

CHOOSING A MAN'S JOB

CHOOSING A MAN'S JOB: THE EFFECT OF SOCIALIZATION
ON FEMALE OCCUPATIONAL ENTRY

by

Lawrence Wisniewski

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AUTHOR: Larry Wisniewski, B.A. St. John's University , Callegeville, Minn.

M.A. University of North Dakota

SUPERVISOR: Professor Frank E. Jones

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ABSTRACT

The central question in this research asks why some women do "men's work." The literature suggests two basic approaches: according to the demand approach, women are placed in certain jobs because of employment practices; according to the supply approach women are inclined to look for certain kinds of work. The supply explanation suggests that the socialization of a woman influences her work motivation and the kinds of work she will consider for employment. Our research focus is on such supply factors. Our general hypothesis is that women who enter non-traditional occupations will have had non-traditional socialization experiences; women who enter traditional occupations will have had traditional socialization experiences. Specific hypotheses are developed to capture the influence of the family and, in particular, the role of a working mother on the work behavior of the daughter.

To test our hypotheses a sample of 111 women was drawn. Our aim was to select both a traditional and non-traditional occupation in professional and non-professional categories. Two occupations were chosen--elementary school teachers and registered nursing assistants--and defined as traditional areas of female employment. Two occupations--

pharmacists and policewomen--had a small number of women employed and they were titled non-traditional female occupational areas of employment. The quantitative and qualitative data gathered through interviews are used to test specific hypotheses and explore patterns within each hypothesis. The data are presented in three chapters: the influence of the family of origin, the effect of education and school experiences and the importance of the work environment and conjugal family on the work behavior of women in traditional and non-traditional occupations.

The research shows that the socialization experiences within the family of origin reveal no significant difference between women who selected traditional occupations and those who selected non-traditional employment. In fact, almost all of the women in our sample, in all occupations, expressed traditional values regarding work and home. However, the research did find that socialization experiences are important in providing more general occupational orientations which directed the women toward either "professional" goals or "work" goals. Moreover, social class variables were more important in determining these occupational orientations than were the hypothesized sex-role variables.

As well, the women's attitudes regarding school were largely a function of their socialization experiences in the home. Professional women placed a high evaluation

on schooling and were more likely to report that they had done well in school. This was rarely the case for the non-professional woman. For women who had acquired professional aspirations, academic performance seems to have been an important factor in their occupational choice. The women who did not aspire to careers and who therefore did not view formal education as an important occupational route seem to have been most vulnerable to the vagaries of chance. The most important factor in their occupational choice appears to have been the influence of close informal work contacts.

With respect to their experiences at work, women in non-traditional occupations were more likely to report that they had experienced sexual discrimination than were women in traditional occupations. However, the data suggest that such perceptions may reflect a greater consciousness of a "minority status" than actual discrimination. Almost all of the married women in our sample were concerned about the potentially conflicting demands of family and work. However, professional women seem to have the greatest number of alternatives in dealing with these demands. The problems are greatest for those women who work because they need the money and who work in occupations which are inflexible.

The central theme of the data suggests clearly that women's early socialization experiences are important

in the development of professional or job orientations but less important in the selection of a traditional or non-traditional occupation. In the most general terms, the research suggests that supply factors are important in constraining women's occupational behavior. However, the data also lead us to believe that as more male dominated occupations are "opened up" to women, there will be women--even traditional women--to take the positions.

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CHAPTER I

WOMAN'S WORK MAN'S WORK: THE SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR

Introduction

"What does he do for a living?" Is this not our first question in socially placing a man, in "sizing him up"? The classical sociological thinkers all recognized the importance of work in an industrial society.¹ The "sociology of occupations" has provided a meeting-place for social scientists with diverse interests. The rich empirical literature has confirmed the importance of a man's work in determining his view of himself and the world and in determining his other social statuses.²

¹Perhaps the most significant discussions of work in industrial society remain those of Durkheim (1933); Weber (1947); and Marx. The best source of Marx's ideas about work is his early writings, especially the so-called philosophical-economic manuscripts of 1844. Thorstein Veblen (1899; 1904) presents an American modification of Marx's ideas. An interesting recent summary of Marxist-Leninist views on women is a pamphlet by Colon (1970). Under the leadership of Park, the Chicago School provided a different level of analysis: they emphasized the understanding of man's everyday life and became preoccupied with learning about man's occupations "from the inside." On the Chicago School in general, see Maurice Stein (1960:13-14). Particular studies include Anderson (1923); Cressy (1932); Sutherland (1937); and Cottrell (1940).

²See, for example, Mack (1957); Hughes (1945); and Rossi's (1965) discussions of occupational ideology and social roles.

A man's occupation exerts a most powerful influence in assigning him and his immediate family their place in society, in deciding their place of residence, and in determining the occupational status of the children when they enter employment. The work a man does to earn his livelihood stamps him with the form and level of his labor, the use of his leisure, influences his political affiliations, and limits his interests and the attainment of his aspirations. In a word, except for those few persons whose way of life and future are secured by the inheritance of great wealth, occupation is the supreme determinant of human careers.

(Anderson and Davidson, 1940:1)

We began with the question, "What does he do for a living?" This implies a recognition that work is more important in the lives of men than women.³ In fact,

It is characteristic of our attitudes toward women that we ask why she works at all rather than why she chooses one type of employment over another.

(Turner, 1964:9)

Numerous studies document occupational segregation on the basis of sex (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1975; Grimm and Stern, 1974; Robie, 1973; Ginsberg and Yohalem, 1973; Fuchs, 1971; Oppenheimer, 1970). Our interest, however, is with the "deviant" case, the woman who has chosen an occupation which is generally thought to be the preserve of men. We shall be asking what, if anything, in the socialization experiences of these women made them different from the teacher or the nurse.

In all societies there are activities assigned

³To cite one example, Hughes's "men and their work" does not use "men" as a generic for "mankind." He writes, as do most of his students, about men doing "men's work." This acquisition does not hold for Engels (1942) who was one of the first social thinkers to recognize that women's work was an important topic in its own right.

chiefly and sometimes solely to either men or women. Of course, the amount of overlap in the activities of the two sexes varies cross-culturally. Nevertheless, historically and cross-culturally, people classify themselves and others on the basis of sex.⁴ They have firm notions, for example, of what women are and should be. Murdock (1949) describes the typical distinction: girls are encouraged to be nurturant, to remain near home, and boys to be achieving and self-reliant.⁵ The women's primary task is the bearing and raising of children. As Henshel observes, "a few occupations are universally masculine but except for child-bearing and its extension, none is everywhere feminine" (1973:33).⁶ Men everywhere seem to have a more extensive range of occupational alternatives.⁷

The differences between the two sexes is one of the important conditions upon which we have built the many varieties of human culture that give human beings dignity and stature. In every known society, mankind has elaborated the biological division of labour into forms often very remotely related to the original biological differences that provided the original clues.

⁴D'Andrade (1966) provides an excellent discussion and review of Murdock's work. Of course, Mead's (1955) anthropological work is still generally considered a classic.

⁵For ethnographic data on cultural variations in task allotment, see Murdock (1957:664-687); Steward and Faron (1959); Dumont (1966); and Mead (1952).

⁶There are few cross-cultural studies on socialization. See Barry III and others (1957:327-332).

⁷For more specific information on cross-cultural patterns in the sexual division of labor, see Levi-Strauss (1956); Mead (1935); Money and Ehrhardt, 1972; Block, (1973); D'Andrade (1966); Brown (1974); Oakley (1972); Scanzoni and Scanzoni (1976).

Whether we deal with small matters or large, with the frivolities of ornament and cosmetics or the sanctities of man's place in the universe, we find this great variety of ways, often flatly contradictory one to the other, in which the roles of the two sexes have been patterned. But we always find the patterning. We know of no culture that has said, articulately, that there is no difference between men and women except in the way they contribute to the creation of the next generation. However differently the traits have been assigned, some to one sex, some to the other and some to both . . . it has always been there in every society of which we have any knowledge.

(Mead, 1955:16-17)

The biological role of the mother has never been overcome in any society; the maternal role is the primary basis for the sexual division of labor. This division of sex roles continues in Western industrial and technological environments, though of course with considerable variation. For example,

In the U.S.S.R., the majority of doctors are women; in Finland, most dentists are women and architecture is considered as suitable for women as for men. Until the development of obstetrics, only women assisted in childbirth; it would not have seemed fitting for a man to do so.

(Royal Commission on the Status of Women, 1970:11)

However, allowing for the comparatively small fluctuations in cultural definitions of "men's work" and "woman's work," Canada, the United States, and other Western industrial societies retain relatively stable divisions of labor for men and women⁸ which are consistent with their stereotyping of "woman" as warm, sensitive and emotional; and her equipment being grace, charm, compliance, dependence, and deference. She supposedly lacks egotism,

⁸See the research by UNESCO (1962) and, in Canada, by the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (1970:59).

aggressiveness, ambitious drive, or persistence.⁹

The female is and was forever meant to be warm, nurturant, yielding, lovable, though a bit on the stupid side, willing to accept the rule and domination of the male, and a bit gracious but much improved by being beaten once in awhile.

(Morton H. Hunt, 1963:260)

We have been discussing the sexual division of labor generally in human societies. A specialization in terms of occupational allocation is one form in which the sexual division of labor is expressed, particularly in modern industrial societies. Occupational allocation in such societies is frequently associated with male and female stereotypes (Lipman-Blumen, 1976:15). These definitions of femininity establish the boundaries within which decisions about work are made.¹⁰ Oswald Hall (1964) identifies two central themes in this definition of the female sex role which systematically relate to the jobs women seek. The traditional maternal functions are involved in many of the occupations which employ large numbers of women. Care of the sick, the training of the young, and the preparation of food find occupational expression in female areas of employment.

⁹See D'Andrade's (1966) summary of the ethnographic data.

¹⁰The influence of occupational stereotypes in employment choices is documented by Holland (1959; 1966). As Linton (1945:63) wrote: "The division of the society's members into age-sex categories is perhaps the feature of greatest importance for establishing participation of the individual in culture."

The second theme is physical beauty. Women are employed in occupations which use their attractive appeal. The stereotyped role of woman continues to structure the occupations and circumstances in which it is appropriate for a woman to work, the conditions of employment, and even the choice of occupations.¹¹

History and habit which determines practices governing the utilization of all workers have left their mark in the distinction made between men's and women's jobs. It is conventional to think of both men and women as peculiarly suited or ill-suited to certain kinds of work. It is also conventional to think of particular jobs as demanding specific qualities characteristic to one sex or the other. Preconceptions about the differences between men and women with respect to their aptitudes and capacities as well as social attitudes toward the appropriateness of particular jobs for women, influence the hiring, assignment, training, and promotional practices of employers. These practices affect the manpower resources available to employers no less than they do the employment opportunities open to women.

(National Manpower Council, 1957:36)

In Canada, there is a distinct pattern in the distribution of women in the labor force.¹² The range of work alternatives is more restricted for women than for men. Women dominate such occupations as secretary, school teacher, nurse, librarian, hairdresser, stewardess, and clerk. We find few women among doctors, lawyers, architects, plumbers, electricians, lumberjacks, or construction workers. Despite

¹¹The importance of occupational sex-typing in the socialization of individuals is considered at a theoretical level in Mussen (1969a; 1969b).

¹²This statistical overview of female employment is drawn from Meltz (1965). Also see Armstrong and Armstrong (1975).

recent changes, or at least a good deal of talk about recent changes, these patterns seem to persist.

Those occupations in which women dominate we shall call "traditional" occupations. Those occupations in which few¹³ women participate we shall call "non-traditional." Clearly, we would assume a relationship between traditional sex-role stereotyping and traditional patterns of occupational segregation. Nevertheless, the relationship is not in any sense inevitable or necessary. On the contrary, this study proposes to examine the extent to which women who have accepted the traditional stereotyped view of female attributes are also likely to choose traditional occupations.

Most women do "women's work"; however, some women do "men's work." This fact provides the central focus for our study. What are the factors which determine whether women participate in "traditional" or "non-traditional" occupations? We must first, then, provide a description of the occupational distribution of working women in Canada to delineate traditional and non-traditional occupations.¹⁴

¹³This is specified in the next chapter.

¹⁴The labor force data presented here are those which were current when we were gathering the data. Data for the Canadian labor force in December, 1976 indicate that female participation has continued to increase to 44.4% for Canada and 48.7% in Ontario. The participation rate for married women has also continued to climb, to 43% (Statistics Canada, 1976:14-25). Changes in the historical trends in the participation of women are discussed in Miller and Isbester (1971:18, 25), Acton and others (1974), and Armstrong and Armstrong (1975).

Participation of Women in the Labor Force

More women are working in the labor force of Canada now than ever before. In June 1931, women constituted 19.1 per cent of the work force. Between 1939 and 1945, there was a steady increase in the percentage of women employed in the labor force, reaching a peak of 31.4 per cent in 1945. After the war years, the proportion of women at work dropped and remained low until 1954. It began to increase steadily in that year and reached a new high of 32.9 per cent in 1972.

In considering participation rates (the percentage of "employable" women who work), the same trends are visible. The participation rates for women have increased since 1964. In June of 1972, female participation reached a high of 37.9 per cent of all the females employable within Canada. During the same period, the participation rate for men decreased by 12.5 per cent.

There is a good deal of regional variation in female work participation. Ontario, the province in which this research was conducted, is well above the Canadian average for female participation in the labor force. In fact, only Alberta had a higher rate of female participation.

As well, certain categories of women contributed disproportionately to the recent increase of women's work participation. The greatest increase has been between the ages of 20 and 44. The increase in these age classifications

reflects the increase in the number of working mothers.

Education plays an important part in the pattern of female employment. More women in the labor force have completed high school than have men. Men are more likely than women to have only an elementary school education or a few years of high school training. The number of women working part-time in 1971 was greater than ever before in the statistical history of female employment in Canada.

Many of these characteristics of female employment reflect the return of older, married women to the labor market. The participation rate of widowed, divorced, and separated women in the labor force has remained constant. The participation rate of single women remains the highest of the marital status categories, but it has shown a decline in the decade from 1961 to 1971. The greatest change in the participation rates appears among married women. Working mothers constitute 24 per cent of the female labor force and most working mothers have children of school age. Mothers with children under six are the least likely to be employed and, if employed, are the most likely to work limited hours (Women's Bureau, 1970:506). The occupational distribution of the working mother is similar to all paid female workers, although more working mothers are in lower paid sales, service, and production occupations.

It would appear that women do not enter the labor force when there are young children at home. It is often

after the children have entered school that the mother returns to the labor market.¹⁵

The profile [of female employment] showed a sharp rise in female participation from around 33% just after entry to a peak of about 50% for women aged twenty to twenty-four. After their mid-twenties, as most women married and began having children, a smaller and smaller proportion remained in the labour market. At the low point around the age of thirty or slightly later, some 28% of the women were in the labour force. After this, the second phase of the working life cycle can be clearly seen in the gradually rising participation to a second, though considerably lower peak at ages forty-five to forty-nine. About one in three women of this age cohort was in the labour force. Thereafter, the rate declined, slowly at first, and then after the age of fifty, much more rapidly.

(Ostry, 1971:19)

Sexual Division of Labor

One of the most significant aspects of occupational structure in contemporary Canada is the gradual but persistent involvement of women, particularly the working mother. But in spite of the increased number of women in the labor force there persists a sexual division of labor. In the years since 1901 there has been, for both males and

¹⁵The two stage cycle of female employment is further documented in Caplow (1964:263-265). Another model of the hypothetical life cycle of the female at work and home is given in Stoll (1974:154). Research in Canada has explored demographic, economic and social factors which influence the married woman's decision to work. Ostry (1968:17) suggests the presence of children in the home and the ages of the children are critical. Spencer and Featherstone (1970) suggest the importance of suitable child-care arrangements, in particular the presence of an additional adult in the home. Allingham and Spencer (1968:15-16) and Ostry (1968:17-19) show that mothers are more likely to work after the children reach school age. This cycle of female employment is also influenced by the woman's education and the family income (Skoulas, 1974:87-88).

females, a distinct shift to white-collar work. Increase in the female participation rate, however, far out-paced that of the males--33.7 per cent and 16.6 per cent respectively. While the male increase has been equally distributed across all white collar occupations, the female increase has been greatest in clerical occupations--22.3 per cent as compared to 31.8 per cent for men. The increase in the proprietary, managerial, and professional classifications has been 4.7 per cent for males and virtually insignificant for females--1.7 per cent in managerial work, .8 per cent in the professions, and a barely visible .1 per cent in financial occupations.¹⁶

In all other occupational categories--blue collar, primary, transportation, communications, and service--female participation rates have either declined or have remained stable and low. Primary occupations were the only category in which the decline in participation rates was greatest for males. This simply reflects the decline in the number of males participating in agricultural work.

We can see from this data, summarized in Table 1-1, that the increase in female work participation has been almost entirely in one direction, towards white collar work. Moreover, within this category, an increase in female

¹⁶Knudsen (1969:183-193) has documented the declining participation of females in the professions. See also Armstrong and Armstrong (1975); Grimm and Stern (1974); Robie (1973); and Theodore (1972:48-49).

TABLE 1-1

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN THE EMPLOYMENT DISTRIBUTION
FOR MALES AND FEMALES IN CANADA, 1901-1961

Occupations	Percentage Change	
	Male	Female
<u>White collar occupations</u>	+16.6	+33.7
Proprietary & managerial	+ 4.8	+ 1.7
Professional	+ 4.6	+ .8
Clerical ^a	+ 3.8	+23.3
Financial ^a	+ 1.5	+ 3.3
<u>Blue collar occupations</u>	+ 4.9	-19.0
Manufacturing	+ 4.6	-19.7
Construction	+ 1.7	--- ^b
Laborer	- 1.3	+ .7
<u>Primary occupations</u>	-34.4	+ .5
Agriculture	-33.7	+ .5
Fishing, hunting & trapping	- 1.0	--- ^b
Logging	+ .7	--- ^b
Mining & quarrying	- .4	--- ^b
<u>Transportation & Communication</u>	+ 4.7	+ 1.7
<u>Service</u>	+ 5.6	-19.4
Personal	+ 1.6	-19.9

^aFigures for the financial and commercial categories were computed from 1911. These categories were combined previous to that date.

^bInsufficient percentages to justify computation.

Source: The percentages were taken from Table 2 in The Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labour Force; Sylvia Ostry, D.B.S., Ottawa, Canada, 1967, pp. 50-51.

participation has out-paced that of males only in the clerical occupations. In short, increased female participation is not reflected across all occupational categories as tends to be the case for males, but rather in a limited set of occupational categories.

Women are aware and critical of the fact that most professions are closed off to them. In fact, this appears justified; women's participation in such occupations has been low and has even decreased slightly between 1951 and 1961. Data from the 1971 Census of Canada indicate that there has been an increase in the number of women doctors, lawyers and university teachers. However, professional women still account for only a small proportion of the female labor force (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1975:376). Moreover, the historical concentration of women in specific professions--school teacher, nurse, and librarian--has persisted. Teachers, nurses, and librarians account for three-quarters of all professional women. On the other hand, there is a dramatic male dominance in all of the other professions. As Table 1-2 indicates, few women become doctors, dentists, lawyers, and judges.

As well, many women are actively concerned about sex discrimination in employment. They claim that there are not enough women policemen, firemen, military men, etc. In fact, these occupations are designated in male terms. There is no such occupational title as "firewoman." As

TABLE 1-2
THE PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES EMPLOYED IN
SELECTED PROFESSIONAL OCCUPATIONS,
CANADA, 1951, 1961 AND 1971

Profession	Female Percentage Employed		
	1951	1961	1971
Physicians & surgeons	4.6 ^a	6.8	10.1
Dentists	1.5	4.3	4.9
Lawyers & notaries	2.2	2.6	4.8
Judges & magistrates ^b	.8	2.0	5.5
Clergymen & priests	1.7	1.6	3.8
Architects	2.5	2.2	2.8
Veterinarians	2.2	1.7	4.3
Professional engineers ^b	0.0	0.3	1.6
Photographers	13.3	10.2	10.2
Professors & college principals	15.0	21.2	16.7
Osteopaths & chiropractors	10.8	8.4	7.4
Interior decorators & window dressers	29.8	40.3	35.7
Actuaries & statisticians	14.5	14.8	21.2
School teachers	72.4	70.7	66.0
Medical & dental technicians	57.6	66.1	75.9
Librarians	86.7	81.7	76.3
Nurses (graduate)	97.5	96.2	95.8

^aThe percentage of females in the Occupational Category.

^bFigures too small to compute the percentages significant for inclusion in the table.

Source: The data for 1951 and 1961 are from The Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labour Force; Sylvia Ostry, D.B.S., Ottawa, Canada, Table 5, pp. 56-73. The data for 1971 are from the 1971 Census of Canada, Vol. III, Part 2 (3, 2-3), September 1974, Table 2.

Table 1-3 indicates, there is indeed a low level of female participation in these "service occupations." On the other hand, jobs which involve doing the laundry, serving and cooking the food, cleaning house, and taking care of the physical comforts of the sick and feeble are well represented by females.

The concentration of women in certain occupations has remained consistent.¹⁷ While some of the occupations are on the decline--housework and baby-sitting for example--the other "female" occupations have shown consistent increases. As Table 1-4 indicates, it is possible to account for 68 per cent of all the females employed in Canada in 1961 with a list of twenty-five occupations. Within this list of twenty-five occupations, 45 per cent of the total is found in the four occupations of stenographer, sales clerk, maid, and school teacher.

This occupational segregation by sex, generally long standing, has led to occupations and professions commonly being referred to as 'traditionally female' or 'traditionally male'. In Canada, traditionally female occupations include; secretary, stenographer,

¹⁷In research published after the completion of our study, Armstrong and Armstrong (1975) found that "in spite of the increase in the number of women working the segregation of women in relatively few occupations has remained stable. . . . Women continue to be slotted into a few jobs and have remained practically absent from most others. . . . Not only were women concentrated in a limited number of occupations, they also tended to out-number men in these occupations. . . . Some jobs and women's jobs and the sex typing appears to have increased. . . . Attitudes to women and work may have changed . . . but such changes have had no appreciable effect on occupational segregation" (371-373).

TABLE 1-3
THE PERCENTAGES OF FEMALES IN SELECTED
SERVICE OCCUPATIONS, CANADA,
1951, 1961 AND 1971

Service Occupations	Year		
	1951	1961	1971
Firemen	0.0 ^a	0.0	0.0
Police officers	1.0	1.2	1.5
Guards & watchmen	1.7	3.5	7.1
Commissioned officers--Armed Forces	2.4	2.8	1.5
Other ranks--Armed Forces	0.0 ^b	2.9	2.1
Porters	5.6	1.5	4.9
Funeral directors & embalmers	2.3	2.5	5.7
Cooks	44.5	49.5	50.2
Janitors & building cleaners	27.5	31.5	32.4
Barbers, hairdressers & manicurists	44.4	55.3	63.2
Launderers & dry cleaners	63.1	71.4	68.5
Waiters, waitresses & bartenders	66.7	70.5	82.9
Nursing assistants & aides	72.4	78.9	79.2
Housekeepers, matrons & stewards	75.1	75.1	69.9
Baby sitters, maids & related services	90.8	88.8	96.2

^aThe percentage of females in the occupational category.

^bNumbers too small to compute to significant percentages from this occupation

Source: The data for 1951 and 1961 are from The Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labour Force; Sylvia Ostry, D.B.S., Ottawa, Canada, 1967, Table 5, pp. 56-73. The data for 1971 are from the 1971 Census of Canada, Vol. III, Part 2 (3, 2-3), September 1974, Table 2.

TABLE 1-4
 TWENTY-FIVE LEADING^a OCCUPATIONS OF THE FEMALE
 LABOR FORCE, 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER,
 FOR CANADA,^b 1961 CENSUS

Occupational Class (as of 1961)	Labor Force 1961	Percent of Females in Labor Force	Percent of Totals in Occupational Class
1. Stenographers	160,666	9.11	97.2
2. Sales clerks	133,234	7.55	58.0
3. Maids and related services	120,161	6.81	88.1
4. School teachers	118,594	6.72	70.7
5. Farm laborers	66,081	3.75	29.7
6. Waitresses	61,802	3.50	78.6
7. Nurses, graduate	59,201	3.36	96.2
8. Other production processes & related workers	51,535	2.92	29.0
9. Nursing assistants & aides	49,267	2.79	78.9
10. Typists & clerk-typists	48,744	2.76	95.5
11. Telephone operators	33,682	1.91	95.2
12. Janitors and cleaners (building)	31,826	1.80	31.5
13. Cooks	24,528	1.39	49.5
14. Barbers, hairdressers & manicurists	23,289	1.32	55.2
15. Owners and managers--retail trade	23,264	1.32	15.0

TABLE 1-4--Continued

Occupational Class (as of 1961)	Labor Force 1961	Percent of Females in Labor Force	Percent of Totals in Occupational Class
16. Nurses in training	22,667	1.29	98.6
17. Launderers & dry cleaners	22,547	1.28	71.4
18. Office appliance operators	22,367	1.27	78.8
19. Laborers (mainly in trade & manufacturing)	20,925	1.19	6.7
20. Owners and managers--community, business & personal service	18,622	1.06	22.2
21. Millers, bakers, brewers & related food workers	16,322	0.93	21.4
22. Dressmakers, seamstresses (not in factory)	15,504	0.88	95.8
23. Spinners, weavers, knitters & related workers	14,571	0.83	43.1
24. Baby sitters	12,194	0.69	97.4
25. Housekeepers (except household), matrons & stewards	12,171	0.69	75.1
Total	1,133,764	67.12	-

^a10,000 or more women.

^bExcluding Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Source: The Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labour Force; Sylvia Ostry, D.B.S., Ottawa, Canada, 1967, Table 7.

typist, telephone operator, housekeeper, domestic, waitress and hairdresser. Traditionally female professions include elementary school teacher, nurse, dietitian and home economist.

Traditionally male occupations on the other hand are legion. They include such well known occupations as letter carrier, motor mechanic, railway engineer and bus driver. Professions such as physician, dentist, lawyer, engineer and architect are considered traditionally male.

(Royal Commission on the Status
of Women in Canada, 1970:59-60)

Theoretical Approach

Why is it that women tend to be segregated into certain female occupations? Research on female occupational segregation has typically emphasized either demand factors or supply factors (Blaxall and Reagan, 1976:105). In fact, we can identify two theoretical streams in terms of which of the two the theory emphasizes.¹⁸ The supply stream emphasizes women's predispositions regarding work. According to this view, women have typically been unwilling to choose men's jobs. Having internalized the goal of marriage, they supposedly fear that applying for a man's job may diminish their sexual attractiveness, jeopardize their marriage prospects, and even cause social ostracism. Simply, women who have been "properly" socialized, if they want to work at all, want the kind of occupation that utilizes "skills of nurturance, empathy, and competence,

¹⁸Sources documenting this supply and demand relationship include Thomas and Peacock (1970); Bowers (1972); Bowen and Finnegan (1969: Chs. 5-7); and Oppenheimer (1966). For an overview of supply and demand in the labor market, see Caplow (1954:142-180).

where aggressiveness and competitiveness are largely dysfunctional"--teaching, nursing, and secretarial work for example (Bardwick and Douvan, 1971:233). Women, the argument goes, have not acquired the proper equipment--values, attitudes, behavior patterns, etc.--for men's occupations.

Women learn early that most professional jobs are men's jobs and do not think about the possibility that a woman might decide to take one of them. If women exclude themselves from the competition for professional jobs, we cannot blame professional recruiters with discrimination. Discrimination is more complex than commonly supposed and acts to limit women's horizons much earlier in the life cycle than at the point of looking for a job. It begins in the cradle, where boys and girls begin to receive different messages about their future roles.

(Epstein, 1970:50)

This failure is a direct consequence of the cultural image of the female sex role which forms a major impediment in the socialization to a new alternate image. The traditional image is often so dominant that it obscures the reality, which is that one may, in fact, combine these roles.

(Epstein, 1970:55)

The demand stream emphasizes the occupational structure. The usual argument holds that women, whatever their predispositions, will not be hired for certain jobs, will be discouraged from entering male professions. Employers too have been socialized to accept, even take for granted, the traditional sex division of labor. Those who do the hiring may also feel pressure from the community to hire females for "appropriate" positions only.

Begin by assuming that women--cooks by connubial ordination--are incapable of the culinary refinements found in the best restaurants. Then keep them out of the kitchens of such restaurants and you will surely be correct in the ingenious observation that there are no

great female chefs. The road to the conclusion that they just haven't got it is a short one. The theoretical possibility remains, however, that they would have it if they were not barred from the kitchens of the best restaurants.

(Lopreato and Hazelrigg, 1972:36)

The filtering of women into "appropriate" occupations, according to most of the work in this stream, is accomplished by active discrimination in recruiting and hiring procedures.

No doubt, both supply and demand factors are important in the occupational placement of women. We are, however, focusing on women who have "broken through" the traditional occupational constraints. That they are in the minority would suggest that no major changes have been made in recruitment and hiring procedures. It seems plausible that to understand women's selection of a male dominated occupation, we should adopt the supply approach. This, then, will be our general hypothesis: women employed in non-traditional occupations will have had non-traditional socialization experiences; women in traditional occupations will have had traditional socialization experiences. By traditional socialization we simply mean that the woman's mother adopted the traditional female role and that the parents encouraged the daughter to adopt a similar role. We describe our focus as socialization "experiences" as a recognition that certain features of family structure--family size, for example--may also encourage the adoption of the traditional female role. Simply, socialization which

does not or which discourages it is non-traditional.¹⁹

This is not to suggest, however, that demand factors are not operating or, in fact, are not the most important variables. Rather, we hope, in testing this hypothesis, to provide empirical data which will contribute to answering the question of whether supply or demand factors have causal priority in explaining the distribution of women in the Canadian labor force. We are in the happy position of welcoming either supporting or disconfirming data, for in this case, if we found the socialization experiences of women in traditional and non-traditional occupations to be essentially similar, we would simply be led to give priority to demand factors.

In order to test our hypothesis, we selected four occupations for examination--two traditional occupations, elementary school teachers and registered nursing assistants; two non-traditional occupations, pharmacy and police work. The basis for the selection of these occupations is discussed in Chapter III.

The specification of our hypothesis awaits a review of the literature on socialization, sex-roles, and occupational choice.

¹⁹We recognize, of course, that the characteristics of traditional and non-traditional socialization have changed over the years, in particular as more women work (Scanzoni and Scanzoni, 1976; Adams, 1975; Udry, 1974).

CHAPTER II

WOMEN AT HOME

In the previous chapter we presented data to show the sexual segregation in the Canadian occupational structure. There has persisted a pattern of female employment: women are and have been predominantly employed in a small number of occupations. Our central research question asks why some women do "men's work." We believe that the answer to this question will contribute to our understanding of how this system of occupational segregation is maintained.

We have suggested two basic approaches to this question: according to the demand approach, women are placed in certain jobs because of employment practices (e.g., hiring procedures, wage policies, working conditions, etc.); according to the supply approach women are inclined to look for certain kinds of work. The supply explanation suggests that the socialization of a woman influences her work motivation and the kinds of work she will consider for employment. We have chosen to focus on supply factors. Our general hypothesis is that women who do enter non-traditional occupations will have had non-traditional socialization experiences; women who enter traditional occupations will have had traditional socialization experiences.

In this chapter, we review the literature on

sex-role socialization. We examine how social institutions, particularly the family, influence women's perspectives on labor force participation. Later in the chapter we present the existing research on women who have non-traditional career aspirations (prospective research) and women who have entered male-dominated occupations (retrospective research). In our analysis of the prospective and retrospective data we focus on the differential socialization experiences of these women. From our review of the empirical data we then draw our exploratory research hypotheses.

We may ask if there are differences between women who choose non-traditional occupations and those who choose traditional female occupations and if there are differences, can they be explained? Judith Laws (1976:37) has suggested that we are asking a sexist question. Why assume, she asks, that women in male-dominated occupations are somehow deviant? Certainly this assumption smacks of sexism. However, abundant empirical literature illustrates the varieties of ways in which women have been "channeled," through socialization, into "appropriately female" roles, including occupational roles. What is needed are further empirical data collected specifically to test the hypothesized differences in these socialization experiences between women in traditional and non-traditional occupations. We cannot dismiss the assumption simply because we find it ideologically unpalatable.

Traditional Sex Role Socialization

De Beauvoir (1953) has written perhaps the most influential work on the status of women. For her, sexual discrimination is embedded in "the whole of civilization." It is the social order that produces "this creature, intermediate between male and eunuch, which is described as feminine" (1953:249). Throughout her work, though, she emphasizes the role of the family in mediating these broad influences.¹

The abyss that separates the adolescent boy and girl has been deliberately opened out between them since earliest childhood; later on, woman could not be other than she was made, and that past was bound to shadow her for life.
(de Beauvoir, 1953:683)

Certainly, of the many roles an infant is required to internalize, sex role is one of the most basic. Social roles based on gender, what Banton (1968) calls general roles, may pervade every aspect of an individual's life.

Role differentiation on the basis of sex is the first specialized role differentiation learned by all individuals in all societies. All individuals learn that, in some sense common to their setting, they are either males or females and will not be the other.
(Levi, 1972:27)

A "woman" is ascribed this role at birth and through the socialization process she is provided a knowledge of the demands which accompany the role of woman and of the skills

¹The occupational behavior of women is influenced by the sex-roles associated with femininity (Epstein, 1970; Theodore, 1971; Rossi, 1965; Garland, 1970; Kreps, 1971). Certainly a chief source for the development of such sex-role images is the family and the early socialization experiences of the women (Maccoby, 1963; Simpson and Simpson, 1969: 202-205; Pavalko, 1971:58-61, Theodore, 1971:9).

for performing that role.²

The anthropological and sociological emphasis on social learning has contributed substantially to dispelling the prevalent common sense notion that one is "born" a woman, that anatomy is fate.

One is not born, but rather becomes a woman. No biological, psychological, or economic fate determines the figure that the human female presents in society. (de Beauvoir, 1953:249)

Most students of sex-role learning have shared a common preoccupation with the early years of social learning, arguing that the formative periods of value acquisition determine adult patterns of behavior. Supposedly these sex-role expectations "learned at a tender, formative stage of life" are carried into adulthood and are extremely resistant to change (Rossi, 1969:177).³

The socialization of boys and girls is obviously tied to their respective roles in adult life. The future mother and wife trains for this role at home. Her mother, her model, is readily visible.

² Socialization refers to the "process whereby the infant and child is led to take on the way of life of his family and of larger social groups in which he must relate and perform adequately in order ultimately to qualify for full adult status" (Clausen, 1966:4). The classics in socialization theory are Mead (1934); Piaget (1932a, 1932b); and Freud (1938). Of course, we recognize that the socialization process is a lifelong experience. See, for example, Brim and Wheeler (1966) and Zigler and Child (1969).

³ The importance of the early years of child socialization in the creation of sex-appropriate values is found in Brown (1957); Kagan and Moss (1962); and Rabban (1950).

She is going to become, in effect, her mother; and her mother is right there for her to see. She can see everything her mother does, there is no mystery there and in fact she is serving her apprenticeship at her trade simply by growing up with her mother in the same house. . . .

(Marine, 1972:95)

While little boys are prepared for the role of "family provider," little girls are expected to become adept at human relationships.⁴

This role differentiation is reflected in the distribution of authority and in the division of labor in the family (Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Olsen, 1960; Udry, 1974; Scanzoni and Scanzoni, 1976; Adams, 1975; Bell, 1975).⁵

. . . Even if it is, in fact, the mother who rules as mistress of the household, she is commonly clever enough to see to it that the father's wishes come first; in important matters, the mother demands, rewards, and punishes in his name and through his authority. The life of the father has a mysterious prestige. The hours he spends at home, the room where he works, the objects he has around him, his pursuits, his hobbies have a sacred character. He supports the family and he is the responsible head of the family.

(de Beauvoir, 1953:268)

While there is some evidence of changes in the traditional patterns of authority in the family, the traditional division between husbands' and wives' tasks seems to persist (Blood and Wolfe, 1960). All families have some explicit division of labor, delineating duties and responsibilities

⁴This discussion is based on Parsons and Bales's (1955:164) general description of sex role differentiation for western industrial families.

⁵The division of labor in a family is a central part of the sex-role ideology and is sometimes identified with such ideology. For example see Angrist (1970) and Hoffman's (1960) scale of sex-role ideology.

to husband/father, wife/mother, and child/sibling. While the division of labor between husband and wife is certainly a reflection of societal definitions of "man's work" and "woman's work," it is also an important source of role models in the socialization of children (Hartley, 1959). This role differentiation is a particularly important influence on the child's socialization because the roles of husband/father, wife and mother are exhibited in everyday activities and because the children themselves may be asked to participate in these sex appropriate activities (Bell, 1975; Turner, 1970; Scanzoni and Scanzoni, 1976; Straus, 1971; Horner, 1972, Hoffman, 1972).

Family roles are shown by who performs daily tasks. The traditional outdoor jobs of mowing the lawn, shoveling the sidewalks, and making repairs belong to the husband. The wife has her specialized functions: getting the husband's breakfast, straightening the living room when company is coming, doing the evening dishes and similar work (Blood and Wolfe, 1960). Hartley (1959) found that most children in her study made similar distinctions in depicting sex appropriate activities in and around the home.

As well, little girls are allowed and even asked to sweep, dust, peel vegetables, cook, watch the other children, or help wash. "Indeed, a girl's identification with her mother is . . . facilitated by virtue of the fact that girls can see and copy what mothers do" (Clausen, 1966:38).

Coleman (1961), Rosenberg (1961) and Davis (1970) agree that the maternal role influences daughters' career orientations. Coleman stresses the ways in which girls who model themselves after traditional mothers learn to devalue the place of work in their lives.

Mother . . . is usually at home and is an instantly available someone who takes care of the thousand details of home and family life, not one of them so important that she cannot be easily interrupted. Even when he is at home, father may be far less available than the mother. It is easy for the child to conclude from daily observations that men work for long stretches of time at something important, that men are less involved with people than women are.

