The role of women in Canadian society is changing rapidly. Social, economic, and political changes in the larger society have made it easier for women to expand their personal and career options. A larger percentage of women of all ages are participating in the labor force, some in fields previously dominated by men.

But whether women's increased employment reflects primarily emancipation from the home, the attraction of interesting career opportunities, or simple economic necessity, barriers still persist to hinder career development. For women pursuing nontraditional careers, gaining the appropriate knowledge and skills, plus undergoing a process of socialization, are crucial factors in determining their occupational success. This study examines the impact of four distinct types of occupational preparation in fostering nontraditional role identification.

Résumé

Le rôle de la femme dans la société canadienne est en voie rapide de transformation. De récents changements sociaux, économiques et politiques offrent aux femmes un choix plus varié d'options personnelles ou de carrières. Un nombre de plus en plus important de femmes de tous les âges font maintenant partie de la main-d'œuvre, certaines dans des domaines auparavant réservés aux hommes. Si le nombre sans cesse augmentant de femmes au travail semble justifié par un désir d'émancipation, l'attrait de carrières intéressantes ou la simple nécessité économique, il demeure que des barrières subsistent encore. Pour les femmes qui veulent exercer des carrières dites non-traditionnelles, l'apprentissage de connaissances et d'habiletés, tout en étant sujet aux pressions de la société, peuvent jouer un rôle déterminant dans la réussite ou non de ces carrières. Cette étude examine l'impact de quatre types de formation aux métiers et leur
importance dans la création de nouvelles identités non-traditionnelles.

When I was seven I wanted a hammer and a carpenter's pouch for Christmas. I built all kinds of animal houses, designing things for my pets. In high school I purposefully got kicked out of home economics so I could take shop, but it didn't work. My mother hated it; my Dad was okay. I had a dream of woodworking but never shared it with anyone. I'm in school now because I want job training and my four-year apprenticeship which should give me some security. I failed grades 7 to 11 but managed to pass grade twelve. In this program I learned a lot about math and how to use it. Fractions are important in carpentry. Also I never learned to read. I had learned to recognize what words looked like. I almost quit when I saw what I had to read. I learned to read! Friends helped me. I read a lot of learning guides. I was really embarrassed. But I can talk about it now.

—Interview excerpt from a woman in a nontraditional career preparation program.

The Problem

One of the characteristics of educational institutions which distinguishes them from other socializing institutions is the extent to which their activities are intentional and deliberate. Educational institutions are seen to be responsible not only to the perceived needs of individual students but also to the preferences expressed by business and industry (including the state itself) which employ the majority of the educational "output."

The principal rationale for public policies that subsidize career education has been the idea that the kinds of jobs created by a changing labor market require specialized skills which can best be taught through formal programs at the postsecondary level. According to this view, career preparation programs benefit both the individual participants (in the form of improved job prospects and higher earnings) and society as a whole (in the form of a more productive workforce and a higher gross national product). Training and education programs have also been proposed as solutions to the dual problems of high unemployment and anticipated shortfalls in the workforce. Recent job training initiatives in both Canada and the United States are predicated on the assumption that training in job skills constitutes the missing link between unemployed workers and unfilled jobs.
Although acknowledging the importance of job skills development for all sectors of the labor force, the current emphasis appears to be on those who have not been represented well in the past. One group receiving much attention is women. Although the participation rates of women in paid employment have continued to increase since the second world war, this trend has not improved other economic realities for women. Women not only suffer from higher unemployment than men (8.8 percent compared to 6.6 percent in 1979 according to Statistics Canada, 1980, p. 70), they also are segregated into a limited number of occupations. From the last census data, it was reported that 63 percent of women in the workforce were confined to just three occupational categories—clerical, sales and service. Women in the paid labor force today earn only about 60 percent of male earnings. This wage gap has remained relatively stable over the past two decades.

The Government of Canada has made a commitment to women to equalize opportunities and ensure progress through changes in legislation, policies, and programs. Toward this goal, special efforts are being made to encourage women to train for occupations traditionally dominated by men. The nontraditional occupations for women, according to Labor Canada, are those that have less than ten percent women workers. Included in this category are construction trades, skilled crafts, technical fields, and professions in science, law, engineering, and medicine. To improve both the educational and occupational equity of women, a variety of programs and intervention strategies are offered. The focus of these efforts is on acquisition of cognitive information, experience with practical skills, and exposure to affective expectations or some combination thereof. To date, there has been little research on the effectiveness of these strategies; recruitment and enrollment in nontraditional programs or jobs remain essentially a self-selection process.

