

ORGANIZATIONAL DETERMINANTS OF THE USE OF SEX
IN HIRING DECISIONS: A CASE STUDY

by

L. DIANE LINDGREN ERICKSON
B.A., YorkkUniversity, 1969

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department
of
Anthropology and Sociology

We accept this thesis as conforming to the
required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

March, 1974

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study.

I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Anthropology and Sociology

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver 8, Canada

Date March 20, 1977

ABSTRACT

The lack of sexual discrimination in hiring employees has been observed to be a function of organizational policies with respect to discrimination, the degree to which policies are communicated to members and adhered to by senior members, and the bureaucratization of hiring decisions. When the organization does not establish both a commitment to equal employment opportunities for women and men and the procedures to carry out that commitment, individual bias and beliefs about sex and work performance are used in selection. These beliefs pertain to the relation between the sex of the employee and job qualifications and the differential work performance of men and women workers. These beliefs, when systematically examined, however, are not supported empirically.

An in-depth study of hiring practices was conducted in one organization, utilizing a number of research techniques. Demographic data for the labour force as a whole and descriptive statistical data for the organization studied were utilized to demonstrate the degree and persistence of the sex-segregation of occupations. Formal documents, records and policies of the organization pertaining to hiring were examined, and following a one month period of observation in the Personnel Office, loosely structured interviews were conducted with the Personnel officers. Then, to permit a more detailed examination of hiring practices, interviews were conducted with supervisors hiring employees for a sample of twenty-four positions.

It was found that the organization does not have explicit policies against discrimination and that there are no written procedures governing the communication of job openings to applicants. Further, the procedures for selecting among applicants were demonstrated to be inadequate to insure

unbiased selection. The lack of developed policies and procedures was attributed in part to the work load of the Personnel Office, the distribution of responsibility and authority for hiring in the organization, and the consequent decentralization of decision-making. In lieu of formal, standardized procedures for recruitment and selection, informal and sex-biased standards have developed. The differential communication of job openings to female and male applicants reflects the sex-typing of jobs in the organization. Job requirements and selection criteria are primarily defined by supervisors in individual departments and routinely include the specification of the sex of acceptable applicants. This specification is demonstrated to be based on contradictory and untested beliefs about the differential capabilities of women and men workers.

Some limitations of the research project and suggestions for future research are discussed. The implications of these findings for a restructuring of the hiring process to restrict the use of sex are also discussed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ABSTRACT	i
LIST OF TABLES	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
CHAPTER ONE: THE SEX-SEGREGATION OF OCCUPATIONS	1
Introduction	1
The Sex-Segregation of Occupations	1
Work Roles and Sex Roles	3
Aims of the Study	5
Organizational Determinants of Behaviour and Discriminatory Hiring Practices	7
Organizational Policy	7
The Bureaucratization of Recruitment and Selection Procedures	8
Summary	18
CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY	20
Scope of the Investigation	20
Data Collection	21
The Sample	22
Collecting the Data for Each Position	24
CHAPTER THREE: THE PROCESS OF RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION: A GENERAL OUTLINE	28
Sources of Recruits	28
Selection Procedures	30
The Resultant Distribution of Women and Men in the Organization	31

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

	<u>Page</u>
The Hiring Process: Dimensions of Analysis	32
CHAPTER FOUR: THE FORMAL STRUCTURE OF THE RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION PROCESS	34
Formal Procedures for the Selection of Employees	34
Limitations on the Bureaucratization of the Hiring Process	38
Constraints of Work Load	38
The Distribution of Responsibility and Authority in Hiring	38
Summary	46
CHAPTER FIVE: THE INFORMAL ORGANIZATION OF THE HIRING PROCESS AND THE SEX-SEGREGATION OF OCCUPATIONS	47
Assumptions About How Hiring Should be Conducted	47
The Context of Hiring: Division of Labour in the Personnel Department	48
The Communication of Job Openings to Applicants	50
Advertising	51
Informal Recruitment	52
Resource Files	53
General Enquiries	54
The Definition of Job Requirements and Selection Criteria	55
Beliefs About the Relevance of Sex in Selection	58
Characteristics Relating to Work Performance	59
Characteristics Not Relating to Work Performance	66
Summary	67

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

	<u>Page</u>
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS	69
Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research	73
Recommendations for Changing the Hiring Process	75
Policies	75
Procedures	76
Power	79
BIBLIOGRAPHY	81

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
Table 1. Employed Labour Force in Selected Occupational Categories by Sex, Women as a Percentage of the Total Labour Force, and the Percentage Distribution of Women by Occupation, Canada, 1971.	2
Table 2. Association of Sex of Recruiter, Sex of Applicants and Advertising, by Position.	49
Table 3. Beliefs about Women Workers.	59

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank foremost, all the members of the Personnel Department who, through their interest and cooperation, not only made the research possible but also made it a rewarding experience. This appreciation must also be extended to the supervisors in the organization who participated in sometimes lengthy interviews. My thanks are also extended to my supervisor, Dr. G. Gray, both for his support for the project and his criticisms of successive drafts, and to Dr. H. Jacobson and Dr. P. Marchak. I would also like to acknowledge the financial support for the final stages of the thesis received from the Graduate Fellowship Fund. Finally I would like to express my appreciation to Paul Erickson for his helpful comments, assistance in typing the final draft, and particularly for his willingness to adjust his career plans to enable me to fulfill my own.

CHAPTER ONE

THE SEX-SEGREGATION OF OCCUPATIONS

INTRODUCTION

This study arose out of an interest in the participation of women in the labour force and a concern with the limitations which are placed on that participation. These limitations take the form of restrictions both on the kind of work that women do and on the rewards assigned to that work. A major feature of women's participation in work is the concentration of women in a small number of occupations, in which the majority of workers are female.

The Sex-Segregation of Occupations

To the extent that women and men do not occupy many of the same jobs, they may be seen as operating in two largely non-competitive labour forces (Oppenheimer, 1970: 64). Support for this observation can be found in other studies and analyses of census data (Fuchs, 1971: 14; Smith, 1961: 39; Meltz, 1966; Labour Canada, 1972). In Canada in 1971, over half of the female labour force was employed in two occupational categories, clerical and service and recreation, and these occupations were over 60% female¹ (Table 1). The use of labour force statistics underestimates this pattern due to the aggregation of a number of occupations in one occupational category. For example, in the category "service and recreation" women workers

1. See Labour Canada, 1972: 32 for an explanation of the calculation of the Labour Force and the selection of occupations for inclusion in Table 1.

Table 1. Employed Labour Force in Selected Occupational Categories by Sex, Women as a Percentage of the Total Employed Labour Force, and the Percentage Distribution of Women by Occupation, Canada, 1971

Occupation	Women N '000	Men N '000	Women as a per- centage of the total labour force in each occupation	Percentage distribution of women
Managerial	106	693	13.4	3.9
Professional and Technical	470	673	41.1	17.5
Clerical	878	339	72.1	32.7
Sales	223	350	38.9	8.3
Service and Recreation	599	397	60.1	22.3
Communication	34	36	48.6	1.3
Farmers and Farm Workers	66	447	12.9	2.5
Craft, Production and Related Workers	275	1670	14.1	10.2
Labourers and Unskilled Workers	28	322	8.0	1.0
All Occupational Categories	2687	5392	33.3	100.0

Source: Labour Canada, 1972: Table 14.

are concentrated in a few occupations such as waitress, practical nurse, cleaner, cook and hairdresser (Meltz, 1966: Table 9). While 41% of professional and technical employees in 1971 were female, within that category 75% of the total teaching and nursing profession is comprised of women. Only an estimated 24% of women in the professional and technical category were employed in other areas (Labour Canada, 1972: 28).

While direct comparisons with labour statistics from other countries are not feasible due to different methods of aggregating occupations, the U.S. statistics indicate a similar pattern as that described above. In 1960 in the U.S., women made up 33% of the labour force, with approximately

59% of the women workers in occupations which were 70% or more female (Oppenheimer, 1970: 75).

This sex-segregation of occupations has persisted over time. Even though the percentage of female workers increased rapidly in some occupations in both Canada and the U.S., "those occupations which were predominantly female in 1900 were also predominantly female in 1950...the data provide us with considerable evidence of a rather remarkable stability in the definition of those occupations which are "female occupations"" (Oppenheimer, 1970: 76-77).

Where changes in the sex composition of occupations have been observed, they have followed a pattern of invasion and succession on the part of women. Where women enter previously 'male' fields, there is a tendency for the occupation to become predominantly female. Where men enter a 'female' field however, the occupation remains predominantly female with the men moving into the top positions. Thus, "male occupations have become more segregative, or resistant to female entry, whereas female occupations have become less segregative, or more permissive...about including males" (Gross; 1968: 205).

Work Roles and Sex Roles

An examination of these female occupational fields reveals that the limited work roles which women occupy are most commonly defined in terms of sex roles. 'Women's work' both in the home and the labour force is predominantly of a service and supportive nature. This can be observed in the jobs which women most commonly hold: teacher, nurse, waitress, cleaner, cook, clerk and secretary. In keeping with the low status of women in our

society, the economic rewards for this work are low. The opposition which one researcher found among employers to women occupying high status or high salaried jobs however, was absent for those jobs "in which the woman incumbent played the traditional role of helpmate to a male VIP" (Smith, 1961: 40).

These observations about the nature of women's participation in work can be seen as problematic if one is concerned with the status of women in society, or the principle of equality of opportunity for women and men in occupational choices. The concentration of women workers in a limited number of low status, low paying jobs reinforces the low status of women in society and, it may be argued, represents a restriction of the opportunity for women to work at jobs other than those traditionally defined as 'female'. This latter consideration is becoming increasingly important as more women are seeking to transcend restrictive sex roles.

The question then arises, is this distribution of female and male workers, which can be demonstrated on an aggregate level, a result of self-selection on the part of individuals, intentional discrimination by employers, or are there features of the process of recruitment of individuals into occupations which systematically select individuals of one sex only?

While the roots of the phenomenon may be in societal attitudes towards women, particularly with regards to work, a focus on discrimination as the product of individual attitudes has only limited utility. Firstly, attitudes are resistant to change; the exercise of prejudice is not significantly affected by the presentation of information contradicting the faulty generalizations which are cited in support of attitudes (Heistand, 1970: 9). Further, a focus on the consequences of attitudes obscures the

effect of the institutional framework within which discrimination takes place. In analysing the expression of racism, Lohman and Reitzes (1952: 240) argue that "in modern mass society individual behaviour is increasingly controlled by deliberately organized collectivities...the individual's racial attitudes are subordinated to and mobilized by definitions of the situation supplied by organizations".

Thus, decisions which affect the opportunity for women to engage in specific types of work occur within work organizations, and the structures of organizations can be shown to affect the expression and inhibition of discriminatory attitudes. Therefore, the focus of this research is on the features of organizations which contribute to the allocation of jobs on the basis of sex through the recruitment and selection process. This does not assume that these features are the only ones responsible for the distribution of men and women workers in the organization. It was not within the scope of the research, however, to isolate and define all of the relevant factors in the maintenance of the sex-segregation of occupations.

Aims of the Study

The research was designed to provide an in-depth account of the process of recruitment and selection in one organization and an analysis of the structural features of the process which systematically bias the selection of employees on the basis of sex. This involves an examination of both the constraints on individual behaviour of the structure and functioning of organizations and the values which have become institutionalized as a result of a particular form of organization. These concerns transect a number of areas of sociology and, while women's studies is a growing field, few

studies of a similar nature have as yet been conducted. Thus, the construction of an explanatory framework consisted of a synthesis of observations from the sociology of sex roles, formal organizations, race relations and social psychology.

In order to obtain information on both individual and organizational levels, and to obtain a more complete accounting of the processes involved in recruitment and selection, a number of research techniques were employed. This involved the analysis of demographic data for the labour force as a whole, descriptive statistical data for the organization studied, formal documents, records, and policies of the organization, as well as interviews with and observation of individuals responsible for recruitment and selection. The data then, was extensive and provided accounts of the process from a number of perspectives. It was not, however, of a sufficiently intensive and precise nature to allow for an accurate test of specific hypotheses, or a determination of the relative weights, in quantitative terms, of the contribution of different factors to the sex-segregation of occupations.

The standards which were used in the analysis to test the relationships relied on the consistency with which a relationship occurs, rather than on a statistical measure of the magnitude of the relationship. Thus, the study is primarily an exploratory one due to the broad scope of the problem, the nature of the data utilized and the lack of developed theories.

ORGANIZATIONAL DETERMINANTS OF BEHAVIOUR
AND DISCRIMINATORY HIRING PRACTICES

The sex-segregation of occupations in organizations cannot be understood simply with reference to the individuals involved in the selection process. While individual prejudice may be used in the selection of employees, organizational properties act as constraints on the use of sex as a relevant criteria in recruitment and selection. It is argued that in order to insure that hiring decisions are non-discriminatory, three conditions must be met: the organization must have explicit policies against discrimination in recruitment and selection which are communicated to its members; these policies must not be contravened in practice by senior members of the organization; and there must be clearly specified rules and procedures for assigning individuals to jobs on the basis of merit. Where these conditions are not met, the use of discriminatory criteria becomes a function of the biases and beliefs of the individuals making the hiring decisions.

