 37; significance level = .05  
 $R^2 = .46$ ; increase of .19 over past variables

\* D.F. = 1 and 37

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following were deleted: religion, help with housework, attitudes of others and family involvement.



Table 90

Regression Coefficients: Current Experiences and Importance of Work  
among Newspaper Reporters

Dependent Variable - Importance of Work			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
Canadian affiliation	-.22	2.46	NS**
mother's occupation	.30	3.88	NS
intermittent career	-.25	2.84	NS
type of education	-.25	2.45	NS
work demands	-.18	1.72	NS
father's occupation	-.16	1.03	NS
parents reactions	.16	1.16	NS
formal education	.18	1.58	NS
help with housework	-.13	.82	NS
attitudes of males	.08	.33	NS
(attitudes of others)	(-.12)	(.66)	(NS)
proportion of working others	-.06	.15	NS
ordinal position in family of orientation	.02	.02	NS

Overall F = 2.70; D.F. = 12 and 30; significance level = .05  
R<sup>2</sup> = .50; increase of .09 over past variables

\* D.F. = 1 and 30

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following current variables were deleted because their coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: marital status, rank within the occupation, other household members, religion, and family involvement.

Table 91

Regression Coefficients: Current Experiences and Importance of Work  
among Fashion Models

Dependent Variable - Importance of Work			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
father's occupation	-.34	4.10	NS**
marital status	.31	3.28	NS
(family involvement)	(.14)	(.60)	(NS)
proportion of working others	-.27	2.80	NS
formal education	-.20	1.36	NS
age	.39	3.11	NS
length of occupational involvement	-.25	1.21	NS
number of work int interruptions	-.17	1.13	NS

Overall F = 1.86; D.F. = 7 and 34; not statistically significant  
R<sup>2</sup> = .28; increase of .10 over past variables

\* D.F. = 1 and 34

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following current variables were deleted because their coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: rank within the occupation, attitudes of males, help with housework, religion, other household members, work demands, and attitudes of others.

Table 92

Regression Coefficients: Current Experiences and Importance of Work  
among Military Women

Dependent Variable - Importance of Work			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
help with housework	.27	2.03	NS**
Canadian affiliation	.25	2.16	NS
attitudes of males	-.30	3.75	NS
(attitudes of others)	(-.12)	(.57)	(NS)
marital status	.36	3.20	NS
(family involvement)	(.12)	(.47)	(NS)
parents' reactions	.26	2.65	NS
religion	-.28	2.39	NS
proportion of working others	-.33	2.61	NS
work demands	.26	1.55	NS
(rank within occupation)	(-.15)	(.76)	(NS)
(scope of job history)	(.12)	(.58)	(NS)
(mother's work history)	(-.60)	(3.97)	(NS)
(mother's occupation)	(-.60)	(3.32)	(NS)
(father's occupation)	(.02)	(.01)	(NS)

Overall F = 2.44; D.F. = 8 and 26; significance level = .05  
 $R^2 = .48$ ; increase of .16 over past variables

\* D.F. = 1 and 26

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following current variable was deleted because its coefficient was less than .10 in the original analysis: other household members



workers who report a smaller proportion of other women who work are more likely to reveal less importance of work for self. Those who report the attitudes of male peers (husbands if married, boyfriends and dates otherwise) as more negative tend to consider their work less important. Those who report more positive attitudes tend to report a greater importance of work. Analysis of variance revealed no interaction effects between the proportion of working others and the attitudes of male peers (sum of squares = .601; mean square = .150;  $F = .274$ ; D.F. = 4; not statistically significant). It might also be noted here that when analysis of variance is used, the proportion of working others is not statistically related to the importance of work among social workers (sum of squares = .669; mean square = .334;  $F = .610$ ; D.F. = 2; not statistically significant).<sup>36</sup>

Among the other three occupational groups, none of the independent variables is significantly related to the importance of work for self-identity. Nor are any of the past variables significantly related when the current variables are included. This is so despite the fact that for some groups the variables explain a large amount of the variance in the dependent variable (for example 50 percent among the newspaper reporters and 48 percent among the military women).

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36.) Neither occupational prestige nor the sex-characterization of the occupation could be included in the analyses which were restricted to the occupational groups. However, rank within the occupation was included. This variable was coded as a dichotomous variable. For each group the following distinctions were made: social workers: supervisors - high, others - low; newspaper reporters: editors and columnists - high, others - low; fashion models: full-time - high; part-time - low (too few models specialized to distinguish by type); military women: corporals - high, privates - low.

Furthermore, the increase in explained variance when the current variables are added to the past variables is less (proportionately) for each of the occupational groups than is true when the total sample, married working women, and working mothers are analysed (the increase due to the current variables is: for the total sample from .08 to .16; for married women from .08 to .20; for mothers from .19 to .44; for social workers from .27 to .46; for newspaper reporters from .41 to .50; for fashion models from .18 to .28; and for military women from .32 to .48).

These data for the importance of work for self-identity further support the argument in favour of the relative unimportance of past experiences for current adult self-identity and the greater importance of current experiences for this dependent variable. They also point to the inaccuracy of traditional assumptions claiming that work is necessarily secondary to the marriage and family roles for working women, or that greater involvement in the marriage and family roles leads to a decreased importance of work. However, the relationships between attitudes of male peers and the importance of work among social workers suggests that, at least for some groups of working women, men do represent a reference group of particular significance. The findings for mothers confirm some of the recent concern with the availability of child care services for women (Callahan, 1972; Gould, 1972). Although the causal direction of the relationship between assistance with the children and importance of work cannot be established from this study, there appears to be no doubt that the childbearing function of women is

of particular importance and that childbearing/rearing distinguishes them as a separate group from other women (whether single or married). However, having children per se need not decrease the importance of work for these women. Rather, having children decreases the importance of work only when external services are not utilized. Additional information is required to determine whether the women not utilizing external services do so because of a lack of availability or through their own choice.

Finally, these data suggest that distinctions by occupational group may not be as fruitful as the last chapter suggested. This section suggests that the distinction along marital status and involvement in the family role (specifically with children) may be more fruitful.

#### General Commitment to Work

The results for general commitment to work are somewhat different. Table 93, page 288 shows the results of the analysis for the total sample. As the last chapter revealed, none of the past variables are related to this dependent variable. However, when the current variables are added, the variance explained increases by 18 percent (from two percent to 20 percent) and some of the current variables do reveal a significant relationship with this dependent variable. The sex-characterization of the occupation, help with the housework, and marital status (and alternately the family involvement scale) are all related to general commitment. Women working in traditionally male occupations,



Table 93

Regression Coefficients: Current Experiences and General Commitment

Independent Variables	Dependent Variable - General Commitment		
	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
sex-characterization of occupation	.22	7.53	.01
help with housework	.21	7.22	.01
marital status	-.33	16.12	.01
(family involvement)	(-.24)	(7.37)	(.01)
intermittent career	.15	3.22	NS**
attitudes of males	-.12	2.92	NS
(attitudes of others)	(-.14)	(3.04)	(NS)
mother's work history	.13	3.22	NS
rank within occupation	.11	2.61	NS
religion	-.09	1.75	NS
length of occupational involvement	.16	1.60	NS
age	-.15	1.22	NS

Overall F = 4.10; D.F. 10 and 162; significance level = .01

$R^2 = .20$ ; increase of .18 over past variables

\* D.F. = 1 and 162

\*\* not statistically significant

The following current variables were deleted because their coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: work demands, occupational prestige, proportion of working others, other household members, and number of children.

utilizing outside help with the housework (cleaning lady, live-in maid), and who are single (not living with a man), separated, divorced or widowed or alternately reveal less involvement in the family role tend to express higher general commitment to work. Women working in traditionally female occupations, not utilizing outside help with the housework, and who are married or alternately reveal more involvement in the family role tend to express lower general commitment to work.

Analysis of variance reveals no interaction effects between these variables: traditional sex-characterization of the occupation and assistance with the housework: sum of squares = 1.21; mean square = .24;  $F = .49$ ; D.F. = 2; not statistically significant; traditional sex-characterization of the occupation and marital status: sum of squares = .08; mean square = .08;  $F = .18$ ; D.F. = 2; not statistically significant; assistance with the housework and marital status: sum of squares = .40; mean square = .20;  $F = .40$ ; D.F. = 2; not statistically significant; traditional sex-characterization of the occupation and family involvement scale: sum of squares = .396; mean square = .132;  $F = .26$ ; D.F. = 3; not statistically significant; assistance with the housework and family involvement scale: sum of squares = .335; mean square = .112;  $F = .214$ ; D.F. = 3; not statistically significant.

The relationship between the traditional sex-characterization of the occupation and general commitment suggests that women who are themselves involved in traditionally male occupations reveal a higher expressed general commitment. This is contrary to recent research reporting others' would accord these women less status and imply that

they would be less committed to their work than those involved in traditionally female occupations (Nilson, 1976; Guppy and Siltanen, 1976). As evidenced in the preceding section, the sex-characterization of the occupation is unrelated to the perceived importance of work for self. It is, however, related to these women's general commitment to their work. Being an incumbent of an occupation which is traditionally male does not affect the importance of work for self but appears to enhance these women's general commitment to work.

The relationship with assistance with the housework supports the notion of the time and energy demands placed on working women from household tasks. The utilization of outside services no doubt decreases the added demands of household work. It does not, however, decrease the demands felt from work (the correlation coefficient between this variable and the work demands scale is  $-.05$ ).

The relationship with marital status and the family involvement scale supports the findings reported by Shea (1970b) but contradicts those reported by Hrebiniak and Alutto (1972) and White (1967). Marital status and family involvement in this instance seem to support the argument that being engaged in these other roles decreases commitment to work.

When married women are singled out for a separate analysis, it is clear that their relationships with their husbands are of primary importance for their general commitment to work. None of the past variables are related to this dependent variable (Table 94, page 291). For these married women, having husbands with positive attitudes towards



Table 94

Regression Coefficients: Current Experiences and General Commitment  
among Married Women

Dependent Variable - General Commitment			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
attitude of husband	-.27	6.63	.05
(attitudes of others)	(-.17)	(2.82)	(NS)**
husband's income	.21	3.91	NS
(husband's education)	(.33)	(9.17)	(.01)
sex-characterization of occupation	.18	3.12	NS
rank within occupation	.15	3.84	NS
formal education	.14	1.00	NS
help with housework	.12	1.45	NS
proportion of working others	-.10	.96	NS
religion	-.08	.64	NS

Overall F = 3.98; D.F. = 8 and 73; significance level = .01  
R<sup>2</sup> = .30; increase of .26 over past variables

\* D.F. = 1 and 73

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following current variables were deleted because their coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: occupational prestige, number of children, husband's occupation, other household members, work demands, and family involvement.

their wives' work or husbands with professional educational training increases their general commitment to work. Having husbands with mixed or negative attitudes towards their work or husbands with skilled rather than professional training decreases their general commitment to work.

Analysis of variance reveals no significant interaction effects between these two variables (sum of squares = .21; mean square = .10;  $F = .19$ ; D.F. = 4; not statistically significant). When this statistical technique is used, the attitudes of husbands is still related to general commitment but husbands' education is not (sum of squares = 2.58; mean square = 1.29;  $F = 2.25$ ; D.F. 2; not statistically significant). In other words, it is still the relationship with the husband which is most influential but in this case the husbands' attitudes towards the fact that their wives are working assumes primary importance. However, both husband's attitude and husband's education are related to one another. Those with professional training are more likely to have positive attitudes towards their wives working while those with skilled training are more likely to have mixed or negative attitudes towards their wives working. (The correlation coefficient between the two is  $-.25$ .)

