DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 124 854 CG 010 643

AUTHOR Walshok, Mary L.
TITLE Nontraditional Blue Collar Work Among Urban Women.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Mental Health (DHEW), Rockville, Md.
PUB DATE Aug 75
GRANT 1RO1-MH27685-01
NOTE 18p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association (San Francisco, California, August 25-29, 1975)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$1.67 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Blue Collar Occupations; Changing Attitudes; Employment; *Females; *Occupational Choice; Research Needs; Sex Role; *Sex Stereotypes; Speeches; *Work Attitudes; *Working Women

ABSTRACT

This study addresses itself to two questions. The first is to ascertain what, if any, social background and attitudinal differences differentiate women making traditional from nontraditional occupational choices in the semi-skilled and blue-collar occupations. A second issue relates to the relative effectiveness of various kinds of training programs in facilitating the movement of women into nontraditional fields. Key research variables include: (1) extent of traditionalism in attitudes toward gender and family roles and its relationship to vocational choice-making processes and (2) the influence of expectations on performance. In studying four cohorts of women prior to and on exit from training programs, answers to these questions will be sought. (Author)

Not for Quotation

Nontraditional Blue Collar Work Among Urban Women*

Mary Lindenstein Walshok
University of California, San Diego

Paper presented in the session on Working Class Women
at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association,
August 1975, San Francisco, California

*This research is supported by Grant Number 1R01 MH27685-01, National Institute of Mental Health, Washington, D.C.

Nontraditional Blue Collar Work Among Urban Women

INTRODUCTION

This paper represents an initial statement of some key concepts and relationships central to research in progress on women entering nontraditional blue collar occupations. After a preliminary statement of why research in general on women in nonprofessional jobs, be they clerical, service or blue collar is essential the paper zeroes in on some of the possible structural and social psychological factors related to the entry of women into nontraditional fields. The paper concludes with some observations about the ways in which training and early work experiences as well as relationships with significant others may serve to help or hinder the movement of women into nontraditional jobs.

WHY STUDY WOMEN ENTERING NONTRADITIONAL BLUE COLLAR WORK?

Historical Appropriateness

Initially studies of women and particularly working women are historically appropriate at this time in light of the substantial increase of women in the work force over the last seventy years. What studies we do have on the increases of women in the labor force have been for the most part general analyses by economists and demographers to assess the ways in which technological advancements, social structural shifts and supply-demand relations have contributed to the increased participation of women. A review of the literature indicates that with the exception of an increasing body of motivational research on college women students and professional women, little has yet been done to assess self perceptions and the social context of the decision to go to work for the varied and large numbers of women entering the work force. A broader research focus on women's work roles is therefore essential. In addition, the fact that today the largest number of working women are aged forty and over, are married and are <u>not</u> in the professions suggests that the working woman of today is quite different than her sister of twenty years ago. Nonetheless, the nonprofessional working woman is rarely researched.

In spite of significant increases in labor force participation, women continue to be concentrated in a relatively small number of occupations (of 500, the majority of women fall into 9), <u>and</u> in those occupations where we find high proportions of women we also find lower wages and salaries (U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1969).

Table 1

WOMEN WERE 90% OR MORE OF TOTAL EMPLOYED

- Housekeepers (private household)
- Nurses (professional)
- Receptionists
- Babysitters
- Chambermaids and maids (except private household)
- Secretaries
- Dressmakers and seamstresses (except factory)
- Telephone operators
- Private household workers (n.e.c.)
- Stenographers
- Practical nurses
- Typists
- Sewers and stitchers (mfg.)
- Nurses (student)
- Laundresses (private household)
- Attendants (physicians' and dentists' offices)
- Dietitians and nutritionists
- Demonstrators
- Milliners

WOMEN WERE 80 TO 89 PERCENT OF TOTAL EMPLOYED

- Hairdressers and cosmetologists
- Waitresses
- Teachers (elementary school)
- File clerks
- Bookkeepers
- Housekeepers and stewardesses (except private household)
- Boarding and lodging house keepers
- Librarians

WOMEN WERE 75 TO 79 PERCENT OF TOTAL EMPLOYED

- Cashiers
- Operatives (apparel and accessories)
- Apinners (textile)
- Dancers and dancing teachers
- Attendants and assistants (library)
- Operatives (knitting mills)
- Midwives

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: "U.S. Census of Population, 1960. Detailed Characteristics, U.S. Summary, PC (1)--1D" 1963.