This paper examines the role of postsecondary education in facilitating the development of a nontraditional occupational role orientation for women. Factors impinging upon career development and barriers to labor market participation in nontraditional, nonprofessional occupations are discussed. The results of a research project which examined the impact of four distinct educational programs (three nontraditional, one traditional) in preparing women to enter the labor market are presented. Specific questions for this study were: (1) What are the personal-social barriers to career development?; (2) How do personal-social barriers affect occupational role identity?; and (3) How is career commitment for women in nontraditional programs different from career commitment of women in a traditional oriented program? Conclusions about the effectiveness of each program in facilitating
Occupational role identification are offered and implications are discussed.

**Education, Employment and Identity**

The decision to participate in the labor force is influenced by myriad factors: individual preferences, financial need, available opportunities, and household responsibilities. Participation patterns vary with social class, marital status, presence and ages of children, type of community, education and training, and age. A study in the United States estimated that single women without children would work 35 years, and married women with one child could expect to participate in the labor market 25 years. Over half of married women work; 61% of mothers with children under 18 are now working, as are 52% of mothers with pre-school children.

The ways in which the education and training of women affect their labor force behavior are complex. It has been argued that the way women are educated and socialized interacts with the opportunity structures they face both at school and at work to produce outcomes that channel women in traditional directions and preclude the possibility of equity. The number of years of education and training and the types of education and training can increase employment options. Yet other factors prevail to limit a woman's choice in the job market. Most males are encouraged to pursue different interests from females and to value different achievements. Children themselves know about gender differences by age three and continue to be influenced through the media, education, and other social systems about gender-related roles and norms.

Educational and career choices are also shaped by attitudes—personal, peer, family, and societal. Even when choices are formally open, attitudinal constraints may prevail to segregate women into certain traditional directions. This streaming in turn is significant in shaping interests, competencies, and interactions of women as students. Acquiring the knowledge and skills appropriate for nontraditional careers which would expand career options for women is believed possible through education and training programs. But a nontraditional occupational identity is more than knowledge and skills; it also involves the acquisition of those values, beliefs, attitudes and expectations of the occupational role. This role acquisition occurs through a lifelong socialization process.

Two of the most important factors in career decisions are knowledge of self and knowledge of occupational alternatives. Knowledge of self is derived from clarifying personal and work values. Knowledge of
occupational alternatives is gained through exploration and experience. The process by which women become associated with a specific occupation involves career interests, career choices, and career maturity and is labelled "career commitment." This commitment refers to the degree of importance attached to one's career and the willingness to undertake activities which enhance promotion.

It is important that graduates of career preparation programs reflect not only knowledge and skills but also a set of attitudes, expectations, and actual behaviors appropriate to the jobs they are seeking.\(^8,9\) Education and training programs offer knowledge and skill components, but the attitudes, expectations, and behaviors (the effective components) requisite to jobs are often neglected in educational programs. These affective components are associated with success at both school and work.\(^10\) The school-to-work nexus is thus an important bridging mechanism for labor market success.

Despite attempts to eliminate institutional barriers to women entering jobs dominated by males, only a relatively small proportion of female workers are employed in these occupations.\(^11\) A review of the literature on barriers to female educational and occupational equity reveals certain commonalities.\(^12\) They can be grouped under the following headings:

1. low level of support from family/friends
2. low occupational self-concept
3. lack of educational preparation for nontraditional careers
4. low level of role compatibility
5. lack of information about nontraditional careers
6. lack of available role models
7. lack of money to finance training.