Mothers do not accord their husbands' attitudes such importance. Table 95, page 293 shows that help with the housework is most strongly related to general commitment among these working mothers. Similar to the findings for the sample as a whole, mothers who have outside help with the housework are more likely to express a high general commitment to work. Those with no outside assistance tend to reveal

Table 95

Regression Coefficients: Current Experiences and General Commitment  
among Mothers

Dependent Variable - General Commitment			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
help with housework	.44	7.80	.01
parents' reactions	-.29	2.96	NS**
religion	-.27	2.39	NS
attitudes of others	-.20	1.60	NS
(attitudes of males)	(-.22)	(2.05)	(NS)
number of work interruptions	-.22	1.96	NS
length of occupational involvement	.11	.52	NS
ordinal position in family of orientation	.11	.57	NS
rank within occupation	.07	.24	NS
family involvement	-.08	.25	NS
(marital status)	(-.15)	(1.98)	(NS)
formal education	.06	.16	NS

Overall F = 2.51; D.F. = 10 and 34; significance level = .05  
 $R^2 = .48$ ; increase of .27 over past variables

\* D.F. = 1 and 34

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following current variables were deleted because their coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: husband's occupation, work demands, help with children, other household members, proportion of working others, number of children, and occupational prestige.



lower general commitment to work. Help with the children is unrelated to general commitment.

These findings again support the Meadian hypothesis but, unlike the findings for the importance of work for self-identity, they support the traditional arguments in favour of the negative effects of marital status and family involvement on commitment to work. Like the findings for the importance of work, they again point to the significance of men's attitudes for at least some working women.

Turning to the occupational groups (Tables 91-94, pages 295-299), differential findings are again apparent. None of the variables are significantly related to general commitment among newspaper reporters. In addition, the current variables only explain an additional eight percent of the variance, and age continues to show a relatively strong relationship.

Among social workers, the number of work interruptions remains significantly related to general commitment but formal education now reveals a non-significant and weaker relationship with this dependent variable. However, family involvement now emerges. Social workers with more family involvement reveal a lower general commitment to work while those with less family involvement reveal a higher general commitment to work. Again, this is consistent with traditional assumptions. These two variables do not have a significant interaction effect (sum of squares = 1.34; mean square = .268;  $F = .78$ ; D.F. = 5; not statistically significant).

Among the fashion models, none of the past variables show a

Table 96

Regression Coefficients: Current Experiences and General Commitment  
among Social Workers

Dependent Variable - General Commitment			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
number of work interruptions	.43	9.29	.01
(intermittent career)	(.21)	(2.40)	(NS)**
family involvement	-.71	8.47	.01
(marital status)	(-.41)	(3.63)	(NS)
formal education	.22	2.40	NS
parents reactions	.29	3.79	NS
help with housework	.28	2.54	NS
religion	-.14	.78	NS
work demands	.11	.54	NS
scope of job history	.07	.24	NS
proportion of working others	.07	.18	NS
(length of occupational involvement)	(.55)	(4.02)	(NS)
(father's occupation)	(.23)	(2.17)	(NS)
(age)	(-.18)	(.48)	(NS)
(rank within occupation)	(-.05)	(.13)	(NS)

Overall F = 3.07; D.F. = 9 and 40; significance level = .01  
R<sup>2</sup> = .49; increase of .04 over past variables

\* D.F. = 1 and 40

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following were deleted: attitudes of males, other household members, and attitudes of others.

Table 97

Regression Coefficients: Current Experiences and General Commitment  
among Newspaper Reporters

Dependent Variable - General Commitment			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
formal education	.21	2.34	NS**
age	-.45	3.93	NS
help with housework	.24	3.45	NS
number of work interruptions	.14	.92	NS
length of occupational involvement	.22	1.03	NS
attitudes of males	-.21	1.76	NS
father's occupation	-.16	1.32	NS
rank within occupation	-.16	1.24	NS
marital status	-.02	.01	NS
(scope of job history)	(-10)	(.36)	(NS)
(parents' reactions)	(-.18)	(.91)	(NS)
(mother's work history)	(.14)	(.72)	(NS)
(religion)	(-.11)	(.33)	(NS)
(other household members)	(.03)	(.02)	(NS)
(plans for working when little)	(-.02)	(.02)	(NS)

Overall F = 3.07; D.F. = 9 and 37; significance level = .01  
R<sup>2</sup> = .43; increase of .08 over past variables

\* D.F. = 1 and 37

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following current variables were deleted because their coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: work demands, proportion of working others, attitudes of others, and family involvement.



Table 98

Regression Coefficients: Current Experiences and General Commitment  
among Fashion Models

Dependent Variable - General Commitment			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
help with housework	.41	8.32	.01
number of work in interruptions	-.30	4.01	NS**
rank within occupation	.26	3.23	NS
work demands	.15	1.17	NS
religion	.13	.81	NS
length of occupational involvement	.31	3.78	NS
marital status	-.31	3.77	NS
(family involvement)	(-.22)	(2.17)	(NS)
attitudes of others	.11	.61	NS
formal education	.04	.09	NS
(plans for working when little)	(-.11)	(.37)	(NS)
(ordinal position in family of orientation)	(.09)	(.43)	(NS)
(father's occupation)	(-.06)	(.16)	(NS)

Overall F = 2.81; D.F. = 9 and 32; significance level = .05  
R<sup>2</sup> = .44; increase of .22 over past variables

\* D.F. = 1 and 32

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following current variables were deleted because their coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: other household members, attitudes of males, and proportion of working others.

Table 99

Regression Coefficients: Current Experiences and General Commitment  
among Military Women

Dependent Variable - General Commitment			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
mother's occupation	.43	7.22	.01
rank within occupation	.54	9.69	.01
marital status	-.16	.58	NS**
(family involvement)	(-.27)	(2.07)	(NS)
ordinal position in family of orientation	.25	2.71	NS
religion	-.31	4.08	.05
father's occupation	.22	2.63	NS
proportion of working others	-.23	1.54	NS
scope of job history	-.19	1.51	NS
attitudes of males	-.16	1.30	NS
(attitudes of others)	(-.27)	(1.91)	(NS)
(help with housework)	(-.08)	(.24)	(NS)
(other household members)	(.07)	(.14)	(NS)
(work demands)	(.06)	(.11)	(NS)
(mother's work history)	(.12)	(.59)	(NS)
(type of education)	(.18)	(1.13)	(NS)
(parents reactions)	(-.23)	(2.10)	(NS)
(Canadian affiliation)	(.09)	(.15)	(NS)

continued ...

(number of work interruptions)	(-.18)	(1.19)	(NS)
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Overall F = 3.22; D.F. = 9 and 25; significance level = .01  
 $R^2 = .65$ ; increase of .01 over past variables

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\* D.F. = 1 and 25

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

None of the current variables were deleted because none of their coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis.

significant relationship with general commitment although the number of work interruptions now approaches significance. Help with the housework is significantly related. Again, those with outside help with the housework tend to express higher general commitment while those without outside help tend to express lower general commitment.

Among the military women, only mother's occupation remains significantly related to general commitment from among the five past variables which were so related in the last chapter. In addition, rank within the occupation and religion are significantly related from among the current variables. Corporals tend to have a higher general commitment while privates tend to have a lower general commitment. This is the only group showing a strong relationship with rank, suggesting the greater importance of boundaries within this occupation than within any of the other three groups studied here. Those expressing less traditionally Christian views when asked their religion (agnostic, atheist, basically Christian) tend to report higher general commitment. Those expressing more traditionally Christian views (Catholic, Protestant, specifying a denomination) tend to report lower commitment to work.



These data for general commitment again support the Meadian hypothesis in favour of the relative unimportance of past experiences for current attitudes and the greater importance of current experiences. Of the seven groups analyzed here, only one past variable is significantly related to general commitment among social workers (number of work interruptions) and one among military women (mother's occupation). Contrary to the findings for the importance of work, these findings suggest strong support for the traditional assumptions claiming that involvement in the marriage and family roles is related to a decrease in commitment to work. Similar to the findings for the importance of work, these data suggest the importance of the attitudes of husbands for married women's commitment to work. They also suggest the importance of time and energy constraints for the working woman, but this time the relationship appears with assistance with the housework rather than with the children.

Similar to the findings for the importance of work, the current variables increase the amount of variance explained in general commitment proportionately more for the total sample, married women, and working mothers than for each of the occupational groups (total sample: from two percent to 20 percent; married women: from four percent to 30 percent; working mothers: from 21 percent to 48 percent; social workers: from 45 to 49 percent; newspaper reporters: from 35 percent to 43 percent; fashion models: from 22 percent to 44 percent; military women: from 64 percent to 65 percent).

### Specific Commitment to Work

The findings for specific commitment to work are different from those reported for either the importance of work or general commitment to work. They support the earlier claim that specific commitment is conceptually distinct from the importance of work for self-identity and that, at minimum, it measures different aspects of role-specific behaviour than the general measure.

Within the sample as a whole, only occupational prestige is significantly related to specific commitment to work. Formal education, which showed a strong relationship with this dependent variable when only the past variables were included, no longer shows a relationship when occupational prestige is added (Table 100, page 302). Women in the two high prestige occupations are more likely to reveal a high specific commitment to work. Women in the two low prestige occupations are more likely to reveal a lower specific commitment to work. This relationship is similar to the findings for men showing a strong relationship between occupational prestige and commitment to work. The additional fact that marital status, family involvement, number of children, husband's attitudes, or any of the other variables are less associated with specific commitment suggests that working women are similar to working men.

The subsample of married women shows this same relationship (Table 101, page 303). Married women involved in the high prestige occupations are more likely to reveal a high commitment to work. Those involved in the low prestige occupations are more likely to reveal a

Table 100

## Regression Coefficients: Current Experiences and Specific Commitment

Dependent Variable - Specific Commitment			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
occupational prestige	.33	7.26	.01
plans for working when little	-.13	3.20	NS**
religion	-.12	2.76	NS
number of children	-.12	2.12	NS
mother's occupation	-.09	1.64	NS
help with housework	.12	2.31	NS
marital status	-.12	2.16	NS
(family involvement)	(.06)	(.22)	(NS)
education	-.04	.14	NS
type of education	.08	1.10	NS
length of occupational involvement	.05	.20	NS
number of work interruptions	-.04	.19	NS
(intermittent career)	(-.11)	(1.10)	(NS)
Overall F = 4.11; D.F. = 10 and 162; significance level = .01			
R <sup>2</sup> = .20; increase of .10 over past variables			

\* D.F. = 1 and 162

\*\* not statistically significant

The following current variables were deleted because their coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: attitudes of males, proportion of working others, sex-characterization of the occupation, work demands, rank within occupation, and other household members.

(Attitudes of others did not enter the above analysis.)