The sex labeling of jobs over time and the concomitant low status and income accorded to the jobs in which women work creates critical economic and psychological problems for women, especially in an era such as our own where close to a third of all women workers are heads of households and as many are working to help keep their families above the poverty line. The complex reasons for this type of sex labeling have been detailed elsewhere (see Oppenheimer 1968). What needs to be emphasized from our point of view is that as the economic and life cycle needs of women have shifted, and the physical requirements of traditional blue collar occupations have been significantly reduced, there has been only a negligible shift away from sex typed occupational choices, particularly in working class jobs where women are clearly under-represented in a wide range of potential employment categories. The Department of Labor reports that although 50% of all male workers continue to be

blue collar workers (a large proportion of which enjoy salary and health benefits as a function of union membership), only 16% of all women workers fall into this category. The majority of women workers and in particular working class women workers, are ghettoized in under paid, non-organized clerical and secretarial positions, assembly line jobs and service fields such as housekeeping and waitressing What is needed are not merely structural and economic analyses of the fact of sex typing, but more individualized studies which begin to isolate the more particularistic, psychological, and sociological factors which perpetuate this sex typing over time.

Sociological Relevance

Studies of blue collar women are important to the field of sociology at this time. It is now commonly acknowledged that the sociological and psychological literature on career choice processes, occupational values and the meaning of work have a biased perspective in terms of both sex and class. This flows largely from the fact that social scientists tend to utilize the most readily available respondents for their generalizations about human behavior and these are all too often upper middle class, disproportionately white male students in universities. This is problematic in light of social scientists tendency to generalize to populations with whom they have little personal experience or identity. Too often stereotypic notions result; the working class is often portrayed as some highly undifferentiated category; women are many times seen as all alike, and little care or time is taken to discover and understand the myriad of differences in perceptions, orientations, expectations and experiences within these categories.

The blinders which previously characterized much social science research have left a great void in our understanding of the socialization process and the nature of occupational choice making contexts and processes among less socially and educationally advantaged people. We have too often assumed that one is a carpenter or a plumber, a secretary or a cosmetologist because one didn't have the inclination or ooportunity to be "anything better" and so, often fail to investigate the very real choice making processes that may be going on among less well educated men and women moving into a life's vocation.

It is also interesting to note that what literature does focus on women concerns itself almost exclusively with college educated, professional women and the social and economic context surrounding their decisions to work. A review of recent key studies in the field reveals a rash of articles and books on women scientists,

attorneys, M.D.'s and Ph.D.'s; studies of dual career families which are almost exclusively of professionals and many new works on the American woman college student, her attitudes, aspirations and expectations (see especially Theodore 1971; Astin 1969, 1972; Holmstrom 1972; Ginzberg 1966; Epstein 1970; Rossi 1965, 1974).

Aside from the numerous straight forward statistical governmental publications on women, there exists but a handful of academic studies of women in lower middle class and working class occupations. One exception is the poverty and manpower literature of the sixties, most of which, however, concerns itself with the problems of severely economically distressed women, focusing primarily on economic and structural variables at the expense of intra and inter personal ones. The literature on women and work thus is far from comprehensive and aside from a small number of easily measureable variables like age, marital status, education and husband's income, we know very little about the social and economic context of women's decision to work. Aside from the "desire to serve other," "to work with people," "to do interesting things" and parallel values emerging from the research on college men and women, (McClelland 1964; Rosenberg 1957; Davis 1965), and the rather biased personality and interest inventories developed in the vocational testing field (Kuder 1961 Strong 1946; Holland 1966) we really know very little about the values and meanings women attach to work.

If the literature on women is guilty of being limited to one type of working woman, the litertture on working class and blue collar work is guilty of being limited to studies of male workers. Although the largest proportions of working women come from the working and lower middle class (Levitan 1971), the literature on work and work roles in these classes focuses almost entirely on men. If one does find a discussion of women it is within the context of marriage and family studies such as Rainwater's work on working men's wives (1959) or Komarovsky's study of blue collar marriage (1962). Women's work and income is discussed only in terms of its contribution to the economic status of the family, not as an interesting phenomenon in itself. Men's work roles on the other hand, are given much more attention. There are some indications that even among the working class, women work for complex reasons and not just for "pin money." Certainly Komarovsky's discussion of the expressed desire among many working class wives she interviewed to "get out of the house" and "meet interesting people" are real components (Komarovsky 1962). We are not disputing that a primary reason men and women work is economic but we do want to suggest that the meaning of work to men and women is also more than a paycheck. We still know very little about what meanings women attach to their work

and why they choose one vocational focus over another. Even given the educational and structural barriers to entry in numerous careers, working class women have a range of choices open to them and increasing numbers are moving in nontraditional directions. Such choices and movements are sociologically interesting.