(Rossi, 1965:1199)

Rosenberg (1961) and Davis (1970) go further to suggest that daughters in the traditionally differentiated family are also more likely to value certain kinds of occupations, specifically those in which they work with people rather than things. This is rather an apt depiction of the female-dominated occupations documented in the previous chapter.

The little girl ascertains that the care of children falls upon the mother, she is so taught; stories heard, books read, all her little experiences confirm the idea. She is encouraged to feel the enchantment of these future riches, she is given dolls so that these values may henceforth have a tangible aspect. Her "vocation" is powerfully impressed upon her.

(de Beauvoir, 1953:264)

The impact of this early sex-role learning is perhaps best evidenced in children's play activities.

The girl, we must say, tends to act out symbolically precisely the instrumental aspects of the preoedipal

mother role. Play with dolls and playing "house" in the sense of household chores seem to provide the principal content. It is strikingly notable that in the main pattern no adult masculine object is present, she herself is the "mother" and her doll is the child, but there is no father in the picture. The boy, correspondingly, tends to attempt to act out what are symbolic representatives of the instrumental aspects of adult masculine roles. These are notably non-familial in content. He plays with trains, cars, airplanes. He more or less explicitly assumes relatively tangible adult masculine roles such as fireman or soldier. He puts great emphasis on physical prowess.⁶

(Parsons and Bales, 1955:100)

But play is more than a reflection of what has been learned; it is a learning experience in itself. Children, when they are left on their own, do not simply play, they work at constructing social realities, developing languages, social selves, social roles, and so on (Denzin, 1970:13;15).⁷ A number of sociologists and social psychologists have documented the differences between male and female play activity.⁸ Their findings are nicely, if somewhat dramatically, summarized by

⁶Parsons points out that girls' play is an even more exact replica of the mother's role than boys' play of the father's role.

⁷See, in particular, the work of Piaget (1932) and Erikson (1963) on the importance of play in early socialization.

⁸Slobin (1964), Anderson and Moore (1960), and Roberts and others (1959) suggest that games and play serve as opportunities to act out social roles for each sex. Many studies document the differences between males and females in play activity. See, for example, Roberts and Sutton-Smith (1964); Lehman and Witty (1927); Booth (1972); Sabora and Mitchell (1961); Millar (1968); and Herron and Sutton-Smith (1971).

Germaine Greer (1971:76-77):

While little boys are learning about groups and organizations as well as the nature of the world outside their homes, little girls are at home, keeping quiet, playing with dolls and dreaming, or helping mother.

Once the child enters school, the sex-role learning is simply reinforced.

At the present historical moment, the best adjusted girl is probably one who is intelligent enough to do well in school but not so brilliant as to get all A's . . . capable but not in areas relatively new to women; able to stand on her own two feet and earn a living, but not so good as to compete with men; capable of doing some job well (in case she doesn't marry, or otherwise has to work) but not so identified with a profession as to need it for her happiness.

(Komarovsky, 1953:66)

The transition from home to the largely female environment of elementary school is apparently an easy one for girls (Kagan and Moss, 1962). Girls typically out-perform boys academically in the early school years (Bowman, 1960; Armstrong, 1964); however, their academic performance begins to deteriorate after the sixth grade (Shaw and White, 1965:10-13). Not surprisingly, they are significantly less likely than boys to continue their education beyond the secondary level, even when their academic achievement has been high (Dowd, 1952:327-330).⁹

⁹For an overview of the sex-typed behavior of females in school, including academic performance, subject matter and the influence of teachers and counselors, see Chafetz (1974); Stoll (1974); and Henshel (1973). Also see the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (1970: 173-186).

A number of studies have documented the differences in subject areas in which boys and girls excel. Essentially, while girls have greater success in the arts, boys are more successful in science and mathematics.¹⁰

Obviously education is an important factor in occupational choice.¹¹ Most occupations demand a specified level of education and in many cases a particular kind of training. One of the major effects of the educational system is to open and close occupational alternatives. The earlier a person leaves school, the greater the number of occupations from which she or he is barred.¹²

Leaving before graduation from high school is an effective disqualification not only for the learned trades, but for many kinds of bureaucratic employment. It

¹⁰For more data on the sex-typed character of subject matter in school, see Brown (1965); Kuchenberg (1963); Komarovsky (1946); Bernard (1964); Roe (1966, 1953); Snow (1959); Davis (1964); Simpson (1974); Howe (1971); and Maccoby (1963:24-39).

¹¹The effect of education on female occupational behavior indicates that academic performance is less operative in the selection of occupations by women (Turner, 1964; French and Lesser, 1964). Women are less inclined to invest time in extensive post-secondary education beyond the bachelor degree (Horner, 1969; Katz and Martin, 1962; Epstein, 1970, 1973). Most females seem to shift their career choices according to their individual circumstances in relation to marriage and to avoid advanced educational training that might limit marriage prospects (Turner, 1964; Watley, 1969; Horner, 1969; Caplow, 1964; Epstein, 1970; Theodore, 1971).

¹²The restriction of the range of occupational choices is progressive and education is a critical stage in this restriction. The access to alternative choices narrows as the individual moves through different spheres of society, particularly the school. See, for example, Ginsberg (1951); Blau and others (1956); Caplow (1954); Nelson (1963); and Rosenberg (1959).

virtually guarantees a lifetime in manual work or in the insecure white collar fringe.

(Caplow, 1954:218)

Moreover, in Western industrial societies, people are often forced to make occupational decisions at increasingly early stages of their education. Schools and teachers, like parents, play an important part in further "streaming" girls into appropriate female educational avenues (Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, 1970:174).

We recognize, of course, that educational opportunity and achievement are affected by social class (Hall and McFarlane, 1963; Breton and McDonald, 1968; Porter and others, 1973). Social class also influences patterns of socialization (Gavron, 1968; Kohn, 1969; McKinley, 1964; Duval, 1946; Maas, 1951; Rosen, 1956, 1964) and occupational behavior (Hyman, 1953; Stephensen, 1957; Caplow, 1954; Lipset, 1960; Pavalko, 1971). However, some research suggests that social class is not as important in the occupational behavior of women (Mulvey, 1963; Breton and McDonald, 1968; Breton and others, 1972). This absence of a class influence on the occupational behavior of women may be due, in part, to the "dual role" characteristics of female expectations (Turner, 1964). As well, the educational levels of the parents and maternal employment play a part in modifying the effects of class on female occupational behavior (Breton, 1972:280-281).

The influence of social class on sex role ideology is unclear. The few studies which do suggest that it is an

important variable are contradictory. Most research indicates that sex-role stereotypes cut across class differences (Broverman and others, 1972; Lunnenborg, 1970; Scanzoni and Scanzoni, 1976). Some argue that lower class families are more traditional or less flexible in their emphasis on femininity (Komarovsky, 1962; Goldthorpe, 1969; Bott, 1957; Scanzoni, 1970; Chafetz, 1974). Other research indicates that the working class family encourages the daughter not to accept traditional sex roles (Vogel and others, 1970; Douvan and Adelson, 1966; Hartley, 1960; Orden and Bradburn, 1968; Cavan, 1964; McKinley, 1964).

Gaskell (1975) in her research on the sex role ideology of working class girls found the lower class was more traditional in its belief about sex role ideology, the appropriate division of labor in the family and about change in sex role relations. However, she found no class differences in the importance of "femininity" in behavior or in female educational achievement. On the other hand, some research indicates that the middle class family places more importance on traditional female behavior (Veblen, 1899; Engels, 1942).¹³

Kohn (1969:34) and Scanzoni and Scanzoni (1976:34-35) argue that although class differences in sex role ideology may appear, the education of the parents rather than social class may be the important variable in identifying

¹³It should be noted that this research was done some considerable time ago.

differences in sex role ideology. Social class does not seem to be important in distinguishing between females who aspire to or choose traditional and non-traditional occupations (Lipman-Blumen, 1972; Tangri, 1972; Almquist and Angrist, 1971). The data on social class and sex role ideology are inconclusive at best.

A social order can function properly only when the majority in a society conforms to role expectations. However, this proposition would appear in various forms in different theories. In this respect, the family and school conspire effectively to prepare girls for their role as women. It is not surprising that of those women who work, most work in female occupations. Apparently little has changed in the situation Parsons described almost thirty years ago.

It is, of course, possible for the adult woman to follow the masculine pattern and seek a career in the fields of occupational achievement in direct competition with men of her own class. It is, however, notable that in spite of the very great progress of the emancipation of women from the traditional domestic pattern only a very small fraction have gone very far in this direction. It is also clear that its generalization would only be possible with profound alterations in the structure of the family.

(Parsons, 1949:223ff.)

But what of the women who do "break through," who do choose traditionally male occupations? Although a good deal of research is available on occupational choice, most concentrates on male occupational behavior (Pavalko, 1971; Ginsberg, 1951; Hoffman, 1966; Psathas, 1958; Theodore, 1971).¹⁴

¹⁴Some writers agree that most research on occupational behavior has been based on males but see no reason to

Sociologists have long treated occupation in general to be a man's domain. To study men, we study their work; to study women, we study their family.¹⁵

Moreover, the research on female occupational choice suffers from a number of serious shortcomings. For example, because many researchers have assumed that women in male dominated occupations are somehow different from other women, they often excluded control or comparison groups (Laws, 1976:40). Furthermore, much of the research has been prospective, examining the occupational expectations and aspirations of school children, rather than the actual occupational decisions of women. Finally, the few retrospective studies on women in the labor force have shown a bias toward professional working women. As Eichler (1975:476) points out, there are almost no studies of non-professional women, let alone women in non-traditional non-professional occupations. Nevertheless, a review of both the prospective and retrospective studies can provide some exploratory hypotheses to guide our study of women who have selected non-traditional occupations, both professional and non-professional.

develop a distinct model for women (Ginsberg, 1951; Holland, 1966; Super, 1957; Blau and others, 1956). Others suggest the need for a theory of occupational choice that specifically applies to women (Psathas, 1958; Turner, 1964; Theodore, 1971). However, what is needed now is more detailed research on female career patterns before we can begin the task of developing appropriate models of female occupational behavior (Super, 1957:76; Theodore, 1971; Pavalko, 1971).

¹⁵For an excellent analysis of "sexism" in the sociology of occupations, see Oakley (1974:21-40).

Related Research

Prospective Research: Female Occupational Aspirations and Expectations

A consistent finding of the research on the occupational expectations and aspirations of young girls is the importance of the mother as role model (Elkin, 1960:54). Meier (1972), for example, demonstrates that one of the most important determinants of the sex role attitude of young people is the degree to which mothers exhibit attitudes of social achievement. Mothers represent for their children a distinct image of what women can be and can do. Rollins (1971) and Lemasters (1974) suggest that mothers who exhibit exclusive commitment to the "mother role" will influence their daughters to aspire to similar traditional roles. McClelland (1965), Kagan and Moss (1962), and Lipman-Blumen (1972) present similar data on how mothers who behave in ways which appear to reject the "traditional" female role of dependence and passivity influence their daughters' sex role development.¹⁶ Assertive mothers raise assertive daughters.¹⁷

Clearly one cannot discuss the role modeling literature without some discussion of maternal deprivation. Bowlby's work (1951, 1969) suggests that the bond between

¹⁶ See also the work of Horner (1972) on how women learn the need to avoid achievement.

¹⁷ See Kagan and Moss (1962:222), Blood (1965); and Freeman (1974).

the mother and child is critical. The absence of the mother from the home, in particular when the child is young, could have negative consequences for the child. Bowlby's influence has occasioned the inclusion of maternal employment as one form of maternal deprivation (Scanzoni and Scanzoni, 1976:224).¹⁸

Criticisms of the methods used in research on maternal deprivation question the validity of much data (Clarke, 1968; Yarrow, 1964; Dinnage and Pringle, 1967; Thompson and Grusec, 1970). There has also been a tendency to regard maternal deprivation as a syndrome rather than as a complex pattern of experiences (Rutter, 1972:13). In his review of research on maternal deprivation, Rutter (1972) concludes that there are short term effects associated with maternal deprivation. However, this relationship is probably due to either a disruption of the bonding process or social deprivation rather than maternal absence per se (Rutter, 1972:52). In his consideration of the long term effects of maternal deprivation, Rutter suggests that most research lacks sound data and that few conclusions can be reached. Most long term consequences are due to privation rather than to any particular type of loss. The deprivation half of the concept is somewhat misleading. The maternal half of the concept is inaccurate (Rutter, 1972:119).

¹⁸Bowlby in his later work (1969) includes maternal employment as a possible source of maternal deprivation. However, he also recognizes that maternal deprivation need not develop if regular and continuous child-care facilities are used (Rutter, 1972:15).

Rutter (1972:122) recommends that the preoccupation with the mother as the central focus in research of maternal deprivation be dropped. The character of the family unit and of each member of the family should be the focus. The concept of maternal deprivation must be replaced by familial deprivation. The use of the term "maternal deprivation" may betray a lack of neutrality in investigations on the role of the mother. In the literature on absent parents, a missing mother is referred to as "maternal deprivation" but when the father is missing, it is called "father absence" and not paternal deprivation (Millman, 1971:774; Rossi, 1965:108). Burchinal and Rossman (1961:334) suggest that maternal employment should not be thought of as maternal deprivation.¹⁹

On the other hand, there is considerable support for the idea that maternal employment can have positive effects, in particular for the female (Udry, 1974:307). Some studies have shown advantages for girls associated with maternal employment with respect to achievement (Powell, 1961) and self-esteem (Coopersmith, 1967). Schooler (1972) found that the offspring of working mothers are more receptive to innovation than are those of non-working mothers. The daughters of working mothers are more likely to be high achievers and

¹⁹In research on maternal employment as a specific kind of maternal deprivation, no differences between the children of working and non-working mothers were found (Burchinal and Rossman, 1961; Siegel and others, 1951: Nye, 1961). In their review of research on working and non-working mothers, Hoffman (1963; 1974) and Ferris (1971) conclude that there are no important differences in the children (Scanzoni and Scanzoni, 1976:220, Hoffman, 1973:212; Laws, 1971:497).

to have less restricted self-concepts because of the role models their mothers provided. Such girls are less apt to limit their career horizons because of sex-role stereotypes (Hoffman, 1973:213; Hoffman and Nye, 1974; Scanzoni and Scanzoni, 1976:226).

Siegel and others (1963b) have examined the effects of the employment status of the mother on the dependence and independence of her children. They hypothesized that working mothers provided a role model which would produce values of independence in their children. Although they found little supportive data, there was no significant difference between children of working and non-working mothers; their focus was not on daughters' sex role development. Nevertheless, Hoffman (1960) has commented that a closer analysis of Siegel's data indicates, in fact, that girls with working mothers tend to become more aggressive, dominating, and independent. In his summary of the research on the influence of maternal employment on sex role development, Tiller (1971) argues that maternal employment is a variable that cannot be ignored.

The increasing influence of women in many spheres, in addition to family life, appears to be a harbinger of a trend towards the gradual assumption of many more "masculine" functions by women. . . . It does appear that it is becoming more difficult to maintain stereotyped notions of what is "feminine" and "masculine." The future perhaps holds in store a redefinition of these concepts as individuals in both sexes grow up in a less restrictive social climate.

(Tiller, 1971:102)

Our particular interest is the influence of maternal employment on daughters' occupational orientation,

motivation, and choice. Epstein (1970) believes a working mother will produce direct effects on the daughter's occupational orientation.

One might expect that young women with mothers who are professionals and thus positive role models will see that pursuing both career and motherhood is possible. . . . Working mothers who enjoy what they are doing emanate the positive message to their daughters.
(Epstein, 1970:77)

A number of empirical studies document this relationship. Peterson (1958) demonstrates that mother's working increases daughter's career orientation. Siegel and Curtis (1963) and White (1967) found maternal employment to be the most important determinant of daughter's desire to work. Breton (1972) arrived at the same conclusion in his study of the occupational aspirations of Canadian high school students. Douvan (1963) demonstrates that the daughters of working mothers are also more likely to aspire to traditionally male occupational goals than are the daughters of non-working mothers. Almquist and Angrist (1971) found the employment status of the mother the most consistently important factor in determining a woman's aspirations to a career in general, and to a non-traditional career in particular. Often the women in these studies showed a disdain for the traditional housewife role.

Hoffman (1960) has suggested that the relationship between the employment status of the mother and the daughter's occupational aspirations might be even stronger when the age of the child is controlled (Hoffman and Nye,

1963:22-24; Hoffman, 1973:212, 213; Skard, 1965; Hoffman and Nye, 1974). The research on maternal deprivation²⁰ suggests that maternal employment may have more dramatic effects on very young children and that no statement about the influence of mother's absence from the home can be made without some specification for the age of the children (Rutter, 1972:123).²¹ Hoffman (1973:212) also suggests that future research should control for the nature of the mother's work. Obviously, at the simplest level, we would expect that a mother who was a laundress would have a different effect on her daughter's sex role development than a mother who was a construction worker (Tangri, 1972).²²

Tiller (1971) cautions us, however, that an understanding of the effect of maternal employment can only be achieved within the broader context of parental values and the division of labor within the family. As Clausen (1966) argues, in considering the effects of maternal employment

²⁰See Spitz (1945); Singh and Zingg (1939); Bowlby (1951; 1969); Bettelheim (1959); Myrdal and Klein (1956); and Hoffman (1963). The central conclusion to be derived from these studies appears to be that there is no substitute for a mother. Recent findings have challenged this conclusion. In any case, it is often very difficult to interpret these findings. Do they tell us about parental deprivation rather than maternal deprivation (Rutter, 1972)?

²¹Contemporary research on the effects of the mother's absence has shifted focus to the total family environment, child-care arrangements and alternatives, the kind of work the mother does, how much she works, etc. However, the age of the children still remains an important variable (Hoffman and Nye, 1974; Hoffman, 1973; Rutter, 1972).

²²See, for example, the work of Douvan (1963) and Roy (1961).

upon children, researchers must attend to the extent to which mother's employment has affected the division of labor in the family. Working mothers may exhibit the behaviors of "traditional mothers" within the family. Similarly, non-working mothers may conceivably take a non-traditional role within the family. Nevertheless, a good deal of data indicate that mothers' employment does introduce at least somewhat more egalitarian role differentiation.²³ In any case, greater equality in the distribution of domestic responsibilities does appear to discourage traditional sex-typed attitudes and behavior among the children.²⁴

There is also evidence that the daughters of well educated parents--both mothers and fathers--are likely to have non-traditional role expectations.²⁵ The influence of the parents, however, is less in directing the child to

²³Data also indicate that mothers' employment introduces more egalitarian role differentiation in the family. See, for example, Blood and Hamblin (1958); Hall and Schroeder (1970); Holmstrom (1972); Kligler (1954); Szolai (1966); Walker (1970); and Weil (1961).

²⁴This change in the pattern of domestic responsibilities increases the non-traditional sex-typed behavior and attitudes among the female children (Duval, 1955; Mathews, 1933; Lipman-Blumen, 1972; King and others, 1968; Angrist, 1970' and Hoffman, 1960).

²⁵Support for the relationship between mother's education and non-traditional sex-role ideology can be found in the work of Bardwick (1971); Clarkson and others (1970); Sears and others (1957); Tangri (1972); Maccoby (1966); and De Pree (1962). Support for the relationship between father's education and less rigid definitions of female roles can be found in the work of Zukerman and Oltean (1959); Kohn (1959); Elder (1965); Leslie and Johnsen (1963); Gold (1963); Stolz (1967); Miller and Swanson (1958); and Sears and others (1957).

specific occupations than in encouraging her to pursue non-traditional educational goals. Female students with non-traditional occupational orientations and motivations typically do well in school²² and often in areas of study such as science and mathematics.²⁷ Moreover, they have often been encouraged in this direction by teachers and counselors.²⁸

There are a number of difficulties, however, in interpreting the results of prospective studies. As Ginsberg and others (1951) point out, occupational expectations and aspirations may be more or less precise, even more or less "real," at various stages of life. Simply, "preferences . . . and outcomes may be quite different" (Laws, 1976:40). Research on women already in the labor force, that is, those who have made their occupational decisions, serves well to complement prospective studies.

Retrospective Studies: Professional Career Women

Particularly in the last ten years there has been a growing body of research on the "career woman." Moreover, the findings of this retrospective research generally

²⁶ See, for example, Astin and Nyint (1971); Watley (1969); Roy (1963); Banducci (1967); Atkinson (1958); and Powell (1963).

²⁷ See, for example, Almquist and Angrist (1971); Astin and Nyint (1971); and Watley (1969).

²⁸ See, for example, Tangri (1972); Davis (1964); Almquist and Angrist (1971); and Breton (1972).

support the prospective evidence. Almost all of the researchers point to the importance of the presence of working mothers. Professional women were more likely to have had mothers who worked than were women who had chosen the traditional role of housewife (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971) or even traditionally female occupations (Safilios-Rothschild, 1972).²⁹ Moreover, Ginsberg and others (1966) suggest that the mothers of professional women were likely to work while their daughters were quite young. As well, the mothers often worked in non-traditional careers themselves (White, 1972; Lopate, 1965; and Astin, 1969). Hennig (1972) provides similar data for professional women in Canada. Typically, their mothers had worked or at least were career oriented. Thus, not only does the working mother increase the career aspirations of the daughter, she provides a role model to her daughter which exposes the offspring to a "deviant" role image of appropriate female behavior.

As compared with mothers of women choosing typically female occupations, twice as many of these mothers [of women choosing 'deviant' occupations] provided by their own examples a model of a working woman who successfully combined work with family life and responsibilities.

(Safilios-Rothschild, 1972:310)

None of the retrospective studies have provided data

²⁹ Unfortunately most of the studies use no control groups and simply point to the large numbers of professional women whose mothers worked. See Lopate (1965); Hennig (1972); White (1972); and Rossi (1965).

on role differentiation in the family of origin. Rather, they have collected data on the more easily documented relatively structured aspects of family. The evidence suggests that professional women typically come from small families, are often "only children," and are often first born children. The implication seems to be that they have received individual attention which may often discourage traditional sex-typing or, as Safilios-Rothschild (1972: 310) suggests, the girls were raised as boys (Micossi, 1970: 83; Lopate, 1965:23).³⁰ Hennig (1972) has also suggested that professional women often come from an all female sibling structure. In such a family it seems reasonable to assume that the children will be less constrained in the roles they are encouraged to play within the home. In fact, Hennig provides some evidence that these children often participated in non-traditional play activities.

As well, most of the studies have found that the parents of professional women tended to be well educated and typically encouraged their daughters to pursue high educational goals.³¹ The daughters were also high achievers in school, ³² frequently in non-traditional areas of

³⁰We recognize that the role of the father in the socialization of his daughter is also important. See Bieri (1960) and Plank and Plank (1954). However, our research focuses on the role of the mother.

³¹See, for example, Rapoport and Rapoport (1971); Birnbaum (1971); Jones (1967); Astin (1969); White (1972); and Strober and Reagan (1976).

³²For data on the high achievement patterns of

study.³³ As well, Ginsberg and others (1966) found that professional women often reported that they had received encouragement from teachers and counselors.

These studies of women in the labor force suggest that not only do these women choose non-traditional occupations, but they also tend to be committed to their careers and often actively sought positions of authority within the occupation. This is particularly impressive as most reported that they had experienced discrimination from the males within their profession and often even from other females.³⁴ Professional women were less likely to leave work when they had children and if they left they would stay out for short periods of time. In short, they were less likely than is generally thought to subordinate their working lives to familial demands.³⁵

There remain, however, two fundamental and related

women in non-traditional occupations, see Astin (1969); Rapoport and Rapoport (1971); White (1972); Bachtold and Werner (1970); and Campbel and Soliman (1968).

³³See, for example, Hennig (1972); Ginsberg (1966); Campbel and Soliman (1968); Strober and Reagan (1976); and Sells (1976).

³⁴There are many studies which document the experience of discrimination by women in non-traditional occupations. See, for example, Graham (1972); White (1972); Bernard (1964); Rosenberg and Fliege (1965); Epstein (1972); Rossi (1965); Robin (1969); Judek (1968); Astin (1969); and Fogarty and others (1971).

³⁵The non-traditional career behavior of women in non-traditional careers involves short interrupted careers and the use of part-time work patterns. See Hennig (1972); Rossi (1965); Rapoport and Rapoport (1971); Bernard (1964); Fogarty and others (1971); and Graham (1971).

problems with these studies. First, there is no consistency in this work on the use of control groups. Some compare the professional women to women in traditionally female professions (e.g., Safilios-Rothschild, 1972); some compare the professional women to housewives (e.g., Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971); some use no control groups at all (e.g., Roy, 1963). It is therefore difficult to know what the differences found point to. Are we talking about the differences between women who work and those who do not, or perhaps between women who achieve high status professions and those who do not? This leads us to the second limitation of these studies. They all focus on women in high status professions--doctors, lawyers, engineers, and so on. There are virtually no data on women in non-traditional low status occupations. We cannot assume that the evidence about women who choose high status professions tells us anything about how women come to choose non-traditional occupations more generally.

Obviously, in order to answer our central question it is necessary to examine traditional and non-traditional occupations which are roughly comparable in status and to include both high and low status occupations in our sample. Nevertheless, the research reported is useful in providing a number of hypotheses to guide our research.

Research Hypotheses

Women at Home

Hypothesis One: Women in non-traditional occupations

are more likely to have had working mothers than are women in traditional occupations.

Hypothesis Two: Women in non-traditional jobs are more likely to have had mothers working during critical periods in the child's socialization than are women in traditional occupations.

Hypothesis Three: Women in non-traditional jobs are more likely to have had mothers working in non-traditional occupational areas.

Hypothesis Four: Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have been brought up in families indicating non-traditional role differentiation.

Hypothesis Five: Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have been brought up in small families.

Hypothesis Six: Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have been the first born in the family.

Hypothesis Seven: Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have been brought up in families with all female siblings.

Hypothesis Eight: Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have had mothers with high educational achievement.

Hypothesis Nine: Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have had fathers with high educational achievement.

Hypothesis Ten: Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have engaged in non-traditional play and game activity.

Women at School

Hypothesis Eleven: Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have been influenced by educational significant others (teachers and counselors) to pursue non-traditional goals.

Hypothesis Twelve: Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have done well in school.

Hypothesis Thirteen: Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have performed well in non-traditional subject areas.

Hypothesis Fourteen: Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have been exposed to non-traditional occupational alternatives through interpersonal contacts.

Women at Work

Hypothesis Fifteen: Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to report occupational discrimination on the basis of sex.

Hypothesis Sixteen: Women in non-traditional occupations are less likely to organize their work on the basis of perceived familial demands.

Hypothesis Seventeen: Women in non-traditional occupations are less likely to drop out (intend to drop out) when (if) they have children.

We have, then, several exploratory hypotheses for our research on the supply "streaming" of women. In Chapter III we present more detailed information on how we selected the specific occupations and the research techniques we used in our study of women in non-traditional and traditional female occupations.

CHAPTER III

IN THE FIELD

Researchers generally perform verificational studies in areas about which a good deal is known, that is, where substantial empirical data have been collected.

It is only after much empirical data has been collected and a series of simple relationships, close to reality, have been established that either precise hypotheses can be enunciated for testing or theory derived inductively from empirical data.

(Stacey, 1969:6)

In some respects, the area of occupational choice might be said to qualify. A good deal of empirical data have been gathered from which we have derived the hypotheses presented in the previous chapter. On the other hand, as we have pointed out, most of the research has focused on male occupational choice. The few studies of female occupational choice have focused on professional women. Almost no research has examined job selection of women who enter manual or service occupations.

Our methodology, then, has a dual nature. While we are interested in testing specific hypotheses on socialization and occupational choice, we also wish to gather the kind of data which will allow us to describe and explore female occupational choice more fully than our hypotheses

might allow.

Sampling of the Occupations

The first problem was to determine a basis for distinguishing between traditional and non-traditional female occupations. There was no standard agreement on how to operationalize the traditional vs. non-traditional work categories. It seemed consistent with the theoretical literature and with common sense to consider occupations with very few women as non-traditional work environments and work categories with females accounting for the largest percentage of the membership of that occupation as traditional. It was hoped that this operationalization would reflect the values of the society and its attitudes on the appropriate environment for women to work.¹

Our first step then involved tabulating the percentage of females in each of the occupational categories in the 1961 Census of Canada.² In order to maintain a sharp distinction between occupations classified as traditional and those classified as non-traditional, we used extreme cut-off points. At least 70 per cent of those

¹ This is, in fact, the criterion used by the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (1970).

² The 1971 Census data became available after the completion of the data gathering. We do not include it here because of course it did not influence our selection of occupations. However, some of the changes did prove important in the analysis of our data and are discussed in the final chapter.

employed in a traditional occupation had to be women. Fewer than 15 per cent of those employed in a non-traditional occupation could be women.

The next step in the selection of the occupations was to rank each occupation according to its prestige. The Blishen Index (1964:741-753) and the Pineo and Porter Occupational Prestige Score (1967:25-40) were assigned to each occupation in the 1961 Census.

The third procedure was to assign each occupation a skill designation. The classification schemes used by Statistics Canada (Ostry, 1967) and the occupational categories recommended by Pineo and Porter (1967) were applied to each occupation.

The final step in the selection of our occupations was to discover how many females were available in the area in which the research was to take place. The number of women in each occupation in Canada, Ontario, and the Toronto-Hamilton Metropolitan Area was tabulated to insure that there would be women available, particularly women in non-traditional, male-dominated occupations.

Our aim was to select both a traditional and non-traditional occupation within the professional category of occupations and also within the lower status, non-professional occupations. As well, we were concerned that the occupations within each category--professional and non-professional--be roughly comparable in terms of the prestige

of the occupation. This sampling process produced four occupations which varied on two major dimensions. The first dimension involved the percentage of females employed. Two occupations were chosen--elementary school teachers and registered nursing assistants--and defined as traditional areas of female employment. Two occupations--pharmacists and policewomen--had a small number of women employed and they were titled non-traditional female occupational areas of employment. The second dimension involved in the choice of occupations was the professional and non-professional character of the work. Elementary teachers and pharmacists were paired because of their extended educational requirements, training, and assigned social prestige in Canadian society. Registered nursing assistants and policewomen had lower educational requirements, a shorter training period, and lower prestige scores. Table 3-1 presents the final arrangement of each occupation along the two dimensions.³

Other occupations were considered, particularly male-dominated occupations. Female doctors or dentists were considered but the prestige ranking of these occupations would not make them comparable with teachers. Other non-professional occupations were also considered, but

³The complete profiles developed in setting up the selection of occupations, including the prestige scores and the percentages of women in Canada, Ontario, Toronto, and Hamilton can be found in Appendix 1, p. 254.

TABLE 3-1

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF TRADITIONAL AND
NON-TRADITIONAL FEMALE OCCUPATIONS
SELECTED FOR RESEARCH

	Non-Traditional Female Occupations		Traditional Female Occupations	
Professions High Prestige	<u>Pharmacists</u>		<u>Elementary Teachers</u>	
	Percentage of Females Employed	13.26	Percentage of Females Employed	70.72
	Blishen Index	72.37	Blishen Index	70.14
	Pineo and Porter Index	69.3	Pineo and Porter Index	59.6
	Job Classification:		Job Classification:	
	Professional (Pineo & Porter; Census of Canada		Professional (Pineo & Porter; Census of Canada	
Non-Professions Low Prestige	<u>Policewomen</u>		<u>R.N.A.'s</u>	
	Percentage of Females Employed	1.24	Percentage of Females Employed	78.91

TABLE 3-1--Continued

Non-Traditional Female Occupations		Traditional Female Occupations	
Blishen Index	35.80	Blishen Index	32.14
Pineo and Porter Index	51.6	Pineo and Porter Index	34.9
Job Classification:		Job Classification:	
Service (Census of Canada)		Service (Census of Canada)	
Unskilled (Pineo & Porter)		Semi-skilled (Pineo & Porter)	

each alternative was rejected because of the variations in prestige or the limited availability of potential respondents.

Additional information was gathered in occupational monographs and job descriptions available through Canada Manpower in order to insure further the comparability of our selected occupations. The educational requirements for a career in pharmacy were a bachelor's degree from a two year program in a junior college or liberal arts institution and two to four years of pharmaceutical course work with an emphasis on math, physics, chemistry, and biology. Each pharmacist served a year's apprenticeship and had to pass provincial examinations. The average income from work in pharmacy, in 1965, was \$8,400 (retail pharmacy). Elementary school teachers were required to complete high school and attend a teacher's college for one year. There also is considerable emphasis placed on completing a university degree. The average income for elementary teachers was approximately \$8,500 a year (1966).

Policewomen needed only a grade ten high school education. There was a six week training program in most departments and extensive on-the-job training. The average income for policewomen was \$6,000 a year (1966). Registered nursing assistants must complete grade ten. There is also a training course of six to eighteen months, depending on the province and the availability of on-the-job

training. The average income of the R.N.A. in 1966 was about \$6,000 a year.⁴

In summary, then, except for the critical variable of percentage of females employed, teachers and pharmacists are quite comparable as are policewomen and registered nursing assistants. Obviously this is critical in order to test our hypotheses.

The "Pilot Study"

The first stage of actual field research involved what might be termed a pilot study. In fact, this procedure might be more accurately described as a series of casual conversations with a total of ten women, informally contacted, in the four occupations. Although the data gathered through these discussions were not directly used in our analysis, this information was important in a variety of ways. First, it made us aware of some of the limitations of retrospective data. Obviously, the women forgot much of the specific background information which we might have considered using as "ratings" or "indices" of our variables. As well, it became clear that to explore aspects of a woman's childhood experiences, some technique other than a fully structured interview would more likely

⁴The material for this preliminary classification was gathered through Canada Manpower publications available at the Counseling Services of McMaster University. Summaries of the information are provided in the Appendix 2, p. 260.

yield results. It seemed important to allow the women to reconstruct these experiences in their own way. In short, this early stage was an important training period for the researcher himself; he became sensitized to the importance of setting, atmosphere, and a range of interpersonal factors which are never fully appreciated without this kind of direct field experience.

Second, the researcher was able to enlist the aid of two of these women as "informants,"⁵ or perhaps more precisely, unpaid research assistants. The role particularly of the policewomen research assistant is discussed in a later section.

Finally, and most important, these discussions gave the researcher confidence in the feasibility of the study. Initially, the researcher was concerned that as a male, a graduate student, and a sociologist, he began such interviews with several strikes against him. He had in fact been warned by one of the teachers that sociologists might be unwelcome--"teachers have been over-researched." This might have constituted a problem, but, as we shall describe in a later section, the problem of contacting willing teachers was ironed out with the cooperation of the Federation of Women Teachers at the outset of the study. Moreover, the researcher's fear that women might be reluctant

⁵We rely on Denzin's (1970) usage.

to discuss aspects of their family and married lives with a male researcher proved groundless, at least in this case (see Gordon, 1969:127-128).

Sampling Within the Occupations

At this point, we were faced with the decision as to what kind and size of sample to draw within each occupation. Of course any such decision must be based on a consideration of the particular theoretical questions asked by the study as well as methodological principles of sampling techniques. We decided to draw a random sample of thirty women for each occupation--a total sample of 120.

Moser (1958:73ff.) has identified three major sources of sample bias: an inadequate, incomplete, or inaccurate sampling frame; the use of non-random sampling techniques which allow the intrusion of bias, even if unintended and unrecognized; and a high refusal rate among some segment of the sample. We took this as the blueprint for our sampling procedure.

The first step taken to establish an adequate sampling frame was to contact all the professional organizations associated with each occupation. The Metro Toronto Police Department, the Hamilton Police Department, the R.C.M.P., and the Ontario Provincial Police Department were contacted. Conversations with representatives in each of these police organizations indicated that only

the two Metro Departments in Hamilton and Toronto employed women. The R.C.M.P. did not employ females, although they were in the early stages of preparing programs to include women in their departments. Similarly, we contacted the research directors of the Canadian Association of Pharmacists, the College of Nursing, and the Federation of Women Teachers' Association of Ontario.

In each case the researcher was provided with a listing of the names and home or work addresses of all women employed in the occupations in the cities of Toronto and Hamilton. In each case, as well, the researcher was assured that the lists were complete and accurate.⁶ The urban basis of the female working population in each occupation was necessary for two reasons. We decided that women in the non-traditional occupations would be "found" more easily in large cities. Secondly, the research was conducted by a research unit of one, without any outside financial assistance. For reasons of money and time, then, we restricted the sampling frame to women working in Hamilton and Toronto.

Having established non-biased sampling frames, we drew a random sample for each of the occupations. Each name was assigned a number and a table of random numbers

⁶The only source of inaccuracy was women who had moved within two or three years before the study was undertaken. We had no reason to assume that this introduced any systematic bias.

was used to draw a sample of thirty females in each occupation. The sample of elementary teachers was drawn by the Federation of Women Teachers' Association. This Association had a policy that all sampling procedures be handled by the Association itself to insure that teachers who had been "over-researched" were excluded. The Federation provided our sample with their assurance that completely random sampling procedures had been used.

When a random sample had been drawn, we sent introductory letters to each of the selected women. Each of the organizations contacted in the research provided a cover letter which accompanied our personal request for the woman's participation in the research.⁷ The sample response rate for three of the occupations is provided in Table 3-2. The percentages for elementary teachers are omitted from the table as the Federation of Women Teachers' Association provided our respondents. As the table shows, the refusal rate was negligible and therefore unlikely to bias our sample. In part, this was due to the support and encouragement of the various occupational associations; the police organizations, for example, encouraged us to use official letterhead stationery to contact the respondents. As well, loss through refusals is most likely in very large samples which rely on mailed questionnaires or

⁷Letters of introduction to each of the occupations as well as the cover letters are included in Appendix 3, p. 263.