Table 101

Regression Coefficients: Current Experiences and Specific Commitment  
among Married Women

Dependent Variable - Specific Commitment			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
occupational prestige	.25	3.98	.05
attitudes of others	-.28	7.32	.01
(attitudes of husband)	(-.33)	(10.59)	(.01)
mother's occupation	-.13	2.98	NS**
number of children	-.21	2.89	NS
husband's income	-.10	.97	NS
proportion of working others	-.10	.85	NS
work demands	.08	.46	NS
length of occupational involvement	.03	.07	NS

Overall F = 3.97; D.F. = 9 and 72; significance level = .01  
R<sup>2</sup> = .31; increase of .25 over past variables

\* D.F. = 1 and 72

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following current variables were excluded because their coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: rank within occupation, husband's occupation, religion, sex-characterization of occupation, other household members, help with housework, and family involvement.

lower specific commitment. However, for this subsample of working women, both the attitudes of their husbands and alternately the cumulative attitudes of others also show a significant relationship with specific commitment. For both of these measures, the more positive the attitudes the greater the likelihood the women show a high commitment to work. The less positive the attitudes the greater the likelihood the women show a lower specific commitment.

Analysis of variance reveals no significant interaction effects (attitudes of others and occupational prestige: sum of squares = 1.36; mean square = .68;  $F = 1.42$ ; D.F. = 2; not statistically significant; husband's attitudes and occupational prestige: sum of squares = .06; mean square = .03;  $F = .06$ ; D.F. = 2; not statistically significant). Furthermore, the cumulative attitudes of others is unrelated when using this technique but the other relationships remain the same.

Among mothers, none of the variables is related to specific commitment, although some do approach significance including occupational prestige (Table 102, page 305). Similarly, none of the variables is significantly related to this dependent variable when social workers or newspaper reporters are analyzed as separate groups (Tables 103 and 104, pages 306 and 307). Plans for working when little, which showed a strong relationship among this latter group when only the past variables were included, is no longer significantly related. It does, however, approach significance.

Among both fashion models and military women, one variable reaches statistical significance (Tables 105 and 106, pages 308 and 310).

Table 102

Regression Coefficients: Current Experiences and Specific Commitment  
among Mothers

Dependent Variable - Specific Commitment			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
occupational prestige	.35	3.88	NS**
attitudes of others	-.25	2.13	NS
mother's occupation	-.29	3.00	NS
number of children	-.30	3.78	NS
number of work interruptions	-.35	3.45	NS
(intermittent career)	(-.24)	(2.04)	(NS)
help with housework	-.14	.90	NS
length of occupational involvement	.18	.97	NS
marital status	-.14	.89	NS
religion	.08	.25	NS
help with children	.07	.18	NS
plans for working when little	-.02	.03	NS
scope of job history	-.01	.01	NS

Overall F = 2.62; D.F. = 12 and 32; significance level = .05  
R<sup>2</sup> = .50; increase of .32 over past variables

\* D.F. = 1 and 32

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following current variables were deleted because their coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: proportion of working others, work demands, rank within occupation, other household members, husband's occupation, sex-characterization of occupation, attitudes of males, and family involvement.



Table 103

Regression Coefficients: Current Experiences and Specific Commitment  
among Social Workers

Dependent Variable - Specific Commitment			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
other household members	.24	2.47	NS**
attitudes of males	-.18	1.31	NS
(attitudes of others)	(-.17)	(1.05)	(NS)
education	.10	.45	NS
rank within occupation	.23	1.86	NS
proportion of working others	.00	.00	NS
Canadian affiliation	.16	.92	NS
marital status	-.17	.76	NS
(family involvement)	(-.12)	(.29)	(NS)
plans for working when little	-.11	.49	NS
number of work interruptions	.11	.36	NS
age	-.16	.32	NS
length of occupational involvement	.14	.31	NS

Overall F = .95; D.F. = 11 and 38; not statistically significant  
 $R^2 = .22$ ; increase of .13 over past variables

\* D.F. = 1 and 38

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following current variables were deleted because their coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: religion, work demands, and help with housework.

Table 104

Regression Coefficients: Current Experiences and Specific Commitment  
among Newspaper Reporters

Dependent Variable - Specific Commitment			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
intermittent career	-.23	1.70	NS**
father's occupation	-.29	3.00	NS
plans for working when little	-.32	3.39	NS
Canadian affiliation	.20	1.34	NS
religion	.11	.43	NS
parents' reactions	.09	.30	NS
proportion of working others	-.08	.22	NS
mother's work history	-.35	1.24	NS
mother's occupation	.32	1.00	NS
attitudes of others	-.09	.24	NS
(attitudes of males)	(.01)	(.62)	(NS)

Overall F = 1.33; D.F. = 11 and 31; not statistically significant  
 $R^2 = .30$ ; increase of .02 over past variables

\* D.F. = 1 and 31

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following current variables were deleted because their coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: work demands, help with housework, rank within the occupation, marital status, other household members, and family involvement.

Table 105

Regression Coefficients: Current Experiences and Specific Commitment  
among Fashion Models

Independent Variables	Dependent Variable - Specific Commitment		
	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
intermittent career	-.44	5.00	.05
(number of work interruptions)	(-.23)	(1.71)	(NS)**
father's occupation	-.19	1.29	NS
marital status	-.13	.60	NS
religion	-.11	.48	NS
formal education	-.09	.29	NS
other household members	.07	.18	NS
age	.05	.07	NS
proportion of working others	.03	.03	NS
(mother's work history)	(-.13)	(.54)	(NS)
(plans for working when little)	(.27)	(1.44)	(NS)
(mother's occupation)	(-.20)	(.48)	(NS)

Overall F = 1.39; D.F. = 8 and 33; not statistically significant  
R<sup>2</sup> = .25; increase of .07 over past variables

\* D.F. = 1 and 33

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following current variables were deleted because their coefficients were less than .10 in the original analysis: proportion of working others, work demands, male attitudes, help with housework, rank within occupation, and family involvement.



Table 106

Regression Coefficients: Current Experiences and Specific Commitment  
among Military Women

Dependent Variable - Specific Commitment			
Independent Variables	standardized Beta	F*	significance level
attitudes of others	-.32	1.73	NS**
religion	-.52	5.62	.05
plans for working when little	-.45	4.01	NS
rank within occupation	.21	.87	NS
ordinal position within family of orientation	.26	1.79	NS
number of work interruptions	-.23	.82	NS
(intermittent career)	(.15)	(1.73)	(NS)
marital status	.25	.91	NS
work demands	.19	.56	NS
Canadian affiliation	-.13	.35	NS
(proportion of working others)	(-.13)	(.23)	(NS)
(other household members)	(.15)	(.34)	(NS)
(help with housework)	(-.11)	(.25)	(NS)
(mother's work history)	(-.07)	(.10)	(NS)
(age)	(-.24)	(.72)	(NS)
(length of occupational involvement)	(.10)	(.30)	(NS)

continued ...

---

Overall F = 1.22; D.F. = 9 and 25; not statistically significant  
 $R^2 = .42$ ; increase of .16 over past variables

---

\* D.F. = 1 and 25

\*\* not statistically significant

Pairwise deletion was used because of the small sample size.

The following current variable was deleted because its coefficient was less than .10 in the original analysis: attitudes of males

Among the former, none of the current variables are strongly related but the intermittent career scale discussed in the last chapter remains strongly associated. Among the latter, plans for working when little remain strongly related but not statistically significant. Religion is significantly related to specific commitment among military women in this sample. Those expressing less traditional affiliations are more likely to express high specific commitment while those expressing more traditional religious views are more likely to express lower specific commitment.

The findings for specific commitment, like those for general commitment and the importance of work, add further support to the Meadian hypothesis. Like the findings for importance of work but unlike the findings for general commitment to work, these findings for specific commitment do not support the traditional assumptions about working women. In particular, the relationship with occupational prestige among the total sample and the subsample of married working women is consistent with existing literature reporting such a correlation between occupational prestige and commitment among men. It suggests that the same mechanisms operate for both sexes: greater intrinsic and extrinsic reward, longer socialization into the occupation, higher

subjective evaluation from others, etc. lead to increased commitment to that role. The fact that when occupational prestige is included in the analysis, education (and income) is not related to specific commitment supports the claim of those arguing for the more inclusive nature of occupational prestige as a summary or umbrella concept (Hebden, 1975; Porter et al., 1973). Additionally, the fact that rank within the occupation does not correlate with specific commitment when controlling for the other variables suggests that the boundaries between different occupations are more important than those within occupations.

The relationship with the attitudes of husbands (and alternately with others) found among married working women indicates the importance of interaction with others. The fact that this variable emerged in addition to occupational prestige does not necessarily mean women are more dependent upon the reactions of others than are married men. There is ample documentation of the relationship between occupational prestige and commitment among men but it is an under-researched area when the attitudes of wives and others is included in the discussion of married men.

Marital status, family involvement, the number of children, husband's socio-economic status and many other current variables do not relate to specific commitment. Such a lack of correlation together with the relationship with occupational prestige debunk the argument that women necessarily have a secondary commitment to their work because of a primary commitment to their marriage and family roles. It appears that women's commitment to work, like men's, depends largely



on the work situation within which they find themselves.

Finally, the current variables explain substantially more of the variance in this dependent variable among the total sample, married working women and working mothers than do the past variables and than is found among each of the individual groups (total sample: 10 percent to 20 percent; married working women: six percent to 31 percent; working mothers: 18 percent to 50 percent; social workers: nine to 22 percent; newspaper reporters: 28 percent to 30 percent; fashion models: 18 percent to 25 percent; military women: 26 percent to 42 percent).

#### Conclusions

When indicators referring to current experiences are included in the analyses, even fewer past variables emerge as strongly related to the three dependent variables. None of the past variables are significantly related to the importance of work for self-identity among any of the seven groups which were analyzed. For general commitment, the number of work interruptions remains related among social workers and among the military women mother's occupation remains related. Otherwise none of the past variables are significantly related to general commitment to work. For specific commitment to work, the intermittent career scale remains related among fashion models. Otherwise none of the past variables is significantly related to specific commitment. However, it should be noted that for the occupational groups the past variables tend to explain large amounts of the variance and usually more than is true of the current variables. This could be

partially due to the small sample sizes involved. For the sample as a whole, working married women, and working mothers, the current variables explained as much variance as or more variance than did the past variables.

The differential findings for each of the dependent variables suggests the accuracy of and importance of distinguishing between the perceived importance of role involvement for one's self-identity and commitment to continue as an incumbent of that role in the future. They also suggest the utility of distinguishing between variables when different measures are used. Non-work factors affect these women's expressed importance of work; work factors do not. Both work and non-work factors affect these women's expressed general commitment to work, but the non-work factors have a relatively greater affect than do work factors. Both work and non-work factors affect these women's expressed specific commitment to work and the same number of factors from work and non-work show an effect. Influences from outside of work on the importance of work included: the proportion of working others and marital status among the sample as a whole; the proportion of working others among married working women; help with the children among working mothers; and the proportion of working others and the attitudes of males among the social workers. Influences from outside of work on general commitment to work included: help with the housework, marital status and family involvement among the total sample, attitudes and education of the husbands among working married women; help with the housework among working mothers; family involvement among social

workers; help with the housework among fashion models; and religion among military women. Influences from outside of work on specific commitment included: attitudes of others and attitudes of husbands among married women; and religion among the military women.

