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Some Advice for Overcoming Barriers to Women's Achievement in Non-Traditional Occupations

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Some Advice for Overcoming Barriers to Women's Achievement in Non-Traditional Occupations.

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In the 1980s there is increasing evidence that the patterns of employment for women are changing. According to the Economic Council of Canada, one major aspect of this change is that more women are making nontraditional career choices and are entering occupations in which at least two thirds of the employees are male (Boulet & Lavallee, 1984). There is some evidence to suggest that these occupations attract women primarily because, relative to traditionally female jobs, they offer higher salaries, the challenge of interesting work and a greater sense of autonomy (Pinkstaff & Wilkinson, 1979; Walshok, 1981). However, despite these benefits, there is also consistent evidence that women entering non-traditional fields often face a work environment that is both socially and physically stressful. Factors such as heavy physical and time demands, harsh environmental conditions, co-worker resentment and being denied access to the more challenging aspects of the job are obstacles that women must overcome if they are to enjoy success in non-traditional areas (see Deaux & Ullman, 1982; Fox & Hesse-Biber, 1984; Penney, 1983; Walshok, 1981).

The obstacles women encounter in non-traditional occupations can serve as barriers to women's achievement in these areas. Given this, it is important to examine women's experiences in non-traditional jobs in order to try to understand the nature of the obstacles women encounter in these fields and the ways in which they deal with them. To social psychologists, the most meaningful questions have to do with comparing these experiences either to those of men or to those of women employed in traditional areas of the labour force. However, answers to these questions have little to offer women contemplating non-traditional careers. They also have little to offer the vocational counsellors and educators who are involved in helping women make career choices. If women are to make major in-roads into maledominated occupations, they need to know what kinds of barriers they can expect to encounter and what kinds of strategies are likely to be helpful in overcoming these barriers. The purpose of the present paper, then, is to

provide women contemplating non-traditional careers with information about the types of barriers they may encounter if they make such a choice, and with advice that will help them to overcome these barriers as they arise. This information and advice is based on the qualitative analysis of interviews which tapped the experiences of women already involved in non-traditional careers.

While the experiences of women employed in non-traditional areas are the most valuable source of information available to other women who are making career choices, surprisingly little research has addressed these experiences. Much of what has been done has focused on women in managerial and professional settings (e.g. Nieva & Gutek, 1983). As a result, there is generally a lack of research dealing with the obstacles women face in areas such as trades and technology and about the strategies they employ to overcome these obstacles. There is a small body of research which has examined the experiences of American women in blue collar jobs and has addressed the issue of barriers to women's achievement in these occupations (e.g. Deaux & Ullman, 1983; Walshok, 1981). However, this research has not addressed the experiences of Canadian women, nor has it examined the experiences of women in technology. If has also focused almost exclusively on women on the job. It has typically not included women in training or pre-training courses, nor has it addressed issues that arise at the time of making a career choice. Consequently, the research presented here will analyze data collected on Canadian women in trades and technology, and will include women both in training and on the job. It will offer advice to women contemplating a non-traditional career at five distinct stages: while they are still considering non-traditional options, when they are preparing for training, when they are training, when they are job-hunting and when they are new on the job.

The advice offered here is based on the experiences of 60 women. These women were a sub-sample of the women who participated in an earlier nation-wide survey of Canadian women in non-traditional occupations (see Cherry,

1985; Jaggernathsingh & Cherry, 1986; McIntyre, Cherry, & Jaggernathsingh, 1986, for analyses of the survey data). The women in our sample were selected to reflect the broadest diversity of wamen's current experience in non-traditional training and work and, consequently, they deviate somewhat from the statistical profile of the larger survey sample. Thus, the women in this study range in age from 18 to 45 years and, of the 60, 20 were married, 20 single, 10 divorced and 10 were engaged or living common-law. Forty per cent had children and 13% were single parents. Fifty-two per cent lived in large urban centres, 33% in smaller centres and 15% in remote areas. Forty per cent of the women were in trades and 60% in technology. Thirty-eight per cent were in training and 62% were employed. In order to protect the women's anonymity, no woman was chosen for this study when she indicated she was the only woman in her field in Canada. As a result of this selection procedure, the 60 women in this sample included those working in or training for occupations such as carpenter, boilermaker, petrochemical refinery operator, architectural technologist, welder, horticulturalist, aircraft maintenance engineer, camp cook, and biomedical electronics technologist.