These personal-social or attitudinal barriers tend to be covert and subtle; consequently they are more difficult to overcome than institutional barriers.\(^13,14\)

Research studies indicate that barriers to nontraditional career development can be lowered or reduced by reducing external or structural obstacles, by providing a supportive atmosphere for learning, by presenting appropriate role-models (i.e. practicing tradeswomen), by offering assertiveness training, and by providing competent counseling (knowledgeable and sensitive to women in nontraditional vocations).\(^15,16,17\) Helping women to identify, understand, and overcome attitudinal barriers is one means of facilitating their entry into nontraditional careers.
In spite of the emphasis on women's entry into nontraditional career training programs, the response remains low. During 1982-83 women accounted for less than 10 percent of the participants in nontraditional occupational preparation programs in Canada. In British Columbia where the present study was conducted, 8.2 percent of the registered apprentices were female. This percentage is reduced to 3.0 if the large numbers of female hairdressing, barbering and floristry apprentices are removed from the total.

**Methodology**

In an attempt to understand the career development process of women pursuing nontraditional occupational preparation, four groups of women enrolled in career preparation programs in Vancouver, British Columbia were experimentally tested in 1984 using pre- and post-test instruments. Three groups were involved in nontraditional career training; the fourth group, in a traditional career preparation program, was used as a comparison group. There were approximately fifteen students in each program. Participants came from two postsecondary institutions and were either selected as intact class groups or recruited as volunteers from specific programs. Each of the four career preparation programs used a different approach in offering occupational education and training.

Employment Alternatives for Women (EAW) is a nontraditional career exploratory program designed to provide women with the personal, physical, and mental development deemed necessary for success in either further education and training or nontraditional employment. Four areas are addressed: career decision-making and goal-setting; personal improvement; theoretical knowledge and practical skills; and nontraditional occupational expectation. It is a 16-week classroom and on-the-job experiential program.

Professional Cook Training, Level 1 (CkTrng) is a 20-week classroom approach to occupational preparation as a short order cook. Instruction covers theory and practice of menu planning, food preparation, and kitchen management. Course content is arranged in three segments: classroom theory and skill; practical experience in the school short order kitchen; and industrial training in the community. This program offers a traditional approach to nontraditional occupational preparation—classroom structure combined with laboratory experience.

The Training Access (TRAC) program is a self-paced open entry competency-based technical and trades program. It represents a replacement of the provincial pre-employment and pre-apprenticeship
programs (which are the categories for women wishing to improve their job skills in the nontraditional fields). It also represents an alternative approach to teaching occupational knowledge and skills—that of individualized instruction.

Long-term Care Aide (LTC) represents occupational preparation of a traditional nature for women—the health care field. It is 15-weeks of full-time study involving classroom lectures, laboratory practices, and institutional experience. This program prepares women to care for residents in extended care, intermediate care, and personal care settings under the direction of a registered nurse. Because the program represents a classroom approach to a field dominated by women it was chosen as a comparison group.

The groups represent four distinct types of occupational preparation for women. Three (EAW, CkTrng, LTC) are classroom oriented combining theoretical instruction and practical experience; one (TRAC) is individualized. Three stress theory and practice. Only one, the EAW program, specifically addresses the idea of acquiring values, attitudes, expectations and behaviors appropriate to an occupational role identity—those attributes so necessary for job success.

Instrumentation and Findings

For this study six criterion variables were identified from the literature as impinging on a woman's nontraditional career development. These variables were used in testing the pre- and post-test hypotheses that the type of educational intervention received affected occupational role identification. The variables are described below.

_Career commitment_ involves the behavioral and attitudinal aspects of work motivation and work values.

_Goal setting_ is a process by which a person assesses occupational and educational options as a means to personal and career development; involves gaining awareness and knowledge about self and careers.

_Personal-social barriers to nontraditional occupations_ are attitudinal dispositions involving expectations, perceptions, knowledge, and abilities; acquired through socialization.

_Role acquisition_ is assuming the behavioral, attitudinal, and cognitive expectations of a social position.

_Role conflict_ results from conflicting behavioral, attitudinal, or cognitive expectations arising from multiple roles, associated with career achievement and marriage and family interests.

_Self-efficacy expectations_ are behavioral, attitudinal, and cognitive perceptions of one's ability to fulfill a particular role identity;
involves the competence and persistence of acquiring and maintaining that role.

