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Date December 11, 1975

WOMEN AND WORK
PERSPECTIVES FOR THE VOCATIONAL COUNSELING OF WOMEN

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by

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ABSTRACT

Women's involvement in the labor market has been the subject of discussion in recent years. The problem of this study was to investigate the factors involved in a woman's decision to work, the meaning of employment to her, the type of work she chooses, and how she integrates work with other facets of her life. A review of literature provided the means by which the investigation was conducted.

Changes in the nature of work and in the homemaker role have made employment outside the home a more attractive and necessary alternative for women than in the past. Women choose to participate in the labor market primarily for financial reasons and secondarily for personal fulfillment. A woman's work force involvement is related to her education, her social network, her concept of femininity, and her stage of the life cycle.

The variables that influence the amount of time, energy, interest, and emotional involvement invested in employment in relation to family life were investigated. Women were found to derive their meaning more from their family life than from employment. Significant influences on feminine commitment to work were perception of opportunity in employment, type of occupation, marital status, work experience, education, and socialization. Strongly work oriented women tended to have been influenced by feminine role models involved in employment.

Marital plans were found to be related to occupational aspirations. Marriage lessens women's interest in employment but does not eradicate a desire for vocational participation. Significant factors in married women's vocational behavior are marital structure, husband's attitude, ages of children, and the manner in which a woman handles the home-career conflict.

Women's occupational choice is limited by their lower commitment to employment, the discontinuity of their involvement in work, and the limited options explored in their early years. Personality traits of significance in female vocational planning are the motive to avoid success, feminine role orientation, interpersonal orientation, concentration on short-term considerations, and low self-esteem.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In recent years attention has focused on a topic that was previously not discussed - the woman worker, The fact that women are working is not a new one, but the extent of women's participation in the work force is new. The U.S. Department of Labor (1971-a) reports that in 1971, 31.5 million women were paid workers and it projects that 37 million women will be working in 1980. 43 percent of all women age 16 or older were working in 1970, a sharp contrast to the 23 percent of females working in 1920.

Another change is the increased participation of married women in the world of work. 58 percent of the female labor force are married women living with their husbands. Only 23 percent of women workers are single and 19 percent are widowed, separated, or divorced.(USDOL, 1971-b). The demographic characteristics of the average working woman in 1970 pointed to a married 39 year old. The mean description of the 1920 woman worker was single and age 28 (USDOL, 1971-a).

The work force now includes more older women than in the past. The statistics compiled by the U.S. Department of Labor indicate that women are participating in the work force mainly before and after the child-bearing and childbearing years. The proportion of women working is highest among women between ages 20 to 24 (59%), followed by ages 18 to 19 (56%). Labor market participation decreases to 48 percent of women between 25 to 34 years old, the time when many women have small children

at home. At age 35 more women return to work - 52 percent of ages 35 to 44 and 54 percent of ages 45 to 54 are working (USDOL, 1971-b).

In a society with more and more women involving themselves in the labor market, it would be helpful for counselors, school officials, and personnel workers to have some sense of the factors involved in a woman's decision to involve herself in the labor market, and some of the dilemas she will face as a result of opting to work. This study is intended to highlight the issues of the working woman and thus provide information for the counselor working with women.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The problem of this study will be to investigate the factors involved in a woman's decision to work, the meaning work holds for her, the type of work she chooses, and how she integrates work with other facets of her life. The factors to be investigated are marriage, motherhood, sex role orientation, self-concept, and values. The influence of the agents of socialization will also be explored.

PURPOSE OF THE PAPER

The information to be derived from this investigation of women's commitment to work should be useful in the planning and implementation of vocational guidance programs for women at all stages of their lives. It may help identify the needs women may have in selecting an occupation

and may highlight the composites of women's work orientation. Approaches could be developed to meet the differing needs of individual women.

The compilation of information from diverse sources may aid the individual counselor to become more cognizant of the individual woman he or she is counseling, and of the uniqueness of each woman's situation. The placement officer or personnel worker may obtain a better understanding of women's work motivation. This may allow them to match the individual woman's need with the demands of various jobs.

QUESTIONS TO BE CONSIDERED

The general questions to be answered in this study are as follows:

1. What is involved in a woman's choosing to work?
2. What is involved in the meaning employment holds in the life of a woman?
3. What role does marriage play in work orientation?
4. What influences the type of field that a woman selects?
5. What personality characteristics of women are related to vocational choice?

PROCEDURE

The review of related research in this paper will survey literature that has been recently published on women's involvement in employment. These reports have appeared in journals of psychology, sociology, social

psychology, counseling, and education, as well as in books published in' these fields. The review of literature will be divided into separate chapters dealing with the decision to work, the meaning of work to women, the relation of marriage to women's work involvement, women's choices of types of work, and personal characteristics of those women involved in working.

The first review chapter will discuss women's participation in the work force. The options available to women vocationally will be highlighted. The extent of actual and planned female work participation will be discussed. Factors that have contributed to women's increased work participation will be delineated. A review of the motives for individual women's decision to engage in employment will be included. And, finally, a discussion of women's life cycle and its relation to women's employment will be examined.

The second review chapter will look at the meaning of employment to the individual woman. It will try to estimate the extent of work commitment in women. It will deal with the relationship between home demands, discrimination, the organization of the work world, and socialization to work commitment.

A third chapter will examine the institution of marriage and its relation to women's work involvement. There will be a review of studies of family structure and its influence on women's employment. There also will be a summarization of some of the research on the conflict between

the home and careers, motherhood, and the husband's attitude toward a working wife.

The fourth section of this review will discuss the involvement of women in different types of work. Questions to be asked are: In what types of jobs are women now working?; and What about sex-stereotyping of occupations and occupational aspirations?

The last review chapter will investigate personal characteristics of women and their influence on female work participation. The motive to avoid success will be examined. Sex-role stereotypes and their relation to women's vocational behavior will be explored. The feminine values, self-esteem, and interest in planning for the future are to be studied.

These are the five facets of this review of related research and thinking -- decision to work, work commitment, marriage, type of work, and personal characteristics. It is hoped that by reviewing these areas, the practitioner working with women and the program planner will have an understanding of the findings of some of the numerous studies on women's vocational behavior. Hopefully, this will help them to better assist women in vocational decision-making.

LIMITATIONS

The study mainly deals with the middle-class, highly educated woman, since the bulk of present research has studied this population. It has been posited by several authors that information about this group would

provide an understanding of female vocational choice in general. Whether or not this is true will not be answered in this study, but it will be pointed out that studies on women members of minority groups have not been included due to the limited availability of reports of this population.

This paper is not exhaustive of all the recent research that has been reported on women and working. It is limited by the sheer volume of literature recently emerging on women. However, it is hoped that the studies cited are a representative sampling of the literature.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Terms will be defined in the text of the paper as they are used by the author of the reference cited. For this reason, there will be no definition of terms in this chapter.

SUMMARY

This study will attempt to examine the relationship of several factors involved in the female vocational choice process. In the past few years there has been a great deal of discussion of the woman in the labor market, however, the discussion usually centers around the effect of the working woman on her family or on discrimination in the employment of women. It would be helpful to the vocational counselor, personnel worker, and placement officer to have a summary of research on women and

work. Identification of the dynamics of female vocational choice might aid women in selecting the alternative that best fits their personal needs.

CHAPTER II

THE CHOICE TO WORK

The choice to work in paid employment is one that is unique to women as a class. It has been pointed out that women may choose from many options as to which will be the focus of their energies. Let us examine some of the vocational alternatives presented to females.

WOMEN'S VOCATIONAL OPTIONS

Full-time homemaking is an option that has been presented to women as the American ideal. It is open to married women, especially if they have children and have adequate means of financial support. Some of the elements of an occupation are present in the homemaker role but it has some unique characteristics (Lewis, 1968; Lopata, 1971). There is a training period in which the workload is lighter than it will be at a later stage. During this time the duties are learned although this is often combined with other roles such as employee or student (Lopata, 1971). The workload increases with the birth of the first child, and continues at a peak until the entry of the youngest child into school. At that point the amount of work gradually decreases until the children have left home. The homemaker job also becomes less demanding with widowhood, divorce, or separation.

Another choice for married women is that of dual roles. This is a combination of the housewife role and some activity outside the home.

The woman may combine homemaking with volunteer work, study, or employment on a part-time or full-time basis (Arnott, 1972-b; Rossi, 1965-b). 58 percent of the women working are married, so many women are filling dual roles (USDOL, 1971-b). The woman may also discriminate the amount of time, energy, and emotional involvement she wishes to invest in each role that she adopts.

A third option for married women is what Hannah Papaneck (1973) describes as the "two-person career". This is a combination of the homemaker role and a role as contributor to her husband's career. She may contribute intellectually to his career as a collaborator; she may provide public relations for him as the political wife does; or she may help him carry out the duties of his position by status maintenance as exemplified by the embassy wife. All of these are vicarious careers.

The single woman's options are somewhat limited since she must support herself. She, however, may still choose what emphasis she will place on work in her life. She may view work as a way to mark time until someone appears to support her, she may look upon work as a hobby, a way to earn money, or as a career (Bird, 1970). 23 percent of today's working women are single (USDOL, 1971-b).

The divorced, separated, or widowed woman has the same options as the single woman unless she has some form of financial support such as adequate child support or insurance payments. In many situations, however, she must look to work outside the home as a way of providing

maintenance for herself and her family. The 19 percent of the female work force that are in this category often assume dual roles (USDOL, 1971-b).

EXTENT OF FEMALE WORK PARTICIPATION

The woman choosing to involve herself in paid employment is seen by some theorists as selecting a deviant option (Gold, 1971; Lewis, 1968; Zytowski, 1969). The majority of married women do not seek work outside the home on either a part-time or full-time basis (Rossi, 1965-b).

However, the number and proportion of women working in paid employment has been on the increase (USDOL, 1971-b). Women's role is changing. Donald Zytowski (1969) states; "The nature of woman's role is not static. It will ultimately bear no distinction from that of men." (p. 66). Married women have been given more encouragement recently to participate in work outside the home. The extent of their involvement in paid employment has increased. Women work at more stages of their life cycle and for longer periods of time than they have in the past (Oppenheimer, 1973).

Ralph Turner (1971) studied the vocational and marital plans of high school senior girls. He found that nearly 48 percent wished to combine employment with homemaking, 48 percent wished to be a homemaker only, and less than four percent planned to relinquish marriage for a career.

A study of female college freshmen (Epstein & Bronzaft, 1972) compared the vocational and marital plans of samples drawn in 1965 against

the responses of women in 1970. In 1965, 42 percent of the sample projected that they would like to combine employment with homemaking fifteen years in their future. In 1970 the percentage choosing this option increased to 48 percent. 28 percent of the 1970 respondents aspired to being a full-time homemaker, a decrease from the 35 percent of the 1965 sample selecting this option.

Alice Rossi (1965-c) conducted a survey of college graduates and found that most had an interest in working. However, 20 percent of her sample indicated that their only career interest was in being a homemaker.

In a 1964 follow up study of women seven years after their college graduation, the respondents indicated that they had been employed an average of five and one half years since graduating. 25 percent of them desired an active career throughout their lives while 50 percent were planning on work in their future but not as a major commitment of their lives. Another 20 percent did not plan to work outside the home (Wells & Wool, 1966).

There seems to be conflicting information on the amount of time women spend working in paid employment. The Woman's Bureau estimates that 75 percent of working women are employed full-time (Waldman, 1973). However, many of the jobs considered suitable for women are full-time for part of the year (e.g. teachers and associated school personnel). Adjusting for this, Nancy Reeves (1971) maintains that only half of working women are employed full-time on a year-round basis.

FACTORS INFLUENCING WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT PARTICIPATION

It seems evident that more women are working, and more young women are planning on paid employment as a part of their future. It would be helpful to look at some of the reasons the job market now holds more attraction for women than in the past.

The shift of the American living pattern from a rural to an urban lifestyle has been suggested as a reason that more women are opting for work outside the home (Janeway, 1971, 1974; Lewis, 1968; Peterson, 1964). The urban life requires that the family depend on sources outside the home for many of its basic goods and services whereas the rural farm family had to provide its own food, clothing, and other needs.