Social Policy Implications

Finally, it is important to study working women and particularly nontraditional blue collar women because of the national emphasis being placed on equal employment opportunity and the special needs of previously excluded constituencies. Women are clearly excluded from many fields.

Table 2

Distribution of Employed Women by Occupation, 1940 and 1970

MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP	PERCENT OF WOMEN EMPLOYED		AS PERCENT OF BOTH SEXES EMPLOYED IN OCCUPATION	
	1970	1940	1970	1940
TOTAL				
Thousands	29,667	11,920	--	--
Percent	100.0	100.0	38.1	25.9
White-collar workers				
Professional, technical workers	14.5	13.2	38.5	45.4
Managers, officials, proprietors	4.5	3.8	15.9	11.7
Clerical workers	34.5	21.2	74.6	52.6
Sales workers	7.0	7.0	43.1	27.9
Blue-collar workers				
Craftsmen, foremen	1.0	0.9	3.3	2.1
Operatives	14.5	18.4	30.9	25.7
Nonfarm laborers	0.5	0.8	3.7	3.2
Service workers				
Private household workers	5.1	17.6	97.4	93.8
Service workers (except private household)	16.5	11.3	60.2	40.1
Farm workers				
All farm occupations	1.8	5.8	16.7	8.0

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Report of the President (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971) Table A-9.

Although Manpower projections for 1985 suggest a slow decline in blue collar jobs in general, the category of craftsmen, foreman is expected to increase rapidly. Included in this category are such fields as electrician, plumber, appliance service person, and finally business machine services, which will be one of the leading

growth occupations (Levitan 1972). It is also expected that clerical employees will continue to grow. Given the outdated sex-typing of jobs, it would seem imperative that educational and training programs be developed with a concern for preparing women as well as men for these anticipated growth areas in blue collar jobs. However, when we look at recent figures on the kinds of vocational training courses women are enrolled in we see very little movement away from sex-typed jobs.

Table 3

WOMEN ENROLLED IN PUBLIC VOCATIONAL COURSES, BY TYPE OF PROGRAM, 1966-67

Program	All women enrollees			Secondary school courses		Post-secondary-school courses		Adult extension courses		Special needs programs	
	Number	Percent distribution	As percent of total enrollees	Number	Percent distribution	Number	Percent distribution	Number	Percent distribution	Number	Percent distribution
Total	3,827,166	100.0	54.3	2,349,070	100.0	214,617	100.0	1,228,159	100.0	35,320	100.0
Home economics[1]	2,101,221	54.9	96.2	1,416,185	60.3	3,036	1.4	659,501	53.7	22,499	63.7
Job-oriented courses	57,025	1.5	91.6	18,286	.8	2,744	1.3	31,762	2.6	4,236	12.0
Office occupations	1,214,925	31.7	77.3	781,459	33.3	128,509	59.9	301,494	24.5	3,463	9.8
Distribution	214,314	5.6	44.6	74,446	3.2	6,698	3.1	130,917	10.7	2,253	6.4
Trades and industry	155,808	4.1	10.5	53,849	2.3	17,189	8.0	79,218	6.5	5,552	15.7
Health occupations	109,695	2.8	94.7	15,773	.7	51,008	23.8	40,837	3.3	1,387	3.9
Technical education	22,690	.6	8.6	2,445	.1	7,509	3.5	12,881	1.0	55	.2
Agriculture	9,003	.2	1.0	4,913	.2	668	.3	3,311	.3	111	.3

[1] Includes women in courses not shown separately.

Source: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Division of Vocational and Technical Education.

In addition we find that of the over 100,000 women in Department of Labor training programs, high percentages are training for conventional jobs (41% clerical, 23% service in institutional training programs; 15% clerical and 32% service in on-the-job training programs). An additional large percentage of women are training for new careers in health. However, in other growth fields such as machine trades, bench work and electronic components assembly and repair, we find much less representation virtually none in institutional training programs; a more encouraging 10% in on-the-job training programs (Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1969).