Organizational Policy

Explicit organizational policies prohibiting the use of discriminatory selection criteria are a necessary but not sufficient condition to insure non-discriminatory hiring. Policies, to be effective, must be communicated to those responsible for hiring decisions in the organization and must be "made visible in practice, not only on paper" (Kahn et al., 1964: 41). Where individuals are not aware of their organization's anti-discriminatory policies they are more likely to exercise their own prejudicial attitudes (Quinn et al., 1968: 59). However, even if the organiza-

tion's official stand is an egalitarian one, if the policy is not routinely followed by senior members of the organization, the intent of the policies is subverted. Quinn (1968: 78) found that "policy" was interpreted to include "both what was said and what was done by those responsible for its formulation and implementation. The distinction between "written" and "unwritten" policy, although tidy, had very little meaning for those who must put policy into practice." Further, he found that explicit anti-discriminatory policies and programs to combat discrimination were ineffective "in the presence of actions interpreted by managers as indicating that their company was only giving lip-service to equal opportunity" (Quinn et al., 1968: 79).

The Bureaucratization of Recruitment and Selection Procedures

An unbiased allocation of qualified individuals to work roles may be accomplished, in combination with organizational policy, through the bureaucratization of the selection process. The "special virtue" of bureaucratic organization, as described by Weber (1958: 216), is the elimination from consideration of "love, hatred, and all purely personal, irrational, and emotional elements which escape calculation". The bureaucratization of selection decisions entails in part the development of an extensive system of rules and written documents, with clearly defined and quantified standards for selection. In this way, work roles are to be assigned "on the basis of technical qualifications which are ascertained through formalized, impersonal procedures" (Merton, 1949: 151).

Communicating Job Openings to Applicants

The literature on organizational determinants of discriminatory hiring practices has focussed on the necessity of establishing bureaucratic procedures for objectively selecting among applicants. It is also necessary however, that organizational policy and procedures extend to the communication of job openings to applicants.

Differentiation between women and men in hiring is maintained in part by processes which covertly or by definition limit the population from which applicants will be drawn. When a position becomes vacant, clearly not all individuals who are available and qualified to fill the position are seen by the employer. The information systems used by both employers and applicants for positions are influential in restricting the number of candidates considered. While there is some information on how Negroes and whites differ in job hunting practices (Lurie and Rayack, 1966), investigations have not focussed specifically on how men and women differ in this respect.

Recruitment of employees by organizations consists of both formal and informal methods. Newspaper and magazine advertisements, professional agencies and educational institutions are used as sources of recruits. There are obvious biases inherent in utilizing newspapers which have sex-segregated job advertisements, non-professional magazines whose readership consists largely of one sex only, and canvassing private schools for men or women only. These forms of discrimination can be legislated against through organizational procedures.

Informal systems of recruitment also serve to perpetuate the sex-segregation of occupations but are more difficult to control. Employees in-

form friends, colleagues and relatives about job openings, employers utilize professional, collegial and friendship networks as sources of referrals. In this way, factors which influence the formation of social networks, and the biases of other individuals also influence the selection of recruits (Mayhew, 1968: 67; Heistand, 1970: 26; Lurie and Rayack, 1966: 92). Recruitment and advancement in the professions depends greatly on interpersonal ties and establishing a 'sponsor-protége' relationship with an established member of the profession (Epstein, 1970: 966). These relationships have in the past been developed among people of the same sex and the normalization of cross-sex collegial relationships has yet to occur on a wide scale (Epstein, 1970: 977; Caplow, 1965: 237). Entry into the professions, given the present numerical dominance of males in established positions, is therefore, more restricted for women than for men. Thus, the effect of organizational policies and procedures against discrimination will be insufficient to insure non-discrimination where informal channels of recruitment are used.

Establishing Selection Criteria

In order to provide adequate procedures for selection on the basis of merit, the formal standards must detail the qualifications which have been defined as necessary for carrying out work requirements and a procedure for determining whether applicants do or do not possess these qualifications. While some qualifications such as manual skills, work experience or specialized educational achievement, are technical in nature and easily measured, others, such as conceptual skills, supervisory ability, motivation or social skills, are more vague or complex and thus less easily measured.

Where the selection criteria which are to be used as indicators of these qualifications are not clearly specified and procedures are not bureaucratized, hiring decisions are more likely to be determined by individual bias and beliefs about the relevance of personal characteristics of applicants for work performance (Dalton, 1951: 414; Coates and Pellegrin, 1957: 215; Kahn et al., 1964: 4; Mayhew, 1968: 69).

In these cases, a wide range of personal characteristics have been used as indicators of potential work performance. Social characteristics - sex, race, religion, nationality, ethnicity and social standing - have been shown to be crucial in the selection and promotion of individuals for a range of positions, but particularly on a managerial or executive level (Dalton, 1951; Beattie and Spencer, 1971; Bowman, 1964, 1965; Coates and Pellegrin, 1957; Powell, 1963). Other characteristics which play a significant role in the selection and promotion of individuals are: political affiliation, participation in selected off-the-job recreational activities or membership in particular organizations, informal friendships with superiors, and the acquisition of the attitudes, values and behaviour patterns of superiors (Dalton, 1951; Coates and Pellegrin, 1957; Powell, 1963).

The use of these criteria is not simply a reflection of prejudice on the part of individuals responsible for recruitment and selection, but is a response to the need to make decisions on the basis of inadequate information. The use of these criteria is, in addition, regarded as justifiable as they are believed to be relevant for evaluating potential work performance. Rationality in selection is redefined to include not simply

objective measures of ability but also beliefs about the relationship of social factors to work performance.

Expectations about work performance are linked with personal characteristics by means of social processes - either these meanings are part of a corpus of societal values or beliefs or they are derived from the perceived attitudinal or behavioural norms of the immediate social environment: the community, the organization and its clients (Kahn et al., 1964: 44; Quinn et al., 1968: 36).

The use of sex as a selection criteria may be understood in this context: where hiring decisions are not bureaucratized, individual bias or beliefs about the relevance of sex in predicting work performance are used as bases for hiring decisions. Further, an examination of tests of these beliefs reveals that, contrary to accepted social definitions, they are not based on observed differences in ability between women and men workers.

Sex as a Selection Criteria

Sex, unlike most social factors, is consistently reported to be an important selection criteria. In terms of the number of workers affected, sex is the most consistent example of the use of personal characteristics in job allocation. While the use of sex in selection restricts the occupational choices of both women and men, these restrictions are more severe for women, given the limited number and low status of the jobs which they presently hold.

The beliefs which are advanced as rationalizations for the use of sex as a selection criteria relate the sex of employees to potential work

performance. Women are sometimes characterized as having greater manual dexterity than men (Oppenheimer, 1970: 103); being temperamentally or biologically unfit for jobs requiring managerial responsibility (Bowman et al., 1965: 20, 28) or those requiring physical exertion. In this way, sex is related directly to formal job requirements.

Sex is also seen to be related in more indirect ways to job performance. It is assumed that there is a potential loss of business or productivity where clients, customers or co-workers would object to dealing with women in certain occupational roles. The primary objection to women workers is voiced about women in supervisory roles. Having women in supervisory capacities is believed to be unacceptable to superiors, colleagues and subordinates, whether they be male or female (Bowman et al., 1965; Oppenheimer, 1970: 107; Powell, 1963; Wilensky, 1968). This belief may be based in part on the norms which govern male-female interacting in general. Caplow (1965: 237-38) suggests that "the attitudes which govern interpersonal relationships in our culture sanction only a few working relationships between men and women" and that there is a general expectation that "intimate groups, except those based on family or sexual ties, should be composed of either sex but never of both". Where work groups are mixed, the beliefs that "women should not be in authority over men of roughly the same social class and age" (Wilensky, 1968: 241) and that women should not "initiate" action for men (Caplow, 1965: 241) support the opposition to women supervising male subordinates. Thus the traditional norms which govern male-female interaction influence the definition of suitable occupational roles. The costs attributed to hiring women are also interpreted to

include the high turnover and absenteeism rate of females and their residential immobility.

Characteristics of women which result from the family roles they perform are also believed to be important for work performance. Women have customarily been assigned the task of child-rearing and there has been little support on the part of the state or community in sharing its major burdens. Since the working life of women is more likely than that of men to involve some discontinuities, the structuring of work which incorporates only minimal provisions for maternity leave and values full-time continuous participation in work, disproportionately penalizes women workers in our society.

The development of the structuring of work activity took place over a period of time when the employed labour force consisted almost entirely of men, and to a lesser degree, of single women. (See Meltz, 1966; Ostry, 1966, 1968; Spencer and Featherstone, 1970, for a discussion of the changing patterns of female labour force participation in Canada.) Thus the needs and characteristics of workers from those populations became part of the assumptions and expectations which underly the design of the operation of work organizations. When the work activities of married women were confined to the home, in order to provide enough income to support a family, male workers had to work full-time and this work activity covered the major portion of their lives. In this way, it came to be assumed and considered essential that workers would be full-time employees, have continuous work histories and give priority to work demands over family responsibilities.

Archibald (1970: 118) outlined three major consequences of the federal government employment structure which favours full-time employees: "(1) other types of employees do not receive equal treatment; (2) built-in complications and confusions discourage use of other types of employees, even when this would be of advantage to the government; and (3) employment opportunities for women with family responsibilities are more limited than need be". The use of part-time employees is not widespread. Ginzberg (1968: 202) states that "only the most alert corporation has recognized the advantages of a part-time training program as a way of attracting able women back into employment" and that businesses "are usually unwilling to make even modest adjustments in hours, vacations, and other scheduling to attract able women."

Similarly, many women return to work after having children. There are however, few institutionalized channels through which they can be re-trained and gain re-entry into the labour force at a level commensurate with their skills. Advancement which relies heavily on the accumulation of seniority will favour men over women.

The Relevance of Sex for Predicting Work Performance: The Evidence

Many of the traditional assumptions both about the relevance of sex roles for work performance and the relationship of sex to work requirements do not appear to be based on empirical evidence.

The argument that women are poor occupational risks because they will quit their jobs is not supported by analyses of turnover rates. In a study of the U.S. Federal Public Service, women were shown to have a consistently higher turnover rate than men by grade of occupation, occupation, and

age group. However, "the most significant finding was that the greatest variances in turnover rates occur between different age groups, occupations, and grade levels, rather than between the sexes" (Harrison, 1964: 82).

Similarly, Archibald (1970) notes that women in the Canadian Public Service are younger, lower paid and concentrated in occupations with little opportunities for advancement, factors which in themselves are related to turnover. While the turnover rate for women on the whole then, was found to be higher than for men, "female terminees are three times more likely to return to the service than male terminees. The combined effect (of this and other factors) leads to women in the service having almost the same number of years of in-service experience as men" (Archibald, 1970: 95).

Similarly, data on absenteeism refutes employers' contentions that women workers are less reliable in terms of reporting for work. Statistics from a U.S. Public Service survey and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company show practically no difference in days off work due to illness between men and women (Archibald: 41). Similar data from the Canadian Public Service indicate that women on the average use only 1.24 days per year more leave (i.e., total of sick leave, casual and special leave) than men (Archibald, 1970: 42).

While there is evidence to support the belief that males are preferred in supervisory positions, there is also strong evidence to show that experience with women in such positions decreases prejudice against women supervisors. Bowman et al. (1965: 166) report that "those who report such personal experience are more likely to be strongly favourable to the idea of women in management than are their colleagues lacking such experience". This

relationship between experience with women in a supervisory or collegial capacity and positive opinions about women workers is also supported by Harrison (1964: 83) and Archibald (1970: 46). These three studies also show women to be consistently more supportive of the idea of women in managerial positions than are men. While these findings do not suggest that there are no costs involved in placing females in traditionally male occupations, they do suggest that the long run effect would be to decrease opposition to women managers and thus decrease the strains involved.

A more fundamental challenge to beliefs about the relation between sex and task performance is the contradictory nature of the sex-typing of jobs. What is labelled a 'man's job' in one locality is a 'woman's job' in another. One of the most obvious examples of this is the domination of medical practice in North America by men and in the U.S.S.R. by women. The common denominator in the sexual division of labour may be the principle that "whatever the strictly male tasks are, they are defined as more honorific" (Goode, 1964: 70). Thus medicine in the U.S.S.R. is not accorded the prestige it receives in Canada and the U.S., except for the top posts which are still held by men.

It is also apparent that there is no necessary relation between the structuring of work activity which relies on full-time continuous work performance and optimum work performance. The re-structuring of work activity to better suit the needs of women workers or men who wish to participate more fully in child-rearing, does not necessarily mean a loss of performance for the organization for all types of jobs. Where the time required for acquiring skills is relatively short, where performance of tasks remains substantially the same over time, it may be argued that there is no real

advantage to full-time work or continuous work histories. In addition, where work tasks are repetitive, the use of part-time workers may give improved work performance. Even where tasks are not repetitive, other features of work activity could be altered to allow for the participation of women without loss of performance. Wilensky (1968: 241) suggests that the reason men dominate medical practice in North America and women dominate the profession in the U.S.S.R., is not attributable to the different state ideologies but rather to the way in which medical practice is socially structured: "medicine in the Soviet Union is public not private, group not solo, and entry is controlled by the state, which can enforce anti-discrimination policies". Thus medical practice, and by inference a range of other occupations, could be structured to allow for the different needs of women workers and still accomplish the work goals of the occupation.

