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OCCUPATIONAL TYPES AND

PROFESSIONAL SOCIALISATION

IN THREE

MANAGEMENT FUNCTIONS

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Abstract

The central issue, or debate, at the heart of this study is the level
of influence of stereotypical images of occupations on the 'choices'
individuals make when entering specific managerial specialisms of
personnel, marketing and accounting. This thesis sets out to examine
that specific aspect of that process of choice that has until now
been neglected. This issue is obviously only one aspect of a number
of various factors that influence career choice, it is none the less
both interesting and important.

The thesis considers the source of such stereotypical images, the
varying levels of differences relating to actual 'first hand'
personal experience of the specialisms themselves and the 'accuracy'
of fit to those people in each of the specialisms. This facet of
'accuracy' relates to the data obtained from those actually seeking
to become practitioners in the three specialisms.

In considering the three specific managerial roles the
appropriateness of particular abilities / aptitudes / personal
qualities is considered. These criteria are of course in accordance
with those commonly believed to be appropriate by both those
recruiting and seeking to enter the specialisms.

Under the vast umbrella category of management those in the position
of recruiters seek to place those they consider best suited, in terms
of experience, qualifications, attitude AND personality to specific
roles in management. The stereotypical images held by those in the
position of recruiters can serve to reinforce the general stereotypes
of the functional specialists.

The three specialisms selected for consideration in this thesis were
chosen because each appeared to be significant in terms of the
process whereby each individual perceives their personal managerial
career. More specifically those individuals are offered the
opportunity to identify further with one of these facets of
management by means of professional training courses, resulting in
the individual obtaining a specific qualification.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

Figures

Chapter 1. Management, self and specialist functions

All occupations make a contribution to the society and economy within which they exist as well as providing a living and a meaningful existence for the people who work in them. The quality of the performance of occupational members and, hence, the quality to their contribution to society will be considerably influenced by the abilities and the degree of commitment of the these people. It is therefore a matter of broad social and economic concern that appropriately competent and appropriately motivated individuals fill each occupational role. And, in addition to this, the match between the individual in the occupational role and the nature of that role will strongly influence the quality of experience of the individual doing the job. It is therefore a matter of concern to individuals embarking on and following careers as much as it is a concern at the level of society and economy that the appropriate people fill particular occupational roles.

This study looks at certain types of managerial role and considers one of the factors which it is felt is relevant to the question of the appropriateness of individuals to roles. The enormous issue of what sort of people are required to fulfil successfully different management jobs cannot be tackled here. Rather, an earlier stage of what might be such a major study is looked at. This is the stage at which people make "choices" about managerial careers and the study looks specifically at the role in such processes of the stereotyped images which are available to individuals when they consider some of the different areas of managerial work which they might enter.

Chapter 1

The importance of managerial work in the British economy has
increasingly been recognised through the 1980's as organisations in
both the public and the private sector have recognised the need
considerably to improve their effectiveness in a more and more
competitive world economy. Two highly influential reports on the
state of British management education show strong concern about its
quality and the state of supply of managerial staff Charles Handy in
The Making of Managers said that:

> There can be little doubt that, by comparison with the
> other countries in this study, Britain has neglected her
> managerial stock (1987:13).

Constable and McCormick in their parallel report The Making of
British Managers, noted that:

> There is widespread recognition that effective management
> is a key factor in economic growth. Britain's managers lack
> the development, education and training opportunities of
> their competitors (1987:3).

Handy cites the Labour Force Survey (1985) to that there are 3.3m
self-defined manages of all types in Britain. He then calculates
that, to replace those leaving the occupation, the country needs to
produce 130,00 new managers per year - 90,00 of these to have
"serious managerial responsibilities" (op cit:11).

Chapter 1

Following these reports, government, educational institutions and
major employers themselves (through the so-called "Management Charter
Initiative") have begun to pay serious attention to the education and
development of managers. But the view is taken here that attention
cannot be given to how individuals are trained and developed without
also attending to the process of initial recruitment to the
managerial occupation and, equally important, to the different types
of managerial work which exist under the umbrella category of
"management". The quality of information people have about management
before they enter it is a matter requiring consideration as is the
information they have about the specialisms which are to be found
within a managerial team. And culturally available stereotypes of
management generally and of managerial specialisms specifically might
play a significant role here. These stereotypes, and especially the
stereotypes of functional specialists, are our major concern in this
study but, before attention is concentrated on stereotypes, it is
necessary to clarify the nature of management as an occupational
activity and to consider the nature of some of the important
specialisms which exist within it.

Management and managerial specialisms

A great deal of time and effort can be expended on deciding just what
a manager is with a lot of this effort going on an examination of the
nature of the day-to-day tasks that the alleged manager carries out.
This is not the approach taken here, however. It is felt that

managerial work is best understood in terms of the contribution it
makes to the running of the organisation with which it is concerned.
This corresponds with Watson's point that:

> it is what the work of any individual contributes to the
> steering of the organisation as a whole that makes their
> job a managerial one or not (1986:40).

The definition of managers used here is therefore based on Harvey's
conceptualisation of managers as:

> those members of the industrial bureaucracy with primary
> responsibility for keeping the organisation on the path to
> goal attainment through the provision of internal
> communication and control and, externally, maintaining the
> position of the organisation vis a vis its markets and
> other aspects of the organisation's general environment
> (1975).

This view of managerial work not only has the advantage of avoiding
the reductionist approach of identifying managers through asking
whether or not they actually have subordinates "reporting to them",
it also has the virtue of identifying an overall task or focus <u>within</u>
<u>which there can be a division of labour.</u> It is fairly obvious from
the broad scope of the task identified by Harvey that an
undifferentiated group of individuals would be unlikely to cope with

Chapter 1

it. The recognition, for instance, of internally and externally
directed efforts suggests the need for one principle by which labour
could be divided. You may need specialists to focus on the external
markets, for example, and you may need specialists to look at, say,
the provision and maintenance of the labour resource. We thus have a
logic for two of the managerial specialisms which are to be
considered in this study: that of marketing and that of personnel
management. The need for financial resources to have specialist
knowledge and techniques applied to them - whether those resources
are internally or externally located - gives a logic for a third
group: accounting specialists.

It is important to recognise that functional specialisms are not the
only basis for differentiating roles within the managerial
occupation. Different levels of seniority within management clearly
put different pressures and demands on the individuals who fill them.
Also, Stewart (1976) has shown that the demands of different
managerial jobs can be usefully differentiated in terms of the
contacts which the manager makes in his or her work: whether these
are internal, external or mixed and whether the contacts are with
senior, junior and parallel individuals; largely subordinates;
largely peers or are largely absent, as in the case of the "solo"
manager. Stewart also suggests that an important way in which
managerial jobs vary is the extent to which the individual is
exposed. This relates to the extent to which mistakes and poor
performance could be individually identified. This important work

must be mentioned here because it is very pertinent to the issue of fitting the appropriate person to the specific managerial post. Someone without the advantage of inter-personal skills might find considerable difficulties in coping with what Stewart calls a "hub" job in, say, a general manager post, whilst they could be both comfortable and productive in a "solo" manager post as, say, a management accountant.

The factors identified by Stewart do relate to functional specialisms, as the citing here of the case of an accountant indicates, but the relationship is not a straightforward one. Within, say, personnel management we will find posts which involve a lot of contact with employees and others which involve very little (Watson 1977). A stereotype of personnel management as a type of job in which you "work with people" could be instrumental here in leading to situations in which we find the "wrong" person in a job. And this brings us back to the present focus on functional specialisms. These are examined in this study rather than Stewart's job types, not because they generally provide a superior way of differentiating between managerial roles, but because they are the categories which tend to be used by many people when looking at careers in business and management. It would probably be better in terms of fitting people to jobs if individuals considered managerial careers in the light of their perceived suitability for Stewart's "hub", "man management" (sic), "peer dependent" or "solo" jobs rather than their perceived suitability (or vice versa) for, say, marketing, personnel,

production or accounting. But, until better academically informed categories such as those of Stewart are widely applied to career planning processes, we are forced back to looking at career entry processes in terms of functional categories.

The three specialisms considered in this study were chosen because they each appeared to be significant in terms of the process whereby individuals think about their personal managerial careers. Specifically, individuals are offered the opportunity to identify with one of these strands of management by the availability to them of specific training in the specialisms - training which brings not only the promised of enhanced capability but a "professional qualification". There was also an initial and specific interest in the issue of what types of people become interested and enter personnel management - as will be explained below. For the present, the three management specialisms to be covered need to be identified and defined. For the sake of consistency, the definitions of the three areas have been taken from the same source, the Penguin Dictionary of Management, edited by Kempner (1987).

Personnel management is:

> The part of the process of managing that is concerned with
> the policies, procedures and practices governing the
> recruitment, selection, training, promotion, remuneration
> and working conditions of the people employed by an

enterprise. Personnel management is thus part of the job of
anyone who manages other people, as well as the description
given to the function of specialists called personnel
managers or personnel officers (Kempner 1987:377).

The marketing manager is:

responsible for the totality of a company's market offering
- the range of products and their packaging, the prices
charged, the discount structures offered, the
communications media employed.... and the channels through
which the product or service is made
available...(Ibid:307).

Accounting is perhaps a broader occupational category than the above
two but it is generally characterised in the Penguin dictionary as
involving the "collecting, analyzing, summarising and presenting" of
"financial data relating to a particular entity or organisation, so
as to describe its financial position and the changes therein"
(Ibid:6) whilst the more particular activity of management accounting
is:

The provision of information required by management in the
formulation of policies, the planning and control of
business activities, and the selection of appropriate
courses of action from available opportunities.

Chapter 1

The appropriateness of each of these definitions could no doubt be
debated at length but all that is felt to be required at this stage
is a broad understanding of the role of these three types of work
within the division of labour which typically characterises the
overall management team of a work organisation. Our attention can now
turn to the question of the people who fill these types of managerial
role.

Managerial roles: persons and positions

It was suggested earlier that the issue of the nature of the "fit"
between the person and the role within management was a matter of
potential concern both for economic performance and for individual
welfare. The recognition that a variety of characteristics of
individual job holders in addition to specific skills are relevant to
their job performance was brought to the fore in debates about
managerial performance by Boyatzis (1982) in his study of job
competencies. Boyatzis stresses that:

> a job competency is an underlying characteristic of a
> person in that it may be a motive, trait, skill, aspect of
> one's self image or social role, or a body of knowledge
> which he or she uses (Boyatzis 1982:21).

The stress here is on performance and it is recognised that what
leads to successful performance in a given context is a combination

of factors which go beyond those which are simply acquired through a
training process. In this study we are interested in the underlying
characteristics of individuals which tend to precede the acquisition
of technical skills of accounting, personnel management or marketing.
The relevance of the increasingly influential work of Boyatzis to
this study is that it draws our attention to the relevance of the
person as a whole to job performance and away from any belief that
effective job performance is a matter of simply giving people the
"right training". How conceptually the notion of the "person as a
whole" can be handled is a matter for consideration later in this
chapter. At this stage we need to look at some existing
considerations of the "types" of people who engage in different
management specialisms.

As was suggested earlier, a concern about the people entering and
working in personnel management provided an initial impetus to the
present study. In his study of members of the personnel management
occupation, Watson (1977) notes that it is not just managers outside
the personnel area who are "often given to referring to the 'woolly
types' or the 'softies' working in personnel department" who have
doubts about the appropriateness of personnel specialists to the
modern business context. Senior managers and educators interviewed

expressed concerns about many of the well qualified people entering

or hoping to enter the occupation. Key interviewees suggested that:

> there is a tendency for these to "unbusiness-like" or to
>
> be, as one put it, "soft personalities who are nervous of
>
> conflict". They are more concerned with making people happy
>
> than with taking decisions and they want to bring to work
>
> what someone called a "misplaced softness" (1977:113).

Senior recruiters are quoted in the study as being worried about the

proportion of applications they receive from "churchy sort of

people", "people who would be better off in social work" and "young

girls who think that Personnel is the place for women to make careers

in industry" (Ibid: 114). The study locates these concerns in what is

seen as an attempt by many in the personnel function to "kill the

welfare image" of the occupation, to show it as "hard-headed",

business-oriented and, in terms of the widest cultural stereotypes,

"masculine" rather than "feminine".

Given the rivalries which tend to exist between managers in different

departments of organisations we have to be careful to contextualise

what non-personnel managers say about personnel specialists but there

is widespread evidence of questions being raised in managerial

circles about the suitability of "personnel types". American evidence

presented by Ritzer and Trice (1969) and Foulkes (1975) suggests that

many managers see personnel managers as defensive, passive, reactive,

conservative people. They are seen as averse to risk-taking and to playing a significant part in business decisions. Miner's study characterised American personnel managers as lacking a motivation to manage and Miner argued that a lack of assertiveness was so pervasive that it seemed to be "a defining characteristic of the field". British evidence collected by Legge (1978) reveals a tendency for personnel people to be seen as "out of touch" and Manning (1983) put what he saw as a widespread apathy towards personnel departments down to a lack of the sort of analytic and creative thinking which he believes has been demonstrated in the fields of finance and marketing.

Eminent British managers have also raised questions about the sort of people in personnel management. The former chairman of ICI, John Harvey Jones (1982) wrote of being unimpressed by the those he has seen working in personnel departments and Michael Edwardes, actually addressing a conference of personnel managers, spoke of people moving into personnel management "to avoid the rat race of line management". Edwardes spoke of a need for a more "robust" line to be taken instead of the more typical "soft line" often taken by personnel people on such issues as pay and overmanning.

A more scientific attempt to look at differences in personal orientation among managers in different specialisms is that of Ellis & Child (1973). They note a "clear and strong differentiation"

between design, personnel, marketing and workflow managers on the one
hand and other functional managers on the other:

> The former group exhibit high levels of personal
> flexibility in their attitudes towards variety in work
> environment and taking risks. A similar pattern of results
> also emerges in regard to expectations of behaviour, where
> differences are particularly marked concerning the
> challenging of formal authority and procedure. In contrast
> to the design, personnel, marketing and workflow group,
> financial managers and quality control managers emerge as
> the least flexible groups and also the most conservative in
> regard to authority and innovation (1973:247).

These findings have to be carefully interpreted and put in context.
The personal characteristics identified here as being patterned
according to individual's functional specialism may indeed suggest to
us that such factors as occupational choice, occupational
socialisation and contacts with "professional" reference groups may
influence these orientations. But structural circumstances may also
be important. It may be , for example, that, as Ellis and Child
suggest, managers who show more rigid and conservative attitudes are
placed in roles involving largely monitoring and "controlling" while
the contrasting types of individual are allocated to functions with a
stronger "initiating" element. The images of personnel staff
discussed above could also be seen in this light: as well as

personnel work possibly attracting less "dynamic" or "proactive" or "tough-minded" individuals it could well be that organisations are indicating a particular attitude to the personnel department itself by allocating such people to it. Senior managers may, indeed, be creating the very situation about which they complain. As Ellis and Child say, management selection depends heavily on a "development of criteria for effective performance" and that these "presumed characteristics" form a basis for further expectations regarding appropriate outlooks and style of behaviour in managerial jobs. The expectations themselves can serve to reflect _and_ to reinforce certain stereotypes of jobs.

Evidence of just what it is that individuals are looking for when approaching different types of managerial work is in short supply and, even then, can be contradictory. This can be seen in studies which concentrate on the distinction between line managers and "staff" or "technical advisory" managers. Porter (1963) showed different levels of interest in opportunities to satisfy psychological needs at work between line managers and "technical advisers". Line managers showed greater satisfaction with social relations, security, esteem, autonomy and self actualisation than did technical advisers whilst the latter showed greater satisfaction than the former with regard to opportunities for independent thought and action. Rosen (1961) found corresponding contrasts between line managers and staff specialists. These were both American studies and Lansbury (1976) in a British study of managerial specialists did not

Chapter 1

find the kind of "motivational communality" within this general

category that was seen in the American study. He shows a variety of

types of work orientation among the management services staff that he

studied: careerists, functionaries and academics. These categories

are, of course, ones devised by the researcher to make sense of the

way identifiable groups appear to differ. How do these relate to the

notion of the stereotype?