Information about the experiences of these 60 women was obtained in structured interviews. The interviews collected data relevant to each of the five stages of a non-traditional career trajectory outlined above. At each stage the women interviewed provided information about the obstacles they had encountered and offered advice to other women to assist them in overcoming these barriers. This information and advice is summarized in what follows.

Considering a Non-Traditional Job

"Non-traditional jobs are not for the faint-hearted. Every day since I started with my present employer I have come under the gun, so to speak, in one way or another. One has to know when to fight and when to retreat, as well as to what degree. ... I find that I walk a narrow line and that I have to keep things in perspective. Before I do anything (I must) know my rights, analyze the situation and decide "with a cool head" the best way to handle the situation. Above all, keep a sense of humour. If you can laugh at yourself, you may find other people can laugh with you instead of at you."

This is the way one woman summarized her work experience and her advice was echoed by other women interviewed, both those in training and those on the job. Given this reality, a major theme to emerge from our interviews, and one which is consistent with previous research (Deaux & Ullman, 1982; Walshok, 1981), is that a woman who chooses non-traditional employment can expect to have a difficult time emotionally and, in some cases, physically as well. Given this, women entering non-traditional fields will be at an advantage if they possess personal qualities such as self-confidence and independence, if they are positive, assertive, committed and energetic, and if they have a high level of social support.

Self-confidence. Most of the women interviewed reported a marked decline in their self-confidence at the beginning of their training program and again when they were new on the job. While this kind of a temporary, decline typically occurs in any new job situation, the women in our study attributed it directly to the non-traditional nature of their work. Apart from the few who had tinkered with mechanical things in the past, the women in training reported that their lack of self-confidence stemmed from the fact that they were at a disadvantage compared to their male peers, both in terms of mechanical and technical knowledge and in being under pressure to prove themselves equal. Those new on the job reported that they lacked confidence because they were unsure how to "fit in" with male co-workers. According to the majority of our interiewees, these declines in confidence were temporary. However, many of them did suggest that if a woman's confidence is low, she would be well-advised to build it up before committing herself to a training program. Several had done this successfully by entering a pre-training program which introduced them to the kinds of things that could be expected in training and on the job.

Independence. Several women interviewed spoke of independence as an important prerequisite for success in a non-traditional area. With the exception of one or two women who had an ally on the job, these women believed that independence was linked to competence on the job and was central to gaining the respect of co-workers and supervisors (see Braid, 1983; Walshok, 1981, for similar findings). For these women, competence meant doing the job themselves, not relying on male co-workers to help them out and, particularly in the trades, preventing male peers from volunteering assistance with the more physically demanding aspects of their jobs. They advised that if a woman lacks sufficient physical strength, she should build it up, possibly with weights, before turning to co-workers. At the same time, however, a number of women felt it important for women to recognize that there are limits to independence. Especially in the trades, there are some things which cannot be done alone by either a male or a female. The norm which seems to be set is, as one interviewee put it, "Try it yourself and then, if you're pretty sure it's something a man couldn't handle alone, ask for help."

Positive and assertive attitudes. Several women considered these attitudes to be crucial for women to thrive in non-traditional occupations. They stressed that because women in these jobs are breaking into a male field they can expect to experience some resentment and to have at least some of their achievements overlooked. Given this, a positive attitude can give women the assurance that they can overcome these obstacles, and an assertive attitude can help women push themselves forward and ensure that their accomplishments are recognized. Some women considered assertiveness to be so important that they took an assertiveness training course prior to beginning their career training. Others, however, added the caution that assertiveness was a positive quality if and only if it did not border on aggression.

Commitment and determination. Our interviewees suggested that these two qualities can increase the chances of individual women succeeding in non-traditional occupations. However, over and above this, a number of women stressed the importance of commitment and determination for the future of non-traditional career options for women in general. They stated that without these qualities women are more likely to quit their training programs or jobs, and that these actions can have serious repercussions for other women interested in non-traditional careers. Training courses are not always easy to get into and several of the women interviewed indicated that some employers are reluctant to hire women. Therefore, in this pioneering phase, every position taken by a woman counts. If, for instance, a woman registers in a two-year course and quits after three months, her place can remain empty for the remainder of the two years. One woman put it bluntly: "If you start a course, be sure it's what you want. If you drop out you may be denying another woman the chance."

High energy level. A number of the women interviewed considered high levels of both physical and mental energy to be an essential prerequisite for non-traditional work. Schedules in many of these jobs are hectic, leaving women with very little time for either themselves or community activities. With an average of one free hour a day, few women in our sample socialized during the week and, even with weekends, those with children reported lives split totally between work, children and home responsibilities. Some women had difficulty coordinating time with their partner, especially if both jobs involved shift work.