Influences from work on the importance of work were not evident. Influences from work on general commitment included: the traditional sex-characterization of the occupation among the total sample; and rank within the occupation among military women. Influences from work on specific commitment to work included: occupational prestige among the total sample; and occupational prestige among married women.

In other words, the importance of a particular role for the totality of an individual's organization of attitudes (self) need not be affected by the individual's participation within that role. Rather, influences external to that person's participation can and sometimes do determine the importance of that role for the totality. In answer to Tucker's (1967) question asking how work experiences influence the totality of the self and how they are integrated into it, these findings suggest that work experiences can be and sometimes are integrated into the whole. They are not, however, necessarily integrated into the whole. Furthermore, the factors influencing this integration come not from specific experiences within that role but rather the actual participation of others in similar roles. Since work is becoming more acceptable as an alternative role for women, it would appear that the greater women's participation in it, the more likely this role will become important to these women. However, once (if) the role becomes



established as a taken-for-granted role for women, perhaps a necessary role as it has for men, other factors may then influence its integration into the totality. That is to say, the particular findings reported here could be a reflection of the transitional state of working women in present-day society.

The particular influence from marital status and assistance with children among working mothers can be interpreted as a different emphasis on the traditional roles for women. Among these working women, being married is related to a greater importance of work for self. This relationship suggests that married women who work may be a select group. Since women who are married generally have the option of not working, it may be that it is those who particularly enjoy working that exercise this option. The relationship with help with the children emphasizes the fact that childrearing and work need not be incompatible.

Role-specific behaviour, unlike the importance of the role for self-identity, is affected by both participation in that particular role and by external factors. However, the factors are different for the two different measures of role-specific behaviour studied here. These differential findings for the two commitment measures emphasizes the extreme caution which should be taken when choosing indicators and interpreting results. The findings for the general measure confirm some of the traditional assumptions about working women. In particular, being married and having greater involvement in the family role were associated with less general commitment. Among married women, husbands'

attitudes and educational training was found to be important. However, if the specific measure is considered more predictive of behaviour, these assumptions are not supported. Intermittency of the career, marital status, involvement in the family, the presence or number of children were all unrelated.

The differences between these indicators and the findings related to them may partially account for the persistence of some of the assumptions about working women. Many sociologists have used indicators which could be classed as 'general attitudinal' measures or those which do not pertain to specific and realistic situations. For example, Morse and Weiss (1955) asked their respondents whether or not they would continue working if they inherited enough money to live comfortably without working; Shea (1970b) asked this same question to women; Lodahl and Kejner (1965) asked their respondents to agree or disagree with the statement 'To me, my work is only a small part of who I am'; Hrebiniak and Alutto (1972) asked their respondents if they would leave their current employing organization if another one offered them more pay.

Considering the specific measure more valid, the findings presented here contradict many of the traditional assumptions about working women. Women's part-time and/or temporary (or intermittent) participation in the labour force neither contributes to nor detracts from their commitment to work. Women's involvements within the marriage and family roles neither enhance nor detract from their commitment to work. Women's current involvements within their occupational roles,

and specifically occupational prestige, does influence their commitment to work. In this respect they appear to be similar to men. Among married women, the attitudes of their husbands and of others also influence their commitment to work. The influence of wives and of others' attitudes on men's commitment to work is unknown.

Assuming the greater validity of the specific commitment measure, these data supply an answer to one of the commonly raised questions in the literature. Acker Husbands (1972) asks: Since women may leave their careers at any time without social repercussions, what effect does this have on commitment? None of the job history variables, including those referring to work interruptions and intermittent careers, had a significant effect on commitment to work. That is, current involvements within the occupational hierarchy and for some working women, the attitudes of others in the present but not in the past, affect a woman's commitment to work. The fact that women may leave their careers without social repercussions has no effect on their commitment to work. It does not lead to a decreased commitment to work and there is some suggestion that it may lead to an increased importance of work for self among married women who do work.

The data presented in this chapter seriously question many of the traditional assumptions about working women. They also point to the need for conceptual clarity and empirical rigor in future research in the area. Not only have the importance of work and commitment to work been found to be conceptually distinct but very different (indeed contradictory) findings have emerged for the two different commitment



measures. Finally, irrespective of the indicator used, women's intermittent involvement in the labour force, so often claimed as the reason for their secondary commitment to work and a decreased importance of work for self, has emerged as unrelated to any of them.

## CHAPTER 8 - A NOTE ON THE RANKING OF OCCUPATIONS

Before turning to a summary of this thesis and a discussion of future research, this chapter presents some data on the ranking of occupations and the traditional sex-characterization of the occupation. This discussion arose from some of the recent literature in the area which focuses on the relationship between the two, together with the fact that the sex-typing of the occupations did not emerge as particularly important in the analyses of the dependent variables just discussed.

As noted in chapter two, some recent articles have been investigating occupational prestige when the sex of the occupational incumbent is taken into account. Nilson (1976) and Bose (1973) both found that others ranked a person in the cross-sex occupation lower than one in an occupation appropriate for his or her sex. Nilson's respondents penalized women in masculine pursuits less than men in feminine pursuits. Bose's respondents, on the other hand, penalized women in cross-sex occupations more than men in cross-sex occupations. Guppy and Siltanen's (1976) Canadian respondents also ranked persons in cross-sex occupations lower than those in appropriate-sex occupations. They penalized men in feminine-typed occupations more than women in masculine-typed occupations.

Respondents for this study were asked to rank occupations within pairs chosen from similar prestige levels on the Pineo-Porter scale (1967). Each pair consisted of a traditionally female and a traditionally male occupation:

grade school teacher and economist

professionally trained librarian and building contractor

waitress and filling station attendant

The women were then asked to perform a similar task but this time the occupational incumbent was specified as female. Each pair of occupations included a traditionally female occupation and traditionally male occupation:

female registered nurse and female accountant

female truck dispatcher and female filing clerk

female laundress and female janitor

No consistent pattern of responses emerged when examining each of the individual pairs, within the sample as a whole, by occupational prestige groupings, or by occupational group. Most women ranked the traditionally male occupation the highest in the first pair, the traditionally female occupation in the second, both equally in the third, the traditionally female in the fourth, the traditionally male in the fifth, and both equally in the sixth. Respondents apparently were most unwilling to differentiate the occupations of lowest prestige.

The responses to the first three pairs (occupations without an overt sex stimulus) were grouped together and those to the last three pairs (occupations with an overt sex stimulus) were grouped together. More persons ranked occupations with a sex stimulus equally than occupations without an overt sex stimulus (Table 107, page 321). Looking at the occupational groups (Table 108, page 322), more persons in each occupational group ranked the traditionally female occupation the



Table 107  
Ranking Occupations

A.) Occupations with no overt Sex-Stimulus	N	%
no rank	16	3
both equal	147	28
traditionally male higher	150	29
traditionally female higher	209	40
<b>totals</b>	<b>522*</b>	<b>100</b>

\* 3 times the sample size

B.) Occupations with an overt Sex-Stimulus	N	%
no rank	42	8
both equal	220	42
traditionally male higher	96	18
traditionally female higher	164	31
<b>totals</b>	<b>522*</b>	<b>99</b>

\* 3 times the sample size

Table 108

## Ranking Occupations by Occupation

A.) Occupations with no overt Sex-Stimulus								
Rank	military women		models		newspaper reporters		social workers	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
no rank	4	4	5	4	3	2	4	3
both equal	23	22	34	27	42	30	48	32
male higher	28	27	41	33	49	35	32	21
female higher	50	48	46	37	47	33	66	44
<b>totals</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>100</b>

B.) Occupations with an overt Sex-Stimulus								
Rank	military women		models		newspaper reporters		social workers	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
no rank	6	6	15	12	9	6	12	8
both equal	51	49	54	43	47	33	68	45
male higher	26	25	24	19	23	16	23	15
female higher	22	21	33	26	62	44	47	31
<b>totals</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>99</b>

highest when no overt sex-stimulus is provided. The one exception was the group of newspaper reporters. This group was again the deviating occupation when they were asked to rank occupations with an overt sex-stimulus. For these occupations, other occupational groups were more likely to rank them equally. The newspaper reporters were more likely to rank the traditionally female occupation the highest.

These findings are inconsistent with existing studies. These studies would have led one to expect the traditionally male occupation to be ranked highest when no sex was specified. This is premised on the fact that male occupations tend to receive higher prestige than those considered female. With a female incumbent specified, one would have expected the traditionally female occupation to be ranked highest because those in the cross-sex occupation have been shown to be penalized for inappropriate-sex role involvement.

Still different results appear when the respondents are asked general questions about ranking occupations then about ranking working women. The two questions were:

Suppose there are two occupations which are relatively similar to one another but one is predominantly female and the other is predominantly male. Would you rank them equally in social standing or one higher than the other (if the latter, which one)? Why?

Suppose there are two females, one is working in a traditionally male occupation and the other one is working in a traditionally female occupation. Otherwise the occupations are relatively similar. Which working female would you rank higher in social standing or would you rank them equally? Why?

Most persons ranked both the occupations and the working women equally (Table 109, page 324). Looking at the occupational groups (Table 110, page 325), it is evident that the newspaper reporters again emerge as



Table 109

## Ranking Occupations and Working Women in Hypothetical Situations

A.) Occupations, one traditionally male and one traditionally female		
	N	%
both equal	154	89
traditionally male higher	14	8
traditionally female higher	5	3
(no answer)	(1)	
<b>totals</b>	<b>173</b>	<b>100</b>

B.) Women, in traditionally male and traditionally female occupations		
	N	%
both equal	102	59
traditionally male higher	71	41
traditionally female higher	1	1
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>101</b>

Table 110

Ranking Occupations and Working Women in Hypothetical Situations by Occupational Group

A.) Ranking Occupations								
Rank	military women		models		newspaper reporters		social workers	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
both equal	33	94	37	88	37	80	47	94
male higher	1	3	4	10	8	17	1	2
female higher	1	3	1	2	1	2	2	4
totals	35	101	42	100	46*	99	50	100

\* No answer N=1

B.) Ranking Working Women								
Rank	military women		models		newspaper reporters		social workers	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
both equal	24	69	20	48	24	51	34	68
male higher	11	31	21	50	23	49	16	32
female higher	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0
Totals	35	100	42	100	47	100	50	100

a distinctive group. Like the other occupational groups, newspaper reporters are most likely to rank the occupations equally. Nevertheless, a smaller percentage of them do so than is true of the other groups. Furthermore, they are more likely to rank the traditionally male occupation higher than is true of the other groups.

Some consistency can be found in these seemingly contradictory findings if the responses are ordered from those which are traditional (women in traditionally female occupations higher) to those which are extremist (women in traditionally male occupations higher). An equal ranking for both would indicate a middle score or moderate response. Looking again at the data, it is clear that moderate responses or egalitarian values are forthcoming when asked a hypothetical question. These responses change when specific occupations are involved. This is not an unusual pattern. As noted repeatedly throughout this thesis, individuals' values tend to be compromised in specific situations. Schuman (1972) discusses the fact that people endorse non-discrimination in principle but easily depart from it when obstacles to enacting this general principle are integrated into the question. Crespi (1971) notes a high correlation between behaviour and values only when a specific situation is outlined and values specific to that situation are given.