SUMMARY

The use of sex as a basis for job allocation is facilitated by a lack of explicit and clearly instituted policies against discrimination, a lack of clearly defined and quantified standards for selection and differential recruitment processes. Where the organization does not establish both a commitment to equal employment opportunities for women and men and the procedures to carry out that commitment, individual bias and beliefs about the sex of applicants are likely to be used in selection. Some work skills and thus the ability to perform work tasks have come to be associated with either female or male sex statuses. It has been postulated and tested in part that this connection is largely based on social definitions of the meaning of sex and not on empirical differences between men and women workers.

In addition, it has been argued that characteristics which are sex-linked as a result of sex roles are not necessarily related to work performance.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

It was expected that a study of this nature would meet with considerable opposition. An exploratory contact with the social research branch of a large business firm in the city confirmed this view. The organization where the study was conducted was chosen for a number of reasons. As an educational institution, it was expected that there would be support for academic research. In addition, a statistical survey and report had been recently published on the status of women in the institution, giving valuable background data. The Personnel Office, which is responsible for the "recruitment, selection and appointment of staff for all departments", (Annual Report, 1972-73: 2) was selected as the focus for the study.

In order to gain permission to conduct the study, meetings were held with the chairmen of two administrative committees formed to examine the implications of the status of women report and finally with the Assistant Director of Personnel. In each case, interest and enthusiasm were shown in the proposal. A concern was evident, however, that the research be undertaken within an objective framework, and that the researcher was not simply entering the field to prove that discrimination against women was epidemic in the institution. Assurances were offered that these conditions would in fact be met and that the research had academic legitimacy.

SCOPE OF THE INVESTIGATION

The job allocation process consists of three stages: initial recruiting of candidates for positions, the screening of those candidates to

provide a more selective list of candidates and the final selection of the successful applicant. Sources of influence on this process go beyond the policies and procedures of the Personnel Office. Educational institutions in the community, a federal employment bureau and a student referral service are used as resources in the recruitment process. The extent to which these agencies differentiate between men and women in their training and referral functions will be reflected in the distribution of men and women in the first stage. After the study had been initiated, it was discovered that the Personnel Office is not actively involved in the selection of all employees. There are areas of employment which are conducted entirely by the departments and some areas in which the responsibility is shared. As an investigation of the policies and procedures of the sources of recruits mentioned above would constitute major studies in themselves, and as the proportion of employees who are hired without going through Personnel was estimated as relatively small, these areas were defined as outside the scope of the study.

DATA COLLECTION

Demographic data for the labour force as a whole and descriptive statistical data for the organization studied were utilized to demonstrate the degree and persistence of the sex segregation of occupations. Information on the formal structure of the process of recruitment and selection was contained in the Personnel Department's Annual Report, the policy and procedure manual, and in formal descriptions of the jobs in the organization, including those for the Personnel recruiters.

In addition, the advertising records and appointment records were examined for a three month period: two months preceding the study and the first month of the study.

On the basis of this examination, a number of dimensions were outlined which formed the basis for the interviews with each of the recruiters. The interviews were designed to allow a comparison of their jobs and description of the process of recruitment and selection with the formal picture I had constructed, to determine the extent to which written guidelines were made use of in the course of their work, the criteria they felt were important in evaluating applicants for positions, and how advertising decisions were made. These interviews with the recruiters were loosely structured and ranged from approximately half an hour to an hour in length. The combination of information from a month of observation and questioning and the recruiter interviews provided the basis for the selection of a sample of positions to be examined as they were filled, for the next stage of the project.

The Sample

The sample of positions to be studied in detail was selected during a one week period. The recruiters kept a list of positions which were phoned in to them each day of that week. The restrictions on the eligibility of positions for selection are described below. The sample of eligible positions was selected from each list using a table of random numbers. Because of the large number of job openings, one-third of the positions were selected for analysis. The resultant sample consisted of fourteen clerical, secretarial and library positions, two technical or research positions and eight professional or supervisory positions. In the latter category, there

were four trades, technical or maintenance, two office administration and two computing positions.

Seasonal variation in the demands for particular skills, and seasonal and economic cycles which affect the supply of labour, may have affected the distribution of the kinds of jobs open in the week chosen as the sampling period. A complete comparison of the distribution of jobs open in other time periods is not feasible as all vacant positions do not appear on the weekly job postings.

Two categories of clerical positions were excluded from selection: temporary clerical and secretarial work, and library assistants. The temporary clerical and secretarial jobs were on the average, of two weeks duration. While the skills required are similar for temporary and permanent work, the importance of the temporary workers for the operation of the departments is much more limited. Therefore, these positions are most commonly filled by the first person referred by Personnel. In addition, no files are kept by the recruiters on these positions. For these reasons, the sampling of clerical and secretarial positions was restricted to permanent ones.

As there were approximately fifty permanent clerical and secretarial job openings in the sampling period, a decision was made to further limit the selection of these positions by eliminating library assistants from consideration. The organization of the library staff is unique in the organization. There is an individual on the library faculty who is responsible for staff recruitment, initial interviewing, and referral of applicants to individual departments in the library. There are, in addition, an active staff association, a staff manual, and an established grievance

procedure which does not go through the Personnel Department. It was felt that a small sample from this group would not present sufficient opportunity to analyse the effect of these differences and would provide too large a range of clerical positions. After the sample of positions had been selected and the interviewing of supervisors had begun, it was discovered that the job descriptions for library positions were substantially more detailed than for most positions. Thus, a more desirable alternative would have been to have over-sampled this group and contrasted the hiring procedures within the library with those in the rest of the organization. Two non-clerical library positions were not excluded from the sample but were insufficient to form any conclusions in this regard.

As the jobs were selected from lists provided by each recruiter, one job category was over-represented. While professional and supervisory jobs are primarily handled by one recruiter, three others also fill these positions. Therefore, professional and supervisory positions had a greater probability of being selected than positions which were filled by only one recruiter. Few technical positions were covered as two of these jobs had already been filled by the supervisors and listing the positions with recruiters was simply a formality. One other technical position was listed but no decision was being made pending a decision on reclassification of the job.

Collecting the Data for Each Position

For each position chosen, a record was maintained of the advertising used, the formal job descriptions available and whether they were used, major job tasks, the education and experience required of applicants, and the informal comments by the supervisors about their preferences which were

given over the phone to the recruiters. Information was also recorded for each applicant for each position - their sex, age, marital status, number of dependents, education, work experience, special skills, how they heard about the job opening, and the recruiter's comments written on their application forms.

As individuals were hired, letters were sent to the supervisors in the departments who were responsible for the final interviewing and hiring. The interviews in the departments began two months after the initiation of the study. Of the 23 interviews requested, only one was not completed.

The interviews in the departments were loosely structured, and varied in length from twenty minutes to one and a half hours, with the average time being fifty minutes. I began by outlining in general terms, what the project was about; that I had been observing the procedures which were used in Personnel and I was now interested in the criteria which were used in the departments to select among the applicants who were referred. I did not refer to my focus on the differentiation between women and men applicants at this time. I wanted to make clear that I was not working for the Personnel Office, as I felt this would constrain the responses I would obtain. This very general introduction proved satisfactory in all but one case, where the respondent wished more detailed information and requested to see a copy of the completed thesis.

Following this introduction, the respondents were asked, "could you describe the position and the kind of person you were looking for?". For the remainder of the interview I tried to discuss the following dimensions without using direct probes: the characteristics and qualifications

the respondent considered important for the job, how the respondent judged the presence or absence of these characteristics; the main duties of the position; the opportunities for advancement; a preference for either a male or a female in this position and reasons for a preference; opinions on the capabilities of men and women in general; and finally, the degree of satisfaction with present methods of recruiting employees.

In a number of cases, the most informative part of the interview took place after the 'interview' had officially ended. At this time more personal examples of situations the respondent had dealt with and opinions on women were expressed. These comments were recorded, to the best of my ability to recall, immediately after the interview.

Throughout the study, field notes were kept both of personal observations and interpretations of behaviour, and the substance of conversations between myself and members of the department or among members of the department. Where possible, the actual text of the conversation was recorded.

As the procedures and records for recruiting and hiring are not entirely standardized, complete and comparable information for all positions and applicants was not obtainable. In addition, a possible source of variation in the processing of men and women, the job interview, was not examined. There were then, omissions and a degree of lack of standardization in the data collection. While it could not be directly tested, it was felt that these features of the study limited only the amount of information gathered and did not systematically bias the conclusions which would be drawn from the data.

The analysis of the interviews with supervisors in departments does not represent the response of the whole sample on all dimensions, as the

respondents did not answer a set number of questions. For example, all respondents were asked whether they were satisfied with the present method of recruiting employees. A few people, in answering this question, mentioned that they recruited candidates outside of Personnel procedures. Others mentioned this when discussing individual applicants whom they had seen but for whom I had no information as they had not been screened by Personnel. However, as the respondents were not systematically asked if they recruited applicants outside of the Personnel Department, the responses on this dimension do not represent the actual proportion of supervisors who do so.

The social relationships which were formed in the course of the project also influenced the research. On the one hand, as I became acceptable to the members of the department, they became more freely accessible for questioning as well as less guarded in their responses. On the other hand, a system of mutual obligations arose out of this lessening of distance. I felt that the cooperation in giving information was not simply an obligation to do so, but also involved a friendly interest. This in turn made me feel bound by the norms of friendship, not simply to doing a thorough job of investigation. These obligations were in some respects conflicting, in that I became more reluctant to record negative aspects of the way in which the process was organized and carried out by these individuals. This strain was felt, but recognized, and hopefully has not unduly influenced the analysis which is presented in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PROCESS OF RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION: A GENERAL OUTLINE

The Personnel Office in the organization has fourteen staff members. Two are primarily concerned with labour relations and administration, four have recruitment and selection of employees as their main duties, while one other individual whose major function is job analysis, assists with recruitment. While two of the seven clerical and secretarial staff members are responsible for answering enquiries about employment on the phone and at the Personnel counter, the others relieve in this capacity as required.

SOURCES OF RECRUITS

Initial contact with applicants is made through both formal channels - advertisements, referral agencies, educational institutions - and informal ones. In addition, applicants contact the organization on their own initiative, apart from these channels.

The use of newspaper advertisements varies by the type of job, supply of recruits available through other channels, the time period within which a replacement needs to be found, and budgetary considerations. Advertisements are most commonly used for professional and supervisory and specialized technical positions. Advertisements for higher level professional and supervisory jobs may be placed on a national level. Because of the cost involved, other methods of recruitment are usually utilized before advertising. Of the 24 positions studied, 12 were advertised and of these, seven were in the professional and supervisory classification.

Canada Manpower was contacted largely for lower level technical, trades, service and maintenance positions. Past experience, both positive

and negative, was cited as the basis for the decision to contact Manpower for particular positions.

Technical and vocational colleges were used for a limited range of positions. Contact was initiated on different occasions by both the colleges and the Personnel Department. Supervisors in the departments also contacted both Manpower and technical colleges on their own. Institutions for the handicapped also contacted the Personnel Department about employment opportunities for their students. Thus, contact with applicants outside the organization is made through a number of channels.

Applicants for some positions are also recruited from within the organization as weekly lists of vacancies are circulated or "posted" in the departments. These postings are comprised mainly of openings for permanent jobs.

When a position becomes open, recruiters also consult 'resource files' of applications. These files contain applications of individuals who have applied at a time when no suitable positions were available, or who were not successful in competing for a job. Approximately one-quarter of the supervisors also have resource files of applications of those people who have written to or come to see them directly.

More informal and less systematic channels of recruitment are also used. Supervisors contact managers in their field for possible recruits and references. Employees refer friends and relatives as well as colleagues from former places of employment.

Applicants also contact the Personnel Department apart from these channels. Individuals apply to the organization in person or by phone and enquire generally about the possibility of employment or consult the postings

for suitable positions. Individuals also contact the departments directly where there are vacancies. Almost half of the supervisors interviewed indicated that candidates contacted them in this manner. While most supervisors will interview and consider individuals who do not first apply to the Personnel Office, others will not.

SELECTION PROCEDURES

The selection procedures vary by whether the application is in the form of a general enquiry about employment or an application for a specific position, and the type of position for which applied. The involvement of the clerical staff in the Personnel Office is greatest when handling general requests for information by potential applicants. Members of the clerical staff will enquire about the applicant's work history and qualifications. They will then present the current employment opportunities they judge to be suitable for the applicant. For applications to specific positions they may simply check that applicants meet the minimum requirements specified for that position.

The application forms for continuing employment are more detailed than those for temporary work. Both forms however, require information on an applicant's sex, marital status, age, number of dependents and their relationship to the applicant.

Applicants for lower level, non-clerical positions may be interviewed briefly before being asked to fill out an application form. These are used to determine whether or not their background and skills are suitable for positions within the organization.