In addition to the demands of busy schedules, a good reserve of energy is needed for non-traditional work because the jobs themselves are physically demanding. For women in trades, the work is often heavy and environmental conditions may be extreme. For those in trades and technology 12-hour shifts, over-time and travel are not uncommon. Consequently, fatigue was the most frequently mentioned obstacle for our sample of working women and second only to financial difficulties for those in training.

Social support. A high level of social support was recommended for women thinking about non-traditional careers. On a practical level, the women interviewed indicated that being able to share chores and responsibilities with their partners helped alleviate the time pressures they were under. This was especially true for women with children. On an emotional level, they stressed the need for strong support from partners, parents and children in order to offset the emotional repercussions of breaking into an all-male field, and to help ease the effects of social isolation experienced both in training and on the job. One woman suggested that women might consider getting "rid of a chauvinistic partner" on the grounds that "you don't need resistance from someone that close". Although her comment was more flippant than serious, it does serve to underscore the importance she, and others, attached to the emotional support of partners.

Most of the women interviewed did enjoy a high level of social support. Their experiences suggest that partners are most supportive when they also work shifts, and when the woman's transition to a non-traditional job occurs early in the relationship, before patterns are firmly established. Few women noted resentment from their children concerning their work and several mentioned their parents as strong sources of financial as well as emotional support.

Preparing for training

According to the women in our sample, the better prepared women are before beginning non-traditional training, the greater their chances of overcoming the obstacles they encounter throughout the program. This preparation includes gathering information about what women actually do in various non-traditional areas, choosing a specific occupation, and determining whether personal abilities and skills meet training program requirements.

Information gathering. The women interviewed indicated that it is not always easy to find information about non-traditional jobs. They recommended that the best source of such information was women already

employed in these jobs. However, high school career days, women's centres and organizations such as Women In Trades were also considered to be useful. Finally, volunteer work with potential employers was seen as a good way of achieving the joint aims of information gathering and personal promotion.

Choosing an occupation. A number of the women in our sample reported that career counsellors had been useful in helping them decide on a particular non-traditional job. However, a greater number were ambivalent about these counsellors and some reported negative experiences. Overall, they advised other women either to shop around at schools and employment centres until they found a good counsellor, or to take a short pre-training course to help decide if a particular non-traditional job interests them.

Once women have chosen a non-traditional field, our interviewees indicated that their chances of success in a training or apprenticeship program will be enhanced if they first evaluate their skills and abilities to determine whether they are sufficiently prepared. In many instances, women will lack sufficient math and science preparation and may doubt that they can cope in traditionally male-defined areas. For women weak in math and sciences, the women in our study recommended taking some make-up courses in the evening before entering a training program. They cautioned against accepting the stereotype that women cannot do well in these subjects and stressed that if a woman wants to enter her chosen field badly enough, she will probably find a way to cope with the math and science requirements.

Obstacles in training and some remedial strategies

While many of the obstacles women can expect to encounter in training are also those faced by women on the job, others seem particularly pertinent to the training experience. Of these the four most commonly mentioned by the women in our sample related to course pressure, instructors, fellow students and isolation.

Interviewees generally reported experiencing some degree of pressure to prove themselves equal to the males in the class. Part of this pressure

seems to stem from the fact that, even after completing a pre-training program, most women are still at a disadvantage in terms of their technical and mechanical knowledge. However, part of it also stems from the fact that instructors often expect males to do better and to make faster progress.

The women in our sample offered several strategies for coping with this pressure. Several suggested working harder than the males in the class. Others encouraged women to ignore the pressure and to work at their own pace. A few suggested a more assertive approach which attempted to change the instructor's attitudes towards women in the class. Typical of this group was one woman who took the instructor aside and told him that women were a part of the class and wanted to be treated equally. In her case, this strategy worked.

Not all women experienced this type of discrimination from their instructor, however. Some reported preferential treatment in the form of more attention and greater politeness. Such treatment usually evoked resentment among male peers and this resentment was mentioned as a significant problem for many women interviewed. It was particularly intense for the few who had topped their class.

In general, the resentment many women experienced from the males in their class stemmed from a sense of competition between the sexes and resulted in a fair amount of teasing. The women in our study dealt with it using one of two main strategies. Some women, especially those in their 30's and 40's, focused on the source of the resentment and refused to be drawn into a competitive relationship with their male peers. Others focused on the manifestation of the resentment: the teasing. Most of these women cautioned against taking this teasing personally. They took it in their stride, with humour, and teased right back. Very few women construed it as a form of harassment. Those who did, and who responded defensively, paid the price of being isolated from classmates.