TABLE 3-2
THE SAMPLE RETURNS FOR THE FOUR
SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Total Number of Contact Letters	Women Participating	Women Refusing To Participate	Women Unable to Contact
Pharmacists	60 (100%)	29 (48%)	3 (5%)	28 (45%)
Policewomen	60 (100%)	30 (50%)	3 (5%)	27 (45%)
R.N.A.'s	60 (100%)	25 (42%)	5 (8%)	30 (50%)
Totals	180 (100%)	84 (47%)	11 (6%)	85 (47%)

a large number of more or less trained interviewers. This study, on the other hand, was conducted by one interviewer who was able to insure that every effort, for example repeated contacts by mail and telephone, was made to mitigate the possible bias of high refusal rates. The majority of respondents were lost not because of refusal but rather because we could not contact them at all.

In summary, then, a random sample of sixty names was drawn for each occupation (other than teachers). Our generalizations are based on those whom we were able to contact. Those not included were women on holidays, women who had recently moved, and so on, rather than women who had refused to participate. We would not assume, therefore, that there were any systematic differences in the two populations, although we were unable to collect data to verify this.

While our final sample of thirty women is small when compared with some of the overwhelming survey studies particularly popular in the United States, it has a number of advantages. First, as Galtung (1967) points out, it is a large enough sample to test the kinds of substantive hypotheses indicated in the previous chapter. In fact, a much smaller sample would be perfectly acceptable--the criterion being the minimum number of cases which would allow statistical tests of significance. We employed simple tests of significance to aid in the interpretation of data. However, we feel it is important to emphasize the statistical tests are not a substitute for, nor the sole basis of, theoretical interpretation.

The interpretation of data, including the results of statistical tests, must depend on the researcher's judgement, his familiarity with the data and research procedures. In fact, Moser (1958) has suggested that the researcher who is so cautious that he refuses at least to speculate about the generalizability of his findings may be shirking his responsibility. Wherever possible, we make use of related findings to help us explore the wider implications of our own data.

While the sample is large enough to allow the test of substantive hypotheses, it is also small enough to allow for the exploration of previously unconsidered relationships (cf. Bott, 1971). That is, it allowed the researcher to use a relatively unstructured research technique which would have been impracticable with a larger sample. As well, it allowed for a single researcher to carry out all aspects of data gathering and analysis.⁸ Such an approach has obvious advantages, particularly in terms of the consistency in approach that a single researcher brings to a study. At the same time, this consistency of perspective might be cited as the major weakness of the study. In the following section, we shall describe the techniques used by the researcher in the field to maximize the quality of his data.

The Focused Interview

There is a danger that the single researcher approach may lead the researcher, because of his direct contact with

⁸This discussion draws heavily on the field experiences reported by Oakley (1974).

the data, to take for granted the question of shared language. He cannot ignore the problem of how to frame questions in a way meaningful to the respondents, how to interpret responses, and so on. In this respect the "focused interview" seems ideally suited to collect data on specified variables in a way that is sensitive to the respondent and the research setting (Lazarsfeld, 1954: 675-686). This technique might be described as "semi-standardized." An interview schedule based on the hypotheses to be tested gives structure to the interview,⁹ while the wording of the questions is specified in each interview situation. As well, such a technique gives freedom to the respondents so that they often provide information which can be the basis of new hypotheses.¹⁰

An important, though often overlooked, advantage of the semi-structured interview is that respondents seem to enjoy it. Many of the women expressed their surprise at how much the interview which they had anticipated with some dread turned out to be a pleasant, if long, conversation.

The Interview Situation

There has been an increasing awareness among social

⁹The interview guide is provided in Appendix 4, p. 268.

¹⁰Particularly informed discussions of the focused interview can be found in Merton and Kendal (1956); Young (1966:219); and Lazarsfeld (1954:675-686). For a comprehensive treatment of the interview as a research technique see Hyman (1954).

researchers that the interview situation constitutes yet another role relationship.¹¹ The researcher, even before he or she arrives, is cast into a role. Negotiating an appropriate role definition is important both for establishing rapport so that accurate data can be elicited, and for avoiding "over-rapport" which can systematically bias responses.

The importance of establishing rapport is obvious--putting someone at ease, whether a guest in your home or a respondent in an interview situation, will facilitate easy communication (Glazer, 1972:11; Lofland, 1971:94).¹² In this respect, the cover letters from each of the organizations associated with the occupations helped to introduce the researcher and the research in a positive light.

Ann P.: Normally I don't pay much attention to such letters in the mail but the letter from the Association changed my mind.

Frances T.: Usually we get a lot of requests for participation in this or that research project. The Federation's letter made your request a little different.

Hazel N.: I don't like to be bothered by people but the letter from the College made it seem important.

Margaret P.: I never throw anything from the Association away without reading it carefully first.

¹¹See, for example, the discussions of interviewing as a social process in Goode and Hatt (1952:186-190); Hyman (1951:207; 1954); and Hughes (1956).

¹²The importance of personal warmth and listening in producing a good interview can be found in the reflections of Feber (1960:111) and Paul (1953:444-445).

As well, the willingness of the researcher to arrange the interviews at the convenience of the women contributed to good field relations.

Coleen O.: You mean you would come at any time?

Jennifer T.: I am not accustomed to having someone ask me when I want to have an interview. Usually with these kinds of things you get told the time and place.

All the interviews with pharmacists, elementary teachers, and registered nursing assistants were conducted in the homes of the women. The willingness of the researcher to come for the interview at a time and location convenient to the women may, perhaps, be inefficient, but the rewards of talking with people when they want to and in an environment which they find comfortable more than justified the amount of time invested.

Claudia N.: I thought I would have to go to the University or something like that. I just didn't have any way to get there. When you said you would come here I was really impressed.

Christine P.: I can't believe you travel all over this city just to talk with female pharmacists. You must either be crazy or dedicated.

Wendy T.: I really wasn't going to participate but when you said you would come here I figured it must be important and the least I could do was help as best I could.

Nina P.: Usually if you get involved with research you either have to fill out a questionnaire or go somewhere and sit in a room and be interviewed. It is nice to have someone interested enough to come to me.

The majority of our respondents reported that they were

"impressed" with our willingness to talk with them "on their terms" and most suggested that our contact procedures made their participation a more "pleasant" experience.

The policewomen had, on the other hand, to be contacted at work. The Police Departments would not release the home addresses of individual policewomen. Each police station, however, did provide a room in which to conduct the interview and the policewomen were given permission to use their work-time to participate in the research. The policewomen themselves seemed to prefer the interview at work.

Vivian O.: Police officers consider their home life completely and solely their own. We are watched all the time by both the Department and by the general public when we are at work. The home is our hide-away. It is our private space. We go there to get away from it all.

The interviews lasted from two to five hours. The length of the interviews can itself be an indicator of the quality of the data. A five hour interview is inconceivable without some rapport. Many of the women commented at the end of the interview: "I don't think I ever talked about myself for such a long time before" or "I can't believe we have been talking that long."

The length of the interview and its semi-structured character allowed the conversation to return to the major issues a number of times, clarifying earlier statements and providing additional examples. A frequently heard

expression was: "I just remembered something about that" or "Now that you mentioned that again I remember one instance when"

Often it was toward the end of the interview that the fullest and richest data emerged. Guarded responses at the beginning of the interview became detailed and long examples at the end. Expressions such as "I didn't know if I should tell you this," or "I usually don't tell people about this but," were encouraging indicators of the quality of the data coming from the interview.

There remains, however, the problem of over-rapport (Hyman, 1954). Respondents who identify strongly with the researcher may "manufacture" responses which are interesting and will provide the researcher with "good," rather than "accurate," data. In fact, the researcher did encounter this problem in some of the initial interviews with the policewomen. When questioned about why they entered police work, several policewomen provided similar accounts of how they had decided, in early childhood, that they would become police officers. Riding down the street with their fathers around Christmas time, they had noticed a woman directing traffic on a main intersection. They pointed to her and exclaimed to their fathers, "That's what I want to be." From that point on they wanted to be policewomen.

After the third interview with the policewomen the

researcher became suspicious and asked his "informant" to evaluate the responses. She warned the researcher of the likelihood that the policewomen would collaborate with one another to manufacture a consistent story. She pointed out that even though the respondents were likely strangers to one another, they had access to one another through radio communication.

In the next interview, the researcher asked the respondent about this communication.

Pamela O.: You found that. I didn't think it would take too long. I guess none of us really knew what to expect. We knew what the general research was about, although I must admit none of us had any idea what purpose it might serve. We also didn't know what kind of answers to give. Someone mentioned that they had told that story and I guess we all just thought it was as good as anything. It really wasn't an effort to deceive you as much as an attempt to come up with some kind of answer.

In this case the respondent seemed to be concerned with providing the researcher with useful information, using "the story" because she felt uncertain about her own motives for becoming a policewoman.¹³ In other cases, however, the policewomen were reluctant to disclose information which might damage what they felt to be an already tarnished public image or their already shaky position within the police department.¹⁴

¹³This information is, in itself, significant. See Chapter V.

¹⁴A good analysis of the techniques used by

Sylvia O.: You have to understand police work. We are expected to do our jobs. We are expected to do them quietly and efficiently. The less noise the better. When you get a request for information you only give so much. That "much" is determined by what you are asked and what the person has a right to hear. When people begin to ask questions around the police station you begin to get a little cautious. In police work you ask questions when something is wrong. When we received the letter from the Chief in the mail telling us about the research, we knew that if you contacted us we were expected to participate. That means we had better participate. In effect, I suppose, it was an order.

In several cases, the policewomen indicated that they had taken the initial contact letter to mean that the police department would have access to their responses. This suggests that though initial field contacts with those in positions of authority may be important in getting access to respondents, they may at the same time distort responses (Kahn and Mann, 1969).

The researcher devoted a good deal of time in reassuring the policewomen in particular that they were not compelled to participate in the study, that whether they refused or not, none of the information would be passed on to the police department, and that in the final study all responses would be completely anonymous.¹⁵ He

individuals and organizations against outsiders is found in Argyris (1952:24-34). Compare this with a discussion of the advantages of being an outsider in research with in-group organizations in Gordon (1952:50-58).

¹⁵The names of all respondents have been changed to preserve the confidentiality of the respondents.

also explained the distorting effects their communication with fellow officers could have on the study. More generally, the first twenty or thirty minutes of each interview were spent in answering the respondents' own questions about the researcher and his study. This exchange of information helped the women to understand and accept the researcher's presence and, at the same time, it allowed the subject of the research to come up in a conversational fashion.

The central point is that respondents define the researcher, and the purpose and value of his study. As long as the researcher is aware of these definitions he can use a variety of techniques to minimize their distorting influence. Of course, there remains the problem of the researcher's own bias in recording and analyzing the data.

Recording the Data

There is an obvious problem in the recording of long, and to some extent wandering, interviews. The researcher may "hear" responses in a theoretically useful way. He may lose a good deal of valuable information which was not part of his "theoretical set." In short, the sociologist's conceptual scheme may do violence to the phenomena under investigation (Denzin, 1970:14).

In this light, it is obviously important to record

as fully as possible the verbatim responses of those being interviewed. In this way the researcher avoids the possibility of recording only that which "fits." All the interviews with teachers, pharmacists, and registered nursing assistants were tape recorded and later transcribed. The reports of other researchers who relied on electronic recording devices indicate that there need be no distorting effect if care is taken to allow the respondents to acclimatize themselves to the device and to make the recording as unobtrusive as possible. In this study, for example, the researcher used a tape recorder with a built-in microphone and placed it where it would not be visible.¹⁶ Our experience parallels that of other researchers in that the respondents generally indicated, when asked, that after a short time they forgot the interview was being recorded (see, for example, Gordon, 1969:172-180; Brody and others, 1951:379-380). A further advantage of the use of tape recorders is that recorded interviews can provide the researcher with living illustrations of interviewing errors, information which can be used to improve the quality of succeeding interviews (Bucher and others, 1956:359-364).¹⁷

¹⁶The respondents were always informed, however, that the conversations were being recorded.

¹⁷It might be pointed out that the expense of transcription is a serious disadvantage for the self-supported lone researcher approach.

The policewomen, on the other hand, were most reluctant to have the interviews taped. They indicated the likelihood that the presence of a tape recorder would constrain their responses. In these interviews, then, the researcher took shorthand notes during the interview so that his recording would intrude as little as possible. Immediately following each interview, he wrote up as full an account as possible of the interview. This can be taken as a further indication of the importance of flexibility in research techniques (Denzin, 1970).

Analysis of Data

The specific coding procedures which we used to quantify our data are described in the substantive chapters which follow. However, at this point it is important to emphasize that we did take a number of precautions to minimize the possibility of researcher bias in the coding of responses. Wherever possible, we focused on factual information--size of family, whether mother worked, etc.--which minimizes problems of interpretation. In addition, we include a substantial amount of qualitative data which allows the reader to evaluate our interpretation. Finally, the researcher's close contact with the data allowed him to assess and report responses in context, whether the response was given spontaneously or not, whether it was expressed with reservation, and so on. In short, the

researcher had access to more than the verbal material alone. Unless otherwise specified, all tests of significance which appear in the text are χ^2 .

The Working Women in Our Sample

As Table 3-3 shows, our sample includes a good age distribution, roughly comparable to the age distribution for women employed in these occupations in Ontario. This wide age distribution is particularly important as one might anticipate that, for example, a woman entering teaching, say thirty years ago, might be as "non-traditional" as a younger woman who becomes a pharmacist or policewoman now.

The only apparent bias in terms of age is the absence of any policewomen fifty or older. However, police work has only recently been open to women. Although there are a few women in this age group in the Ontario population of policewomen, they are generally matrons and female prison officers, whom the Census classifies as policewomen.

Our sample included both married and single women. While most of the respondents were married, this corresponds to the Ontario working population (Table 3-4). As well, there was a wide distribution in the number of children of the married women (Table 3-5). Again policewomen provide the only exception; all were childless.

TABLE 3-3

THE AGE DISTRIBUTIONS FOR EACH OCCUPATION
IN THE SAMPLE AND THE ONTARIO FEMALE
LABOR FORCE, 1971

Age Category	Sample	Population	Sample	Population
Pharmacists		Elementary Teachers		
		%		%
Under 30	34.4	45.8	25.9	56.8
30-49	44.7	40.5	44.4	30.5
50 & over	21.0	13.7	29.7	12.7
Totals	100 (29)	100 (765)	100 (27)	100 (45,480)
Policewomen		Nursing Assistants		
		%		%
Under 30	70.0	43.8	52.0	44.9
30-49	30.0	39.0	28.0	34.7
50 & over	--	17.1	20.0	20.6
Totals	100 (30)	100 (320)	100 (25)	100 (11,050)

Note: The population percentages for each occupation are taken from the 1971 Census of Canada.

TABLE 3-4

THE MARITAL STATUS OF WOMEN IN EACH OF THE FOUR
SELECTED OCCUPATIONS IN THE SAMPLE AND THE
ONTARIO FEMALE LABOR FORCE, 1971

Marital Status	Sample	Population	Sample	Population
Pharmacists		Elementary Teachers		
Married	83.0	% 63.8	66.7	% 66.2
Single	14.0	28.9	22.2	29.8
Widowed	3.0	7.2	7.3	3.9
Divorced	0.0		3.8	
Totals	100 (29)	100 (760)	100	100 (45,405)
Policewomen		Nursing Assistants		
Married	50.0	% 61.5	88.0	% 64.9
Single	43.3	30.8	22.0	26.7
Widowed	3.3	7.7	0.0	8.3
Divorced	3.3		0.0	
Totals	100 (30)	100 (325)	100 (25)	100 (11,105)

Note: The population percentages for each occupation are taken from the 1971 Census of Canada.

TABLE 3-5
THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN THE FAMILIES OF WOMEN
IN THE FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Number of Children	Occupations			
	Pharmacists	Teachers	Policewomen	Nursing Assistants
	(Percentages)			
0	16.0	38.1	--	9.1
1-2	68.0	42.9	--	59.1
3-4	12.0	19.1	--	22.7
5 or more	4.0	--	--	9.0
Totals	100 (25)	100 (21)		100 (22)

Note: There are no instances of married women with children of their own among policewomen.

This is in part a function of past department regulations and is discussed in Chapter VI. In short, our sample provided us with a sufficient number of married women with children to test our hypotheses about the influence of family life on work arrangements.

CHAPTER IV

I am admired because I do things well. I cook, sew, knit, talk, work and make love very well. So I am a valuable item.

(Christine Billson, 1961:9)

The intention of your being taught needle-work; knitting and such-like, is not on account of the intrinsic value of all you can do with your hands, which is trifling, but to enable you to judge more perfectly of that kind of work, and to direct the execution of it in others. Another principal end is to enable you to fill up, in some tolerably agreeable way, some of the many solitary hours you must necessarily spend at home.

(Gregory, "A Father's Legacy to his Daughters," 1809:59)

Taught from infancy that beauty is woman's sceptre, the mind shapes itself to the body, and roaming around its gilt cage, only seeks to adorn its prison.

(Mary Wollstonecraft, "A Vindication of the Rights of Women," 1792:90)

The standards and models of behavior taught either explicitly or by example in the family begin to affect boys and girls from their earliest childhood. Many of the images held by children are related to cultural habits and the traditional division of tasks in the home such as that mothers do the cooking and that fathers are always working. Children absorb a concept of the exclusive roles of men and women which may restrain and limit the development of both girls and boys. They show the impact of early family influences on the acquisition of stereotypes.

(Royal Commission on the Status of Women, 1970:16)

SOCIALIZATION AND OCCUPATIONAL SELECTION

We have indicated that most research on female occupational selection has focused on early socialization experiences. If socialization is an important determining factor, we should find that women employed in non-traditional occupations have experienced non-traditional socialization.

Specifically, much of the socialization literature has emphasized the process of role modeling.¹ One would expect, then, that mothers' occupational activity will have a strong influence on daughters' occupational choice.²

Hypothesis One

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have had working mothers than are women in traditional occupations.

¹For the major theoretical and empirical literature on role modeling see T. Parsons (1955); de Beauvoir (1949); Lynn (1966); Elkin (1960); Shibutani (1961); Rose (1962); Davis (1940); Mussen (1965); Zigler and Child (1969); Rothschild (1972); Astin (1969); Tiller (1971); Siegel and Curtis (1963); Epstein (1970); and Myrdal and Klein (1956).

²This literature is extensive; see, for example, Henning (1972); R. White (1972); Lopate (1965); K. White (1967); Almquist and Angrist (1971); Siegel and Curtis (1963); Astin (1969), Ginsberg (1966); and Rapoport and Rapoport (1971).

Obviously, a very important consideration is the age of the child when the mother was working.³ A mother who undertook her career after her child was out of the house might not be as strong an influence as a women who worked continuously while the child was at home (Tiller, 1971:94; Rutter, 1972:123; Hoffman, 1973:212-213; and Nye and Hoffman, 1963:22-24).

Hypothesis Two

Women in non-traditional jobs are more likely to have had mothers working during critical periods in the child's socialization than are women in traditional occupations.

The specific occupation the mother has engaged in will also, no doubt, have a direct influence on the daughter's occupational choice.

Hypothesis Three

Women in non-traditional jobs are more likely to have had mothers working in non-traditional occupational areas.

The work world, however, is only one area in which mothers can exhibit non-traditional behavior patterns. Role specification within the family itself may be either on a traditional or non-traditional basis, thereby providing traditional or non-traditional models

³Several social psychologists have explored this relationship: Myrdal and Klein (1965); Hoffman (1960); Nye, Perry and Ogles (1965); Douvan (1965); Burchinal (1961); Nye (1959); and Hoffman (1965).

for the children.⁴

Hypothesis Four

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have been brought up in families indicating non-traditional role differentiation.

It is virtually a sociological truism that the greater the group size, the greater the complexity and rigidity of role differentiation. It is not surprising, then, that de Beauvoir (1953) and others have found that small families do not reflect the same degree of traditional role differentiation as do larger families.⁵

Hypothesis Five

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have been brought up in small families.

Similarly, it seems plausible--particularly given the abundant empirical evidence⁶--that the first born child will be given more individual attention than

⁴Rosenberg (1961) offers a particularly clear depiction of traditional parental role differentiation and its influences on the child. Cavan (1969) contrasts this with the "non-traditional" family. See also Powell (1961); Hoffman (1960); Blood and Hamblin (1958); and Blood and Wolfe (1960).

⁵For a consideration of family size see, for example, Blau and Duncan (1967:295-330).

⁶For an excellent summary of birth order see Kammeyer (1967); Schacter (1963); Sampson (1962); Sears (1965); Rosen (1961); and Altus (1966). A consideration of the effects of birth order and female occupational behavior can be found in Roe (1956) and Kammeyer (1966).

later born children. It seems unlikely that first born females will be asked to conform to roles as rigidly prescribed as would be the case for later offspring.

Hypothesis Six

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have been the first born in the family.

The central issue here is that opportunities for role differentiation on the basis of sex will vary from family to family. Such opportunities would obviously be limited in families in which all siblings are female.

Hypothesis Seven

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have been brought up in families with all female siblings.

Role modeling is but one aspect of the socialization process. Through direct instruction and the manipulation of rewards and punishments, parents typically attempt to provide their children with value orientations similar to their own. As Caplow (1954:214) pointed out, parental values are an important determining factor in the children's occupational selection. Generally, then, we would expect parents with non-traditional values to encourage their children to seek non-traditional occupations. One crude indication of parental values would be their educational attainment. Most of the evidence indicates that the greater the

education, the more likely the parents are to encourage non-traditional values.⁷ Tangri (1972) provided direct evidence of a positive relationship of both mother's education and father's education and daughter's "role innovation."

Hypothesis Eight

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have had mothers with high educational achievement.

Hypothesis Nine

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have had fathers with high educational achievement.

There has been a tendency, in the socialization literature, to neglect the child's active part in her own socialization. Denzin (1970), following Mead, has suggested, for example, that a child's game and play activity is not simply a dependent variable, an outcome of parental treatment. It is also an important independent variable in its own right, in that through games and play, independent of family socialization, children construct their own social worlds.⁸ So, for example, we would predict that non-traditional play, participation

⁷See, for example, Lipsitz (1965) and Kohn (1969).

⁸For empirical research on the differences in game preference for male and female children, see Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith (1960; 1962) and Sutton-Smith and Roberts (1964).

in non-traditional games, will encourage non-traditional values and self definitions. This, of course, is supported by a variety of empirical studies.

Hypothesis Ten

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have engaged in non-traditional play and game activity.

Role Models

Working Mothers

Hypothesis One

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have had working mothers than are women in traditional occupations.

As Table 4-1 indicates, three of the selected occupations were virtually identical in terms of the percentages of their mothers who had, at one time or another, worked. This was the case for about 60 per cent of the pharmacists, policewomen, and registered nursing assistants. Teachers depart from the other three occupations in the predicted direction. Women in this traditional occupation had 16 per cent fewer mothers who had worked. Nevertheless, as is evident, the percentage difference is small and the hypothesis is not at all supported by the data on mothers of registered nursing assistants. We must conclude, then, that the hypothesis

TABLE 4-1
MATERNAL EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS OF WOMEN
IN FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Period of Maternal Employment	Occupations									
	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		Nursing Assistants		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mothers who were never employed	12	41.0	15	56.0	12	40.0	10	40.0	49	44.1
Mothers who had been employed	17	59.0	12	44.0	18	60.0	15	60.0	62	55.9
Totals	29	100	27	100	30	100	25	100	111	100

$\chi^2 = 1.1$; D.f. = 3; $P < .75$ Not Significant

Note: Ordinal measures of association were computed for the data in Tables 4-1 to 6-6, controlling for occupation and age. The results reported in Appendix 6, pp. 290-306, indicate that these controls do not change our findings.

is not supported by the data. Nevertheless, the data in Table 4-1 provide no information on when, in the socialization of the child, the mother worked.

Hypothesis Two

Women in non-traditional jobs are more likely to have had mothers working during critical periods in the child's socialization than are women in traditional occupations.

There is at least one area of consensus on child socialization: the mother's presence is most important during the child's early years, specifically around the ages of three and four (Tiller, 1971:94; Rutter, 1972:123; Hoffman, 1973:212-213, Nye and Hoffman, 1963:22-24). We would predict, then, that the mothers of women in non-traditional occupations would have been more likely than mothers of women in traditional occupations to have worked continuously or at least prior to their children's entrance into elementary school.

As Table 4-2 indicates, the occupations vary in essentially the predicted direction. "Non-traditional mothers" were somewhat more likely to have worked prior to their children's entrance into elementary school. The differences are not so marked when considering continuous employment. The mothers of policewomen were most likely to have worked continuously, but only slightly more than pharmacists and registered nursing assistants. Again, in both cases, the greatest difference exists between teachers and the other three occupations.

TABLE 4-2

THE PERIOD OF MATERNAL EMPLOYMENT FOR WOMEN
IN FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Period of Maternal Employment	Occupations									
	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		Nursing Assistants		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Before the child entered elemen- tary school	9	31.0	5	18.5	9	30.0	7	28.0	30	27.0
While the child was in elemen- tary school	10	34.0	9	33.3	12	40.0	10	40.0	41	36.9
While the child was in high school	14	48.0	11	40.7	17	56.7	13	52.0	55	49.5
After the child finished high school	14	48.0	11	40.7	16	53.3	13	52.0	54	48.6
Mothers who were employed in all four periods	7	24.0	4	14.8	8	26.7	6	24.0	25	22.5
Total number of correspondents	29		27		30		25		111	

Because of the small percentage differences and the unwillingness of the mothers of the registered nursing assistants to conform to the hypothesis, we must conclude, though with reluctance, that the hypothesis is not supported by the data.

Hypothesis Three

Women in non-traditional jobs are more likely to have had mothers working in non-traditional occupational areas.

The categories of traditional and non-traditional occupations represent an attempt to capture a static view of social definitions undergoing rapid change. Because of these dramatic changes, not only in the subjective definitions of various occupations, but also in their formal requirements and descriptions, common sense typifications do not provide a reliable basis for classification. Instead, we used as the basis for distinguishing between traditional and non-traditional occupations of the respondents' mothers, the proportion of women working in the occupation as reported in the 1961 census data. Thus, even for occupations undergoing great change, such data should allow us to distinguish to some degree between those mothers who are among the "pioneers" in a changing occupation and those who have followed after other women have laid the groundwork. Occupations comprised of more than 50 per cent women were classified as traditional; those with fewer than

50 per cent women were classified as non-traditional.

Even with this rather "generous" operational definition of non-traditional occupations, as the data in Table 4-3 indicate, few of the mothers of our entire sample could be so classified. Teachers had the greatest percentage of non-traditional working mothers, contrary to our prediction. The mothers of pharmacists were more likely to hold such jobs than was the case for either policewomen or the nurses. The percentages for policewomen and nurses was virtually identical.

Obviously these findings were influenced by the small numbers of mothers engaged in non-traditional occupations. In fact, if we eliminate from this category mothers who were co-owners with their husbands of small businesses, we would be left with very few indeed. Nevertheless, and again, the data obviously do not support the hypothesis.

Discussion

The conclusion to be drawn from these data would appear to be that mothers' occupational behavior is not an important determining factor in daughters' occupations selection. This conclusion, in fact, is supported by the respondents' subjective descriptions of their mothers' employment. For example, the researcher was struck by the difficulties experienced by many of the respondents

TABLE 4-3

THE OCCUPATIONS OF THE MOTHERS OF WOMEN
IN FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Occupation of Mother	Occupations									
	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		Nursing Assistants		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Traditional	14	82	9	75	17	94	14	93	54	87
Non-traditional	3 ⁺	18	3*	25	1 ⁻	6	1 ^o	7	8	13
Totals	17	100	12	100	18	100	15	100	62	100

Notation:

+Co-owner of hardware store, manager of laundry, owner of a drapery store.

*Co-owner of antique store, telegraph operator, owner of real estate business.

⁻Telegraph operator.

^oCarpenter.

$\chi^2 = 3.07$; D.f. = 3; $P < .40$ Not Significant

in all categories in describing, sometimes even recalling, their mothers' occupations. This was not the case, on the other hand, in their recollections of their fathers' occupations.⁹ A major reason for this appears to be the attitudes which the women imputed to their mothers regarding their work. Many of the women stated directly that though their mothers had jobs they did not like work in general or their job in particular.

Dianne P.:¹⁰ She [mother] didn't particularly like working. Scrubbing floors is not that interesting. I don't even think she was even that fond of working in any job. I wouldn't call her a dedicated career woman. I think she would have rather stayed at home and puttered around.

Dorma N.: It wasn't so much that she enjoyed working but that it was a necessity. You had to make the best of that kind of situation. Who could enjoy working in a canning factory?

Carla O.: She didn't particularly want to work. I don't think there was anything she wanted to do . . .

Sara T.: She wasn't sure if she wanted to work or not. She thought she would just try it . . . She only worked for financial reasons. She would not have wanted to work at that kind of job for any other reason. She didn't choose to go out and do that kind of work.

One respondent seems to have captured particularly

⁹This is an important issue which is discussed in a later section of this chapter. See pp. 120-135.

¹⁰For convenience, the letters following the respondent's fictitious names will denote their occupations: P--pharmacist; O--policewoman; T--elementary teacher; and N--registered nursing assistant.

well these more general attitudes towards mothers' employment.

Marie P.: In a way that is a hard question to answer. As far as I know, there was no indication in anything she said to me or in the things she did to imply that she had any desire to work. Nor did she convey any impression of anything she wanted to do. My mother worked before we were born. I could not tell you just how long before she was married that she worked. But I do know that once she got married she quit. Nor did she want to work.

Of course, not all the respondents were as explicit in describing their mothers' attitudes to work. In fact, it was more typical for them to describe their mothers' employment in terms of economic necessity, with the obvious implication that work was an activity that the mothers did not or would not freely choose.

Jane P.: My mother worked full time and that was somewhat unique. But when you first come to a new country you do unique things. Survival was the most important thing. You did whatever you could do. So she went to school when she was as old as I am today and became a laboratory technician. She took the course, did well and then helped in the economic area.

Dianne P.: My mother has always had to work. It was just a case of economic necessity. She scrubbed floors for the first few years. That was the easiest job to get into. Eventually her English got better and she gained a bit more confidence; she took an office job. My father would work in the evenings, mother would work in the daytime. I guess that was why they worked split shifts so that there would be someone to look after me. At first we needed the money. Later when she got the office job, the money was nice and the work was easier. They were always concerned with their economic security. Money is always a preoccupation when you have nothing to start with.

Samantha N.: Well, I remember missing her. I remember her being away and my father looking after me. My father had to make the meal and we had boiled eggs all the time. That was all he could cook. After the depression my father was able to get back to work and the meals improved. But my mother stayed at work as much as she could. Times were very tough then. My mother always seemed to be able to get a job. I suspect that the main reason was that she worked for smaller wages than my father would have taken.

Penny N.: My mother was working from when I was in the second grade . . . It more or less got to the point where she had to work. I don't think it had much of an effect on us kids.

Frequently, the respondents explained their mothers' employment with reference to their fathers' unemployment. In some cases, for example, the fathers had been unable to find work, or had been incapacitated, or perhaps were no longer at home.

Donna O.: Mother worked. She worked as a house-cleaner and then became a door-to-door sales-woman for some corset company. She still swears by the brand. I use them myself. All through school I knew she worked. The reason, of course, was to help with the normal expenses and the purchases of the necessities, particularly with my father off from any form of employment. She didn't work when we were not in school but as soon as I started, at about six or seven, off she went.

Charlene O.: My mother does work. She is a private secretary and a stenographer. Since coming to Canada she has worked for eighteen years and she has worked full time. In the beginning she worked for money. Dad was having trouble finding work and when he did the income was not what it should be with all the expenses they were having in the country being immigrants and that sort of thing.

Carla O.: The main reason she worked was my father's

sickness. Naturally we had to have the money from somewhere . . . She never really got that type of opportunity or education. There were just the bills.

Tracey O.: Father was never at home. I don't remember anything much about him. I couldn't even tell you what he did or anything about his level of education. Of course my mother worked. What choice was there? Someone had to raise my sister and I.

Not all of the respondents, however, describe their mothers' employment in such negative terms. Teachers, in particular, were likely to say that their mothers enjoyed work. Nevertheless, their responses seem to reveal at the same time that this "enjoyment" of work was something other than a career commitment. Rather, their comments indicated that work meant something rather different to their mothers than careers meant to their fathers. In fact, these data indicate that mothers' employment must be seen in rather traditionally "feminine" terms. The respondents who claimed their mothers enjoyed their work typically interpreted this enjoyment in one of three ways: an escape from the boredom of housework, a chance of meeting "new and interesting" people, or simply one of many activities which comprise the "well-rounded woman." In no case did the respondent suggest that the particular kind of work the mother did, that is, her career itself, brought the mother pleasure or satisfaction.

Dorothy P.: She was working and in those days it

wasn't done. In her own way she was liberated. She didn't like housework. She only went to high school. I remember asking her why she didn't go on and she only could say they didn't do it in those days. My mother is working now. For a few years she didn't. That could have had some effect on my disposition. I know she was happier working. She didn't like to stay at home. She doesn't like housekeeping.

Julie T.: Mother enjoys working. She worked part-time when we were in elementary school doing odd jobs. It was a necessity with them, just coming to a new country, but she also did it because she enjoyed it. One of us kids would stay at home and look after the house when she was out and at work. She just didn't like to stay at home all day.

April T.: You know, well, mostly it gave her a chance to meet people, to be with people. That's important to her.

Deborah O.: We didn't really need the money from the work in the park but we enjoyed working together . . . We were a very closely knit family and we really enjoyed the work together.

Janet P.: My father has retired and my mother now enjoys working. It gives her a chance to get out of the house. She is a clerk in a jewelry store now and worked as a clerk before she was married. She didn't work when I was growing up or while I was in school. My mother was the typical housewife. She was very active in organizations. She belonged to at least six or eight clubs, rotaries, voluntary work at the C.N.I.B., church activities, local circles here and there about this and that.

Mary Lou T.: She would come down on Friday and do the payroll. When they were short, Mom would come down for a couple of days. Mom is a member of five or six bridge clubs. She is the head of her church group. She is close to becoming the Regent of the I.O.D.E. Mother will volunteer for everything and anything.

Laura T.: I was in high school during the war time and she sometimes did housework on a part-time

basis. She always found outlets for her tremendous energy. She should have been a press agent. She is constantly on the telephone organizing and promoting this or that activity.

The last two passages raise a rather interesting point. When the respondents felt that their mothers worked for reasons other than economic security, they typically couched their explanations in dispositional terms. They were unlikely to say that "it is natural for a woman to work." They were more likely to say that their mothers were unique, "full of energy," "real Trojans."¹¹

Pauline O.: But there is no way my mother would stop working . . . My mother is the typical ball of fire type; having to be on the go all the time.

Louise P.: Yes, my mother worked and loved it . . . She is a real Trojan. She will work until three in the morning and then get up at eight the following day and then be right back at it. That same perfection is in everything she does around the house. Everything she does is done precisely, not a speck of dust in the place. If there is one thing which I remember about my mother it is the fact that she is constantly working.

Joyce T.: She is a fantastic woman. She was working when I was in school but my younger brother was still at home, yet she worked. She even managed part-time work when I was still at home. I look back now and I think she is indeed a unique person. She is just one of those kinds of people who is very good at everything. . . .

¹¹Attribution theory has been focused on how people impute explanations for others' behavior. They have distinguished primarily between internal or dispositional attributions and external or environmental attributions. We have found this distinction to be useful. For a review of this literature see Rotter (1966).

The qualitative data presented in this section seem to suggest not that the role modeling of the daughters is unimportant, but rather that role modeling is not as simple and direct as the literature would have it. The respondents did more than simply observe their mothers' working behavior; they also imputed work attitudes to their mothers. It is the combination of work behavior and work attitudes which constituted for these daughters the role of working mother. One of the respondents herself captures this point rather nicely.

Dorma N.: My mother's working really didn't have that much of an effect on me. It depends on the attitude of the mother. Her attitude was important.

Given this rather more complex view of role modeling, it does appear that modeling did have its effects. However, what the respondents seem to take from their working mother's role was not a specific direction to aid occupational selection, but rather a sense of the benefits of work in general.

Beverly P.: That career orientation of my mother definitely had an effect on me. At twelve I was out working. I had a paper route, actually I was younger than that and I had a paper route.

Dorothy P.: I remember that my mother was not working for a while and I kept asking myself what is she doing with herself.

Linda T.: My mother worked in the business. She was the bookkeeper. She was very much in favor of work. She wanted her daughter to have some independence of her own.

Dianne P.: Indirectly, I suppose my mother's working had some effect. I saw that mothers had to work. Secondly if you were going to work you might as well work at something which would pay better than scrubbing floors. My mother certainly had her ups and downs and there was no guarantee that my husband would live for ever. It is wise for a woman to have a certain amount of security in her own ability instead of depending on her husband. I suppose that was something I definitely learned from my mother.

Nancy P.: But for economic reasons that is just not possible. I suppose she has the same attitude that I have, work is my second career, my family is my first.

In more pragmatic terms, a few respondents indicated that their mothers' employment "paved the way" for their daughters' entering the job market.

Jane P.: With the work around the house my mother did amazingly well. My father would always be watching, making sure there was no let-down so as to give himself any ground whatever to present as an argument against her working. But she took care of everything. His opposition remained more and more passive as he became more and more adjusted to the idea of my mother working. He found in later years that over time, the best years were those years when my mother worked. It was a terrific battle for my mother. In those early days it was the gravest of insults that the husband was not able to support the family. My mother's battle made the way for me.

The central point is that working mothers may be seen by their daughters to be traditional, even those working in non-traditional occupations. For example, one mother, a carpenter, seemed to provide her daughter with a rather traditional role model.

Samantha N.: I don't know how she ever got into something like that. She just went to the

unemployment office. She had her picture in the paper and everything. The men in the steel company were just ribbing my dad. "Who wears the pants in your family, _____?" My mother didn't last too long after that article. Now she is back home.

To this respondent, her mother had not carved out for herself a place in a typically male occupation; she had "happened upon" the job, a job which was obviously secondary to her family.