When asked to rank specific occupations, the working women chose the traditionally female occupations, indicating a traditional response. When asked to rank hypothetical situations, they gave egalitarian responses. When provided with the sex of the incumbent they also responded with egalitarian values, perhaps biased by the popularity of



the women's movement and the publicity given to it.

The distinctiveness of the newspaper women suggests an interesting interpretation. Their tendency to choose traditionally male occupations may reflect their own involvement in and understanding of these occupations. Only when a female incumbent is specified do they choose the traditionally female occupation. Information from two other questions supports the notion of the newspaper reporters as a deviant group. When asked the criteria on which they assess their own social status, this group was more likely than any of the other groups to list their own occupation (Tables 111 and 112, pages 328-329). Similarly, when asked the relative importance of their own job, compared with their husband's job, in assessing their own social status they were the most likely to say it depends on the prestige of the particular occupations each is involved in. They were the least likely to say the husband's is more important because of his traditional role. Finally, although only three persons said that the woman's occupation was necessarily more important in assessing her own social status than was the husband's occupation, all three of these persons were newspaper reporters.

It is suggested here that newspaper reporters are not only involved in a traditionally male occupation and therefore have an understanding of these jobs but that they have also been successful in attaining a relatively high prestige occupation. This special group of working women reveal their unique situation in their answers to these questions. They adopt men's values when ranking occupations

Table 111  
Assessments of Social Status

A.) Own Job as a Criterion of Social Status	N	%
listed	108	62
not listed	66	38
<b>totals</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100</b>

B.) Own Job Relative to Husband's Job	N	%
hers higher	3	2
equal	53	31
depends	97	56
his higher	19	11
<b>totals</b>	<b>172*</b>	<b>100</b>

\* No answer N=2

Table 112  
Assessing Social Status by Occupation

A.) Own Job as a Criterion of Social Status								
	military women		models		newspaper reporters		social workers	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
listed	21	60	19	41	36	77	32	64
note listed	14	40	23	60	11	23	18	36
<b>totals</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>

B.) Own Job Relative to Husband's Job								
	military women		models		newspaper reporters		social workers	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Hers higher	0	0	0	0	3	7	0	0
equal	13	37	13	31	9	20	18	37
depends	17	49	24	57	32	70	24	49
his higher	5	14	5	12	2	4	7	14
<b>totals</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>46*</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100</b>

\* No answer N=2



and when choosing their own occupation as a basis for assessing their own social status. Their tendency to choose traditionally female occupations when selecting between female workers in specific occupations is a bit of an anomaly. It appears they revert to traditional values when given very specific choices which most portray the detail of reality but which apply to others rather than to themselves.

The data reported in this chapter in no way suggest that the sex-characterization of the occupation contributes to the importance of work for self-identity or to specific commitment to work. It does not point to a reconsideration of the findings discussed in the previous chapters. Rather, it shows an enlarged picture of a small segment of these women's lives without taking other factors into account. This sample, unlike others reported in the literature, expressed more egalitarian views. Whether this is due to the particular sample being studied or reflects genuine changes over the last few years is unknown. The particular distinctiveness of the newspaper women, the only occupants of a relatively high prestige, traditionally male occupation studied here, may be indicative of the distinctiveness of such groups of working women in the larger population. Additional research is needed on many more occupational groups before this can be assessed.

## CHAPTER 9 - CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has empirically investigated various factors leading to the importance of work for self-identity and commitment to work among working women. In doing so, it has sought to empirically test some of the traditional assumptions about working women. Comparisons with non-working women or with men were not included.

The first chapter expounded a Meadian perspective of the self, emphasizing change as inherent in the nature of the self and the present as the locus of reality. Within this perspective it was hypothesized that current experiences would be more important for current self-identity than would past experiences, including both childhood socialization experiences and past work experiences.

The second chapter turned to a discussion of the occupational and sex role literature for both those views opposing Meadian theory and the possible differential effects of various current experiences on the importance of work and commitment to work. In this chapter a conceptual distinction was made between the importance of work for self and commitment to work arising from: the different types of indicators used in current research; and the logical possibility that one could be highly committed to the work role while at the same time this work role could have little importance for the self and vice versa.

A review of the literature, however, revealed opposing views and contradictory findings on the relevance of various factors which could

effect working women. In particular, the traditional assumptions emphasized women's secondary commitment to work, their primary commitment to marriage and family, and their husband's occupational status as their primary status source. Their intermittent careers were offered as a main reason for their secondary commitment to work and a lesser importance of work for self-identity. In contrast, more recent literature has argued against these traditional assumptions on the grounds that women can have a dual commitment to both work and family and that women need not necessarily derive their status only (or at all) from their husbands. Empirical studies have not tended to study the relative impact of all of these factors at the same time, nor have they utilized different indicators of some of the concepts. In addition, empirical findings have been contradictory and inconclusive.

The third chapter discussed some of the methodological issues involved in an empirical study of the various factors affecting the importance of work for self and commitment to work among working women. This chapter began with a discussion of the decision to collect the data using personal interviews and then proceeded to discuss the choice of the particular sample. Four occupational groups were chosen in order to test the differential effects of both occupational prestige and the traditional sex-characterization of the occupation.

The operationalization of the concepts was presented in the fourth chapter. Each of the major concepts (importance of work, commitment to work, early socialization, past work experiences, potential influences from non-work sources, time and energy constraints, and the



work role) were discussed in terms of their different dimensions as well as numerous indicators for the different dimensions. This led to the specification and utilization of alternate indicators in the subsequent analyses.

The results of the data analyses were presented beginning with chapter five where the conceptual distinction between importance of work and commitment to work was confirmed empirically. Additional information on the types of effect work had on the self and different role sub-identities and the expressed reasons for working was then related to the dependent variables. The effect of early socialization experiences and past work experiences on importance of work and commitment to work was then explored. The findings confirmed the Meadian hypothesis by revealing the lack of relevance of any of these variables for the importance of work on current self and current commitment to work. Such results indicated the non-applicability of the traditional assumptions about the importance of women's intermittent careers for their commitment to work.

Chapter seven concentrated on the relevance of different current experiences for working women's importance of work for self and their commitment to work. The sample as a whole, married women, mothers, and each of the occupational groups were subjected to separate analysis. The differential results for the dependent variables again confirmed the original conceptual distinction and led to a discussion of the use of differential indicators in empirical research. The particular findings in relation to the importance of work were interpreted

in terms of work as not currently a taken-for-granted role for women in our society. The reality of other women actually working suggested their part in establishing work as a legitimate and taken-for-granted role for other working women. It was further suggested that if and when the work role becomes accepted as a real alternative for women, different factors may well affect the importance of work for their self-identities. The relationship evident between marital status and the importance of work was contrary to traditional assumptions. Outside help with the children emerged as the factor associated with a high importance of work for working mothers. The findings for specific commitment to work once again point to the non-applicability of the traditional assumptions about working women. Commitment to work was influenced by the prestige of the current occupation. It was not affected by marital status, the presence of children, or many other factors which some sociologists argued would be relevant.

The assumption that the specific commitment measure was more valid than the general commitment measure together with the differential findings for each pointed to the dangers of empirical research. The findings for the general measure supported the traditional assumptions about working women. The findings for the specific measure not only did not support these assumptions but suggested the influence on women's commitment to work is similar to that on men's commitment to work.

The last chapter focused attention on a somewhat different area. The ranking of occupations and the traditional sex-characterization of

the occupation were discussed. Once again, differential findings were evident for different indicators. Furthermore, unlike other samples researched by other authors, this sample appeared to be more egalitarian than past findings indicate. The newspaper reporters emerged as a distinctive group among the four occupations studied. This was attributed to the fact that they were occupants of traditionally male, high prestige occupations.

These data however have some obvious shortcomings. They included women from only one geographical area of the country, only four occupational groups, and only 174 working women. Obviously the inclusion of women from other parts of the country, of more occupational groups, and of more women is needed to confirm the results reported here. Such additional data are needed not only for generalization to other samples but also for further exploration of some of the results. In particular the large amounts of variance explained for some of the occupational groups could have been inflated because of the small sample sizes. The skewed distributions for some of the variables (the intermittent career scale, family involvement, for example) may disappear if other groups of working women were included.

Despite these shortcomings, the data reported here nevertheless lead to some interesting conclusions and suggestions for future research. There is no doubt that these data indicate the need for additional conceptualizing for understanding the integration and maintenance of self-identity. Selves apparently are not affected by all of our experiences. They do not necessarily expand or change to encompass all



of our role experiences equally. While the Meadian hypothesis about the relative unimportance of past experiences was confirmed, not all roles within our current experiences contribute equally to our selves. Some experiences contribute more than others. Those roles which have little importance for the self do not seem to necessarily cause problems or have negative effects for the individuals involved. Persons still participate in these roles, do well in them and express a desire to remain involved in them. This is not surprising if Goffman's perspective is adopted (1961:91-132). Each individual participates in numerous roles and total identification with all of them at the same time, if at all possible, would be at the cost of total compartmentalization.

In addition, different indicators and research strategies may be required for a more detailed study of the self. Given the definition of the self as the organization of attitudes which give unity to the individual, together with the evidence that verbal behaviour is related to overt behaviour when relatively specific and realistic situations are provided, it could be suggested that the self is not related to overt behaviour. In this case it could be conceived of as a general unifying attitude encompassing individual sub-identities or which integrate different sub-identities for the individual but in which other factors affect behaviour. If, however, it is maintained that the organization of attitudes, the self, is in fact related to overt behaviour then other research strategies are likely necessary. This is premised on the fact that the very definition of the self seems to call for interview or questionnaire items which evidence suggests are

not related to overt behaviour. In this case, participant observation could provide more adequate data.

The results reported here also lead to the conclusion that the importance of involvement in a particular role for one's self is conceptually distinct from and affected by different factors than one's commitment to that role (i.e., decision to remain involved in that role). Specific aspects of the particular role are important for commitment to it or for role-specific behaviour but different factors affect the importance of that role for the self. While these data only distinguish between the importance of work for the self and participation in the work role, it is being suggested that the same phenomenon could well exist for other roles. For example, the particular aspects of the family role which lead to commitment to that role or to specific behaviours within that role may well differ from those which lead to the importance of that role for the self.

These data also suggest that as more and more women enter the labour force, housewives or non-working women may find their role as housewife less important for their self-identities. This is based on the finding that the proportion of working others was related to the importance of work and its interpretation in terms of legitimizing work as an alternative for women. If both staying at home and working become acceptable alternatives other factors may influence the importance of the housewife role for those involved in it. Since this role has been women's traditional role and since women's involvement in the labour force especially at higher levels is still not a taken-for-granted

alternative, very different factors could influence its importance for the self than were found here. Additional research is needed to explore this question further.

The fact that aspects within the work role affect commitment to that role, suggests that factors within the housewife role may well affect commitment to that role. However, if the same factor is adopted (prestige within the housewife role), the housewife role may well not be very important even to housewives. Lopata (1971:52-53,331) reports that while working women are more tolerant of roles outside the home than full-time housewives and that the social role of housewife is less important to working women than to non-working women, the status of the title 'housewife' is nevertheless not high among either group. Similarly, Nilson (1976) reports that housewife is generally given a social status ranking comparable to that of secretaries when it is included in a list of occupations and the occupation of the husband is not specified. Clearly, a study including both housewives and women working outside the home is required to assess the differential importance of and commitment to the housewife role among these two groups. It is possible that, despite the different nature of these two roles, their effects on commitment can be subsumed within the rubric of the prestige concept of occupational sociology. In this case, one would expect women working in occupations of higher prestige than that of housewife to be more committed to their work role than to their housewife role.