The advance of technology has influenced women's relationship to the labor market. Mass production has expanded the need for workers and women have begun to fill this need. There are not enough single women available to fill all the jobs, so married women have been encouraged to enter the labor force (Cain, 1966; Gold, 1971; Janeway, 1971; Oppenheimer, 1968; Peterson, 1964; Waldman, 1973). At the same time, technology has reduced the time required for the homemaker to complete her domestic chores, thus giving her more time to spend on activities outside the home (Bardwick, 1971-a; Janeway, 1971; Lewis, 1968; Peterson, 1964).

The life span of women has increased by twenty-five years since the turn of the century. This development has given women time after the heavy demands of child-bearing have lessened, to take up other activities

(Komarovsky, 1966; Smuts, 1971; Waldman, 1973).

The improvement of contraceptives now make it possible for women to control their reproductive cycle, choose the timing of children, and limit the size of their families. The lowered birthrate also leaves women with fewer family responsibilities and more time to be outside the home (Bird, 1970; Westervelt, 1973).

More women are getting married at younger ages than before, thus completing the child-rearing stage of their lives earlier (Parke & Glicke, 1973; Peterson, 1964). This is in contrast to Esther Westervelt's thesis (1973) that later marriages are now providing women with more time to work prior to marriage. Perhaps this discrepancy could be explained by the fluctuation in women's age at marriage seen between the 1960 and 1970 census (Parke & Glicke, 1973).

Lewis (1968) points out that work may now hold more attraction to women with the improvement of working conditions and the predominance of shorter working hours. The improved access to education and rising educational level of women contributed to the presence of more women in the work force (Lewis, 1968; Peterson, 1964; Weil, 1971).

The accelerated cost of living due to inflation has propelled more women into the marketplace to help provide for the economic needs of their families (Westervelt, 1973). More women have had the experience of working, so this is a more acceptable way to ease the family's financial pinch than it was in the past when the male would moonlight (Bird, 1970;

Weil, 1971). In fact, 90 percent of all women have worked at some point in their lives (Bird, 1970).

These are systemic changes that have made work outside the home an acceptable alternative to more women. But the motivation to enter paid employment is more personal in nature.

PERSONAL MOTIVATIONS TO WORK

The reason most frequently cited by women for working is financial. Esther Peterson (1964) explains; "Most women, like most men, work because of economic necessity. This is true of the married woman worker as well as the single woman." (p. 151). The married woman working full-time contributes 35 to 40 percent of the total family income on the average, and the part-time worker's wages constitute an average of 15 to 20 percent (Peterson, 1964; USDOL, 1968).

In a follow up study of college graduates (Wells & Wool, 1966), 66 percent of the employed respondents cited economic maintenance of their families as their reason for working. In this study one half of the married women indicated that they worked for economic reasons. Nearly 70 percent of the employed women in a Texas study of working women (Ramsey et al, 1963) indicated that they worked out of economic necessity. Other studies have found that financial need was the primary reason that women work (Lewis, 1968; Peterson, 1964; Smuts, 1971; Waldman, 1973).

A desire to provide her family with better housing was a factor in

the decision to work for some women (Long, 1974; Waldman, 1973). Financing the cost of college education for their children is also cited as a reason to seek paid employment (Peterson, 1964; Waldman, 1973).

The individual's socioeconomic status influences a woman's decision on working as well as her reasons for working. A married woman whose educational level is considerably less than that of her husband is faced with a status discrepancy if she works. This could create problems for her if she works, and may prevent her from seeking work (Rossi, 1965-b; Weil, 1971). The blue collar wife is likely to be happy with the housewife role and may find that work outside the home holds little appeal for her (Komarovsky, 1966). The attractiveness of the housewife role certainly plays a part in the decision to work (Lewis, 1968; Ramsey et al, 1963; Richardson, 1975).

A small group of highly educated middle and upper class women work for reasons of self-fulfillment. A survey of business and professional working women (Ramsey et al, 1963) found that 24 percent attributed their reasons for working to a search for self-fulfillment. The Department of Labor follow-up of college graduates found 20 percent citing personal motivations as the reason for working (Wells & Wool, 1966).

The more education a woman has, the greater the likelihood that she will be in the labor market (Bardwick, 1971-a). Elizabeth Waldman provides the statistics (1973):

> Among women sho were high school graduates, 49 percent were in the labor force in 1969, compared with 30 percent for

> those who complete grade school only. ...The labor force participation rate increased to 54 percent for college graduates and to 69 percent for those who had completed 5 or more years of college. (p. 34)

Other studies provide similar findings (Bem & Bem, 1972). The work force participation rate among women holding doctorates is 91 percent, with 81 percent involved in full-time work (Astin, 1969; Holmstrom, 1971). The Department of Labor follow-up of college graduates reported that 71 percent of those with master's degrees were working as compared with 45 percent of those with a B.A. or B.S. (Wells & Wool, 1966). A study of Chicago women also found a relationship between educational level and work participation (Lopata, 1971).

WOMEN'S LIFE STAGES

It has been suggested that married women have several adult life stages during which certain tasks become more dominant than others (Bardwick, 1971-b; Duvall, 1967; Metzger et al, 1969; Moser, 1972; Waldman, 1960). These stages may be defined for the married woman as school attendance, employment, early stage of marriage, childbearing years, stage of preschool children, children of school age, children leave home, empty nest, and widowhood.

At some stages in the life cycle, participation in the world of work is more likely to be considered a desirable option than at other times (Lopata, 1971; Metzger et al, 1969; Moser, 1974; Waldman, 1973; Wells & Wool, 1966; Zytowski, 1969). Donald Zytowski, in developing a theory of

feminine career development (1969), speculates that work outside the home and homemaking are mutually choices since they interfere with each other so much. The typical pattern of women's work participation seems to be consistent with this at some phases of the life cycle. A description of women's work involvement is described by Elizabeth Waldman (1973) who was connected with the Women's Bureau.

> A recent analysis of the lifetime work expectancy of women shows that they typically take a job in their late teens or early 20's, leave the labor force after marriage, resume work when their child-rearing responsibilities decrease, and retire from the job world in their late 50's or early 60's. (p. 38)

Table I (p. 18) provides a further illustration of the life cycle and how it relates to women's work involvement.

Although female participation in the labor force is low during the childbearing and early child-rearing years, it increases again with the lessening of family responsibilities. Women do seem to be interested in combining homemaking with work outside the home at stages of the life cycle with less intense demands on their time (Komarovsky, 1966; Lopata, 1971; Metzger et al, 1969; Moser, 1974; Rossi, 1965-b; Waldman, 1973; Wells & Wool, 1966; USDOL, 1971-b).

Wells and Wool (1966) conducted a seven year follow-up of college graduates and found that women whose children were all over six years of age were significantly more interested in working than the women with preschool children. A follow-up of women who had attended college found

TABLE I

WOMAN'S LIFE IN RELATION TO WORK FORCE PARTICIPATION

Woman's Life Cycle [1]	Ages	Percentage of Women Working [2] Ages	%
School	6 to 20	16 - 17	37
		18 - 19	56
Young wife	20 to 22	20 - 24	59
Childbearing	22 to 26		
Preschool children	26 to 32	25 - 34	48
Children in school	32 to 42	35 - 44	52
Children marry	47	45 - 54	54
Empty nest	61	55 - 64	42
Widowhood		65+	9

Source: 1 Douvall, 1967

2 USDOL, 1971-b

that the women who had been honor students were interested in working at more stages of the life cycle than were the non-honor students (Metzger et al, 1969). It thus seems that factors other than the life cycle may influence the choice made regarding work, but it is easier to choose employment at some times of life than others.

Robert Smuts (1971) has pointed out that the average woman has over 40 years left in her life to work after her last child is born. The 1960 work life expectancy for a woman who is not married at age 20 is 45 years. If she is married and has no children, it decreases to 35 years; with one child, she can anticipate 25 years of working; with two children, 22 years; three children, 20 years; and four or more children, 17 years of employment (Waldman, 1973).

One theme that seems to be dominant in discussions of women's life cycle is the discontinuity of her life (Bardwick, 1971-a, 1971-b; Janeway, 1971, 1974; Reeves, 1971). This is a new phenomenon due to the lengthening of the woman's life span and the reduced proportion of it spent in raising and bearing children (Komarovsky, 1966). The average middle class woman finds herself with 20 years of life after her children have left home before she is 65 years old. Employment is one option to accommodate this new reality of women's lives.

SUMMARY

Women have many vocational options from which to choose. Married

women may choose full-time homemaking as a vocation or choose to combine homemaking with employment, study, volunteer work, or making substantial contributions to their husband's career. Women who are not married have fewer vocational options but they may decide what emphasis employment will have in their lives.

Although employment outside the home was considered a deviant choice for women in the recent past, it is now being selected by nearly half of American women. High school and college women are planning to be involved in the world of work in increasing numbers.

Societal changes have made work force participation an acceptable and necessary alternative to more women. Life style changes, technological changes and women's lengthened life span have contributed to women's increased work force participation. Changes in the nature of work and the economic needs of the family have also been cited as reasons for women's increased labor force involvement.

Most women see themselves as working to provide economic benefits for themselves and their families. Women who are highly educated may be more likely to work, and to cite personal, not financial, motives for working.

Married women may move through several life stages which have some influence on the desirability and feasibility of their labor force participation. Women's lives may be characterized as having several discontinous stages.

CHAPTER III

WORK COMMITMENT

Besides having a choice of whether or not they will engage in paid employment, women also may decide what significance work will hold for them in relation to other parts of their lives (Bailyn, 1965). For those who do opt to work they must decide how to fit work into their lives as women (Berry, 1972). The research question posed by two of the most prominent students of women and work:

> ...is less one of predicting work or no work for women. Rather it remains to explain for which women work is a central feature of adult life and what distinguishes career-oriented women from other working women. (Almquist & Angrist, 1970: 242)

DEFINITIONS

Before dealing with the question posed by this team, it seems necessary to define what is meant by career orientation. Constantina Safilios-Rothchild (1971) terms it work commitment and provides the following definition:

> Probably a more universal conceptualization of work commitment that could be applicable to both men and women may be one based upon the relative distribution of interest, time, energy, and emotional investment in work in relation to other life sectors, and notably to family life. (p. 491)

Other researchers provide similar definitions, but use different terms for work commitment. These terms will be described in reporting their findings.

Work commitment may be measured by exploring the person's attitude toward: (1) the amount of time she is willing to spend on the job; (2) whether she would work if she did not need the money; (3) the perceived advantages and disadvantages of her working; (4) whether work is seen as interfering with her family; (5) whether she desires to continue despite difficulties; (6) her satisfaction with working (Safilios-Rothschild, 1970).

The woman choosing to go into a career or a profession is making more than a decision involving one facet of her life. She is choosing a pattern of living. If she does choose not to marry, her situation then is somewhat similar to a male life pattern. But if she plans on marrying, she will have made other choices as well.

> Because our definition of career salience includes long-term commitment to a career with the expectation that the career will be combined with marriage, women who aspire in this sense are choosing more than work or no work; they are making fairly explicit <u>life style</u> choices. Such a choice does not exist for men. (Almquist & Angrist, 1971: 303)

Athena Theodore (1971) sees women as having two tasks to complete before becoming highly committed to a career. She must internalize the occupational role as well as form a strong identification with her profession. Men have been socialized to see work as an integral part of their lives, therefore, they must only form an identification with their profession. The woman's career commitment varies depending on how well she has completed these two steps.

Zytowski's theory of feminine career development (1969) is more extensive than the concept of work commitment. He sees this as an attitudinal component of a woman's pattern of vocational participation. He would also include the age at entry into work, the span or length of time spent working, and the degree of her participation in work. He posits that the type of work chosen, the representation of females in that occupation, and work commitment indicate the degree of vocational participation. He says these factors together can provide an understanding of the pattern of vocational participation which can be mild, moderate, or unusual.

One of the problems in determining the extent of women's work commitment, is that studies have defined it in different ways. The reviews will consider this problem.