Applicants for clerical work are required to fill out an application form and take clerical aptitude and typing tests. The clerical aptitude

tests evaluate office vocabulary, mathematics, and filing accuracy and speed. If the applicants' test scores are acceptable, they are then interviewed and evaluated as to the level of clerical or secretarial position for which they are qualified. They are then referred to supervisors in a number of departments. The recruiters may check the applicants' references at this time. If no suitable positions are open, or if the applicants are not hired for any of the positions for which they have competed, their applications are put on file according to the level at which they were classified. The testing and interview procedure take approximately two hours to complete.

For positions other than clerical, the recruiters may screen the applications and/or resumes for each position, either independently or with the supervisor. They will arrange interviews and check the references of those judged to be most qualified. Applicants may be interviewed both in Personnel and in the department or have a joint interview with a Personnel recruiter and department representative(s).

A range of procedures are used by the supervisors. The majority of supervisors interviewed required the applicants to submit a resume or fill out a short application form in the department; four of these also checked the references of applicants they were seriously considering for the position. In ten of the 24 positions filled, the interview in the department involved only the supervisor. In the remainder however, the people with whom the applicant would work, the incumbent in the position and/or one or more levels of supervisory staff were also included.

THE RESULTANT DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN AND MEN IN THE ORGANIZATION

The hiring process in the organization does not result in a random distribution of females and males among the types of jobs in the organization.

Women form 59% of the total staff of the organization, but like women in the overall labour force, are concentrated in a few job categories. Sixty-eight percent of the female staff are either clerks, secretaries or food service workers. Only 5% of the male staff fill any of these positions. Conversely, while 75% of the men are either technicians or in the physical plant department, only 19% of the women are in those categories. A more detailed examination of the appointments of continuing staff for a three month period showed much the same pattern. The stenographers, clerks, key-punchers and MTST operators appointed were all female. Of the 24 library assistants appointed, one was male. Computer operators and programmers (n=10) and all other professional and supervisory staff (n=4) excluding nurses, were male. Similarly, for the sample of 24 positions studied, only three of the supervisors interviewed were females. If this is representative of the proportion of women in supervisory positions, then most hiring decisions in the organization are made by males. All tradesmen - service workers, ice makers, patrolmen, kiosk attendants, gardeners, electricians and carpenters - were male. Men and women were more evenly represented as research assistants and technicians: of the 94 appointments in these categories, 44% were female. Thus the selection process which is used results in a definite sex bias in hiring. It is the task of the remainder of the thesis to examine how this is accomplished with particular reference to the organizational determinants of the use of sex in the hiring process.

THE HIRING PROCESS: DIMENSIONS OF ANALYSIS

Chapter Four investigates those features of the formal organization of the process which affect the distribution of female and male employees. An analysis is presented of the policies of the organization with

regard to discrimination and the formal procedures for the recruitment and selection of employees. It is argued that the formal structure of the hiring process neither prohibits discrimination nor does it provide adequate bases for unbiased decision-making. Other features of the organization which affect the formulation and enforcement of policies and procedures are also discussed.

The informal procedures which have developed for communicating job openings to applicants and for defining job requirements and selection criteria, and the sex-bias which results are discussed in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FORMAL STRUCTURE OF THE RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION PROCESS

It has been argued that the clarity and communication of policies and procedures are important in determining the use of sex in the selection process. In the organization studied, there are no explicit policies prohibiting discrimination in hiring; nor are there written procedures governing the communication of job openings to applicants. The organization's "policies" therefore, will be communicated to its members and to job applicants by the extent to which discriminatory practices are permitted.

FORMAL PROCEDURES FOR THE SELECTION OF EMPLOYEES

In order to achieve an unbiased selection of qualified applicants, specific criteria both about job requirements and how to determine whether applicants meet these requirements must be provided to Personnel recruiters. These conditions are not always met for the positions in the organization studied.

Written information is not available for all positions. There are no job descriptions for hourly positions in the organization, which account for over two-thirds of the yearly appointments. Many of these positions, however, involve substantially the same work tasks as the continuing appointments. For the latter positions, there are two major sources of information - a manual of general job descriptions for classifications of positions, and a collection of detailed job specifications for individual positions within a classification. The manual of job descriptions gives a general outline of the nature of the work, degree of independence or individual

judgement required in performing the job, typical job duties, and minimum and preferred qualifications. This applies to most office and technical classifications and a variety of other types of jobs such as housing maintenance, computer operator and nurse. These job descriptions however, do not provide sufficient information on which to assess applicants, as there is a wide variation in job tasks within a job classification. For the position of intermediate clerk for example, while accounting experience is required in one department, invoice experience in another and experience as a receptionist for another, the job description simply states that a "knowledge of office procedures gained through a minimum of two year's experience" is required. There was also some variation in terms of minimum qualifications for some clerical and secretarial positions: "a university degree may be required by some departments". Job specifications may be available if the job has been created in the last five years or has been reviewed or reclassified in that time period, but they are not necessarily more detailed than the general job descriptions. In some cases, the job tasks were enumerated without reference to the qualifications necessary to perform them.

Where qualifications were written down, they ranged from educational and technical certification and previous work experience to physical and personal characteristics:

Good physical fitness;

Clean driver's license;

Initiative, tact and discretion;

Willingness to learn;

Ability to supervise others including those of various ethnic backgrounds;

Organizational and planning ability;

Promotable;

Personal characteristics suitable to accepting responsibilities;

Stability;

Flexibility;

Mature person with tact;

Pleasant personality and right attitude in dealing with customers.

While some qualifications are readily measured, the objective assessment of other characteristics such as initiative, tact, or organizational ability, would be difficult without extensive reference checks. In addition, it is not clear what standards are used to determine essential qualifications.

The requirement of a university degree for example, for carrying out intermediate clerical and secretarial jobs was recognized as simply a preference on the part of some department heads. Thus, limited written information which is available to recruiters presents the dilemma of evaluating applicants on criteria which are both difficult to measure and perhaps only tangentially related to work performance.

The inadequacy of the formal documents was also noted in the interviews with supervisors. Approximately one-third of the supervisors were of the opinion that Personnel did not know what the positions in their respective departments were about:

"Personnel doesn't know what is required, on what is on paper."

"They are too busy, and don't know the field."

"Personnel sends over ridiculous people, it's a waste of time, as they don't know the field."

"I ask what they (applicants) were told by Personnel and it is usually irrelevant information. Then I explain what the job is about and people are amazed. Personnel should be closer in touch with what the jobs really are."

"They send over people who don't even meet the basic requirements."

"They have given out incorrect information about the jobs which are available, they just don't have enough staff."

Three of the supervisors indicated that in addition, the qualifications for the positions changed as the interviewing progressed. Criteria which had not been considered important in the initial assessment of the requirements for the job increased in importance after interviewing a number of applicants.

Some job descriptions and job specifications include in addition, references to the sex of the incumbent in the position. Feminine pronouns are associated most frequently with lower level clerical and secretarial positions and masculine pronouns are used in the trades and technical and upper level positions - either directly, or indirectly by referring to the supervisor or head of the department as "he". While the effect of the use of these pronouns cannot be directly tested, it would be unreasonable to assume that it plays no part in the maintenance of the sex-segregation of occupations in the organization.

Thus, the procedures which pertain to recruitment and selection do not, in isolation, provide a viable set of comprehensive or objective standards on which to base hiring decisions. Also, these procedures legitimize sex as a selection criteria by the use of gender in job descriptions. The formalization of procedures and the regulation of hiring decisions are affected by other features of the organization: the work load on the Personnel Office, the distribution of responsibility and authority for hiring, and the consequent de-centralization of decision-making.

LIMITATIONS ON THE BUREAUCRATIZATION OF THE HIRING PROCESS

Constraints of Work Load

The work load on the Personnel recruiters compounds the inadequacy of the formal procedures. It does so by limiting their opportunities for investigating the duties and requirements of the positions as well as conducting thorough examinations of the background and qualifications of applicants.

The volume of appointments, in combination with other administrative duties required of the recruiters, imposes severe time constraints on the recruitment and selection process. In 1972-73, an average of ninety-three monthly and 320 temporary appointments were made each month. These figures do not include promotions and transfers, re-appointments, changes in account, or special wage increases, which are also processed through the department. In the same time period, the ratio of work load to the number of Personnel staff members in the organization studied was over two and a half times that in a similar organization in the same city.

This work load on the Personnel office encourages the use of work routines which have proven functional in terms of lessening demands on the staff members' time - most notably, the transfer of responsibility to the supervisors in departments.

The Distribution of Responsibility and Authority in Hiring

The wide range of jobs within the organization and the non-routinization of research positions makes the formulation of comprehensive and consistent policies a difficult task. There is, in addition, a separa-

tion of responsibility for the hiring process and power over final selection decisions. The responsibilities of the Personnel Department include "recruitment, selection and appointment for all...departments" (Annual Report, 1973: 2). Policies regarding this process originate in the Personnel Office and it is the responsibility of the recruiters to have a "thorough knowledge of Personnel policies, procedures, and practices and the ability to interpret and disseminate this information in a clear and concise manner" to senior members of the organization (Recruiter Job Specification). The power in the selection of employees, however, lies primarily in the department, as the final decisions are made there.

Personnel policies could maintain their effectiveness in this context if Personnel had clear authority over the supervisors in the departments. This is not the case. As an educational institution, the goals of the organization are "to supply the facilities and services whereby teaching and research may proceed as easily as possible" (Staff Handbook: 1). The administrative staff, of which the Personnel Department is a part, occupy a secondary and service role for the academics, many of whom are also supervisors. Thus, Personnel is placed in the position of being nominally responsible for recruitment and selection but without actual control over hiring decisions and in a position of less authority than many of the supervisors who are affected by the policies Personnel constructs. These policies then, will be difficult to enforce.

Consequences of the Distribution of Authority and Responsibility in Hiring

The response to this context has been the development of a decentralized and largely unregulated process. Personnel policies are formally

communicated only to department heads. It is then the responsibility of the heads to inform supervisors within their departments. However, as the majority of department heads are academics whose priorities are most frequently centred on their academic rather than their administrative role, they do not consistently do so. It was recognized in Personnel that this was the "weak link" in the communication of policy, but it was not seen as Personnel's responsibility to fill this gap. Thus the hiring decisions are frequently made by individuals who are not aware of the policies Personnel has established.

The policy manual consists of a large number of memos responding to problems which have arisen within the organization, as well as a general outline of the recruitment and selection procedure and specific regulations regarding conditions of work. Thus policy is formulated both on an ad hoc basis and as part of a legal obligation in negotiating with unions or in regulating the behaviour of employees.

The general Personnel procedures are both ambiguous and contradictory, reflecting the dilemmas created by the structure of authority. The role of Personnel in the selection and recruitment of continuing staff is specified as follows:

- "1. Department Head notifies Personnel Office that position will be coming vacant and consults with Personnel Office on pay rate.
2. Personnel Office will recruit and test applicants and arrange for interviews with Department Head.
3. Department Head advises Personnel Office of applicant selected."

The procedures for recruitment and selection of temporary staff are again less detailed:

- "1. Head of Department notifies Personnel Office of temporary help required and consults with Personnel Office on rate of pay.
2. Interview applicants.
3. Applicant selected and Personnel Office advised of date and hour of employment."

Thus, while the annual report states that the responsibilities of the Personnel Office are to include both recruitment and selection of staff for all departments, other documents indicate that actual involvement of Personnel will be more restricted. The procedures for selection of continuing staff include the participation of Personnel in the recruitment, testing and referral of applicants. Those for temporary appointments do not specifically include Personnel in those stages but neither is the responsibility stated to lie exclusively with the department concerned.

In another section of the Personnel policy manual, in the form of a memo, there is a more detailed description of the "Recruitment, Selection and Appointment of Technicians, Research Assistants and Technicians on Grants". This is a major category of appointments and formed over one-third of the total continuing appointments in 1972-73, and approximately 7% of the temporary appointments in that time. The "normal procedures" which are to be applied to this category were outlined as follows:

- "1. A statement of the duties and job requirements should be sent to the Personnel Office as soon as it is known that the job will become available. If requested, the Personnel Office will arrange for recruitment of suitable applicants by reference to the files or advertising. The office retains on a continuous basis on file the names and qualifications of applicants for all kinds of positions. At the same time there is no objection to the department concerned doing recruiting on its own.

2. The Personnel Office will refer possible candidates to the individual or departments concerned.
3. The Personnel Office will arrange for the posting of the position where applicable."

The involvement of the Personnel Office then, may, at the discretion of the supervisor, be assumed by the supervisor for a particular category of appointments. It is not clear, simply with reference to written information, whether the Personnel Department is to play a purely advisory role to the departments, to be utilized at the option of the departments, or whether it has an independent authority in the process.

Where hiring decisions in an organization are made exclusively by Personnel officers there is a decreased probability that those decisions will be discriminatory. Mayhew (1968: 68) argues that non-discrimination is likely to be institutionalized among personnel officers, but where they have little power and hiring decisions are made in individual sections or departments, discriminatory selection criteria will be used. This argument is supported in another study (Archibald, 1970: 59) by the results of an experiment to determine "whether a male candidate would be given preference over a female candidate of precisely equal ability and experience". Five vitae were constructed and presented to trainees in the Public Service Commission to be ranked according to the suitability of the fictional candidates for a job which was described to the trainees. The best "candidate" was shown to have a significantly better chance of being ranked first when the trainees believed it to be a male than when it was given a female name. While there was then, obvious discrimination on the part of the trainees on the whole, the results for those in Personnel Administration "showed no tendency to discriminate whatsoever" (Archibald, 1970: 207).