Management and stereotypes

In this study stereotypes are regarded as generalisations which are

made about the characteristics of a group of people which are

indiscriminately attributed to all members of the group. As Ehrlich

has commented, "few scholars have proposed any formal definition of

stereotype (1973:60) but he notes that a common characteristic which

commentators appear to recognise is that of _rigidity_. This may well

result from the fact that the concept has largely been used

academically in the study and analysis of racial prejudice and

discrimination. Indeed Ehrlich himself suggests that:

> to study stereotype assignments is to study the language of
>
> prejudice, for stereotypes provide a common language of
>
> discourse for prejudiced persons. As a special language,
>
> stereotypes function to reinforce the beliefs and
>
> disbeliefs of its users, and to furnish the basis for the
>
> development and maintenance of solidarity for the

prejudiced. Stereotype assignments provide a vocabulary of
motives for the action of prejudiced persons. They signal
the socially approved and accessible targets for the
release of hostility and aggression (Ibid:21).

This aspect of stereotyping cannot be disregarded. There is no doubt
that the study of racial prejudice and discrimination reveals
extensive use of stereotyped images of groups and individuals. And
this is undoubtedly far from absent from the world of occupations and
management. Stereotypes of occupations such as tax collector, estate
agent or police officer are often seen in use in a way which
resembles the use of ethnic stereotypes. Studies of the relationships
between line managers and personnel managers (see Watson 1986)
suggest a degree of resentment which sometimes has similar overtones
and it is not unusual in the business context to hear references to
accountants which have similar nuances. Nevertheless, we have to
careful not to import into any consideration of the use of
stereotypes in the occupational sphere a tendency to see them as
necessarily related to the kind of negative prejudice seen in race
relations or, indeed, to prejudice (in the sense of involving strong
but poorly grounded evaluative elements) at all. On the issue of
negativity, for example, we could suggest that there exist
stereotypes of occupations which are very positively evaluated. The
stereotype of the nurse as an angel in a uniform would be an obvious
case to cite. But there may be many more occupations which have in

the general culture a stereotype attached to them which may be
relatively neutral - a baker, a librarian, a lecturer say.

In spite of this, one cannot deny that there will always be some
degree of evaluation associated with a stereotype as one soon
realises as one begins to reflect on one's own stereotypes of
occupations such as lorry driver, doctor, social worker, soldier, as
so on. But this must be kept in perspective and the possibility
recognised that, as important as any evaluative element in an
occupational stereotype may be, a simple functional element has also
to be recognised: one which allows us to conceptualise in a kind of
mental shorthand an occupation about which we know little. This is a
point to which we will return later when developing the conceptual
framework for the present empirical study. It will be argued that
stereotypes can perhaps most usefully be seen as one kind of the
universally used typifications which play a part in the reality
construction activities of all human beings. Stereotypes are part of
the taken-for-grantedness within which we live and even those opting
for entry to an occupation may be dependent on a stereotype of their
chosen occupation. This point is powerfully illustrated by Kleinman's
observation about students entering theological colleges to train for
the ministry:

> The stereotype of the minister is so taken for granted that
> the new students are surprised to discover that their peers

are neither praying constantly nor are always talking about
theology (1981:71).

A recognition of this point is vital in the present context because
we are concerned with the extent to which people are informed by
stereotypes in their own occupational behaviour, and especially their
occupational choice behaviour.

Management as a general occupational category is likely to have
stereotyped images attached to it although these may be much more
diffuse than those attached to more visible and task-specific
occupations. As Nicholson and West (1988) recognise, traditional
stereotypes of managers persist in both Britain and the USA and have
a relationship to a "class-based vision of 'them and us'" (1988:22).
These authors did not directly research stereotypes among the
managers they studied but they, interestingly, comment that:

> Managers themselves are not immune to such images, which
> are perpetuated by media caricatures of organisational
> life. These images can have the power to create the
> illusion of a superior idealised reality, even to the point
> of persuading managers to regard their own real experience
> as somehow atypical (Ibid:22).

Ellis and Child (1973) stress that managerial stereotypes have only
infrequently been subject to systematic investigation. They point to

the popular stereotype of the "bureaucratic personality" (identified by Merton, 1940, popularised by Whyte, 1960, empirically undermined by Kohn 1971 and Blau, 1955) and the stereotypes of the advertising man described by Tunstall (1964). Their own research was discussed above but their observation that functional stereotypes provide better guidelines to managers' actual attitudes than to industrial ones (with the exception of extreme cases like advertising) is a strong justification for the present study.

Conceptualising individual differences: going beyond "personality"

Underlying all that has been said so far is the idea that there is some _patterning_ in the way individuals differ from each other. This is implicit in the notion of there being various "types" of people - whether we are considering occupations or any other aspect of human life. Both everyday language and academic psychology differentiate between people and try to formulate generalisations about them with regard to such variables as intelligence, aptitudes, attitudes and so on. The most used concept, however, is that of personality. This is defined in various ways with different psychologists emphasising

different aspects of the idea. One of the most used definitions is that of Allport (1937) who says personality is:

> the dynamic organisation within the individual of those
> psychophysical systems that determine his unique
> adjustments to his environment.

This definition stresses the dynamic nature of the personality but others put emphasis on stability. Eysenck (1963), for example says personality is:

> the more or less stable and enduring organisation of a
> person's character, temperament, intellect, and physique
> that determines his unique adjustment to his environment.

This consistency over time is more frequently stressed that not. As Gangestad and Snyder (1985:317) stress in their discussion of the concept:

> As a psychological concept, personality refers to
> regularities and consistencies in the behaviour of
> individuals and to structures and processes that underlie
> these regularities and consistencies.

This stress on persistence is inevitably related to a broad human need to feel that we can to some extent predict what a given person

might do in a particular circumstance, something again reflected in
certain branches of academic psychology. Cattell's (1965) famous
definition of personality, for example simply sees it as:

> That which permits a prediction of what a person will do in
> a given situation.

Any particular researcher has clearly got to decide which emphasis to
adopt in their own consideration of human individual differences of
the type broadly referred to as relating to "personality". As
Shackleton and Fletcher (1984) argue, it follows from this kind of
diversity that "there is no simple, correct definition of
personality". They suggest that you have to choose your definition
"according to your theoretical predilections and, to an extent, the
use you are going to make of personality theory". And to guide one's
choice in terms of one's "theoretical predilections" the researcher
can, I suggest, usefully make use of the distinction which is often
made between nomothetic and idiographic approaches to thinking about
personality. Some of the features of each of these identified by
Buchanan and Huczinski (1985:119) are that whereas the nomothetic
generalises through emphasising laws of human behaviour, the
idiographic emphasises the richness and complexity of the unique
individual; whereas the nomothetic sees personality in terms of the
individual's possession of traits, the idiographic sees it in terms
of the individual's own self understanding; whereas the nomothetic

views personality as composed of discrete and identifiable elements, the idiographic believes that personality has to be understood and studied as a unified, indivisible, intelligible whole; whereas the nomothetic believes that personality is determined by heredity, biology and genetics, the idiographic believes that it is determined by social and cultural processes and whereas the nomothetic believes that personality is given at birth and is unalterable, the idiographic believes that personality is adaptable and open to change through experience.

As Buchanan and Huczinski recognise, one may have difficulty in deciding how to choose between these fundamentally different ways of looking at "personality". They suggest that one may have to decide in terms of which approach is the more aesthetically pleasing, which "feels right" and how each approach fits with other aspects of one's own world view (Ibid:119). The idiographic view of the human social world fits strongly with my own preferred way of understanding both generally and with regard to social scientific analysis. It is my view, for instance, that the socialisation of an individual is of paramount importance in the formation the individual. This, however, is a continuous 'process' and the individual is always in a state of 'becoming'. The ongoing process of socialisation bestows identity upon the individual. It is a process of interaction with others and with the environment that moulds or forms the individual.

Chapter 1

In my view an understanding of personality must include a full
appreciation of the complexity of human behaviour; the same events
for example being interpreted differently by different individuals.
Complexities exist because behaviour arises not only from existing
"personality" but also in relation to situations and circumstances.
In addition, it must be recognised that behaviour shown by two
individuals at one time, or by the same individuals at different
times, has no fixed relationship. To understand the significance or
meaning of an act for the individual, one must know something about
that individual and about the situation in which the act occurred.

To know an individual is to consider their _identity_. This implies
some knowledge of their life-history as well as insights into their
current existence. However, one cannot always make a clear
distinction between past, present and future in understanding the
individual. For example, one's 'present' behaviour spans not just
that moment of time but rather the duration of one's current concerns
and ongoing activities. Moving house takes not just one day but
several weeks before, and some time after, the actual day of moving.
In a sense, not an absolute sense, human beings can make their own
history and future - the past, present and future merging into one
another. The person that we are at present depends in part on the
person we have been and helps determine the person we are to become.
An individual can, however, anticipate and plan the future and, to a
certain extent, it is also possible to re-interpret our personal
history. Life experiences not only act on us directly, in terms of

Chapter 1

our physical make-up, but also indirectly by virtue of our
psychological make-up ("personality" having motivational, cognitive
and affective, in addition to sensory and behaviourial, aspects).

My notion of personality and its development, then, is clearly in the
idiographic tradition. I see the "personality" of the individual as,
in effect, an ongoing process of change. It might be better,
therefore, to refer to the dynamic self. The individual is in a
continuous state of flux: the individual taking from society, by
means of interaction with environment and others, that which they
develop. This process continues at each stage of the 'life career' so
that, for example, occupational "choice" and "occupational
socialisation" are just part of the life-long process of personality
development. This concept of an ever changing or continuously
developing personality or "transitory personality" might be
conceptualised a the "self in process". Within the parameters of
social interaction (the confines of 'social being') the individual
'feeds on' that with which they interact, giving to and taking from
each social situation or encounter.

It is this ongoing process of change that will be of central interest
to me in this research. The implication is that there is an "ever
changing core" within the individual that is adapting, moulding,
developing and "growing", in both maturity and size. It is this
central core that is of interest for study and examination. I feel
that the process of change and development during the time span,

often referred to as the life's career, has a considerable and important impact on the entry of the individual into the area of work. The prior impact of a number of factors, to be discussed, on this central core has bearing on the decisions that are taken by an individual when assessing future occupational choices. It is these "choices", if in fact they are choices, which provide the issue that will be related in this study to the focal notion of occupational stereotypes.

These basic "domain assumptions" (Gouldner 1971) have been stated here to reveal my personal theoretical predilections and to contextualise what is to follow. But this way of thinking is derived from and is consistent with a considerable body of academic thinking. Critiques of the mainstream of psychological thinking on personality by such people as Bowers (1976) and Mischel (1979) have led to what Frese has called an "eclectic view of personality...which is broadly interactionist" (1982:11) and which:

> implies first that personality and situational
> characteristics interact to bring about actions (and
> changes in the personality); second, that personality
> characteristics are to a certain extent stable but can be
> changed with feedback from the environment; third, that
> personality characteristics do not always generalise from
> one situation to another; and, fourth, that one person is
> not just a reflex to the environment but is active by

cognitively interpreting and actually changing the
environment while being in turn influenced by it.

In many ways has gone beyond the concept of personality here and is
replacing it with a concept of "self".

Self, context and occupational entry

The concept of self is almost as old as psychology itself with
William James (1890) referring to the self or "empirical me" as
everything that someone would "call their own" - this including their
physical being, relationships with others and their activities. Since
James' time the concept of self has been used a variety of ways (Hall
and Linzey 1957) and its value has regularly been critically reviewed
and questioned (Epstein 1973, Wylie 1974). All approaches, however,
seem to consider the relationship between the individual and their
environment and suggest that in establishing a self-concept, a person
"selects from many environmental inputs, weights some and not others,
and organises what is considered relevant in some meaningful,
coherent way (Pervin, 1978:182). The concept of self, in its more
phenomenological versions not only deals with the person's view of
their self but there way of viewing the world outside them. It links
an inside and an outside world:

Chapter 1

      Each inhabits an individual world created around a sense of

      self which gives perspective on outside "reality". The

      person interprets the experience of the external objective

      environment - occupation, marriage, family, community and

      the wider society - according to basic rules of

      understanding established in this inner world (Collin

      1986:22).

Perhaps the single most influential writer on self and the key figure
in "interactionist" thinking in the social sciences is George Herbert
Mead (1934). In Mead's analysis, the "self" is not there at birth but
arises in the 'process' of social experience and activity. Mead
suggests that thinking is a preparatory to social action, the process
of thinking being, in simple terms, like an inward conversation. Self
awareness grows out of "role taking". In order to understand what you
are and the nature of your relationships to others it is necessary to
practice taking a variety of roles. In this general principle, that
of "playing" roles, one cannot effectively play unless one can
appreciate or understand the roles of the other players -
understanding the other side of the interaction. This stresses the
point of cooperation and understanding in interaction in everyday
life. The notion of "self", growing out of role taking, in turn leads
to a social self, referred to by Mead as "me". The "I", according to
Mead, is that which is actually experiencing, it is not self aware,
active or conscious. The "I" of the moment is present in the "me" of
the next moment. Everyone has a point of view that serves as a filter

through which the external world is viewed. One of the most important
of these filters through which the world is interpreted is one's own
"self-image" or self perception.

Mead refers to two important classes of "others". First, the
"generalised other" refers to no particular person or no actual
person, just a generalised set of relevant people. The second
category of other is of a more direct influence, these being the
"significant others" of the family, friends, peer groups, - people
who have more direct access to the individual and can influence how
the individual sees themselves. Personality, in effect, is thus seen
as socially defined: personal characteristics cannot be defined in
the abstract. For example, how attractive an individual is depends on
other people, most people having a notion of what is considered by
others to be attractive.

How does the individual find out what others think? It is a social
process in the sense that the individual can only obtain an idea from
the responses of others. There is, therefore, only meaning in terms
of other people. "Feedback" is required in order to judge how one is
seen by others; how one compares with others.

The danger with all of this is that one could lose a vital notion
which the traditional concept of personality helped us with. This is
the idea that each of us, in spite of the fact that we may change in
certain ways as we go through life, does have a basic set of

characteristics which are essentially "us". Perhaps we need to

conceptualise "self" in a way which allows a certain core of

characteristics which are relatively stable whilst recognition is

given to the dynamic and "negotiated" aspects of who, or what, we

are. Schein (1979) is very helpful here in distinguishing between a

basic self and a set of other "selves" which connect back to this.

Schein sees the individual as a "more or less integrated set of

social selves organised around a basic image or concept of self". He

says he is following Mead (op cit), Becker (1961) and Goffman (1959)

in viewing the variety of social selves, which are based on the

underlying self, as constructed by the individual in dealing with his

or her environment. Each of these "constructed social selves" is:

> a set of assumptions about, perceptions of, and claims on a
>
> given social situation in which role expectations may be
>
> more or less well defined. The basic rules of conduct and
>
> interaction in terms if which the person orients himself to
>
> any social situation are largely culturally determined but
>
> these basic rules still leave each individual a wide
>
> latitude in how he will choose to present himself in any
>
> given situation (the 'line' he will take), and how much
>
> social value or status he will claim for himself (his
>
> 'face') (Ibid:504).

Chapter 1

It is suggested that to know the basic self (or "basic underlying
personality structure") tells us little about how people behave with
regard to such specific matters as occupational roles. As he
acknowledge, people with similar basic selves may well behave
differently in the same "interactive situation". Schein in fact
asserts that, "it is not sufficient to describe a person in terms of
basic personality structure, if we are to understand his relationship
to organisations. . . . each of us learns to construct somewhat
different selves for the different kinds of situations in which we
are called on to perform, and for the different kinds of role we
expected to take".