Three instruments were used to collect data: a biographical questionnaire, a Survey of Women's Attitudes about Careers\textsuperscript{20} and Nagely's 1970 Scale of Attitudes Toward Career and Career-Related Variables.\textsuperscript{21} Career commitment was measured using the Nagely instrument. The remaining variables were measured using the Thomas instrument; personal-social barriers (in Table 1 and discussion) are the summation of the barriers to goal setting, self-efficacy expectations, role acquisition and role conflict. Additionally, interviews were conducted with three women from each program after the completion of their course of study.

The Thomas Attitude Survey questionnaire measured the perceived personal and social barriers for women desiring to enter nontraditional occupations. It contained 53 statements using a Likert scale ranging from strongly agree (5) to strongly disagree (1). A reliability check yielded scores from .73 to .84. The Nagely Scale of Attitudes measured career commitment using a 46 item, seven-point semantic differential technique. Two scales were derived from a factor analysis: Expectations of Career Benefits (measuring social meanings) and Career as a Vehicle for Self-Expression (measuring self-meanings).

The purpose of the interviews was to provide women an opportunity to discuss their career development and any obstacles or barriers encountered along the way. They were asked to account for factors in their career development and in the educational program which had specifically facilitated occupational role identification.

The findings demonstrated that at enrollment the programs were serving a heterogeneous group of women with regard to demographic characteristics but who were homogeneous with respect to the number and/or degree of barriers they perceived to nontraditional occupations. Participants' scores reflected similar gender role socialization experiences and attitudes. And although no consistent patterns were apparent among the groups at program completion regarding the number or degree of barriers perceived, on the average women in the career exploratory program (EAW) made the most progress in addressing psychosocial impediments to nontraditional occupations.

Table 1 summarizes the results of the pre- to post-test changes by program on five of the variables as measured by mean scores. This table shows that the educational interventions assisted women in
Table 1

Progress Toward Employability for Women in Traditional and Non-traditional Training Programs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Training Program</th>
<th>Self Eff. Expectation (p = .070)</th>
<th>Goal Setting (p = .190)</th>
<th>Role Acquisition (p = .053)</th>
<th>Role Conflict (p = .006)</th>
<th>Barrier Total (p = .006)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employment Alternatives for Women</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n=15)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook Training (n=13)</td>
<td>-.43</td>
<td>-.47</td>
<td>-.45</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training Access (n=13)</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long Term Care Aide (n=16)</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.23</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>-.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Progress Against Barriers</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: All entries denote change in perception of barriers toward women's employability. Positive entries indicate that women see fewer barriers or reduced severity, hence easier access to jobs as a result of the program. Negative entries indicate that barriers are deemed more severe after the program than before. The alpha probability that the programs differ significantly appears at the head of each column.

under-standing and addressing the personal and social barriers to occupations, especially nontraditional occupations, but not all programs were affected identically. EAW enrollees made the most progress in addressing or overcoming perceived barriers from program enrollment to program completion followed by women in TRAC. Women in LTC effectively did not change their perception of barriers to nontraditional occupations. But curiously, women in CkTrng perceived more barriers from the beginning of their program to the completion.

On self-efficacy expectations and role acquisition, those in EAW also showed the greatest gain in occupational socialization. This means they perceived fewer barriers to nontraditional roles and saw themselves as competent and persistent in pursuing nontraditional occupations.

Women in CkTrng reported an increase in obstacles on every one of the variables. Women in TRAC were second only to those in EAW in
understanding and addressing barriers to occupational role identification, particularly, role conflict problems (+.65).

Women in LTC exhibited the least change on measures of self-efficacy, occupational role acquisition, and total barrier count. They detected more problems in addressing factors affecting goal setting at the completion of the course than at the beginning. On all variables except goal setting their occupational role orientation remained the same; their program made little difference in their occupational orientation.

Combining all scores, EAW was more effective in helping women to understand and overcome barriers to nontraditional occupations. The TRAC program was second most effective in helping students address perceived psychosocial barriers. It appears that although women pursuing nontraditional careers (EAW, CkTrng, TRAC) had internalized norms associated with nontraditional roles, those who had explored various nontraditional career options (including skills, behaviors, attitudes, expectations, and barriers) were more likely to have acquired an occupational identity based on exposure and experience rather than on unrealistic information and expectations.

career commitment

Career attitudes and expectations are the results of a combination of environmental stimuli, educational experiences, references groups and personal characteristics. Table 2 summarizes the mean differences between the pre-test and post-test measures of career commitment as measured by the Nagely instrument. EAW and LTC students perceived a career as providing a greater degree of expected benefits and self expressiveness than did those in CkTrng or TRAC programs.