While there is evidence in the literature to demonstrate the relationship between decentralization of hiring and discrimination, there is only speculation as to the reasons for this relationship. Personnel officers may either be trained to avoid the use of discriminatory criteria or may be less biased individuals than other members of the organization. The observations of this study indicate that it is also likely however, that decentralization is associated with a lack of policies and procedures for hiring which in turn has been shown to contribute to discrimination in organizations.

The recruiters were asked what documents they consulted in the course of their work and whether the written procedures were helpful in doing their job. The formal procedures most often referred to were the rules concerning pay rates, vacations, sick leave, dismissal procedures and job descriptions. For areas other than these, it was suggested that the policies were largely taken-for-granted or consisted of 'rule-of-thumb' procedures as the policy manual did not cover all situations they encountered. There was a consensus among the members of the Personnel Department that the role of Personnel was that of recruiting, screening and referring suitable candidates to departments. The function of Personnel was also interpreted to be in the "information and persuasive end of things" rather than the enforcement of policies and procedures in the departments. It was maintained that the departments resent interference by Personnel and that it wouldn't be feasible for Personnel to dictate to the departments. Thus, the members of the Personnel Office did not assume that they had a mandate to systematically enforce Personnel policies.

Thus, the authority structure of the organization, general Personnel policies and the interpretation of the role of the Personnel Department by its members together foster the decentralization of decision-making and the abdication of responsibility by Personnel. There is, therefore, no agency to which the participants in the process must account for their decisions, and only limited policy formulation.

Alternative Responses to the Distribution of Responsibility and Authority

The desire of some supervisors for greater control and formalization of the hiring process and the recognition by supervisors of the independent authority of Personnel indicate that the barriers to regulation of the process may not be as substantial as they are interpreted to be.

While almost one-third of the supervisors interviewed would like to bypass Personnel completely, others referred to the disadvantages of having to rely on word-of-mouth policies and expressed the view that Personnel should expand their role:

"If I was going to do something outside the norm, I'd have to check with the Director. If there was a policy I could refer to, then I could say we had to consider both men and women."

"This (lack of written policies) is a weakness in their policies - if you follow their suggestions and get in hot water, they reverse their decisions."

"Personnel should expand and take a big role (in the organization). There should be one full-time person for (two specific) departments just for contract negotiation and to be a listening post for the problems of our staff. There is no one to do that job at present."

It was also evident that the supervisors were not clear about the role of Personnel in recruitment and selection. One supervisor felt that Personnel screened candidates on qualifications, with evaluation in the departments being primarily concerned with the personal life of the applicants. Another

however, believed that the departments were most qualified to examine the technical suitability of applicants and that he left it to Personnel to find out if applicants are "homosexual, have a drinking problem, or anything else that would interfere with their work." Others were uncertain about the rigor employed by Personnel in the screening process. This ambiguity indicates the possibility of redefining the role of Personnel to include more systematic policy formulation and application.

While Personnel was defined primarily in a service capacity for the supervisory members of the organization, it also served as the locus for grievances from the employees and thus, was in practice involved in imposing limitations on the supervisors. The most clear example of adherence on the part of the supervisors to policy laid down by an outside authority is the union regulations. A legal contract is out of necessity recognized as legitimate and binding by the supervisors. Independent authority was also attributed by supervisors to the Personnel Office:

"A few years ago we didn't hire women for this position; we didn't feel it was proper for them to be on the night shift. We asked the security people if they would be around when the shift changed - so the girls would have some protection as they went to their cars but security said 'no way'. But two years ago (a recruiter) said that was against (organizational) policy, so we abandoned it; and actually they stay longer than the men, we haven't had any problems."

While other similar instances were observed, the problems were solved individually and informally. This results then in the inconsistent application of procedures and policies over time and across recruiters. Thus while the one example given above would indicate that it is against the organization's policy to refuse to hire females for a night shift position, a specific request by another department for a male to fill the night shift position of what was normally a 'female job', was accepted.

While these observations suggest that the systematic formalization and communication of policies to supervisors would affect recruitment and selection, they also illustrate the extent to which the process is unstandardized and unregulated at present.

SUMMARY

The structure of the hiring process in the organization studied is one which has been demonstrated, in other studies, to be conducive to the development of discriminatory practices. There is no organizational policy against the use of sex and sex is built in to some job descriptions and job specifications. The choice of channels of recruitment is not governed by rules and the procedures which do exist for the evaluation of applicants are inadequate to insure unbiased selection. This weak formal structure has been accounted for in part by the work load of the Personnel Office, the distribution of responsibility and authority for hiring and the consequent decentralization of decision-making. In addition the possibility has been raised that the conditions leading to the lack of adequate policies and procedures may be responsive to change. An examination of the consequences of this formal structure for the use of sex in hiring decisions in the organization is undertaken in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FIVETHE INFORMAL ORGANIZATION OF THE HIRING PROCESS
AND THE SEX-SEGREGATION OF OCCUPATIONS

It has been demonstrated that the formal procedures available for structuring the recruitment and selection process are inadequate in this organization to insure selection on the basis of merit. Further, it has been shown that the distribution of authority and responsibility in the organization and the constraints of work load have led to a decentralized and largely unregulated hiring process. An analysis of the sex-segregation of occupations in the organization must then look at the informal procedures which have developed to order both the communication of job openings to applicants and the definition of job requirements and selection criteria.

ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT HOW HIRING SHOULD BE CONDUCTED

The recruiters described their work in terms of selecting the best candidates for each position. In response to the issue of equal opportunity for women to enter all occupations, assurances were offered that the Personnel Office did not discriminate against women in hiring practices.

Similarly, supervisors who were interviewed stated that they were unbiased and selected individuals on the basis of merit:

"There is no differentiation here, we would also hire a young lady."

"I will say 'he' or maybe 'she' (when referring to the position) but it doesn't matter."

"We are not discriminatory here, and this can be proven. We have people from all places."

"I never consider whether a person is married, has kids, is purple, male or female. I like to think I try to consider whether each person is fitted to the particular job."

"You have to select by ability - it's what is in the head that matters, not what's on it."

The remainder of this chapter demonstrates that in fact the process of recruitment and selection does not follow these beliefs. An analysis of the informal organization of the hiring process reveals that biased selection is also supported by beliefs, ones which contradict those stated above.

THE CONTEXT OF HIRING: DIVISION OF LABOUR IN THE PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT

The informal assignment of jobs to recruiters has led to an almost exclusive association of female recruiters with female applicants and male recruiters with male applicants. Female recruiters are also associated with jobs which are sex-typed as female, and male recruiters with jobs which are sex-typed as male (see Table 2). All temporary and most permanent clerical and secretarial positions are handled by female recruiters while trades and technical and most professional and supervisory positions are handled by male recruiters.

It is evident in Table 2 that for the majority of positions, there is a direct correspondence between the sex of the recruiter, the incumbent in the position and of the individual hired. In only six cases is this correspondence broken. In only two positions was the sex of the recruiter different from the sex of the incumbent in the position. Thus, even though clerical positions are normally the responsibility of female recruiters, two of the three clerical positions where a male held the job were handled by male recruiters.

Table 2. Association of Sex of Recruiter, Sex of Applicants and Advertising, by Position

Type of Position & Position Number	Sex of Recruiter(s)	Sex of Incumbent	Sex of Person Hired	Advertising Column
CLERICAL				
1	M	M	M	M/F
2	M	M	M	
3	F	M	M	
4	F	F	F	
5	F	F	F	F
6	F	F	F	
7	F	F	F	
8	F	F	F	F
9	F	N.A.*	F	
SECRETARIAL				
10	F	N.A.	F	
11	F	F	F	F
12	F	F	F	F
TECHNICIAN, RESEARCH ASSISTANT				
13	F,M	N.A.	F	
14	M	M	M	
PROFESSIONAL AND SUPERVISORY				
i) Trades, Technical, Maintenance				
15	M	N.A.	M	
16	M	M	M	M
17	M	M	M	M
18	F	F	F	M/F
ii) Computer Personnel (Operators, Pro- grammers)				
19	M	M	M	M/F
20	M	F	M	M
iii) Office, Administra- tive				
21	F	F	F	M/F
22	M	M	F	M
LIBRARY POSITIONS				
23	F	M	M	
24	F	M	M	

* N.A. = new position.

The assignment of individual positions to recruiters is not formally determined and is in part a function of work load, past experience in filling the position and experience with the supervisor. If one recruiter is too busy to handle a job request or feels another recruiter is more familiar with the position, she/he will pass the request on to the appropriate person.

Supervisors also associate the sex of the recruiter with the sex of applicants and thus contact female recruiters when they want female applicants and male recruiters when male applicants are desired. While research assistant positions are filled exclusively by male recruiters, one supervisor placed a request for a research assistant with a female recruiter. As the supervisor estimated that up to 50% of the work would be clerical, the ability to type was included in the job requirements. He specified in addition, that he wanted a female. Even though the position was classified as a research assistant, because of the clerical component and his definition of the job as a female one, he contacted a female recruiter. The request was appropriately passed on to the male recruiter who normally fills these positions. The recruiter then referred a male applicant and was contacted immediately by the supervisor who renewed his request for a female. The latitude which exists for assigning positions to recruiters may, therefore, perpetuate the sex-segregation of occupations.

THE COMMUNICATION OF JOB OPENINGS TO APPLICANTS

The channeling of women and men into different jobs begins with the initial contact between applicants and the organization. The commun-

ication of specific job openings to applicants is accomplished through newspaper advertisements, social and occupational networks, and by contacting individuals whose applications were selected from recruiters' files. This channeling of women and men into different jobs also occurs when applicants enquire at the Personnel Office about employment opportunities.

Advertising

The use of sex in advertising is documented in Table 2. At the time of the study the advertisements in the local papers were divided into Help Wanted Male; Help Wanted Female; and Help Wanted Male/Female. For the sample of positions studied, the Female column was used exclusively for clerical and secretarial positions. The only clerical position advertised in the Male/Female column was one which was handled by a male recruiter, currently occupied by a male employee and filled by a male applicant. Two of the three remaining joint column advertisements were placed by female recruiters for supervisory positions which were then filled by females. The four positions placed in the Male column were all in the professional and supervisory category. They were handled by male recruiters and except in one case were filled by male applicants. The use of gender in Advertised job titles such as waitress, draftsmen, patrolman, also conveys the impression that only female or male applicants are desired for those jobs. While some ads stated that the position was open to both men and women, this was not done systematically.

A limited number of departments other than Personnel make their own advertising decisions. These decisions follow the same pattern as

those originating in Personnel, with the additional observation that one supervisor was not aware that there was a Male/Female column in the newspapers.

The recruiters were questioned as to how advertising decisions were made. Two responses were given. Firstly, that advertising was decided by whether a man or woman could do the job. This rationale is contradicted in practice, as in the positions studied a female was hired for one job which was advertised in the male column. Secondly that advertising was determined on an economic basis; that it was necessary to get the best return in terms of number of applicants for the money spent on advertising. The estimation of which column produced the best results was based both on past experience and on the sex-typing of jobs. It was maintained that past experience had shown which jobs men or women applied for and that there was a lower response rate by both sexes to ads placed in the Male/Female column. However, it was also recognized that a common sense notion was used of which jobs were done by men and which were done by women, i.e., that it was a "cultural thing".

Thus, advertising decisions are not made solely in accordance with the principle of recruiting the best qualified applicants for the jobs but rather on economic grounds and on the societal sex-typing of occupations. This sex-typing of jobs, therefore, becomes part of the hiring process in the organization and is perpetuated by that process.

Informal Recruitment

Recruitment through social and occupational networks, although used in less than one-third of the positions studied, was also sex-biased.

Employees in the organization informed friends, colleagues in other departments, and relatives about jobs similar to theirs which were open. The friends or colleagues of employees who did apply for these positions studied, all except one, were of the same sex as the employee. This process contributes to the maintenance of the present distribution of females and males in specific jobs in the organization.

Two supervisors also informally contacted supervisors outside the organization for possible applicants and in both cases the individuals contacted were of their own sex. One of the supervisors maintained that referral by current employees in the department or someone known personally to the supervisor and the applicant was the best method of recruitment: "Technical qualifications just get you to the threshold". However, another supervisor stated that in his experience, this method had not proven to be more reliable than others.

Resource Files

Applicants are also selected for consideration from recruiters' back files of applications. The use of these files, for professional and supervisory and upper level technical positions, relies on the ability of the recruiters to recall particular applications, as they are filed under the name of the applicant rather than by the position. The consequences of the selective process of recalling applications is not clear. All but one of the applicants for the sample of positions who were drawn from the resource files were male, and the one female selected was for a position which had been designated a 'female' one by the supervisor. Without information on the number of equally qualified applicants of the opposite sex,

however, this selection cannot be attributed to a bias on the part of the recruiters.

There is also some evidence however, that applications of men with clerical experience are in effect reserved for male clerical positions, rather than being treated in the same manner as those of female clerical applicants. Applications for clerical work are normally retained by female recruiters. However, the applications of four men with experience as clerks, clerk/typists and flexowriter operator were retained by a male recruiter and used in filling two male clerical positions. In addition, the clerical aptitude tests which are routinely administered to applicants for clerical positions were not given to those applying for these two positions, even though the duties included typing and filing.