EXTENT OF WORK COMMITTED WOMEN

The proportion of women working who see their work as an integral part of their lives is extremely limited (Almquist & Angrist, 1971; Bailyn, 1965; Poloma & Garland, 1971-a). Rossi (1965-b) points out that generally women are working in "jobs", not careers. She cites the fact that most of the women that are working are between the ages of 35 to 54. The majority of American women are not working, and most of those who do are in low-status, low-paying jobs. Women's work force participation peaks before and after child-rearing. She maintains that men hold 85 percent of the top business and professional jobs in this country.

Daryl and Sandra Bem (1972) agree that the majority of women work in low-paying, low-status jobs rather than in careers, Poloma and Garland (1971-a) have found that even married professional women see themselves as working in jobs as opposed to careers. Almquist and Angrist report:

> Most women plan to and will work at various times, but aspirations for work as a central feature of adult life, regardless of financial necessity and under other conditions of free choice, still do not characterize the majority. (1971: 301)

Some studies of specific groups of women have drawn similar conclusions. Lenore Harmon (1970) conducted a follow-up survey of women who had been out of college for ten to twelve years. Even in defining the listing of a usual occupation as the only sign of work commitment, she was only able to categorize 55 percent of the respondents as "work committed".

Perrucci (1970) also did a follow-up study of female university science graduates who had graduated five to twenty-two years previously. Of those with bachelor's degrees, 43 percent of her sample were classified as careerists, defined as those who engaged in work as a major part of their lives.

The "in case" approach to career planning that is typically female, was exemplified in the findings of the following studies. Shirley Angrist (1970: cited in Poloma & Garland, 1971-c) studied the vocational plans of women undergraduates and found that only 50 percent expected to work if their future husbands earned enough to support their families. Eliza-

beth Almquist (1974) found that undergraduate women did not expect to work if they had preschool children at home, if they could earn more than their husbands did, if their earnings did not surpass child care and household help expenses, or if their earnings were only used to provide luxuries for the family.

CORRELATES OF WORK COMMITMENT

Many working women clearly seem to regard their jobs as secondary to their families. Epstein and Goode (1971) summarize where the average woman's priorities rest.

> Although most women in this country do enter the work force at some point in their lives, most do not view work or occupational achievement as the focus of their energies. They are not career-oriented, but home-oriented. (p. 73)

The contrast between male and female motives for working is highlighted by Bardwick and Douvan (1971).

> ...the overwhelming majority of working women perceive themselves as working in order to benefit the family. In general, working women do not see work as an extension of egocentric interests or as the fulfillment of achievement ambitions, but as another place in which more traditional aims are gratified. (p. 154)

Robert White (1971) contends that women try to combine home and work but do not want their jobs to interfere with their families. Chafe (1970) points out that most married women feel that they hold the primary responsibility for maintenance of the home. He maintains that this attitude prevents women from having the interest, time, and energy to commit to a

career; therefore, her work can only be a job.

The evidence indicates that women generally do not consider work to be an essential part of their lives. It may be helpful to explore some of the correlates of work commitment.

Discrimination

Discrimination against women has been suggested as a force that persuades women to be less interested in the world of work (Suter & Miller, 1973). The Department of Labor (1971-b) has compiled statistics that indicate women's average wages are considerably lower than the average wages of men in the same fields. See Table 2 for a comparison.

TABLE 2

WOMEN'S EARNINGS

% OF MEN'S AVERAGE EARNINGS*

Field	% of Men's Earnings
Professional and Technical	69
Managerial and Administrative	56
Clerical	62
Sales	43
Operatives	61
Service (other than private household)	60

*Source: U.S. Dept. of Labor, Women Workers Today, 1971.

Poloma and Garland (1971-b; 1971-c) suggest in their studies of professional women that women place their primary emphasis on the homemaker

role partly due to their limited opportunities in work. Women's limited chance of success in the professions is thought to lessen interest in a career (Theodore, 1971).

Farmer and Bohn (1970) conducted a research project to determine if women's occupational aspirations were influenced by unspoken assumptions about women in careers. The SVIB-W was administered to fifty women with the usual instructions. It was then given again after the group was asked to assume that men like intelligent women, that men and women were equally promoted in business and the professions, and that family and a career were compatible. The women expressed more interest in higher level occupations in the inventories taken with the experimental instructions.

It seems that women generally are not as interested in work as an integral part of their lives. However, when this is the basic assumption for all women, it only serves to continue the cycle. Caroline Bird (1970) explains the ramifications of this assumption.

> But the principle reason women aren't considered for promotion is that managers assume they aren't serious about working. If a woman wants to advance she has to ask for a better job, and she has to ask in such a way that she doesn't arouse antagonism -- or ridicule. (1970: 70)

The woman who is strongly committed to a career is often judged by the generalization that all women are not interested in careers, Robert Smuts (1971) explains:

> ...yet the woman who urgently wants to develop and utilize her abilities in work still has barriers to overcome. Em-

> ployers still tend to judge all women on the basis of their experience with the majority who are content with modest rewards for modest effort. (p. 109)

The ups and downs of the nation's economy have affected women more than men. Women are still considered to be the reserve labor force along with teenagers and older workers. Women are encouraged to seek employment when the economy is booming and a larger labor force is required (Cain, 1966). The lack of consistency in encouragement to work serves as a deterrent to the development of strong work commitment in women.

Structure of Employment

The structure of work and career advancement does not fit with women's life cycle. Caroline Bird amplifies:

> The system is designed to fit his reproductive cycle, not hers. During his career-building twenties and thirties, a man's career and sex drive reinforce each other, but a career-committed woman has to be aggressive in her work just at the time of her life when she is engaged in finding a mate and bearing and raising young children. (p. 56)

The assumption is that women should do the adjusting to the system as it is structured, rather than changing the structure of work.

The professions are organized in a manner that makes it difficult for women to advance (Holmstrom, 1971; Poloma & Garland, 1971-c). Cynthia Fuchs Epstein (1970) studied the process of advancement in professional fields. She concluded that women were not as apt to be included in the protege-sponsor relationships or in the colleague systems that often serve as vehicles for professional advancement. She also concluded that women have a more difficult time than men in breaking into the "inner

structure" of the professions, and are less likely to initially consider entering a profession due to the sex-typing of occupations.

Another facet of the structure of work that can dampen women's work commitment is that the professional reward and punishment system operates differently for women than it does for men. Epstein (1971-b) found that women lawyers were seen as playing many roles with different expectations for each role. Her role as woman does not include occupational achievement, her role as woman lawyer is an ambiguous one, and the role of lawyer involves the professional expectations. The professional controls operate inconsistently depending on the role she is seen as playing. Kosa and Coker (1971) reported that the female physicians they studied faced similar conflicts between their sex roles and professional roles.

Women's lack of geographical mobility has restricted their advancement in careers. It serves as a deterrent to their career development and career commitment (Holmstrom, 1971; Poloma & Garland, 1971-c). Another difficulty is that women are not asked if they would be willing to change residency (Bird, 1970).

Type of Work

There seems to be some relationship between participation in a male sex-typed occupation and a woman's career commitment. Almquist and Angrist (1971) studied college women's vocational plans throughout their undergraduate careers and found that the students that were in fields that were predominantly male were more work-oriented than were their

classmates preparing to enter traditionally feminine fields. Nagley (1971) also found the "pioneers" were more career oriented. They saw their work as important to them as their family. Perrucci's study (1970) of women university science graduates found these women to be more dedicated to careers than other women.

In two studies of women workers, the status of the respondent's occupation played some part in her commitment to work (Haavio-Manilla, 1969; Weil, 1971). However, the studies of Haller and Rosenmayr (1971) and Safilios-Rothschild (1971) found that occupation does not necessarily have a significant relationship to work commitment. Both blue collar and white collar workers met their criterion of work commitment depending on other intervening variables. Perhaps the difference in findings may stem from the greater emphasis in the former studies on the internal satisfactions derived from work, more of a white collar phenomenon than blue-collar.

Personal Characteristics

The woman who is strongly committed to work tends to have had more work experience than a woman who does not hold a job to be an essential part of her life. Almquist and Angrist (1970, 1971) found that the career salient college girl was more likely to have worked longer and in a greater variety of jobs than her less work-oriented classmates. Harmon's follow-up study of college women (1970) indicated that the amount of time a woman had worked after college was related to her intentions to work in

the future. Haller and Rosenmayr (1971) noted a relationship between the length of employment and the attractiveness of work to their respondents. Perrucci (1970) found the science graduates who had worked at professional jobs before they married were more likely to be committed to careers.

The amount of education a woman had completed not only relates to whether she will seek employment, but also seems to be a correlate of her work commitment (Harmon, 1970; Lopata, 1971; Perrucci, 1970; Theodore, 1971; Wolfson, 1972). Weil (1971) concluded that women with a bachelor's degree or more, or with some form of specialized training beyond high school held work to be a more necessary part of their lives than did those with less education. Fuchs (1971) also found a correlation between work commitment and educational level. The follow-up study on Project Talent participants reported a connection between educational aspirations measured in high school and career commitment surveyed five years later (Astin and Myint, 1971).

Safilios-Rothschild (1970) found in her multi-variate study that educational level does not necessarily predict work commitment. Other variables such as the attitude of a married woman's husband toward her working were better predictors.

Socialization

There has been research directed to the question of how environment can influence a woman's attitude on the importance of work in her life. There are two theoretical approaches to this question. One school of

thought maintains that the socialization process for the career-committed woman deviates from the normal female upbringing. The other theory is that the work-oriented woman was raised in an enriched environment (Almquist & Angrist, 1970).

Those holding the view that a work committed woman's backround deviates from the norm would study the more negative aspects of her socialization. They would evaluate her family environment, social involvement, and interests in terms of the normal socialization process experienced by women.

Rossi (1967: cited in Almquist & Angrist, 1970) studied work attitudes of 3500 college graduates and reported that the highly work-oriented group had dated less as students and were less inclined to marry and have children. Rapoport and Rapoport (1971) found that the careerists in their study were more likely to have undergone long separation from their parents as children and had come from a tense family environment.

Almquist and Angrist (1971) found their career salient college students were less likely to belong to sororities or to have developed a strong romantic attachment by the senior year of college. However, they found that these women dated as much as the other students and had had just as positive attachments to their families. They concluded that the deviance hypothesis could not be upheld.

The enriched environment theory stresses the positive aspects of the career woman. It speculates that the careerist had female role models to

emulate who had successfully combined careers with families. Her mother was more likely to have held a job outside the home and her father would have encouraged her to develop strong interests of her own (Almquist & Angrist, 1970).

The Rapoport and Rapoport (1971) of dual career families found the female careerists likely to have been the only or first-born child in their parental families, to have come from a family of higher socioeconomic standing, to have had a mother that worked, and to have had a great deal of support from their families. Psathas (1968) also found the career-oriented woman more apt to have come from families of high socioeconomic status and to have had parents who had high educational and occupational aspirations for their daughters. The five year follow-up of Project Talent participants (Astin & Myint, 1971) linked work commitment to higher parental socioeconomic status and to paternal encouragement of their daughters' career goals.

Almquist and Angrist (1971) tested both deviance and enrichment hypotheses to see which could best explain the socialization of the career salient woman. They found that the enrichment of environment theory was more consistent with the experiences of their sample. The careerists were more likely to have had a highly educated employed mother, their fathers were likely to have less education and a lower occupational status, and the career salient women had been influenced in their occupational choice by teachers and persons working in their preferred occupa-

tion. There was no significant differences in the careerist's and non-careerist's feelings toward their families, in their social activities, or in their group affiliations.

Astin (1969) found that the women doctorates in her survey had been influenced in their decision to strive for a career by role models. Theodore (1971) speculates that role models and professor's support play a significant role in the making of the professional woman. Bruce (1974) found that their mother's aspirations influenced girls' career planning. The Farmer and Bohn (1969) administration of the SVIB under conditions encouraging women to think a career is permissible and possible would tend to support the enrichment theory. Poloma and Garland (1971-b) speculate that the different socialization experienced by men and women is one of the reasons that women think in terms of jobs, not careers.

SUMMARY

Work commitment may be defined as the priority work holds in a person's life. A woman who has placed great significance on having a career has made more than a vocational choice -- she has made a decision concerning her life style.