Both CkTrng and TRAC enrollees perceived few social benefits and self expressions associated with a career commitment. Something during their educational training affected career commitment adversely. In both programs, women interacted with male students and instructors (the other programs had only female students and instructors). Also, the CkTrng program may have been an initial choice for women because of its similarity to female norm socialization of cooking and meal preparation. Once enrolled, women may have become aware of the routine, mundane, and often strenuous aspects of cooking occupations.

Students in a traditional career program for women saw a career as providing few benefits and even fewer opportunities for self expression (.03). Their change scores indicated their program did little to alter their social and self expectations resulting from career identification.
la grande libération. Avec les années, il se sent nettement plus à l'aise; il ne voudrait plus avoir à se débattre dans un climat anxiogène. Il considère qu’il a moins de luttes à mener; il se sent nettement plus sûr et plus compétent qu’auparavant pour réaliser son travail. Il récolte parfois certains avantages liés son âge. Il peut se permettre d'être confiant depuis l'avènement récent de certaines améliorations sur le plan financier. L'obtention de certaines conditions de travail, telles une plus grande souplesse d'horaire et la sécurité d'emploi, semblent lui laisser un peu de répit au travail. Il juge nécessaire d'accorder une certaine priorité aux loisirs pour l'équilibre de la personne. Il a même parfois une attitude rassurée et présomptueuse devant la vie. Enfin, il espère se libérer de l'aspect fastidieux du travail et aspire à des activités autonomes. La retraite sera un choix délibéré et planifié où il en demandera peu à la vie. Il exécutera des travaux divers. “J'ai plein de projets pour ma retraite, je saurai bien m'occuper.”

Parfois l’adulte de classe aisée juge qu’il doit maintenant déposer les armes et se laisser glisser tranquillement vers la retraite. Il tient, par ailleurs, à préciser qu'il s'agit là d'un choix ou d'une nouvelle étape de vie, et non pas, d'une mise au rancart imposée par son milieu de travail ou par la société. Son bilan est déjà fait et il conclut que l'apport qu'il devait rendre à la société est presque entièrement réalisé. Il indique parfois que si le milieu l'invitait à une certaine mobilité occupationnelle, il considérerait que ce serait là le couronnement ou la reconnaissance du travail qu'il a accompli durant toutes ces années. Il estime avoir bien rempli son devoir envers son organisme-employeur et la société; il est temps, selon lui, de songer à des aspirations égocentriques. En d'autres occasions, il se veut efficace sur le marché du travail mais il précise que sa priorité est davantage la préparation aux modalités de sa vie personnelle et occupationnelle future. La proximité de la retraite l'amène, selon lui, à refuser de s'engager et il ne veut pas du tout effectuer des exploits de dernière heure afin de prouver qu'il est encore en pleine vigueur. Il apprécierait beaucoup ne plus avoir à subir la pression quotidienne et revenir graduellement à un certain équilibre. Il lui apparaît très normal que son efficacité diminue. Il signale qu'il a nettement pondéré ses ambitions occupationnelles et sensiblement modifié la valeur qu'il accordait à l'ascension sociale. Parfois il se voit dans l'obligation de diminuer ses ambitions car les circonstances ne le permettent plus. Il ne sert à rien, selon lui, de se lancer dans des défis car il ne pourra jamais y avoir quelque chose de vraiment nouveau. Il croit normal d'effectuer une recherche calme de sa sortie du marché du travail; d'ailleurs, affirmé-t-il, il l'avait choisie ou implicitement pré-déterminée depuis le mitan de la vie. Il se déclare très conscient des divers facteurs en jeu, actuels et à venir. Parfois, il a déjà commencé à diminuer certaines activités occupationnelles pour les remplacer graduellement par des
experiences. Career development decision-making depends upon seeking and receiving information relating to occupations, preparation required, and training opportunities. From the woman’s experience referred to at the beginning of this paper who wanted a hammer and carpenter’s pouch at age seven, to another’s experience as a high school volunteer in a hospital, to one’s experience refinishing her kitchen cabinets, career interests arise at various ages and for various reasons as reported by women interviewed.