As suggested by recent studies (Meissner et al.,1975; Meissner,



1977; Mackie, 1976), these data confirm the relevance of time and energy constraints for working women. Specifically, the utilization of child care services was highly related to the importance of work for mothers. Additional research on the availability and utilization of child care services would help answer the question about the causality of the relationship between these two variables.

Finally, the fact that the traditional assumptions about working women were not supported here and the fact that occupational prestige showed a strong relationship with commitment to work, suggest that women may not be different from men at least in some respects. This study did not include men and as such cannot say anything about the importance of work for or commitment to work among women compared with men. Nevertheless, the use of the traditional assumptions in the literature about working women in comparison with men and the particular findings reported here debunking many of these assumptions invite speculative comparison with men. Rather than arguing for the decreased relevance of work for women, some authors have argued for the similarity of the sexes. Treiman and Terrell (1975) found few differences in socioeconomic status or prestige by sex and report data showing that women are concentrated in jobs which pay poorly relative to their education but otherwise have the same status as men. Guppy and Siltanen (1976) report female prestige scores which approximate male prestige scores in the high income and young respondent subgroups. The data reported here confirm the argument in favour of the similarity of the sexes in terms of the same factors leading to an increase in commitment to work.

The similarity of the two sexes in regard to the attitudes of others and commitment or the proportion of working others and the importance of work is not known. However, it can be suggested that women for whom work is important (who report a large proportion of other women who also work) are not dissimilar from men. All men know a large proportion of other men who also work. Furthermore, men are involved in marriage and family roles and it can be suggested that since most men are expected to work, others' attitudes would probably be positive. Although additional research is needed, it can be suggested that at least some working women may be similar to some working men.

On the other hand, it has been argued that men and women live in two different cultures (Holter, 1970:16,97; McCormack, 1975; Smith; 1975). Men have two main integrated roles, one as family member and another as workers; women have only one main position, that as family member. Men belong to the public spheres; women belong primarily to the private spheres. The findings reported here suggest that, at least for certain aspects of specific behaviour within the work role, both men and women respond to the same influences.

To summarize, the following conclusions have been drawn from the data reported here: current experiences are relatively more important for current self-identity and for current commitment to work than are experiences in the past; the importance of work for self-identity and commitment to work are conceptually and empirically distinct and different factors influence each; not all role involvements affect our self-identities to the same extent; the existence of children plays a

particularly important role for working mothers; and the same factors affect women's commitment to work as affect men's commitment to work.

These findings have also indicated many areas for additional research including: comparisons with housewives; comparisons with men; further study of the time and energy constraints affecting women; more detailed study of other work factors such as the organization of work and interactional patterns at work; and the exploration of self-identity and role involvements in other roles to name a few.

Although more research is needed, it is clear that the area of occupations and the effects of the work role is in need of both conceptual clarification and empirical rigor. The concepts of importance of work and commitment to work are not only theoretically distinct but empirically distinct as well. Furthermore, the different indicators for importance of work and commitment to work reveal different results and consequently different relevance for conceptualizing and theorizing about occupations.



APPENDIX A - SELF AND WORK: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

## Self and Work: Interview Schedule

Neena L. Chappell  
 McMaster University  
 Hamilton, Ontario  
 Summer and Fall, 1975

Respondent id. number \_\_\_\_\_

Time interview initiated \_\_\_\_\_

Place of interview \_\_\_\_\_

The first two questions are the longest. They'll take about twenty minutes to complete. There are no right or wrong answers to them, you simply answer them in your own words and as honestly as you can.

1.) The first question provides twenty blank spaces and asks you to make as many responses as you can to the question, "Who am I?" Give the answers as if you were addressing the question to yourself, not to anyone else. (Give respondent page "1a" to write the answers herself.)

b.) Now, for each statement that you made go back and rank the importance of that statement for you. In other words, pick the statement which is the most important to you or is most "truly" you and put the number "1" (one) in the column entitled "R" (for rank). Then pick the second most important statement and put the number "2" (two) in that column beside that statement and so on until you have numbered all of the statements.

c.) Now, for each statement that you made evaluate it as saying something negative, positive or neutral about yourself. If you think it says something positive about you put a "+" (plus) sign in the column entitled "E" (for evaluation). If you think it says something negative about you, put a "-" (minus) sign in that column and if you think it says something neutral about you put a "0" (zero) in that column. (Retrieve page "1a" from respondent.)

2.) There are twenty additional blank spaces in the next question. This time make as many responses as you can to complete the sentence: "As a \_\_\_\_\_ (fill this blank with your occupation, for example, social worker or model) I am \_\_\_\_\_." In other words, it asks you who you are as a \_\_\_\_\_ (social worker, model, etc.). (Give respondent page "1b" to write the answers herself.)

b.) Now, for each statement that you made go back and rank the importance of that statement for you as you did for the first question. Be sure to rank all statements.

c.) And finally, for each statement that you made evaluate it as saying something negative, positive or neutral about yourself, as you did for the first question. (Retrieve page "1b" from respondent.)

Thank you, the remainder of the questions are much more straightforward than the first two. First, I need some information on your background.

3.) What is your marital status? (If not married, are you living with a man?)

single (not engaged) \_\_\_\_\_

single (engaged) \_\_\_\_\_

married \_\_\_\_\_

separated \_\_\_\_\_

divorced \_\_\_\_\_

widowed \_\_\_\_\_

4.) What is your birth date? (age \_\_\_\_\_)

day \_\_\_\_\_

month \_\_\_\_\_

year \_\_\_\_\_

5.) Where were you born? \_\_\_\_\_

6.) What is your ethnic origin? \_\_\_\_\_

7.) Do you have a religious preference? That is, are you either Protestant, Catholic, Jewish or something else? (If Protestant, note denomination. If none, do you consider yourself basically Christian, agnostic or atheist?) \_\_\_\_\_

8.) From birth until you were 16 years of age, was there one place (town or city) where you primarily lived? (Note the estimated size of the place at that time. If moved all over, did you live primarily in large cities or small towns?)

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9.) How large a family do you come from? (Note presence or absence of any parents, number of brothers and sisters, and the place of the respondent in the family.)

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10.) What is (was) your father's major occupation and what tasks did he perform in it?

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11.) Did your mother work while you were at home? If yes, was it full or part-time? What was her major occupation and what tasks did she perform in it?

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12.) How many years of formal education do you have? Please distinguish between those which were part-time and those which were full-time.

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13.) What type of education was this? (Specify in terms of certificates, diplomas, degrees, etc. and note the type of high school education as well as post-secondary education.)

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14.) If married, engaged or living with a man, how many years of formal education does he have? Please distinguish between those which were part-time and those which were full-time.

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15.) What type of education was this? (Specify in terms of certificates, diplomas, degrees, etc. and note the type of high school education as well as post-secondary education.)

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16.) What is your job title? Is this full or part-time work? (What department, section etc. are you in? Do you do any other jobs for pay?)

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17.) What tasks do you perform in your job? Please differentiate in terms of frequency and importance.

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18.) Do you work alone or in conjunction with others? Are others present but performing distinct tasks from your own?

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19.) If married, engaged or living with a man, what is his occupation and what tasks does he perform in it?

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20.) What is your yearly income? Please choose a category from this card and distinguish between income from this occupation and any other. (Hand respondent card 1.)

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21.) If married, engaged or living with a man, what is his yearly income? Please choose a category from the card.

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22.) Do you have, or have you had, any children? If yes, what is the age and sex of each and how many are currently living at home?

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23.) Are there any other members of the household? (For example, parents, inlaws, etc.) If yes, please specify.

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We turn now to a series of question related specifically to you as a working person.

24.) When did you first start to work full-time?

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25.) What was your first job? (Your next and after that ... until the present...)

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26.) Have you had any interruptions in your working career? If yes, for how long and for what reasons?

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27.) If yes to above, did you leave with the intention of returning?  
(Probe for reasons. If not, why did she return?)

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28.) How long have you been working at this particular job?

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29.) How long have you been working for this organization (agency)?

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30.) Why do you work, in general, and then why do you work at this particular job? Why do you work for this organization (agency)?

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31.) Do you expect to be working 5 (five) years from now? (Probe for reasons.) If yes, in what type of job? With this organization (agency)?

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32.) Do you intend to work until old age, or have a life-long career? (Probe for reasons.) If yes, in what type of job? With this organization (agency)?

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33.) If by some chance you inherited enough money to live comfortably without working, do you think you would work anyway or not? (Probe for reasons. If not, note involvements in voluntary organizations, other activities, etc.)

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34.) If you quit working, in general, and then if you quit this particular job, what would you miss most and what would you miss least? (For military women, replace 'particular job' with 'the military')

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35.) What are the advantages of working, in general, and then what are the disadvantages?

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36.) Would you advise an outstanding young woman to work? (Note the reasons and whether or not it is permanent employment.) If yes, what occupation would you advise her to enter and why?

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37.) If your daughter were an outstanding young woman, would you advise her to work? (Note the reasons and whether or not it is permanent employment.) If yes, what occupation would you advise her to enter and why? (OR, if your daughter were an outstanding young woman would you answer this question any differently?)

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38.) Thinking now of your daughter realistically, would you advise her to work? (Note the reasons and whether or not it is permanent employment.) If yes, what occupation would you advise her to enter and why? (OR, thinking now of your own daughter realistically, would you answer the question any differently?)

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Now I have some broad questions on your outlook on life.

39.) Do you think \_\_\_\_\_ (occupational group of respondent) have a particular approach to the world or a particular outlook on life? (Note what it is and whether or not this applies only to work activities.) (Do you think people are like this when they enter or did they become this way after entering?)

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40.) Do you think \_\_\_\_\_ (occupational group of respondent) differ from others because of the work they do? (Note the reasons and if yes, how.)

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41.) Do you think your approach to the world, or your outlook on life would change if you were not working? (Note the reasons and if yes, how.)

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42.) Of the following phrases, pick the one which best describes you. (Give respondent card 2.) Now pick the one which describes you second best. And finally, pick the one which describes you the third best.

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43.) How has working affected your concept of or your view of yourself as a:  
wife \_\_\_\_\_

mother \_\_\_\_\_

woman \_\_\_\_\_

friend \_\_\_\_\_

person \_\_\_\_\_

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44.) Please state your agreement or disagreement with the following by choosing one of the five alternatives on this card. (Give respondent card 3.)

a) I am fortunate to be a woman because I am less a victim to the pressures of the male role to be successful and consequently have more freedom to do what I want in my work.

S.D.                    D.                    N.                    A.                    S.A.

b) It is more difficult for a working woman than a working man to achieve success in the work world because of sex discrimination.

S.D.                    D.                    N.                    A.                    S.A.

c) It is more difficult for a working woman than a working man to achieve success in work world because of exploitative working conditions.

S.D.                    D.                    N.                    A.                    S.A.

d) I would much prefer that others not judge me by the kind of work I do, but rather by my off-the-job "life".

S.D.                    D.                    N.                    A.                    S.A.

e) Success in the things I do at work is more important to my opinion of myself than success in things I do away from work.