Researchers have found that very few women choose work as their top priority. Women generally do not see work as being an integral part of their lives but see the home and family as central to their existence.

Women's limited opportunities in the world of work has been found to

be a force that underlies the lower commitment of women to employment. The structure of the work world does not accommodate women's life cycle and sex role. The type of occupation a woman selects seems to be indicative of her work commitment. The length of time she has been employed and her education also influence her valuing of work.

Those women who are highly committed to careers seemed to have been raised in an enriched environment that led her to view a career as being compatible with her sex role. A role model's example and encouragement from her family to consider a career were found to be common to the socialization of the highly work-committed woman.

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE

The popularity of marriage prevents many women from believing that they should do any serious vocational planning. Often the need is seen only to plan on working "in case something happens", or "until" she finds a man that will be able to support her.

Yet the statistics on divorce indicate that the odds are increasing that a woman will have to work in order to support her family. The Citizen's Advisory Council on the Status of Women (1972) stated in their report:

> The prevalence of mistaken ideas about a husband's responsibility for support of wife and children...are a great disservice to the nation, particularly to its women and young girls. Many young women, relying on the belief that marriage means financial security, do not prepare themselves vocationally. Parents and counselors rely on this false assumption in advising girls about their future. (p. 49)

Marriage is indeed popular. Only three percent of those individuals in their late twenties will enter middle age without marrying (Parke & Glicke, 1973). Lewis (1968) tells us that two-thirds of all women are married by the time that they are twenty-one years old.

MARITAL PLANS AND VOCATIONAL PLANS

It is very difficult for a woman to plan her vocational life if she does not know who she will marry (Lewis, 1968). Marriage is very important to the majority of women (Bardwick, 1971-b) yet a young woman making

vocational plans often does not know who she will marry, where she will be living, or what her future lifestyle will be like (Cless, 1969).

The priority of marriage limits women's career interests (Rossi, 1971). Matthews and Tiedman (1964: cited in Eyde, 1970) reported a drop in willingness to develop vocational plans in girls moving from junior high school into senior high. They were more interested in marriage and did not see a need for vocational planning. Bright girls are often afraid that placing an emphasis on a career would lessen their chances of marriage (Horner, 1970; Reisman, 1965).

Marital plans are not only related to vocational plans but also to educational aspirations. Hauser studied the educational plans of male and female students (1970). He found the educational plans to be related to men's occupational aspirations, but the women's educational plans were linked to their marital plans. Boyer (1969) in reviewing the Project Talent data on high school senior's planning, concluded, "The direct effect of marital plans in educational aspirations is especially marked in girls." (p. 242).

Watley (1971) studied National Merit finalists five to nine years after their senior year of high school. He found that their educational and occupational aspirations as high school seniors were related to their marital plans. He also found that the amount of time they spent in the work force could be predicted on the basis of their earlier planning.

Women are now planning to marry but with the idea that they will

work at least part of their married lives. Westervelt summarizes today's young woman's thinking.

> While young women still marry with the hope that the partnership will be mutually rewarding and permanent and still expect to adjust career plans or other avenue of self-development to the needs of family, relatively few intend to totally abandon these for marriage or see them as incompatible with it. For them marriage is a fundamental element in life planning but it is not, as it was for many of their mothers, a life plan in itself. (1973: 17)

Westervelt's viewpoint seems to be substantiated by the fact that 58 percent of the women workers are married (USDOL, 1971-b).

Watley's study of the marriage and career plans of National Merit finalists (1971) found that the "level of education sought and the type of career planned are related to the marriage and career plans of these highly intelligent women" (p. 270). Nearly 80 percent of these women were planning to combine marriage with a career, either an immediate or a deferred one. Epstein and Bronzaft (1972) reported that 50 percent of their 1970 sample of college freshmen and 46 percent of the 1965 sample indicated an interest in combining marriage and career. In both of these studies, there was a large percentage of respondents indicating they were uncertain of their career and marital plans -- 19 percent in 1970 and 16 percent in 1965.

Rossi (1971) indicated that women believe that men do not want to marry a career woman. Almquist and Angrist (1970) found that a girl's career interest declines with the formation of a romantic attachment.

Wolfson (1972) found a relationship between marriage and work commitment in his study of 200 working women. Almquist and Angrist (1971) found their career salient college women to be less interested in marriage than the students not anticipating careers as a part of their lives. Astin (1969) reported that married women holding doctorates were less likely to be employed than their unmarried counterparts. Jessie Bernard (1964) found that the married academic women in her study made career adjustments for marriage.

Constantina Safilios-Rothschild (1970) found that the working women with high work commitment tended to have married men with more permissive attitudes. She concluded that a woman's interest in work also tied in with her selection of a husband.

Psathas (1968) theorized that a woman's entry into an occupation was linked to her decisions regarding marriage. Of significance to her work commitment, were her decisions concerning intention to marry, the timing of her marriage, and the reasons for marrying.

WORK-FAMILY STRUCTURE

The importance of work as an element in women's lives seems to be closely linked to the structure of the family. What family-work patterns are open to men and women?

The traditional marriage style has the wife consider the domestic and home maintenance duties as her province and the husband assumes responsi-

bility for economic support of the family (Chafe, 1972). Other labels for this type of work division are conventional family structure (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1971; Westervelt, 1973); stable homemaker (Super 1957: cited in Vetter, 1973); or traditional patriarchy (Poloma & Garland, 1971-b). The wife does not work outside the home, nor does the husband assist with domestic chores. This type of family structure is relatively new -- previously the woman contributed to economic maintenance of the family by gardening, raising animals, sewing, canning, weaving, and often by selling the excess products that she produced beyond her family's needs (Bird, 1970; Janeway, 1971, 1974; Reeves, 1971).

A modified version of the traditional division of work in the marriage allows the wife to be employed outside the home prior to the arrival of the first child. At this point she drops out of the work force until the couple feels that the youngest child is old enough for her return to employment on either a part-time or full-time basis. This arrangement has been called a compromise solution to the home-career dilema (Westervelt, 1973), interrupted career (Super, 1957: cited in Vetter, 1973), or a deferred career pattern (Watley, 1971). In this set-up the wife has primary responsibility for domestic maintenance of the family and the husband is in charge of the economic provision for the family, at least during the early years of child-rearing. This is a common pattern -- the Women's Bureau reports that only 30 percent of American women with preschool children work outside of the home. There

is an increase to 50 percent work participation for mothers with school-aged children (USDOL, 1971-b).

One of the drawbacks to the deferred career arrangement is that the time lost from work can inhibit the development of the wife's career (Bird, 1970). Her skills can become rusty and outdated thus requiring retraining or refresher courses before a return to work is possible (Rossi, 1971). Also the marital partners must either renegotiate the task responsibilities or the wife must be willing to shoulder dual responsibilities of home maintenance and the new role as worker.

Another fashion of distributing responsibilities involves the combination of duties for each partner with each person retaining <u>responsibility</u> for their traditional function. Thus the responsibility for home maintenance is the wife's although she is assisted by her husband in carrying out the domestic chores. Her husband is mainly responsible for the economic support of the family although he gets some help in this from her. Poloma and Garland (1971-b) have labeled this a "neo-traditional" style of marriage. This is a viable arrangement if the wife works part-time, or considers her work a "job", but it is difficult for her to meet the demands of a career with dual responsibilities for two highly complex roles (Chafe, 1972).

Another option that is being discussed is the egalitarian model of work and family responsibilities. Both partners share the responsibility for the economic maintenance of the family as well as for the daily tasks

necessary to run the home. The underlying assumption is that both the husband and the wife are equally interested in both components and can make similar contributions to each.

The egalitarian model has been given many different labels: cooperative marriage (Westervelt, 1973); double-track career pattern (Super, 1957: cited in Vetter, 1973); egalitarian family (Bem & Bem, 1972; Poloma & Garland, 1971-b; Rossi, 1971); coordinate marriage (Bailyn, 1965); companionate marriage (Bernard, 1964); and the dual career or careerist work-family pattern (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1971). It has been praised as the answer to the home-career conflict faced by women who work (Bem & Bem, 1972; Rossi, 1971; Westervelt, 1973).

Alice Rossi (1965-b) has maintained that legal action alone will not change the fact that women are generally not committed strongly to the world of work. She sees changes in the structure of the family as necessary before women are able to participate fully in employment. She responds to criticisms that marriage cannot tolerate the competition of dual careers with the following arguments: (1) Husbands and wives are not often involved in the same type of work, therefore comparisons of their work cannot be easily made; (2) If there is competition between marital partners, it is better that it take place in the work arena than for it to be acted out in the home where the children's attention might be the battleground; and (3) Competition may exist and be destructive between <u>some</u> husbands and wives, but why should all couples be penalized for this.

The egalitarian marriage style may solve the home-career dilema for the working woman and free the man from his burden as sole economic provider, but it requires some career sacrifices and much effort from both partners in order for it to work (Bem & Bem, 1972). The wife needs to intensify her involvement in the world of work while the husband must have a deeper involvement in the family maintenance (Bailyn, 1970; Rossi, 1971). However, society does not support the egalitarian marriage -- men have not been trained to contribute to the running of the home, and women have not been encouraged to participate in work. Therefore, individuals attempting to redefine their roles often experience discomfort in unfamilar roles (Chafe, 1972).

Other models of marriage available to individuals would also include alternative life styles. One option is role reversal where the traditional roles are switched around -- the husband taking care of the family, and the wife acting as breadwinner. Some couples may take turns at role reversal, switching from one role to the other alternately. Such an arrangement precludes serious involvement in the world of work by either partner unless their work may be continued at home during their period as homemaker.

Other arrangements for handling the responsibilities of support and maintenance of the family could involve both partners working at part-time jobs for support of the family and both sharing the home responsibilities. Self-employment in the home can solve some of the home-career difficulties.

Another option is to withdraw completely from the work world and to try to live independently in an alternative life style, either as a family unit or in a commune or collective. These arrangements would fit into the familistic work-family pattern (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1971).

HOME-CAREER CONFLICT

In what directions are people now structuring their patterns of work and family? Poloma and Garland (1971-b) studied 53 dual-career couples, classified on the basis that the wife was working in a career demanding high commitment and specialization -- either as a lawyer, physician, or university professor holding a terminal degree. They found only one couple whose marriage was structured in accordance with the egalitarian model. 27 of the couples studied were classified as having "neo-traditional" family structures and another 20 families fell into the category of "traditional" structure. The other five couples were classified as matriarchal (role reversed) in structure, but these partners viewed this as a temporary arrangement. Poloma and Garland (1971-c) concluded that the egalitarian family is a myth, not a reality.

Safilios-Rothschild (1970) studied the Greek family in which both husband and wife were employed. Her sample included women working in a variety of occupations, not just the professions. Her findings indicated that the wife's career commitment did not influence family structure. Roles were segregated and work and decision-making were not equally

divided in most families. She also concluded that the egalitarian family is more of an ideal than a reality.

Ruth Hartley's study of working women (cited in Poloma & Garland, 1971-c) found that women work as an extension of their nurturant roles. Other researchers have reached the same conclusion (Bardwick, 1971-b; Bardwick & Douvan, 1971). Shirley Angrist's 1970 study (cited in Poloma & Garland, 1971-c) found that only 50 percent of her sample of female college students would expect to work if their husband's earnings provided enough for support of the family. It is probable that although many marriages begin based on the egalitarian model, with the birth of the first child, the marriage moves toward a traditional or neo-traditional mode (Lewis, 1971).

A survey of female National Merit finalists indicated that women's marital plans influenced their career plans. A follow-up report (Watley, 1971) found that only five percent of the women who indicated that their career objective was to be a full-time homemaker reported any problems in executing their plans five years later. However, 16 percent of those planning to combine marriage with an immediate career, and 18 percent of those planning to marry and defer their career reported difficulties in achieving their objectives.

To examine the nature of the difficulties involved in the dual-career family, two studies may have some relavance (Bebbington, 1973; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1971). Both studied families where the wife was

involved in a career requiring a high degree of personal commitment, and the studies centered on strains as reported by both husband and wife. The strains of such a work-family style seemed to in these four areas: too much to do and too little time in which to get it done; personal identity problems in terms of self-esteem and sex roles; role cycling dilemas such as status transitions (e.g. the transition to parenthood) and career transitions; and environmental dilemas with their social networks and the larger social norms.