Just as working mothers seem often to present traditional role models, it may be that non-working mothers often present non-traditional role models. It is to the role differentiation within the family, then, that we now turn.

Familial Role Differentiation I

Hypothesis Four

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have been brought up in families indicating non-traditional role differentiation.

Familial role differentiation is not easily quantifiable. In order to distinguish between traditional and non-traditional role differentiation, we asked our respondents themselves to characterize the division of labor within their families.¹² Typically, they volunteered their responses using precisely these labels.

¹²Family in this section refers to the family of origin.

In common sense terms, it seems likely that most people would attach the label "traditional" to those families in which the mother's "duties" were seen as broadly involving physical comfort and emotional support,

ministering to the needs of others, cooking, . . .
The husband-father role is instrumental, i.e.,
task-oriented and emotion-inhibited . . . , and
the wife-mother role is customarily more expressive,
i.e., emotional, nurturant, responsible.

(Mussen, 1965:708)

. . . [Men] have greater authority . . . [and] are
generally assigned the physically strenuous,
dangerous tasks. . . .

(Mussen, 1965:707)

In explaining their classification of familial role differentiation, our respondents spoke in virtually the same Parsonian (1955) terms.

As well, the respondents were asked which of their parents had the authority in making "important family decisions," in an attempt to elicit who, to them, was the family authority figure.

As the data in Table 4-4 indicate, registered nursing assistants were the most likely (36%) and police-women least likely (14.8%) to characterize the role differentiation within their families as non-traditional. Moreover, the pharmacists contributed to the demise of our predicted relationship as they were the least likely to describe their mothers as the family authority figure. Both dimensions, then, suggest that the hypothesis is not confirmed by the data.

TABLE 4-4

THE DIVISION OF LABOR IN THE FAMILY OF ORIGIN
FOR THE FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Domestic Responsibilities	Occupations									
	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		Nursing Assistants		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Traditional	21	72	21	78	23	85	16	64	81	75
Non-traditional	8	28	6	22	4	15	9	36	27	25
Totals	29	100	27	100	27*	100	25	100	108	100

Notation:

*With policewomen there were three families in which the father was not present in the home. These three cases were excluded from the table.

$\chi^2 = 3.30$; D.f. = 3; $P < .40$ Not Significant

Discussion

Denise O.: Although mother worked it didn't have much effect on our family. She was the daughter of a Scottish minister and was very much attached to traditions. The house was her responsibility. My father just sat in the corner and played the bag-pipes or smoked his pipe like an English lord.

Predictably, few of the respondents characterized their families' division of labor and authority as non-traditional. Whether their mothers worked or not, the respondents described their families as traditional on these dimensions. Mother's working did not free her from the responsibilities of "ministering to the needs of others and cooking." This was the case for the mothers of respondents in all four categories.

Janice P.: We had a traditional family. My mother is a phenomenon, a perfection in the kitchen. I don't know how to cook, I never really wanted to learn. Even my father only went into the kitchen once to teach my mother to make a dressing, her only weakness. In a sense my father helped with the cooking and mastered the dressing situation but that was the extent of his activity in the house. In the garage, however, he was the king. It was mother's house and father's garage.

Louise P.: My mother's perfection in housework managed to get me out of a lot of housework and things like that. She wanted things done only the correct way. If I wouldn't do it that way, I was dismissed and she did it. I do some of my own sewing now but if I want anything done well I go to her and say "I really want this done well." That disqualified me and off she goes on the little job.

Julie T.: Even now, when she is working full time she still manages to get home before we do. While we were in school she would leave for work

after we left for school and she was there when we returned in the evenings. You really didn't notice that she was gone. . . .

Iris T.: My mother worked as a secretary in the 1920's before she was married. Once she was married she had six children, two sets of twins and four and a half years between the oldest and the youngest. She worked. Still my mother was solely responsible for the children and the care of the inside. . . .

Robert O.: Mother worked and Dad put up with it. She was responsible for all the little inside things. Father could be coerced into doing the dishes once in a while but Mother pretty much took care of everything.

Deborah O.: The division of labor around the house was somewhat traditional. Father cut the lawn and did the handy-work around the house. Mother did most of the housework.

Penny N.: My mom always found time somehow or somewhere to look after us and to talk to us when we needed it. It certainly didn't change my father's behavior around the house.

Lona N.: I don't think my mother's working had any effect. She was always home when we were. I remember before that she would do sewing at home. She made doll clothes for a factory at home. When she went out to work nothing much changed. She wasn't there at lunch time but that was the only difference. The school wasn't very far from where she worked. That made it easy for her to get home when we would be getting out of school. Even though my mother was working, she was still responsible for everything around the house. My father was very traditional about that sort of thing. He wasn't too happy that my mother had to work and he was careful that she kept up her end of the household things, which incidentally was to look after everything.

While the daughters of working mothers were somewhat more likely to claim that their mothers took an active part in decision making, particularly in the area

of discipline, but also in economic matters, it seems clear that ultimate authority still rested with the father.

Charlene O.: All the financial decisions were talked over and decided on a joint basis. If things got too far out of hand, Father usually took care of things.

Roberta O.: Mother handles the discipline. She wasn't the type to say wait until Dad gets home. She handed it out on the spot. But if things got completely out of hand, Father was always there.

Donna O.: They both handled the authority. The little and constant things were handled by Mother. She was usually around. Father was the seat of ultimate authority. He was a very strict and religious man. I was very definitely afraid and at times terrified of him.

Crystal T.: Little things Mother, big things Father. If Father was called in, wow, you knew something was really wrong.

When mothers' working created difficulties in completing household work, fathers were less likely to be asked to help than were the children, particularly female children.

Coleen O.: The division of labor was definitely traditional. My mother and us kids did all the housework. My father was just too tired when he got in.

Margaret P.: It never really bothered me having my mother out of the house that much. I had a list of chores to look after. My mother was at home for the meals and in many ways, that is all that is important.

Claudia N.: It made my mother very dependent on us children. We had to take the responsibility around the house. We had to do all the shopping and all the traditional things around the house.

Karen T.: I would think my family was traditional. My father didn't cook or help with the laundry or anything like that. My sisters and I helped my mother mostly. I was brought up a very strict and traditional little girl.

Marilyn N.: When I was growing up I was responsible for the younger kids in the family. We had a European family. The boys were favored. They did not have to do any work around the house. My father was the head of the family and my mother was the housekeeper.

Patricia T.: My grandmother also lived at home and she was responsible for a lot of the activities around the house. I would help her. Once and a while I would help my father but most of the time I would be working around the inside of the house. Once and a while my brother would get involved in the dishes but only at the point of a gun. He certainly would skip out of it when he could. But there was a definite feeling that girls would do certain things and that boys would do certain things. . . .

Ironically, the daughters of working mothers were very likely to be asked to perform traditional female activities.

Even those respondents who characterized their familial role differentiation as non-traditional rarely meant anything as dramatic as parental role reversal. Rather, they generally made this classification on the basis that their fathers had contributed in one or two "traditionally female activities." Fathers had helped out, rather than taken over.

Charlene O.: With both of them working they had a common arrangement. Dad did the floor-washing and polishing. He was even known to clean a dish or two.

Joyce T.: The division of labor was not traditional.

My father always made the morning breakfast. My mother would always be the slow one to wake up. My father always got up at six regardless of when he went to bed and my mother was more of a night person. Dad would be responsible for getting the day going. That pattern still exists today. But he would never do a dish or anything else around the house. He was a very specialized housekeeper.

It is interesting that, just as many of the respondents felt that it was necessary to explain their mothers' working in terms of their mothers' unique disposition or economic necessity, they tended to explain their fathers' participation in household duties in terms of their "special aptitudes"--for gourmet cooking, say--or "household necessity." Typically, mothers' "health problems" created this necessity.

Louise P.: Father did a lot of work around the house. My mother, along with all the work she did, also was very sick. She has a chronic health problem, a serious nervous condition, and many other little things. Because she was sick a lot, Father had to do a great deal of the housework and things like that. He did the grocery shopping and still does. There is no meal he cannot cook and I can remember seeing him many times, cleaning the house, ironing the laundry and other things.

Lorraine O.: Because of my mother's illness, my father did all kinds of things around the house, scrubbing the floors, washing the dishes, doing the laundry, all that sort of thing. He was very good about it, almost enjoyed it. He was very family centered.

That the respondents felt that it was necessary to explain their fathers' participation in household tasks may indicate they defined it as inappropriate. It seems,

as well, that many of the fathers attempted to "disown" these activities, or, in Goffman's (1961) terms, they manifested "role distance."

Louise P.: He used to joke that he had the cleanest wash in town and he probably did. This had something of a reverse effect when I was young. In high school I felt that my father had been had, that he was picked on or taken advantage of. Lately, I have experienced something of a return to an appreciation of how great his participation was. Strangely enough, my husband has been spoiled in that respect. He does absolutely nothing around the house and I let him get away with it, but he still is spoiled. [emphasis added]

Samantha N.: So she worked and he stayed at home. Everything stayed the same except Dad was always around the house. He would try to help but he was just not any good at it. He would wash the dishes and it would take him an hour and they would still be dirty. My mother would do it in ten minutes and it would be a good job as well. After he finally got a job, it was easier for us all if he just stayed out of the kitchen.

Perhaps this latter father's being "not any good at it" was his way of saying he was not the type of person who did this type of thing.

In reporting the effects of the role differentiation in their families, the daughters of working mothers typically responded that it simply reinforced in them an awareness of the importance of their familial obligations.

Dale N.: The division of labor in my own house is almost the exact same as that I grew up in. Even though I am still working, I am in charge of most of everything. My husband helps sometimes, but the final responsibility is mine. With shifts, he makes his own meals but I have to have it

prepared in the refrigerator. That was exactly the way it was with my mother working.

Penny N.: I don't think her working ever bothered me. The only time I can really say it did was when I was in the fifth or sixth grade. I didn't do too great on my examinations and my dad started bawling me out. I told him it was because my mother went back to work when I was too young. Well, see she was home all the time and I was the youngest when she went back. All the rest of the kids had her home longer.

Carla N.: But there were some things which were not changed by my mother working. My father was still the boss. Mother still had to look after the house and see that we children took care of our jobs. I guess if you stop to think about it, my mother's working didn't change things that much. It made us a lot more independent. I guess I have tried to protect my daughter from the pressures I felt from the responsibilities I had as a child. I guess I have spoiled her a little. I don't think it did me any harm. I just wouldn't like her to have to do the same thing.

Margaret P.: You know, I'm here most of the day and that makes a difference to my children.

It seems that the daughters of working mothers learned that they could work and still perform the traditional duties of a wife, perhaps with some help from the children, and in extreme situations, just a little help from the husband.

The daughters of non-working mothers, with one exception, described their familial division of labor as traditional and the father as the authority figure. They were less likely than daughters of working mothers to suggest that their mothers played any part in important

decision making.

Gail O.: He was the authority; Mother was the one you could go to to talk.

Phyllis O.: Dad was a super W.A.S.P. You didn't mess with him. He sat in his chair and ruled supreme. Mother scurried about and did the housework. My father's favorite strategy was silence. When he was silent you knew there was trouble afoot.

Rhoda N.: My father had rather strong opinions about women working and in particular my mother working. There was no way he was going to have his wife out of the house and he was the boss.

Moreover, they were more likely to describe their mothers as "happy with" or "fulfilled by" their domestic activities.

Bonnie O.: Mother was pretty much happy with the work at home. She was busy enough with the kids. She did all the shopping and housework. Father worked and he expected to relax when he was at home.

Rhoda N.: My mom never worked. She was an old home body. She just loves to be home. . . . My mother was home all the time and constantly cooking, sewing, and cleaning. I was too much on the go to notice it at all. When I got married I had to learn it all over again or rather for the first time. I was given chores to do and to help with the dishes and clean my room and things like that. But I never had to run any house on my own and that took a lot of learning. My father was very traditional. He worked. He worked eight hours a day. He came home and looked after the little male-type chores. He took good care of his family.

Elaine P.: My mother did not work at all, not even before she was married. She was very traditional in that respect. She kept a perfectly immaculate house. She never really wanted to work. She never really wanted to work in any respect and thoroughly enjoyed being a housewife.

Marion N.: I don't think my mother wanted to work. Of course, in those days, women didn't work as much. She married late in life, around thirty I think, and she didn't go out to work after that. The division of labor was that the boys took care of the things outdoors and my sisters and I worked indoors.

The one respondent who had characterized her familial role differentiation as non-traditional provided a rather traditional response.

Lesley P.: My father did a lot of things around the house. You have to remember that in those days it was very different doing the house chores and they usually involved much more work, physically speaking. My father did the washing and the dishes and all that sort of thing. I think, in a very definite way, I resented his doing it. I am now very traditional in my insistence of my doing certain things around the house and would never ask my husband to do any of the things my father did. I get very upset if he does or has to. But my father was very good about that sort of thing.

Nevertheless, most of the respondents seemed to see their mothers' traditional roles as too constraining and inappropriate for contemporary society.

Wanda N.: My mother didn't work. It wasn't permitted. Father came from a very English background. He was not going to have his wife working when he could. She was not allowed to work, he was the bread winner, classic. Now you know how I was brought up. Mother was responsible for the household things, cooking and cleaning and that sort of stuff. We were taught all that "good stuff."

Rhoda N.: Now she is beginning to wonder why she doesn't have her driver's license, why she hasn't some kind of training in this or that. She is going through that change in life when the kids are all grown and out of the nest and she feels useless.

Robin T.: Nobody spoke unless they were spoken to and he was the total lord and master in his home. He made a funny kind of distinction. Inside the home he wanted women who were seen and not heard, but he never expected them to be such outside his home. My mother was at home, therefore she was to remain there. As you can see, things have changed, thank goodness.

Kathleen P.: I could not imagine my mother wanting to work. She was and still is completely tied up in her house. My mother was completely responsible for the family and the running of the household. She was not active outside the home either, which is unfortunate. When my father died, she was left with nothing. She had cultivated no interests or activities outside of her family. It was rather sad. Women of today are much smarter.

In conclusion, the type of familial role differentiation did not seem to influence the respondent's choice of career. For the most part, role differentiation was traditional. Most of the respondents described themselves as traditional wives and mothers. While the daughters of working mothers may have learned that work did not preclude traditional female concerns, the daughters of non-working mothers may have learned that traditional female concerns need not preclude work. In both cases, the women seem to have internalized, as well, the traditional female role.

To this point, we have primarily considered parental role socialization. However, we have indicated that sibling role differentiation may also be important. We now turn, then, to structural features of the family which are likely to produce differential role demands on

the children.

Role Differentiation II

Variables concerned with family structure--sibling order, sibling structure, and the like--are sociological rather than common sense constructs. Social actors do not typically attach significance to these variables. Nevertheless, it may well be that an examination of these variables helps to capture aspects of familial role differentiation which have also escaped the respondents' recollections.

Hypothesis Five

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have been brought up in small families.

As the data in Table 4-5 indicate, pharmacists and teachers were most likely to have come from small families. In fact, 60 per cent of the pharmacists came from families with one or two children. This was the case for 44.4 per cent of the teachers, as opposed to 30 per cent of the policewomen and only 28 per cent of the registered nursing assistants. The R.N.S.'s were the most likely (20%) to come from families with six or more children, followed by policewomen (13.3%), teachers (7.4%), and pharmacists (7%). Therefore, while there does appear to be a relationship in this sample between family size and occupation, the relationship is not in

TABLE 4-5

COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN THE FAMILY OF
ORIGIN FOR FEMALES IN FOUR SELECTED TRADITIONAL
AND NON-TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS

Number of Children	Pharmacists (A)		Teachers (B)		Policewomen (C)		R.N.A.'s (D)		Canadian Average Percentages of Family Size, 1941-1966
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1	5	17.0	4	14.8	1	3.3	2	8.0	21.7
2	14	48.0	8	29.6	8	26.7	5	20.0	19.6
3	3	10.0	6	22.2	8	26.7	6	20.0	12.2
4	4	14.0	3	11.1	8	26.7	3	12.0	6.9
5	1	3.0	4	14.8	1	3.3	4	16.0	3.8
6+	2	7.0	2	7.4	4	13.3	5	20.0	5.4
Totals	29	100	27	100	30	100	25	100	69.6 ^a

a = 30.4 per cent of the families during the selected time intervals did not have any children.

$\chi^2 = 19.27$; D.f. = 15; $P < .20$ Not Significant

the predicted direction.

Hypothesis Six

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have been the first born in the family.

Pharmacists were the most likely to be the first born in their family (Table 4-6). There were 41.4 per cent first born and an additional 17.2 per cent only children. They were followed by teachers (40.7%; 14.7%), registered nursing assistants (32.0%; 8.0%), and police-women (10.0%; 3%). As in Table 4-5, any relationship seems to be based on the professional/service distinction, rather than on the predicted traditional/non-traditional distinction. Pharmacists and teachers are more alike in terms of these variables than are pharmacists and police-women.

Hypothesis Seven

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have been brought up in families with all female siblings.

Again, the professional/service distinction seems to be more important than the traditional/non-traditional distinction. Policewomen and registered nursing assistants were more likely (30% and 28% respectively) to have come from families with an all female sibling structure than were pharmacists (20.6%) and teachers (14.8%) (Table 4-7). However, even this relationship disappears when we

TABLE 4-6

THE SIBLING POSITION IN THE FAMILY OF ORIGIN FOR
WOMEN IN THE FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Sibling Position	Occupations									
	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		Nursing Assistants		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Only Child	5	17.2	4	14.8	1	3.0	2	8.0	12	10.8
Oldest Child	12	41.4	11	40.7	3	10.0	8	32.0	34	30.6
Youngest Child	7	24.1	4	14.8	8	27.0	4	16.0	23	20.7
Other Sibling Position	5	17.2	8	29.6	18	60.0	11	44.0	42	37.8
Totals	29	100	25	100	30	100	25	100	111	99.9

$\chi^2 = 18.71$; D.f. = 9; $P < .05$ Significant

TABLE 4-7

THE SEX STRUCTURE OF THE SIBLING UNIT OF WOMEN
IN THE FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Sex Structure of the Sibling Unit	Occupations									
	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		Nursing Assistants		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Only Child	5	17.2	4	14.8	1	3.0	2	8.0	12	10.8
All Female Sibling Structure	6	20.6	4	14.8	9	30.0	7	28.0	26	23.4
Male and Female Sibling Structure	7	24.1	10	37.0	14	46.0	15	60.0	46	41.4
Respondent as the Only Female in the Sibling Unit	11	37.0	9	33.3	6	20.0	1	4.0	27	24.3
Totals	29	100	27	100	30	100	25	100	111	99.9

$\chi^2 = 16.22$; D.f. = 9; $P < 10$ Not Significant

include "only children." In fact, the original discrepancy is "explained away" by the large number of teachers and pharmacists who were only children.

Discussion

These findings are, at first glance, rather surprising, particularly in the face of the overwhelming amount of apparently contradictory evidence collected by other researchers. For example, Ginsberg (1966), Astin (1969), Rapoport and Rapoport (1971), and Henning (1972) have all found that women who have cast aside traditional definitions of femininity have tended to be only children or the first born. It must be emphasized, however, that all of these studies have focused on the "professional" woman. Our data would seem to indicate that these factors used to account for women who entered predominantly "male" spheres may, in fact, be related to entrance into professional occupations.

That we found no relationship between sex of siblings and female occupational selection may be a function of two competing influences. The women who had been raised in "mixed" sibling structures did comment that they were more likely than their brothers to be asked to perform "women's work." On the other hand, these same women may have, to some extent at least, modeled themselves after their admired brothers. This

is precisely what Koch (1955) found in her study on children between the ages of five and six. Brim (1958) has extended Koch's findings to argue that siblings with opposite sex brothers or sisters will be more likely to develop the sex role behavior of the opposite sex. We, too, have found that the play and game activities¹³ of girls with primarily male companions differ from those with access to female playmates. Our data, however, do seem to suggest that the influence of sibling sex structure is sufficiently complex "that investigators are not likely to come up with any very powerful behavioral-predictor equations" (McCandless, 1968:806-7).

Moreover, the relationship between family structure and occupational selection might be better understood in terms other than role modeling. Abundant empirical evidence documents the inverse relationship, for example, between social class and family size. It seems plausible that professional families are likely to be small families and that these families instill middle class occupational values in the children may be less a function of family size than parental values.

Parental Values

Hypothesis Eight

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely

¹³See below, pp. 137-146.

to have had mothers with high educational achievement.

Hypothesis Nine

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have had fathers with high educational achievement.

There exists a sizeable literature on the persistent relationship between education and value orientations. Lipsitz (1965), for example, has argued that the relationship between social class and authoritarianism can be accounted for almost entirely by educational differences. Kohn (1969) provides evidence for a strong relationship between education and tolerance to non-conformity and receptiveness to innovation and change. He demonstrates, as well, a similar relationship between education and parental values, specifically whether parents value "self direction" or "conformity" in their children. Simply, the greater the education the more likely are the parents to be tolerant of non-conformity, receptive to change, and encouraging of self-direction in their children.

Pharmacists were the most likely (20.6%) to have had mothers with at least some post-secondary education (Table 4-8). They are followed by teachers (14.8%), R.N.A.'s (8%) and, finally, policewomen (3.3%). As the data in Table 4-9 indicate, pharmacists were also the most likely (37.9%) to have had fathers with at least some post-secondary education. They were followed by

TABLE 4-8

MOTHERS' EDUCATION FOR THE MATERNAL ANCESTRY OF
FEMALES IN FOUR TRADITIONAL AND
NON-TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS

Levels of Education	Pharmacists (A)		Teachers (B)		Policewomen (C)		R.N.A.'s (D)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Some post-secondary education	6	20.6	4	14.8	1	3.3	2	8.0
High school graduate (grades 12 and 13)	7	24.1	7	25.9	10	33.3	5	20.0
Some high school (grades 9-11)	7	24.1	7	25.9	11	36.7	7	28.0
Public school	9	27.6	9	33.3	8	26.7	11	44.0
Totals	29	100	27	100	30	100	25	100

$\chi^2 = 7.59$; D.f. = 9; $P < .70$ Not Significant

TABLE 4-9

FATHERS' EDUCATION FOR FEMALES IN FOUR TRADITIONAL
AND NON-TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS

Levels of Education	Pharmacists (A)		Teachers (B)		Policewomen (C)		R.N.A.'s (D)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Some post-secondary education	11	37.9	8	29.6	1	3.3	0	---
High school graduate (grade 12 and 13)	4	13.8	6	22.2	5	17.9	3	12.5
Some high school (grades 9-11)	8	27.6	2	7.4	9	32.1	5	20.8
Public school	6	20.7	11	40.7	13	46.0	16	66.7
Totals	29	100	27	100	28	100	24	100

 $\chi^2 = 37.20$; D.f. = 9; $P < .001$ Significant

teachers (29.6%), policewomen (3.3%), and registered nursing assistants, none of whose fathers had gone beyond high school.

It would appear that respondents whose parents had achieved at least some post-secondary education were the most likely to select professional occupations, though parental education did not seem to influence respondents' selection of occupations along the traditional non-traditional continuum. This persistent relationship, already remarked upon, between what might be termed social class variables and occupational selection demands an exploration of variables not included in our original hypotheses. Specifically, we explored the relationship between fathers' occupation and daughters' occupational selection.

To categorize fathers' occupations we relied on Blishen's (1967) prestige scores. Again we find that the women in the professional occupations were most likely to have had fathers whose occupations were in the highest status categories (Table 4-10). Similarly the average status scores for fathers' occupation were highest for pharmacists (52.27%) and teachers (49.76%) and lowest for policewomen (39.69%) and registered nursing assistants (35.44%).

TABLE 4-10

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF BLISHEN SOCIAL PRESTIGE
SCORES FOR THE OCCUPATIONS OF THE FATHERS OF
WOMEN IN FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Status Categories	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		R.N.A.'s	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0-19	0	----	0	----	0	----	0	----
20-39	9	32.1	9	36.0	17	65.4	13	65.0
40-59	10	35.7	6	24.0	7	26.9	7	35.0
60-79	9	32.1	10	40.0	2	7.7	0	----
Totals	28	99.9	25	100	26	100	24	100
Range of Scores	(29.71-75.57)		(28.03-75.41)		(27.01-72.28)		(20.22-49.55)	
Average Score	52.27		49.76		39.69		35.44	

$\chi^2 = 19.30$; D.f. = 6; $P < .01$ Significant

In considering the "intrusion" of social class into our study, we recognized that differences among the occupations may have been concealed by our failure to control for social class. However, an examination of the women within any single status category failed to reveal any patterns based on our hypotheses substantially different from those reported. Although the numbers were too small to warrant any strong conclusion, it did not appear that the variable of social class was in fact "hiding" the influence of the posited variables.¹⁴ However, an examination of the lowest status category did reveal one fairly clear pattern.¹⁵ As the data in Table 4-11 indicate, the low status fathers of pharmacists (85.7%) and teachers (69.2%) were far more likely to have been immigrants to Canada than were the low status fathers of policewomen (22.7%) and registered nursing assistants (26.3%). This suggests some interesting possibilities. It may be, for example, as

¹⁴To take one example, many of the mothers in the low status categories had worked while their daughters were young. This was the case for all four occupations.

¹⁵The numbers in the high status category were far too small to allow meaningful comparisons, particularly for the policewomen and registered nursing assistants.

TABLE 4-11

THE LOW STATUS OCCUPATIONS AND IMMIGRANT STATUS OF
FATHERS FOR WOMEN IN FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Immigrant Status	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		R.N.A.'s	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Immigrant								
British	2	14.3	2	15.4	5	22.7	5	26.3
European	8	71.4	5	38.4	--	--	--	--
Other	--	--	2	15.4	--	--	--	--
Non-immigrant	2	14.3	4	30.8	17	77.3	14	73.7
Totals	14	100	13	100	22	100	19	100

$\chi^2 = 43.57$, D.f. = 9; $P < .001$ Significant

Richardson (1976) suggests in his study of mobility in Britain, that the pharmacists and teachers were not so much upwardly mobile intergenerationally as were their fathers downwardly mobile intragenerationally.¹⁶ That is, although we can only speculate, immigrant fathers may have "sunk" in status upon their immigration to Canada (see Tepperman, 1975:150). On the other hand, the low status fathers of policewomen and registered nursing assistants may typically represent a more stable lower class. If this were the case, we would expect the lower status fathers of pharmacists and teachers to be more likely to instill in their daughters the "middle class" values regarding the importance of education and career.¹⁷ This is precisely what our qualitative data indicate.

Discussion

The most important conclusion to be drawn from

¹⁶For a discussion of the so called "sunken middle class" see Jackson and Marsden (1966:67-70).

¹⁷This suggests the importance of considering both objective and subjective dimensions of social class, an issue beyond the scope of this study.

this data is that social class variables seem to be more important in determining our respondents' occupational orientations than were our hypothesized sex-role variables. This conclusion is supported by our respondents' subjective accounts of the influence of their parents' values.

One striking and surprising feature of these qualitative data was the frequency with which respondents in all categories cited their fathers' occupational values as a more important determinant of their occupational selection than their mothers' occupational values. Fathers influenced the respondents in professional occupations in a rather different way than the fathers of respondents in service occupations. The fathers of professionals encouraged their daughters to pursue their education and commit themselves to a professional career.

Nancy P.: Since I was a very small child, my father wanted me to be a professional. He didn't specify which occupation I should take, but it definitely had to be a professional and secure choice.

Dianne P.: My father was very involved in the selection of my career. He was going to be sure that I didn't make any mistakes. I personally didn't have strong feelings myself on the matter of a specific career. First I wanted to be a nurse, but he thought I should set my sights a little higher. I discussed the whole area with both of my parents, but perhaps more so with my

father. He took a lot of pride in directing my education, more so than my mother, although she was certainly interested.

Heather P.: My father sort of steered me towards pharmacy. We were a university oriented and professionally focused family. The idea was planted at a very early age that getting an education and making something of ourselves was our goal.

Kathleen P.: My father thought it was a very good profession for a woman. He was very anxious for me to go to university. That is why I picked pharmacy. He also wanted me to have something with which I could say, I am a doctor, I am a pharmacist, I am a dentist when I graduated. He was not interested in my taking any kind of arts course. As far as education was concerned, it was my father who was the big punch there. My mother didn't indicate an opinion one way or the other in that respect.

Lesley P.: My father had a university degree and he was strong in his insistence we all get a university education and a good profession. My mother supported that position in a less vigorous way.

Patricia T.: When I finished high school, my father said I had to go to university and after that I could decide what I wanted to be. I went to university and majored in the sciences. It wasn't a very popular area for girls when I was at university, I think there were only three girls in the whole science section.

Geraldine T.: They did lean a little towards the university idea.

Mary Lou T.: Although I hated my father for it [getting a higher education] at the time, I have never been able to tell him how grateful I am. I am still in it after nine years.

Wendy T.: My father had plans for me. I didn't do what I was supposed to do. He wanted me to be a doctor. My sister went to university for two years and then switched to an arts college. Father wasn't happy about that at all. She is back in university now. I don't have any idea

what she will become and neither does she. But that wasn't important. For Father all is well, she is back in university.

The fathers of pharmacists and teachers, then, provided them with general occupational orientations--the importance of an education and a professional career. Rarely did they specify the occupation of pharmacy or teaching, though this did happen somewhat more frequently for the fathers of teachers.

Robin T.: My father was about to pop his vest buttons when I mentioned I was going into teaching. Even though teaching isn't held up as a very honorable profession in North America, it certainly was in the country he came from. He also would have been very happy if I could have continued in university and supported myself.

Carolyn T.: I had a large number of relatives who are in teaching. Cousins, uncles, aunts, and all kinds of them. That was one of the reasons that my father decided that teaching was a good occupation for his child. The whole family just seemed to lean towards that, I guess. My father was so insistent because he thought that teaching was one of the few good jobs for a woman.

Brenda T.: I decided to become a teacher when I was very young. I can't remember any time when I wasn't thinking about it. Of course my father was very important in that. He was very in love with teaching and that had a tremendous effect on me.

Doreen T.: My parents were very happy about the teaching. There was only one profession for a girl in their minds and that was teaching. They were most satisfied when I decided to go into it.

Two pharmacists, as well, indicated that their fathers had helped to direct them to pharmacy. In both cases, it appears that the fathers had suggested that

"higher" professions might be a "tough grind" for women. They warned their daughters of the possibilities of prejudice and discrimination if they entered at the higher rungs of, say, the medical profession.

In any case, these fathers as well emphasized education and profession and were only secondarily concerned, according to their daughters, with finding "sex appropriate" careers. This emphasis on education and career is not surprising, given the large number of the fathers who had themselves held high status occupations. However, as we have indicated, this was also often the case for low status fathers who had been immigrants.

Robin T.: My dad was born in Turkey so he knew from experience that education was very important and being self sufficient, thinking and a self-reliant person.

Jennifer T.: My father was an immigrant and he worked, he always worked. He liked us to do well in school, but I never was that fond of it.

Dorothy P.: My father liked the pharmacy field because of the independence and the money. He had been an immigrant to a new country and he thought education and money were the real important things. He even went to school himself. He had graduated from a university in Poland and was working towards his doctorate in Near Eastern Studies. When the war broke out he came here and that ended his studies. But he still always compared the marks he got in school with my brother and me. I would say I got a 90 and he would say he had gotten a 100 which is only ten marks but I guess he felt he had to prove something. I had to show I could do it. In that sort of environment it is not hard to understand why both

my parents wanted me to get a university education and a professional level of competence and security.

Sandra P.: My parents did not push me or that sort of thing but they did let me know they were pleased. The only thing they really encouraged me in was to get something with some security.

The fathers of nurses and policewomen, on the other hand, for the most part, emphasized the importance of finding a job and devalued post-secondary education.

Lena N.: My parents were not really strong about education. They didn't care about what kind of thing we went into. We had to find a job and I found one for me. They felt we should make our own mistakes.

Betty Ann N.: I have the most education of anyone in the family. I finished high school.

Marcia N.: My parents didn't really emphasize education. The completion of high school was enough for them.

Alison N.: They wanted us to get an education. They wanted us to make something out of it but it wasn't that hard driven, onward to university thing.

Penny N.: My dad put a lot of stress on education. Mom didn't seem to say one way or the other. She just wanted me to be happy. Dad has only got his grade eight. He always stressed he didn't want his kids to be like him. He wanted us all to finish high school. What we did after that wasn't important, just finish school.

Edith N.: My parents wanted us to have enough education so that we would have something to fall back on. They didn't want us to be lawyers or anything like that but something

which gave you a piece of paper which you could use to get a job.

Sharon N.: My parents wanted me to get a job, anything as long as the pay was good and the work available.

June O.: My parents put a lot of emphasis on education, mostly for the security it would give me. But they were not strong on anything as far as further education. I finished high school and that was good enough.

Gwyn O.: He wanted me to get a job in one area and settle down a little. I guess I was a little flighty in those days, wandering here and there without any clear idea of where I wanted to go or what I would like to do.

Deborah O.: One thing was perfectly clear and that was you were going to work.

Carla O.: My sister and I had to go to that vocational school. There was no choice. Money was scarce enough without the problem of my father's bottle. I had to find some kind of work. My father felt a girl should get married. If she was not getting married she should work until she was married. You didn't want too much school for the girl either. What I did wasn't too important as long as I had a job.

The few fathers who had held high prestige occupations were said to have been disappointed in their daughters' failure to continue their education. Nevertheless, most of the fathers, even when they encouraged their daughters' education, meant no more than the completion of high school. The parents, particularly the fathers, might be said to have "eliminated" certain career alternatives rather than to have provided career direction. It may be in these terms that we can understand

the frequent comments of nurses and policewomen that their parents played little part in the daughters' ultimate career selection.

Hazel N.: I didn't make any discussions with my parents. We had all kinds of discussions when things were not going well in school. But they didn't say what I should become.

Rhoda N.: My father really didn't participate in the discussion at all. The only thing we really talked about was the education thing. There wasn't even much discussion about that even. I didn't discuss the occupation with my father at all. Of course, he was really happy when I decided to go into the R.N.A. thing. I was told to settle down. I guess my father felt that getting a job represented some kind of stability.

Samantha N.: My father and mother really didn't say much.

Pamela O.: There was not much more than an average emphasis on education. My mother wanted me to finish high school. But they weren't putting much pressure on me beyond that. My mother always made it very clear that I was going to work, particularly after the failing of grade twelve. She was the motivation behind the pressure to work. My father wasn't all that ambitious, he is much more mild mannered. But neither of them played much of a part in the actual decision. They were just glad I got a job and settled down.

Coleen O.: There was really not any discussion with my parents. They didn't know what it was all about in police work. They might have liked me to be a nurse but my sister was a nurse and one is enough. Besides, the school thing was a problem. They didn't get upset or anything like that. It is probably better they didn't know about what is involved in police work. I would have had a hell of a problem with them if they had.

Margo O.: I had managed to finish grade twelve which is more than any of my brothers and

sisters had done and my parents were rather proud about that. That fact also convinced them to let me decide on what I wanted to do.

We can see, then, that parental values, particularly fathers' values, were important in encouraging or discouraging daughters' educational aspirations and professional career orientations, but not in determining the direction of daughters' occupation along the traditional/non-traditional continuum. We must turn, then, to other socialization experiences--in this case game and play activities--as a possible determining factor for daughters' occupational selection, in terms of this continuum.

Self Socialization

Hypothesis Ten

Women in non-traditional occupations will more likely engage in non-traditional play and game activity.

Children, when they are left on their own, do not play; they work at constructing social orders.

"Play" is a fiction from the adult world. Child's work involves such serious matters as developing languages for communication, presenting and defending their social selves in difficult situations, defining and processing deviance and constructing rules of entry and exit into emergent social groups. . . . [Children] continuously construct rules to designate group boundaries . . . sexual lines of boys only and girls only.

(Denzin, 1970:14)

The sharpness with which these sexual "boundary

lines" are drawn will vary by the kinds of game and play activity of the children. Accordingly, we asked our respondents to characterize their childhood play and games as either traditional or non-traditional. Their responses indicated that they themselves drew a sharp distinction between "tomboy" play and typically feminine play. Not surprisingly, this distinction paralleled their distinction between traditional and non-traditional mother roles. Just as the domain of the traditional mother was "inside the home" and concerned with physical comfort and emotional support, "traditional feminine play" occurred inside the home and was concerned largely with the "mothering" of dolls, friends, pets, in fact, whatever was susceptible to mothering. "Tomboy" activities occurred "outside the home" and were primarily task oriented--building models, forts, and the like--or more generally physical activities, involving skill, strength, and often some degree of risk.

There are two striking patterns in the data in Table 4-12. First, a surprising number of women in all four occupations describe their play activity as primarily "non-traditional." At least one-third of the respondents in any category responded in this way. Second, the respondents most likely to have so described their play were policewomen. Over one-half (53.3%) of the policewomen claimed to have engaged in primarily "tomboy"

TABLE 4-12

THE CHILDHOOD PLAY AND GAME ACTIVITIES
IN FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Play and Interest Activities	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		R.N.A.'s		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Traditional	19	65.5	18	66.7	14	46.7	18	72.0	71	63.9
Non-traditional	10	34.5	9	33.3	16	53.3	7	28.0	40	36.1
Totals	29	100	27	100	30	100	25	100	111	100

$\chi^2 = 4.72$; D.f. = 3; $P < .20$ Not Significant

activities. However, although policewomen conform to our prediction, pharmacists do not. There was no significant difference among the responses of pharmacists, teachers, and registered nursing assistants.

Discussion

The descriptive accounts offered by our respondents confirmed our initial belief that play and game activity must be considered independent of and distinct from parental values. In fact, many of the "tomboys" claimed that they had engaged in these activities despite their parents.

Joyce T.: I was a total and completely rebellious little monster. My parents didn't have the slightest idea of what to do with me. I was always in fights. I was beating up everyone on the block. It makes me sound like a little devil and I guess I was one. I remember one time a mother brought her little son whom I had administer a thrashing to our front door and my father stood there while the mother showed the teeth marks and the pulled hair to my father. They didn't know what to do with me.