General Enquiries

The channeling of female and male applicants into sex-typed jobs also takes place when individuals make general enquiries to Personnel clerical staff about employment or about jobs which have been posted. The association of female recruiters with female applicants and clerical work is recognized by the office staff and influences the job opportunities they present to applicants:

"There's someone on the phone, who wants to know who to speak to regarding female employment. Who should she see?"

The response was that she should see _____, (a female recruiter), who is primarily responsible for recruitment of office staff.

Similarly, a woman enquiring about summer work available in the organization was asked in turn "Is this for clerical work?"

On another occasion a clerk was uncertain about which recruiter was responsible for a particular aspect of Personnel procedure

and was informed that "If it's for any of the men, ask Mr. _____, if it's for the clerks, Mrs. _____."

The referral of female applicants to female recruiters, given the present distribution of labour in Personnel, leads to the channeling of women into clerical work.

This takes place as the clerical staff have even more limited information on which to base their response to applicants than the recruiters. The full job descriptions and the supervisors' technical specifications, which would provide a basis for evaluating the relevance of an applicant's background and qualifications for different positions, are not routinely available to the clerks. This is most applicable in the case of technical positions which have been described to the recruiters over the phone and where only key requirements have been recorded.

THE DEFINITION OF JOB REQUIREMENTS AND SELECTION CRITERIA

It has been argued that the information contained in written job descriptions and job specifications does not provide a sufficient basis for selecting employees. Of the twenty-four positions studied, there were 15 job specifications available but they were consulted for only six positions, and in these cases the recruiters talked to the supervisor as well. The descriptions for all but one of the remaining positions were taken over the phone and/or sent to Personnel by the department in a memo. In the remaining case, the recruiter went to the department to talk with the supervisor and the incumbent in the position and observe the duties involved in carrying out the job.

In this way, the definition of the job and its requirements come from the supervisors. The recruiters then, are dependent on the supervisors

to be able to do their job. Further, the evaluation of a satisfactory performance on the part of the Personnel officers is in terms of finding individuals who are acceptable to the supervisors. Thus, the characteristics specified by supervisors as necessary for work performance become crucial factors in the evaluation and referral of applicants by recruiters. These criteria however, do not simply pertain to the technical competence necessary to perform the job and are not always made explicit for each job. The supervisor's expectations are then interpreted by Personnel officers in a more general sense:

"You pick up feelings, try to find out what kind of individual the department wants."

"We develop a feel for what the departments out there want."

"You get to know who would be acceptable for which departments."

"You gradually get a 'feel' for who is suitable, to know who will fit in - it's almost like a stereotype, but not really."

"Sometimes when a person walks in the door you can tell for sure he'll get the job. It's like instinct."

While the perception of supervisors' preferences may be accurate, where they include the sex of applicants the use of such perceptions as standards for referrals by recruiters simply serves to reinforce the use of sex. Thus, for two of the positions studied where the supervisors clearly specified in the interview that either male or female applicants would be acceptable, the recruiters stated:

"They usually hire men - an older person, someone retired from the services."

"They look for older, married men with kids, as the salary is high."

In another case, the supervisor indicated that he had not thought about hiring a woman for the position and that was partly because Personnel had never referred a female applicant. The sex-segregation of jobs may then be perpetuated by a cycle of mis-information or mis-interpretation of supervisors' preferences.

The intuitive evaluation of the suitability of applicants by recruiters extends beyond the anticipation of supervisors' preferences:

"Recruiting is a skill you build up over the years. You develop a sixth sense."

"You tend to categorize people from experience - we're playing the odds. The number of factors on which to base an assessment in the interview situation is limited, so we have to work on generalizations."

"We'd like to get as much information about applicants (in terms of their personal background) to try and 'make the pieces of the puzzle fit together'. We are concerned with the factors that affect worker stability."

The legitimation of the supervisors' specifications of non-technical criteria by recruiters stems directly from their position in the authority structure and the inadequacy of the formal selection procedures. The recruiters are dependent on the supervisors for the definition of job requirements and, it has been argued, do not have the authority to systematically reject the criteria which the supervisors have defined as important in filling particular positions. If the recruiters did reject these criteria, they would have only the inadequate job descriptions or job specifications on which to base referrals.

In addition, recruiters expressed the belief that to ignore supervisors' preferences would create poor working relationships within the job and thus be dysfunctional for work performance:

"The top candidate may not be chosen for reasons of compatibility, or whichever aspect of the job the (supervisor) feels is most important - there is a certain amount of flexibility in the requirements."

"Job specifications are used if they are available, but we talk to the departments, as they have additional information or qualifications. They usually refer to technical aspects of the job but also to what sort of individual would fit into the situation - outgoing, etc."

"We will usually go along with the departments (in specifying the kind of person they want) providing that the person has the minimum requirements."

The compliance with the perceived preferences of the supervisors has clear consequences for the sex-segregation of occupations where these preferences include the sex of the applicant. Of the 24 positions studied, in only four cases was the sex of the person to be hired not seen as a relevant factor in selection. In 13 of the 24 positions, sex was mentioned as a criteria by the supervisor, the recruiter, or was stated in the job specification. For seven of the remaining eleven positions, sex was implied as relevant to the job by the placement of a newspaper advertisement in either the Female or the Male column only.

BELIEFS ABOUT THE RELEVANCE OF SEX IN SELECTION

The beliefs of supervisors support the use of sex in assigning individuals to jobs in the organization. Women and men are not believed to be equally competent in all jobs; rather, women are defined as "suitable" for a limited range of positions. The use of sex was justified on the grounds that it was a practical indicator of potential work performance and that it was based on observation, common knowledge or common sense. Thus, the use of sex is not recognized by the supervisors as contradicting their belief that they do not discriminate against women in hiring decisions.

The dimensions on which females are evaluated in fact include both those related to work performance and those not related to work performance. Examples for each are summarized in Table 3 and are discussed separately below.

Table 3. Beliefs About Women Workers

Category	Description	Examples
Characteristics related to work performance	Female sex is used as an indicator of characteristics or qualifications which are believed to be related to work performance for specific jobs	Supervisory or managerial ability Compatibility with co-workers Physical Strength Submissiveness Technical and Social skills Availability for shift work Turnover, Absenteeism
Characteristics not related to work performance	Females are evaluated on criteria which are not rationalized to be related to work performance, but which are still considered relevant in the evaluation of female applicants	Appearance Concern for women's personal safety

Characteristics Related to Work Performance

Supervisory or Managerial Ability

The limitations on women in supervisory or managerial positions, expressed by approximately one-third of the supervisors, were felt to stem both from a lack of management skills on the part of women and from the attitudes of co-workers:

"Women may be turned down for supervisory positions as there is the feeling that women have more trouble supervising other women than men do, and women supervisors may not receive support from other supervisory levels."

"Groups of females relate better to male supervisors. If there is a group of females and one male, the man will naturally be taking on more responsibility, and provides continuity to the work group, and there is less pettiness involved."

"When women come into real men's jobs, into management, the men are threatened; if the woman is aggressive, then they get turned off. If they (women) have patience, most men will accept them, but they are still afraid of aggressive women."

"Women may not be good as managers, they usually have come up through the ranks, from file clerk to supervisor, and so don't have a "management philosophy", (their) training has been concerned with detail, not a general perspective or analysis."

Two supervisors proposed that the limitations stemming from the attitudes of co-workers be avoided by selecting co-workers by their attitudes to the sex of managers rather than selecting managers by their sex:

"Some men won't work under a woman, so you have to make this a consideration - find out how he gets along with his wife, then do they have a good opinion of the opposite sex. If there are problems, you have to back up the supervisor."

"We had one man who wouldn't work under (the female supervisor), so he was transferred to another section."

In one case, a supervisor who had had only positive experience with women in a supervisory capacity still expressed a potential limitation on women's performance in those positions:

"Supervisors must be emotionally strong; women are more emotional than men and will show emotions before a man would. Men may have the same emotions but at least they don't show it."

The beliefs about the limitations on female supervisors were contradicted by the experience of two supervisors:

"The senior (technician) is a woman and we have had no problems (with a mixed-sex work group) and there is a woman over the clerks (all female) and that's been O.K. too."

"I've just had female supervisors here (over all female staff) and they have been good."

These observations suggest that the beliefs about women's supervisory abilities are not based on consistent, observable differences in ability between women and men in these positions.

Compatibility with Co-Workers

There were also contradictory views on the desirability of same- or mixed-sex work groups. The recruiters indicated that for some supervisors, the definition of the suitability of applicants was linked to the ability of individuals to fit into a particular work situation. This in turn was based on the social similarity of the applicant with the members of the work group:

"People have to fit into the work group, so if they are mostly older people there, they will want an older person."

"Some departments will specify that they don't want women or men for particular jobs and the reasons they give would be say, if it's for heavy work - that has to be a man; or if the work group is one sex or the other."

In this way, the sex of individuals presently performing the job in the department can determine the sex of her or his successor.

However, it was also proposed by one supervisor that having mixed-sex work groups was desirable:

"It makes a difference (to have a mixed-sex work group) in the informal structure. The women will be kidded and will give it back and it lightens up the atmosphere. People will flirt around and all this improves morale. One of the girls will, say, bake a cake for one of the guys' birthdays."

Physical Strength

That woman is regarded as the "weaker sex" was evident in discussions of jobs which require physical exertion:

"There is a physical aspect of this work - women can't be moved around to the receiving and shipping position. The one woman is perfect in what she can do, but she is not so flexible. Older people get tired and health is a problem - there is the same restraint as the ladies."

"This involves lifting heavy items; it's not suitable for a girl. The assumption is that women wouldn't like lifting boxes. My guess would be that the Director would feel it wasn't a woman's job, that they (women employees) should do womanly tasks like typing and filing. He wouldn't like to see women doing heavy work."

"(This work) involves long, tiring hours, so women aren't suitable."

There were exceptions however, to the assumption that any work where "good physical fitness" was specified as a requirement, was a man's work:

"There is quite a bit of lifting in this job. Each box weighs about 50 pounds, and the labour code says women aren't to lift more than 35, but we haven't had any problems - they can make two trips if they want to. We considered a woman for the shipping clerk but that is lifting all day and moving cartons that are 400 pounds."

"The shipper-receiver was a man, but now we've put a female in - the shipper left and she was working in the department already and volunteered for it."

The decision that the physical aspect of a job is beyond the capabilities of females is at the discretion of the supervisor. In one of the departments, women were excluded from a category of positions because the supervisor preferred to have the "flexibility" of being able to move people to the shipping position when he was short-staffed, even though they were not hired for that position. The shipping position in this case was defined as requiring a male employee. In these cases, no evidence was provided to

substantiate the claim that women were not strong enough to perform the jobs.

Submissiveness, Acceptance of a Lack of Promotion Opportunities

The association of clerical work with women was frequently due to the dead-end nature of the jobs. It was felt that women would, more readily than men, accept jobs which provided no promotion opportunities or which were of a routine nature and poorly paid:

"The Director feels that the women are easier to work with. Men don't suit clerical positions, they think they should be the administrators....Men are more ambitious, so that affects them, a girl would accept her position and not complain."

"(In trying to cut down on turnover it was suggested that they) might hire women with a family who are trying to get back to work - more stable, no real aspirations."

"Women are perhaps better for the lower level jobs, as they stay longer."

This view of women as submissive, stable workers was expressed perhaps in its most extreme form by one supervisor:

"The best girls at the lower levels are orientals - quiet, keep their mouths shut and do their jobs, no chatting."

The inferences which one draws from these comments, about attitudes towards women, do not provide encouragement for the possibility of breaking down the sex barriers in these job categories. A Personnel recruiter commented on this association of women with low-level work:

"A lot of these jobs are a real put-down of women. They describe a moronic job with low pay and then they say they think a woman would be most suitable or suited to this position."

Special Skills

Women were considered to be naturally better at some jobs than men. This was to some extent linked to technical skills: "women have a

better capacity for detail work", "because of their experience in the home, women have better record-keeping skills". It was more frequently linked, however, to the presumed social skills of women which were believed to be important in positions requiring contact with clients or customers:

"We wanted a young, good-looking girl for the position; we felt (clients) would interact better with young women - that almost sounds sexist. (The Director) emphasized the young females and he's been at it a long time, so he knows. Anyone could learn to do this job, so appearance and personality take precedence."

"Women have natural skills - diplomacy, smoothing things over; they should use their diplomatic skills. Women are good coordinators, conference leaders."

"This is a girl's job...there aren't many male receptionists are there?...In this position, she will be meeting people who have been travelling and therefore they will be tired, and a woman has more sympathy for things like that."

"Sex doesn't matter, but I'll have to say we thought an attractive girl might have more influence with (department heads), but then we realized this was probably unfounded."

"The (clients) want a pretty girl - they bitch when the receptionist hasn't said "good morning" to them, hasn't shown them the proper deference. If there was a choice, I'd probably pick one the public would think attractive...but I'd take a dog who could do the work over a pretty face for the (clients)."