The most distressing datum however, is that of the 278,000 registered apprentices in training at the beginning of 1968, less than 1% were women. The majority of these clustered in areas such as cosmetology, dressmaking or bookbinding. Apprenticeable occupations also include clock and watch repairperson, electronic technician, engraver, optical mechanic, precision lens grinder, plumber, draftsperson, electrical equipment repairer, and so on; none of which require great physical prowess, but all of which had virtually no women apprentices (U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau 1969). In the state of California as of December 1973, 38,709 persons were registered apprentices. Of these, 138 were women and the majority were apprenticing to become bookbinders.

This continued under-representation of women stands in direct contradiction to recent federal legislation mandating equal employment opportunities, fair employment practices and affirmative action. In order to respond to governmental mandates as well as the economic and psychic needs of working women in the next two decades, it is imperative that we develop counseling, recruitment and training programs which will enable urban women to move into nontraditional blue collar work roles. We are beginning to recognize that women in working class occupations have special needs. This is quite dramatically demonstrated by the Ford Foundation's recent support of the development of a Trade Union Women's Studies program through Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations. This program exists as a response to the articulated needs of union women for leadership development and management skills. However, many women need training at an even more basic level and the study we are embarking on will hopefully result in data that could contribute to the foloowing: (a) pinpointing target populations potentially interested in training in nontraditional jobs; (b) suggesting strategies for effective recruitment into nontraditional job training programs; (c) developing training models that build personal confidence and work commitment at the same time that they teach skills.

PROPOSITIONS FOR RESEARCH

Extent of Traditionalism in Expectations of Women's Roles

What are some of the specific questions, issues, or propositions which can inform research efforts on working women particularly in the less traditional blue collar fields? Initial discussions with researchers and practitioners and preliminary interviews wtih women trainees and apprentices have suggested some potentially fruitful lines of investigation.

A central factor differentiating women making nontraditional work choices from women making traditional ones is likely to be the extent of traditionalism in attitudes towards women's roles.

Dimensions of traditionalism include: higher commitment to marriage and family roles with outside paying work seen as secondary; something to be fit around marriage and family roles, rather than a central life role. Lower needs for autonomy in terms of both supervisory and economic concerns. Less willingness to compete economically or professionally with men. Higher concern with personal attractiveness to men (defined in current "ladies magazine" image terms). Greater concern with being defined as non-assertive, compliant, and supportive in relations with others. Higher concern with opportunities to serve others.

Dimensions of nontraditionalism include: equal or primary commitment to work roles vis-a-vis marriage and family roles. Higher needs for economic and work environment autonomy. Lower concern about competing with men economically or for jobs. Less priority given to personal attractiveness to men, particularly in conventional terms. Less self consciousness about personal assertiveness. Higher needs for autonomy. Less priority given to desire to serve others. A wide range of previous research suggests the importance of variables such as these, particularly with regard to the connection between concern for attractiveness to men, traditional images of femininity, and women's choices and attitudes towards the meaning and importance of paying work roles in their lives. (See in particular, Komarovsky, 1946; Coleman, 1961; J. Davis, 1964; Horner, 1973.)

College studies by Rosenberg (1957) and J. Davis (1964) and more general studies of vocational interests (Super, 1963; Holland, 1966) all suggest the significance of the influence of values and self concept on vocational choice. It goes without saying that social class, opportunity structures and personal abilities are important factors in this process. However, given similarities in social class, opportunities and abilities, people still make different choices and it is likely that this is due in part to the presence of particular sets of orientations one perceives as necessary for, or at least consonent with, the pursuit of one occupation rather than another.

The most crucial variable for predicting occupational choice has traditionally been gender. However, research has demonstrated that gender differences are really more relfective of sex-typed value differences. In fact, in one study it was demonstrated that when the effects of values are controlled, the significance of gender washes out (Walshok, 1969). In other words, if a person values for example, "opportunities for leadership" a value associated with male occupations, he or she is more likely to choose a traditionally male field. The opposite is also true. Men and women are early socialized into stereotypic roles which emphasize autonomy, ambition, assertiveness and strength in men and dependence, nurturence, docility and frailty in women. This sex typing further expresses itself in occupational choice. Though one may personally dislike the norms which dictate certain kinds of values and personal traits as essential to doing one kind of job rather than another, and would like to see more flexible definitions of occupational roles, it remains the case that specific orientations tend to cluster with specific jobs. For this reason, it could be expected that a key differentiating factor between

traditional and nontraditional women will be the degree of traditionalism in their images of the feminine role and the degree of traditionalism of their work values which in turn should relate to the extent of traditionalism in their actual occupational choices.