Phyllis O.: They [parents] would have disapproved if they had known. They were very much traditional, against smoking, drinking, that type, work hard and live the clean life. I really reacted against that extremism.

Joanne P.: When I was young, I hated dolls and wanted a train. Santa Claus was a miserable fellow. He continually brought me dolls at Christmas. They would sit under the tree while I complained about his neglect. I loved to ski and be in the out-of-doors. I liked baseball and football for the same reasons. I hated playing house. When I became a teenager I still remained a tomboy. I loved baseball and I hated boys. Instead, I would sit and wait for my

sister's date, then go into the living room and just sit and stare at him. When they left I would race to the window and watch them leave.

A number indicated that while they had been tomboys, their sisters had been traditional little girls.

Alice O.: I can't remember playing with dolls. My sister did and we were not at all alike.

Tracey O.: My sister and I were completely opposite. I was the jeans and sweatshirt type and she was the little prissy missy sitting around the house doing all the nice little girl things, quiet and very retiring. We really didn't get along very well at all.

Many claimed that they avoided the more traditional female play because they felt that they lacked the feminine attributes often possessed in abundance by their sisters.

Heather P.: My sister and I are completely different. There are quite a few years between us. She is beautiful, modeling, married, a mother and housewife. I wasn't beautiful, I had to have a career.

Tracey O.: I was a big girl, growing up faster than the boys. I was five eight and, how shall we say it, well constructed for baseball. My sister would just shake her head but what did I care. I was very athletic and enjoyed all sports, a regular tomboy. I would go out with the guys and play chicken on the trestle, seeing how close we could come before the train came and over into the water we had to go. We did a lot of racing around together.

Maureen O.: My sister was the beauty and I was the beast. She was a model. She wouldn't go to the corner store without earrings and good clothes. I would go in jeans and a sweatshirt. My sister and I slept in the same bed and I would wet all over her in bed. I guess I just reacted to all that time she spent putting on her make-up. . . . I wasn't that different but she was too much.

Others explained their participation in tomboy activities more simply. Some neighborhoods provided few female playmates; some communities, farms for example, seemed to encourage females to engage in a much wider range of activities.

Phyllis O.: When I was a girl I was a real tomboy; there were no girls in the immediate area.

Pamela N.: The neighborhood at my age was all guys. You either got beat up or you beat them up.

Louise P.: I can throw a better spiral pass than most boys. There were very few girls around the house so I played with five guys all the time. My parents in no way objected. My father thinks that my passing ability is great.

Charlene O.: I played with dolls until I was ten or eleven. Then we moved to a new neighborhood and there were no other girls around. I played with the boys. I became a real tomboy. I loved playing baseball. I had many a fight in a baseball game.

Dixie O.: I went around with two Irish Catholic girls but they were from Southern Ireland and my parents disapproved of our friendship. After that there was nothing but boys in the neighborhood. I played with them.

Jocelyn N.: I was a tomboy. My uncle had a farm. All girls on a farm are tomboys.

Carolyn T.: I think I was a tomboy because of growing up on the farm. I was out in the barn all the time.

Elsie N.: That was just the way kids were brought up in that kind of community.

Lesley P.: We lived a very close and quiet life, there were no other girls around to play with. I would go to my aunt's farm in the summer and work there doing all the regular chores.

Iris T.: Girls on the farm are always a little more

tomboyish than the girls in the city.

It is obvious, then, that these women had been tomboys in the face of parental values, often because of their self definitions as "unsuccessful females" or because of the nature of the play alternatives offered in their neighborhood or community.

The responses of policewomen are of particular interest. As we have indicated, they were the most likely to describe their childhood play as non-traditional. Of course, almost half did describe their childhood in traditional terms.

Connie O.: I was your typical little girl. I liked dancing, dressing up, cooking, all the glamour things. I also liked the out-of-doors and that kind of thing as well. I don't think I was brought up any differently than any of my friends.

Carla O.: I definitely was not a tomboy. Although I will have to admit I was totally spoiled. I liked dolls and playing house and still have some at home. They make my apartment seem more comfortable. I liked sewing and still do.

Rachel O.: I don't think, in any sense, you could call me a tomboy. I had my sisters around and several girl friends and we went a lot of places together. There were occasions when I didn't behave like a proper little girl. I hit a boy in the mouth one time after he bugged the day-lights out of me, but generally I was a most normal little girl.

Yet, many of the policewomen seemed, in retrospect, to view negatively such traditional play activity. One respondent seems to have captured this nicely.

Sally O.: I hate to admit it but I played with

dolls, yeck, I was very much a traditional little girl.

This raises a rather important issue regarding the interpretation of our data which is, after all, largely retrospection. Do policewomen report tomboy activity because they see it as appropriate for police work? Some of their comments indicate that this might be at least part of the explanation.

Eleanor O.: I didn't shy away from physical contact.

Phyllis O.: I would much more prefer to be out and looking for action.

Dixie O.: Wrestling was the favorite pastime and I became good at it. I developed quite a reputation. I broke a lot of things and would not hesitate to punch one of the guys if they got out of line. I was fighting all the time. There was nothing else but boys. I had to learn to defend myself.

Deborah O.: I enjoyed bouncing people around.

No doubt their present circumstances influence their childhood recollection. At the same time, however, a number did state that what they found particularly desirable about police work, when the choice was offered to them, was that it enabled them to pursue activities which they had come to enjoy when they were children--keeping fit, exercising, working out-of-doors, etc.

Charlene O.: I went through many stages in my occupational "dreams." I wanted to be a teacher, a physiotherapist, and mostly when I was a teenager, a stewardess. The first two were nothing more than passing interests. The stewardess thing was more important. I applied, but I was too young;

and then shortly thereafter the policewoman movie came along and with it the visit to the station and, man, I had my mind made up, that was for me. Excitement and outside activity, none of that sitting in the office jazz for this kid.

It is important to note, as Charlene O. implies, that "tomboy" play activities did not seem to predispose these young girls to search for police work, or even non-traditional work, but rather perhaps such experiences made it more likely that they would define police work positively when the opportunity arose.¹⁴

These data also raise a rather important point regarding pharmacists. Pharmacists were no more likely than were nurses or teachers to have engaged in "tomboy" activity. Even more significant, when they described themselves as "traditional little girls," or as one respondent put it, "a very fragile little thing," they, unlike the policewomen, did not seem to view this negatively. Apparently, they saw no lack of fit between the traditional childhood activities and their present occupation. We have already suggested that the women in our sample brought a traditional orientation to their jobs, whether the occupations were traditional or not. Typically, they stated that they placed their families first, their careers second. Ironically, many of the pharmacists

¹⁴A fuller discussion on the mechanisms of job selection and attainment can be found in Chapter V.

claimed that they made their ultimate occupational selection on the basis of family consideration. This career, they claimed, allowed them to work hours which would not interfere with their family life and to leave and re-enter the field according to the demands of their children. Beyond this, while the pharmacists typically recognized that theirs was a male dominated field, they seemed, for the most part, to define pharmacy as appropriate female work, "female" in quite traditional terms.

Catherine P.: I think I wanted to be a nurse. I suppose because that was one of the things girls wanted to be. I never mentioned it to my girls, even though one of my daughters is now a nurse. She doesn't know to this day that that was what I wanted to be. I didn't want to steer her in any direction because I felt that at home I was. It was constantly pointed out that my father was a pharmacist and I could work for him. It was allied with nursing.

Valerie P.: I thought about being a nurse, that was the most traditional thing for girls to do, but I didn't particularly like the kind of work. Pharmacy, as I knew it, was a much more female experience. The work experience and the friends I had were all in hospital pharmacy and those were largely staffed by women.

This raises a rather fundamental definitional issue. Our operational definition of non-traditional as those occupations statistically male dominated may fail to capture our respondents' subjective definitions of these occupations, nor can these subjective definitions be ignored if we are to understand occupational selection. This will become apparent in Chapter V.

The analysis of our data on socialization influences points to one recurrent theme. Early socialization--"supply factors"--is one side of a two-sided coin. To this point, some women are committed to pursuing a professional career--any professional career; some women are committed to finding a job--any job; some women are willing to get a job--a stop-gap, until they are married. Some women are more prepared than others to take non-traditional work. Some women are more concerned than others about the specific kind of work they do. Why have they selected their particular occupations? Before we can answer this, our central question, we must ask what jobs were available to these women and which women were in a position--in terms of their socialization experiences and in terms of their social position--to take advantage of the opportunities made available to them. Chapter V deals precisely with this question--the dynamics of supply and demand.

Summary and Conclusions

Role Modeling

Working Mothers

1. Working mothers do not appear to exert an influence on daughters' occupational selection, whatever the mothers' job and whenever, during the socialization, the mothers worked.
2. Mothers' behavior seems to have had an influence on

how the daughters approached their work, whatever the job.

Role Differentiation

3. One cannot assume that mothers who work maintain non-traditional roles within the family. In our sample, mothers, whether they worked or not, typically maintained traditional roles.
4. Because of the typically traditional mother role, working mothers and non-working mothers had a similar influence on the daughters. Daughters internalized the importance of maintaining a balance between career and family.
5. There appears to have been some relationship between structural features of the family and occupational selection. This relationship, however, was not in the predicted direction, but rather in terms of whether the daughters chose professional or service occupations.
6. "Only children" and "first born" were the most likely to choose professional rather than service occupations.

Parental Values

7. There was a relationship between mothers' education and daughters' occupational selection. Again, this relationship was not in the predicted direction. The more highly educated the mother, the more likely the daughter to select a professional rather than a service occupation.
8. There was a relationship between fathers' education and daughters' occupational selection. This relationship, as well, was not in the predicted direction. The more highly educated the father, the more likely the daughter to select a professional rather than a service occupation.
9. There was a strong relationship between fathers' occupation and daughters' occupational selection. The greater the status of the father's occupation, the more likely was the daughter to select a professional rather than a service occupation.

10. Fathers played a very important role in providing occupational direction, either by encouraging a professional career, or by discouraging the education which might lead to a professional career.

Self Socialization

11. The play and games of women were not as restricted as was expected. Women in all categories in our sample engaged in a wide variety of game and play activities.
12. There was some relationship between play and game activities and occupational selection. The police-women in our sample indicated that their early play and game experiences may have provided them with a preparedness and willingness to accept police work. (It is important to underline that the relationship appears to be between game and play experiences and the willingness and preparedness to accept an occupation if it were to arise rather than between play and game experiences and commitment to an occupation or type of occupation.)

General Conclusions

- I. Early socialization was more important in providing general occupational orientations--professional vs. "just work"--than in providing specific occupational directions.
- II. Social class variables were more important in determining these occupational orientations than were the hypothesized sex-role variables.
- III. The categories, "traditional and non-traditional," take on less importance when seen through the respondent's eyes. Women may take a traditional orientation to a statistically "male occupation."
- IV. An understanding of occupational selection is best achieved through an appreciation of the dynamics of supply and demand.
- V. Given a woman's commitment, acquired through socialization, to a professional career, the specific career selected will depend, in part, on the careers available. Similarly, given a woman's commitment,

acquired through socialization, to finding a job, the specific job selection will depend, in part, on the jobs available.

CHAPTER V

Women should receive a higher education, not in order to become doctors, lawyers, or professors, but to rear their offspring to be valuable human beings.

(Alexis Carrel, Man the Unknown)

In high school she learned about "adolescence," "puppy love," "mature love," "personality," and "charm." She and her friends thought that in order for the right guy to come along, they had to make-up the right way, make the right jokes, and know the latest gossip. . . . They talked about guys and worked harder and harder for dates.

(Women's Liberation Newsletter,
October, 1969)

. . . I am a girl and a girl's supposed to sit there and look pretty and not ask any questions and ask all the boys the right answers, I guess. Also, like they think I'm invading, like I'm attacking their masculinity by being intelligent--or even just spouting garbage.

(Paula Marcus, in Voices from
Women's Liberation, 1970:220)

Formal education further reinforces the sex-role differentiation established in early childhood. Schools and teachers, like parents, play an important part in this process.

(Royal Commission on The Status of
Women in Canada, 1970:174)

WOMEN AT SCHOOL

In this chapter we propose to examine several hypotheses regarding the influence of educational experiences on occupational choice. To this point, we have progressed little in our search for an explanation for the women's choice of a traditional or non-traditional occupation. As Tepperman (1975) has demonstrated, experiences within the school are important in reinforcing and specifying occupational orientations learned in the home.

As the data in Table 5-1 indicate, all the women in the sample reported that they had decided upon their present occupations sometime during or after their high school education. In fact, except for one-third of the teachers, all the women made their ultimate occupational choices upon leaving or graduating from high school. In almost all cases, the women had made this choice when they were sixteen or older (Table 5-2). It seems reasonable to conclude that their high school experience influenced these decisions. We might expect, then, that differences in educational experiences would help to account for the women's choice of a traditional or non-traditional occupation. We recognize that the school in contemporary society is a very important agent of socialization; parents are not the

TABLE 5-1

STAGE OF EDUCATION AT WHICH OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE WAS
MADE FOR WOMEN IN FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Stage of Education	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		R.N.A.'s	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
In School								
Early High School	--	---	9	33.3	--	---	--	---
End of High School	26	89.7	9	33.3	8	26.7	6	24.0
University	2	6.9	4	14.8	--	---	--	---
Out of School								
Working	1	3.4	2	7.4	22	73.3	15	60.0
Housewife	--	---	3	11.1	--	---	4	16.0
Totals	29	100	27	100	30	100	25	100

$\chi^2 = 97.88$; D.f. = 12; $P < .001$ Significant

TABLE 5-2

THE AGE OF THE WOMAN AT WHICH HER OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE WAS
MADE FOR WOMEN IN FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Age Categories	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		R.N.A.'s	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
15 Years of Age or Less	--	---	9	33.3	--	---	--	---
16-18 Years	26	89.7	9	33.3	9	30.0	8	32.0
19-21 Years	3	10.3	5	18.5	11	36.7	8	32.0
22 Years or More	--	---	4	14.8	10	33.3	9	36.0
Totals	29	100	27	100	30	100	25	100

$\chi^2 = 60.28$; D.f. = 9; $P < .001$ Significant

only significant others. Parsons (1959), for example, has analyzed the role of teachers in mediating the "particularistic" perspective of the family and the "universalistic" standards of the larger society. As Elkin writes:

Teachers probably are important socializing agents less because of what they teach than because of the models or significant others they become. Despite a popular depreciatory image of teachers, students are expected to defer to them and often in fact form strong emotional attachments to teachers. The significance of the teacher as a model may range from the relatively trivial to the extremely influential. The student may merely adopt a favorite phrase of voice inflection, or he may look up to the teacher as a hero ideal, worthy of admiration and emulation.
(Elkin, 1965:61)

Hypothesis Eleven

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have been influenced by educational significant others (teachers and counselors) to pursue non-traditional goals.

As well, a large body of research has examined the influence of academic performance on students and those with whom the student interacts.¹ Davis (1964), for example, found that a student's marks were the most important variable in explaining his career plans. Others (e.g., Anisef, 1974) have reported similar findings. Moreover, Sewell points out that "academic performance has effects on aspirational and attainment variables that are not mediated by significant others' influence" (in Anisef and others, 1976:8).

¹See, for example, Coleman (1961); Davis (1964); Anisef (1974); and Corry and Brinkerhoff (1976).

Academic performance influences students' self conception and self esteem. Not surprisingly, the report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women found that "girls who do well in school conform less readily to accepted ideas about their sex" (1970:16).

Hypothesis Twelve

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have done well in school.

Obviously, doing well in some subjects will have a different effect than doing well in others.²

Hypothesis Thirteen

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have performed well in non-traditional subject areas.

Before we can examine the influence of educational experiences, however, we must attempt to isolate as far as possible the influence of the families of the women in our sample on their educational predispositions.

Influence of the Family

To this point, our concern has been with the role of the family in channeling women into particular occupations. Although the literature on occupational motivation

²For information on the sex-typed character of academic subject matter, see Brown (1965:162ff.); Kuchenberg (1963); Komarovsky (1946:188); Bernard (1974:81-83); Roe (1965, 1953); Snow (1959); Davis (1963:447ff.); and Simpson (1974).

and choice³ encouraged optimism in our search for a relationship between socialization in the family and occupational "channeling," our findings suggest that this complex relationship demands a degree of conceptual specification not present in most research.⁴

First, our data suggest that the family was an important factor in directing the women in our sample to a level of occupation--professional career vs. job--rather than to a type of occupation. Moreover, we find we must return to what may be an inescapable sociological theme. Fathers who were professionals encouraged professional orientations in their daughters; non-professional fathers did not.

Inheritance of [the level] of occupations is one of the chief structural features of contemporary industrial society.

(Noscow & Form, 1962:285)

Our respondents, in reporting the influence of their early family experience on their occupational motivation, suggest the family is most influential in providing definitions of "class-appropriate" occupations, rather than "sex-appropriate" occupations.

³Some of the more recent research includes Brookover (1967); Sewell and others (1970); Brookover and Erickson (1975); Sewell (1971); and Williams (1972).

⁴This is, of course, in large part due to the empirical concentration on professional careers in general and women professionals in particular.

Second, while typically the families of teachers and pharmacists were important in directing the women in our sample towards professional careers--"positive channeling," the families of registered nursing assistants and police-women might be said to have generally contributed to "negative channeling." That is, these latter families devalued higher education, thereby discouraging the professional occupational route. Thus, in this case,

. . . inheritance of occupational level is most appropriately considered in terms of the various mechanisms which operate to restrict the range of occupational choices.

(Caplow, 1954:216)

Our discussion of pharmacists and teachers from "lower class" families indicates one of the important ways in which family mediates the effects of social class. Some families may create for their children a life situation and transmit to them a sub-culture atypical of their social class.

The influence of the family, then, should be most clearly manifest in the women's educational attitudes and choices.

Educational Predispositions

At the risk of belaboring the point, our data on the women's educational orientations again underscore the fact that greatest differences are to be found between professionals and non-professionals rather than along the traditional-non-traditional continuum. The professional women--pharmacists and teachers--were far more likely than

the non-professionals to have recalled highly positive evaluations of education while they were still in school (Table 5-3). Most of the pharmacists and more than two-fifths of the teachers reported that they knew, early in their educational experiences, the value of education.

Heather P.: The idea was planted at a very early age that getting an education and making something of ourselves was our goal. I believed in education then and I do now as well.

Denise P.: Sure education was important to me. It was important to my family.

Janet P.: I guess doing well in school was important. It certainly was important to my parents and they were proud of me when I did well.

Ruth P.: School was very important to me and my parents.

Alanna T.: My parents did put a lot of emphasis on education but it didn't take a lot. I enjoyed studying.

Julie T.: My father was well educated and my mother thought education was the best thing in the whole world. It was pretty important to us kids.

Beverly T.: Both of my parents thought very highly of education and I learned that from them. I am very grateful to them for it.

Iris T.: Education was always the most important thing for us girls.

Lynn P.: Education was a very important thing in our home. I learned that early and believe it yet.

None of the pharmacists and only one of the teachers reported that she had entered school with the belief that education was unimportant. This was the dominant response, on the other hand, for policewomen and registered nursing assistants. Only 16 per cent in each category evaluated the

TABLE 5-3

THE RESPONDENTS' EVALUATION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION
FOR WOMEN IN FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

The Respondent's Evaluation of Importance of Education	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		R.N.A.'s	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Positive	24	82.8	11	40.7	5	16.8	4	16.0
Neutral	5	17.2	15	55.6	11	36.7	10	40.0
Negative	--	---	1	3.7	14	46.6	11	44.0
Totals	29	100	27	100	30	100	25	100

$\chi^2 = 50.08$; D.f. = 6; $P < .001$ Significant

importance of education positively. Typically, women in these categories reported that they had entered school with the belief that education could afford them little or nothing.

Claudia N.: I didn't get enough encouragement to finish high school. It is going to be different with my children. I wish my parents had pushed me a little harder.

Rose Anne N.: I never really was into the school thing.

Pauline N.: In those days school didn't seem very important. It certainly didn't to me.

Vivian O.: None of my family was gung-ho for it.

Roberta O.: Then I didn't see any point in it.

Deborah O.: I didn't see the practicality of school.

The differences in educational orientation between the professionals and non-professionals emerge most clearly when we compare those in both categories who had defined education as important. As we mentioned in the previous chapter, "education" meant different things to these two categories of women. To the professionals, it generally meant some form of post-secondary education; to the non-professionals, education almost always meant the completion of high school and no more.

For the policewomen and registered nursing assistants, education was important insofar as it provided them with specific skills and sufficient credentials to get a job.

Elsie N.: My parents' definition of enough school was graduation from high school. Neither of them had any high school and they wanted their kids to finish. That's what you need today.

Constance N.: I wanted to finish high school. But I could not. It might have helped.

Angela N.: I had no idea of going on to enter university. My biggest idea was to go on to training for something.

Kristine N.: I wanted to finish high school and that was all I needed. I wanted to get a job.

Pamela O.: It was important to me to finish school, to get a job, and earn my own money.

Roberta O.: I think it is more important to get a job than wander around in school forever.

Sylvia O.: It was more important to have a job than to find some university to attend.

Maureen O.: I really don't see much use of education unless you know where you are going with that education. I see enough of those kids around York, sitting under trees and if you ask them what they are about, they respond, "I don't know yet," or something typically inane like that. For me, that type of schooling is a total waste of time. If they don't know what they want, let them get out into the world and find some direction and then get the education, not waste your time.

Pharmacists and teachers, on the other hand, at least reported that they had learned to value education as an end in itself or as preparation for professional employment.

Elizabeth P.: In general, my family put a lot of emphasis on education. There was no question of that. I cannot recall any particular things which would bring that sort of thing out, perhaps it is subliminal, but I never considered anything other than the fact that I would do well in school and go to university.

Valeria P.: Education was important to my family. Both my mother and father were well educated. When you grow up in that kind of environment, you come to appreciate a good education, simple as that.

Catherine P.: I was taught and believed that education and a good profession are important. That means going to school.

Peggy T.: I wanted to get as much education as I could. That was a given.

Doreen T.: I always was taught to value education and to put a lot of work in doing well in it.

Alanna T.: I have always thought education is very important. I wanted interesting work.

These differences in orientation are manifested in the high school streams selected by the women. This is particularly good evidence of the influence of early family experience as in only two cases did the women report that the choice between academic and commercial courses was a choice made for them by the school because of their poor academic performance.⁵ As Table 5-4 indicates, while all pharmacists and teachers had selected the academic stream, the great majority of policewomen (73.3%) and registered nursing assistants (64%) had selected the commercial stream. However, the selection of the commercial stream often reflected more than simply the educational orientation of the policewomen and nursing assistants. One frequently voiced explanation was monetary constraints.

Carla O.: My sister and I had to go to the commercial school. There was no choice. Money was scarce enough and us girls had to find some kind of work.

Eleanor O.: I took the commercial course. Although I

⁵It is possible that even though our respondents did not report that course choice was made for them by the school, social class influences were operating through the family and school. See Berton (1972:392), Coleman and others (1966); and McDill and others (1969).

TABLE 5-4
THE EDUCATIONAL STREAM IN HIGH SCHOOL OF
WOMEN IN FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Educational Stream in High School	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		R.N.A.'s	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Academic	29	100	27	100	8	26.7	9	36.0
Commercial	--	---		---	22	73.3	16	64.0
Totals	29	100	27	100	30	100	25	100

$\chi^2 = 58.93$; D.f. = 3; $P < .001$ Significant

only got to grade ten it was some help to me.
I knew I'd have to get out pretty early.

Betty Ann N.: I was in the commercial course and planning to be a secretary. I always liked that kind of work. The high school course is a good preparation and I couldn't think of going on.

It seems clear, then, that by the time the women in our sample entered high school they had been significantly channeled in terms of occupational level. Pharmacists and teachers made early education decisions which not only kept open professional careers, but also anticipated such careers. Policewomen and nurses were more likely to make early educational decisions which effectively exclude professional career opportunities. As Caplow writes:

A series of important choices confront the school child as early as the eighth grade, and a mistaken decision is often irrevocable. This is the point at which, in many large cities, pupils must choose whether to attend an academic or a "vocational" high school. The latter choice may effectively commit them to an occupation which does not require higher education.

(Caplow, 1954:218)

On the basis of these differences in educational predisposition between professionals and non-professionals, we would expect that educational experiences are more important in positively directing the occupational choices of pharmacists and teachers, than of policewomen and registered nursing assistants.

Granovetter (1974:5) in his summary of the research on mechanisms of job allocation among blue collar and service workers in the United States, stated:

The . . . studies, carried out from the 1930's to the

present, in American cities of widely varying size, economic base, and market conditions, have been remarkably similar in their conclusions. All showed that formal mechanisms of job allocation rarely accounted for more than 20 percent of placement. By contrast, 60-90 percent of jobs were found informally, principally through friends and relatives.

It would appear, then, that an understanding of the non-professional women's choice of traditional or non-traditional occupation demands an examination of the role of interpersonal contacts in occupational decision making. From this research, we derive a rather general hypothesis.

Hypothesis Fourteen

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have been exposed to non-traditional occupational alternatives through interpersonal contacts.

Accordingly, the remainder of this chapter focuses on "educational channeling" and "interpersonal contacts."

Educational Channeling

The most important educational choice a student makes is whether or not to attend university. Not surprisingly, none of the registered nursing assistants and few of the policewomen (10%) chose to attend university (Table 5-5). All the pharmacists, on the other hand, attended university. More surprising, given their expressed attitudes regarding the importance of education, was the small number of teachers (22.2%) who chose to attend university. Clearly the other 77.8 per cent of the teachers, most of whom reported professional aspirations,

TABLE 5-5

THE LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT FOR
WOMEN IN FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Level of Educational Achievement	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		R.N.A.'s	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Grade 9 and 10	--	--	--	--	2	6.7	10	40.0
Grade 11	--	--	--	--	4	13.3	5	20.0
Grade 12 and 13	--	--	21	77.8	21	70.0	10	40.0
Some university	2	7.0	2	7.4	1	3.3	--	--
University graduate	27	93.0	4	14.8	2	6.7	--	--
Totals	29	100	27	100	30	100	25	100

$\chi^2 = 148.14$; D.F. = 12; $P < .001$ Significant

limited their professional alternatives once they decided not to go to university.

One common sense explanation which comes readily to mind is that teachers came from families less able to afford a university education for their daughters. However, pharmacists were just as likely as teachers to have reported that their decision to go on in school created serious financial difficulties for their families.⁶

Denise P.: There was no way my parents could afford to send me.

Rosemarie P.: I wanted a college education and the only way I could afford it was to work until I could pay the tuition.

Claire P.: When I was 18 or so. I had finished high school and there was no money for me to go on to school. Somehow I was off to the College of Pharmacy anyway.

Sara T.: I thought a lot about a university education. But it would have been four years of expense for my parents. Four years is a long time. I knew if I had decided to go on to school my parents would have made a lot of unnecessary sacrifices. It would have been four years of worry for my mother.

Robin T.: I couldn't afford to go to university. I am a very pragmatic person. I do what I think is going to be possible.

Given what at least appeared to be substantially similar initial commitments to education, we must look to the women's educational experiences themselves.

⁶The data in Table 4-10 on father's occupation also suggest that financial considerations are a weak explanation.

Significant Others

Hypothesis Eleven

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have been influenced by educational significant others (teachers and counselors) to pursue non-traditional goals.

In order to test this hypothesis, we asked our respondents if any of their teachers or counselors had been influential in their occupational decisions. As the data in Table 5-6 indicate, most women in all occupations reported that teachers and counselors had no significant influence on their occupational decisions. These findings are paralleled in Sewell's (1971) work which indicates that parents are twice as influential as teachers on adolescents' educational and occupational aspirations. Moreover, as Henshel suggests,

. . . high school teachers and counselors more closely scrutinize the curriculum needs of male students in view of their future than those of females--their future is seen as less school relevant and merely the outcome of a natural process; marriage.

(Henshel, 1973:63)

Only the teachers (29.6%) and the registered nursing assistants (20%) reported to any significant degree that they had been influenced by their teachers or counselors. This is easily understood; schooling for the most part seems to encourage traditional sex role behavior.

Constance N.: I came on the idea of the R.N.A. thing through school. I was in the guidance office once or twice a week. I went down every spare period. The guidance teacher was a big help. If I wanted

TABLE 5-6
THE POSITIVE INFLUENCE ON OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE OF SIGNIFICANT
OTHERS WITHIN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Significant Others Within Education	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		R.N.A.'s	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Teachers	0	---	6	22.2	--	---	--	---
Counselors	2	6.9	2	7.4	--	---	5	20
No Positive Influence	27	93.1	19	70.4	30	100	20	80
Totals	29	100	27	100	30	100	25	100

$\chi^2 = 12.93$; D.f. = 3; $P < .01$ Significant

to continue with the nursing idea this would be the best way of doing it. I agreed. She gave me pamphlets and addresses and I wrote away.

Sara T.: I didn't know what I wanted to do. The guidance counselor in our high school was very good. He encouraged us to find out if we liked something or not. He arranged for those of us who had thought of teaching at all to go into one of the schools in the area and spend some time watching, trying to teach a lesson and so forth. I think it kind of helped to bring me back to the idea again.

Geraldine T.: The teachers I had in school were very important, especially the teachers in grade school. I greatly admired them. I continued to write to them long after I had become a teacher myself. They showed me it was a great life for a woman.

Although none of the nurses mentioned the influence of teachers, several indicated that their counselors had been to some degree influential simply because they had given the women practical information about the job. The counselors were important not as role models but as a source of information about a specific job alternative not previously considered. It is interesting that three of our respondents mentioned that the counselors had suggested the possibility of the occupation of nursing assistant in response to the respondents' questions about nursing. This cannot be understood simply by virtue of the fact that the women were in the wrong stream. In the first place, students can change streams, at least theoretically. Secondly, one of the nurses had been in the academic stream when she went for counseling. This would suggest that counselors

do play a role, though a limited one, in further channeling the students.⁷ One of the nurses captures the process nicely.

Samantha N.: Most of my experiences in school were not that pleasant. They weren't that unpleasant either. It is just that all my teachers, counselors and the principal were always saying the same thing, you can't do this or you can't do that. Pretty soon you believe them and lower your goals. I guess I always wanted to be a nurse but anyway R.N.S.'s get much more chance to do bedside nursing. I guess that makes it a little easier to take.

Several of the teachers indicated that their exposure to women teachers in the school had at least some influence on their occupational decision.

Doreen T.: I was madly in love with one of my teachers, maybe that was the reason. She was beautiful, she was intelligent, and she dressed immaculately. I guess I always wanted to be that kind of woman.

Alanna T.: I suppose it was because I admired my teachers and because of a lot of unconscious parental influence. I always was around little kids. My parents liked me to be good and when I was good I got attention and I was rewarded in that instance. So I was a good kid. Liking school and liking teachers was part of being good.

Julie T.: I remember one teacher, in particular, in the ninth grade and I was really impressed with the good things she was doing for me and the way she seemed to live and all that sort of thing. I guess I wanted to be like her. I was always around a lot of teachers when I was growing up.

This was most frequently the case for those teachers whose fathers had held low status occupations. Elkin (1960) has suggested that teachers are more likely to become

⁷Compare to Hall and McFarlane's (1962:67-74) discussion of the role of school counselors.

important models for the working class pupil, many of whom have employed teaching as a means of upward mobility (McGuire and White, 1957). However, the fact that teachers appeared to have been relatively unimportant models for the policewomen and nurses may suggest that teachers are important models for lower class students whose families have stressed the importance of education.

Of particular interest, however, is the active role apparently played by some teachers and counselors in discouraging "non-traditional" occupational choices. This is particularly well illustrated in the comments of one of the teachers.

Kelly T.: I wanted to be a veterinarian. I was interested in animals and it just seemed the logical thing to go into. But I was advised against it. Our guidance teacher said that girl vets didn't have much of a chance. They were considered a poor risk because all they wanted to do was go out and get married. I knew it was a really hard course and I knew you had to be really smart to do it so I figured 'Well, forget it.' I wouldn't have made a good vet anyway. I am too soft hearted about the whole thing.

Several of the pharmacists reported similar experiences.

Deborah P.: The counselor was dead set against me going into pharmacy.

Dianne P.: The high school teachers and counselors were not any help at all. If I had followed their recommendations I suppose I would have been a farmer.

Janet P.: My counselor told me, when I mentioned that I wanted to be a pharmacist, 'You can forget that,

all you will do is run off and get married. You might as well forget it all right now.'

Obviously, in these cases the advice did not have a powerful influence; these women became pharmacists in spite of their teachers and counselors.

Although no policewomen reported any degree of teacher or counselor influence, one did discuss the possibility of police work with her guidance teacher. The policewoman's comment is instructive.

Coleen O.: I remember telling the guidance teacher about my intentions of going into police work. He only laughed and told me I watched too much television.

It would appear that the dominant message that our respondents in all four occupations received from their teachers and counselors was "If you have to work, do woman's work." For no occupation was this reported to be a significant influence. Our hypothesis is not supported by the data. The minimal influence of teachers and counselors and their overwhelmingly traditional sex role definitions, as reported by our respondents, demand that we examine other aspects of the women's educational experience.

Academic Performance

Hypothesis Twelve

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have done well in school than are women in traditional occupations.

In order to test our hypothesis, we asked our

respondents to evaluate their academic performance in high school. Most of the women, however, were unable, or perhaps unwilling, to provide detailed accounts of their high school grades. Instead, they were more comfortable with general characterizations of their high school performance as "average, above average, and below average."

As is evident in Table 5-7, pharmacists were overwhelmingly more likely (86.2%) than any of the other occupations to describe their performances as above average. Only one-third of the teachers and few indeed of the policewomen (13.3%) and registered nursing assistants (8%) so described their performance. Although policewomen were more likely than nurses to report that they had done well, we hesitate to draw too much from this data as so few in either category described their performance as above average. However, as we initially suggested that educational channeling would be more important for those in professional rather than service occupations, we take the large percentage difference between pharmacists and teachers to be supportive of our hypothesis.

Hypothesis Thirteen

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have performed well in non-traditional subject areas.

Abundant research has indicated that "men are interested in things, women in people" (McCelland, 1964:

TABLE 5-7
THE OVER-ALL HIGH SCHOOL PERFORMANCE OF WOMEN
IN FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Educational Performance	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		R.N.A.'s	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Above Average	25	86.2	9	33.3	4	13.3	2	8.0
Average	4	13.8	14	51.9	13	43.3	10	40.0
Below Average	--	--	4	14.8	13	43.3	13	52.0
Totals	29	100	27	100	30	100	25	100

$\chi^2 = 53.83$; D.f. = 6; $P < .001$ Significant

177-178). This is manifested in women's supposed lack of interest (Terman and Miles, 1936) and ability (Tyler, 1956) in mechanical and scientific activities. For women, science, particularly physical science, is a non-traditional subject area par excellence.

As Table 5-8 shows, most of the pharmacists (86.2%) reported that they had done well in science. Few of the teachers (29.6%) and only one of the policewomen and one of the nurses reported similar success in science. Again, we take this data as supportive of the hypothesis. Initially, we were struck by the disproportionate number of policewomen (30%) who reported success in physical education. That more policewomen than any others reported such success might be taken as further support of the hypothesis. However, their description of physical education courses as "a lot of folk dancing" makes us hesitate to draw this conclusion.

Discussion

Level of academic performance seems to have affected these women in a number of related ways. First, and most obvious, women who reported that they did well were also most likely to report that they liked school. As one pharmacist aptly put it:

Valerie P.: I liked school and I did quite well. The two usually go together, at least they did for me.

TABLE 5-8

HIGH SCHOOL SUBJECTS WOMEN DID WELL IN FOR
FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Subject Area	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		R.N.A.'s	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Arts	20	69.0 ^c	13	48.1	4	13.3	2	8.0
Sciences	25	86.2	8	29.6	1	3.3	1	4.0
Commercial	--	--	--	--	4	13.3	4	16.0
Physical Education	6	20.7	7	25.9	9	30.0	4	16.0
Other ^a	10	34.5	10	37.0	3	10.0	6	24.0
Number ^b	29		27		30		25	

Notes:

^aThe "other" category includes home economics and various special classes offered in particular schools.

^bThe percentages for each occupation do not total to 100 per cent. The respondents for each occupation may appear in more than one category.

^cAs well, those respondents who did not report doing well in any subject do not appear in the table.

While academic work and academic achievement may generally be undercut or devalued for women, perhaps those most vulnerable to this devaluation are those who, in fact, do not do well. For example, even teachers who had initially reported a high evaluation of education reported that their scholastic difficulties were the most important indication that "too much school" was "not for them."

Linda T.: I guess my problems in school were something of a factor in that. I didn't burn the place down. Maybe that is why I never thought about high school teaching.

Kelly T.: I had some trouble in school, I missed a couple of courses and had to take them over again. I didn't think I wanted to fight my way through university. The teaching thing was a good solution.

Julie T.: I had a certain amount of trouble with school in grade thirteen and I think that may have kept me from thinking about going on to university immediately. I also wanted to teach with the younger kids, so elementary teaching was a good idea. If I had done a little better in school I might have done things a little differently.

Laura T.: Until grade twelve I did well in just about everything. When I got to grade thirteen, I realized that higher mathematics was just not for me. I didn't know anything about pulleys and slopes and things like that. That was when I encountered my first difficulty. I realized then that I could deal with anything on an elementary basis but not in great detail or at a highly abstract level. I knew then that if I was to teach, it would have to be at the grade school level.

Karen T.: It was a riot. I repeated grade twelve and finished thirteen. I enjoyed school but not for the studies.

Sara T.: I didn't want to have the hassles and I didn't want to work hard enough to get the scholarships, so I went to normal school.

Many teachers, then, took their poor grades as an indication that they should not go on to university, but rather should find a less demanding occupational route. While many rejected university, some were rejected by universities.