People do indeed change throughout their lives and these should, says
Schein, be seen as "changes in the nature and integration" of their
social selves. He says of the individual:

> It is highly unlikely that he will change substantially in
> his basic character structure and his pattern of
> psychological defenses, but he may change drastically in
> his social selves in the sense of developing new attitudes
> and values, new competencies, new images of himself, and
> new ways of entering and conducting himself in social
> situations. As he faces new roles which bring new demands,
> it is from his repertory of attributes and skills that he
> constructs or reconstructs himself to meet these demands
> (Ibid:505).

Chapter 1

This notion corresponds closely to what is often referred to as the person's subjective career: the pattern which can be seen as they move through a series of roles and situations in their lives. Central to this idea is, as Collin says, "the proposition that people seek to achieve overall stability in their outward life and coherence in their inner world" (op cit:22).

One value of this broad approach to understanding occupational entry and occupational behaviour more generally is that one could incorporate into it insights and suggestion from other traditions of research. For example, the idea developed by various researchers that individuals' values are important in their occupational "choice" processes can be recognised - as long as any implication that the individual possesses a fixed set of values which then somehow determine occupational choice is avoided. Subject to this caveat, we can recognise the value of Rosenberg's (1957) research which showed that students whose questionnaire responses indicated "people oriented" values were more strongly inclined to enter medicine, social work or personnel management. Alternatively, those who valued pay and status to a greater degree were shown to be more likely to approach business careers whilst those with strong self-expression values displayed strong interest in careers in journalism, art or architecture. A relationship between values and occupational location has been shown by Gray (1963) in a study of teachers, accountants and mechanical engineers and Duff and Cotgrove (1982) showed that the values of social science students were more "anti-industrial" than

students of management, engineering and economics and that the social
science students tended to prefer non-industrial jobs which they
viewed as congruent with their values.

Also within the broad interactionist framework - and as long as one
avoided seeing individual characteristics as fixed entities with
"determining" power - one could incorporate the insight that people
whose response to research instruments indicated them to be
classifiable as convergers might be more oriented towards natural
science or engineering than towards studies or activities associated
with the arts and humanities, towards which divergers would be drawn
(Hudson 1966). Similarly, people identified according to the four
learning styles identified by Kolb and Plovnik (1977) could be shown
to have certain predisposing factors towards careers in which their
particular strengths in terms of their approach to learning would be
advantageous.

The interactionist approach favoured here is essentially processual
in a way many of the above types of thinking are not. It would see
such matters of how, say, people tackle intellectual problems or
whether they prefer dealing with machines or dealing with people, as
one factor among many which any given individual takes into account
in the process of developing their selves and their subjective
careers. But in stressing this process, one has to be very careful
not to give attention to the individuals' internal thought processes
at the expense of the sociological context within which these

processes occur. One of the most influential theories of vocational

development - and one that centrally uses the concept of self, that

of Super et al (1963), has been strongly criticised in these terms by

Roberts (1975). Super sees the individual as moving through a series

of life stages and, in adolescence, the individual starts to be drawn

towards the kind of work which would allow them to present to others

an image which the individual would like those others to have of

them. Super argues that the individual may not be able to achieve the

ideal which is implicit here and that an important part of the self

development process is that of coming to terms with the limitations

which exist in terms of opportunities. This part of the theory is too

weak for Roberts, who very heavily emphasises the social and economic

"opportunity structures" which he sees as "dictating" career

patterns, with individuals' ambitions regarded as "reflecting the

influence of the structures through which they pass".

The latter emphasis can be seen as one-sided as that which the author

is attacking and, I would suggest, a more useful approach is to see

an ongoing interplay between individual self-development processes

and the socio-economic structural opportunities and constraints of

class, race, gender, education etc. This is reflected in the model

which is presented in Fig 1.1. This, in effect, is a representation

of the conceptual framework for the present study which emerges from

the various arguments which have been pursued throughout this

chapter.
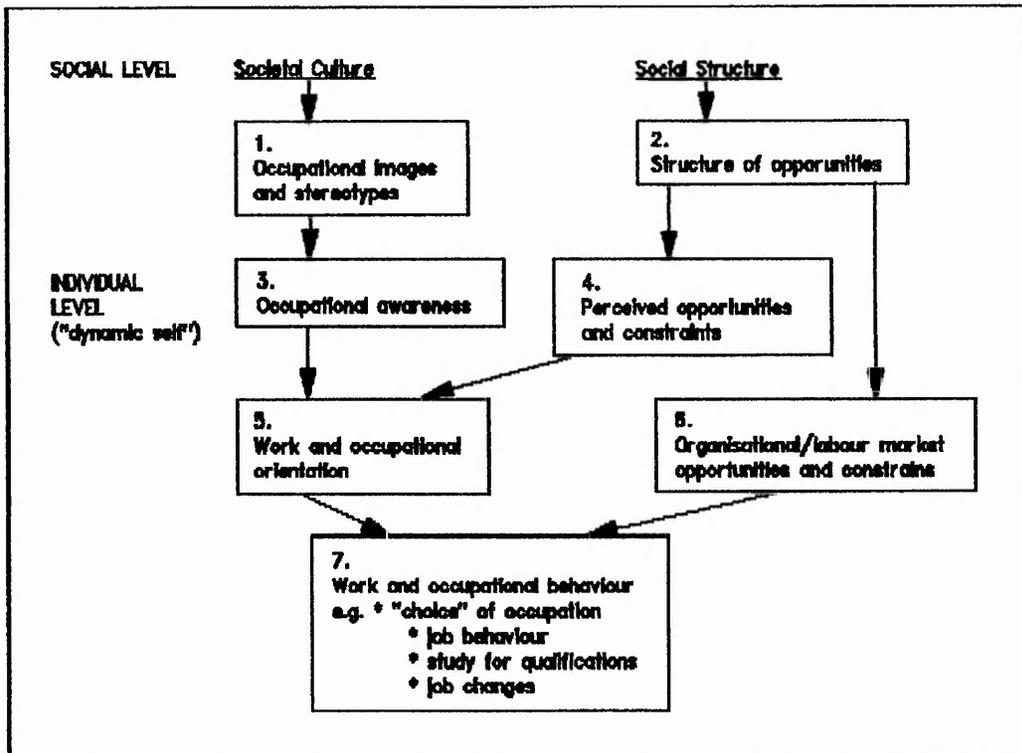
Figure 1.1

The focus of the study is on individuals and how they think and behave with regard to their occupational involvement in personnel management, marketing and accounting. The study is especially concerned with occupational choice aspects of occupational behaviour. This is represented by box 7 of Figure 1.1. The other key concern, of course, is with occupational stereotypes, represented by box 1 of the scheme. The scheme shows, following the points made earlier about the need for an interactionist view of personality which recognises that "personality and situational characteristics interact" (Frese 1982:11) and the one above about "opportunity structures", that how an individual behaves cannot be understood in the light of how they "think" alone. The occupational awareness (box 3) influenced by

stereotypes interacts with the way the individual perceives the
opportunities and constraints which arise from labour market factors,
individual academic attainment, gender, physical characteristics and
so on (box 4). These influence the individual's <u>work and occupational</u>
<u>orientation</u> which I define (building on Watson's (1987) definition of
work orientation as:

> the meanings attached by individuals to their occupation
> and its associated work tasks and which predispose them to
> think and act with regard to that occupation and the work
> associated with it.

But behaviour is not a simple outcome of the "dynamic self" of the
individual. Circumstances come together with these predispositions to
determine behaviour. And the scheme locates these in box 6; how the
individual behaves is influenced by opportunities and constraints to
be found in the employing organisation or in the labour market.

The conceptual scheme represented in Figure 1.1 underpins the study
which follows in remaining chapters. It indicates the background
thinking and the assumptions behind the analysis of what is, in
effect, just one part of the large process represented in the

diagram. The empirical research which has been carried out concentrates on three main questions:

(1) to what extent do people with varying degrees of "proximity" to managerial careers hold stereotypes of personnel management, marketing and accounting and what, broadly, do these stereotypes look like?

(2) what is the relationship between whatever stereotypical ideas exist among these people outside the occupations with the views held by trainee members of these specialisms themselves?

(3) what part have stereotype-based images played in the processes whereby a selection of people entered the three specialisms?

These three questions are dealt with in chapters 3, 4 and 5 respectively. And the answers found are drawn together in chapter 6 where, also, some implications for what has been found are brought out. Before any research findings are reported and discussed, however, the research design and investigative methods used must be considered. This will now be done in chapter 2.

Chapter 2. Research design and methods

The initial impetus for the research

As explained in the chapter 1, this research project developed from
concerns that people working in personnel management may represent a
particular type of person. Academic staff teaching personnel
management students felt this to be the case and believed that their
experimentally based impressions might be worth looking at
systematically. There was also evidence in the literature that
personnel managers differed from other types of manager. This was
discussed in chapter 1 as was the specific set of impressions
reported in the main British study of members of the personnel
management occupation (Watson 1977) It was revealed, for example,
that many within the specialism feel that others within the
organisation treat them as though they have little, or no,
organisational influence. This may well have structural factors
behind it but there was a strong suggestion that the nature of the
individuals involved may be a significant factor. Watson discussed
the way in which personnel specialists themselves expressed the
image, often a very negative image, of the individuals who chose to
enter the specialism. Revealed here were seemingly stereotypical
images of the "do gooder", the "churchy" person and the "soft" type.

As the discussion in the first chapter would suggest, the position I
take methodologically prevents me from accepting that there exist a
simple array of personality "types" who go on to select a type of
work which best expresses their personality. But I recognise that

there is sufficient evidence to imply that there are patterns in the relationship between types of individual trait and the sector of managerial work in which people work. The work of Ellis and Child (1973) has been important in showing this for example. As this work suggests, there may be patterns of <u>orientation to work</u> to be found among managers working in different functional areas. And this way of thinking fits my own methodological thinking much more closely than a traditional psychological view of "personality types". Chapter 1 sets up the notion of <u>dynamic self</u> and identifies the individual's <u>work and occupational orientation</u> as part of this (box 5 in Figure 1.1). This, together with certain situational factors identified, influences such behaviour as entry into a particular occupation and the way people behave once in it (box 7).

The conceptual framework sees the work and occupational orientation in part deriving from the individual's <u>occupational awareness</u>. This, it was felt, could be investigated by talking to people in the early stages of careers in managerial specialisms such as personnel. The investigation could look at the way stereotypical notions played a part in people's thinking and hence in their orientations - or predispositions towards attitudes and behaviour.

However, this seemed to pre-judge the existence of stereotypes as a kind of crude information which people would draw upon. It was recognised that occupational stereotypes (if they existed at all) need to be recognised as <u>typifications</u> within the broader societal

culture upon which people would draw in their "construction of reality" (Berger & Luckman 1971). Thus, conceptually, the stereotypes are located as part of the societal culture and appear as box 1 of Figure 1.1. And, empirically, it was decided that an attempt should be made to find out whether there was evidence for the existence of occupational stereotypes of three chosen managerial specialisms.

Once evidence had been gathered about the stereotypes which exist "outside the individual's mind", it would then be possible to turn to people entering the relevant occupations to see whether or not the societally available images were pertinent to their own thinking. Two lines of investigation thus opened themselves up. First, one could compare their views of certain aspects of people in their occupational area with those which emerged from the study of people who had not made such a 'professional commitment'. And second, one could seek accounts of such individuals to examine what place such views placed in the actual process of occupational entry and behaviour. The research design would thus follow a direction similar to that identified conceptually in chapter 1. The investigation would start at the "external" level and work "down the diagram" from the stereotypes in the minds of people outside the occupations to the awareness at the level of the individual occupational member and, from this, to the process whereby they entered the occupational area.

The main thrust of the initial research interest was directed towards individuals who enter the field of personnel management, as has been

explained. The two additional groups chosen for study can therefore
be seen as acting as comparators. Nevertheless, the information
gathered about stereotypical images of these occupations would be
worthwhile in its own terms. It should be as relevant to those
concerned with the future of accounting in organisations and to those
interested in marketing to learn about the influence of stereotypes
as it is to those who agonise about personnel management.

The choice of techniques and the design of "instruments" to complete
this research design can now be considered. But, first, a little more
has to be said about the stance of the individual researcher. It is
felt to be very important that a reader of the research report should
be able to contextualise the work they are reading by knowing
something of the very basic assumptions with which the researcher is
working.

The research and the researcher

There are many methods, or techniques, of investigation that
sociologists and other researchers use. The actual method or
techniques selected will depend on a number of factors. One such
factor is the way in which the investigator views the social world.
Each person has what I would call a "theoretical bias" deriving from
their assumptions held about social life.

Chapter 2

The methods used by the social scientist are derived from those used
by people generally to "make sense" of what is going on in the
"outside world" around them. A "common sense" understanding and
interpretation is employed by the sociologist and lay person alike.
Sociologists endeavour be more objective - in the sense of being more
systematic, recognising that the research can not be entirely "value
free". I as a social scientist must therefore pursue my research
having disclosed the grounds upon which I intend to collect,
interpret and present my findings. This is the logic behind my
attention in chapter 1 to the need to replace the traditional
psychological notion of personality type by a concept of "dynamic
self". I felt bound to do this because of the way I see and
experience the world. My research is thus grounded in my life. Given
that I see myself and all the people I know as constantly changing
and developing, I have to avoid a social scientific approach which
would imply that the world were not like this.

Methodological issues and choice of method

It is not unusual for people holding a particular philosophical or
methodological position to take a very rigid stance on the research
methods to be used. However, I was willing to consider a range of
possible methods for this research, in spite of my clear preference
for a broadly "interactionist" view of the social world. Indeed, it
was decided that a combination of methods would be more fruitful than

using just one. The use of more than one method of research in a
single project is widely justified by the concept of <u>triangulation</u>
(Denzin 1970). Thus, I look at my research topic from more than one
angle - using both formal questionnaires and a set of much more
qualitative and "open" interviews. As well as asking people to "tick
boxes" on a predefined set of questions I used the approach more
associated with the "life history" approach (see Spradley 1979). This
involves reconstructions of a lives based on interviews, in which a
narrative relates the storyteller - their "dynamic self", to a series
of personal experiences. This enables the interpretation by the
researcher of the "process" by which the individual came to be in the
occupation currently held. My use of qualitative methods clearly
relates to my methodological stance and my theoretical position
within interactionism. And these positions are ones which initially
seemed to preclude the use of anything resembling the traditional
psychologist's personality inventory type questionnaire. Such
instruments fall into the area of <u>positivism</u> - a methodological
approach with which I do not sympathise. Here I share the reservation
stated by Bryman (1984) who sees it as associated with:

> a tendency for the researcher to view events from the
> outside and from the point of view of a cluster of
> empirical concerns which are imposed upon social reality
> with little reference to the meaning of the observations to
> the subject of investigation (p 78).

Chapter 2

I incline much more to the qualitative or phenomenological position
which involves a "focus on the lived experience of people" and which
"takes the actor's perspective as the empirical point of departure"
(Ibid:78). So how am I happy to use questionnaires which resemble the
type of instrument favoured by positivists?

An important argument is that the findings from people's responses to
the questionnaires are interpreted alongside more qualitative
material. This contextualises the quantitative material which,
anyway, is not seen as representing objective "facts". People's
responses to fixed questions are taken merely as indicators of
patterns of thinking. Stereotypes by their very nature are themselves
"rough and ready" constructs and in this instance a "rough and ready"
instrument is felt to be appropriate for identifying them. One is
dealing with the subjective but - at the same time - one needs to see
the subjective pattern which emerges when one considers a larger
number of people than could be interviewed in depth. A pre-designed
instrument is seen as legitimate for this purpose - as long as
inferences from it are subsequently located in a framework which
accepts the essential intersubjectivity of the world. I do this by
setting the whole research project in such a conceptual framework, in
chapter 1, and I do it by bringing together the quantitative patterns
with findings from interviews which do put the actor's perspective at
the centre.