Extent of traditionalism is also a key variable along which training and work environments can be characterized. Even though one may have values and orientations which result in an openness to nontraditional alternatives, for a commitment to these alternatives to grow and solidify, there must be positively reinforcing sets of experiences over time. In this regard the expectations of significant others would be a crucial factor. Both the psychological and sociological research has demonstrated convincingly the importance of performance expectations for actual performance (Rosenthal, 1966; 1968). It is our contention that if a program or employer is recruiting women and ostensibly committed to training them in non-traditional skills while in fact administrators and instructors are doing so begrudgingly, with conventionalized images of women and expectations that they "probably won't make it" it's quite likely that many women won't make it. In research it is important to utilize a variety of measures to tap the attitudes towards women in general and the expectations of the trainee or employee in particular among program administrators and instructors. In this regard special training of the instructors in developing a sensitivity to women would be a positive indicator of concern for real success. Women's perceptions of the extent to which their parents, husbands, boyfriends and friends are supportive or non-supportive of their choice are also important. Research on women has suggested that the extent of this kind of support is essential to high levels of commitment in women (Bernard, 1966; Horner, 1972; Holmstrom, 1973).

A related dimension concerns the nature of the training or work group itself. Based on studies of the task oriented behavior of women in single sex as opposed to mixed sex environments (Gough, 1973), it could be expected the larger the proportion of women in a program, the more successful the learning experience will be. The reluctance of women to assert themselves in mixed sex groups may be an obstacle to comprehensive learning. Additionally, it could be expected that the extent to which the training cohort becomes a mutually satisfying informal group will also effect success because of the potential this provides for positive reinforcement and a sense of not being a lone "rebel" or "token" representative in the nontraditional area. Informal contacts with other nontraditional women will increase one's sense of role integration whereas isolation of roles probably intensifies feelings of fragmentation and strain.

More specifically in studies of nontraditional training and work environments the capacity of the work environment to attract and keep women will be related to:

1. The extent of traditionalism in attitudes towards women's roles among teachers, trainers, foremen, supervisors and administrators.
2. The proportion of women in that environment.
3. The extent to which an environment facilitates the development of social supports which contribute to the building of increased self esteem, greater assertiveness, self-confidence and feelings of personal well being as women workers. These result from (a) informal relationships arising out of the training or work experience, (b) direct efforts on the part of the environment to build self-esteem and (c) direct training in ancillary skills women perhaps have not had, such as physical fitness, shop math, etc.
4. The extent of pre-entry training and sensitizing of administrative and instructional staff and continued self evaluation over time. To what extent is there systematic work as a staff at developing sensitivities to the special needs of women entering nontraditional occupations?

PREDISPOSING BACKGROUND CHARACTERISITCS

There are also a variety of demographic and background characteristics which need to be looked into in research on working women. Based on previous research we know that the development of nontraditional role commitments in women is the result of a lengthy process in which parental values and expectations play an important role (Kagan and Moss, 1962; Ginzberg, 1966; Bernard, 1966; Horner, 1972). Although here again, we are forced to rely upon findings from research on college and professional women, it is likely that parallel processes occur for other groups. One researcher suggests that a disproportionate number of women scientists and engineers report having been "tomboys" at some point in their childhood (A. Rossi, 1965). Having been a "tomboy" is indicative of a cluster of variables which include such "unfeminine" traits as independence, aggressiveness, rough-housing and getting dirty; playing boys' games rather than house with other girls, and so on. What is important is that the child is allowed to experiment with a repertoire of behaviors usually excluded to boys; a repertoire of behaviors that a large body of research argues relate to adult capacities and interests (Kagan and Moss, 1962). Eleanor Maccoby's research on intellectual functioning suggests the importance of early independence training for the development of analytic and problem solving skills in later years; yet another set of culturally defined male

skills (Maccoby, 1966). Thus, it is important to develop measures which assess the extent to which women perceive their parents as having reinforced personal independence and unconventional as opposed to conventional sex-typed play and appearance norms during their childhood. Such issues as at what age children were allowed to travel alone, left to take care of themselves, should be revealing indicators of early opportunities for autonomy. Other issues similar to those dealt with by Coleman (1961) in his study of high school students might prove fruitful. Coleman's study included questions which tapped the relative importance of such things as clothes, good grades, athletics, and popularity to the respondents It included as well a variety of questions dealing with respondents perceptions of sources of parental and teacher approval.