The conflict that a married woman faces is one between the expectations of her in the home and the motivations and satisfactions of work. Helen Farmer (1971) describes this bind as guilt over having a career if she has a family as well as a feeling that she is missing something if she does not work in our achievement oriented society. This conflict is now intensified for the highly educated wife who is given the dictum, "do everything -- be a mother; be a housewife; and have a career too." (Bailyn, 1965, pps. 236-7). This, of course, is not always a realistic approach as there are many complex roles involved and conflict is likely.

The result of this conflict is that the choice of work becomes less definitive for women caught in this bind. The mother role is of the highest priority to most women, followed closely by the role of wife (Lopata, 1971). If work conflicts with these roles it is simpler for the woman to withdraw from work (Bailyn, 1965). After all, she can maintain her professional interests by reading and reflecting, she can do volunteer

work that is less demanding of her time and commitment, she can find hobbies that are fulfilling, or she can submerge herself in the world of her children. She can do all of these things and not have to feel the guilt of being a working mother or of justifying her life style in terms of home versus career.

A conflict between her work and her family is one faced by all married working women, especially if they are mothers. Lewis (1968) suggests:

> Therefore it would seem that the major difference between working husbands and working wives is not in the conflict of responsibilities, which arise for both, but in the ways in which society allows them to deal with these conflicts, and in the extent to which they are able to view these conflicts as a necessary and essential part of assuming a dual role. (p. 140)

He maintains that women should handle the home-career conflict by first recognizing its existence and then by realizing that there are many diverse ways for her to handle it, not just by withdrawing from work or downplaying its importance in her life.

The working woman may restructure her marriage so that her husband also takes responsibility for maintenance of the home. She may also engage the assistance of paid domestic help if it is available and her family can afford it. She may lower her standards of housekeeping and meal preparation. The family may utilize the services of prepared foods. Cooperative meals may be arranged with other families in the same situation, and this approach may be extended to other domestic chores.

It has been suggested that married women with high work commitment have a higher tolerance for conflict (Levinger, 1973; Nye, 1961; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1971). It may also be that these women see more alternatives open to them to handle the problem of opposing demands on their time. After studying married women who were working or intending to work and the tensions in their marriages, Catherine Arnott concluded:

> It was the woman in the middle, moving out from the traditional role, but with neither strong commitment nor clear norms, who seemed to have inadequate ways of coping with marital role tensions. It is these women who seem to be bearing the brunt of rapid social changes in the life style of women. (1972-a, p. 683)

Riet Fuchs (1971) studied the problem of working women and the meaning of work in their lives. One of her findings was that the women who had a high commitment to a career felt that their job was not a disadvantage to their family and that they had enough time to spend with their family. The women for whom work did not hold much meaning viewed their jobs as a burden, a way to contribute to the family economics but taking them away from the family duties they considered more important.

MOTHERHOOD

One of the central features of the home-career dilema is the belief that motherhood is the top priority item in a woman's life. Non-maternity has been discussed as an option for women to consider (Laws, 1971; Peck & Senderowitz, 1974). However, this is not an attractive option to many women. A study of Chicago women indicated that motherhood was the most

important role in women's lives whether they worked or not (Lopata, 1971). The Chicago women rated the roles of wife and housewife as their second and third priority. Studies of professional women (Poloma & Garland, 1971-b) and working women (Smuts, 1971) also found the mother role ranked as the most important part of women's lives.

Women who are highly committed to careers seem to accept this to a lesser degree than others. Fewer careerists marry and have children (Almquist & Angrist, 1970; Angrist, 1969; Astin, 1969; Bernard, 1964; Holmstrom, 1971; Rossi, 1971). The dedicated career woman that is a mother is likely to have fewer children (Astin, 1969, 1971; Astin & Myint, 1971; Homstrom, 1971; Perrucci, 1970; Safilios-Rothschild, 1970; Wolfson, 1972).

Another dilema facing women who wish to work outside the home is the belief that motherhood is a full-time job. Actually, this concept is a recent one, emerging in the past forty or fifty years (Bem & Bem, 1972). Alice Rossi states:

> What has not been seen is the more general point that for the first time in the history of any known society, motherhood has become a full-time occupation for many adult women. (1965-b: 106)

The women in many societies do not maintain complete responsibility for child-rearing, it is shared by the extended family (Bardwick, 1971; Bardwick & Douvan, 1971). Mothering is seen by our society as a 24 hour a day responsibility of one person -- the mother (Epstein, 1971; Janeway, 1971, 1974). Motherhood in itself has been glamorized as the model role

for all women, yet it only is one phase in the woman's life cycle (Mueller, 1966).

The predominance of the mother role in the decision to work outside the home seems to be linked to the ages of the woman's children. Although the work participation rate for mothers of young children is on the rise (Nye, 1961; Moser, 1974), the working mother with preschool children is still in the minority (Peterson, 1964). Only 27 percent of married women work if they have preschool children at home, and it rises to 50 percent if the children are school-aged (USDOL, 1971-b). Among college graduates surveyed by the Women's Bureau in 1964, 26 percent of the women with preschoolers worked as compared to 90 percent of those whose children were over six years of age (Wells & Wool, 1966). Studies of women with doctorates revealed that the 11 percent that were not working had preschool children (Astin, 1969; Holmstrom, 1971). Almquist's survey of college undergraduates found that both men and women had low favorability of mothers of preschool children working outside the home (1974).

The evidence collected by the experts indicates that maternal employment is not necessarily harmful to children. A working mother does not result in adjustment problems for children, personality impairments, or juvenile delinquency. Refer to some of the reviews of the literature on maternal employment and its effects on child development (Laws, 1971; Lewis, 1968; National Manpower Council, 1957; Rossi, 1965-b; Vetter, 1973). The quality of the substitute care the child receives during the mother's

absence, and the quality of the mother's time spent with the child seem to be the most important variables in the child's development. There seems to be some evidence that the child of the employed mother is more independent and achievement-oriented than other children.

The interest that a woman holds in her job if she is working is also influenced by the ages of her children. High work commitment is more often found in women whose children are older (Angrist, 1969; Ginzberg, 1966; Haller & Rosenmayr, 1971; Poloma & Garland, 1971-c; Safilios-Rothschild, 1970; Weil, 1971; Wolfson, 1972). The length of time the woman has been married is also linked to her work commitment (Haller & Rosenmayr, 1971; Wolfson, 1972) as well as her previous work experience (Haller & Rosenmayr, 1971; Perrucci, 1970).

The common belief that preschool children are harmed by a working mother and the lack of qualified child care arrangements result in women preferring to work at two points in their lives. The average pattern involves working for about four years after leaving school, with an absence of eight to ten years from the work force while her children are young, and a return to employment after the youngest child begins school (Peterson, 1964). This career discontinuity sets the boundaries on women's career development (Theodore, 1971; Rossi, 1965-b). It seriously limits women's participation in the professions according to one sociologist. "As long as this pattern continues, women will not increase their participation in the top professional and technical occupations." (Rossi,

1965-b: 117)

The return to paid employment may be a difficult adjustment for women since the labor market differs in several ways from the job of full-time homemaker. Elizabeth Janeway (1971) contrasts the relatedness of family members surrounding the homemaker to the impersonal setting of employment. Another contrast is the flexibility of scheduling in carrying out housework duties as opposed to the set schedule of most jobs. A homemaker sees her work as an integral part of the pattern of her life while most jobs are not as easily seen as being related to the rest of the worker's life. Janeway continues: "The change from one sort of work to another may be stimulating, but it contributes to the part-timeness that characterizes women's lives." (1971: 166). Helen Lopata (1971: 38) does not see this transition as an easy one for the woman.

> The working woman returns to paid employment during this time, [when her children leave home], often sporadically and with complicated rationales, as she shifts from one style of life to another.

Besides having to adjust to differences in the nature of the job, the woman returning to work must often take on dual responsibilities which can be energy-depleting and can lessen her commitment to work (Bardwick & Douvan, 1971; Poloma & Garland, 1971-c; Rossi, 1965-b; Theodore, 1971). 53 percent of the Texas working women who were asked about "the concerns of women" responded with comments about their multiple roles (Ramsey et al, 1963). Only 25 percent of this sample felt that employment conflicts were connected with personality traits, the remaining 75 percent cited

conflicts with work and home.

Nevil and Damico (1975) found that employed married women faced role conflicts that centered around management of time, household management, child care, and guilt over working. Other significant sources of conflict concerned their relationship with their husband and finances.

Part-time work for women has been offered as a solution to the strains of dual responsibilities (Lewis, 1968). A study of marital happiness reported that women employed on a part-time basis were more satisfied with their marriages as were the husbands of part-time workers (Orden & Bradburn, 1969). However, Alice Rossi believes that a reworking of marital roles is necessary to allow women to participate more fully in employment.

> Part-time work is this generation's false panacea for avoiding a more basic change in the relations between men and women, a means whereby, with practically no change in the man's role and minimal change in the woman's, she can continue to be the same wife and mother she was in the past. (Rossi, 1965-a: 58)

HUSBAND'S ATTITUDE

Another variable that has some effect on a woman's involvement in the work force is the attitude her husband holds toward her employment (Bailyn, 1970; Lewis, 1968; Nagley, 1971; Nye, 1961; Psathas, 1968; Theodore, 1971; Wells & Wool, 1966). Catherine Arnott (1972-a) reports:

> Whether a woman's employment is "just a job" or a full-fledged career, the attitude of her husband seems to influence her entry into the labor force, the inten-

> sity of her participation, and the degree of her success. (p. 675)

Hawley (1972) found that women will not often work over the objections of their husbands. They may attempt to influence his attitude, but will not work outside the home or plan to do so without his approval. Others have found that women perceive their husbands to have negative attitudes toward their working, and this is a reason their attraction to work is limited (Hawley, 1971; Rossi, 1971).

Rapoport and Rapoport (1971) concluded, after their research into the dual career family, that the husband was the critical factor in the wife's commitment to her career. He served as an enabling process to allow the wife to become highly committed to a career. The enabling husband did not see the wife's career as antithetical to their interests as a couple or as a family, he though it was important for his wife to develop her work life, and he did not consider the wife's pursuit of a career as a selfish interest. The dual career families in this study were characterized by the husband's strong identification with career efforts of his wife. Safilios-Rothschild's study of Greek working families (1970) found husband's permissive attitudes to be related to high work commitment in wives.

The professional woman may be faced with a question of her ability to change residency for better career opportunities. Her husband may also be involved in a career that requires mobility. In such questions of residence, the husband certainly plays a critical role in the work

life of his wife (Theodore, 1971).

The role bargain struck by the husband and wife concerning the division of tasks in the home will determine the amount of energy a wife has available to put into work outside the home (Chafe, 1972). The willingness of the husband to assist with domestic responsibilities has been found to relate to the career involvement of the wife (Bailyn, 1970; Lewis, 1968; Weil, 1971; Wells & Wool, 1966). Balswick (1970) studied handicapped workers and found that the more the spouse participates in activities outside the job, the greater the worker's chances of employment success. Perhaps this could be generalized to include women as well as handicapped workers.

The husband's earning capacity certainly seems to play a part in his wife's work participation (Psathas, 1968; Wolfson, 1972). Astin (1971) found that women doctorates married to men with high earnings were less likely than others to work or to work full-time. A study of college graduates revealed a relationship between the husband's occupation and the wife's work participation (Wells & Wool, 1966). The men who were involved in low-paying jobs were more likely to have working wives.

The husband's occupational status has been studied in relation to his wife's work commitment, and the findings are somewhat conflicting. Astin (1971) found that women doctorates married to men involved in law, business, and the social sciences were more likely to work than were those women married to men in other fields of work. Wells and Wool (1966)

reported that women married to men working in professional, business, farm, or managerial occupations had significantly lower work force participation rates than women married to men in other types of work. Perhaps the difference in findings could be related to Astin's subjects being at a later stage in the life cycle.