Chapter 2

The material emerging from a technique which might look "positivist"
is not, then to be used a positivist way. It is to be indicative of a
pattern of subjectivity. And this pattern is not seen as existing in
an absolute sense. Even if, as an extreme phenomenologist might
argue, these patterns are essentially the constructions of the
researcher - because the categories are ones imposed on the
respondents - then we are still left with very worthwhile evidence in
the form of whatever differences emerge between the various types of
respondent and between responses relating to the different
occupations. To put this another way, the comparative dimension of
the investigation can be seen in part as counteracting researcher
bias: whatever inadequacies there may be in the questions, the
differences in responses from different sources and with regard to
different subjects are a phenomenon which emerges form the research
process rather than being one imposed by the researcher.

The research had three stages: stages 1 and 2 used questionnaires
whilst stage 3 used semi-structured interviews (in the life history
tradition).

Chapter 2

The main research instrument

The first stage of the investigation, as has been explained, was to
consider the question of the existence of stereotypical conceptions
of the occupational areas of personnel management, accounting and
marketing. The intention was to construct an instrument, in
questionnaire form, using my own personal knowledge and experiences
of the specialisms, together with suggestions from those who had
previously undertaken research in this field and those who had
experience of working with and teaching people in the three
specialisms. In a very informal and subjective way a checklist of the
"variables" which appeared to contribute to my and my colleagues'
awareness of occupational images was constructed. A quick scan of a
large number of existing occupational research instruments also
suggested a number of potential variables for the checklist. The
"rough and ready" nature of this is, I would argue, of the essence
given the crude nature of stereotypes themselves. Although the first
questionnaire is a systematic development of this checklist it must
be recognised that it is rooted in subjectivity. Stereotypes are a
"caricature", a simple sketch or shorthand way of categorising
people. To investigate them it is necessary to use crude or sketch-
like elements to bring them out.

The subjects to be investigated, it was felt, should have some
reasonable proximity to the occupations being considered. A sample
should not be taken from the public as a whole. Instead, it was

decided to look at people who would not be expected to be totally
ignorant of the occupations - if one strayed too far from the broad
area of managerial work the very distinctions between personnel,
accounting and marketing could become almost meaningless. Also, it
would be more pertinent in terms of the practical relevance of the
research to look at people for whom the occupational areas might
subsequently become significant in their own lives. Hence it was
decided to draw up a sample of people who were studying for careers
in the broad area of business and management but who had not formally
embarked on a training for either of the three specialisms. And this
sample was to be stratified to take into account the "proximity" of
the individuals to the three occupational areas.

This was seen as helping us subsequently to discover whether or not
the respondents' "occupational awareness", in the sense of their
knowledge or experience, had a bearing upon the extent of the
stereotypical in their image of the three specialisms. A group of
first year Business Studies degree students were selected as the
first group as they were likely to have had little, or no, experience
of the three occupations (whilst such categories as personnel,
accounting and marketing would not be meaningless to them). It is of
course possible for people to have obtained opinions based on
knowledge obtained from family or friends who may be employed in an
one of these fields and have themselves communicated their views in
the light of experience of them. It is possible though, that the only
knowledge that some of the students would have is simply that they

have 'heard of' the specialisms - not having any direct experience of the occupations nor knowledge of anyone in the occupations. Generally, however, their impressions can be seen as deriving from the broad cultural assumptions which exist in society about these areas of work.

The respondents making up the second group selected, final year Business Studies students, would be likely to have had some, although limited, experience of the specialisms. These students would have had several placements in industry or commerce and consequently may have had direct contact with any one, or more, of the three specialisms. They would also have learned about the three functional areas in their academic studies.

The final group of respondents selected were post-graduate students, of varying levels of work experience. This group was more likely to have had direct experience of one, or more, of the specialisms. It was even possible that they may have some personal experience of working in one of the three fields themselves. Their choice of the Diploma of Management Studies course, rather than one of the professional courses also available to them, implies an orientation which did not include attachment to either of the specialisms.

The total number of questionnaires completed was 150, equal numbers in each of the three groups. Each question was deliberately restricted in the number, and type, of responses to select from.

Chapter 2

There were no DON'T KNOW or NOT KNOWN options, in order to force the
choice. The number of questions was restricted to cover only the
variables which were considered to be relevant. One very pragmatic
reason for this restriction was to ensure that the questionnaire did
not become too boring, repetitive or time consuming (during piloting
it was found that the questionnaire took 5-20 minutes to complete and
this I consider to be reasonable).

The questionnaire was formed, in effect, in a way which would allow
respondents to deny or confirm the stereotypes elements, implicit in
the questions. I was concerned to find the extent to which people
support the stereotypes that I "hypothesised" to exist.

The first instrument can be seen in Appendix 1. To indicate the
thinking behind these question areas, I shall briefly discuss the
various clusters of items to be seen here.

MASCULINE OR FEMININE IMAGE? (question 1)

Occupational divisions of labour in all societies tend to be related
to the division of labour between the genders. Hence, particular
types of work tend to be associated with men or with women. And these
associations imply a series of further associations as the occupation
becomes identified with whatever characteristics are generally

attached to the genders. A male occupation implies a "hard",
aggressive style, for example, whilst the image of a "feminine"
occupation will be one of gentleness and caring. Research already
discussed suggests a common association of personnel management with
the "feminine". And one's personal experience suggested personnel as
a more popular career among women fellow undergraduates than male
ones.

There is also the very important source of communication media
influences on stereotypes. For example, I had personally noticed that
very often the media, in particular television, portrays those
working in "Personnel" as female. In a recent situation comedy, for
example, the personnel manager of a large organisation was played by
an actress who not only appeared to be in her late fifties, but also
had blue rinsed hair. Obviously in this instance the idea was to give
the impression of a silly, ageing women who was totally disorganised
and constantly fussed about so that she never actually got down to
"managing" anything. Correspondingly, there have been a number of
plays or so called 'soap operas' where those in marketing are
portrayed as young, dynamic and easy-going people. Generally, I have
observed, they are not portrayed being predominantly of one sex. The
image here is one where those in this field could be of either sex.
In contrast, those in accounting work are typically shown as
predominantly male - "bright" but usually rather boring characters.
And one notices that, in the media, on the rare occasion when a woman
is playing the part of accountant, she is made to look studious by

making her wear glasses so that she looks rather unattractive and somewhat masculine.

OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE (questions 2-8)

Perceived social class together with expected levels of income can be used to indicate levels of personal prestige and social status. Similarly, beliefs that someone has some specialist training and belongs to a professional association rather than a trade union, can be taken to denote social class image and, further, to suggest whether or not there is the extra middle-class status associated with "professional standing". Where an occupation is believed to be a profession, there may also be an assumption regarding the influence that it has within organisations.

These questions were devised in order to obtain perceptions of the three specialisms in terms of prestige assigned to those working in them. Social class, level of pay and general perceptions of level of influence are all factors that can be said to be indicators of social and occupational prestige.

Chapter 2

OCCUPATIONAL "CHOICE" (questions 9 and 10)

Question 9 considers how "deliberate" the choice of occupation was
and the association of this with encouragement by others. The relates
in part to the extent to which the occupation has a "strong" and
positive image in the broader culture - as well as being a question
of value in its own right. An important issue in the debates about
occupational entry is that about "choice and chance".

Also relevant here is the sort of background associated with the
occupation; the "harder" sciences or the "softer" arts.

OCCUPATIONAL COMMITMENT (questions 11 and 25)

The nature of people's commitment to occupations has always been a
matter of central importance to occupational sociology, notably in
the work of Becker (1966, 1971). First, in question 11, this is
tested with a simple question which reduces what can be a very
complex matter to the simple level appropriate to the stereotypical.
And later, in question 25, the more particular distinction is made
between primary commitment to the employing organisation or to the
occupation or profession. This is frequently related to the notion of
"professionalism" and the key distinction is the one made by Gouldner
(1957) with his concepts of cosmopolitan and local. Those considered
to be "locals" are those who see their commitment towards and their

careers with their employing organisation. Advancement is sort within

the organisation. This contrasts with what Gouldner calls

"cosmopolitans", who identify primarily with their occupation of

profession. They are more inclined to venture not only to other

organisations, in order to advance their career, but also readily

move to other localities.

MOTIVATION (questions 12-17)

The issue of what people are looking for in their work is also a

complex one and tends to be looked at by psychologists in terms of

"motivation" and sociologists in terms of "orientations to work". All

of these approaches tend, however, to consider the range of factors

which are relevant to individuals as "motivators", "rewards" or as

part of the effort bargain (Baldamus 1961). The questions asked here

consider the issue of which rewards are associated with the three

occupational areas, covering money, satisfaction, status, power,

security, promotional opportunity, workplace social rewards.

WORDS AND NUMBERS (questions 18-19)

Perceived abilities and aptitudes are also important factors used

socially to categorise people and form impressions of those in a

particular specialism. We would not expect the "rough and ready"

nature of stereotypes to pay a great deal of attention to detail here
but a popular cultural distinction in Britain is that between word-
based and numerate types of endeavour. This, of course relates to the
educational experience of people and relates back to the earlier
question on arts and sciences.

WORKING STYLE AND PREFERENCE (questions 20-24)

These questions look at a whole cluster of features which the public
might associate differently with different occupational locations and
the preferred approach to work (if not to life) of the people who
typically work in them. How assertive, creative, independent,
decisive, "pro-active", entrepreneurial etc are the people who work
in the various segments of managerial work thought to be? These broad
questions are made more specific by using ideas such as leadership,
decision-taking and inclination to start a business. The preference
for routine or for crisis management is also looked at.

PERSONAL "MAKE-UP" (questions 26-40)

Although it was not intended to include questions of a pure
psychological nature, questions 26 to 39 are not dissimilar to ones
used in the field of psychological personality testing and research.
Use of these categories is not meant to imply an acceptance of any of

the methodological assumptions of behind these categories, however. I
indicated earlier that I believe there to be a correspondence between
the thinking of all social scientists and "common-sense" thinking.
Thus one can look at the schedules of psychologists for a quick
prompt to general common-sense variables which differentiate people
from each other. We have a "quick prompt" here because the
psychologists, in striving to be systematic, can be expected to have
thought deeply about categories which can be used to bring out
"personality" differences and to have given us what are, in effect,
usable checklists of the sort of variables that are generally
meaningful to people in human societies.

Question 26 is an example of a question which relates to
psychologists' thinking but which can stand on its own as a simple
variable in stereotype-level common-sense thinking. The question
required the respondents to indicate whether or not in their opinion
those in either of the three specialisms would be very upset,
untroubled or would reluctantly accept as part of the job, making a
redundant a subordinate. I was concerned to obtain perceptions which
correspond to what Eysenck (1960) has called the "tough/tender"
dimensions of personality. Similarly, commonsense equivalents to the
psychologists' category of "introvert" and "extrovert" can be seen in
questions 27 and 28.

The moral dimension or personality is one of interest at a common-
sense level as well as to psychologists and this is considered in

questions 34 and 37 whilst the social scientific notion of
<u>sociability</u> is reflected at a commonsense level in question 39 which
refers to the ease or otherwise of making friends. The ability to
make friends easily is a quality that can readily be associated with
particular types of individuals and with types of work since it
relates to an individual's ability to "get on" with people. Where it
is assumed that "getting on" with people is a requirement of a
particular specialism, or where there are assumptions regarding
levels of interaction with others, one would expect this variable to
influence responses to this question.

ATTITUDES AND LIFESTYLES (questions 40-52)

In the remaining questions we see an attempt to use references to
specific or "concrete" aspects of people's lives to bring out deeper
assumptions about commonsense "types". For example the stereotypical
views of the leisure activities of people working in personnel,
marketing and accounting might be revealing. Question 41 lists three
alternatives, chess (seen as a "cerebral" pastime), swimming (an
active pursuit) and watching television (a passive occupation). These
are very "rough and ready" categories but can give us some indication
of how the various occupation members are seen.

Similarly the "seriousness" or otherwise of people might be brought
out by questions about their television viewing habits (question 44)

and an indicator of social and political attitudes or persuasions can be their newspaper choice. The Guardian newspaper is popularly associated with "reasonable but leftish" politics whilst The Financial Times may be seen as a newspaper predominantly read by those who have financial and business interests - and associated values. Differentiation can also be made here between so-called "serious" or "heavy" newspapers and lighter ones like The Mail, The Sun or The Mirror' (tabloid newspapers). Social class overtones are relevant here given an assumption (which may be right or wrong!) that The Sun is read mainly by the lower classes.

In addressing the question of perceived voting behaviour of those in the three specialisms, question 45, looking at whether people are most likely to vote Labour, Conservative or Alliance, gives a more direct indication of political leanings and relates more broadly to support for particular social and political attitudes.

Question 46, "They would like to see the discretion/power of British management increased, reduced or remain as now", is included because it is felt that having the desire to increase the discretion/power of management is indicative of attitudes which link broad social views to more specifically work-related ones. Similarly, question 47 which requires respondents to indicate their perceptions of the three specialisms with reference to a desire "to see the influence of trade unions increased, decreased or remain as now connects general world views to managerially relevant issues.

The remaining questions simply tap assumptions about various social
and political attitudes towards specific issues to give further
opportunity to see patterns in how respondents see members of the
three groups.

This basic instrument was to be used to bring out the stereotypes, or
otherwise, held of members of the three occupational groups. The
results of this are now considered in chapter 3. Chapter 4 goes on to
look at the perceptions held by members of these groups themselves
and, as will be seen, this was done by making minor alterations of
the original instrument. These changes had to made so that the
questions asked would to "make sense" yet they had to kept minimal so
that the patterns which emerged about the images of members of the
occupations could be related to the images of those who are outside
of them (and in varying degrees of proximity). In chapter 5 all of
this information is contextualised by attention to individual cases
of individuals making careers in the three occupational areas. As
will be explained, these were loosely structured interviews which
enabled people to speak for themselves about their occupational
involvement. A direct tie back to the instrument-based material is
given by the fact that these interview respondents had also, at an
earlier date, completed the questionnaire. There was thus a reference
point for the interviewer to work from when speaking to the sample of
individuals.

Chapter 3.   The Emergent Images of The Three Specialisms.

This chapter takes up the question introduced at the end of chapter 1: to what extent do people with varying degrees of "proximity" to managerial careers hold stereotypes of personnel management, marketing and accounting and what, broadly do these stereotypes look like?

The instrument to be used was introduced and explained in chapter 2 as was the building in of the idea of "proximity" through the stratifying of the sample of respondents. The choice of the three subgroups was influenced by the assumption that the likelihood of actual experience, or personal knowledge, the respondents would have had of the three specialisms would vary. For example, those students in the first year of the Business Studies degree course were unlikely to have had any, or very much, direct business experience which, in turn, made it unlikely that they would have had any personal experience of either of the three business specialisms with which this study is concerned. The basis of their images was likely to be knowledge of the specialisms gleaned from a number of sources. They might, for example, have a friend or relative who worked, or had worked, in either of the three areas. It was also possible that the respondents would be basing their images on information gained from any number of other sources, from images portrayed in the media to references made in overheard casual conversations about what certain people in certain occupations are like.