There is a clear assumption here that the clients for whom these deliberations are made are male, even where both males and females use the department's services. This pre-occupation with the comfort of male clients is illustrated further:

"Women are better at handling irate customers and do not show their tempers...the male ego of the customer is not threatened as much and the male ego of the employee doesn't get attacked. Males are inclined to be professionally oriented and have to have a fair amount of self-respect and if a (client) comes in and starts to beef and say he's incompetent, he fights back and this creates more hassles. The females more naturally tend to smile and it becomes apparent that they are just doing a job as best they can."

In this case, the supervisor was queried whether this rationale was based on the observation of negative results from males who had held the positions. The supervisor stated that there were no negative reports: "My decision wasn't a 'scientific' one". Rather, he had based his policy to replace men in these positions with women throughout the department, on inference from his own reactions as a customer of the department. Thus hiring decisions are made on criteria which are not directly related to performing work tasks but rather on the presumed preferences of male customers of the department.

Of the five positions in the sample which involved contact with clients or customers in only one case did the supervisor not express a belief about women being most suitable for such a position.

Availability for Shift Work; Absenteeism; Turnover

Women's role in the family was believed by some to affect their stability in terms of turnover and absenteeism, and their availability for shift work:

"We ask size of family, ages and care of children- this is used more for selection purposes for women than for men. We usually ask both men and women what their spouse does but it is considered more relevant in the case of women."

"If they are female, marital status doesn't enter as much as it used to, but if she's married to a post-doc, he will leave and so will she probably."

"Sex doesn't matter, but if they are married, perhaps we are a little more cautious with the females, we look for stability."

"One thing may restrict their ability, and this refers to women's positions as homemaker. If they were to advance (in this department) they would have to work any shift, any day. Women are not so flexible."

Other supervisors did not connect the marital status of women with stability:

"Turnover is high in all categories, and we've tried everything. Really don't know how to judge stability, you can always get a lemon. You can't chain people to jobs."

"We never consider whether a person is married...What does marriage mean today? People have the same tie who live togetherWe have a happy work group (in this department) and we recognize that each person has more to their life than just work, and if there is a family problem they are told that they should attend to it. The people here are conscientious and it works out."

The observations by supervisors on this dimension which were based on data on turnover rates in their department were contrary to the opinions expressed by other supervisors. One supervisor noted that the women in the professional categories in his department stayed longer than the men, while another stated that the turnover rate for women in his department was lower than the men's at all levels.

Characteristics Not Relating to Work Performance

Supervisors also expressed attitudes towards women which were not directly related to work performance, but which were used in selection. Women were evaluated on standards of appearance which would not be applied to men:

"They should be prim, proper, neat, and shouldn't light up a cigarette in the interview. Appearance means a lot - do they take the trouble to make a good impression?"

"I don't like it if they light up a cigarette without asking - some of the girls do that - they just ask, "where's the ashtray?"

"Must be neat in appearance. This reflects on character, if they are neat then they have an orderly mind. I wouldn't waste time interviewing anyone, particularly a woman, if they came in with a cigarette in their mouth, or if they light up immediately. The girls here can't smoke at their desks - I'm fussy that way. They

must have a ladylike appearance, suitable to their age...and shouldn't show a lot of leg, no corduroy trousers. I held out against trousers, personally, I don't approve of them. Dress reflects on efficiency, morale. Men should be clean, clean-shaven."

"People used to phone in (to the Personnel Department) and say "as long as she's 36-24-36, it doesn't matter". There is less of this now at least."

In addition, a paternalistic concern for the safety of women workers on night shift work was expressed:

"They get off at midnight sometimes so if they live in the east end it will be one before they get home if they take the bus. We ask about how they feel about walking to the parking lot at midnight and taking the bus. Women are weaker; from experience, men don't have to worry about getting raped."

"A few years ago we didn't hire women for this position; we didn't feel it was proper for them to be on the night shift. We asked the security people if they would be around when the shift changed - so the girls would have some protection as they went to their cars but security said 'no way'."

The sex of applicants to be hired is therefore consistently incorporated into the selection criteria. This is supported by beliefs about the relevance of sex for predicting work performance. However, women are evaluated not solely on characteristics related to work performance, but also by the 'natural abilities' with which women are presumed to be endowed, their appearance, and by their appeal to male clients and co-workers. Moreover, the supervisors hold contradictory beliefs about the characteristics of women workers, beliefs which are not consistently supported empirically.

SUMMARY

The informal structure of recruitment and selection leads to the systematic exclusion of females from particular jobs in the organization.

It is maintained that the sex-segregation of occupations is reinforced by differential communication of job openings to female and male applicants. This takes place through the use of sex-segregated advertising, social and occupational networks, unsystematic use of resource files and the presentation of job opportunities to applicants by clerical staff.

The job requirements and selection criteria used by recruiters and supervisors in hiring decisions are defined by supervisors in the departments. This process allows the exercise of individual bias and beliefs about sex and work performance, and the sex of applicants was discovered to be routinely considered as a relevant selection criteria. The validity of these beliefs about women workers is questionable as beliefs held by some supervisors are contradicted by both the beliefs and the experience of other supervisors.

Through the operation of these features of the hiring process and the division of labour in Personnel, the principle of equal opportunity for women, affirmed by recruiters and supervisors, is superceded by practices which channel women into jobs which are sex-typed as female.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

The following dimensions have been identified as determinants of sexual discrimination in hiring practices:

Does the organization have explicit policies against discrimination?

Are these policies communicated to its members?

Are these policies adhered to by senior members of the organization?

Are there clearly specified rules and procedures for assigning individuals to jobs on the basis of merit?

It was argued from the literature that where these conditions are not met, hiring will be biased through the operation of informal channels of recruitment, individual prejudice, or beliefs about the relevance of the sex of applicants for predicting work performance.

These observations are also supported by the results of the present research. In the organization studied, sex is systematically used as a convenient and acceptable criteria in hiring decisions. The organizational policies with regard to hiring do not explicitly prohibit the use of sex in hiring decisions. Organizational policies and procedures have not been consistently communicated to individuals involved in the hiring process. In addition, the use of sex is given tacit approval in the organization by those responsible for the hiring process. This is evident in the use of gender in job titles and job descriptions, by sex-segregated advertising, and by the acceptance by Personnel officers of supervisors' requests for either female or male applicants only.

There are no rules to govern the initial recruitment of applicants. The channels of recruitment which are used lead to the maintenance of the present distribution of females and males in the organization. Advertising decisions reflect the societal sex-typing of occupations and thus perpetuate that process in the organization. Informal channels of recruitment and the unsystematic use of resource files are also sex-biased. In addition, it has been observed that female applicants making general enquiries about employment from the Personnel Office are likely to be directed to female recruiters. This process, given the present distribution of labour in the Personnel Office, has been shown to lead to the channeling of women into office work.

The formal procedures for establishing selection criteria and for evaluating applicants by the organization are inadequate to insure that individuals are assigned to jobs on the basis of merit. Written information about job tasks and the qualifications necessary to perform them are not available for all jobs in the organization. In many cases where qualifications are specified, particularly when they are abstract or complex, there are no procedures for determining whether applicants fulfill the qualifications. There are, in addition, no rules to insure impartial selection where there are more applicants who meet these qualifications than there are jobs.

The definitions of job requirements and selection criteria which are used in hiring decisions are primarily determined by supervisors within departments. This process results in the routine use of the sex of applicants as a selection criteria and clearly contradicts the supervisors'

assertations that they do not discriminate against women. The use of sex is not recognized as discriminatory by the supervisors however, as they maintain that sex is a practical indicator of work performance. However, an examination of the beliefs which support this contention reveals that they are contradictory and are not consistently supported empirically. Some supervisors believe women have difficulties in supervising other women; others state this has not been so in their experience. One supervisor asserts that women show their emotions more than men; another asserts that they are better than men at keeping their tempers. Some supervisors feel that a woman's marital status is of primary importance in predicting work stability; others feel that it is of no importance. Women are also evaluated on characteristics which are not related to work performance. Further, in some cases the selection of individuals by sex is not rationalized but is clearly the result of an unexamined sex-typing of jobs.

The beliefs about women workers also reflect the societal evaluation of women. Women are defined as "suitable" not simply for a limited range of positions, but for a limited range of low-status positions.

Regardless of the validity of the beliefs, they are used to support the inclusion of sex in the definition of "acceptable" applicants which is conveyed either explicitly or implicitly to recruiters. As the recruiters act upon the supervisors' specification of selection criteria, this sex bias has consequences for the evaluation and referral of applicants by recruiters. Thus, the recruiters who also maintain that they do not discriminate, participate in a process which systematically excludes women from particular jobs. Personnel policies against sexual discrimination will be ineffective

as long as recruiters accept supervisors' specifications of the sex of the applicants. This practice is rationalized in part by maintaining that to ignore supervisors' preferences would create poor working conditions within the jobs and thus be dysfunctional for work performance. The supervisors' right to select employees on personal preference remains substantially unchallenged, as long as the applicant meets the basic job qualifications.

The sex-bias in the presentation of job opportunities to applicants by Personnel clerical staff may result in turn from their perception of the sex-typing of jobs by recruiters.

The lack of adequate formal specification of job requirements may have consequences not only for the evaluation of applicants by recruiters, supervisors, and clerical staff but also for the evaluation of job opportunities by applicants. Just as it has been observed (Lurie and Rayack, 1966) that Negroes apply for particular jobs in particular companies because it is known that these are "Negro jobs", so men and women applicants may have preconceived ideas about which jobs are open to them in the organization. Where the organization does not provide consistent, explicit statements that in fact all jobs are open to both sexes, and where the information about job tasks and qualifications is inadequate, the sex of individuals presently holding the jobs may be taken as representative of job opportunities in the organization. In addition, as salary information is not usually given out until a formal application has been submitted for a position, there is no purely monetary incentive to apply for a particular position.

The inadequacy of organizational policies and procedures for hiring is attributed in part to the work load in the Personnel Office and the separation of responsibility for hiring, and power in hiring decisions. The Personnel work load does not permit a thorough, independent analysis of job requirements or the measurement of selection criteria. While formal policies and procedures originate in the Personnel Office and the responsibility for all stages of hiring is delegated to Personnel, final hiring decisions are made outside of that department. It is not clear from written Personnel policies whether Personnel has the right to censure departmental hiring decisions. In practice, such authority is exercised, but this is not done consistently. In addition, as the decisions reached on these occasions are not recorded, they do not have a binding or a cumulative effect. Thus, the hiring process in the organization is a decentralized and largely unregulated one.

Thus, in an organization where 1) the use of sex is not explicitly prohibited, 2) the procedures for determining job requirements and for recruiting and evaluating applicants are inadequate, and 3) where individuals making hiring decisions do not have to account for those decisions, the sex of applicants will be systematically used in assigning individuals to jobs.

LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The limitations of the study stem primarily from conducting a case study, which does not permit the observation of the effect of variation in the formal structure of the hiring process on sexual discrimination.

This is a limitation which applies to most of the work which has been done in this field.

A more comprehensive test of the role of organizational constraints on discriminatory behaviour would involve the comparison of hiring practices in a number of organizations which differ on: organizational policies with regard to discrimination; the communication of policies to members; the adherence to policies by senior members of the organization; the clarity of procedures for recruiting, evaluating and selecting applicants; and the degree to which hiring decisions are decentralized.

This test could also be accomplished by studying the effects of changes in the formal structure of the hiring process on discrimination in one or more organizations over time.

A question which also remains to be answered is how much of the sex-segregation of occupations can be attributed to the structure of organizational policies and procedures. This can be accomplished both by a more extensive investigation of organizational determinants and by investigating other possible explanations such as self-selection into occupations by applicants. More work should also be undertaken to construct adequate measures and tests for determining whether hiring decisions are discriminatory.

This study does not provide an analysis of all aspects of the hiring process in the organization studied. The recruitment and selection of individuals for temporary appointments is a major area which should be investigated further.

The investigation of discriminatory hiring practices as a social problem presents considerable difficulties for theory construction. An in-

investigation which aspires to providing solutions to that problem must recognize the large number of factors in addition to organizational determinants which together result in sexual discrimination in hiring decisions. This entails the construction of an explanatory framework which spells out the contribution of each one and the way in which they interact to cause discrimination. In The present research investigated only a limited number of factors. While the theoretical problems will take considerable time to resolve, the problem of discrimination in hiring requires more immediate resolution. Thus, a number of recommendations have been formulated from the conclusions of this research for changing the hiring process.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHANGING THE HIRING PROCESS

The recommendations proposed below follow directly from the major findings of this study. Recommendations are proposed for altering both the formal and informal structure of the hiring process. The proposals are subject to the general limitations of the study and as such do not identify all restrictions in the organization on equality of occupational opportunity for women. The three main areas of reform are treated: policies, procedures and power.

Policies

The organization must explicitly prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex and affirm the principle that all jobs in the organization are open to women and men. These policies must be communicated to all members of the organization, to applicants and to referral agencies, and made evident in advertisements, job descriptions and procedures throughout the organization.

The data suggest that the existing communication networks are insufficient for this task. The Personnel Office must assume responsibility either for communicating directly with all supervisors or ensuring that all department heads do so within their departments. Other avenues for communicating policy to all staff members in the organization should be explored.