Beverly T.: I thought I would wait until the grade thirteen grades came out and if I pass, I will go to teacher's college. When the results came I was two per cent lower than the admission requirements for the university. I was sort of rejected by the whole process. I applied at a couple of other universities and they said in effect, if the University of Toronto doesn't want you, we don't want you either. That was about all the possible universities in the immediate area, so I went into teaching and I thoroughly enjoyed it.

Of course, some of the women had set out to become teachers. In fact, one-third had made this decision early in high school (Table 5-1). Moreover, those who went on to university (22.2%), generally those who had done well, also chose to be trained as teachers. We are not trying to suggest that women who cannot do anything else become teachers. Rather, we are saying that women who do not achieve well academically may be most vulnerable to the pressures typically encountered by women to adopt conventional female roles.

On the other hand, many of the pharmacists indicated that their scholastic success was an important factor

in deciding to go to university and in looking for a career that offered some demands.

Denise P.: I did quite well in school and it was a normal progression from doing well there to going into or at least trying to get into university.

Jeanne P.: I enjoyed school, I was very active. It was a lot of fun so here I am.

Kathleen P.: Not many of my friends went on to university but I sure wanted to. I loved school.

Lynn P.: Ever since I can remember, I was fairly bright so naturally my interests were somewhat demanding. I enjoyed school. I enjoyed the subjects so naturally I looked forward to having a career of some sort, something more than just filling in the job.

Moreover, for many, their success in the sciences seemed to be an important influence in their decision to get into pharmacy.

Nina P.: I did very well in school. Things came easy, in particular the sciences.

Christine P.: I generally liked school. Math and science in particular and Latin as well. There were a few subjects I did not do as well in but generally I liked most of my subjects.

Louise P.: I received an award in grade thirteen for a grade point average of 75 and over and I received awards in thirteen physical activities. I really excelled in those sorts of things, in particular, chemistry and math. I always did well in school and would work at it. I got very involved with the work and still am.

Margaret P.: I guess being good in science made it natural.

Olivia P.: Science and math were my thing and pharmacy fit the bill.

It is significant, on the other hand, that even

those few policewomen and registered nursing assistants who reported that they had done well rarely saw this as an indication that they should pursue their studies.⁸

Sylvia O.: I liked the arts and humanities in school but I didn't like the boredom and study involved. There was too much to do and see for that sort of thing.

Jill O.: I enjoyed learning, I just didn't see the value of some of the teachers I had. You don't need schools to learn.

Sally O.: I was not in any way interested in going on to university. What good does it do? I have gotten a good job for the education I have and I am completely happy with the fact that I took a commercial course in high school. I know plenty of people, a number of who are close friends, and what good has their university education done them? They are being replaced and shoved out at an unbelievable rate all over the place.

Pauline N.: I did fine, I guess, but I don't remember anything I enjoyed in high school. It was quite some time ago but school and I weren't all that friendly. I never really enjoyed much of anything. I was unhappy in school and just up and left it to go to work.

Some suggested that doing well academically was not all that was required to "fit in" to the school system.

Carla O.: I was always getting into some kind of problem with the teachers in the school. It wasn't academic. I finished on top of my class, but the teachers and I didn't see eye to eye on much. That really didn't endear me to the school system.

Sylvia O.: I did fairly well in school but I couldn't hack the rest of it.

The many policewomen and registered nursing assistants who

⁸The three policewomen who did go on to post-secondary education went into teaching before becoming police officers.

did poorly took this as confirmation of their initial attitudes regarding education. Not only was education generally unimportant, it certainly was unimportant for them.

Education did seem to play an important channeling role. Specifically, school experiences seemed to open up or restrict a range of occupational alternatives. This emerges clearly when we consider the occupational alternatives considered by these women before they entered university or the labor force.

Several of the teachers, particularly those who reported an early commitment to becoming teachers, claimed never to have given serious consideration to any other occupation.

Robin T.: My choice was rather limited. Most other things didn't interest me.

Peggy T.: I always saw teaching as a worthwhile sort of job. It's the only occupation for a woman-- the good life, long vacations, regular hours, and a good work environment.

Most, however, had considered a range of traditional occupations.

Marlene T.: I just had an inclination to do that sort of thing. Nursing became my interest when I was not happy with the general university thing. I thought it was a good occupation for a mother to have. There were not many other things you could do as a woman in those days. It was either teaching or nursing for the most part. I lived in a small town as well and my mother and I both thought nursing as the most appropriate thing to do.

Iris T.: It was the same old thing. You were either

a nurse or a teacher. Everyone thought only in terms of these occupations. I know that sounds strange in this day and age, but in my time those were the two major occupations for girls.

Beverly T.: In my day you became either a teacher, a nurse, or a secretary. I can't stand blood and gore. Secretarial work just didn't amuse me to the point that I would want to do it for the rest of my life. I had done some Sunday School work and I thought maybe teaching was a good idea.

Crystal T.: I did consider nursing. I fooled around with being a missionary for a while but that was half joking. In high school you had to put down more than one occupation and nursing was an easy thing to come up with.

Only two of the teachers claimed to have given serious consideration to high status non-traditional professions.

Laura T.: I had thought about law and I had thought about being a dietitian but both would have demanded the sacrifice of making it to university and I didn't want anything to do with that. Those were the two careers I sort of fancied as a teenager.

Karen T.: Before I had decided to get married, I had different plans. I didn't expect to get married as quickly as I did. I had all these ideals about working and having a career and that sort of thing. I was very independent and wanted to have my own money, have my apartment, travel, and be a modern career woman. Things sure change.

Almost all the pharmacists, on the other hand, considered a wide range of both high status non-traditional and low status traditional professions.

Margaret P.: I was always interested in the hospital kind of work. I thought about medicine but that was too long a grind and I never really considered it seriously. I was considering physiotherapy, laboratory technician, things like that in the general area of medical and health services. Pharmacy struck me as the right choice. I considered

nursing, quite seriously, but nursing is just a little too physical and not quite professional enough. I liked math and science and the kinds of problems involving scientific analysis. I guess I just never have been that good in handling and working with people.

Louise P.: I wanted to be a lawyer. But I went more into the sciences and math in school and had some subconscious fear of literature and talking in front of a large group. That put an end to any ideas of law. I thought about teaching and nursing but neither really appealed to me. Pharmacy just met the bill.

Dorothy P.: No one ever wants to become a pharmacist. I am being just a little facetious. For a long time I wanted to become a pharmacist. Everyone in pharmacy will tell you that at one time or another they considered medicine as an occupational possibility. I was that way as well. I always wanted to be a doctor. I didn't have the guts to go into medicine. Now I wish I did. I am still toying with the idea.

Finally, the dominant response of registered nursing assistants and policewomen was one of job uncertainty (cf. Tepperman, 1975:168-171).

Rose Anne N.: I didn't know what I wanted to do. I baby-sat a lot when I was in high school and I enjoyed working with children. I helped at home with my brothers and sisters. When my aunt was sick, I'd go there and help. I always put "nurse" on those little fourth grade "What are you going to be" things, but that was all that most girls think about. I really didn't know.

Pauline N.: When I was in high school there was absolutely nothing which I was thinking about becoming. I just didn't have any ideas at all. I wasn't too interested in working and I didn't waste a lot of my time thinking about it.

Maureen O.: There wasn't anything I wanted to be. I just wanted a job.

Coleen O.: I didn't have a good idea of what I wanted

to be in high school. You had to say something when the teachers inquired so I always came up with something. I don't know where the police-woman thing came from.

Most excluded from consideration those occupations which they felt demanded scholastic success or post-secondary education. Several of the registered nursing assistants, for example, reported that while early in high school they had considered nursing an attractive possibility, they soon learned that nursing "was not for them." Moreover, several commented that they were aware that the range of alternatives was small and that they would probably have to settle for what jobs they could get.

Coleen O.: The alternatives were getting smaller all the time.

Rhoda N.: In school I wasn't thinking of anything. I really hadn't made any plans. Just so long as I could get a job, one way or another, being a secretary or something at least.

We can see, then, the impact of educational experiences on occupational decisions. Educational experiences appear to affect the range of occupational alternatives considered. Pharmacists, with a high initial evaluation of the importance of education and success in academic performance, were most likely to consider a wide range of alternatives, including high status professions. Teachers, also with a high initial evaluation of education but with less success in academic performance, were more likely to restrict their considerations to traditional low status

professions. Policewomen and registered nursing assistants, with a low initial evaluation of the importance of education and little academic success, were most likely to experience job uncertainty and a feeling of limited alternatives.

In making their final decisions regarding what kind of post-secondary education to pursue, both teachers and pharmacists stressed the importance of choosing female-appropriate work. The teachers who had opted early for a teaching career repeatedly mentioned that they believed teaching to be ideal woman's work. Those who had "settled for" teaching often expressed the sentiment that they were fortunate to have a profession for which females were ideally suited which required the minimum in qualifications. Brenda T. captures both themes.

Brenda T.: I will tell you why women go into teaching, myself included. Women like teaching because it satisfies their maternal instinct. The other reason is that until a year ago, the elementary school teachers didn't have to have a degree and that made it a lot easier to get into. Reasonably good money and not many problems getting work with just minimal qualifications.

Most of the teachers described as one of the most positive features of teaching their belief that it complemented rather than interfered with their performance as mother and wife. This was true whether the women were married at the time of interview, as was most often the case, or whether they were unmarried. Almost all of the single women still

gave priority to their prospective families.

Julie T.: I knew that when I got married and had kids I would be a better mother for it, and I would be able to be a mother full time and get back into teaching later.

Jennifer T.: I wanted something that gave me security but that didn't mean I would have to sacrifice my family life.

What is more surprising, perhaps, is that pharmacists expressed precisely these same concerns. While nursing and teaching may have been "not professional enough," medicine, for example, was "too professional." Medicine was inappropriate either because the training and practice interfered with the wife/mother role or because it demanded more skill and intelligence than the women believed they possessed.

Catherine P.: My parents did definitely steer me into it. I wanted, in my fantasies, to be a doctor but they thought I was too stupid to be one. Never came to anything.

Dianne P.: I didn't pick medicine because I felt that was too long, very expensive, and I really felt that if you spend that much time and money you really have to be ready to devote yourself to a career of it. Being a woman I felt that someday I would like to get married and have a family. I didn't intend to spend my whole life at it. That more or less took care of medicine.

Nancy P.: Work is my second career, my family is my first. That was very important in my choice of pharmacy. The training and preparation are not as long as in some professions. After you are trained, there is less of a problem in keeping up. There is also more flexibility in the job potential. These factors were consciously important in my finally deciding on pharmacy.

Ann P.: I have always been interested in the health professions. I guess my first choice would have been to be a doctor. But I think I am more interested in a family life than a professional career.

Denise P.: One of the pharmacists in a store in which I was serving my apprenticeship suggested medicine to me. But for personal reasons I would not have cared to try that sort of thing.

Louise P.: My father was always pushing the professions, in particular medicine. I had the credentials in school. But for some reason I didn't want any part of it. Perhaps the responsibility was too much.

Pharmacy, then, seemed to offer a compromise for women with uncharacteristically high professional aspirations on the one hand, and traditional definitions of femininity on the other.

The policewomen and registered nursing assistants as well, while uncertain of their occupational futures, were certain that family took precedence over work.

Lona N.: You know how it is when you are going through school. You know you are going to get married and you are going to have children. The fact that you are going to have children and you are going to be responsible for them does play a part in your ideas about what you want to do. I am sure there are other girls who are not so sure if they want to get married or not, but there was no such question for me. I wanted to get married and I wanted to have children and that had to be part of my thinking.

Constance N.: When I finished school I thought I should get some kind of work. My boyfriend, who incidentally is now my husband, wasn't ready to settle down. I knew that, or at least I sensed it, and I figured I might as well do something while he was making up his mind. I wanted a family, but I knew it would wait for at least a few years.

Carla O.: Well, I wasn't married yet so in the meantime I thought I would travel a bit until I ran out of money and then find some kind of job.

Clearly none of the women in our sample was immune to the pressures of traditional sex-typing.

Another important consideration mentioned by teachers and pharmacists in arriving at their occupational decisions was their perception of existing job opportunities--demand factors. They reported that they considered both the number of jobs generally available and also the extent to which these jobs appeared to be available to women.

Doreen T.: Teaching was a profession in which there was always an opening for women, especially in elementary school teaching.

Patricia T.: I liked the idea of teaching because you could find work where you wanted it. I wanted to travel and move around a bit and teaching was a good way to find employment wherever you were.

Linda T.: There were a lot of positions open in the field of education and they were taking everybody. It was an easy thing to get into.

Sara T.: When I was thinking about teaching there were a lot of jobs, in particular in grade school work. You can always get a job as a female teacher.

Kelly T.: Teaching wasn't a last resort but you know you want to make a living and you want to do well and teaching certainly does pay well and there was lots of hiring.

Jane P.: The thing which sold pharmacy to my parents was that you could always find some work. They felt you should get a profession which would help get a good paying job.

Janice P.: Pharmacy was attractive because it was a profession in which you could find work.

Louise P.: There were a lot of opportunities for work and there was a lot of flexibility in the kinds of places you could work.

Rosemarie P.: It was during the war and there were women doing all kinds of work. They were looking for women all over the place. At the school of pharmacy they were almost dragging the people in from the street.

Kathleen P.: Pharmacy seemed like a good field. If you wanted to work part-time you can. It is very well paying for a girl. If you want regular hours you can go into hospital pharmacy. There are avenues of professional development beyond that if that is your interest. Those things attracted me to the field.

Marie P.: I don't know how clear these ideas were but the convenience of pharmacy, getting a job in a variety of locations or in different kinds of settings, the flexibility of the work and its professional character were important. The people in pharmacy I had contact with said all pharmacists could always find work. Those ideas were not necessarily clear but they were there.

Dianne P.: As far as general science, I felt that they were not as easy to get jobs with them. Especially for a woman where they would prefer a man. Pharmacy is a profession which is licensed and if you are qualified you can work anywhere. You are sort of instantly accepted. In these other fields, as much as I might like them, I felt I might have a more difficult time. Certainly pharmacy, from the woman's point of view, is very flexible. You can get a job anywhere you like. I was aware of that flexibility when I was thinking about a career, although I am much more aware of it now. It is not like teaching where you have to be there all day long.

Clearly, occupational decisions are not made in a vacuum. To the contrary, perceptions of the demands of the occupational marketplace are an important factor in

decisions of educational specialization.

The realistic period . . . in which a choice is finally made with the intention of realizing it in actuality . . . is characterized by the difficult compromise between the aspirations of the individual and the opportunities offered in his environment.

(Caplow, 1954:227)

A few of the pharmacists, for example, reported that they had dismissed medicine as a possibility because they believed that the recruitment and promotion procedures would be more discriminatory towards women. They indicated that their experiences in the hospital setting often verified this belief. In other words, these women often acted in anticipation of job discrimination.

Policewomen and registered nursing assistants did, to a far greater extent, make their decisions in something of a vacuum. They were far more likely to express ignorance about the kinds of jobs available to them upon leaving school. Breton, in his consideration of decision-making handicaps, found that vocational indecision was associated with vocational incompetence. The undecided, perhaps in part because of their perceived ignorance, generally felt that they had little control over their final occupational choice. Rather, they were generally dependent upon others for their vocational decisions (1972:383). In order to understand their occupational decisions, then, we must examine their interpersonal contacts.

Interpersonal Contacts

Hypothesis Fourteen

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to have been exposed to non-traditional occupational alternatives through interpersonal contacts.

In order to test this hypothesis, we asked our respondents how they found their jobs. We distinguished between formal contacts and informal contacts. Formal contacts refer to universalistic sources of information-- job placement services, want-ads, bulletin boards, etc. Informal contacts refer to particularistic sources of information. We further distinguished within informal contacts between primary, or "strong ties," that is, family and close friends, and secondary, or "weak ties," that is, acquaintances (Granovetter, 1973).

As Table 5-9 shows, the majority of pharmacists (75.9%) and teachers (70.4%) relied on formal sources. This is consistent with Granovetter's (1974) finding that those seeking high status occupations are somewhat more likely to use formal or universalistic methods and Harvey's (1972) finding that women seeking professional employment are more likely than males to use universalistic methods.

This suggests that job information networks are sex specific or discriminate against females, although it may mean instead that these networks are highly job-specific and women are usually in jobs about which less information travels through networks-- for example lower status occupations.

(Tepperman, 1975:192)

TABLE 5-9
SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON JOB AVAILABILITY
FOR WOMEN IN FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Sources of Information on Job Availability	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		R.N.A.'s	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Informal								
Primary	1	3.4	3	11.1	15	50.0	6	24.0
Secondary	6	20.7	5	18.5	7	23.3	8	32.0
Formal	22	75.9	17	70.4	8	26.7	11	44.0
Total	29	100	27	100	30	100	25	100

$\chi^2 = 25.13$; D.f. = 6; $P < .001$ Significant

Policewomen and registered nursing assistants, on the other hand, were, as we anticipated, more likely to rely on informal contacts. Moreover, this was more often the case for policewomen (73.3%) than for registered nursing assistants (56%). Similarly, while one-half of the policewomen used primary or "strong" contacts, this was the case for only 24 per cent of the registered nursing assistants. We take this data to support our hypothesis at least for low status occupations. That is, it appears that women seeking a "job" are most likely to find non-traditional employment if introduced to such employment through interpersonal contacts, particularly members of their family and close friends.⁸

Discussion

While both registered nursing assistants and policewomen were likely to mention the importance of interpersonal contacts regarding job information, the role of these contacts was somewhat different for the two occupations. The registered nursing assistants reported that their contacts were important in providing them with general information about the prerequisites for and nature of training required. Many of them said that critical to

⁸Belitsky (1966) found that close interpersonal contacts were more important for women than men in their search for a job. For a general discussion of different types of contact networks, see Katz (1962).

their decision to enter this occupation was the information they received that the training was short (generally around six months, sometimes less) and not too demanding.

Wanda N.: I was working for about a year when some girl friends of mine directed me to the R.N.A. thing. They had gone through the training and finished. I heard about it through them. I went down to the center and got the forms and away I went. They didn't try to discourage me and it didn't seem that much of an investment.

Samantha N.: One day I was going home on the bus with a girl friend of mine. She was going to take the R.N.A. training and she said "Why don't you join?" She told me all about it and it didn't sound too bad.

Betty Ann N.: The nursing was most influenced by other people. While working in the office a number of my friends would be around and talking about how they were trained to be nurses. You would ask what it is like and they would say how easy it was or how they enjoyed it. I thought why not try it. So I tried it.

As these comments illustrate, the important interpersonal contacts were generally women who were themselves registered nursing assistants, or at least associated with hospital work. It is not surprising, then, that our respondents valued their "practical" advice.

Policewomen's contacts, on the other hand, were important not only as a source of job information, but also in helping the women actually get the jobs.

Coleen O.: I had a good friend whose father was a member of the O.P.P. My father was in the woods most of the time. He was a lumberman during the summer and ran a hunting lodge during the winter. Her father was like my second father. I would hang around with him and there were always police

officers around the place. I talked it all over with him and he thought I should give it a try. I did and was accepted.

Alice O.: A cousin who was married to a policeman and a policewoman herself mentioned to the sergeant that I was looking for something. The sergeant came around to the church and I had a long talk with her. I got to know her very well and that fortunately helped. I made an application and was in.

Denise O.: It was my sister's husband who was a staff inspector, who first suggested that I get a job with the police force. He was later very influential in making sure that I was transferred to official police work.

A number of the respondents were most explicit in their comments that in order to penetrate this traditionally male occupation, women would need the help of inside contacts--"some sort of drag."

Jill O.: You ask me would I recommend police work to any other woman. Sure, as long as she knows the score. All the new girls are getting in on drag. If she wants in, good for her, welcome aboard and I hope she has some friends or relatives in the Force.

Margo O.: I was really lucky in getting in when I did. Today there are so many applications you just have to have someone you know on the Force. Without that connection you don't have a chance. I can't think of anyone who has been accepted in the last three and a half years who has not had some drag on the Force somewhere. I couldn't have made it if I had to apply now.

Carla O.: We probably hire more girls now with police relatives, particularly among the cadets. There is the administrative advantage of not having to go through a lot of the security checks, but drag is much more important really.

To understand this we must look at police hiring policy.

A female inspector in the Metro-Toronto Police Department informed us that there were limited openings for females in police work, limits set by department regulation.

Inspector Grace O.: There are now about seventy policewomen in the Metro Department. That number is set by department regulation. It isn't a quota. It is a question of determining the number of jobs you have which you want done by certain personnel. Then you hire the number of personnel to fill those jobs. In effect that really doesn't answer the question. There is a judgement on what kinds of people you would consider using for certain jobs. The quota, if such a term is applicable, applies to the considerations and restrictions imposed upon women, limiting them to certain employment areas. The restrictions are in the jobs available, not in the number. The number of seventy was arrived at about four years ago. There was no number used before that. They hired mostly on the basis of need rather than absolute numbers.

The greatest demand for female officers was in the Youth Bureau. The units in the bureau operated roughly on a fifty-fifty basis with the men, for the first four or five years. As staff needs increased, more women were hired. When the Youth Bureau was reorganized in 1967, there were about nine men and eighteen women. The ratio became two women to every one man. What they did was to indulge in a bit of tokenism. Since then, hiring and employment of women in the department has been almost exclusively the reflection of the needs in the Youth Bureau.

As well, she pointed out that the administrators responsible for hiring often exhibited a "strict and cautious" attitude to hiring policewomen and were careful to hire the "right woman" for this "man's job."

Both the registered nursing assistants and policewomen typically described their entry into these occupations as "accidental" or fortuitous.

Dixie O.: My becoming a policewoman was a complete accident and I mean that in the total sense. I never thought about it. I didn't know anything about it.

Jill O.: The job came up, it looked good, and I took it.

Betty Ann N.: My becoming an R.N.A. is a rather strange thing. I had no pre-nursing training or anything. I hadn't even thought about being a nurse. Who knows?

As the data in Table 5-10 show, while pharmacists and teachers almost always entered their occupations directly upon leaving school, the majority of policewomen (73.3%) and registered nursing assistants (60%) had been working in other jobs before entering these occupations.

Professional workers . . . soon move to the professional level without much intervening experience in other occupations. Once they become professionals, only a few risk trying other jobs.

(Form & Miller, 1962:292)

On the other hand, the evidence suggests that people in lower status occupations will experience a number of "trial jobs," though typically at the same level (Form & Miller, 1962:292).

Both the nurses and policewomen frequently stated that they had had no commitment to their previous jobs and found them unrewarding. These jobs were not personally satisfying nor economically rewarding. Table 5-11 describes these previous jobs.

Samantha N.: Everyday I had been working as a secretary and not liking it so, what the hell, why not try [nursing]?

TABLE 5-10

THE NUMBER OF DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS PRIOR TO
PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE FOR WOMEN
IN FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Number of Different Occupations Prior to Entry	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		R.N.A.'s	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	1	3.4	1	3.7	8	26.7	8	32.0
2	-	--	-	--	9	30.0	7	28.0
3	-	--	1	3.7	3	10.0	-	--
4 or more	-	--	-	--	2	6.7	-	--
No Previous Employment	28	96.6	25	92.6	8	26.7	10	40.0
Total	29	100	27	100	30	100	25	100

$\chi^2 = 46.24$; D.f. = 3; $P < .001$ Significant

TABLE 5-11

THE TYPE OF OCCUPATION HELD PRIOR TO ENTRY FOR
WOMEN IN FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Pharmacists	Teachers	Policewomen	R.N.A.'s
Secretary (1)	Secretary (2)	Secretary (5)	Secretary (6)
		Clerk (10)	Clerk (2)
		Factory Worker (3)	Factory Worker (5)
		Military (3)	Hospital Worker (2)

Note: The number of women holding each type of occupation is given in parenthesis after each occupation.

Wanda N.: I didn't like the office anyway.

Kristine N.: When they asked me at the training center why I wanted to be an R.N.A., I told them it was to educate my sons. It was a financial reason, pure and simple.

Connie O.: It was boring. How boring it was. And about twenty cents an hour too.

While the process of entry into pharmacy and teaching might best be captured by the concept of "career," the process of entry into lower status occupations seems better captured by the notion of "drift" (cf. Lemert, 1972) from one job to another by virtue of fortuitous contacts. While pharmacists and teachers appear to have enacted decisions made while still in school, registered nursing assistants and policewomen might be characterized as selecting jobs and then making decisions. In any case, whether these women experience "role crystalization" (Wilson, 1966)--the belief that there is a fit between who they are and what they are doing--will depend, in part, on the nature of their experiences in the job. This is our question in Chapter Six.

Summary and Conclusion

Almost all the women in our sample have been subjected to traditional sex-typing in their socialization at home and in their experiences at school. Their vulnerability to this pressure, however, varies substantially. Those women who have acquired professional aspirations

through early socialization experiences are most vulnerable to traditional pressures if their academic performance is poor. Those women whose early socialization experiences have virtually precluded professional careers are most vulnerable to the vagaries of chance. None of the women, in our sample, was immune to the effects of sex-typing.

Moreover, occupational decisions are not made in a vacuum. To the contrary, perceptions of the demands of the occupational marketplace are an important factor in decisions of educational specialization. The actual demands of the occupational marketplace are surely a critical factor in the enactment of occupational decisions.

CHAPTER VI

Tell a woman: "woman's place is in the home", or "get thee to thy kitchen" and she doesn't like it; but call it "being a good housewife", which means exactly the same thing, and she'll drudge along, glowing with pride.

(In Wyndham, Trouble with Lichen, 1960:44-45)

It seems hard to believe that woman herself has clung to her chains of slavery, and instead of encouraging and assisting the brave torchbearers who have prepared the way for a broader and nobler womanhood to be possible, she has often drawn her skirts around her and whimpered, "I am perfectly satisfied to be the power behind the throne. A woman's place is in her home," etc., forgetting that many women would have no homes if they had not got out and hustled to keep themselves and their children.

(Flora MacDonald Denison, Toronto Suffrage Association, ca1909)

It's a man's world. Woman's place is in the home.
(Old sayings)

For many married women the decision whether or not to take a paid job outside the home often involved a purely personal dilemma. At the public hearings, some women told us that if they stayed at home they felt guilty because they were not using their skills and talents. Others told us that if they took a job they felt guilty because they might be neglecting their husbands and children, or other people might think they were. In other words, often a psychological conflict is an invisible barrier to freedom of choice for a woman.

(Royal Commission on the Status of Women, 1970:228-229)

DOING WOMAN'S WORK

We began the study with the claim that the area of "occupations" provides a meeting ground for sociologists with diverse interests. Nowhere is this clearer than in the examination of work experiences themselves. Inevitably such an examination will include a consideration of prior occupational orientations, the structure of work, and the nature of competing outside interests, particularly the family. Specifically, in order to understand women's work attitudes and behavior, we must consider their initial commitments, the organization of the particular occupation they have entered, and the ways in which they weigh and handle the actual or potential conflicting demands of occupational role and, say, family role. Ideally, we would have been able to interview women who had chosen and then rejected their occupations. In lieu of this, this chapter looks at women's attitudes regarding their work, and their expectations regarding temporarily or permanently leaving their jobs.

In studying working women, one obviously important aspect of the organization of work may be systematic discrimination on the basis of sex. Tepperman (1975), in his review of Canadian data on sex-based occupational discrimination, "concludes" that the data are inconclusive. While some evidence exists that even within occupations, women may

be segregated in terms of, for example, location and type of work (Bossen, 1971), there is also some evidence of female self-segregation (Tepperman, 1975:166-174).

As Caplow (1954:237-238) suggests, occupational discrimination simply reflects cultural definitions of the male and female role.

Women are barred from four out of every five occupational functions not because of incapacity or technical unsuitability but because the attitudes which govern interpersonal relationships in our culture sanction only a few working relationships between men and women and prohibit others on the grounds that have nothing to do with technology. There are two central themes (to this sanction system): (1) that it is disgraceful for a man to be directly subordinate to a woman except in family or sexual relationships; (2) that intimate groups, except those based on family or sexual ties, should be composed of either sex but never of both.

Because of such cultural definitions, women are not only segregated but are also excluded, or "exclude themselves," from positions of authority.

In either case, the limitations on occupational choice are abundantly clear. There will be hesitation on the part of women to strive for positions and there will be equal hesitation on the part of men to consider placing them in such positions.

(Hall, 1964:30)

One of the consequences is that it adds new stories to the super-structure of segregation.

(Hughes, 1971:149)

We would expect that the women most likely to encounter systematic discrimination would be those who have entered male-dominated occupations. On the other hand, we would expect those women who have entered traditionally female occupations to be most likely to bring these traditional attitudes to their work and, therefore, to segregate

themselves and to avoid positions of authority. Our data, as they are based on interviews with the working women, do not allow us to examine actual sexual discrimination. Nevertheless, we would expect women in "non-traditional" occupations to be more likely to view any occupational segregation that may exist in terms of constraints imposed on them on the basis of sex.

Hypothesis Fifteen

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to report occupational discrimination on the basis of sex.

Obviously, the position the woman holds within her occupation will be, to some extent, a function of self-imposed limits and limits imposed upon her. Self-imposed limitations, however, will be influenced as well by the woman's commitment to non-occupational roles, particularly the wife/mother role. That such considerations are of particular importance in discussing working women seems obvious.

It is very unlikely that the proportion of women employed will sustain any long-term increase so long as the contemporary family structure remains intact and the role of the housewife continues to be the leading role for adult women.

(Caplow, 1954:234)

In Canada, the importance of the family and the identification of women with the wife/mother role is well documented.¹ Nevertheless, as more women work there

¹See the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (1970); Sylvia Ostry (1967; 1968; 1971); and the Women's Bureau (1970).

apparently have been changes in the organization of the family.² A number of studies have documented the changes in the familial division of labor in families of working women.³ Rapoport and Rapoport (1968) and Fogarty, Rapoport, and Rapoport (1967), in their research on families in which both husband and wife pursue "careers," have described what they term the "dual-career" family, in which household tasks are distributed not on the basis of sex, but according to the skills and inclinations of the specific partner. This family arrangement supposedly allows women with career aspirations to pursue their work interests and meet the demands of a family.

However, Meissner and others (1975), using time-budget analysis, have challenged this "adaptive partnership theory." They have found that the problem of the double burden of housework and a paying job must generally be solved by the women. Their "solutions" generally involve either organizing their work to meet their domestic demands (for example, working part-time), or organizing their housework to meet the demands of their job. We would expect that the supposed non-traditional orientation of women who have selected male-dominated occupations would make these women

²Parsons (1942) emphasized the importance of the family as an adaptive response to the mobility and differentiation of modern industrial society.

³See Young and Wilmot (1957); Mogey (1963); Friedon (1963); and Gans (1965).

less vulnerable to such familial pressures.⁴

Hypothesis Sixteen

Women in non-traditional occupations are less likely to organize their work on the basis of perceived familial demands.

Hypothesis Seventeen

Women in non-traditional occupations are less likely to drop out (intend to drop out) when (if) they have children.

Occupational Segregation

Hypothesis Fifteen

Women in non-traditional occupations are more likely to report occupational discrimination on the basis of sex.

To test this hypothesis, we simply asked our respondents whether they believed that women working in their occupation were likely to encounter discrimination on the basis of sex. As the data in Table 6-1 indicate, pharmacists (41.4%) and policewomen (93.3%) were the most likely to report that they had encountered at least some occupational discrimination. In fact, one-third of the policewomen reported "much discrimination," though none of the other women, including pharmacists, so reported. As hypothesized, women in non-traditional occupations were more likely to perceive discriminations on the basis of sex.

⁴Rossi (1964) and Watley (1971) provide some data which support this assertion.

TABLE 6-1

PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION (SEX) OF ANY SORT WITHIN
THE OCCUPATIONAL SETTING FOR WOMEN
IN FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Perceived Discrimination	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		R.N.A.'s	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Much Discrimination	--	---	--	---	10	33.3	--	---
Some Discrimination	12	41.4	4	14.8	18	60.0	3	12.0
No Discrimination	17	58.6	23	85.2	2	6.7	22	88.0
Totals	29	100	27	100	30	100	25	100

$\chi^2 = 57.56$; D.f. = 6; $P < .001$ Significant

Discussion

It may appear that our finding serves to confirm the obvious: women in occupations which discriminate against women are most likely to perceive discrimination. Certainly, this may be the case. On the other hand, the comments of teachers, in particular, suggest that the relationship is not so direct or simple.

A number of the teachers indicated, for example, that they were aware that there were few female principals and administrators and that it might even be difficult for women to attain these positions. However, they added that they did not view this as discrimination, as women teachers are ideally suited to teaching young children and do not have the emotional or technical equipment for administrative positions. Simply, women, they claimed, would not be happy doing such inappropriate work.

April T.: I like working with kids and the work that a principal has to do is mostly administrative. I suppose I have never really thought about it. Most of the principals are male. I don't like to have to discipline the kids as well and that is what you have to do a lot of when you are a principal.

Carolyn T.: I like working with the children and you can't do that with a principal's job. I just don't have the skill or the interest in doing the principal's work.

Julie T.: I enjoy the personal contact. I enjoy the teaching. I don't think you get very much of that with administrative work. Besides it would mean a lot more training and I just don't have the time or energy for that.

Laura T.: The reason many women are not principals is that most of the women who want to be principals have completely obnoxious personalities. It seems they lose something when they go after that kind of work.

While almost all the teachers agreed that certain positions were, to some degree, closed to women, only four said this was inappropriate. In each case, these women reported that either they or a close friend had applied for an administrative post.

Robin T.: Women have not had much of a potential for getting into administration until recently. I hadn't considered it until nine years ago. I was still too involved in learning how to teach. I had decided that I might like to try some kind of administrative post and I had informally let the word out just to test the ground. Somebody came out to see me and I thought he was just having a friendly little chat with me after school. But then, when comparing notes with some of the other people who had the same "guest" and the same sort of little chat things became a little clearer. As far as I can remember the wording, he said, "The emotional nature of the woman is what makes her such a good classroom teacher. Women are sympathetic and empathetic to the feelings of the children and that is necessary in the classroom. It is unfortunate that it is also the very thing that mitigates against them in the administration." That was the first time I had anyone tell me that that was as far as I could go.

Brenda T.: It has been customary for the administrative positions in the school to be held by the males in the school. On top of it all there is the problem that most of the school boards and top administrative officials in education really don't want women in that kind of position. I know a friend of mine who had applied for a position. I found out later that the man who was hiring for that position had been told by his superior that he was to get a man for that position. That woman was really hurt by that. She was one of the women who wanted and would have been very good as an

administrator. Male prejudice prevented it. She was bumped. But this will change when the younger women begin to push a little.

We witness a rather different phenomenon among the registered nursing assistants. While many of them, in fact most of them, reported that they were discriminated against, they did not associate this with their sex. Doctors and nurses discriminated against them, they claimed, because of their "lowly status."

Kristine N.: I think there is a certain feeling among the R.N.A.'s and it's almost as if they are a black person in a white society.

Hazel N.: I could say I have worked here and I have worked there. But it wouldn't make any difference at all. At each place, in fact in almost each ward, you have to start at point zero again. I have had a lot of experience. Most of it I got working in a medical clinic for three years. I know about medication which some of the nurses haven't heard about. I know about them. I know what they consist of and what they do. It doesn't help you. You are an R.N.A. These are your wages, these are your responsibilities, these are the do's and the don'ts of the job and that's it. Take it or leave it. It isn't fair. I have accumulated much more outside of the hospital than I would have ever gotten in the hospital and they just won't allow us to do anything but give baths, change linen, and serve meals. It isn't that I necessarily want all kinds of things to do. I think there is a lot more we could be doing and that is where we are really left in the dark.

Constance N.: They give you no responsibility in a hospital. They make you feel as if you were a maid. You are just an underdog compared with the grad. I have some R.N. girl friends and they are beginning to feel that the R.N. is getting the garbage jobs as well. There seems to be more and more interns around the place and they get the goodie jobs. What is left is first picked over by the R.N. and the bottom of the pile comes to the eager R.N.A. We are the last people on the

ladder. We are on the last rung and these big people are on the top.

It is significant that some, though only three, did in fact perceive the discrimination in sexual terms. One of the respondents put it succinctly.

Judith Ann N.: You know, if it was a man they wouldn't treat him that way.

Pharmacists were more likely to report sexual discrimination, particularly during their apprenticeship or while working in retail pharmacies.

Jane P.: I graduated in 1950. There were a million and a half drug stores in New York City. I was not able to get a job. I could not do my apprenticeship in the State of New York. I had to go to New Jersey. There were only three women in a class of ninety graduating. One woman had her father who owned a pharmacy so there was no problem there. The other woman who was also a Negro couldn't find work so she bought herself a store in Philadelphia.

Rosemarie P.: I had some problems during the apprenticeship period. They all wanted a boy to slug the coke cases.

Olivia P.: I wasn't afraid to get into the field because it was male dominated. Although I knew it was. That male domination effect comes more after you are trained, in the kind of work you do, the place you work and the kind of reaction you get from other pharmacists and the general public.

It must be remembered, however, that the majority of the pharmacists reported little or no discrimination. Several indicated that just as they had selected pharmacy in part to avoid the discrimination they might encounter in medicine; they had selected their work setting in part to minimize any possible discrimination within pharmacy.

Valerie P.: My apprenticeship was in a hospital. All my friends were there. The place was staffed largely by women. I didn't have any problem.

Ruth P.: You know a lot of women came into hospital pharmacy because of all the females who work here. Here we have only one man. Even he is beginning to get ideas about leaving. We will pretty much have control of the place then.

Several, however, similar to teachers and registered nursing assistants, indicated that while women rarely achieve ownership or managerial positions and tend to be concentrated in a hospital setting, such occupational segregation was appropriate. Women, they claim, are ill-suited to the "business end" of pharmacy.

Heather P.: I prefer hospital pharmacy. I had a year of experience during my apprenticeship period with retail and that really put me off of it. I moved to the hospital and have been completely happy ever since. I feel it is more patient-oriented. In retail you have more money-haggling which bothers me. It is boring and limited in the type of patient who comes in and the kind of medication you are dispensing. In a hospital you are constantly coming across a wide variety of patients and medical combinations.