Almquist (1974) surveyed college undergraduate males to determine their attitudes their future wives' work participation. The men that expressed high favorability toward their wife working were more likely to be studying for business and managerial occupations while those with less favorable attitudes were aspiring to high status professions such as medicine.

The husband's occupation in relation to his wife's occupation may pose problems for the woman if there is a large difference in the status rating of their work. Status inconsistencies may be a reason that some married women leave the work force (Blood & Wolfe, 1961; Theodore, 1971). The wife with less education than her husband is often faced with occupational status discrepancies.

Two studies have explored the background of the facilitating husband. Almquist (1974) found that male undergraduates with highly favorable attitudes toward a working wife tended to value high income, leadership, and independence. Their mother was likely to have worked in a clerical or manual occupation. The less favorable men placed more value on service and working with people and were more likely to have come from

families with a mother employed in a professional or technical occupation. The Rapoport and Rapoport study of dual career families (1971) found that the husband came from a family background where he had been able to form a close relationship with his mother or a woman, there had been upward social mobility in his family, and the family atmosphere had been harmonious.

SUMMARY

Researchers of women's vocational planning have found a significant relationship between their marital aspirations and vocational and educational aspirations. Interest among high school and college women in planning their vocational future is influenced by their uncertainty of their future life style, husband, and family situation. However, more young women are now planning to combine homemaking with employment outside the home but they expect to adjust their career plans to their family's needs.

There are several work-family patterns that have been identified: (1) Traditional sexual division of labor within the family with husband as economic provider and wife as full-time homemaker; (2) Deferred career of wife during child-rearing years with her entry or re-entry into the labor force as the children grow older; (3) Neo-traditional division of labor with both partners helping with both home maintenance and economic maintenance of the family but each partner retaining responsibility for

their traditional sexual role; (4) Egalitarian pattern in which both partners share duties and responsibilities for all tasks; and (5) Various alternative life styles including role reversal, alternating roles, and communal living.

Research has revealed that the traditional and neo-traditional patterns are the most popular. The egalitarian family is more of an ideal than a reality. The families in which both partners are involved in demanding careers seem to be more adaptable to stress than other families. Men and women should be able to structure their family patterns in accordance with their work demands.

Maternal status is related to the commitment of a woman to a career. Women with children under six years of age are less likely to be involved in the work force than other women. The woman returning to work after spending several years in the homemaker role must adjust to the demands of employment which are different from the demands of the homemaker role. She also often must be able to handle the continued home responsibilities in addition to her role as labor market worker.

A married woman's successful participation in the work world is highly dependent on her husband's attitude toward her work involvement. His earning capacity and occupational status are also important factors in his wife's work participation.

CHAPTER V

WHAT IS "WOMEN'S WORK"?

According to Lotte Bailyn (1965) women have broad choices on whether they work or not, and what work will mean to them, but the choice on what type of work they choose is much narrower. Daryl and Sandra Bem (1972) state:

> Women are concentrated in a very small number of occupations. One third of all working women are concentrated in only seven jobs: secretary, retail sales clerk, household worker, elementary school teacher, bookkeeper, waitress, and nurse. (p. 203)

The Bems point out that another one third of women workers are employed in only twenty-nine more occupations. Using their figures, the breakdown by types of work would indicate that two-thirds of all women work in only four professional jobs, eight clerical jobs, two sales jobs, fifteen service jobs, and seven manufacturing jobs. The conclusion reached by the Bems (1972):

> In fact, 78 percent of all working women, as compared to 40 percent of working men, are employed as clerical workers, service workers, factory workers, and sales clerks. Yes, women do work, but they work in dead-end, low-status jobs, not careers. (p. 204)

The female work force is mostly unskilled -- only 20 percent of working women are skilled workers. They work in the jobs that are most threatened by cybernation (Reeves, 1972). Most working women do not have economic security, for these jobs provide the least stability in times of financial uncertainty. Esther Peterson, former director of the Women's

Bureau, cautions:

> To them [unskilled workers] a job is vital, and all too often economic pressures are so great that they accept whatever employment they can get with little regard to personal choice. Their fortunes fluctuate with the state of the nation's economy...For those who are unskilled the future holds very little promise, for low-skilled jobs are not expanding, even when the economy is strong. (p. 245)

SEX STEREOTYPING OF OCCUPATIONS

Studies of census information (Gross, 1971; Martin & Dudley, 1972) indicate that occupational segregation by sex occurs, and furthermore, that this segregation is now more pronounced than it was in 1900. The "female job ghetto" described by Bird (1970) and Janeway (1971, 1974) still exists despite the attention focused in the mid-1960's on the need for women to be able to enter many occupations formerly reserved for men.

Women in the professions are still in the minority and have declined in proportion despite their increase in numbers (Knudsen, 1969). Athena Theodore (1971) estimates that women in 1970 comprised 40 percent of all the professions, a decline of 5 percent since 1940 (p. 3). Rossi (1965-c) concluded that women's representation proportionately declined in all professional fields since 1950. Epstein (1970) concurs that women are less represented in all professions than they were in 1950 with the exceptions of medicine (0.7 percent increase) and biology (1 percent increase). Women's percentage representation in some professions from 1920 to 1960 is shown in Table 3 (p. 60).

TABLE 3

WOMEN AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL WORKERS IN SELECTED PROFESSIONAL OCCUPATIONS (USA 1920 - 1960)*

Occupation	1960	1950	1940	1930	1920
College professors, president, instruction	19.0	23.0	27.0	32.0	30.0
Doctors	6.8	6.1	4.6	4.0	5.0
Lawyers	3.5	3.5	2.4	2.1	1.4
Engineers	0.8	1.2	0.3		
Dentists	2.1	2.7	1.5	1.8	3.2
Scientists	9.9	11.4			
Biologists	28.0	27.0			
Chemists	8.6	10.0			
Mathematicians	26.4	38.0			
Physicists	4.2	6.5			
Nurses	97.0	98.0	98.0	98.0	96.0
Social workers	57.0	66.0	67.0	68.0	62.0
Librarians	85.0	89.0	89.0	81.0	88.0
Clergy	5.8	8.5	2.2	4.3	2.6

*Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census of 1963 (cited in Epstein, 1970: (p. 967)

Other professions and their percentages of female membership include psychology which includes 20 percent women, medical technology with 90 percent female participation, and education on the elementary, junior high, and secondary school levels which includes twice as many women as men (Lewis, 1968). However in education, female principals and superintendents declined significantly since 1951 (Guttman, 1972). In 1971 there were fewer than 100 female registered architects in this country, less than one percent of all architects, and only five percent of all the architectual students were women (Dinerman, 1971).

Ginzberg (1971) observed that women were still concentrated in a few of the lower-paying, lower-status professions. Haavio-Manilla (1969) sees women in the traditional professions as having less status within their fields than women who are in occupations that have only professionalized or emerged recently. Women's participation is highest in occupations where part-time work is possible and the trend seems to be toward a larger variety of lower status professional occupations (Knudsen, 1969).

This is the way that the occupational structure looks for women at the present time. But what are the projections for the future? Nancy Reeves (1971) predicts that in the very near future the picture will not improve. She expects that women's renewed interest in work will make the competition for jobs more intense and that wages will be lower. Work will have to be divided and all workers will probably work shorter hours. The use of contraceptives will allow more women to work outside their homes,

as well as the availability of child care centers. Some new jobs will open up in day care.

Reeves predicts that eventually technology will be used to solve social problems, and work will open up in the fields of social services, health, education, and environmental control. Mather (1966) projects that the service areas will expand with more employment opportunities in health services, both medical and dental; recreation; entertainment; education; hobbies; travel, including transportation, sales, and management; sales, especially in top and middle management; foreign service, in governmental and corporate areas; and engineering.

Nancy Reeves (1971) believes that eventually work will not be the central core of adult life. People will look to other things besides their job for their identity. The fierce competition for jobs that now exists will subside considerably.

Occupations have been sex-stereotyped as to what type of work is appropriate for men and what is suitable for women. Women are limited in the types of work that they may select because of discrimination as well as their own attitudes, the attitudes of their families, and societal stereotypes (Bailyn, 1965). For the most part these limitations are not valid (Etzkovitz, 1971).

Rossi (1965-c) studied the occupations of 3500 women college graduates and found that only seven percent were working in "male" occupations. Astin and Myint's study of women's career interests (1971) revealed

the least popular occupational choices were work in the professions or the natural sciences, while teaching, office work, and health maintenance work were most popular.

Robert Gubbels (1972) described "women's work" as unskilled, fragmented, low paying, and not responsible. Prather (1971) adds that glamour and romance play a part in work suitable for women, at least in the perceptions of the bank tellers she studied.

SEX-TYPING OF OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

The sex-typing of occupations not only is a force in the sexual distribution of labor for adults, but it is also seen among young children. Schlossberg and Goodman (1972) studied the perceptions of kindergarten and sixth grade students and found that these students viewed all jobs as open to men, but women were more limited. Meyer (1970: cited in Vetter, 1973) found that students in grades 3, 7, and 11 displayed stereotyped occupational behaviors.

Ginzberg and his associates (1951: cited in Vetter, 1973) theorized that the occupational choice process consists of three phases -- a period of fantasy where the individual is not able to assess his or her capacities, a tenative period in which various satisfactions are weighed, and a realistic period in which wants are worked out in view of the opportunities that exist for the individual. Patterson (1973) feels that this process of occupational choice is valid for women as well as for men, but

that marriage is a factor in women's vocational planning. Katz and Martin (1971) concluded:

> The view which is here adopted is that the process of entry into an occupation may be looked upon as the cumulative product of a series of specific acts, which may or may not be directly focused on a deliberate career choice. (p. 290)

Women may be more restricted in their career planning than men because their fantasies and opportunities are more limited.

Lenore Harmon (1971: cited in Vetter, 1973) questioned college women about their vocational planning during adolescence and found that these women had only considered a limited range of occupations as teenagers.

Harris (1974) tested the effect of group counseling as a modifier of occupational stereotyping in sixth grade girls. She found that the group had allowed the students to increase their tentative occupational choices, but it had had no significant effect on their stereotyping behavior.

SUMMARY

The majority of women that work are in a limited number of low-skilled, low-status occupations. Women are heavily concentrated in retail sales, service, clerical and factory work. The occupational structure is segregated on the basis of gender.

In the professional fields, women are working in the newly established professions, but their representation in the traditional high-status

professions has declined since the beginning of the twentieth century.

Occupational aspirations of female grade school, high school, and college women are in accordance with the present sex distribution of labor. This is a very limiting factor in women's vocational planning in light of the vocational selection theory of Ginzberg and associates (1951) which theorizes that fantasies and perceived opportunities play an important role in the occupational choice process.

CHAPTER IV

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Research has indicated that there are some personal traits in women that are related to their participation in employment. In this chapter of this paper the research relating to personal traits and employment will be reviewed.

FEAR OF SUCCESS

Reisman (1965) noticed that bright girls often throttled their occupational aspirations. Mattina Horner (1971) conducted studies to determine if women displayed a fear of success in competition with men. She found that 65 percent of the women that she surveyed expressed a fear of succeeding in a male field (medicine) as compared to only ten percent of the male respondents. The women seemed to perform better when working alone while the men's performance was best in a competitive situation.

The women in the Horner study were asked to complete the saga of Anne, a medical student who had ranked at the top of her class after first-term finals. The women's themes predicted social rejection for Anne due to her success, expressed guilt and despair over her success along with doubts about her femininity, or denied that Anne had been successful.

Alper (1974) studied this fear of success in relation to other variables. She found the individual's sex role orientation to be related to

the avoidance of success motive as well as the achievement motivation of the subject. She also found that the dire outcomes predicted for Anne dropped from 80 percent to only 14 percent if Anne was a nursing student rather than a medical student.

Dickstein and Brown (1974) tested female undergraduates' performance on the information subtest of the WAIS under different conditions of administration to see if there were differences in scores. They found that the women did better if they were not competing with males. They also found that the woman's sex role orientation influenced her performance under competitive circumstances. The women with a traditional definition of femininity did not do as well in competition while those with a broader feminine identity were less afraid of competition.