Most interviewees were able to discuss specific plans and processes in which they engaged for their present career preparation. They reported the need for career information and counselling which would enable them to make good choices and commitments. Approximately two-thirds of those interviewed expressed concern about talking to counsellors who were “too busy,” “not encouraging,” or who offered “inaccurate or incomplete information.” This referred to both school counsellors and Canada Employment and Immigration (CEIC) counsellors. For those women receiving CEIC financial support, knowledgeable and sensitive counselling was a crucial factor in their educational and occupational success.

Barriers to occupations involve personal or societal attitudinal, behavioral, or cognitive expectations and perceptions. Barriers experienced by these women concerned the impropriety of certain activities. Experiences reported were: "my parents somewhat concerned about my being different"; "guys in shop class gave me a hassle because I was the only female"; "you don’t belong here" (in carpentry shop). Perhaps the attitudinal expectations and perceptions about women’s roles can be typified in the statement one young woman received from a male during a nontraditional field placement, "Have you thought about sewing?"

One significant barrier for women is the idea of role conflict: those conflicting behavioral, attitudinal or cognitive expectations arising from multiple roles associated with career achievement and marriage and family interests. As a generalization, this issue yielded the strongest sentiments expressed during the interview—from hostile, to begrudged, to resigned to positive. Representative were: "my mother says how messed up I am and that my brothers don’t do this to her"; "my family gave me no support"; "time with my kids became more structured"; "my husband was very supportive."

Women in the EAW identified career exploration as a key socializing factor. Some of the general knowledge, skills, and attitudes they acquired from their program related to goal-setting, decision-making, effective communication, and confidence building. Yet many
behavioral, attitudinal, or cognitive expectations which socialize one into an occupation were not learned from labs, lessons, or practicums. They were gleaned from other students, from observations, from other people. For example,

you may get it (occupational role information) indirectly. This may be due to the trades hierarchy. I'm getting it from other people—how instructors talk about and look at others. There is an image of a stereotype... There are expectations and personality types that go along with these trades... I've gotten it from older students and people working and from people who have trained. It is a learning process—a developmental growth. Training is a part, apprenticeship a part, employment another.

comparing nontraditional to traditional responses

The preceding discussion relates to general interview findings. When exploring the similarities and differences among the four groups several salient issues emerged. Women enrolled in nontraditional programs reported an early interest in nontraditional activities and had pursued related courses and interests. Women enrolled in the traditional program had only pursued traditional female courses or interests. Only one nontraditional participant reported career interruption because of family interests or conflicts; all three women in the traditional program reported early career interruptions due to family responsibilities.

Concerning goal-setting, nontraditional interviewees reported definite long-term educational or employment goals; traditional women reported short-term employment goals related to the need for a job. Interviewees in the traditional program did not enumerate any barriers impinging from societal or personal perceptions or expectations. Their role orientation had evidently caused no role conflict. Women in nontraditional programs named several barriers associated with personal and societal expectations about role orientations.

Perhaps the area of maximum distinction between the traditionals and nontraditionals concerned perceived competence and persistence of acquiring and maintaining a role identity. Those in the traditional LTC program expressed no concern about abilities to do the job. To a woman, those pursuing nontraditional occupations expressed concerns ranging from apprehension, hesitancy, uncertainty or uneasiness about their competence and motivation throughout various stages of their career development. At the time of the interviews, all expressed
confidence about their ability and motivation to carry through their career goals.

Another distinguishing difference was the idea of support and encouragement. Those in the traditional program never mentioned support groups per se. Seven of the nine nontraditionals offered unsolicited comments relating to support and support groups.

When only the three nontraditional programs were examined, several generalizations appear between the EAW program and the other two programs (CkTrng and TRAC). By its very nature EAW offers exploration, confirmation, and certainty. These women wanted more nontraditional role information and to try themselves out in a short program during which they counted on getting more support. Reflective comments included: "Employment Alternatives gave me more options—career and personal"; "it helped me confirm the person I am"; "this course helps women face uncertainty and expectations about trades." CkTrng and TRAC stressed only theory and skills. It was assumed enrollees had resolved any uncertainty about career orientations and were directing their efforts toward instrumental and intrinsic means of matching personal and career interests to labor market possibilities.