Chapter 3

It was felt that this likely varying amount of direct personal
knowledge across the sub-samples would reveal differing images,
resulting from the contrasts in "actual" knowledge of three areas of
interest. For example, those students who were in their final year of
study, and who had experienced several industrial placements, and
those students who were doing a post graduate course of general
management study, were likely to have had proportionately greater
levels of business experience and thus possible contact with people
working in the specialisms than first year students of business
studies. It was felt that this "occupational proximity", leading to
varying degrees of "awareness", was likely to produce varying
"strengths" of what could be seen as stereotypical images, dependent
on actual levels of familiarity with the three specialisms. I was
interested to see whether or not there appeared to be differences in
the stereotypes held by those with little, or no, business experience
and those who had several years business experience. It occurred to
me that, for example, the images held of a particular specialism may
require modification in the light of increased "occupational
proximity" and more fully informed "awareness". It was for this
reason that I analysed the questionnaires in terms of both the
generally held image and that held by those with no business
experience. This data was to be compared with the stereotypical image
held by those with five years or more business experience.

Chapter 3

Masculine or Feminine Image?

As was noted in the previous chapter, there are certain occupations that appear to have what can be called a "masculine" or "feminine" image. Nursing is an example of an occupation with a feminine image - in spite of the fact that it can be and is done by men. It is an occupation that is considered generally to be dominated by female workers and indeed has a majority of women members. If a someone were asked to describe "a typical nurse", it is extremely likely that they would describe a woman. Similarly, staying in the field of medicine, doctors are typically referred to as "he", the assumption being that any doctor one meets will be a man. Despite the increases in the number of women doctors during the recent past, medicine has a "masculine" image. And there are many other occupations or professions that appear to have single sex images, for example, the law. Barristers are mostly thought of as male and lorry driving may also be considered to have a masculine image in spite of there being some female lorry drivers.

These images cannot simply be seen as directly arising from statistical pattern of membership. They say a great deal more about such things as assertiveness, social status, authority and so on. The "gender" of the image of a managerial occupation is therefore an important matter in that it can influence the expectations that people have of it and can powerfully influence the interest shown in it by men and by women.

Chapter 3

The response to the questionnaire sees the stereotypical image of
personnel emerging as neither "feminine" nor "masculine", those
working in personnel are seen as neither typically male nor female.

Similarly marketing does not have a single sex image. It is seen as
being a specialism for either male or female workers. More detailed
analysis shows that this view remains constant; no modification of
the overall image occurs with level of "actual" business experience
possessed by the respondents. For example, those who had no business
or industrial experience viewed marketing as neither predominantly
male nor female, this view remaining consistent with that of those
respondents who had five or more years working experience (see
Figure 3.1).

On the other hand, accounting has a distinctly "masculine" image.
Those working in this field are seen as male. Detailed analysis and
comparisons of those questionnaires completed by respondents with no
business experience and those with five years or more business
experience showed no apparent change in this response. Regardless of
the differing levels of "actual" working experience, or increase in
managerial awareness and proximity, the image of accounting as a
predominantly masculine domain remains (see Figure 3.1).

Masculine or feminine image
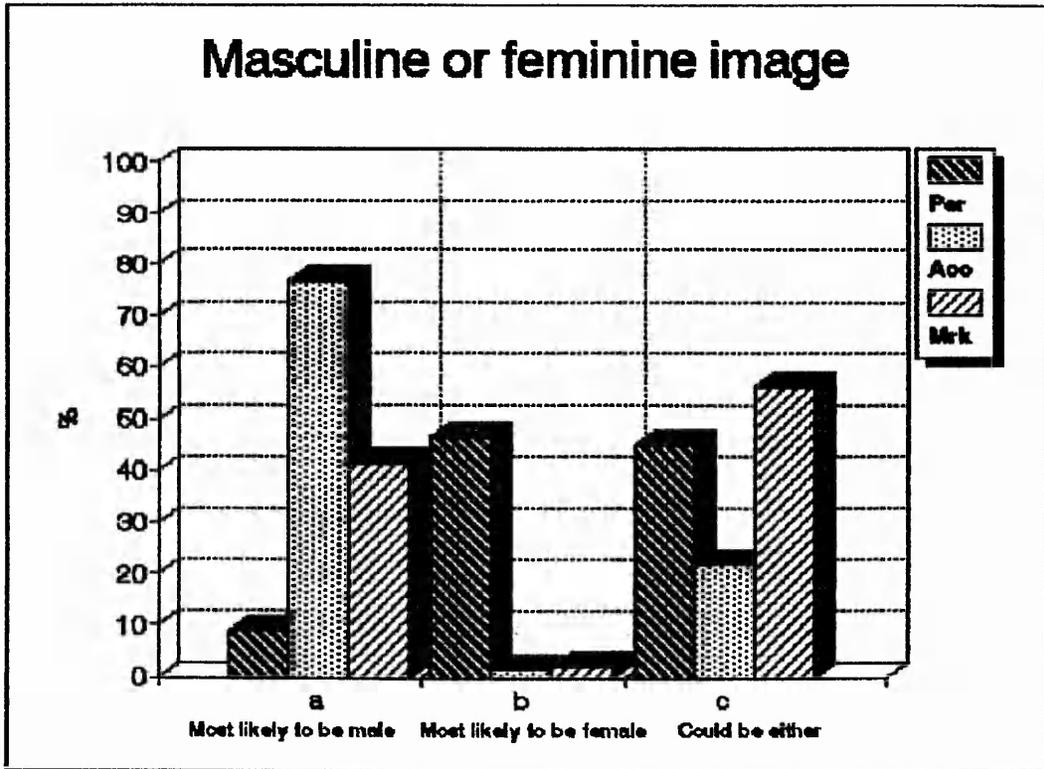
Figure 3.1

Occupational Prestige

There are a number of factors that can be combined to give an
indication of the perceived level of the "prestige" assigned to
certain occupations. Assumptions relating to level of pay are
associated with, for example, the belief that certain occupations
require specialist training or qualifications and in return greater
financial rewards, together with the "non-material" or
"psychological" rewards, are given for such specialist skills or
abilities. These occupations are viewed by both those who occupy
them, and others, as "careers" and not simply as "jobs". The
differences here often relate to the structure of the progressive

stages, or ladders, that are routes for betterment and associated improvements in status - both "social status" and "organisational status". Careers are often seen in terms of these upward, and sometimes downward, steps on a ladder. There a number of progressive stages that are seen in terms of improving status. In simple terms, improvement in terms of "social status" would generally refer to the way in which the individual is perceived by their fellows in society, whether or not the individual personally is held in great esteem or is respected.

Material standing and prestige are not necessarily linked, as Weber argued in distinguishing between "class status" (based on wealth and income) and "social status" (based on prestige); an individual could be high in one and low in the other. In Britain for example, a parish priest may have high social status and perhaps have low class status.

"Organisational status" would generally be felt to be the way in which the individual is seen by others, both those more senior within the organisation and those who would be referred to as subordinates. The levels of respect, even organisational power, an individual commands as a result of the position that they hold, all combine to give an image of the "prestige" of both the individual and the occupation.

Those occupations considered to be "professions" are typically those that are rewarded highly in terms of both social status and financial

rewards. Therefore, where it is assumed that specialist skills, or knowledge, is required assumptions are made relating to the levels of appropriate rewards.

In addition, assumptions may be made regarding certain occupations and the "social class" background or origins of those in the occupation. The term "social class" is generally used to mean a group of individuals that share, or have in common, certain material inequalities. People are accorded high or low status in society according to a number of criteria such as wealth, power, race, education, lifestyle and occupation. In this society, occupation is increasingly used to make assumptions about a person's social status - because in practice these things tend to coincide. And the background of the individual, as a result of matters both of cultural expectation and of material opportunity, tends to influence the occupational slot and the associated prestige that is achieved by them. For example, there is a number of occupations that spring to mind where the likelihood of a person with a working class background entering the occupation is limited. The legal profession is a good example of where the possibility of a person from a working class background entering the profession is restricted. There are a number of factors that would restrict this likelihood, with educational qualifications obtained not being insufficient not necessarily because of lack of ability, but because of reduced opportunities or "life chances" (life chances are those opportunities generally considered to be desirable and as affecting one's life). These

chances, of obtaining those things defined as desirable and avoiding
those things that are usually defined as undesirable in society are,
in effect, social opportunities. The chances are in the form of
anything from the opportunity to obtain a satisfactory education or
housing, to the chance to take part in certain activities, for
example, to go skiing.

Life chances play an important role in the stratification system of
society (by stratification I mean the social order or hierarchy of
society). There is a close relationship between an individual's
social class background and their occupational position or level of
achievement. It has been found that a large proportion of children
from working class homes enter manual, often unskilled occupations,
whilst those from middle class backgrounds enter non-manual
occupations. It is obviously not quite as simple as this, there being
many variables or factors that can cause this situation to occur. The
attitudes and values that are expressed within the family do, for
example, influence the way in which an individual makes sense of
their surroundings. The educational opportunity and importance placed
upon such matters also influences an individual's "direction" in the
occupational sphere. Law is also an area where fees for training can
be inhibiting, and the reliance of financial support from other
sources, for example, the family or "a private income" may be
required during the number of years of training. In addition,
acceptance into a training situation may also, indirectly, depend on
the individual's social class background.

Chapter 3

Linking many of these class and status matters with occupational membership is the concept already mentioned, that of the professional occupation. All occupations - or those that organise them whenever such organisation is possible - try to control the conditions under which they offer their labour. Professionals, like manual workers through collective bargaining, attempt to advance and defend their common interests. They attempt to control entry to the occupation thus attempting to protect their skills and improves their bargaining position. Parkin (1971:21-2) states:

> Although long and costly training is usually defended as an
> essential preliminary to....professional work, there is
> little doubt that much of it is of little practical value
> and is simply a device for restricting the supply of
> labour. The persistent efforts of many white collar
> occupations to become professionalised may be
> understood.....as an attempt to enhance their market
> scarcity, and so increase their power to claim rewards.

Along with this, belonging to a professional association is also seen by many as "superior" to belonging to a trade union. There are certain images that are associated with trade unions; they are often associated with the more "manual" areas of work, where there is often a link with a particular skill or trade, for example, electricians or plumbers. The occupations that are associated with "professional

bodies" or "professional associations" are doctors, lawyers, higher civil servants etc.

When all of these factors are taken together the general image of occupational prestige can be arrived at. Whether an occupation is seen as "clerical", "administrative" or as a"profession" is also an indicator of a number of factors associated with image of both the individual's status and that of the occupation. Those occupations seen as clerical are usually those that are assumed to require few, or no, formal qualifications and are basically clerical in nature. They are those occupations where those working in the field would not be expected to make decisions or use their initiative. They would be working from the quite clear-cut instructions of other, more senior, people in the organisation. The image of "administrative" work is similar in a number of aspects, although those engaged in this type of work are assumed to have an increased level of experience or qualifications than those described as "clerical". The nature of the work is likely to carry a certain, though fairly limited, level of decision making and increased levels of responsibility.

In contrast, those occupations generally described as "professions" are seen as having increased levels of responsibilities, requiring higher levels of training and qualifications. Millerson (1964) outlines the key ingredients that make a job a "profession":

* The skill requires training and education

Chapter 3

* The skill is based on theoretical knowledge

* The professional must demonstrate competence by passing a test

* Integrity is maintained by adherence to a code of practice

* The service is for the public good

* The profession is organised

However, professionals who fulfil all these criteria are usually termed the higher professions - lawyers, doctors, scientists etc. Those with less independence, self-regulation and lower payed status are called the lower professions and include teachers, nurses, etc. Even these groups enjoy greater social prestige, security and career prospects than skilled manual workers, even if their pay is similar. Members of a profession are characterised by trust and respect - people are expected to trust in their professional judgement. In return we accord them high status and, to some of them, generous financial reward. They are often associated with occupations that maintain certain formalised criteria for regularising the occupation, usually with reference to skills that cannot be undertaken by technological innovations and which seek to maintain some "mystery" or superiority over other occupations.

Chapter 3

In addition, levels of remuneration, and corresponding lifestyles,
befitting certain standards that reflect the "worth" or "value" of
the task, are assigned to differing occupations. It is often assumed,
for example, that professional people are paid more than
non-professionals. The implication is that the higher levels of
training and/or specialist qualifications are "rewarded" in terms of
greater financial and material rewards. In contrast, those
occupations seen as "administrative" are accorded lesser rewards in
return for reduced levels of required skills and knowledge.
Similarly, those occupations referred to as "clerical" would be at
the bottom of the league table of remunerations and rewards, as there
would be little, or no, responsibility and the tasks undertaken may
often be suitable for computerisation or mechanisation.

According to my research, people working in personnel, marketing and
accounting are all seen as having a "middle class" backgrounds
(middle class generally refers to the position assigned to an
individual, in terms of reference to the Registrar General's
classification of occupations, which is in between the upper class -
the small number of wealthy property owners - and the working class
(the largest part of the population and the labour force). The middle
class is often sub-divided into higher and lower professional,
managerial and administrative, and those in clerical and minor
supervisory positions. "Being middle class" it can be suggested is
more than just having a certain job, it is a way of life
distinguished by a particular lifestyle and set of values. It can

Chapter 3

reasonably be assumed that middle class people enjoy higher than
average incomes and secure jobs, with opportunities for "perks" and
promotion.

Having reviewed this complex web of factors which form the context
and much of the content for the phenomenon of occupational prestige,
we can turn to the further questionnaire responses obtained in this
area.

People working in personnel are considered to be "reasonably well
paid" and are best described as "administrative" people. They
"usually" have specialist training or qualifications, but "rarely"
belong to a trade union. These views remain constant over time, they
do not change with increased occupational awareness. However, the
overall stereotypical view that those in this specialism "usually",
not "always", belong to a professional association changes with
reference to the sub-group analysis. For example, reference to the
views of those respondents with five years, or more, business
experience shows a modification of this image. They see those in
personnel as "rarely" belonging to a professional association. It
would appear that the increase of possible awareness or experience of
the specialism has led to a change in perceptions of those in this
specialism. The overall view, and detailed analysis of the
sub-groups, indicates that the specialism itself is seen as being
"moderately" influential in the organisations in which it is found.

Chapter 3

Those individuals working in marketing are appropriately described as "professional" people and are perceived to be "reasonably well paid". Those in marketing are seen as "usually" belonging to a professional association, but "rarely" to a trade union. Comparisons of the views of those respondents' questionnaires with business experience to those with no business experience reveals that these views remain consistent regardless of occupational proximity. However, those respondents with no business experience perceive that individuals in marketing "usually" belong to a trade union, this perception becoming modified with increased awareness or experience of the specialism. Those in marketing are seen as "usually" having specialist training or qualifications. Marketing as a specialism is seen as being "moderately" influential in the organisations in which it is found.

Furthermore, as previously stated, those individuals in accounting are also seen generally as coming from "middle class" backgrounds; they are considered to be "very well paid" and are appropriately described as "professional people". This is an example of the relationship between perceptions relating to higher earnings and its association with the "professional" image.

Each respondent was given the opportunity to indicate which of the three specialisms they would prefer to enter. In addition the respondents were required to indicate the reason for the preference. One such respondent, who had no experience of either of the specialisms indicated a preference for accounting, giving a clear

indication of his perception regarding the level of income. He wished to enter the occupation "to make more money".

However, the perceptions of those respondents with five or more years business experience indicates some modification of this general view, they are seen as only "reasonably well paid". The assumption of high earnings is modified in the light of increased experience, or awareness, of the specialism. However, one respondent who had experience of both marketing and accounting indicated a preference for accounting and stated that:

I am numerate, have no special degree of communications with others, am not outgoing enough for marketing, and fancy the high salary and remuneration package offered by accounting.

Accounting is seen as a specialism that requires individuals to have had specialist training and/or qualifications and a specialism where trade union membership is "rare". Those individuals in this specialism are seen as "always" belonging to a professional association. Once again there is an indication of the link between perceptions of membership of a professional body, specialist training etc., and the general perception of accounting as a profession. Accounting is seen as a specialism that is "very" influential in the organisations in which it is found. These perceptions remain constant

Chapter 3

within the sub-groups of respondents with five years or more business
experience and those with no experience.