It might also be valuable to assess the extent to which parental family relationships are perceived as more or less egalitarian along those dimensions suggested by Rainwater (1966). More egalitarian parental relationships may be more conducive to the development of nontraditional work expectations in women. Salient dimensions of family relationships suggested by Goode (1963) and Komarovsky (1962) should also inform the development of research on working women.

It goes without saying that in addition to these more developmental factors there are a variety of more standard demographic variables such as age, economic situation, education and so on which must inform our understanding of the multiple factors influencing work role choices among women. These factors have been dealt with in great detail in previous research.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The few questions and issues we have raised in this paper constitute only the barest beginnings of ideas which can provide a basis for research on working women which goes beyond sexist and classist conceptions of work. The ideas we will be exploring in our particular research on working women derive from a central assumption that personal identity and work roles are integrally related and mutually reinforcing.

Much can be learned about a person's concept of his or herself by knowing the kind of work he or she chooses. Clearly there have been structural barriers to the selection of certain kinds of work by certain kinds of people. But as these barriers loosen or break down people are in a position to make choices from a range of alternatives which they feel are more or less congruent with their sense of self. We really have very little information on how people take advantage of

opportunities once they are available. It is sociologically interesting to learn about the "pioneers" or "risk takers" and the personal attitudes, orientations and choice-making processes they bring to new role options. It is for this reason we are interested in looking at nontraditional work roles among women for they yield insights into larger questions of nontraditional conceptions of self. As importantly they provide some sense of "process" and other issues pertinent to understanding role transformations and ultimately, social change.

The study currently in progress is an effort to take advantage of a unique opportunity to describe and evalutate the experiences of a large number of women about to break into nontraditional blue collar fields. Until recently the small numbers of women in nontraditional blue collar jobs, coupled with their isolation (one woman here, maybe two there) has made locating and interviewing them costly both in terms of time and money. Because of the recent emergence of federal, state and community programs geared to facilitating the entry of women into non-traditional fields (an unusually high percentage of which are in California) a rather large pool of working women who represent this population which has been so under-represented in the social science and manpower literature is now locatable and available for study without unusual expenditures of time or money.

With a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, the Project on Working Women at the University of California at San Diego will be studying working women with a concern for two central research questions. (1) The first is a very straightforward descriptive one. Who are these women? What are their social backgrounds; attitudes towards marriage and family roles; feelings of self-worth, ambivalence, competence and so on? The study deals with this question by comparing a cohort of women entering training for nontraditional jobs with a cohort of women entering traditional job training. (2) We are able to ask a second set of questions, partly because nontraditional training and work settings are "simply there" and studiable, but more importantly because of the researchers' curiosity about what combinations of training factors lead to what kinds of personal outcomes vis a vis the world of work. This paper has suggested possible relationships but the research itself is quite open ended in that there is very little previous research on personal motivations, expectations, role satisfaction and employment which has dealt one, with women and two, with skilled trades, rather than entry level jobs of high status professions. In this phase of the research primary attention will be given to such variables as feelings of self-worth; sense of acceptance by others of congruence between work and family roles; self reported notions of growth,

satisfaction, confidence, autonomy, and employability or potential for future job success. The assessment of the expectations of significant others will be a central study variable for interpreting the directions in which the nontraditional women are moving.

The research in progress is based on interviews with individuals involved in training or work programs in the community; cosmetology schools, feminist pre-entry training programs for the skilled trades, on-the-job training at such places as National Steel and Ship Building in San Diego. On-going programs in the community are a less than ideal basis methodologically for a study which seeks to make a contribution to our knowledge as social scientists and social planners. However, this country, its women and its work force are in the midst of change and the prospect of studying change-in-process is what is exciting about this project. It is a unique opportunity to study a too long overlooked group of working women. Its primary goal is to understand and describe something about who they are and how they deal with their nontraditionality. However, it is also an opportunity to evaluate the training process and look at its consequences for aspects of the self and living with others as well as for employment. Research on working class women which attempts to capture the variety and complexity of their life experience is long overdue. The issues raised in this paper represent some preliminary considerations which may need to be explored.