S.D.                    D.                    N.                    A.                    S.A.

f) I would prefer to stay at home rather than go to work.

S.D.                    D.                    N.                    A.                    S.A.

g) To me, my work is only a small part of who I am.

S.D.                    D.                    N.                    A.                    S.A.

h) Work provides a focus for my life.

S.D.                    D.                    N.                    A.                    S.A.

i) Whenever the wife is happy in her job, the home and marriage relationship are better for it.

S.D.                    D.                    N.                    A.                    S.A.

j) A good home background makes a good worker while a bad home is the root of many difficulties at work.

S.D.                    D.                    N.                    A.                    S.A.

45.) Do you approach your work in a similar manner or a different manner from the way in which you think men approach their work? Can you explain? (Do you think this is due to socialization OR biological and innate differences?)

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46.) Some say that we have different images of ourselves, one based on work and the other on non-work activities. Others say that we have one image consisting of all of the activities in which we are involved, including our work. Which statement do you think applies to you? (Note the reasons)

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47.) Do you think that you at work and you away from work are different in any ways? (Note in which ways.)

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48.) Thinking of yourself as a whole rather than as consisting of numerous parts, can you think of any themes ("threads") which are characteristic of you and that you see in all of your different activities in different roles?

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49.) Do you divorce some of your roles from others? If yes, which ones?

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The next section asks you to rank different occupations comparing their social standing. In other words, which ones rank higher in your mind.



50.) For each pair of occupations I am going to read, tell me which one of the two you would rank higher in social standing, which one lower, or whether you would rank them approximately the same. Why?

public grade school teacher \_\_\_\_\_ economist \_\_\_\_\_

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professionally trained librarian \_\_\_\_\_ building contractor \_\_\_\_\_

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waitress \_\_\_\_\_ filling station attendant \_\_\_\_\_

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51.) Suppose there are two occupations which are relatively similar to one another but one is predominantly female and the other is predominantly male. Would you rank them equally in social standing or one higher than the other (if the latter, which one)? Why?

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52.) For each pair of occupations I am now going to read tell me which one of the two you would rank higher in social standing, which one lower, or whether you would rank them approximately the same. Why?

female registered nurse \_\_\_\_\_ female accountant \_\_\_\_\_

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female truck dispatcher \_\_\_\_\_ female filing clerk \_\_\_\_\_

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female laundress \_\_\_\_\_ female janitor \_\_\_\_\_

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53.) Suppose there are two females, one is working in a traditionally male occupation and the other one is working in a traditionally female occupation. Otherwise the occupations are relatively similar. Which working female would you rank higher in social standing or would you rank them equally? Why?

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54.) On what basis do you think others evaluate your social status?

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55.) On what basis do you assess your own social standing? (What criteria do you use for ... )

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56.) What social class do you consider yourself to be a member of?

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57.) In determining your social class, would you say that your occupation is more important than your husband's, his is more important than yours, or they are equally important? Why?

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The last section refers to your relationships with others, their attitudes towards you working and how working has affected your relationship with others.

58.) Did (are) you plan(ing) on working after you got married? (Note reasons)

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59.) Did (are) you plan(ing) on working after you had children?(Note reasons.)

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60.) If their plans didn't work for either question 58 or 59: Why didn't your plans work out the way you intended?

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61.) When you were "little" did you plan on working when you grew up? (If no, why not? If yes, temporarily or permanently and in what occupation? Note differences between pre-adolescence and adolescence if necessary.)

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62.) What were your parents' reactions to this idea?

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63.) What are your parents' reactions to your working now? (Note frequency they are seen.)

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64.) If married or living with a man, what are his parents' reactions to your working?

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65.) What is your husband's (or the man living with you) reaction to your working?

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66.) Would you give up your present job if your husband were offered a promotion but had to move to receive it? If yes, would it upset you?

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67.) If children: How have your children responded to your working?

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68.) If children: Do most of the mothers of your children's friends work?

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69.) Do most of your female friends work?

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70.) If married, do most of the wives of your husband's friends work?

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71.) How do your female friends react to your working?

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72.) Do you have more friends at work, more outside of work or about the same? Models - the business or related, not through working; Military - on this base; Social Workers - at the workplace; Newspaper-at the workplace.

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73.) About how many people at work would you say you are off-work friends with, if any?

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74.) Do you have more friends within your occupation, more without or about the same? Models-people that are also models; Military-in the forces; Social Worker-in social work; News-in reporting and media (in closely related).

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75.) About how many people within your occupation would you say you are off-work friends with?

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76.) For those having friends to above question: Do these persons work where you do or elsewhere?

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77.) How demanding would you say your work is on your time and energy?  
very demanding    demanding    not very demanding    not at all

78.) Do you spend any off-work time on work? If yes, how much and what do you do?

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79.) If you wanted to spend an additional three or four hours a week on work related activities, would you have the time?

80.) How much time do you spend commuting to and from work?

81.) Are your work hours flexible? Please explain. If they are, around which activities do you arrange your work?

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82.) Do you agree or disagree that there is no time left for the pursuit of one's own nonfamily, nonwork interests? (Probe here for involvement in recreational activities, when most housework is done, when friends and neighbours, etc. are seen.) (Do you have as much time as you'd like to see your friends and pursue personal interests?)

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83.) Do you have any help with the housework? (Note here whether or not husband helps out.)

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84.) If children: Do you have any help with the children?

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85.) If children: Do you miss work because of the children (for example, when they are sick)? If yes, how often?

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86.) If children: Do you worry about the safety of your children when you're at work? If yes, please elaborate.

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87.) Do you (think you would) "spoil" feel neglectful of your children because you work? Why or why not?

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88.) Do you (think you would) "spoil" your children more because you are working? Please explain.

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89.) Do you (think you would) feel any conflict of commitment between working and childrearing?

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90.) Do you (think you would) try to commit yourself equally to both or more to one of them (which one)? Why?

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91.) How has working affected your relationship with your husband (the man you are living with)?

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92.) If children: How has working affected your relationship with your children?

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93.) Do you think you're missing something that non-working women have? (Because you are working, do you think that you are missing something that women who are not working are not missing? Note what it is if yes. Note reasons)

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94.) Do you think non-working women are missing something you have? (Do you think that women who are not working are missing something that you are not missing by virtue of your working? Note what it is if yes. Note reasons.)

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95.) What do you think society's attitude, in general, is towards women who work?

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96.) What do you think society's attitude, in general, is towards mothers who work?

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97.) What is your general attitude towards women who work?

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98.) What is your general attitude towards mothers who work?

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99.) Have your attitudes been influenced by women's lib at all? If yes, how? (What is your attitude towards women's lib?)

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100.) How do you think this movement has influenced society's attitudes towards working women, if at all?

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That's just about it, would you like to add anything?

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Have any of the things that have come up in this interview been things that you have thought about before?

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Time terminated \_\_\_\_\_

MY THANKS FOR YOUR COOPERATION AND PARTICIPATION.







## APPENDIX B

## RETURN ESSAY, AN EXAMPLE

Id. number 426

As soon as possible, I'd like you to write a short essay on how working has affected you. Relate specific events which you can recall, how you interpreted them at the time, and the significance which you now attribute to them. It may help if you think over some of the questions raised during the interview.

Simply write the essay in your own words and include those experiences which you think are important for portraying how work has affected you as a person. Feel free to include additional pages if they are needed. Let me take this final opportunity to thank you once again for your cooperation. Without it, this study would not be possible.

I started my working career at the tender age of 11 in my familys' Pizza Shop. Being an extremely insecure middle child, I soon learned what praise for a well made Pizza meant. I soon became the 'best' pizza maker that I could be. Always the reward was praise. I stayed with Mother until age 14 when I moved to Edmonton to live with my father. I worked part-time in a restaurant as a waitress-dishwasher. Being only 14, the financial rewards were minimal. However, once again praise taught me to be the best. At age 16 I became a straight dishwasher at an exclusive club in Edmonton. Despite my age, I soon earned a raise of five cents per hour. I had finally discovered a new incentive - money. I then became the 'best' dishwasher they had. After that job came a 'all-round-helper' job in an old folks home. A new incentive for working was added - attention. All those old people just crying out for someone to listen to them. And me needing attention - worked out just fine. So I washed their dishes, served their meals, and listened to them. So far at age 16 I had three good incentives for doing my best at a job: money, praise and attention. I worked again at a restaurant as a dishwasher waitress where I was made Manager at 18. Nothing much, just control of waitress shifts, cash and ordering of supplies. It did supply a new incentive, though 'power'. I finished



high school and decided that waitressing would get me nowhere so I went to work for Alberta Health Care as a very junior Junior Clerk. The work was boring, monotonous, involved no mental activity and very little financial reward. There were about fifty of us in the same position and I can't take being grouped like that so I fell for the C.A.F. line promising fun, excitement and travel - all for five years of my life. So, I joined the Forces and went off to Cornwallis, Nova Scotia for some 'basic training'. 'End of Prologue.'

I felt that a certain amount of foreshadowing was necessary to the forthcoming story. Thus the prologue.

The question you asked was 'How has working affected you?' Due to the different nature of work in the Forces, I must first explain how the Forces has affected me. From there I will be able to explain how the work has affected me, because the Forces affected a change in me. Basic training in the Forces was very hard on me. I had been virtually independent since age 14 and was quite used to being my own boss. I had never been a part of the 'the crowd' and was suddenly put in the position of having to accept rigid discipline and live with a peer group at the same time. The financial rewards were non-existent and individual praise had never been heard of. I found it absolutely impossible to quash my own individuality and therefore could not relate to the group as a whole. Not only were we required to relate to the group, we had to think of ourselves as only a part of a 'group'. Towards the end of the course, we were conditioned to do this and we all graduated with glowing pride into the Armed Forces. Then off to Borden, Ontario for Trades training. Once again, we were taught 'en masse' with no emphasis on individual problems or learning skills. That was the worst time of my life. In Cornwallis, once the Group Welfare Conditioning took over, we all loved one another. In Borden, the 'group' was somewhat split and the pressure not on our personal lives, the entire 'group' fell apart and were at each others' throats in a matter of days. I had more bad times, being a lone wolf than I had ever had, or have ever had since then. In the previous four months, I had had no incentive for doing

my best and was finding it hard to succeed. I then got into a hate thing with the course instructor which was really bad - and from here I'll start answering your questions. The first thing in my career that really affected me was the Course report that my instructor wrote on me. It was a mediocre Course Report. In it he stated that I 'showed signs of immaturity'. The thought of that Course Report has haunted me through the last 2½ years. The lack of fairness really burns me. Oh well. That I can take. But what really got to me was the fact that that course report would precede me to my new base and the people there would be forming impressions before they had even met me. Consequently, when I got to Toronto I worked harder than I had ever worked before to try and correct impressions. Of course this was the wrong thing to do. On looking back, I can see that I was immature - in relation to a 45 year old man (who wrote the report). I was just nineteen. I still feel the burn of that Report arriving before I did. I now know that I was not judged on the report and that the people here were too intelligent to credit the report. I worked very hard and once again the incentives started to float in front of my eyes. I had been changed in that I had learned to work within an institution and find rewards there. They were not monetary, or attention or power. They did involve a certain amount of praise but more than that, they involved something quite new to me. I had finally learned after a fairly extensive working career that pleasure in a well done job was an excellent incentive. Soon the more I learned, and the better I did it, the more I wanted to do. I took pride in being a 'crackerjack' worker. I often felt completely lost in the midst of a large impersonal organization, however, a good job is noticed even if you are not told about it right away. I remember being told by a man I respected very much for his knowledge that I would go places some day. I remember the happiness that this gave me and even now it is still an incentive to work harder. The next big event in my Service Career came when I was handed a job that had been let get behind to the point that it was twelve months in arrears. With only ½ days training in it, I took it over and caught it up in three