A general statement that women and men must be considered for all jobs is not sufficient. The common rationalizations for contravening this principle should be explicitly rejected. Thus, it should be formally stated for example, that women must not be excluded from night shift positions or those which specify "physical strength" as a job requirement, and that a preference of the supervisor, clients or co-workers for interacting with individuals of one sex or the other will not be respected.

Discrimination will persist in effect although denied in principle if anti-discrimination policies are not strictly adhered to by those responsible for the hiring process. Thus, the Personnel officers should not accept supervisors' requests for applicants of one sex or the other.

Procedures

Communicating Job Openings to Applicants

Since the time the study was undertaken, the Help Wanted advertisements in the local newspapers have been re-organized and are no longer segregated by sex. However, in order to counteract the sex-typing of jobs by applicants, all advertisements placed by the organization should state that the position is open to both females and males, and job titles should not refer to sex. Resource files should be systematically maintained by

types of jobs so that all qualified applicants are considered for new job openings.

The Definition of Job Requirements and Selection Criteria

The use of sex and other social characteristics arose to fill a need; to construct, from the participants' perspectives, a functional basis for identifying job requirements and evaluating applicants. The organization must, therefore, not only prohibit the use of sex in this regard, but also provide other means of accomplishing the same end, i.e., it must be possible to select individuals on the basis of merit.

Job requirements and selection criteria should be as objective and as detailed as possible. The clarification of ambiguous or complex criteria is of crucial importance in restricting discriminatory hiring decisions. The importance of all criteria should be validated, and not taken for granted. Every effort should be made to provide specific indicators of job requirements so that all applicants may be evaluated on an objective standard. Detailed job descriptions and selection criteria should be available not only to supervisors and recruiters, but also to Personnel clerical staff and applicants.

Information should be circulated to all those involved in the hiring process about the validity of common beliefs about the relevance of sex for work performance. Faulty generalizations about women workers should be consistently challenged when they are used in support of a request for either female or male applicants. It should be assumed that all jobs can be performed by both sexes unless extensive, systematic evidence can be provided to the contrary.

Other tests have shown that the experience of working with women in jobs which have been sex-typed as male is a better catalyst for reducing resistance to their entry into these fields than educational information. Thus, a systematic effort should be made to place qualified individuals of the opposite sex in all presently sex-segregated occupations. The success of this effort will constitute a test of the policy that all jobs in the organization are open to both sexes. This would also have the effect of neutralizing the sex-bias in informal recruitment.

In Practice

The goal of selecting solely on the basis of merit could potentially be achieved if:

The organization had clear and consistent policies against discrimination which were communicated to its members;

Senior members of the organization adhered to these policies in all hiring decisions;

All selection criteria were quantified and the evaluation of applicants was standardized and restricted to only those criteria which had been proven to be directly related to work performance.

It has been argued that the organization can restrict the use of sex in selection by approximating those conditions through a re-structuring of the hiring process. However, until those changes occur and individuals of both sexes are routinely considered for all jobs, the sex of applicants will be systematically used in assigning individuals to jobs. It may be necessary, therefore, to break down the sex-segregation of occupations by ruling that a specified percentage of appointments in every occupational category must be female.

Where there are many applicants who have satisfied all objective requirements for a position, the final selection is made therefore, on criteria other than those relating to capability. It has been shown that selection which is made on the personal preferences of supervisors is likely to be sex-biased. Therefore, to insure an unbiased selection in these cases it may be necessary to make a random selection among the qualified applicants.

In order to communicate organizational policies to supervisors and to establish the independent authority to reject supervisors' discriminatory requests, to investigate job requirements, test the relevance of selection criteria for work performance, adequately evaluate all applicants and to actively recruit females for male jobs, the number of staff members of the Personnel Office must be significantly increased.

The division of labour in the Personnel Office should also be altered so that jobs which are sex-typed as female are more evenly distributed between male and female recruiters and so that female recruiters are responsible for a wider range of positions.

Power

The changes which are proposed will require the clear delegation of the power to enforce those changes to some agency in the organization. This in turn will require the allocation of sufficient resources in terms of time, money and staff, to accomplish this task.

This power to control decisions must also be exercised; hiring decisions should be systematically reviewed and discriminatory decisions revoked. If such decisions are not revoked, organizational policies against discrimination will be routinely disregarded by members of the organization.

These reviews should be conducted particularly where discrimination is most likely to occur. The data suggests that this can be estimated by the known biases of individual supervisors, the degree to which the job requirements and selection criteria can be objectively determined and the number of technically qualified applicants. The participants in the hiring process must be required to justify their hiring decisions on objective criteria.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Archibald, Kathleen
1970 Sex and the Public Service. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.
- Beattie, Christopher, and Byron G. Spencer
1971 "Career Attainment in Canadian Bureaucracies: Unscrambling the Effects of Age, Seniority, Education and Ethnolinguistic Factors on Salary". American Journal of Sociology 77(3): 472-490.
- Berger, J., Bernard P. Cohen, and Morris Zelditch
1966 "Status Characteristics and Expectation States." Pp. 29-46 in J. Berger, M. Zelditch, and B. Anderson (eds.), Sociological Theories in Progress, Volume One. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.
- Bird, Caroline
1968 Born Female: The High Cost of Keeping Women Down. New York: David McKay Co. Inc.
- Bowman, Garda W.
1964 "What Helps or Harms Promotability?" Harvard Business Review 42 (1): 6-26, 184-196.
- Bowman, Garda W., Beatrice Worthy, and Stephen Greyser
1965 "Are Women Executives People?" Harvard Business Reivew 43(4): 14-28, 164-178.
- Breed, Warren
1962 "Group Structure and Resistance to Discrimination in the Deep South." Social Problems 10: 84-94.
- Broverman, Inge K., D.M. Broverman, F.E. Clarkson, P.S. Rosenkrantz, and S.R. Vogel
1970 "Sex-role Stereotypes and Clinical Judgments of Mental Health." Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology 34(1): 1-7.
- Bullock, Paul
1966 Equal Opportunity in Employment. University of California, Los Angeles: Institute of Industrial Relations.
- Caplow, T.
1965 The Sociology of Work. Toronto: McGraw-Hill.
- Chodorow, Nancy
1972 "Being and Doing: A Cross-cultural Examination of the Socialization of Males and Females." Pp. 259-291 in V. Gornick and B. Moran (eds.), Woman in Sexist Society. New York: Signet, New American Library.

- Coates, C.H. and R.J. Pellegrin
1957 "Executives and Supervisors: Informal Factors in Differential Bureaucratic Promotion." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 2(2): 200-215.
- Coser, Rose Laub and G. Rokoff
1971 "Women in the Occupational World: Social Disruption and Conflict." *Social Problems* 18(4): 535-554.
- Crozier, Michel
1967 *The Bureaucratic Phenomenon*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Dalton, Melville
1951 "Informal Factors in Career Achievement." *American Journal of Sociology* 56(March): 407-415.
- Day, Shelagh
1973 *A Report on the Status of Women at the University of British Columbia*. Vancouver: Talonbooks.
- Epstein, Cynthia Fuchs
1970 "Encountering the Male Establishment: Sex-status Limits on Women's Careers in the Professions." *American Journal of Sociology* 75(6): 965-982.
- Fuchs, Victor R.
1971 "Differences in Hourly Earnings Between Men and Women." *Monthly Labour Review* 94(5).
- Gelber, Sylva
1971 *Women's Bureau '71*. Labour Canada, Women's Bureau.
- Ginzberg, Eli
1968 "Paycheck and Apron - Revolution in Womanpower." *Industrial Relations* 7(3): 193-203.
- Ginzberg E., and Alice Yohalem (eds.)
1973 *Corporate Lib: Woman's Challenge to Management*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Goode, William J.
1964 *The Family*. New Jersey: Englewood Cliffs.
- Gouldner, Alvin W.
1954 *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy*. New York: The Free Press.
- Gross, Edward
1968 "Plus ca change...? The Sexual Structure of Occupations Over Time." *Social Problems* 16(2): 198-208.

Gwyn, Sandra

1972 "Women - A Review of Books on Women." Pp. 144-153 in R. Fulford, D. Godfrey and A. Rotstein (eds.), Read Canadian: A Book About Canadian Books. Toronto: James Lewis and Samuel.

Harison, Evelyn

1964 "The Working Woman: Barriers in Employment." Public Administration Review 24(June): 78-85.

Heistand, Dale L.

1970 Discrimination in Employment: An Appraisal of the Research. Ann Arbor: The Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations.

Hughes, Marija Matich

1970 The Sexual Barrier: Legal and Economic Aspects of Employment. Vol. 35(1). San Francisco.

Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations

1967 Document and Reference Text: An Index to Minority Group Employment Information. Ann Arbor: Research Division, The Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations.

International Labour Office

1968 Fighting Discrimination in Employment and Occupation. Geneva.

1972 Year Book of Labour Statistics, Vol. 32. Geneva.

Judek, Stanislaw

1968 Women in the Public Service. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

Kahn, R.L., G. Gurin, R.P. Quinn, E. Barr and A.I. Kraut

1964 Discrimination Without Prejudice: A Study of Promotion Practices in Industry. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Survey Research Centre, The University of Michigan.

Knudsen, D.D.

1969 "The Declining Status of Women: Popular Myths and the Failure of Functionalist Thought." Social Forces 48(2): 183-193.

Kreps, Juanita

1971 Sex in the Marketplace: American Women at Work. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.

Labour Canada

1972 Women in the Labour Force 1971: Facts and Figures. Ottawa: Women's Bureau.

Lewis, Lionel S.

1969 "The Puritan Ethic in Universities and Some Worldly Concerns of Sociologists." American Sociologist 4(August): 235-241.

- Lewis, Lionel S.
1971 "The University and the Professional Model: Amplification on a Magnification." *American Behavioural Scientist* 14(4): 541-562.
- Lohman, J.D. and D.C. Reitzes
1952 "Note on Race Relations in Mass Society." *American Journal of Sociology* 58: 241-246.
- Lurie, Melvin, and Elton Rayack
1966 "Racial Differences in Migration and Job Search: A Case Study." *The Southern Economic Journal* 33(July): 81-95.
- Maccoby, E.E. (ed.)
1966 *The Development of Sex Differences*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Malm, Theodore
1954 "Recruiting Patterns and the Functioning of Labor Markets." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 7: 508-525.
- Mayhew, Leon N.
1968 *Law and Equal Opportunity: A Study of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- McNally, Gertrude B.
1968 "Symposium: Women in the Labor Force." *Industrial Relations* 7: 215.
- Meltz, N.M.
1966 "The Female Worker: Occupational Trends in Canada." Pp. 33-46 in *Changing Patterns in Women's Employment*. Ottawa: Canada Department of Labour.
- Merton, R.K.
1949 *Social Structure and Social Theory*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.
- Noland, E.W., and E.W. Bakke
1949 *Workers Wanted: A Study of Employer's Hiring Policies, Preferences and Practices in New Haven and Charlotte*. New York: Harper and Bros.
- Oppenheimer, Valerie Kincade
1970 *The Female Labor Force in the U.S.: Demographic and Economic Factors Governing Its Growth and Changing Composition*. Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California.
- Ostry, Sylvia
1966 "The Female Worker: Labour Force and Occupational Trends." Pp. 5-24 in *Changing Patterns in Women's Employment*. Ottawa: Canada Department of Labour.

- Ostry, Sylvia
 1968 The Female Worker in Canada. 1961 Census Monograph. Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics.
- Powell, R.M.
 1963 "Elements of Executive Promotion." California Management Review VI(2): 83-90.
- Quinn, Robert P., Joyce M. Tabor, Laura K. Gordon
 1968 The Decision to Discriminate: A Study of Executive Selection. Plymouth, Michigan: Maxwell Printing Co.
- Robson, R.A.H.
 1969 "A Comparison of Men's and Women's Salaries in the Academic Profession." C.A.U.T. Bulletin 17(3): 50-75.
- Rosenbluth, Gideon and R.A. Holmes
 1967 "The Structure of Academic Salaries in Canada." The Canadian Association of University Teachers Bulletin 15(4).
- Rossi, Alice S.
 1970 "The Status of Women in Graduate Departments of Sociology, 1968-1969." American Sociologist 5(1): 1-12.
- Schein, V.E.
 1973 "The Relationship Between Sex Role Stereotypes and Requisite Management Characteristics." Journal of Applied Psychology 57(2): 95-100.
- Sell, Lucy (ed.)
 1972 Current Research on Sex Roles. Sociologists for Women in Society. Berkeley: University of California.
- Smith, Georgina M.
 1961 Help Wanted - Female: A Study of Demand and Supply in a Local Job Market for Women. New Jersey: Institute of Management and Labor Relations, Rutgers, The State University.
- Spencer, Byron G., and D.C. Featherstone
 1970 Married Female Labour Force Participation: A Micro Study. Special Labour Force Studies, Series B#4. Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics.
- Weber, Max
 1958 From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. H. Gerth, C.W. Mills (eds.). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wilensky, H.L.
 1967 Organizational Intelligence: Knowledge and Policy in Government and Industry. New York: Basic Books, Inc.

Wilensky, H.L.

1968 "Women's Work: Economic Growth, Ideology, Structure." Industrial Relations 7: 235-248.