Elizabeth P.: A lot of women don't go into an ownership or manager's positions. Certainly their family responsibilities are the most important factor there. But there are also the long hours. Even a manager has to spend ten to twelve hours at the pharmacy. No one wants to own a pharmacy because of the large chains. In addition, we have no experience in the business side of pharmacy. Women tend to consider pharmacy as a profession only.

Almost all of the policewomen, on the other hand, reported discrimination on the basis of sex in both the assignment of duty and promotions.

Coleen O.: I feel confined by the Youth Bureau. The work is interesting enough but there are a lot of other things I could and would like to be doing. But what are you to do? We used to work the radio room, we walked the beats and all that but they have funnelled us into the youth and juvenile section. The jobs they haven't taken away from us are the traditional 'joe jobs' of transporting prisoners, the notorious 'pawn squad.' Don't do yourself what you can find a policewoman to do. I have had several run-ins with the Chief over this sort of thing. In particular the affair of police-women carrying guns. We do dangerous work. Just because we work with kids, everyone seems to forget that. They also forget we work in a domestic environment with strong emotional overtones. Parents and children, explosive that certainly is. Well, the Chief had the gall to stand up and present this totally ignorant position on women and revolvers, based on a complete non-comprehension of what we do and what we get into and states that as long as he is Chief, women will not carry guns. I blew up and proceeded to give him a little information. We disagreed as much as I dared. After all, I still want to work here.

Jill O.: One thing you had better learn about police-women. There are not only problems in job selection but in promotion. A very good woman officer in the Youth Bureau will take and train a male in the department and off he goes to be promoted. The rate of improvement in the promotional scale is nothing, zero, forget it.

Bonnie O.: You know, there is a lot of discrimination, well not discrimination, on second thought discrimination is the only word for it, in promotions, assignments, dirty duty and general harassment.

No doubt the overwhelming response of policewomen that there is substantial sexual discrimination in police work is related to their experiences in the occupation. Police officers are assigned to specific duties. In our sample 86.6 per cent of the women had been assigned to the Youth Bureau, which obviously confines them to work with

children. In fact, almost 80 per cent of all the police-women in Toronto and Hamilton were assigned to the Youth Bureau and many of the others were confined to work with female offenders. Similarly, policewomen are rarely promoted above the position of constable.⁵ Only about 5 per cent of the policewomen in Toronto and Hamilton have risen above the position of constable, all but one of these within the Youth Bureau.

At the same time, however, teachers in Ontario rarely achieve administrative positions;⁶ yet, the teachers in our sample rarely viewed this as a consequence of sexual discrimination. Perceived sexual discrimination is no doubt related to actual discrimination. Our data, however, seem to suggest that perceived sexual discrimination is also related to, in "feminist" jargon, "heightened consciousness." Perhaps, what some women see as sexual discrimination, others see as appropriate occupational role differentiation. Similarly, what some women see as sexual discrimination, others may see as discrimination based on non-sexual criteria.⁷

⁵Data gathered by the Women's Bureau of the Toronto Police Department and the Hamilton Police Department Annual Report (1968-1972). See Appendix 5, p. 288.

⁶Stokes (n.d.). See Appendix 5, p. 284.

⁷The employment pattern of women in all four occupations is provided in Appendix 5, pp. 285-289.

It may be that women in predominantly male occupations are more aware of their "minority status." Perhaps these women are more likely to have at least a somewhat "liberated consciousness." In either case, these women would be more likely to perceive occupational constraints in terms of sexual discrimination.⁸

Working Arrangements

Hypothesis Sixteen

Women in non-traditional occupations are less likely to organize their work on the basis of perceived familial demands.

In order to test this hypothesis, we asked the women if they had at any time adapted their working arrangements substantially to meet the demands of their families. Single women and childless married women claimed that the question had never arisen.⁹ None of the policewomen had children. Up until 1973, policewomen were asked to leave the force if they had children.

Table 6-2, then, presents the responses of married women with children. In this sample most of the women in

⁸Himelfarb (1975) has drawn a similar conclusion in his research on the stigmatized. There is a good deal of variation in how the obese, for example, view the negative reactions of others. Only those for whom obesity is a highly central aspect of self-definition are likely to view negative responses as discrimination on the basis of appearance.

⁹See data in Tables 3-4 and 3-5, pp. 78-79.

TABLE 6-2

ADJUSTMENTS IN WORKING ARRANGEMENTS FOR
FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN

Patterns of Adjustment	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		R.N.A.'s	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No adjustment								
Work full-time	5	23.8	4	30.8			6	30.0
Some adjustment								
Part-time work	12	57.1	3	23.1			4	20.0
Adjusting work hours	17	80.9	5	38.5	Not		10	50.0
Suitable location	10	47.6	1	7.6	Applicable		3	15.0
Totals	21		13				20	

Note: The percentages in this table do not total 100% as each respondent may appear in more than one category.

pharmacy (76.2%), teaching (70%), and registered nursing (70%) reported that they had, in fact, adjusted their working arrangements to meet the demands of the family. In fact, the pharmacists (57.1%) were more likely than teachers (23.1%) or registered nursing assistants (20%) to have switched to part-time work at some time during their careers. More often, however, the women adjusted to family pressures by budgeting work hours or by finding a work setting close to home. In any case, married women in all three occupations seem to have considered family demands in organizing their work.

Hypothesis Seventeen

Women in non-traditional occupations are less likely to drop out (intend to drop out) when (if) they have children.

Clearly the most radical adjustment to working arrangements is to withdraw from the labor force. Teachers (61%) and registered nursing assistants (50%) were the most likely to stop work¹⁰ after having a child (Table 6-3). Most of the pharmacists (81%), on the other hand, kept their jobs after having a child, though only about one-quarter of them continued to work on a full-time basis.¹¹

¹⁰ Only those women who had left their jobs for more than six months, the traditional maternity leave, were considered to have left the labor force.

¹¹ The women who did "drop out" typically did so after their first child and then again after each succeeding child. As well, obviously all of the women had returned to work by the time of the interview.

TABLE 6-3

THE EFFECTS OF CHILDREN ON THE WORKING STATUS
OF WOMEN IN FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Working Status	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		R.N.A.'s	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Work full-time	5	24	4	31	--	--	6	30
Work part-time	12	57	1	8	--	--	4	20
Stop work	4	19	8	61	--	--	10	50
Totals	21	100	13	100			20	100

$\chi^2 = 12.02$; D.f. = 4; $P < .02$ Significant

Although most of the women in all three categories made some adjustment to their work hours, pharmacists were the least likely to make the radical adjustment of leaving work altogether. This would seem to support our hypothesis.

However, when we examine the intentions of childless women regarding their work upon giving birth to a child, we find a rather different pattern. As Table 6-4 indicates, the pharmacists were the least likely to indicate that they planned to stop work if they had children. This is obviously consistent with the work behavior of the pharmacists who did have children. However, almost all of the policewomen (93%) indicated that they would stop work upon having children. This might mean one of two things: that our hypothesis is not supported by the data, or that policewomen do not plan to have children. In this case, it would appear that our hypothesis is not supported by the data; most of the policewomen, in fact most of the childless women in all occupations, planned to have children (Table 6-5). While the data on pharmacists appear to support our hypothesis, the data on the policewomen clearly do not.

Discussion¹²

The relationship between perceived family demands and adjustments in working arrangements is obviously

¹²The following discussion must be understood

TABLE 6-4
WOMEN WITHOUT CHILDREN AND THEIR PLANS FOR
WORKING WITH CHILDREN IN THEIR HOME

Work Plans	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		R.N.A.'s	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Work full-time	2	28	3	22	2	7	1	20
Work part-time	5	63	2	14	--	--	1	20
Stop work	1	12	9	64	28	93	3	60
Totals	8	100	14	100	30	100	5	100

$\chi^2 = 26.63$; D.f. = 6; $P < .001$ Significant

TABLE 6-5

THE FAMILY PLANS OF CHILDLESS WOMEN
IN FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Family Plans	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		R.N.A.'s	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Plan to have children	6	75.0	11	78.6	28	93.3	4	80.0
Do not plan to have children	2	25.0	3	21.4	2	6.7	1	20.0
Totals	8	100	14	100	30	100	5	100

$\chi^2 = 3.52$; D.f. = 3; $P < .50$ Not Significant

complex. Almost all the women made some adjustments to their working arrangements to meet family demands. These adjustments ranged from selecting a work setting convenient to home to temporarily leaving work altogether. Nor can we account for the differences in work adjustments simply on the basis of whether the women are employed in traditional or non-traditional occupations. Pharmacists were the most likely to make "minor" adjustments to their work arrangements; teachers and registered nursing assistants were the most likely to leave their jobs.

Our respondents suggest four factors must be considered to understand how these women, particularly mothers or prospective mothers, organize their work: (1) how important, in their view, is a mother's full-time presence in the home; (2) how much do they "enjoy" work; (3) to what extent does the organization of their occupation allow them to adjust their work arrangements, short of leaving the job; and (4) how important to the family is the "extra income"¹³ they earn.

within the limits of the study. The purpose of the study was to examine the influence of socialization experiences on occupational selection. Our interest in the occupational experiences themselves is as an extension of this question. Obviously, a full consideration of the experiences of "dual careers" would involve a much closer examination of family life (see Meissner and others, 1975).

¹³We recognize the implicit sexual bias in discussing the women's income as "extra," auxiliary to that of their husbands. We use the term "extra income" to capture the views of the women in our sample.

Almost all of the women in our sample seemed to believe that the mother's presence in the home, particularly with young children, was of great importance.

Brenda T.: I see very few cases of women who are able to do justice to both their families and to their teaching. One or the other seems to suffer. It is just too demanding if you are really involved with this work to get enough time, concentration, or effort into both. I think a woman should return home and concentrate her efforts in the raising of her children. If she does that she will have raised them well enough so that they are independent enough, early enough, to allow her to return to work.

Karen T.: I am planning now on having a child and I will leave teaching. I have stayed in long enough to get my permanent certificate and if I should ever need to get back into it, that will be there. But you can't be a woman and a teacher at the same time. I really want to be a mom. I don't plan to work. I want to stay home and raise my children at least until they are in high school. I have seen how children react when their mothers go to work especially when I had the younger children in nursery school. If you want to be a dedicated housewife you have to give up something as a teacher. I want to be a mother and the housework naturally seems to go along with that. I will just have to accept it.

Peggy T.: If I were to have children I would stop work immediately. There is no question about that. A mother belongs with her children. When they get a little older I might consider working again, but that will depend on where we are and the kinds of work that are available as well as the amount of responsibility the children are capable of handling. I have seen too many children who are emotionally upset when their parents neglect them and in my mind a working mother neglects her children.

Sharon N.: I would never use a day care center or anything like that. There are just too many stories I could tell you about the problems of a day care center. I know of at least seven

instances of friends of mine where the person who was supposed to look after the children actually did much more harm than good. I knew of one case where the woman was giving the kids all kinds of aspirins. In another case the woman turned on the gas and forgot about it with all the children in the next room. There are too many things that can happen. There is no way in this world I would trust anyone else with my children.

Marion N.: My place, I always felt, was in the home.

Marcia N.: Definitely, the woman's place is in the home.

Susan P.: I really don't like to leave them, in particular when they are little. I have seen other children around the streets. Their parents work and the kids are wild. They have no one to keep them in check, to answer their questions or things like that. So I may retire for a couple of years. I would like to go back to work once they get a little on their own.

Leslie P.: My philosophy has always been clear. It is the principle I have followed and the one I always recommend to anyone considering a career in pharmacy. The responsibilities of a woman are to her family and the raising of her children. Everything has to be second to that.

The only minor difference in response could be found between pharmacists and the women in the other three occupations. About one-half of the pharmacists indicated that while the mother's presence was obviously of great importance, this did not preclude working.

Sandra P.: You have to be careful with this family thing. Days and weeks go by that you get so immersed in the home and the little one that you have to stop and get out. It's better for everyone.

Nancy P.: I wonder what it will be like when the family comes along. I know my responsibilities and I enjoy accepting them, but you have to wonder how good a mother you will be if that's all you've got.

We can only speculate about the reasons for the pharmacists' greater willingness to accept the "dual career" notion. On the one hand, this may be a function of the orientations they brought to their jobs, perhaps because of their more extensive education. On the other hand, however, their attitudes could just as easily reflect their experiences on the job. Simply, if a woman finds her work satisfying she may be more likely to accept the notion that both work and family are important.¹⁴

Pharmacists were by far the most likely to indicate that they found their work satisfying, fulfilling. In fact, a number indicated that giving up pharmacy would mean giving up something which had become central to their lives.

Jane P.: I worked on a part-time basis when they were very small. I worked for two reasons. I personally enjoy my profession and I am a very active individual and I know I couldn't stay home. I did week-end and night work until the children were seven and four respectively and then I opened my own pharmacy.

Louise P.: The part-time work is an attempt at a compromise. If I didn't work, I would go crazy. It is absolutely necessary for my interest and activity.

Nina P.: Pharmacy is ideal for a woman. It gives you satisfying and important work and allows you to raise a family. It's just ideal for a woman.

While a number of the women in the other

¹⁴Spencer and Featherstone (1975) suggest that this might also be tied to the relatively high income earned by pharmacists, though they themselves rarely mentioned it.

occupations, particularly teachers and least often registered nursing assistants, also reported that they found their jobs enjoyable, they rarely described their occupations as central to their lives. In fact, the registered nursing assistants more often reported that at least initially they were pleased with the idea of leaving work.

Alison N.: I just enjoy staying at home. If I get bored with the housework, I have the garden in back or I can visit some of my friends. I can pack up the baby and go to Hamilton. I like to sew and to knit and that takes up the time when I am not doing the housework. I don't intend to consider a return to nursing until the kids are away in school. If they are at home, I want to be at home. If I get bored at home I pack up and go to the Falls. It is close enough so that I can be back here in time for his supper.

Lona N.: You miss a lot of their growing up if you do too much work. My little girl is six months now. She is just starting to do things I would miss so much. As they progress through there is a lot of learning to be done at home.

We say "initially" because a number of the women reported that when they left work, they found the role of mother and housewife less rewarding than they had anticipated. Several reconsidered their initial decision and began to look for at least part-time work. Work was apparently seen as an escape from the "oppressiveness" of being a full-time houseworker and mother, rather than as satisfying in itself.

Samantha N.: Before I never thought I would have worked with a child in the family. I just don't

like the idea and I still don't. But on some days, like today, the kid really bugs me. It is on days like this when I figure it is all right for a mother to work part-time. The doctor says John is really attached to me. I don't want that sort of thing to happen. I think that working part-time really helps in that regard. It certainly would not hurt me to work. Little kids will do anything to get your attention. Once they have it, that is not enough, two minutes later they are trying to get it again. They always try to be the center of things. Well, they have to learn that the world ain't so and I have to make sure that I don't always give in to them. So working is a nice solution.

Claudia N.: I went nuts. It's not much fun; I mean the kids are, most of the time, but the rest of it, you just go crazy. I never knew how much I enjoyed being a nurse.

Rhoda N.: I tried the staying at home and being the dutiful wife just after my baby was born but things were really bad. I put on weight. I sat around and watched television all day. I lost my interest in a lot of things I used to be interested in. I was completely and totally bored. Now that I am working my hair has to be done. I have to be clean. I have to get out of the house and meet people. You have to stay sharp on the job or someone else is going to take that job away from you. That is something I don't want. Working keeps me on my toes and it keeps my husband on his toes. It helps him to realize that it is his baby too. That is another concern I have. Being home 24 hours a day, that baby would become so dependent on me. I think the child has to learn that mother does go out and that the father is around. I don't go out to drink or to socialize, but I think she should have a good idea of both parents and not just one. I am a good mother. I know it and I don't feel guilty leaving her. It is good to have the mother there when the child needs her and I intend to be here when my child needs me. If it means losing a job because I have to be here, then so be it. My family comes first and then my job.

There was a wide range of responses among the policewomen. Some indicated that they regretted or would

regret leaving work to look after their children, but, as we have indicated, the choice for them was clear. More found the choice even easier. Many of the policewomen indicated that they would welcome the opportunity to leave an occupation that was unsuitable for females.

Carla O.: Getting married didn't make any difference at all. But children, that is another story. I would never work when there are children around. It isn't only that I think women should stay home with the kids. This kind of work is not for females. I would never recommend it to a woman. If you don't want to get married and want a career, O.K., but you have to put up with a lot of shit and see a lot of shit. The thing is completely de-feminizing. You take too much from the people you work with and from the people you are trying to help. I am even stronger about the idea of keeping my daughter from this work.

As we previously indicated, policewomen were the most likely to claim that they had experienced sexual discrimination in their work. For these women, police work was difficult for women not because they were ill-suited to the job, but because of the treatment they received.

It must be emphasized that the alternatives available to the women are limited by the organization of their occupation. Pharmacists repeatedly pointed out that the flexibility of pharmacy allowed them to find a compromise which enabled them more or less to maintain their home and occupational career. They were able to adjust their working hours, select from a variety of part-time alternatives, change job location when necessary, and return with

ease after a short absence from pharmacy.¹⁵

Kathleen P.: Pharmacy is a very good field. If you want to work part-time you can. If you want regular hours, you can have that too. It is a perfect field for a mother. I wish my daughter would go into it.

Although the flexibility of hours and availability of part-time work seemed not as great for teachers, they typically mentioned that re-entering the labor force after a few years was relatively easy and that once their children were grown the working hours of a teacher suited well the working hours of a mother.

Doreen T.: With the children it is not that hard working. I leave twenty minutes before they leave and I am home half-an-hour after they get back from school. That doesn't leave much time for them to get into trouble. I have the same holidays as they have and that is ideal.

Geraldine T.: Teaching is a good job for being a mother and a worker. I don't think I thought about it in that way but I think a lot of women today do think in those terms. It is convenient and the hours are appropriate to the things you have to do around the house.

Registered nursing assistants, on the other hand, frequently complained that they had little choice in working hours and that part-time work is increasingly less available.

Angela N.: Part-time work is somewhat available,

¹⁵McFarlane (1975) has found that 75% of the female dentists in his sample also were able to make "minor" adjustments to their work arrangements--locate office near home, adjust working hours, etc. The flexibility of dentistry seems to have been important to these women.

although there is not as much for the R.N.A. as for the R.N. They are putting so many girls through the system that there are all kinds of younger girls without family responsibilities who can work full-time that that eliminates a lot of the part-time positions. They are putting three groups of girls through each year. It seems they would rather train a new batch of girls than make things easier for those of us who have children and would like some kind of work. Some hospitals have a floating pool of part-time people. Working that kind of system is a rat race. You never really are sure where you will be next. You go where you are needed.

Jocelyn N.: Most of the hospitals I have worked in have this seven-on system. You work seven afternoons, get your two days off, then return for seven nights and then two days again, and then it is back to days for fourteen days. That is not too bad when you are single, but try and organize a household around it.

The virtual unanimity of the policewomen that they would leave work when they had children is no doubt due in part to the complete inflexibility of their work hours and the complete lack of part-time alternatives. In addition to this, they are faced with the disruptions of shift work. Mott and others (1965:24ff.) point out some of the disruptive effects of shift work on family life.¹⁶ Men who work shifts and their families do not like shift work; however, they accept with resignation that "men do what they must." It is scarcely surprising that women with traditional notions of the wife/mother role are less willing to accept these disruptive effects.

¹⁶Lucas (1971) provides an informative discussion of the impact of shift work on family life in small communities.

TABLE 6-6

THE HUSBANDS' OCCUPATIONAL STATUS SCORE IN
THE FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Status Categories	Occupations							
	Pharmacists		Teachers		Policewomen		R.N.A.'s	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
60 - 79.9	21	87.5	7	35.0	2	13.3	1	4.5
40 - 59.9	3	12.5	9	45.0	3	20.0	5	22.8
20 - 39.9	--	--	4	20.0	10	66.07	16	72.7
Totals	24	100	20	100	15	100	22	100
Average status score	69.58		51.89		41.72		36.44	
Range of status scores	46.95-76.69		31.29-73.22		31.00-64.52		28.96-60.93	

Note: The status scores for husbands' occupations were determined from
Blishen (1967).

$\chi^2 = 34.11$; D.f. = 6; $P < .001$ Significant

Carla O.: There is only one problem with my working and having a family and that is the shift work.

Pauline O.: It is almost impossible to run a family and have both of us on shift work.

Bonnie O.: It is impossible with the shift work. You never see your husband. It is all right while we need the money but it would be hard for a long term arrangement.

As the last comment illustrates, there is one further consideration that also constrains the women in deciding what to do when they have children--money. Data on husbands' occupational status is presented in Table 6-6. It is apparent that women in professional occupations married men in higher status occupations. Although not identical, high status jobs tend to be high income jobs. Not surprisingly, then, money was rarely an issue for the married pharmacists or teachers. In fact, several indicated that the relatively good incomes earned by their husbands "liberated" the women to choose full-time work, part-time work, or full-time housework solely in terms of their personal inclinations.

Dianne P.: We're not desperate about money which means I decide on the basis of what's important to me and that changes from time to time. Right now it's important to be with the kids. Later on I am going to go into pharmacy in a fully professional way. Even my husband thinks that in about a year or so I will get the bug.

Linda T.: My husband makes a good enough income so that we can afford a housekeeper. In fact he insisted that I have a full-time helper in the house. We both agreed I should not try to do two jobs. This way I can be fair to myself and to the children. I have the best of both worlds.

The policewomen and registered nursing assistants were more likely to mention money as an important consideration.¹⁷ In fact, several of the policewomen indicated that they would quit work if they did not need the money.

Carla O.: My husband and I are now trying to buy a house. Once that is paid for I am going home and have my children.

Dixie O.: I would definitely quit if there were children involved. None have come along yet so that problem hasn't come up. I will work until after things are paid for and then home I go. I am very traditional in that respect. I was and am very traditional, although my job isn't. I didn't consider it at the time I got into this but I am well aware of it now. I want a home and children. You can't be more traditional than that. I like the work and the money, but there is no question I would quit if I had the opportunity.

Maureen O.: My husband is against women working but we need the money for our house. He has postponed his arguments.

Similar concerns were often expressed among the registered nursing assistants.

Dorma N.: My husband does not especially like my working but what can you do with the price of things today. I mean, with the price of groceries, you just about have to have both members of the family working, in particular if you are just beginning a family.

Hazel N.: I suppose I wouldn't work if things were not so expensive or if my husband was not trying

¹⁷ Obviously money was a persistent concern for many of the single women in all the occupations. See Spencer and Featherstone (1975). Married policewomen and registered nursing assistants, too, spoke of money, not

to improve his education and his working conditions. I would love to have five kids and raise them. I would work, but only part-time. I really am a family nut but never in the same way as my mother was.

Obviously the incomes of these working women, particularly the policewomen and registered nursing assistants, do more than provide the "little extras," but rather contribute to the purchase of food, clothing, and shelter (cf. Armstrong and Armstrong, 1975:381-383). Many, then, are faced with a dilemma upon the birth of a child. A good mother, they feel, must be home with the children; the income they earn is important to the survival of the family; there is little flexibility in work hours and schedules for registered nursing assistants. Many of the women indicated that their husbands believed that a mother's first responsibility is her children. At the same time, the husbands often encouraged them to continue to work or at least to quit for only a short time. In fact, rarely did any of the women in any of the occupations report that their husbands had actively discouraged them from working. One of the registered nursing assistants captures this nicely.

Angela N.: My husband and I both recognize we have our own careers. Mine just includes the children. He makes sure that I don't forget that. Otherwise he is very encouraging.

as a source of "extras" nor as providing a sense of independence, but as a contribution to family income. See below.

In short, the dilemma must be solved by the women themselves (cf. Meissner and others, 1975). The registered nursing assistants who continue to work often did so because they found inexpensive baby sitters whom they could trust.

Samantha N.: It is very hard working with the shifts. I tried working full-time after my baby was born. It was my husband's idea but I would never do that again. John was small and I was on the night shift. We had a cousin look after John a lot. I don't think I could ever find a day care center which would take him at six in the morning or at seven at night. Those are the shifts you usually have to work. The better shifts go to those with longer seniority at the hospital. When you return to work you have to take what you can get. The baby sitter and the day care center programs are just not flexible to meet those kinds of demands.

Dorma N.: I had my children living at my mother's. They would come home on my days off. If I was working nights, I would stop over at my mother's and visit with the kids for a while. If I was working days, I would go over and put them to bed and then come home after that. Working the night shift was the hardest because I wasn't there when they got up or when they went to bed.

Batty Ann N.: I didn't have as much of a problem as a lot of girls did. I paid my mother and she was more than willing to do it. If I had to get a baby sitter it would have been impossible. I just would not have been able to work. My mother was sick for a couple of weeks and I just had to quit work. There was no other choice. I am expecting my third child shortly and I will have to give the whole thing some thought. I don't know if I will retire or not. If I do quit, I will try to get some casual work when the kids are in their teens. Maybe I wouldn't even go back to work then. It might be nice not working at all. Before we were just starting out as a family and that involves a lot of expense.

Only one reported she had made use of formal day care

facilities and she indicated her belief that this was an inadequate solution.¹⁸

Rebecca N.: They say that the children need you when they are small and they say they need you when they are going to school, but what can I say? I had to work.

Half of the nurses, however, left work at least until their children were in school. At the same time they experienced the effects of a reduced family income.

Rhoda N.: It hurts a bit but I know it was the right thing.

Claudia N.: We both [husband and she] wished I could go on working full-time. It would have been nice but there was just no way.

As we have already indicated, many found housework dull and oppressive.¹⁹ It seems then that their choice was between work that was not particularly satisfying but was financially important and housework which was not particularly satisfying but was culturally important. Or, as Rhoda N. put it, "You are caught between the devil and the deep blue sea."

Most of the women in our sample were concerned about meeting the demands of both the family and work. For pharmacists and to a lesser extent for teachers, this meant weighing satisfying work against family demands. For

¹⁸The Women's Bureau (1970:13-17) documents the reluctance of working women in Canada to make use of day care facilities.

¹⁹For an excellent discussion of attitudes regarding housework, see Oakley (1974).

registered nursing assistants and policewomen, this meant weighing the economic benefits of work against the supposed social benefits of staying at home. With the arrival of children, pharmacists were provided the greatest degree of flexibility in resolving the balance by adjusting their work arrangements. The alternatives were far more restricted for both policewomen and registered nursing assistants. Many of the women who left work to raise a family came to redefine work as more than simply a source of income, but also as an escape from tedium.

Summary and Conclusions

Whether because of differences in socialization experiences or simply an awareness of their "minority status" in their occupations, pharmacists and particularly policewomen were more likely than either teachers or registered nursing assistants to perceive occupational constraints in terms of sexual discrimination. The belief that they encountered sexual discrimination seemed to be milder and less pervasive for pharmacists than policewomen. While this difference may in large part be due to their actual experiences at work, it may also be related to the perceived benefits these women derive from their work.

Almost all of the married women in our sample were concerned about the potentially conflicting demands of family and work. The ways in which the women balanced

these demands seemed to be influenced by their perceptions of work and its importance to their lives. We have pointed out previously that an important distinction between professional and non-professional women was the markedly different work expectations they acquired through socialization. While pharmacists and teachers were concerned about finding interesting, fulfilling work, policewomen and registered nursing assistants were concerned about finding any work. For the most part, pharmacists and to a lesser extent teachers described their work as satisfying and enjoyable. Policewomen and registered nursing assistants were far more likely to describe the benefits of work solely in economic terms. Registered nursing assistants often complained about the low status of their occupation and the consequent limitations in their responsibilities and choices. Policewomen often complained about the difficulties encountered by women in this male-dominated occupation.

Given these differences in their perceptions of work experience, it is not surprising that pharmacists were least likely to leave or anticipate leaving work upon having children. In fact, our data suggest that even more registered nursing assistants and policewomen would have left work, whether or not they had children, had it been economically feasible.

The major issue seems to be one of alternatives

available. The nature of their work provided pharmacists a number of alternatives short of leaving work in meeting the demands of their families. Similarly, many of the teachers had selected their work precisely because it allowed them to integrate their "dual careers" with perhaps only brief exits from the labor force. The organization of assistant nursing and police work did not provide this kind of flexibility. To be a "good mother" the woman "had to leave work."

Obviously many working women, particularly working mothers, will encounter difficulties in what is still largely a man's world. However, these difficulties seem to be greatest, not necessarily for those in non-traditional occupations, but rather for those women who work because they need the money and for those women who work in occupations which do not offer flexibility in working arrangements. This is nicely illustrated by the registered nursing assistants who had children. Typically, they did not want to work. They should be home with their children and, in any case, their jobs provided little satisfaction. On the other hand, their work was important for the income it brought to the family. But assistant nursing provided no real compromise solutions. Not surprisingly, many of the registered nursing assistants felt that they had to make one of two bad choices. The difficulties were simply aggravated for those who left work

only to find that full-time housework and motherhood were also difficult.

While almost all of the women were to some degree constrained in their occupational choices by their traditional notions of femininity, this was not the only source of constraint. And obviously some women are more constrained than others.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

We began this study with what we thought to be a relatively simple question: why do some women select jobs which are typically only undertaken by men? Our focus was on whether the socialization experiences of these women differed from those who chose traditionally female work. A central finding, perhaps, is that our starting question was by no means a simple one.

Problems of Research Design

We noted at the outset that research on occupational choice involves a research design dilemma. Does one examine the attitudes and orientations of young women while still in school or does one rely on retrospective data gathered from those who have already enacted their choices? While we felt it was crucial in our study of occupational entry to interview women who had, in fact, made their choices, this research design imposes obvious difficulties in data interpretation. We are aware, for example, that people reconstruct their biographies to fit their current situations. The past takes on new meaning in light of the present. Women in non-traditional

occupations, in particular, may be likely to search their backgrounds for factors which make sensible to them their occupational choice. Despite the precautions we describe in Chapter Three, there is no way of knowing whether these women held their values and attitudes prior to their entry into the occupation. What is needed now is a longitudinal study which follows young girls through their schooling into their occupation.

Further research should, as well, include women who have left their occupation, who may have decided that it had been an inappropriate choice. The data in Chapter Six seem to indicate, for example, that policewomen had little commitment to their occupation and were quite prepared to leave. However, it would obviously be important to have data on those who actually did leave. For a variety of reasons we were unable to get this data, but future studies should examine the differences between those who choose an occupation and those who choose and then reject it. Nevertheless, we believe that our findings can provide the hypotheses for future research.

Influence of the Family

Our examination of the socialization experiences within the family revealed no significant differences between women who selected traditional occupations and those who selected non-traditional occupations. In fact,

almost all of the women in our sample, in all occupations, expressed traditional values regarding work and home. Obviously, we cannot assume that a woman who selects a non-traditional occupation--pharmacy or policework, for example, and perhaps truck driving and construction work, medicine and law as well--has non-traditional values or a non-traditional conception of the role of women, beyond the belief, that is, that women can and perhaps should work.

Typically, women in our sample placed family "responsibilities" before work, or at least expressed concern about balancing the demands of each. For example, those with working mothers said, not that they had learned to revise the priorities traditionally attached to the role of wife and mother, but rather that they had learned that women could work and still maintain the traditional priorities. In short, working in general or working in a non-traditional occupation does not necessarily indicate a radical shift in the women's conceptions of femininity.

We found that early socialization experiences were not important in directing the women toward either traditional or non-traditional careers; rather, these experiences were more important in providing more general occupational orientations which directed the women toward either "professional" goals or "work" goals. Moreover, social class variables were more important in determining

these occupational orientations than were the hypothesized sex-role variables. Our respondents typically pointed to their fathers' occupational values as being particularly influential. Not surprisingly, professional women were often the daughters of professional fathers. These influences were often most clearly manifested in the women's evaluation of education.

Influence of the School

Our data suggest that teachers and guidance counselors in the school had little direct influence on any of the women in our sample, other than perhaps to reinforce the traditional sex-typing they had been subjected to at home. Moreover, it would appear that the women's attitudes regarding school were largely a function of their socialization experience in the home. While professional women had placed a high evaluation on schooling, including post-secondary education, this was rarely the case for the non-professional woman. These attitudes were also reflected in their self-reported academic performance. Professional women were more likely to report that they had done well than were the others.

Obviously, the early socialization experiences of some women virtually precluded professional careers. However, for those women who had acquired professional aspirations, academic performance seems to have been an important

factor in their occupational decisions. They seemed to be most vulnerable to the pressures of occupational sex-typing if their academic performance was poor. In our study, teachers were more likely to have done poorly than were pharmacists, though both groups apparently outperformed both policewomen and registered nursing assistants.

The women who did not aspire to careers and who therefore did not view formal education as an important occupational route seem to have been most vulnerable to the vagaries of chance. The most important factor in their occupational choice appears to have been the influence of close informal contacts.

Occupational decisions are not made in a vacuum. Typically, both pharmacists and teachers arrived at their decisions while still in school, but not before a careful consideration of the job market. At this point it becomes clear that none of the women in our sample was immune to the pressures of sex-typing. Pharmacists, for example, seem to have viewed pharmacy as a compromise between the relatively low status female professions and the higher status male professions. Not only, they believed, would they be more welcome in pharmacy than in, say, medicine, they would also be more able to maintain both their "professional" role and their familial role. The non-professionals were more concerned about getting a job,

any job, which means a job they could get. For example, policewomen often indicated that the single most important factor in their taking the job was simply their finding out from someone close to them that positions were available.

These initial attitudes regarding work influenced the women's perceptions regarding their occupational experiences as well as their subsequent occupational behavior.

Experiences at Work

Women in non-traditional occupations were more likely to report that they had experienced sexual discrimination than were women in traditional occupations. While it is certainly plausible that they had actually encountered more discrimination, it seems, as well, that they were more prepared to perceive their experiences in these terms, perhaps because of a greater consciousness of their "minority status."

In these terms, it is not surprising that policewomen, who had not developed a career orientation, were most likely to report that they would leave their occupation, usually permanently, if they had children. Some had even come to see the occupation as inappropriate for women. Pharmacists, on the other hand, were the least likely to leave or anticipate leaving work upon having

children. This is likely related to the perceived benefits they derived from their work. While policewomen and registered nursing assistants generally described the benefits of work solely in economic terms, pharmacists and to a lesser extent teachers described their work as satisfying and enjoyable. The ways in which women balance their perceptions of work and family seem to have been influenced by their perceptions of work and its importance to their lives.

The major issue, however, seems to be one of alternatives available. Pharmacy and teaching, for example, provided women a number of alternatives other than leaving work in meeting the demands of their families. Assistant nursing and policework did not have this kind of flexibility. Leaving work was often the "only" solution, though for many this "solution" created a further problem--money.

It must be emphasized that almost all of the married women in our sample were concerned about the potentially conflicting demands of family and work. Working women, particularly working mothers, experience unique difficulties in what is still largely a man's world. However, professional women seem to have the greatest number of alternatives in dealing with these problems. The problems are greatest for those women who work because they need the money and who work in occupations which are

inflexible. Obviously women who select traditional employment, registered nursing assistants for example, do not escape these problems.

The Original Question: Supply

It became clear that to answer our initial question we would have to treat professionals and non-professionals separately, as the routes they took were rather different. We did not find any major differences in the socialization experiences of nurses and policewomen. While policewomen had been somewhat more likely to have engaged in non-traditional play activity and were perhaps therefore more prepared to accept police work, this seems in itself an insufficient explanation. After all, almost invariably they, like the registered nursing assistants, held traditional conceptions of femininity. It appears, then, that traditional women are prepared to take on non-traditional work. This would suggest that in order to understand the small number of women in police work, we would have to look at the structure of police work, particularly the critical demand factors--recruitment and hiring procedures.

The case for teachers and pharmacists is somewhat different. They too had apparently internalized traditional definitions of femininity. At the same time, however, they had internalized professional aspirations. Historically, teaching, nursing, and social work have been

the professions such women chose. These have been the archetypical "feminine" occupations. However, the pharmacists rejected these occupations as "not good enough," and described pharmacy as a higher status profession which was still appropriate for females.

It is apparent that in distinguishing between traditional and non-traditional occupations we must look beyond statistical descriptions of women's participation in those occupations. It may well be that while objectively pharmacy has been a male dominated profession, it may also be a subjectively "traditional" profession. As more women enter the labor force they may increasingly select this kind of "middle range" profession.

In fact, according to census data published after the completion of the research, the percentage of women employed in pharmacy between 1961 and 1971 has almost doubled to 23.1 per cent. This is not the case, however, for most of the high status male dominated occupations--law, engineering, and dentistry, for example (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1975:377 passim). Pharmacy, then, may be becoming an "appropriate" occupation for women.

While our data suggest why women might view pharmacy as appropriate, to understand the increase we would also have to examine the structure of pharmacy and its hiring and recruitment procedures. It seems inescapable that there is a complex interplay between factors of

supply and demand. When a woman, or for that matter anyone, is choosing a career, she chooses one that is "appropriate," but she also chooses one that she believes will be available to her. When a woman enters a career, she is not simply entering an "appropriate" career, she is entering a career which was in fact available to her. Actually, for those women looking for a "job," appropriateness may be a low priority concern. Our data suggest that supply factors are important in constraining women's occupational behavior. However, they also lead us to believe that as more male dominated occupations are "opened up" to women, there will be women--even traditional women--to take the positions.

In any case, it seems clear that women's early socialization experiences influence in important ways their occupational behavior. Almost all of the women in our sample, whatever occupation they chose, were concerned with "fitting" their work to the "role of woman," which seems still very much to mean wife and mother.

APPENDIX 1

DIMENSIONS CONSIDERED IN THE SELECTION OF THE OCCUPATIONS

PHARMACISTS

1961

Percentage of the total work force female 13.26%

Percentage of all females in the work force N.A.