Occupational Commitment.

Occupational commitment refers to what Becker (1960) describes as the
"investment", in terms of time, effort etc., which the individual
puts into their job of work. For example, there are certain
occupations that have long periods of training in order to gain the
appropriate levels of skill, medicine being the field that Becker
looks at most closely in his book Boys in White. He is concerned with
the process by which the individual, having decided to embark on a
particular course of action, commits the investment knowing, or being
aware of, certain implications. For example, the long period of
training may require certain personal "sacrifices", such as financial
hardship, social deprivations (temporarily) or loss of leisure time
as a result of long periods of study. These factors may encourage,
but often discourage, certain individuals to enter fields that are
known to require lengthy periods of study or training. Of course
having made the decision to enter such a field, the likelihood of
changing "direction", or deciding that perhaps "this was not what I
expected, or what I thought it was", is diminished. The reason for
this is that having made the "investment", to withdraw or change
direction, would involve the loss, or waste, of the initial

investment. Having "committed" oneself to something it is difficult
to give it all up.

There are also factors, relating to what some would call "loyalty",
that serve to "bind" an individual to either their chosen career or
to their employer. I would imagine that in an increasing number of
incidents the loyalty, or commitment, to one's career is stronger as
there appears to be greater feelings expected material reward. But
whatever the factor primarily influencing the degree of commitment of
a person to an occupation, we can gauge something of the expected
feeling of attachment that is associated with a particular occupation
by investigating the short or long term commitment that respondents
feel is typically given by members of that occupation.

The findings from the survey relating to this matter are reported
under the next heading, because they also bear upon issues of
occupational "choice". But also relevant to the commitment issue is
the question of the primacy of commitment of the individual to the
occupation or the employing organisation. This can be taken to
indicate whether they are "cosmopolitans" or "locals" in Gouldner's
terms (see chapter 2), this again suggesting the strength, or
otherwise, of attachment to the occupation.

When we can look at the relative patterns of response elicited by our
questionnaire on this we find that those in personnel and marketing
are seen as being "committed equally to their employer and to their

occupation". However, those in accounting are seen as being "more
committed to their occupation than to their employer" (see
Figure 3.2). It is the accountants, then, that are seen as the
cosmopolitans - something associated by Gouldner with professional
identity: the individual's main reference group is with people in the
same occupation. People in marketing and personnel are less strongly
inclined this way and, thus, can be said to have an image implying
lower typical occupational - as opposed to organisational -
attachment.
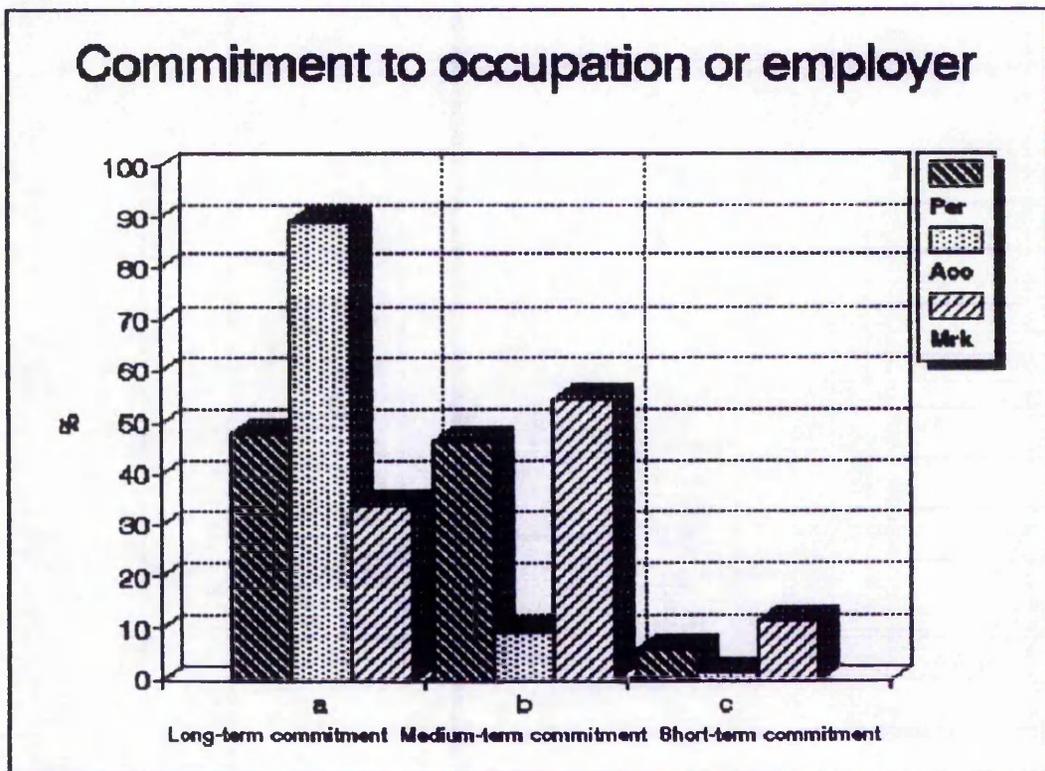
Figure 3.2

Chapter 3

Occupational "choice"

There are many differing reasons why people enter different
occupations and this is an important consideration and area of
interest in this study. Some are seen to enter certain occupations
through a strong commitment or determination, having chosen to enter
a field through strong personal choice and having demonstrated
definite or "calculated" steps having been taken to ensure their
desired goal or choice. For example, there are occupations that are
appropriately described as "vocations", where those choosing to work
in the particular field are considered to have special aptitudes or
skills and a degree of "calling". It must be stressed however, that
very often an individual may assume the possession of a particular
skill, aptitude or ability, and set out in pursuit of a particular
career on the basis of this assumption. It can be seen that very
often the belief that one has a particular aptitude or ability can be
a misconception, with sometimes disastrous results or outcomes.

Very often assumptions are made about the reasons why people do a
particular job: if it is not an occupation that is associated with
high salaries then it is assumed that the person entering the
occupation does so for reasons other than financial ones, for
example, because of personal rewards such as job satisfaction. In
practice, however, high levels of satisfaction are often associated
with high levels of material reward. The better jobs, one might say,
are also the better paid. However, we would expect those

demonstrating a more positive attachment to their occupation to give
primacy to the intrinsic satisfaction aspect of their occupation. The
material rewards are seen as the means to an end: as the
stereotypical professional is meant to say: "I am paid in order to
work - I do not work in order to be paid".

Associated with the reasons why people do a particular job are the
feelings of commitment to that job, as suggested above, These are the
factors that make the work not simply just another job, but a career.
Very often where an occupation is seen as "just a job" there may be
little, or no, associated feelings of commitment. There are not the
same tendencies to continue to pursue the same, or similar, types of
work. However, where a person enters an occupation which they view as
more than just a job, a career, their commitment to it is different.

It is therefore interesting to find out what the images are of the
three specialisms, as suggested by the questionnaire responses. Those
individuals entering the field of personnel as seen as doing so
through "strong personal choice" and believing the occupation to be
a"long term" commitment. The overall stereotypical view is that those
in personnel do the job for a mixture of both job satisfaction and
for the money. However, those respondents with no business experience
perceive that this job is done purely for job satisfaction. It would
appear that familiarity with those individuals in the personnel
field, or increased awareness of them leads to this modification of
perceptions. The overall view of a preference for arts subjects at

school, is contrary to the image held by those with five years or
more experience, these respondents indicating that there is no
preference for either arts or sciences. Those individuals in
personnel are seen as having "medium" interest in achieving high
social status, "medium" interest in having power through their job
and in future promotions. However, they are not generally seen as
being ambitious, the perceptions of those respondents with five years
or more business experience, contrasts this view, they see those in
personnel as having a "high" interest in future promotions.

The stereotypical image of those individuals entering marketing is
that they also do so through "strong personal choice" and see it as a
"medium" term commitment. They are seen as doing the job for a
mixture of both "job satisfaction" and "for the money". The
perceptions of entry to this field are modified by those respondents
with greater business experience, this group of respondents seeing
those entering this field as doing so through "force of circumstances
or luck" rather than having a great master plan or career pattern or
direction. Those individuals entering this field are felt to have
liked both science and arts subjects at school. They are seen as
having "medium" interest in both achieving high social status and
concern for job security. However, their interest in having power
through their job, and for future promotions, is seen as "high". A
respondent with no business experience that indicated a preference
for marketing stated that:

Chapter 3

This is the interesting and challenging occupation with
greater prospects etc.

Those respondents with five years, or more, business experience
perceive that those in marketing have a "high" interest in achieving
high social status. However, those respondents with no business
experience have different perceptions. They see those in marketing
having only a "medium" interest in achieving power through their job.
The increase in occupational awareness and experience would indicate
that the modification of the view from medium to high is a reflection
of the image that those in marketing may give.

The individuals entering the field of accounting are seen as doing so
through "strong personal choice", and do so primarily "for the
money". The occupation is seen by those in accounting as "long-term
commitment". Those in accounting are seen as having "high" interest
in both achieving high social status and having power through their
job. However, those respondents with no business experience perceive
that the interest in achieving power through the job is only medium.
At school they are seen as having had a preference for science
subjects. One respondent, who showed a preference for accounting
stated:

I like exact sciences. I would prefer to work in accounting
because you use definite information, everything can be

learned and it's either right or wrong. There are no grey
areas.

Those in accounting are seen as having "high" concern for job
security and "high" interest in future promotions. They are generally
regarded as ambitious individuals.

Words and numbers

There are certain occupations or specialisms that are generally
recognised as requiring particular abilities or aptitudes, for
example, designers or artists must have an eye for colour, an
important element of the job: they would not be able to enter the
field if they were colour blind. Furthermore, there are certain
prerequisites for some specialisms, the ability to communicate with
others is one important factor, whether orally, in writing or in
statistical form.

Those in personnel and marketing are seen as having "high" ability
with words but only medium ability with numbers. For example:

I am very good at getting the message across to people, but
I'm lousy at figure work so I couldn't be an Accountant.

Chapter 3

This respondent indicated a preference for marketing and had obvious preconceptions of the necessary abilities or aptitudes required for accounting!

On the other hand, the opposite view is held of those in accounting. They are perceived to have a "high" ability with figures and only "medium" ability with words (see Figure 3.3) Thus:

I am good with figures,

I enjoy working with numbers and enjoy exact sciences,

I am better suited because I am good with figures.

Each of these respondents showed a preference for accounting. By giving their reasons in these terms each of the respondents are assuming that a certain level of ability with figures is required for accounting.

Working style and preference

The way in which people prefer to work, be it as part of a team or alone, is in some way associated with different sorts of work and would be a factor influencing different people who were attempting to match their own perception of "self" to their image of an occupation.

Ability with words and figures
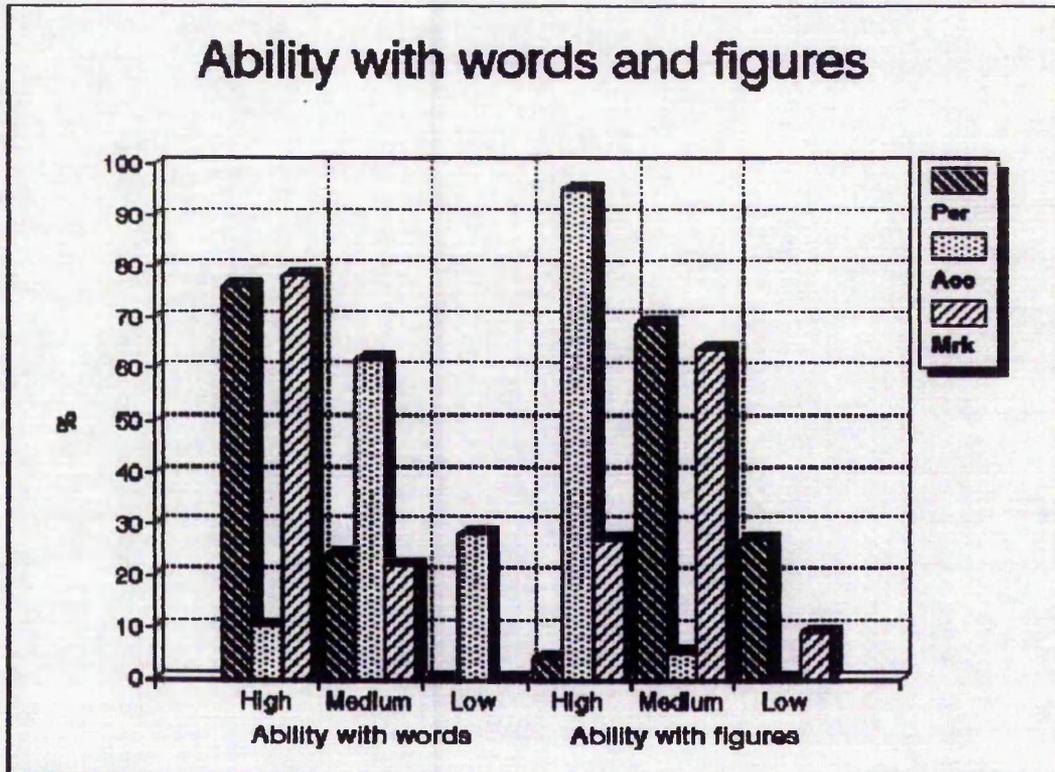
Figure 3.3

It would be impossible, for example, to do certain jobs if a person preferred to work alone and make their own decisions.

Those in personnel are seen as having preferences for both "initiating ideas" and "applying other peoples' ideas", and both "following others' decisions and taking decisions". The general perception is that those in personnel prefer a combination of both "managing crisis" and "a routine pattern of work".

Generally those in personnel are seen as preferring to work with other people and be part of a team.

Furthermore, those individuals working in marketing are also seen as preferring to "work with other people" and preferring a combination of "managing crisis" and "a routine pattern of work". They like to "be a leader", to "initiate ideas" and to "take decisions".

Working preferences
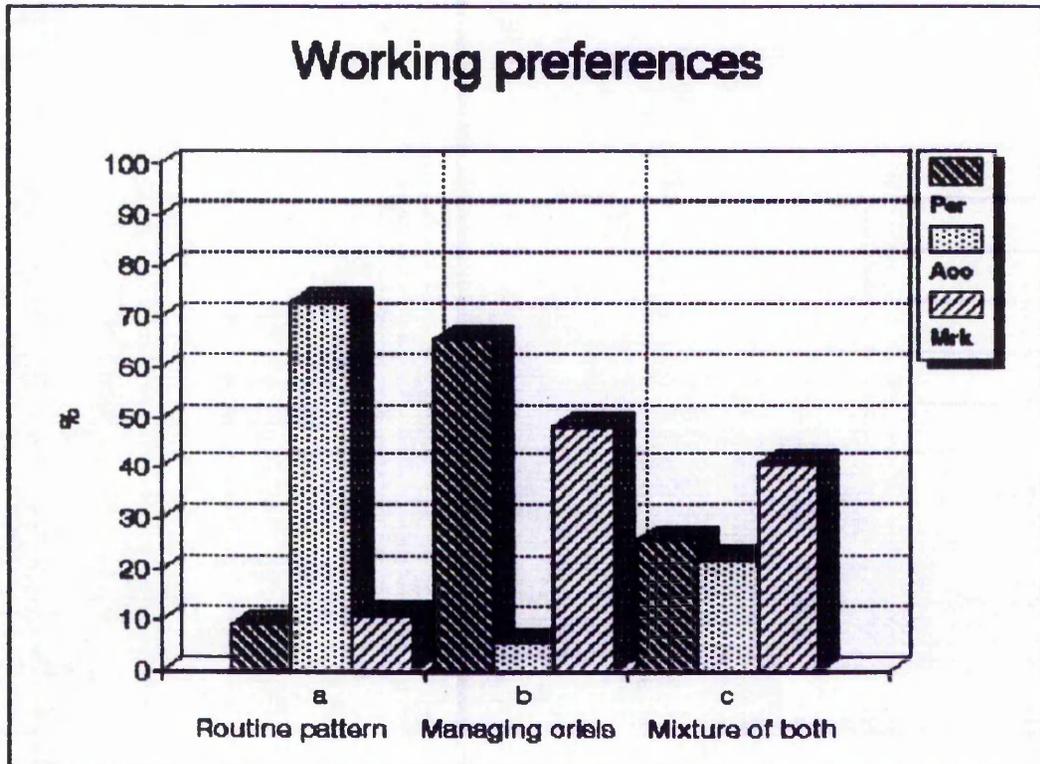
Figure 3.4

However, accounting is a field where there is a contrast in the perceptions relating to the working preferences of the occupants and to those relating to people working in personnel and marketing. Those in accounting are seen as preferring "a routine pattern of work" (see Figure 3.4), and like to "work alone" (see Figure 3.5). They like to "apply other peoples' ideas" and "follow the decisions of others".