EAW exposed students to occupational socialization through a variety of experiences: practicing role models, women-in-trade films, guest speakers, shop tours, and work experiences. CkTrng and TRAC exposed participants to occupational socialization through work experience only (discounting theory and skill content). Interviewees in EAW reported specific factors influencing their school-to-work expectations; CkTrng and TRAC students referred only to occupational socializing factors in general, nebulous terms. It would seem that explicit occupational socialization was an important factor in the transition to a work role.

Implications

It appears that there are three types of females for whom implications of this study are relevant. The first type are those women who have already made a nontraditional career choice and are enrolled in a preparatory program. These women may still need and want confirmation and certainty of their career choice through interaction with others: students, role models, instructors, counsellors. The second type of female for whom there are implications are those who are still exploring nontraditional career options. These women may be in career exploratory programs or not yet registered but may be seeking...
information regarding options, expectations, and barriers requisite to occupational development. The third type represents those who are yet to be recruited or alerted to nontraditional, nonprofessional careers. This recruitment may occur through educational activities, women's offices (resource centers, counselling offices, government agencies) or through employment and social services offices. Women in this category are usually in various stages of career and personal awareness and have ventured beyond the home or current work environment to examine their lives in a broader or different perspective.

For these categories of women, there are specific policy, institutional, and professional implications. The two senior levels of government—federal and provincial—have a responsibility for funding and policy interventions. In Canada at the present there are both federal and provincial initiatives which emphasize nontraditional career and nontraditional career preparation programs for females. But occupational and educational equity are impossible without adequate funding, which is as yet unavailable. Institutions have a responsibility to support and maintain services which assist women interested in nontraditional careers. To this end there could be a women's office and/or women's program at each postsecondary institution; services now vary from institution to institution. Those professionals and practitioners working with these women have a responsibility to be informed and enlightened about women's issues and governmental and institutional policies which affect the women.

The implications for adult education research involve the paucity of research of women's nontraditional, nonprofessional career development. Considering the embryonic state of knowledge concerning these women, the most appropriate suggestion is to develop and test a theory which would explain occupational socialization for women. Theoretical research should build upon the identified psychosocial correlates of career development within formal learning environments. Empirical research should focus on instrument precision to establish construct validity. More qualitative data could be gathered. And future research should continue to build on the data bank of demographic, personality, and environmental factors influencing nontraditional, nonprofessional occupational role identification and career commitment.

Policy development and implementation which facilitates and fosters occupational socialization for these women could be examined more closely for effectiveness, e.g., recruitment, selection, and placement policies. Also, the curricula of most occupational preparation programs could be expanded to include greater attention to the affective aspects of occupational socialization. This has implications
for instructional and support staff who may need or want information regarding female career development.

These implications seem to suggest that these concerns go beyond the simple provision of educational intervention aimed at preparing women for entry into nontraditional occupations. What remains to be seen are the types or approaches and levels of intensity of occupational socialization efforts which can effectively and efficiently respond to the special needs of women pursuing and preparing for nontraditional careers.

**Summary**

Occupational socialization concerns the rights and duties associated with a particular position in society as expressed in behavioral, attitudinal, or cognitive expectations. Occupational expectations thus relate to competence, performance, and values. An understanding of the cognitive and psychomotor factors of occupations can be easily assessed. The development of affective socialization—how one acquires the attitudes, values, and beliefs of an occupational role identity—is not so readily assessed. Socialization is a lifelong process, and career development is but one part of a continuing process of learning occupational norms, expectations, and behaviors.

Government decisions regarding subsidies and policies influence the decisions of individuals, of educational institutions, and of employers—and hence affect both the supply of educated and trained labor and the demand for its services. Students in postsecondary career preparation programs may have already acquired (or be in the process of acquiring) the requisite behaviors, skills, and attitudes through prior self-selection and socialization. But for those who are uncertain of their competence or unaware of occupational options and expectations—especially of a nontraditional nature—the appropriate intervention strategies may lie in career exploratory programs which address the affective components of occupational role identification.
Reference Notes

11. Thomas, op. cit
12. Ibid.
force, Part III. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.


20. Thomas, *et. al., op. cit.*