REFERENCES

Astin, Helen, 1969, The Woman Doctorate in America, Russell Sage Foundation.

_____, Women: A Bibliography of Their Education and Careers, Human Services Press, 1972.

Bernard, Jessie, Academic Women, Meridian Books, 1966.

Broverman, Inge, et.al., "Sex Role Stereotypes and Clinical Judgements of Mental Health," Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, Vol. 34, No. 1.

Cain, Glenn, Married Women in the Labor Force, University of Chicago Press, 1966.

Campbell, Donald, "Reforms As Experiments," American Psychologist, Vol. 24, No. 4, 1969.

Coleman, James, Adolescent Society, The Free Press, 1961.

Davis, E., "Careers as Concerns of Blue Collar Girls," in Shostak, A., et.al., Blue Collar World, Prentice-Hall, 1964.

Davis, J., Undergraduate Career Decisions, Aldine Publishing Company, 1965.

Epstein, Cynthia, Woman's Place, University of California Press, 1970.

Ginzberg, Eli, Educated American Women, Columbia University Press, 1966.

Goode, William, World Revolution and Family Patterns, The Free Press, 1963.

Hedges, Janice, et.al., "Sex Stereotyping: Its Decline in Skilled Trades," Monthly Labor Review, May, 1974.

Holland, John L., The Psychology of Vocational Choice, Blaisdell Publishing Co., 1966.

Holmstrom, Lynda L., The Two-Career Family, Schenkman Publishing Company, 1972.

Horner, Matina, Sex Difference in Achievement Motivation and Performance in Competitive and Noncompetitive Situations. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1972.

_____, "The Motive to Avoid Success and Changing Aspirations of Women" in Bardwick, J., Readings on the Psychology of Women, Harper and Row, 1972.

Hyman, Herbert, Survey Design and Analysis, The Free Press, 1955.

Kagan, J., et.al., Birth to Maturity, John Wiley, 1962.

Kamorovsky, Mirra, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 53, No. 2, 1946.

Lazarsfeld, Paul, et.al., The Language of Social Research, 1955.

Levitan, Sar, Blue-Collar Workers, McGraw-Hill, 1971.

_____, Human Resources and Labor Markets, Harper and Row, 1972.

Long, Clarence D., The Labor Force Under Changing Income and Employment, Princeton University Press, 1958.

McClelland, David C., The Achieving Society, Van Nostrand, 1961.

Mincer, Jacob, "Labor Force Participation of Married Women: A Study of Labor Supply" in Aspects of Labor Economics, Princeton University Press, 1962.

Oppenheimer, Valerie, The Female Labor Force in the United States, Institute Of International Studies, University of California, 1970.

Rainwater, Lee, Workingman's Wife, Oceana Publications, 1959.

_____, "Some Aspects of Lower Class Sexual Behavior" Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 22, No. 2, 1966.

Rosenberg, Morris, Occupations and Values, Free Press, 1957.

Rosenkrantz, Paul et.al., "Sex Role Stereotypes and Self Concepts in College Students" Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, Vol. 32, No. 3, 1968.

Rosenthal, R., Experimenter Effects in Behavioral Research, Appleton-Century Crofts, 1966.

_____, Pygmalion in the Classroom: Teacher Expectation and Pupils Intellectual Development, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968.

Rossi, Alice, "Barriers to the Career Choice of Engineering, Medicine or Science Among American Women" in Women and the Scientific Professions ed. Mattfeld, J. et.al., MIT Press, 1965.

_____, Academic Women on the Move, Free Press, 1974.

Rossi, Peter, "Boobytraps and Pitfalls in the Evaluation of Social Action Programs" in Evaluating Action Programs, ed. Carol Weiss, Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1966.

Suchman, Edward, Evaluative Research, Russell Sage Foundation, 1967.

Theodore, Athena, The Professional Woman, Schenkamn Publishing Co., 1971.

U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1960, PC (1)-1D, 1963.

U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Report of the President, 1973.

U.S. Department of Labor, Report from the Woman's Bureau, 1969.

Walshok, Mary Lindenstein, Variation in Gender Role Orientation in Undergraduate Women: Some Causes and Consequences, Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Indiana University, 1969.

Zetterberg, Hans, On Theory and Verification in Sociology, Bedminsten Press, 1965.