Numbers Employed, 1961

Canada	6,433 Males			
	985 Females			
	<u>7,418</u> Total	% female	13.26	
Ontario	2,617 Males			
	364 Females			
	<u>2,981</u> Total	% female	12.21	
Hamilton	192 Males			
M.A.	22 Females			
	<u>214</u> Total	% female	10.28	
Toronto	1,110 Males			
M.A.	164 Females			
	<u>1,274</u> Total	% female	12.87	

Pineo and Porter Index (1967) = 69.3

Blishen Index (1967) = 72.87

Job Classification (1967) = Professional (Census
and Pineo-Porter)

SCHOOL TEACHERS

1961

Percentage of the total work force female 70.87%

Percentage of all females in the work force 9.11%

Numbers Employed, 1961

Canada	49,100 Males			
	118,594 Females			
	<u>167,694</u> Total	% female	70.72	
Ontario	17,565 Males			
	36,582 Females			
	<u>54,147</u> Total	% female	67.65	
Hamilton	1,069 Males			
M.A.	2,131 Females			
	<u>3,200</u> Total	% female	66.59	
Toronto	5,319 Males			
	9,138 Females			
	<u>14,457</u> Total	% female	63.20	

Pineo and Porter Index (1967) = 66.1 (High School Teachers)
 59.6 (Public School Teachers)

Blishen Index (1967) = 70.14

Job Classification (1967) = Professional (Census and Pineo-Porter)

POLICEWOMEN

1961

Percentage of the total work force female 1.24%

Percentage of all females in the work force 0.02%

Numbers Employed, 1961

Canada	29,634 Males			
	373 Females			
	<u>30,007</u> Total	% female	1.24	
Ontario	10,519 Males			
	172 Females			
	<u>10,691</u> Total	% female	1.60	
Hamilton	660 Males			
M.A.	14 Females			
	<u>674</u> Total	% female	2.12	
Toronto	3,241 Males			
M.A.	77 Females			
	<u>3,318</u> Total	% female	2.32	

Pineo and Porter Index (1967) = 51.6

Blishen Index (1967) = 35.80

Job Classification (1967) = Protective Service
(Census)
Semi-skilled (Pineo-
Porter)

REGISTERED NURSING ASSISTANTS

1961

Percentage of the total work force female 78.91%

Percentage of all females in the work force 2.79%

Numbers Employed, 1961

Canada	13,165 Males			
	49,276 Females			
	<u>62,441</u> Total	% female	78.91	
Ontario	4,855 Males			
	19,194 Females			
	<u>24,049</u> Total	% female	76.67	
Hamilton	393 Males			
M.A.	1,292 Females			
	<u>1,685</u> Total	% female	76.67	
Toronto	3,136 Males			
	6,564 Females			
	<u>9,700</u> Total	% female	67.67	

Pineo and Porter Index (1967) = 34.9

Blishen Index (1967) = 32.14

Job Classification (1967) = Service Occupation
(Census)
Unskilled (Pineo-
Porter)

Additional Indicators of Social
Prestige for Each Occupation

OCCUPATIONS

School Teacher	Pharmacist
Duncan Socio-Economic Index = 72	Duncan Socio-Economic Index = 82
Duncan Population Decile = 9	Duncan Population Decile = 9
U.S. Census Socio- Economic Index = 89	U.S. Census Socio- Economic Index = 95
Rice Modified White- Blue Collar Classification = 1	Rice Modified White- Blue Collar Classification = 1

Nurses' Aid and Assistant	Policewoman
Duncan Socio-Economic Index = 22	Duncan Socio-Economic Index = 21
Duncan Population Decile = 5	Duncan Population Decile = 5
U.S. Census Socio- Economic Index = 32	U.S. Census Socio- Economic Index = 32
Rice Modified White- Blue Collar Classification = 4	Rice Modified White- Blue Collar Classification = 4

Sources: Duncan and others (1964); U.S. Census (1961); and Rice (1969).

APPENDIX 2

ADDITIONAL PROFILES FOR EACH OCCUPATION

We considered additional information on the educational and work characteristics of the four occupations. The material for this preliminary classification was gathered through Canada Manpower publications available at the Counselling Service of McMaster University. The following chart presents a summary of these employment characteristics.

Summary of Employment Characteristics
in the Four Selected Occupations

PHARMACISTS

Education:

High school and college degree

2 years junior college or liberal arts, 2-4 years of pharmacy course work with emphasis on math, physics, chemistry and biology

1 year apprenticeship

State examination or provincial license

Income:

\$10,000 - 20,000 range

\$16,000 - 20,000 (Manager, Owner)

\$8,400 retail

Work Environment:

Pharmaceutical manufacturing representative
Research in pharmaceutical company

Teaching
Government

Community pharmacy

Long but regular hours, occasional evenings and week-end responsibilities

TEACHERS

Education:

High school with 4 years of college and a bachelor's degree

Teacher's certificate

Practical teaching experience under university supervision

Income:

\$8,500

Work Environment:

Public or private teaching environments

Reasonable schedule for work work day, 8 hours, 5 days a week, 3 months vacation in the summer

POLICEWOMEN

Education:

High school graduate

Some college or special training if desired

Physical examination

2 weeks to 3 months training in police activities

Extensive in-service study in specialized areas of police work and crime prevention

Income:

\$6,000 average

Range in income runs from \$3,000 to \$9,000

Work Environment:

Municipal, provincial and federal police departments

Regular work hours assigned but employees are exposed to an unpredictable and often erratic schedule

REGISTERED NURSING ASSISTANTS

Education:

At least two years of high school. High school education is encouraged.

Nurses' training course for 6 to 18 months

On the job training

Physical examination

Income:

\$6,000 average

Range in income runs from \$3,000 to \$8,000

Work Environment:

Hospitals
Private home duty
Nursing homes

8 hours work schedules with occasional 24 hour duty call, night shifts, Sundays and holidays

APPENDIX 3

LETTERS OF INTRODUCTION

INTRA-DEPARTMENTAL CORRESPONDENCE

MTP 149



TO

ALL POLICEWOMEN AND SUPERVISORS

FROM

INSPECTOR FERNE ALEXANDER,

YOUTH BUREAU HEADQUARTERS,

DATE

AUGUST 21, 1973.

RE:

In the attached letter, Mr. Larry Wisniewski, a doctoral candidate at McMaster University, outlines a research project in which he is anxious to involve you. Deputy Chief Ackroyd, on behalf of the Police Department, and I, as your representative, endorse it and urge you to co-operate with him when he contacts you.

Ferne Alexander.

Inspector,
Youth Bureau.

FA/jo
Encl.

M^cMASTER UNIVERSITY

HAMILTON, ONTARIO, CANADA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

August 24, 1973

In cooperation with the Metro Toronto Police Department and the Department of Sociology at McMaster University, I am conducting a study of the career patterns and strategies of policewomen in this area.

The purpose of the study is to identify those factors of importance in the process of the selection of your occupation, how you made the decision to work, what factors were important in that decision and what alternative careers you considered.

I would very much appreciate your personal contribution to this study by talking with you, at your convenience, about the factors important in your choice of work. Your responses and personal identity will be treated with the strictest of confidence.

I shall be contacting you by phone in the near future. At that time I will be happy to give you any additional information about the purpose of the study, the nature of the interview or the protection of your confidence.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

L. J. Wisniewski

McMASTER UNIVERSITY

HAMILTON, ONTARIO, CANADA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

August 31st.1973.

In cooperation with the Canadian Pharmaceutical Association and the Department of Sociology at McMaster University, I am conducting a study of the career patterns and strategies of female pharmacists in this area.

The purpose of the study is to identify those factors of importance in the process of the selection of your occupation, how you made the decision to work, what factors were important in that decision and what alternative careers you considered.

I would very much appreciate your personal contribution to this study by talking with you, at your convenience, about the factors important in your choice of work. Your responses and personal identity will be treated with the strictest of confidence.

I shall be contacting you by phone in the near future. At that time I will be happy to give you any additional information about the purpose of the study, the nature of the interview and the protection of your confidence.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

L.J.Wisniewski

McMASTER UNIVERSITY

HAMILTON, ONTARIO, CANADA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

In cooperation with the College of Nurses of Ontario and the Department of Sociology at McMaster University, I am conducting a study of the career patterns of nursing assistants in this area.

The purpose of the study is to learn about the things important to you in your selection of your occupation, how you made the decision to work, what factors were important in that decision and what alternative careers you considered.

The College and I would very much appreciate your personal contribution to this study by talking with you, at your convenience, about the things important in your choice of work. The interview takes about thirty minutes and involves no travel or inconvenience on your part. Your responses and personal identity will be treated with the strictest of confidence.

I shall be contacting you by phone in the near future. At that time I will be happy to give you any additional information about the purpose of the study, the nature of the interview and the protection of your confidence.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

L.J.Wisniewski



ON OF WOMEN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATIONS OF ONTARIO / THIRD FLOOR, 1260 BAY STREET, TORONTO, ONTARIO, M5R 2B8

Telephones: For Metro Toronto or Telephone Area 807-(416) 964-1232 / All others 1-800-261-7205

December 6, 1973.

Miss D.L. Levine,
708-1165 Fennell Avenue E.,
Hamilton, Ontario.

Dear Miss Levine:

Mr. L.J. Wisniewski of McMaster University has asked that he be allowed to contact a small number of teachers in Metropolitan Toronto and Hamilton to help him in a study which he has described in an accompanying letter. We explained to him that we keep all our members' lists strictly confidential and that the only way we could help him was for us to mail this and his letter to you in the hope that you would then contact him if you were willing to participate.

It is our hope that the study may come up with some insights which will be useful to teachers and to the profession as a whole. We would therefore encourage you to lend your support if you are able to.

Sincerely,

Florence I. Henderson,
Executive Secretary.

FIH/deh
Encl.

McMASTER UNIVERSITY

HAMILTON, ONTARIO, CANADA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

November 23rd, 1973.

Dear Madam:

In co-operation with the Department of Sociology at McMaster University, I am conducting a study of the career patterns and strategies of four female occupations in this area. One of those occupations is elementary school teachers.

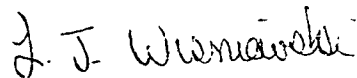
The purpose of the study is to identify important factors in the selection of your occupation, how you made the decision to work, what factors were important in that decision and what alternative careers you considered.

I would very much appreciate your personal contribution to this study by talking with you, at your convenience, about the factors important in your choice of teaching as a career. Your responses and personal identity will be treated with the strictest of confidence.

If you wish to participate with the research, you will find a self-addressed envelope enclosed. Please return your name and telephone number so that I might contact you by phone in the near future. At that time I will be happy to give you any additional information about the purpose of the study, the nature of the interview and the protection of your confidence.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,



L. J. Wisniewski.

APPENDIX 4

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview GuideBACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

1. When were you born?
2. Where were you born?
3. Citizenship Status?
 - A. Native Canadian citizen
 - B. Naturalized Canadian
 - C. Landed immigrant
 - D. Other (specify)
4. How old were you when you immigrated to Canada?
5. When did you achieve your present citizenship status?
6. What is your present marital status?
 - A. Single
 - B. Married
 - C. Widowed
 - D. Divorced
 - E. Separated
7. How old were you when you were married?
8. How long have you been married?
9. What is your husband's occupation?
10. What is your husband's highest level of education?
 - A. Less than high school
 - B. High school graduate (12)
 - C. High school graduate (13)
 - D. Some college
 - E. College graduate
 - F. Some graduate school
 - G. Graduate school degree
 - H. Technical school
11. What was your husband's gross yearly income before taxes?
 - A. Less than \$5,000
 - B. \$5,000 - \$9,999
 - C. \$10,000 - \$14,999
 - D. \$15,000 - \$19,999
 - E. \$20,000 - \$24,999
 - F. \$25,000 or moreSpecify if possible.

12. What was your gross yearly income before taxes?
- A. Less than \$2,000
 - B. \$2,000 - \$3,999
 - C. \$4,000 - \$5,999
 - D. \$6,000 - \$7,999
 - E. \$8,000 - \$9,999
 - F. \$10,000 or more
- Specify if possible.
13. What is the name of the community in which you presently live?
14. Do you live in an apartment or do you own a home?

WORK HISTORY

15. What, formally, is your job called and what type of work do you do? In what kinds of work activities are you involved?
16. For whom do you work?
17. What is your average number of hours a week which you work?
- A. 0 - 15
 - B. 16 - 30
 - C. 31 - 45
 - D. 45 or more
- Specify if possible.
18. How long have you been in your present place of employment?
19. Employment history of the respondent

Dates	Employer	Reasons for taking this job
From	Location	
	Job Duty & Title	
To	Average # Hours worked	Reasons for leaving this job
	Salary	

From	Employer Location	Reasons for taking this job
	Job Duty & Title	
To	Average # Hours worked	Reasons for leaving this job
	Salary	

20. Stability of Occupational Career

(Made to accompany the occupational history of each respondent)

- A. Number of different employers within the occupation.
- B. Length of time in each occupational category.
- C. Length of time with each employer.
- D. Length of time in each kind of occupation.
- E. Frequency of job shifts (movement to a different kind of work).
- F. Length of experience within the occupation.
- G. Variety of experience within the occupation.
- H. Variety of experience in jobs prior to entry into the occupation.
- I. Amount of time in a part-time work status within the occupation.
- J. Length of full time work status within the occupation.
- K. Number of types of work positions held, on a part-time basis, while in school.

High School _____

Training School _____

University _____

21. Were you working when you were married?

22. How long did you work before marriage?
23. Have you been working regularly since marriage?
24. Have you ever held more than one job at one time?
25. Could you tell me about the periods, since graduation, when you were not employed and indicate the nature of your activities.

Years From	To	Type of Activity
---------------	----	---------------------

EDUCATION

26. What was your father's attitude to education?
27. What was your father's attitude to your education?
28. What was your mother's attitude to education?
29. What was your mother's attitude to your education?

30. What was your parents' reaction to your performance in school?
31. What was the "purpose" of your education?
32. Did you choose the academic/commercial stream?
33. What was/were your reason/reasons for choosing the academic or commercial stream?
34. What was your parents' reaction to your choice of the academic/commercial stream?
35. How successful were you in your high school performance?
36. How important was school for you? How would you evaluate your attitude to the importance of education; positive, negative or neutral?
37. How did your educational performance affect your work plans.
38. What academic areas were you interested in during high school?
39. What outside interests did you have while you were in high school?
40. Did your parents put a lot of emphasis on education when you were in school?
41. Was it important for your parents that you do well in school?
42. Was it important that you go on to a university and get some kind of post-secondary education?
43. Did the boys (or your older sisters) receive the first chance for post-secondary education, did they receive the opportunity to go on to university, college or commercial school, etc.?
44. Were any of the following important in encouraging or discouraging your education or the work you did later?
 - A. Teachers
 - B. Course work
 - C. Counselling system
45. Are you presently taking any outside educational courses related either to your personal interests or to your work?

46. In what ways do you personally feel your educational experiences contributed or detracted from your occupational plans?

47. Educational history of the respondent.

Name and Location	Major Areas of Interest	Dates Attended
----------------------	----------------------------	-------------------

High
School

College

Professional &
Vocational Training

48. Could you tell me if you have participated in any of the following types of activities?

Type	Name	Years	Nature of Participation
------	------	-------	-------------------------

Business and
Professional
Organizations

Religious or
Ethical
Organizations

Civic, Political
or Social Action
Groups

School or
Other Youth
Organizations

Social Welfare
or Charity
Activities

Social or
Cultural
Organizations

Others (specify)

FAMILY OF ORIGIN

49. Where was your father born?
 50. Where was your mother born?
 51. How long were they married?
 52. What was your father's highest level of education?
 - A. Grade school
 - B. High school
 - C. College
 - D. College graduate
 - E. Graduate school
 - F. Other (be as specific as possible)
 53. What was your mother's highest level of education?
 - A. Grade school
 - B. High school
 - C. College
 - D. College graduate
 - E. Graduate school
 - F. Other (be as specific as possible)
 54. How many other children were there in your family?
- | Birth Order | Present Age | Sex | Present Occupation |
|-------------|-------------|-----|--------------------|
| 1. | | | |
| 2. | | | |
| 3. | | | |
| 4. | | | |
| 5. | | | |
| 6. | | | |
| 7. | | | |
| 8. | | | |

55. What was your father's occupation? (describe)
56. How long did he work in this occupation?
57. Were there any periods when your father was not working?
58. Did your mother work?
59. What was her occupation or occupations?
60. When did your mother work? (Check more than one if applicable.)
 - A. Before marriage
 - B. After marriage and before the birth of the first child
 - C. During your lifetime, before you were 4 years old
 - D. During your pre-school years
 - E. During your elementary school years
 - F. During your high school years
 - G. During your years in college
 - H. Other
61. What were the total number of years which your mother worked?
 - A. 0 - 4
 - B. 5 - 9
 - C. 10 - 14
 - D. 15 - 19
 - E. 20 or more years
(Specify if possible)
62. When your mother was working, what was her working status?
 - A. Part-time
 - B. Full-time
 - C. Regular
 - D. Irregular
63. What were your mother's reasons for working or not working?
64. Was there an occupation which your mother would have liked for herself if she had had her choice?
65. What were your father's ideas or reactions to your mother's working? (If respondent's mother was a housewife make an adjustment in the question.)
66. Did your mother want to work?

67. Did your mother belong to any organizations, clubs, social groups, or interest activities outside the home?
68. Did your father belong to any organizations?
69. What effect did your mother's working/not working have on your family?
70. What effect did your mother's working/not working have on you?
71. What effect did your mother's working/not working have on your working plans?
72. How would you characterize the division of labor in your family?
73. How would you characterize the divisions of authority in your family?
74. What was the division of labor around your home like? What responsibilities did you have at home and which of your parents did you help around the house?

Area.

A. Chores around the house

Shopping
 Getting breakfast
 Repairs around the home
 Evening dishes
 Family laundry
 Driving the family car
 Help with school work
 Allowance allocation
 What you wear
 When you get home

B. Did you help your mother, father, neither or both?

C. When you had a decision to make or a problem to talk about to whom did you go?

Mother
 Father
 Neither
 Both

- D. When you were punished, which parent was responsible for the punishment? What kinds of punishment were administered by your father? What kinds of discipline were handed out by your mother?
- E. Was the discipline psychological or physical? Did your parents spank you or use another type of discipline?
- F. What kind of decision making process was in your family with respect to dating, school, work, or friends?

75. Did you play with or spend a great deal of time with:

Category	Youth	Teenager
Mother		
Father		
Other members of your family		
Other neighborhood children		
Alone		
Around the home		
Away from the home		

76. If younger siblings were around the house, were you or your sisters encouraged to help care for Them?
77. At adolescence, when you were 12-14, did you become closer to your mother or your father?

PLAY ACTIVITIES

78. How would you characterize your own play activities; traditional or non-traditional?
79. What kinds of play and game activities did you engage in?
80. What was the reaction of your parents to your play and game activities?
81. What kinds of activities did you enjoy doing. (Use the list of traditional activities and non-traditional activities to determine if the respondents engaged in

either or both kinds of play interests.)

Traditional Games

Dolls
Dressing up
House
Store
Ring-Around the Rosy
London Bridge
Drop the handkerchief
Mulberry bush
Hopscotch
Jump rope
Jacks
Dance
Sewing
Cooking
Knitting
Crochet
Cartwheels

Non-Traditional Games

Bandits
Soldiers
Cowboys
Marbles
Darts
Wrestling
Baseball
Football
Basketball
Boxing
Fishing
Hunting
Using tools
Climbing
Model aeroplanes
Toy trains
Throw snowballs

Determine the play activities for each of the following age categories for each respondent.

Age Period

Play Activities

Youth

Teenager

Adult

82. Were you frequently told or admonished to act like a little girl or to stop acting like a little boy?
83. Were you frequently told to help around the house or in the house?

OCCUPATIONAL DECISION

84. When did you decide to enter the occupation in which you are presently employed?
85. How permanent a decision was it?
86. When did you definitely decide on this kind of work?

87. What idea of the occupation did you have then, when you were thinking about entry?
88. What attracted you to this kind of work?
89. Are the reasons you are presently working in the occupation the same as the reasons for which you began work?
90. Were you always intending to enter this occupation? For example, when you were a young girl what did you want to be? When you were in high school, what were your occupational plans?
91. Before becoming a (respondent's occupation) did you consider any other occupation or profession?
92. Who were the persons who influenced your occupational choice? What type of influence did each of these persons have? (Explore each of the following potential influences after the respondent gives her list.)
 - A. Parents (consider mother and father separately)
 - B. Peers
 - C. Relatives
93. Did your educational experiences play any part in your choice of an occupation?
94. What kind of occupational information did you have access to when you were deciding on an occupation? Did any of this occupational information contribute to or influence your occupational choice?
95. Do you have any relatives or members of the family employed in the same occupation as you are employed in?
96. What was your parents' reaction to your selection of an occupation?
97. Had your parents disagreed with what you wanted to do, would it have stopped you from entering the occupation, would it have been a serious consideration but not stopped you, or would it not have mattered at all?
98. What was the reaction of the other members of your family; brothers and sisters, relatives, friends, to your occupational choice?
99. Did you ever consider not working?

100. Did your parents not want you to work?
101. When you went to work after high school, how long did you plan on working?

WOMEN AT WORK

102. Have you adapted your working arrangements substantially to meet the demands of your family? What kinds of adaptations have you made?
103. What were the important factors in making/not making such adaptations?
104. Under what circumstances would you drop out of work?
105. Do you regard your present occupation as a permanent or lifetime career?
106. Under what conditions would you leave your present area of employment?
107. Would you stop work completely when you marry? (Was marriage an important reason to stop work for you?)
108. Do you have any children of your own?

Children	Sex	Age
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		
7.		

109. What effects did (do or will) children have on your working? (Check the effects of children on leaving the labor market and re-entry into the work force.)
110. How will the following affect your work disposition?
- A. The age of the children
 - B. The sex of the children
 - C. The husband's attitudes
 - D. The husband's employment conditions
 - E. The husband's role at home and his acceptance of his wife's employment

111. What are some of the problems you have in raising your family and working in your occupation?
112. What type of control over your work do you have?
113. How available is part-time work in your occupation?
114. How available is work near your home?
115. How much control do you have over the number of hours you work?
116. Are women working in your occupation more likely/less likely to encounter discrimination on the basis of sex (much, some, or no discrimination)?
117. What examples can you give of such discrimination/or the absence of discrimination?
118. Have you ever considered becoming a (sex typed occupation opposite to that of the respondent)? What would be your reasons for and against working in this type of work?
119. Are there certain kinds of work no woman should consider as an occupation?
120. Are there certain types of work which you would never consider as possible work environments?
121. Would you recommend or suggest to another female the same kind of work you have selected?
122. Would you suggest or encourage your occupation to your daughter? (Make the situation hypothetical if the respondent is not married or has no children.)
123. Do you feel your job detracts from your status in the community as a woman? Are you, in any way, embarrassed when people ask you about the work you do, for example at parties, on a date or on the bus when someone asks you what you do?

APPENDIX 5

EMPLOYMENT AREAS AND LEVELS OF RESPONSIBILITY
FOR WOMEN IN THE FOUR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

TABLE A-1
AREAS OF EMPLOYMENT AND LEVELS OF RESPONSIBILITY
AMONG FEMALE ELEMENTARY TEACHERS

Field of Employment	Sample		Ontario	
	N	%	N	%
Grade & Kindergarten Teachers	25	92.6		77.0
Subject Specialist	--	--		9.0
Special Class Teacher	--	--		7.0
Consultant	1	3.7		3.0
Librarian	1	3.7		1.0
Administration	--	--		1.0
Other Positions	--	--		2.0
Totals	27	100		

Note: The percentage of each of the fields of employment among elementary teachers across Ontario. The Survey did not provide the number of teachers used in their research. See Stokes (1970: 42).

TABLE A-2
AREAS OF EMPLOYMENT AND LEVELS OF RESPONSIBILITY
AMONG FEMALE PHARMACISTS

Field of Employment	Sample		Ontario	
	N	%	N	%
Retail Pharmacy				
Owner/Partner	1	3.4	43	6.1
Manager	0	---	79	11.2
Employee	17	58.6	353	50.1
Hospital Pharmacy				
Director/Ass.	1	3.4	55	7.8
Staff Employee	10	34.5	144	20.4
Otherwise Employee	--	---	31	4.4
Totals	29	100	705	100

Note: The source of the distribution of female pharmacists across Ontario is found in Desroches (1973: 29).

TABLE A-3

AREAS OF EMPLOYMENT AND LEVELS OF
RESPONSIBILITY FOR POLICEWOMEN

Field of Employment	Sample		Hamilton and Toronto Police Dept.	
	N	%	N	%
Youth Bureau				
Inspectors	--	--	1	1.3
Sergeants	1	3.3	2	2.6
Constables	25	83.3	53	67.9
Cadets	0	--	6	7.6
On Assignment to Other Bureaus				
Sergeants	--	--	1	1.3
Constables	4	13.3	15	19.2
Totals	30	100	78	100

Note: Our source for the data on the Hamilton Police Department was that Department's annual report (1972: 8). The same information was provided by the Women's Bureau of the Metro Toronto Police Department. The assignment of policewomen to other bureaus includes undercover work, search and fraud assignments, morality investigations, community service, and work in the internal complaint division. Most work in the other bureaus is short termed.

TABLE A-4
THE AREAS OF EMPLOYMENT AMONG FEMALE
REGISTERED NURSING ASSISTANTS

Field of Employment	Sample		Ontario	
	N	%	N	%
Hospital	20	80.0	13,940	81.9
Nursing Home	4	16.0	2,114	12.4
Physician's Office	1	4.0	360	2.1
Other Fields	--	--	619	3.6
Totals	25	100	17,033	100

Note: The source for the distribution of female R.N.A.'s in Ontario is found in Murray (1970: 96). Work areas included in the category "other fields" are private nursing, public and school health, occupational health, other nursing fields and cases in which a field of employment was not reported. It should also be noted that there are no "levels of responsibility" available to the R.N.A.

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APPENDIX 6

ANALYSIS OF DATA CONTROLLING
FOR AGE AND OCCUPATION

Our sample was composed of women within a wide range of age groups. It was analytically important to determine if differences existed between younger and older women who entered traditional and non-traditional occupations in relation to our socialization variables. As well, we included a control for professional and non-professional occupations in order to explore further any patterns which might be found in the data.

We retabulated the data in Tables 4-1 to 6-6 in order to control for occupation and age. We dichotomized each variable: professional-non-professional; traditional-non-traditional; above and below the median age (for all respondents) and each independent variable. We then tested each hypothesis with Q and Partial Q as discussed in Davis (1971).

In our interpretation of the results, our main attention was given to the relationship between the independent and dependent variables controlling for age and occupation. We focused on the difference between the Zero Order Q and the Second Order Partial, adopting the rule that a value of .10 or more is non-negligible: adding the controls changes the overall relationship between our variables.

In several tables it was necessary to use only one control variable (age). The sample did not allow the construction of a legitimate four-fold table. In these cases, we computed the Zero Order Q and First Order Partial (controlling for age only). With two tables, 5-3 and 5-7, our data did not allow us to dichotomize the independent variable. In place of Q values, we computed Gamma and Partial Gamma in order to control for age. The results indicate that there is no appreciable change in the original relationships when age and occupation are controlled. For example, in Table 4-1 the difference between the Zero Order Q and the Second Order Partial is negligible (.03). Controlling for age and occupation does not change the relationship between maternal employment and entry into traditional and

non-traditional occupations. Only in Table 5-1 was there a non-negligible difference (.14) between the Zero Order Q and the Second Order Partial. However, this difference is only marginally non-negligible.

We also looked at the Conditional Q values within each relationship. We used Davis's rule for the interpretation of Conditional Q values: the Conditional Q 's must differ by 10 units; the difference must be statistically significant and the conditional tables must meet the standards for expected cell frequencies (Davis, 1971:101). In some instances the difference between the Conditional Q 's was not great (Table 4-6: Q for Table One .03, Q for Table Two .07). As well, some conditional tables did not meet the necessary expected cell frequencies (Table 4-11). Although there were variations in some Conditional Q values, none was statistically significant. For example, in Table 4-6 there was a large difference between two Conditional Q 's (.03 and -.74). However, the chi-square value of this difference is not significant (1.91). This is not surprising. Davis warns that it takes large differences in the Conditional Q values and a large sample to meet these criteria. No Conditional Q values in our data were statistically significant. We cannot rule out sampling error as a source of the difference we found (Davis, 1971:101).

Although we found that controlling for age and occupation did not change our results, we were restricted by the sample size. Future research with larger samples and easily dichotomized variables may produce a clearer picture of the relationship between our variables.

TABLE 4-1

		Professional				Non-Professional			
		Age				Age			
		> md		< md		> md		< md	
		T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}
Mother's Employment	+	7	9	5	8	9	13	6	5
	-	3	4	12	8	4	7	6	5

Zero Order Q	.15	Conditional Q Values:	
2nd Order Partial	.12	Table 1	-.02
		Table 2	.41
		Table 3	-.10
		Table 4	.00

TABLE 4-2

		Professional				Non-Professional			
		Age				Age			
		> md		< md		> md		< md	
		T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}
The Period of Maternal Employment	Elementary School or Before	4	4	5	6	6	9	4	3
	High School or After	6	9	12	10	7	11	8	7

Zero Order Q	.02	Conditional Q Values:	
2nd Order Partial	.01	Table 1	-.20
		Table 2	.18
		Table 3	-.02
		Table 4	-.08

TABLE 4-5

	Professional				Non-Professional			
	Age				Age			
	> md		< md		> md		< md	
	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}
Below	5	9	7	10	4	7	3	2
Above	5	4	10	6	9	13	9	8

Zero Order Q .22

Conditional Q Values:

2nd Order Partial .24

Table 1 .38

Table 2 .41

Table 3 .10

Table 4 -.14

TABLE 4-6

	Professional				Non-Professional			
	Age				Age			
	> md		< md		> md		< md	
	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}
Oldest/Only Child	6	8	9	9	7	3	3	1
Other Sibling Position	4	5	8	7	6	17	9	9

Zero Order Q -.25

Conditional Q Values:

2nd Order Partial -.29

Table 1 .03

Table 2 .07

Table 3 -.74

Table 4 -.50

TABLE 4-7

	Professional				Non-Professional			
	Age				Age			
	> md		< md		> md		< md	
	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}
Only Child All Female Structure	3	6	5	5	5	7	4	3
Sex Structure of Sibling Unit								
Male/Female	7	7	12	11	8	13	8	7
Only Female Unity								

Zero Order Q .06 Conditional Q Values:

2nd Order Partial .04

Table 1 .33
Table 2 .04
Table 3 -.07
Table 4 -.08

TABLE 4-8

	Professional				Non-Professional			
	Age				Age			
	> md		< md		> md		< md	
	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}
High School Grad- uate/Some Post Secondary Edu- cation	6	7	5	6	4	6	3	5
Mother's Education								
Some High School/Public School Edu- cation	4	6	12	10	9	14	9	5

Zero Order Q .13 Conditional Q Values:

2nd Order Partial .12

Table 1 -.13
Table 2 .18
Table 3 -.02
Table 4 .50

TABLE 4-9

	Professional				Non-Professional			
	Age				Age			
	> md		< md		> md		< md	
	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}
High School/Some Post Secondary	6	7	8	8	2	4	1	2
Father's Education								
Some High School/ Public School	4	6	9	8	11	15	10	7

Zero Order Q	.08	Conditional Q Values:	
2nd Order Partial	.09	Table 1	-.13
		Table 2	.06
		Table 3	.19
		Table 4	.48

TABLE 4-10

	Professional				Non-Professional			
	Age				Age			
	> md		< md		> md		< md	
	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}
High	7	7	7	12	4	5	3	4
Social Status of Father								
Low	3	5	8	4	6	13	7	4

Zero Order Q	.10	Conditional Q Values:	
2nd Order Partial	.16	Table 1	-.25
		Table 2	.55
		Table 3	-.27
		Table 4	.40

TABLE 4-11

	Professional				Non-Professional			
	Age				Age			
	>md		<md		>md		<md	
	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}
Immigrant	5	7	4	5	3	4	2	1
Immigrant Status of Father in Low Status Occupations								
Non-Immigrant	2	1	2	1	7	10	7	7

Zero Order Q	.07	Conditional Q Values:	
2nd Order Partial	.05	Table 1	.47
		Table 2	.43
		Table 3	-.03
		Table 4	-.33

TABLE 4-12

	Professional				Non-Professional			
	Age				Age			
	>md		<md		>md		<md	
	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}
Traditional	6	8	12	11	9	9	9	9
Play and Interest Activities								
Non-Traditional	4	5	5	5	4	11	3	5

Zero Order Q	-.28	Conditional Q Values:	
2nd Order Partial	-.26	Table 1	.03
		Table 2	-.04
		Table 3	-.47
		Table 4	-.50

TABLE 5-1

	Professional				Non-Professional			
	Age				Age			
	>md		<md		>md		<md	
	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}
In School	8	12	14	16	4	6	2	2
Stage of Education at which Occupa- tional Choice Made								
Out of School	2	1	3	0	9	14	10	8

Zero Order Q .15

Conditional Q Values:

2nd Order Partial .29

Table 1 .50

Table 2 1.00

Table 3 -.02

Table 4 .11

TABLE 5-2

	Professional				Non-Professional			
	Age				Age			
	>md		<md		>md		<md	
	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}
18 Years of Age or Less	6	12	12	14	5	6	3	3
Age of the Woman at which her Occupa- tional Choice was Made								
19 Years of Age or More	4	1	5	2	8	14	9	7

Zero Order Q .19

Conditional Q Values:

2nd Order Partial .23

Table 1 .78

Table 2 .49

Table 3 -.19

Table 4 .13

TABLE 5-3

			Negative	Neutral	Positive
Age	> md	T	6	10	7
		T̄	9	11	13
			Negative	Neutral	Positive
Age	< md	T	8	13	8
		T̄	7	3	16

Gamma -.23

Partial Gamma -.29

TABLE 5-4

	Age			
	> md		< md	
	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}
Academic	15	18	22	19
Educational Stream				
Commercial	8	15	8	8

Zero Order Q -.16

1st Order Partial -.12

Conditional Q Values:

Table 1 -.22

Table 2 -.01

TABLE 5-5

		Age			
		> md		< md	
		T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}
Level of Educational Achievement	Below	15	14	19	8
	Above	8	19	10	18

Zero Order Q -.52

Conditional Q Values:

1st Order Partial -.53

Table 1 -.44

Table 2 -.62

TABLE 5-6

		Age			
		> md		< md	
		T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}
Significant Others within Education	Positive Influence	7	2	6	0
	No Positive Influence	16	31	23	26

Zero Order Q -.81

Conditional Q Values:

1st Order Partial -.84

Table 1 -.74

Table 2 -1.00

TABLE 5-7

		Below	Average	Above	
Age	$> md$	T	11	8	4
		\bar{T}	10	9	14
Age	$< md$	T	12	10	7
		\bar{T}	5	6	15

Gamma -.39

Partial Gamma -.40

TABLE 5-8

	Age			
	$> md$		$< md$	
	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}
Sciences	4	12	5	14
High School Subjects Woman Did Well On				
Others	19	21	24	12

Zero Order Q .58

Conditional Q Values:

1st Order Partial .59

Table 1 .46

Table 2 .70

TABLE 5-9

	Professional				Non-Professional			
	Age				Age			
	>md		<md		>md		<md	
	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}
Informal	3	3	5	4	7	14	7	8
Sources of Information on Job Availability								
Formal	7	10	12	12	6	6	5	2

Zero Order Q .14

Conditional Q Values:

2nd Order Partial .14

Table 1 -.18

Table 2 -.11

Table 3 .33

Table 4 .48

TABLE 5-10

	Professional				Non-Professional			
	Age				Age			
	>md		<md		>md		<md	
	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}
Yes	1	1	1	0	8	13	7	9
Previous Employment in a Different Occupation								
No	9	12	16	16	5	7	5	1

Zero Order Q .14

Conditional Q Values:

2nd Order Partial .13

Table 1 -.14

Table 2 -1.00

Table 3 .07

Table 4 .73

TABLE 6-1

	Professional				Non-Professional			
	Age				Age			
	> md		< md		> md		< md	
	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}
Yes	1	4	3	8	1	19	2	9
No	9	9	14	8	12	1	10	1

Zero Order Q .86

Conditional Q Values:

2nd Order Partial .86

Table 1 .6

Table 2 .65

Table 3 .99

Table 4 .96

TABLE 6-2

	Age			
	> md		< md	
	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}
No Adjustment	5	2	5	3
Some Adjustment	7	6	16	10

Zero Order Q -.16

Conditional Q Values:

1st Order Partial -.13

Table 1 -.36

Table 2 -.02

TABLE 6-3

	Age			
	> md		< md	
	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}
Continue Work	5	5	10	12
Effects of Children on Working Status				
Stop Work	7	2	11	2

Zero Order Q .66

Conditional Q Values:

1st Order Partial .69

Table 1 .56

Table 2 .74

TABLE 6-4

	Age			
	> md		< md	
	T	T	T	T
Work	4	7	3	2
Women Without Children and their Working Plans				
Stop Work	6	19	6	10

Zero Order Q -.30

Conditional Q Values:

1st Order Partial -.32

Table 1 -.29

Table 2 -.43

TABLE 6-5

	Age			
	> md		< md	
	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}
Children	9	25	6	9
Family Plans				
No Children	1	1	3	3

Zero Order Q .39

Conditional Q Values:

1st Order Partial .32

Table 1 .47

Table 2 .20

TABLE 6-6

	Professional				Non-Professional			
	Age		Age		Age		Age	
	> md	< md	> md	< md	> md	< md	> md	< md
	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}	T	\bar{T}
High	3	8	10	13	2	1	2	1
Husband's Occupational Status Score								
Low	2	1	5	2	8	9	10	4

Zero Order Q .36

Conditional Q Values:

2nd Order Partial .34

Table 1 .68

Table 2 .53

Table 3 -.38

Table 4 .11

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