This isolation is a substantial price to pay, for classmates are the

major source of discussion on work-related problems. Once it occurs, it seems hard to rectify. The few women in our sample in this position restricted their interactions to the one or two other women in the class, but reported that this led to heightened resentment. They saw the benefit of seeking out other women through organizations such as Women in Trades, but lacked the time to solicit this type of support.

Tracking down a job

According to our respondents, a tight job market and employers' greater comfort in hiring men in trades and technology can make it difficult to find a job. Despite these difficulties, most women expressed the view that non-traditional training was still worthwhile. Some stressed the satisfaction inherent in learning new skills and materials and some saw training as something to fall back on even in the absence of a job. Others emphasized that jobs are available for women who are prepared to relocate, to begin with a job that is less than their ideal, and to consider informal job creation in the form of working for friends.

In searching for a job, the main advice given by the women in our study was: be persistent. This is good advice for any job search in a tight job market. However, several of the women interviewed attributed the need for persistence directly to the fact that male stereotypes still reign in areas that are non-traditional for women. Some of these women admitted that their persistence bordered on pestering in the form of frequent contacts with employers either by phone or in person. Obviously there is a point beyond which this strategy can backfire. But several women noted that, on occasion, they needed to be assertive and argue against any reasons an employer put forward for not hiring a woman. Rightly or wrongly, it seems to be the female worker's responsibility to convince a potential employer that she can do the job physically, that she has the requisite skills and that she will have no problem fitting in with an all-male crew. Once on the job, a number of women added that there was considerable protection from unions and anti-discrimination legislation to assist women in the case of

continued unfair practices.

Thriving on the job

Once on the job, however, women do point to two major obstacles: being accepted by their male co-workers and isolation in the workplace. Of these, the first was echoed most strongly. One woman said, "The work was easy. It was getting along with the guys that was the hard part."

Women in this study made it very clear that they had to earn the acceptance and respect if their co-workers. It was not automatically given, nor was it initially given on a personal level. It was won by demonstrating a high level of competence on the job. As in training, this may mean working harder than the men. And, as mentioned earlier, it may mean discouraging men from helping and attempting many heavy tasks single-handedly, even if they take longer.

Although demonstrating competence on the job may be hindered by a lack of physical strength, several women stated that this was more a psychological than a physical barrier. They claimed that what women lacked in strength, they often made up for in endurance. In addition, almost all women who commented on this issue stressed that they had proved to be stronger than they had anticipated, and that their strength had built up over time.

According to our interviewees, another barrier to the demonstration of competence involves selective access to the job. Women may be channelled into lighter, less challenging tasks, or asked to perform "female" chores such as making coffee and answering the phone. This was truer of women in technology than in trades and, in these situations, an assertive strategy seemed the best for gaining equal opportunities.

In addition to being tested for competence, the women in our sample stated that they were tested on a personal level. This typically lasted up to a year, but at least one woman believed that it was the first two weeks that were critical. Personal testing usually takes the form of mild harassment, most often sexual innuendos and jokes. Some women reported

being harassed because they were "too pretty" or "too young" to be doing particular jobs.

Most women described this type of harassment as frustrating but relatively harmless, and they responded with humour. As with women in training, their advice was to tease back, unless the harassment is more serious. When teasing went beyond a certain point, several women in our study suggested becoming more assertive and either talking to the offender privately or, as in the one case of extreme harassment, enlisting the help of other co-workers.

The strategies described by our interviewees for gaining acceptance on the job involved a two-pronged interaction style incorporating both accommodation and assertion. Accommodation required women to expect some male co-worker resentment and to try and understand its origins, rather than to react against it. In an all-male environment, however, accommodation alone can mean "being subsumed by the men", as one woman put it. Hence, the women in our sample described themselves as accommodating until they found the harassment offensive, until they were prevented access to certain aspects of their jobs, until they saw their male peers being promoted past them, or until they detected a discrimination in pay. In these important circumstances, they became assertive and stood up for their rights. Most women acknowledged that the balance between accommodation and assertion was a delicate one and that they had to feel their way as they went along.