They are seen as having no preference for either being "a leader" or being "part of a team"; they are happy to play either role.

Working styles
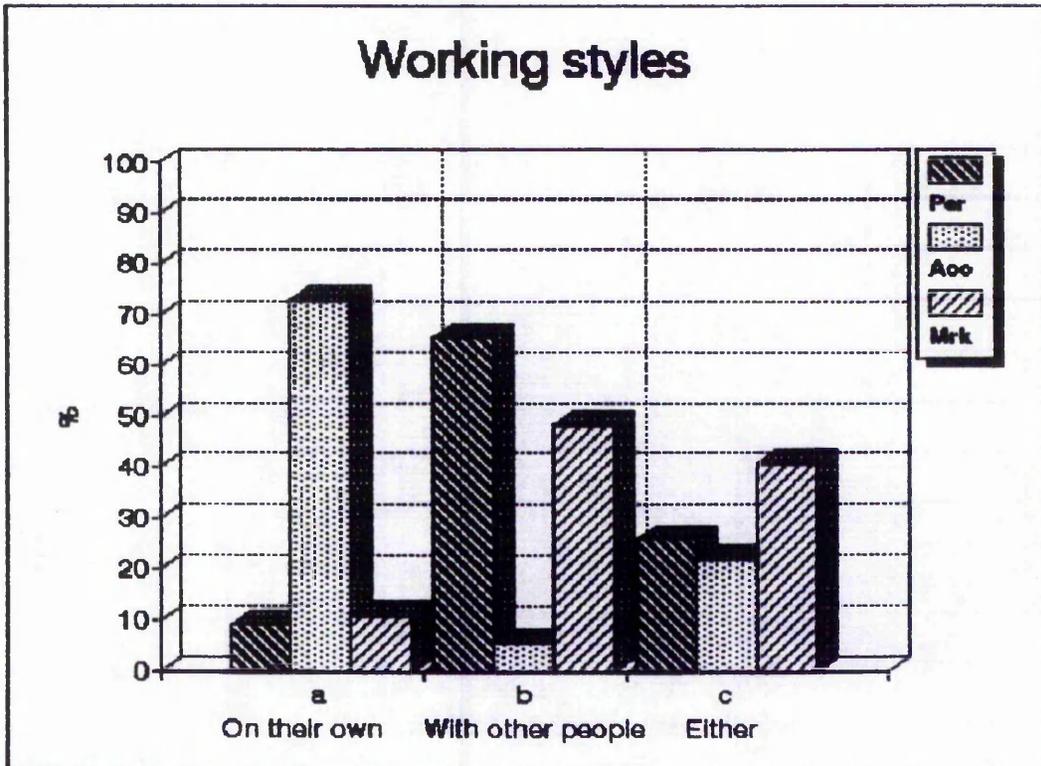
Figure 3.5

How enterprising or entrepreneurial are the three occupations' members seen as?

There are some people that one can never imagine starting their own business. Some people appear never to be prepared to a risk in life, who would, as one respondent put it, "hardly ever tread on a crack in the pavement let alone take any other risk". There are people who prefer the "security" of being an employee, who have no desire to "go

it alone". They can be the same as those who, for example, require instructions or who find it difficult to make decisions. However, there is often something about certain people that leads one to think that they may be best suited to working for themselves. These "undefineables" are factors that most people can "feel" but that are difficult to quantify. As it is increasingly felt that "being enterprising" is an important quality for employees in employing organisations - as well as for people working on their own account - it is relevant to consider what degree of enterprise is associated with each of the three facets of managerial work with which we are concerned here.

Those in personnel are seen as "less likely" than most to consider starting their own business. In contrast, those in both accounting and marketing are seen as "more likely" than most to consider starting their own business (see Figure 3.6).

Personal "make-up" of members of the three specialisms.

There are some occupations that require particular personal skills inclinations and attributes. For example, a person who is employed to lecture must be able to speak in public and appear not to be nervous. Just as some occupations require physical strengths some require "personal" strengths or capacities.
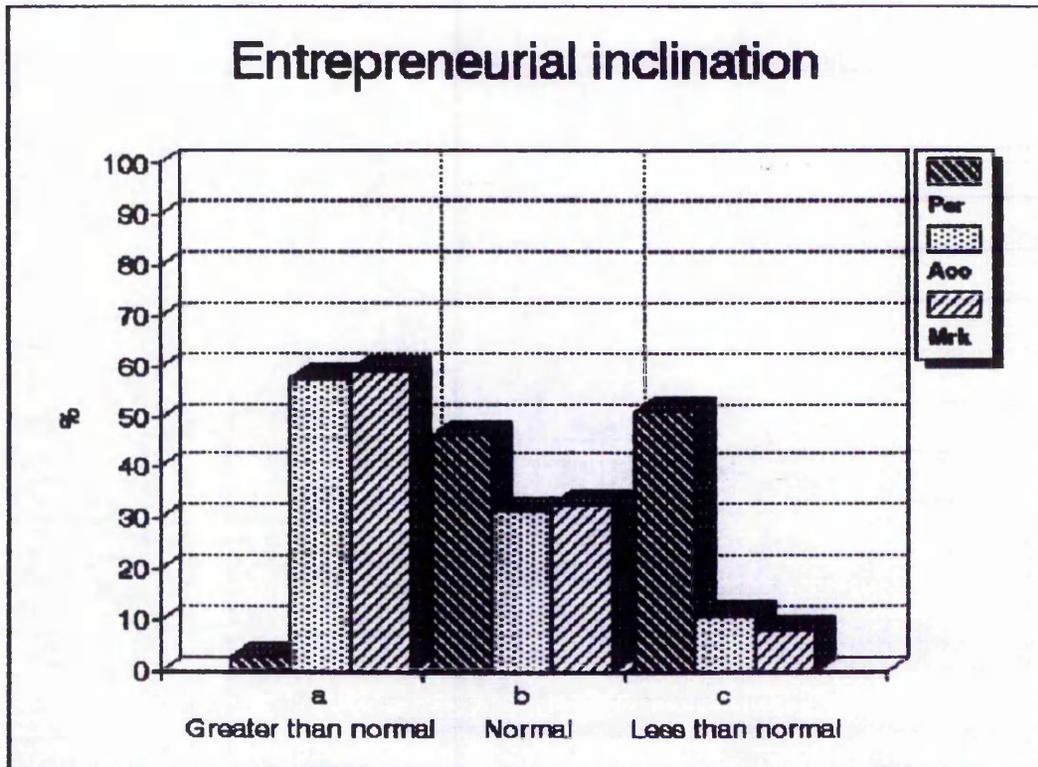
Figure 3.6

According to my respondents those in personnel are seen as "outgoing and confident", more "flexible" and more "relaxed" than the average person. When compared to the average person those in personnel are seen as "no more easygoing and trusting" nor "cautious and wary of others", "no more shrewd and calculating" nor "naive" than average. They are no more "personally and morally principled" nor "expedient and pragmatic" than the average person. They are neither "conservative about the world" nor "radical and want[ing] to change it". Those in personnel are more "patient", and more "accepting", than the average person. The individuals in personnel are seen as no more "down-to-earth and practical" nor "imaginative or creative" than the average person. When compared to the average person they are seen

as being no more "honest" nor "dishonest". People in personnel are not considered to be more "perfectionist" nor more "willing to cut corners" than average.

If they had to make a subordinate redundant they would "reluctantly accept it as part of the job". However, those respondents with more than five years business experience show a different perception; they feel that those in personnel would be very upset by this task. The implication here is that greater "occupational proximity" brings about a change in the perception of those in personnel. They are seen as more emotional.

Like those who work in personnel, those in marketing are seen as "outgoing and confident". This is the reason that one respondent indicated for his choice of marketing:

> I feel that I am an outgoing person who can make friends
> easily and that this would be an advantage.

They are considered to be "imaginative and creative", and are seen as "willing to cut corners" rather than as "perfectionists". They are considered to be no more "honest" nor "dishonest" than the average person. Those in marketing are seen as "critical" and "impatient". They are seen as having a tendency to be more "expedient and pragmatic" than the average person. Those in marketing are seen as being more "shrewd and calculating" than the average person. In

addition they are considered to be more "tense" than average. Those
people in marketing are seen as being more "radical" than the average
person and "want to change the world". They are no more "easy going
and trusting", nor "cautious and wary of others", than the average
person. If they had to make redundant a subordinate they would
"reluctantly accept it as part of the job".

In contrast, those in accounting are seen as being more "shy and
reserved" than the average person. They are seen as "cautious and
wary of others", as "tense" and as "critical". Those in accounting
are seen as "perfectionists" (see Figure 3.7), and are considered to
be "rigid". When compared to the average person those in accounting
are seen as more "down-to-earth and practical". They are seen as
'shrewd and calculating" and when compared to the average person they
are more "conservative about the world". When compared to the average
person they are seen as no more "patient", nor "impatient" and no
more "honest" nor "dishonest". However, those respondents with five
years, or more, business experience perceived those in accounting as
more "honest", and more "patient" than average. The increased
awareness has had an effect upon the image held of those in
accounting. Those in accounting are seen as no more "personally and
morally principled" nor "expedient and pragmatic" than the average
person. If they had to make a subordinate redundant they would
"reluctantly accept it as part of the job".

Chapter 3

Personal attributes
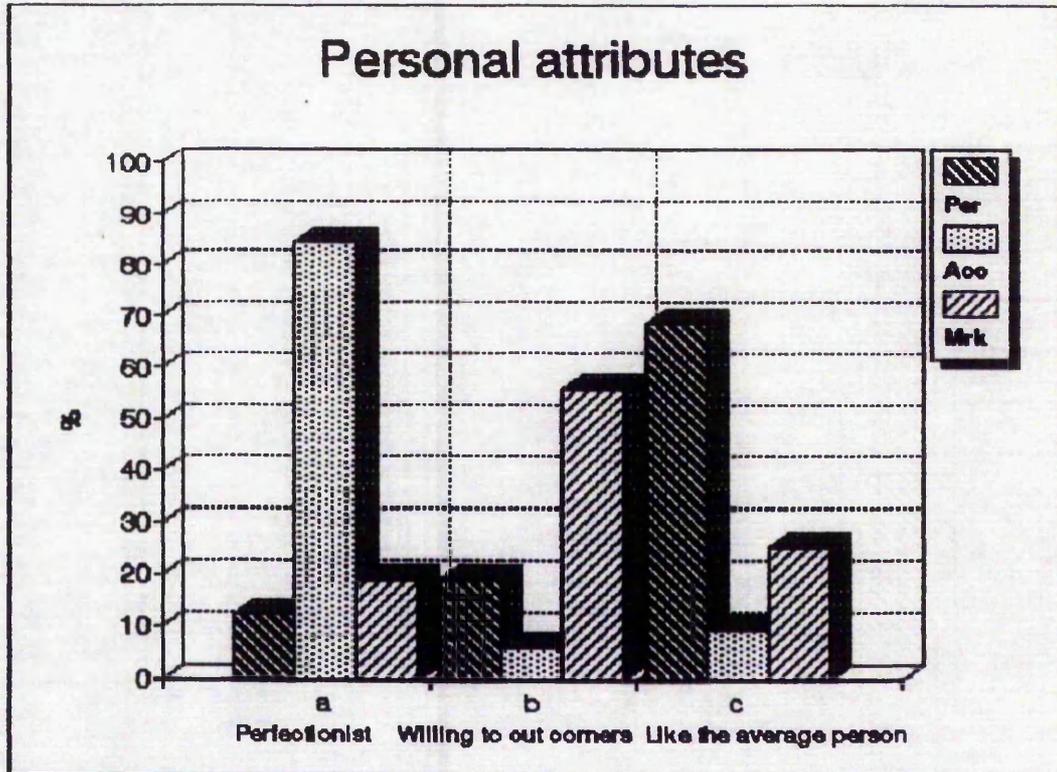
Figure 3.7

There are some similarities that can be seen in the stereotypical
images of the individuals choosing to enter marketing and accounting.
For example, both groups of people are seen as shrewd and
calculating, tense and critical. In addition there is also some
overlap in the stereotypical images of marketing and personnel. They
are both seen as flexible, outgoing and confident.

Chapter 3

When it comes to sociability, those in accounting are seen as making friends like the average person. In contrast, however, those in both personnel and marketing are seen as making friends easily. Reference to the questionnaires completed by those with five years or more business experience indicates a modification of the view. Their image of those in accounting is that they find it difficult to make friends.

This issue of gregariousness can be relevant to a person's effectiveness in certain managerial jobs as can the extent they are pro-active. In fact, it is increasingly argued that everybody in business or management should be more pro-active. And a personal "trait" which would tend to preclude this would be that of "fatalism", as various personality testers call it. This relates to the way some individuals are considered to be, or consider themselves to be, philosophical about their lives and to accept whatever "comes along". They may have for example, very relaxed outlooks on life, believing that "what will be, will be", and that "no matter what" there is nothing that can change whatever fate has in store. On the other hand there are those who believe that life is very much what you make of it, and that things do not happen unless one wants them to. This is not necessarily to deny that the "best laid plans" do sometimes go wrong. There are those who make plans for their lives and others who are "laid back" and take what life deals out to them.

Chapter 3

Both those in accounting and marketing are seen as believing that
one's life is what one makes of it. This is in contrast to the image
of those in personnel who are seen as believing that it is a
combination of both what one makes of it and what is determined by
luck or fate.

Attitudes and life styles

When looking at what people do in their working lives it is often
felt to be relevant to know what they choose to do in their
"non-work" time. Do their leisure activities complement or contrast
with their work for example? There are those who choose to spend
their leisure time pursuing similar activities to their usual
routine, for example, the farmer who spends their non-work time
gardening. The dividing line between the non-work and the work is
often difficult to determine. However there are those who may spend
most of their time at work at a desk, indoors, who prefer to engage
in physical outdoor pursuits. Some non-work pursuits are very
"active", some are "passive" and others exercise a different part of
the person - the mind for example. Parker's research has shown
patterns here and indicated that the higher status or more
"professional types" of work tend to be associated with a continuity
between work and non-work activity for example. This suggests that
there will be some patterning with regard to the expectations
associated with various occupations when it comes to considering the

typical leisure activities carried out by their members. One would
not, however, at the stereotypical level expect there to anything
like the sophisticated links shown to exist by sociological research.
Instead we would suggest that there will be a consideration of likely
leisure activity in terms of the envisaged "type of person" who would
be in that work. Thus, the academic would be expected to read books,
the engineer to be interested in, say cars. The criteria considered
will be broad ones like activity or passivity, physical or cerebral.