Breedlove and Cicirelli (1974) studied the relationship between women's fear of success, their college majors, psychoiological traits measured by the Guilfor-Zimmerman Temperment Survey, and their occupational aspirations. Their findings were consistent with Horner's conclusion that women fear success in a male-dominated field. However, they did not find a significant correlation between college major, occupational aspiration, or masculinity scale scores and avoidance of success. They did find that low ascendancy scores on the personality test were related to the fear of success motive.

Olive (1973) studied the occupational aspirations of female high school students and concluded that women are striving for occupations

that are prestigious, but seemed to be aversive to those occupations that are the most prestigious. They felt that it was safer for them to stick to traditionally feminine fields. Considering the findings on women's reluctance to compete with men, this is understandable. Barneh (1975) reported similar findings in her study of occupational choice.

Astin and Myint (1971) followed up on the Project Talent study of high school seniors to check the implementation of the occupational aspirations expressed by women as high school seniors. They found that the females had adjusted their vocational choices during the five years after high school graduation. Many of those aspiring to male jobs had not entered male fields. The changes seemed to be related to the respondents' aptitudes. Those with high abilities were more likely to have acted on their occupational aspirations or increased them while the students with lower aptitude scores were more likely to have decreased their career objectives by one or two steps.

SEX ROLE ORIENTATION

Bem and Bem (1972) have called the sex role stereotypes the "homogenization" of women. The traditional female sex role (or male prescribed role) does not recognize the individual differences in abilities, interests, and temperments among persons. Bardwick and Douvan (1971) provide a description of the stereotyped traits of the sexes:

> What are big boys made of? What are big boys made of? Independence, aggression, competitiveness, leadership, task

> orientation, outward orientation, assertiveness, innovation, self-discipline, stoicism, activity, objectivity, analytic-mindedness, courage, unsentimentality, rationality, confidence, and emotional control. What are big girls made of? What are big girls made of? Dependence, passivity, fragility, low pain tolerance, nonaggression, noncompetitiveness, inner orientation, interpersonal orientation, empathy, sensitivity, nurturance, subjectivity, intuitiveness, yieldingness, receptivity, inability to risk, emotional liability, supportiveness. (p. 147)

Bardwick and Douvan point out that sex roles are changing, but they have not yet accommodated the many societal changes now taking place.

Caroline Bird (1970) categorized some of the possible sex role orientations adopted by women. She has divided these outlooks into the following four categories:

> New Masculinism - It recognizes many motives. It does not define a specific woman's "place". It charges her instead with a duty of finding the task the men around her need done from moment to moment... providing she does it in the name of somebody else and not for the greater glory of herself. (p. 150)

> Old Masculinists - ...believe that women's place is in the home, that her work is prescribed by her anatomy, and that she is mentally and physically unable to do men's work. (p. 151)

> New Feminists - ...think sex roles are obsolete at work and should not be revived. They see no use in ascribing special advantages or handicaps to women in most jobs. (p. 153)

> Old Feminists - ...are out to prove that women can be like men, if necessary, by remaining single. (p. 153)

Helen Farmer (1971) sees women's roles at present as not being clear. She feels that this contributes to women's difficulty in career planning. There is ambiguity on the life style appropriate for women. Women are in

conflict as to whether they should be domestic or sexy, devoted to a career or family life, be a free spirit or responsible.

Hawley (1971) studied the sex role orientation of college women in relation to the sex-typing of their occupational goal. She determined whether they stressed the woman as knower, woman as competitor, woman as partner, woman as ingenue, or woman as homemaker in their personal concept of feminine identity. She then compared this to the student's occupational goal. She found that the women preparing for masculine fields (mathematics and science) had a broader concept of appropriate feminine behaviors. Those studying for traditionally feminine fields saw work as being divided on the basis of gender.

Super (1957: cited in Vetter, 1973) developed a theory of vocational choice that relates to women's view of their appropriate sex role. His theory of vocational maturity and developmental self-concept for women includes sex role orientation as well as self-concept. Women's vocational maturity may be rated on the basis of the following categories:

Stable homemaker - no work outside the home, married.

Conventional homemaker - work before marriage but not afterwards.

Stable working - continuous work throughout life, single.

Double track - continuous work throughout life, married.

Interrupted - work before having children, homemaker, return to work again, married.

Unstable - in and out of work force at irregular intervals.

Multiple trial - series of unrelated jobs.

The last two categories may include both married and single women.

Putman and Hansen (1972) used Super's model to assess the vocational maturity of high school sophomore girls. They found that a high self-concept together with a broad feminine role concept predicted the vocational maturity of the respondents. Also either role concept or self-concept could predict the readiness of the girls to make vocational plans, but not as well as both concepts together.

Richardson (1975) studied the influence that sex role orientation had on the vocational planning of women in the senior year of college. She found that "women who perceive themselves as similar to a housewife were not career-oriented" (p. 125).

Nagley (1971) found a relationship between a female college student's concept of femininity and her vocational choice. The girls that were preparing for entry into "masculine" career fields had achieved a more successful integration of their career and homemaker roles than the women planning to work in "women's" fields.

Patterson (1973) believes that for women, vocational identity and sexual identity are interrelated. In order to define their sexual role, girls must make decisions regarding the selection of a husband, establishing a home, and philosophy of child care. The vocational role requires information on her assets and liabilities, the vocational and economic

patterns of society, and her evaluation of the importance of competition and achievement. Patterson maintains that ignoring a woman's sexual identity in vocational planning is not a realistic approach.

VALUES

Along with her sex role orientation, her values and attitudes influence a woman's career planning. Bardwick and Douvan (1971) believe that women place the emphasis on interpersonal values at the expense of achievement values. This has handicapped them in their vocational life. In the previous pages the abstraction of the traits found generally in women was presented (Bardwick & Douvan, 1971: 147).

McClelland (1965) explains further how women's values differ from men's. Women are more interdependent and relationship-oriented than men. They are more nurturant, self-disclosing, caring, moralistic, and altruistic. They are also more easily influenced to change their minds than men (p. 176). Women's style is contextual while men are more analytic and manipulative. These differences in values and functioning have some influences on the vocational behavior of women.

Clarke and Esposito (1971) surveyed college women to find out the satisfactions they valued most in working. Their respondents expected a job to fill the following needs in this order of priority: affiliation, diffuse energy, cognitive need, feminine mystique (suitability for women who marry and have families), power, and achievement. Their findings in-

dicate that women expect work to provide them with different satisfactions than men expect from work.

Risch and Beymer (1967) theorize that jobs may satisfy two different types of needs, and that jobs may be categorized by the satisfactions derived from the work. Instrumental work, defined as filling external achievement needs and conformity needs include occupations in the fields of mathematics, science, political science, economics, law, art, architecture, medicine, and administration. Expressive jobs that provide fulfillment of satisfaction and gratification needs include work in education, nursing, secretarial work, and interpersonal services. Women are more interested in the expressive values, and men in the instrumental values.

Ralph Turner (1971) sees two types of reward systems operating -- intrinsic rewards which relate to achievement values, and extrinsic rewards which relate to money and status. He sees men as working to obtain both kinds of rewards while women, if they are married, are ascribed the status of their husbands. Therefore, the need for intrinsic or achievement rewards is what motivates married women to seek employment. He tested this theory in a study of high school senior women and found that those placing a high value on achievement rewards were more committed to work as a part of their futures.

Holland and Whitney (1968: cited in Vetter, 1963) recognized women's stronger need for interpersonal satisfactions in their career typology for women. They classified careers into the following categories: in-

tellectual, social-intellectual, social-conventional, social-enterprising, social-artistic, conventional, and artistic.

Psathas (1968) also views women's occupational choice as being linked to her unique personal values and her life style preferences. Surette (1967) found the career-oriented woman emphasized the competitive and achievement values. He found that values could be measured by the SVIB scores. Rand (1971) found that college freshmen with high career aspirations had a more andyogynous sexual identity and they displayed more masculine traits in personality and aptitude tests.

Hawley (1972) found that female students majoring in mathematics and science valued the competitive role of woman more than students preparing to teach.

Values, especially in women, do not seem to be solidified at any one point in life. The role that she is playing may relate to the values she deems most important at that stage of her life. According to Westervelt (1973), the values a woman holds depend on a woman's age, stage of the life cycle, and role. Arnott (1972-b) found in her study of women's roles, "Values, and the profit associated with them, were found to shift in anticipation of role changes" (p. 130).

SELF-ESTEEM

Westervelt (1973) believes that women must develop high self-esteem before they can think of careers. Yet, if she does not fill the tradi-

tional gender role, she may feel guilt and shame over her failure to do so. The result is lowered self-esteem.

Putnam and Hansen's study of high school sophomore girls (1972) found that a positive self-concept was related to vocational maturity as well as a flexible role concept.

Yet the very fact that she is a woman is sometimes valued negatively by our society. Many studies of women show them in comparison to men, with the emphasis on the polarities in nature and with negative judgements of the feminine traits (McClelland, 1965). Bardwick and Douvan comment on this attitude:

> The essence of the derogation lies in the evolution of the masculine as the yardstick against which everything is measured. Since the sexes are different, women are defined as not-men and that means not-good, inferior. It is important to understand that women in this culture, as members of the culture, have internalized these self-destructive values. (1971, p. 153)

Women seem to be caught in a bind -- they are different than men, but this does not mean that they are not as good. Unless they can see themselves positively, they are unlikely to participate in the male world of work which can reinforce a negative self-image.

Goldberg (1968: cited in Vetter, 1973) had college women evaluate a professional article in their field. If a woman's name appeared as the author, the article was evaluated more negatively. The same article with a male author was judged to be more competent and the article was thought to be more valid. The percentage of women in the profession did not in-

fluence the student's evaluation -- males were judged more favorably in all fields.

Women choosing the vocational role of full-time homemaker are not especially victims of the application of male standards and values on what is a valuable person. Women judge themselves by masculine models and conclude that they are not very valuable. This is especially difficult for the woman entering the labor market or educational system after emphasizing the feminine roles of mother, wife, and housekeeper for a part of their lives.

For this reason Navin states that women "must understand, accept, and affirm herself as a person first and a homemaker second." (1972, p. 16). Brandenberg (1974) stresses that the middle-aged woman returning to work or school needs help in defining her identity, for she has defined herself in relation to others.

Farley (1970) found that the name a woman uses is indicative of her self-esteem and independence. Farley (1975) studied the employment applications of college graduates and found that there was a correlation between the use of an independent name style (i.e. Mrs. Jane Jones) and expressions of self-confidence on the employment application. She found that women who had graduated from college since 1960 to be more self-confident and to use the independent name style. Reynolds and associates (1969) point out that older women need help in improving their self-image before they can make decisions concerning educational and vocational plans.

A woman doesn't have her own work identity -- it is ascribed to her through her husband if she is married.

Willett (1971) contends that a woman's poor self-image can prevent her job advancement. Elizabeth Cless (1969) points out that lack of confidence in young women can result in an underrating of their abilities. She contends that this may be a factor in the lower career aspirations of high school and college students in comparison to men.

SHORT-TERM OUTLOOK

Another personal characteristic of women that seems to operate in their vocational planning is the tendency of women to engage in short-term rather than long-term planning. Lewis amplifies on this:

> Despite this, women do not necessarily choose their jobs blindly, but they seem to use different criteria than do men. Two major differences stand out: (a) women generally see a job in short-term temporary perspective and are therefore less interested in long-term characteristics such as retirement and opportunities for advancement; and (b) women are more sensitive to current characterists of the job, such as working conditions. (Lewis, 1968: p. 128)

Athena Theodore (1971) agrees that generally women are more concerned with short-range objectives than with long-range goals. A consequence of this is "career hedging", or trading off to her second occupational choice based on the length of prep time involved to prepare for her first choice.

Patterson (1973) discusses the implications that this female tendency has for women's vocational planning.

> By the time girls reach secondary school, where most vocational counseling begins, they have usually become predisposed by enculturation to express the "Feminine core" of personality, at the expense of effective planning encompassing both the sex role and the competitive achievement role. (p. 269)

Perrucci (1970) found that the highly work-committed woman had done more life planning than had women less interested in working. Other researchers report this connection also (Almquist & Angrist, 1970, 1971; Fuchs, 1971).