The second obstacle to women's success in non-traditional work is isolation from other women. Often there are no female co-workers and longstanding friendships with women are difficult to maintain because of relocation, shift work and a decline in the number of common interests. The women interviewed considered friendships with other women to be extremely important and recommended making a strong effort both to reach out to old friends and to seek out new friends with similar interests.

Some women tried to establish friendships with the secretarial or administrative staff in the workplace. Most found the lack of common

interests a barrier and continued to feel isolated. Others tried to become closer to their male co-workers. When they tried to get to know the group as a whole they were not very successful and were usually excluded from activities such as the "boys' talk" about sports. When they tried to become friends with specific co-workers they seemed to fare better, especially if they took a genuine interest in these co-workers' families. This interest helped overcome the jealousy that made it difficult for one woman to become friends with the men at work. It also led two women to close friendships with the wives of their co-workers.

Summary and conclusions

The aim of this paper has been to provide women interested in non-traditional work with information about what to expect from the point of view of women already training or employed. It has highlighted the kinds of obstacles most commonly encountered by the women in our sample and the analysis has extracted from the interview data the collective advice these women have to offer others contemplating non-traditional careers. In part, the coping strategies contained in this advice are incorporated in what Walshok (1981) described as "work savvy" but they are more extensive in the sense that they include pre-training, training and job hunting, as well as on-the-job experiences.

The coping strategies mentioned by the women interviewed are not necessarily the only or even the most adaptive strategies for success in a non-traditional area. They are simply a sampling of what worked for 60 women in their particular situations. It is noteworthy that these strategies overwhelmingly stress personal change and suggest that, to a large extent, women who are successful in non-traditional areas are those who can adapt to the existing work environment.

While the emphasis in this analysis has been on strategies for individual change, Nieva and Gutek (1983) have suggested that these are only one of four types of strategies for change that may help eliminate barriers

to women's achievement in non-traditional areas. Other strategies involve changes in sex-roles, structural changes both within the workplace and in government policy, and changes in the extent to which women are able to network through unions and women's organizations. Very few of the women interviewed mentioned having used strategies to bring about these types of changes. However, their relative silence on these issues should not be taken as an indication that changes in sex-roles, in public policy and in the availability of organizations that allow women to network with each other are unimportant. Indeed, very many women talked about the importance of sex-role issues such as changing male attitudes towards women working in non-traditional areas, changing the image of women presented in advertizing and the media, and making math and science compulsory in high school. They talked about political and legal changes that would, for instance, provide financial incentives for employers to hire women in non-traditional jobs and provide daycare facilities in the workplace. And they talked about the benefits of women's organizations and the importance of women becoming involved in company unions to help bring about changes such as pregnancy leave and daycare. The problem for the women interviewed in this study was not that they overlooked the importance of changes in these areas but that they simply lacked the time to become actively involved in helping to make these types of changes a reality.

Based on the interviews, the general impression the women in our study have to convey to other women making non-traditional career choices is that non-traditional work offers much to women who want a challenge and a good salary, who cherish independence, who don't mind getting dirty, who are neither overly defensive nor out to prove a point, and who have some emotional energy in reserve. The women interviewed reported great satisfaction with their chosen careers but were realistic about the obstacles they and other women face in male-dominated occupations. They offered a number of strategies that can help other women adapt to the realities of a variety of non-traditional training and working environments.

They also outlined a number of more general attitudinal, political and legal issues that are likely to arise for women making non-traditional career choices and that will need to be resolved if women are to break out of their pioneering phase and become fully integrated in areas that have been historically male-dominated.

Footnotes

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Women who choose non-traditional work can expect to encounter physical and/or social obstacles in the workplace, obstacles that will present barriers to their achievement in male-dominated occupations. This article, based on the experiences of Canadian women involved in non-traditional fields, is the first to provide information and advice to women contemplating non-traditional careers at five distinct stages: while still considering non-traditional options, while preparing for training, during training, while job-hunting, and when new on the job.

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Très souvent, les femmes qui choisissent un travail non traditionnel doivent affronter des obstacles d'ordre physique et social dans leurs milieux de travail. Ces obstacles nuisent à la réussite des femmes qui optent pour un métier pratiqué en majorité par des hommes. Basé sur le vécu des femmes canadiennes, cet article est le premier à présenter à celles qui songent à de telles carrières des renseignements et des conseils en cinq étapes distinctes: lorsqu'elles envisagent une carrière nontraditionnelle, lorsqu'elles se préparent pour leur formation, lorsqu'elles sont en stage de formation, lorsqu'elles sont à la recherche d'emploi et finalement lorsqu'elles s'initient au travail.

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