months. However, I must be honest and say that I hated that job during the time that it was behind. I did not want to do it and it was only after things began to get into shape that I could say that I derived any sort of satisfaction from it. It was not until I had a Letter of Commendation written on me for completing the work so well, that I had the ambition to continue its' maintenance. However, the system we are involved in sometimes does stupid things. The superiors then decided that since I had done that job well, I could do it and another job as well. I balked at this and let the first job get behind again. It seemed the only way to get the message across. I felt that there was no need for me to have a nervous breakdown because of their mismanagement of personnel. On looking back I feel that I won a battle with the system because they once again placed me only on one job. That didn't last long though. They tried the two-job thing on me again - I let one get behind and they gave in to me. This series of incidents occurred over a one year period and I came out of it feeling the winner. I also came out of the period with a new confidence in my own ability to do any job put before me, within reason, and to do it well. I still needed the outside praise (i.e., Letter of Commendation) to make me feel appreciated. I love to be told that I am good. Just like a pat on the head, eh? The next big event in my working career that sticks in my mind is my going to work in a job that required a much higher rank than mine. I did the job, did it right and came out of it with a great contempt for the higher rank who had done it previous to me. I now wonder what prerequisites are given to higher rank jobs.

Now the second part of the question - what significance I now attribute to these incidents. I feel that on both of the past jobs, that my career may be furthered by the work I did. I have received good reports on both of them and as I am still considered to be 'in training' it will indicate to my superiors what I am capable of doing.

Work is a necessary part of my life. I need the satisfaction of doing a job well. I also need to be praised when I have done a job well. I need to feel that my efforts will place me in a position of responsibility



and trust. Due to the Armed Forces system (in the first few years at least) of time in for pay raises instead of more money for better work, it is absolutely necessary for me to receive emotional gratification for the work I do. A great deal of the insecurity is still left and, as I am usually unsure of myself, I have the need for outside praise to bolster my own confidence in my ability.

In summation: How has work affected me? Work has not affected me - work is a part of me. It helps me to like myself, it instills pride and confidence. I would be totally lost if I did not have the emotional and financial rewards of work.

I sincerely hope that the past few hundred (I counted) words will be of some help to you. It does flatter the ego to be asked to talk about ones self. I only hope that I have been honest. I also love to write, 'it really lets me be me'. I would like very much to hear from you, I have enjoyed this experiment very much.

## APPENDIX C

## CANADIAN CENSUS CATEGORIES CORRESPONDING TO BLISHEN CLASSIFICATION

## Census Code - 2331, Social Worker

adoption agent - welfare organization  
case consultant - any industry  
case investigator - any industry  
case reviewer - any industry  
case supervisor - any industry  
child consultant - welfare organization  
child welfare consultant - welfare organization  
children's aid investigator - welfare organization  
children's counsellor - welfare organization  
counsellor - welfare organization  
court worker - welfare organization  
detention attendant - juvenile court  
detention worker - juvenile court  
family counsellor - welfare organization  
group social worker - welfare organization  
medical case worker - any industry  
medical social consultant - any industry  
medical social worker - any industry  
parole agent - any industry  
parole director - any industry  
parole officer - any industry  
parole supervisor - any industry  
probation officer - any industry  
psychiatric social worker - any industry  
referee, juvenile court - public administration  
social worker - any industry  
welfare case worker - any industry

## Census Code - 3353, Writers and Editors

ad writer - any industry  
ad copy writer - any industry  
advertising editor - any industry  
advertising writer - any industry  
advertising copy writer - any industry  
art critic - any industry  
art editor - any industry  
associate editor - printing and publishing  
author, authoress - any industry  
biographer - any industry  
book critic - any industry  
book editor - any industry  
book reviewer - any industry  
columnist - any industry

commentator - radio and T.V. broadcasting  
 commercial writer - radio and T.V. broadcasting  
 continuity editor - radio and T.V. broadcasting  
 continuity reader - radio and T.V. broadcasting  
 continuity writer - radio and T.V. broadcasting  
 copy editor - any industry  
 copy reader - printing and publishing  
 copy writer - any industry  
 correspondent - printing and publishing  
 court reporter - printing and publishing  
 critic - any industry  
 cub reporter - printing and publishing  
 desk man - printing and publishing  
 drama critic - any industry  
 dramatist - any industry  
 editor - any industry  
 editorial writer - any industry  
 feature reporter - printing and publishing  
 feature writer - printing and publishing  
 fiction writer - any industry  
 film editor - any industry  
 financial reporter - any industry  
 financial writer - any industry  
 foreign correspondent - printing and publishing  
 free-lance author - industry 899\*  
 free-lance writer - industry 899  
 ghost writer - any industry  
 handbook writer - any industry  
 headline writer - printing and publishing  
 humorist - any industry  
 information specialist - any industry  
 journalist (E or OA)\*\* - industry 899  
 journalist (W)\*\*\* - any industry  
 law reporter - printing and publishing  
 lexicographer - any industry  
 literary editor - printing and publishing  
 literary writer - any industry  
 magazine editor - printing and publishing  
 magazine writer - any industry  
 manuscript editor - any industry

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\*industry 899 - miscellaneous services under community business and personal services industries.

\*\*E or OA - self-employed with paid help or without.

\*\*\*W - wage or salary earner.



marine reporter - any industry  
market editor - any industry  
microphone publicity editor - any industry  
news analyst - any industry  
news commentator - any industry  
news editor - printing and publishing; radio and T.V.  
broadcasting  
news reporter - printing and publishing  
news writer - printing and publishing; radio and T.V.  
broadcasting  
newspaper correspondent - printing and publishing  
newspaper critic - any industry  
newspaper editor - printing and publishing  
newspaper man - printing and publishing  
newspaper reporter - printing and publishing  
newspaper writer - printing and publishing  
novelist - any industry  
photo editor - any industry  
play writer - any industry  
playwright - any industry  
poet,poetess - any industry  
political reporter - printing and publishing; radio and T.V.  
broadcasting  
press writer - radio and T.V. broadcasting  
program listings editor - radio and T.V. broadcasting  
program writer - radio and T.V. broadcasting  
publications director - radio and T.V. broadcasting  
publications editor - radio and T.V. broadcasting  
publicist - radio and T.V. broadcasting  
radio and T.V. news editor - radio and T.V. broadcasting  
radio and T.V. script writer - radio and T.V. broadcasting  
radio commentator - radio and T.V. broadcasting  
radio editor - printing and publishing; radio and T.V.  
broadcasting  
reporter - news syndicate  
reporter - printing and publishing  
reviewer - printing and publishing  
rewrite man - printing and publishing  
scientific writer - any industry  
script editor - any industry  
script manager - radio and T.V. broadcasting  
script reader - radio and T.V. broadcasting  
script writer - radio and T.V. broadcasting  
short-story writer - any industry  
slot man - printing and publishing  
society editor - printing and publishing  
society reporter - printing and publishing  
sports editor - printing and publishing  
sports writer - any industry  
story writer - any industry

technical editor - any industry  
 technical writer - any industry  
 telegraph editor - printing and publishing  
 television assignment editor - T.V. broadcasting  
 television film production editor - T.V. broadcasting  
 television writer and editor, N.S. - T.V. broadcasting

Census Code - 5199, Other Sales Occupations, N.E.C.

automobile rental clerk - car rental service  
 bakery demonstrator - any industry  
 bridal consultant - retail trade  
 brush demonstrator - any industry  
 car rental clerk - motor transportation  
 comparison shopper - retail trade  
 demonstrator - any in trade or any article  
 dry good inspector - trade  
 fashion consultant - any industry  
 food demonstrator - retail trade  
 goodwill ambassador - welcome wagon service  
 greeter - welcome wagon service  
 home demonstrator - any in trade or any article  
 hostess - welcome wagon service  
 mannequin - any industry  
 model - any industry  
 new-comer hostess - welcome wagon service  
 pawn-shop keeper (E or OA) - Pawn-shop  
 pawnbrokers - pawnbroking  
 permanent-wave demonstrator - any industry  
 personal shopper - retail trade  
 personal-service shopper - retail trade  
 professional shopper - retail trade  
 sewing demonstrator - any industry  
 telephone shopper - retail trade  
 welcome hostess - welcome wagon service  
 welcome-wagon hostess - welcome wagon service

Census Code - 6117, Other Ranks, All Armed Forces

chief warrant officer  
 corporal  
 master corporal  
 master warrant officer  
 private  
 sergeant  
 warrant officer

## APPENDIX D

## NON-DISCRIMINATING MEASURES

1. TST: number of SES references
 

no SES references	173	(99.4%)
2 SES references	1	( .6%)
total	174	
  
2. TST: number of references for physical characteristics
 

no physical characteristic references	156	(89.7%)
any physical characteristic references	18	( 9.3%)
total	174	
  
3. TST:evaluation of most statements
 

N.A.	3	( 1.7%)
positive	159	(91.4%)
negative/neutral	12	( 6.9%)
total	174	
  
4. TST: evaluation of most SES references  
(see 1 above)
  
5. TST: evaluation of most general family references
 

positive	34	(92.0%)
negative/neutral	3	( 8.0%)
total	37	



## 6. TST: evaluation of most physical characteristics references

(see 2 above)

## 7. Family of Orientation

mother and father	161	(92.5%)
other	13	( 7.5%)
total	174	

## 8. For those with work interruptions who did not plan on returning to work, reasons for eventually returning.

N.A.	161	(92.5%)
applicable	13	( 7.5%)
total	174	

## 9. Reasons for working in general: feel worthwhile

not listed	158	(90.8%)
listed	16	( 9.2%)
total	174	

## 10. Reasons for working in general: identity

not listed	156	(89.7%)
listed	18	(10.3%)
total	174	

## 11. Reasons for working at particular job: challenge

not listed	156	(89.7%)
listed	18	(10.3%)
total	174	

## 12. Reasons for working at particular job: identity

not listed	166	(95.4%)
listed	8	( 4.6%)
total	174	

## 13. Reasons for working at particular job: other, hired me, to help future career, can learn here, etc.

not listed	156	(89.7%)
listed	18	(10.3%)
total	174	

## 14. Basis for assessing social status: husband's job

not listed	167	(96.0%)
listed	7	( 4.0%)
total	174	

## 15. Basis for assessing social status: education

not listed	160	(91.9%)
listed	14	( 8.1%)
total	174	

## 16. Basis for assessing social status: family background

not listed	163	(93.7%)
listed	11	( 6.3%)
total	174	

## 17. Plans for working after marriage

yes	159	(91.4%)
other	15	( 8.6%)
total	174	

## 18. If plans for working after marriage and/or children didn't work out, why not?

N.A.	156	(89.7%)
applicable	18	(10.3%)
total	174	



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