In a study of college professors at the University of Minnesota, it was found that nearly twice the percentage of women as men went into college teaching because they were offered the job, not because they had planned to engage in it (Eckert & Stecklein, 1971).

SUMMARY

A motive to avoid success has been discovered in women in situations where they are required to compete with men. Many women fear that successful competition with males would result in social rejection, guilt, or loss of femininity. The fear of success has been found to be related to a narrow concept of femininity and low achievement motivation.

The gender role a woman sees as appropriate for herself influences her attitudes toward employment involvement. Women that have narrow concepts of what values and roles are appropriate for her tend not to desire to work and are not equipped to successfully participate in the achievement-oriented work world. The appropriate gender roles are presently

unclear at times and the ambiguity makes vocational planning difficult for women. Sex role orientation is also related to the type of work a woman considers in her vocational planning. Sex role orientation has been found to also be related to a student's readiness to develop vocational plans for herself.

The values held by women influence their vocational behavior. Women stress interpersonal and affiliation values and downplay the importance of achievement and competitive values. They look to jobs that can fill these needs. Women's values are not static and some values seem to be more important depending on the woman's age, stage of the life cycle, and role.

Self-esteem is needed by women before they can begin to develop and implement vocational plans for their lives. This self-valuing process is difficult for women since the culture emphasizes masculine values and traits. Research has demonstrated that women downgrade not only themselves, but other women as well.

Women generally are not as ready to engage in long-term life planning as are men. This can handicap their vocational development. Women who are highly committed to work are more likely to have developed longer range life plans than their less work-oriented sisters.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Literature has been reviewed relevant to the problem of this study. Research has been cited that investigated the factors involved in a woman's decision to work, the meaning work holds for her, the type of work she selects, the intergration of work with other facets of her life, and feminine personality characteristics that influence women's vocational behavior.

CONCLUSIONS

Through the review of relevant literature, this investigation has examined the following questions:

1. What is involved in a woman's choosing to work? Women have many vocational options from which to choose. If married or planning marriage, they may consider full-time homemaking as a vocational choice. For many married women this is an option they select especially when their children are young. Women may also choose to combine their role as homemaker with study, employment, volunteer work, or support of their husband's career. They may choose full-time employment or part-time work. All women, whether married or not may decide on the importance of work in their lives.

More women are considering employment outside the home because of societal changes. The American woman's life style has undergone many

changes due to the dominance of the urban life style, the assistance of technology in home maintenance duties, the increased length of a woman's life span, and development of improved contraceptives. Industrialization has expanded the number of workers required in the labor market, improved working conditions, and decreased the number of hours spent in employment. The family has become more of a consuming unit rather than a productive unit and women are now providing for the economic maintenance of their families by working for money outside the home rather than producing goods in the home as in the past.

Most women work in employment to contribute to their or their family's economic support. A minority of highly educated women work for personal fulfillment. The amount of education a woman has is related to her employment behavior -- the more education she has, the more likely she will work. Her social network also influences whether or not she will work outside the home. Her concept of femininity and whether it includes employment as congruent with womanliness also influences her decisions on working. Her age and stage of the life cycle may also predict her interest in vocational development.

2. <u>What is involved in the meaning employment holds for women?</u>

This is an investigation into the variables that effect the amount of interest, time, energy and emotional involvement a woman chooses to invest in employment, especially in relation to family life. Since 90 percent of women work in paid employment during at least some, this is a

more significant question in terms of women's career development. Women have been found generally to commit themselves more to their family than to their careers. Their careers often are characterized by a period of time spent as a home-market worker, not a labor market worker.

Some factors that have prevented woman from internalizing the occupational role as an integral part of her personality are discrimination and a perceived lack of opportunity for her in the work world. The structure of work does not accomodate woman's life cycle, her gender role as generally defined by herself and others, and her dependence on her husband to establish the family's residence.

Highly work committed women have been found to have broader definitions of femininity, be working in higher status occupations, be more willing to enter a "non-feminine" job, have had more work experience and more education or training, and to have been more influenced by female role models who combined gender roles with vocational roles. They had had more encouragement to develop vocationally as they were growing up.

3. What role does marriage play in work orientation? Marriage is a dominant force in the vocational planning of many women. Marital plans are intertwined with the vocational and educational plans of female students. However, marriage is no longer seen by the majority of students as being mutually exclusive with vocational development although it does tend to lessen work commitment. The intervening variables seem to be the attitude of the husband toward his wife's vocational participation, the

structure of the marriage, and the presence of young children in the family. The home-career conflict faced by married women who are in the labor force is also intensified by the expectations that the only way for her to resolve this dilema is to withdraw from work in the labor market.

4. What influences the type of work that a woman selects? The occupational world is sexually segregated with the majority of women working in low-status, low-skilled, low-paying jobs. Women are found in the professions but tend to be represented in the newer, less prestigious professions. Proportionately, women have less representation in the professions than they did at the beginning of the twentieth century.

One reason for this is that women are not highly committed to employment, and tend to avoid occupations demanding high commitment. A second factor is that the discontinuity of women's vocational participation interferes with their ability to advance in the world of work. A third factor that operates in limiting the range of choice on type of work is that as students, women only tend to explore a limited number of options, and therefore limit their eventual occupational selection.

5. What female personality characteristics are related to the occupational choice process? There is a motive to avoid success operating in women that prevents them from aspiring to highly competitive, male-dominated occupations. A woman's sex role orientation or concept of appropriate feminine values also has been found to be related to her vocational participation, work commitment, and the type of work she selects. The

feminine emphasis on interpersonal values and lessened valuing of competition and achievement have limited women's vocational interest and career development. Another feminine personality trait that is of significance in vocational planning is the tendency of women to be more interested in short-range considerations than in long-range goals. A last personal characteristic of women of significance in the vocational behavior of women is the relationship between self-esteem and successful labor market involvement. Women with low self-esteem underestimate their vocational abilities, and hesitate to become involved in the work world.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In order for women to develop themselves vocationally, some changes are necessary. Women themselves are now in the process of examining options they had not previously considered open to them. Men too are making adjustments for women's increased participation in employment. However, individual changes alone are not going to allow most women to be able to fully involve themselves in the work world if they so desire. Institutions will also have to allow women to work outside the home.

There is a need for day care to expand so that the mother of young children will be able to opt for employment. There is going to have to be more flexibility in the scheduling of work, including wider availability of part-time jobs. Women's pay inequities will have to be eliminated to make work financially attractive to women. Families will have to feel

free to make whatever adjustments their personal situations require.

The educational institutions must recognize the unique needs of women. Berry (1972) points out that not only should women be allowed to see all their possibilities, but there is a need to educate the parents and men on women's alternatives. Employers and school officials must be helped in adjusting to changes and be trained to maximize women's potential.

Curriculum changes are necessary so that both men and women can be prepared for all of their possible adult roles (Ginzberg, 1972; Vetter, 1973). The educational materials used in school must be less sexually biased (Berry, 1972). Textbooks must show that some women are working and are able to combine this with their family life (Stefflre, 1969). Even the storybooks for young children need to provide a less stereotyped view of sexual roles than are now presented (Weitzman et al, 1972).

The timing of education should be more flexible to allow adult women to capitalize on educational opportunities at the points in their lives that are most conducive to education. Elizabeth Cless (1969) maintains that there are several adjustments to be made in adult and higher education before it is truly available to women. The emphasis on full-time education makes it difficult for the woman tentatively moving out of the home to commit herself to a structured schedule. Residency requirements, credit transfers, entrance procedures all will have to be adjusted to accommodate the older woman.

Madison Avenue is going to have to present a wider concept of femininity than it has in the past (Gardner, 1971) and appeal to the growing realization that women do have a capacity for independent decision-making. There is a need for more working women to be portrayed on television, and to be seen as family members as well as careerists (Kaniuga et al, 1974). Women's magazines must recognize the needs satisfied by employment (Clarke & Esposito, 1971) and career development strategies (Hatch & Hatch, 1973).

The delivery of counseling services needs to recognize that women may need vocational counseling earlier in their lives than men (Hansen, 1972). Counseling must be available to girls before they reach high school, and be directed to sexual identity as well as vocational identity (Cooperman, 1971; Patterson, 1973).

Adult women need to have vocational counseling available to them. They need clarification of their alternatives regarding employment, help in working out conflicts between home responsibilities and outside interests, assistance in developing an identity of their own, and help in increasing their self-esteem (Manis & Mochizuki, 1972).

Counselors, and others working with women, need to be able to see women as individuals, not as a class. Vetter outlines the point which must someday be reached.

> If "women" are "people", it will naturally be assumed that, as adults, they will combine a number of roles, such as worker, parent, household member, community participant.

> The counselor will work with these people to enable them to maximize their individual development. (Vetter, 1973: p. 64)

Studies of counselors and students preparing to become counselors indicate that this point has not yet been reached. Thomas and Steward (1971) and Schlossberg and Pietrofska (1973) have found that counselors still favor women whose occupational aspirations conform to the sexual stereotypes. They attempt to discourage women aspiring to "male" occupations, either by actively discouraging them or by ignoring these choices.

Counselors, educators, and employers need to have information on women and work. Bingham and House (1973-b) found that counselors were not apprised of the facts concerning women and work. Brittin and Thomas found in a 1973 study that placement interviewers were misinformed about women's employment interests. Bingham and House (1973-a) found that counselor attitudes on women and their vocational needs had not been clearly defined. Olesker and Balter (1972) found that female counselors seemed to be more empathetic with the needs of their women clients.

The process of counseling women should not be restricted only to the choice of an occupation. Women, in order to develop their vocational plans, must clarify their identity as women first. They must examine the roles that they may choose for themselves (Bart, 1971; Patterson, 1973; Schlossberg, 1972).

The need for women to have role models who are successfully combining

home and work seems to be apparent in light of recent research (Almquist & Angrist, 1970, 1971; Rossi, 1971). Plotsky and Goad (1974) found that an opportunity to discuss the conflicts of being a working woman with older women was a valuable counseling experience for undergraduate students. The use of role models in a counseling program for women on the high school and junior high levels could be valuable as an adjunct of vocational counseling (Hansen, 1972; Patterson, 1973). An opportunity for young women to talk to the husbands of working women may be helpful also.

There have been several articles and books designed to aid the counselor in working with girls and women. Among these are publications by Murphy (1969), Eyde (1970), Cooperman (1971), Farmer (1971), Gardner (1971), Berry (1972), Hansen (1972, Manis and Mochizuki (1972), the monograph the vocational counseling of women prepared by the National Vocational Guidance Association (1972), Navin (1972), Schlossberg (1972), J. Smith (1972), Brandenberg (1974), and Plotsky and Goad (1975).

There have also been some articles published on the use of interest inventories with women. Some recent reports have been authored by Johanson and Harmon (1972), Cole (1973), Huth (1973), Borgen and Helms (1975), and Whitton (1975).

There have been many recent publications for women on how they may discover their own vocational identity. Some of the best books available include accounts of how some of the conflicts facing women in vocational

planning have been resolved. Some of these books include case histories presented in personal terms. Some suggested references include books written by Bird (1970, 1973), O'Neil (1965), and Schwartz, Schifter, and Gilloti (1972).

Further research is needed on the question of women and work. One area that needs further investigation is the question of the correlates to work commitment. This problem could best be studied by using an interdisciplinary approach. The present research has taken one of two approches: an investigation of sociological variables (such as family background, years employed, education, socioeconomic status, parental status, ages of children, and marital structure) in relation to work commitment, or an investigation of psychological traits (self-esteem, sex role orientation, values, interests, occupational aspirations, and educational aspirations) and their connection with work commitment. A multivariate study including both sociological and psychological variables would guard against contamination of results by uninvestigated variables.

The process of sex role orientation needs further exploration. Investigation of the formation of sex role stereotyping in preschool years especially needs investigation.

The investigation of family and marriage structure is another fruitful avenue for research. Processes of maximum personal development for both partners in a marriage should be explored.

The persons that have been largely ignored in studies of working

women are the husbands. More than half of working women are married, yet little effort has been devoted to study of male attitudes.

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