My research suggests that the general stereotypical image of those in
personnel is that they are most likely to have a preference for
watching television - a passive pursuit. But the image of those in
marketing contrasts with this: they are seen as having a preference
for the more active pastime of swimming. On the other hand those in
accounting are seen as preferring the more cerebral pursuit of chess
(see Figure 3.8). This may be considered to be similar to the work
aspect of life, in that the individual is seen as using their brain
and having to concentrate in both work and non-work activities.

There are no differences in these elements of the images between the
sub-groups. Proximity does not seen to alter how people are seen in
these respects.

When it comes to social or political attitudes as suggested by
newspaper reading preferences we find that individuals in all three
specialism are seen as having a preference for The Mail rather that
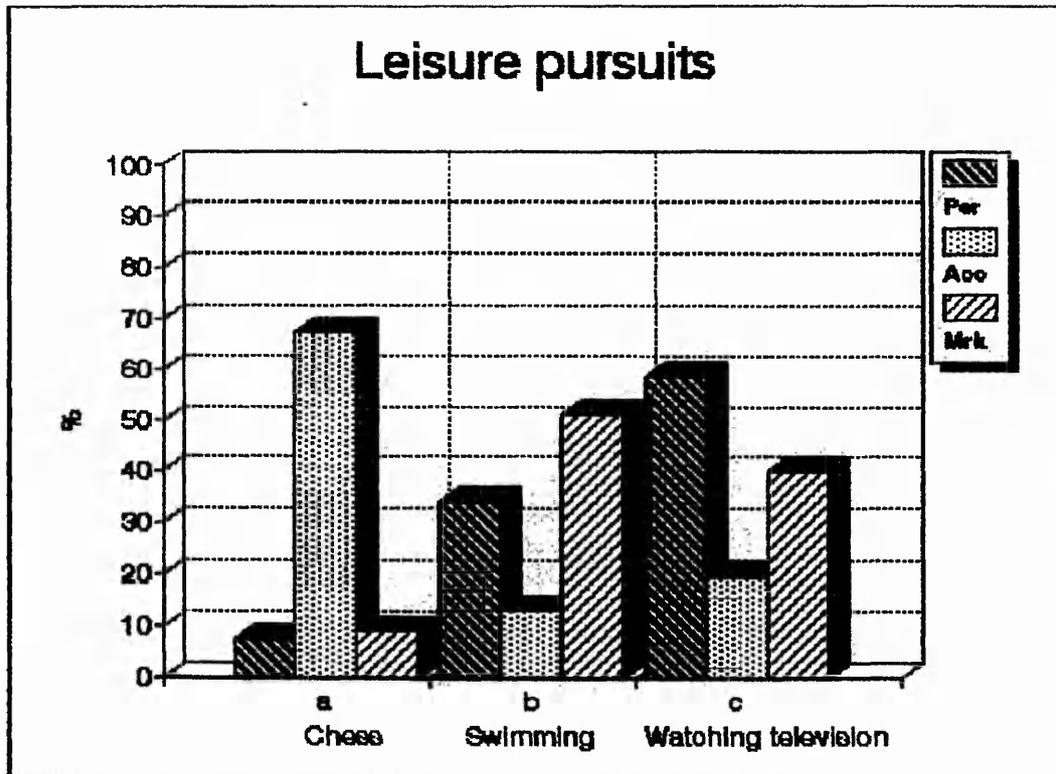
Figure 3.8

The Sun or The Mirror. They are all seen as wanting the discretion or power of British management increased and the influence of trade unions decreased. The image of all three is that they worry about nuclear weapons as much as the average person, no more and no less. In addition it is felt that all three groups of people hold the view that the country should be more nor less religious. Finally, those in personnel, marketing and accounting are seen as believing that there is no need for heavier and physical penalties for criminals. Views are seen as in line with the average person. The similarities in stereotypes - or one might say the lack of anything stereotypical at all ends here.

People in personnel are felt to have a preference for The Guardian, rather than The Times or The Financial Times (see Figure 3.9). This may be an impression of "middle of the road to leftish" attitudes and politics. This corresponds with the belief that they are most likely to vote for the Alliance - a political party seen as in the centre of political attitudes. This again fits with the impression that personnel people are believed to feel that the career opportunities for workers should be increased. A degree of imaginativeness appears to be associated with these attitudes in that they are thought to prefer to watch fiction (films and plays) in preference to documentary or comedy programmes. It is felt that those in personnel worry more than the average person about British race relations - another hint at expected "liberal" values.

Those in marketing are seen as having a preference for The Guardian rather than The Times or The Financial Times (see Figure 3.9). In addition, there is a further similarity of image to that of personnel in that marketing people are seen as believing that career opportunities for workers should be increased. They sees as are more likely to vote Conservative, however, and they worry no more nor less than the average person about British race relations. Marketing people are seen as having a preference for watching comedy rather than documentary or fiction television programmes.
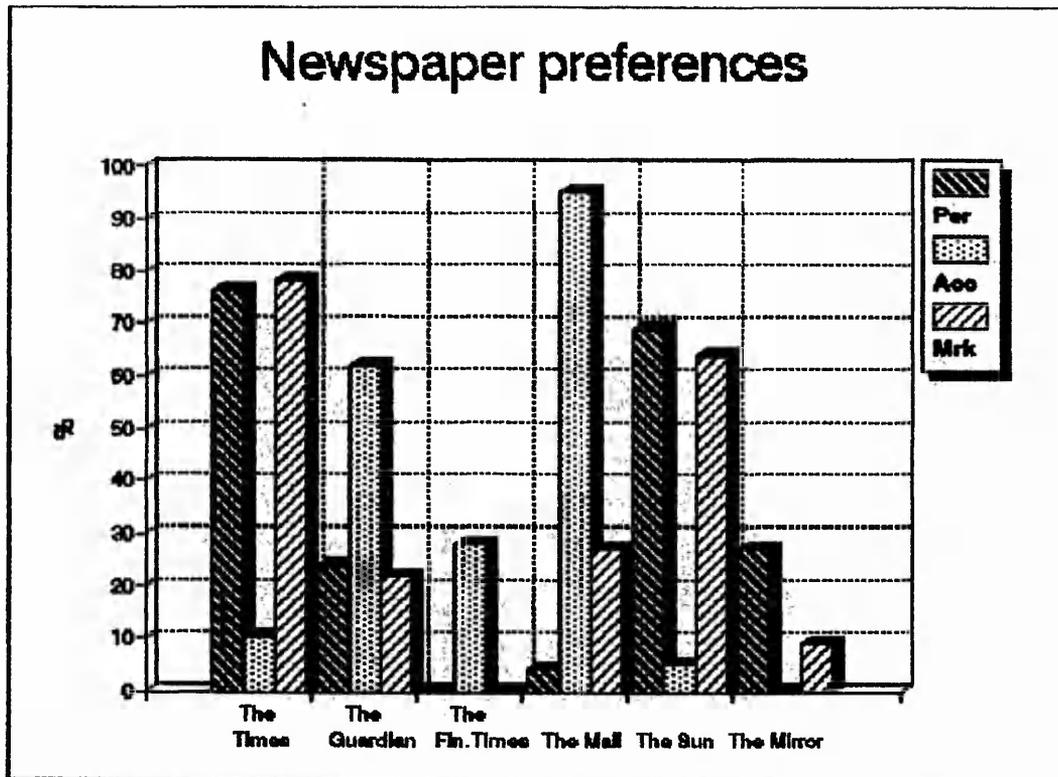
Figure 3.9

Accounting people are perceived as having a preference for The Financial Times over The Guardian or The Times (see Figure 3.9). Like those in marketing, they are expected to vote Conservative and they are seen to believe that the career opportunities for workers should remain as they are now, not increased or decreased. They are perceived as worrying no more nor less than the average person about British race relations and it is felt that they would have a preference for watching documentary programmes rather than fictions or comedies.

Chapter 3

Three caricature or "sketches"

What we can see from this analysis, then is that there do indeed
appear to be images of these three occupational groups which we could
describe as stereotypical. The attributes envisaged by our sample of
respondents do seem to cluster to form something that can reasonably
be described as "types". I can pull together these findings by
sketching three images: three people who we would expect to find as
typifying the three types of managerial worker.

Our marketing person has a middle class background and could be
either male or female. They are considered to be a 'professional'
person, usually having specialist training or qualifications, who is
reasonably well paid. A member of a professional association, rarely
a trade union the Marketing person is moderately influential in
organisations in which they are found. They enter the occupation
through strong personal choice, viewing this as a medium term
commitment, and are committed equally to both their employer and
their occupation. They do this work for a mixture of both job
satisfaction and for the money. At school our Marketing person liked
both science and arts subjects. This Marketing person has a medium
interest in both achieving high social status and job security. They
do however have a high interest in future promotions and having power
through the job. Our Marketing person has high ability with words and
medium numerical ability. They prefer to work with other people,
preferring to be a leader, initiating ideas and likes a combination

of managing crisis a routine pattern of work. Our Marketing person prefers to take decisions and is more likely than most to consider starting his/her own business.

The Marketing person is imaginative and creative, willing to cut corners, outgoing and confident yet critical and impatient. They are no more nor less honest or dishonest than the average person. This person is shrewd and calculating and more tense than the average person. They are expedient and pragmatic, radical and wants to change the world. This person believes that life is what one makes of it. Our Marketing person makes friends easily and is no more easy going and trusting nor cautious and wary of others than the average person.

With reference to work in general our Marketing person would like the discretion/power of British management increased and the influence of the Trade Unions decreased. They worry no more nor less than the average person about British race relations and about nuclear weapons. Our Marketing person feels that there is no need for more physical/heavier penalties for criminal and that the country generally should be no more nor less religious. If they had to make a subordinate redundant they would reluctantly accept this as part of the job. They like swimming, watching comedy programmes on television and prefers The Mail and The Guardian newspapers. Our Marketing person is most likely to vote Conservative.

In common with those in Marketing, the Personnel specialist could be of either sex. They are also from middle class backgrounds and are considered to be reasonably well paid. They rarely belong to a trade union, are usually a member of a professional association and usually have specialist training and or qualifications. Entry into this specialism is through strong personal choice, for a mixture of job satisfaction and for the money, and this is seen as a long term commitment. They are committed equally to both their employer and to their occupation. The Personnel specialist has medium interest in achieving high social status, in having power through their job and in future promotions. They have a high ability with words and medium numerical ability. This Personnel specialist prefers a combination of managing crisis and a routine pattern of work, both initiating ideas and applying other peoples and following others decisions or taking decisions. They prefer to work with other people and to be part of a team. Our Personnel person is outgoing and confident, flexible, relaxed but less likely than the average person to consider starting their own business. They are more patient and more accepting than the average person. However, this person is no more easy going and trusting, nor cautious and wary of others than the average person. They are no more shrewd and calculating, nor naive, personally and morally principled, nor expedient and pragmatic than the average person.

Chapter 3

Our Personnel specialist is no more down to earth and practical nor
imaginative and creative than the average person. They are not
conservative about the world neither do they seek to change it. Our
Personnel person makes friends easily and believes that life is a
combination of what one makes of it and luck or fate. They are no
more honest nor dishonest than the average person, neither are they a
perfectionist nor willing to cut corners.

With regard to work in general they would like to see the
power/discretion of British management, and career opportunities for
workers, increased. The influence of Trade Unions in their view could
be decreased. If they had to make a subordinate redundant they would
reluctantly accept it as part of the job.

Our Personnel specialist worries no more nor less about nuclear
weapons but more than average about British race relations. They feel
that the country should be no more, nor less, religious and that
there is no need for heavier/ more physical punishment for criminals.
This person also, prefers The Mail and The Guardian newspapers, as
does the Marketing specialist. They like to watch fictional
programmes on television in preference to comedy or documentary
programmes.

Chapter 3

Our Personnel specialist is likely to vote for The Alliance party.
(At the time of undertaking this research this political party was an
coalition of the Social Democrats and The Liberals, this is no longer
a current political party. For the purposes of this research I would
indicate that this was could be described as a 'middle of the road'
party).

In contrast to the other two specialists our Accountant is a very
well paid man. He, like the Marketing and Personnel specialist has a
middle class background with specialist training and/or
qualifications. The Accounting specialist is a professional person,
always a member of a professional association, rarely a union member.
He enters the specialism through strong personal choice and sees this
as a long term commitment. Our Accounting specialist does the work
for the money and has a high interest in future promotions, in
achieving high social status, in having power through their job and a
high concern for job security. He is a perfectionist, critical,
rigid, tense, shy and reserved. This Accounting specialist is
cautious, shrewd and calculating, conservative about the world and
down to earth and practical. He likes to apply other people's ideas,
follows the decisions of others, likes a routine pattern of work and
prefers to work alone. Our Accounting specialist has preference for
being either a leader or part of a team.

Chapter 3

The Accounting specialist has a high ability with figures combining with a medium ability with words. He is more likely than most to consider starting his own business. He is no more patient, nor impatient, honest, nor dishonest, personally and morally principled nor expedient and pragmatic than the average person.

The Accounting specialist likes to play chess and watch documentary programmes on television. He prefers The Mail and The Financial Times to other newspapers. He believes that life is what one makes of it.

Our Accounting specialist worries no more nor less than average about British race relations. In addition he believes that the career opportunities should remain as they are now, neither increased nor decreased. With reference to the discretion or power of British management, our Accounting specialist believes that this should be increased in conjunction with a reduction in the power of Trade Unions. If he had to make a subordinate redundant our Accounting specialist would reluctantly accept this as part of the job. This Accounting specialist worries no more, nor less than the average person about nuclear weapons and believes that there is no need for heavier and more physical punishments for criminals. In addition he believes that the country should become no more, nor less religious. Our Accounting specialist is most likely to vote Conservative.

If these are the sorts of image that are held by people with a reasonable, but not close, proximity to the three types of work, then the question can be raised about the degree of correspondence that exists between these images and what trainee members of the three groups "look like" and say they believe when we examine a sample made up of such people. I turn to this in the next chapter.

Chapter 4. Stereotypes, realities and self-perceptions

In a sense, stereotypes of occupations are public perceptions; they are images that are held by people without an intimate or well-informed view of that area of work. What we are concerned with here are the extent of correspondence between the pattern seen in our "testing" of the public sphere and the pattern which emerges when we look at a sample of people who are not distant from these occupations in the same way. Attention is turned, then, to people in the process of training for careers in personnel management, marketing and accounting.

There are three ways in which we might confirm or disconfirm any correspondence between the stereotypical and the "actual" through the application of the second instrument (Appendix 2).

First, we can set "facts" against stereotypes; look for the relationship between the pattern of facts about our sample of occupational members and what would be expected from the stereotypical findings of the earlier stage of the investigation. For example, if the stereotype of nurses emerging from such research suggested that they all had blue eyes, we could set this against the extent to which a sample of "real" nurses actually had blue eyes.

Second, we can take a public perception of an occupation emerging from the first instrument's findings and compare this to what a sample of members of that occupation say they perceive about themselves. For example, if the stereotype of all fire fighters was

that they are brave, we could compare this to the extent to which a
sample of fire fighters perceived themselves in this way.

And third, we could examine the attitudes which the "public" appear
to expect of people in the occupations against the attitudes which
are self reported in an instrument administered to a sample of
members of the occupation. For example, if the first instrument
showed that there was a public perception of teachers having a
negative attitude towards parents of their pupils, this could be
compared to the responses of actual teachers to an attitude survey
which explored that area of feeling and point of view.

In the previous chapter the "public perceptions", or stereotypical
images, of those working in the three specialisms were highlighted.
These public perceptions were obtained by means of information
obtained from questionnaires. As previously stated, the individuals
that had completed the original questionnaires had varying levels of
occupational awareness and of likely experience of actual people in
the three management specialisms. We now have an overview of their
perceptions of envisaged members of the three occupational areas.
Central to the present stage of the research is the consideration of
the "self perceptions" of those who were actually training for
professional qualifications in the specialisms themselves.

The term "self perceptions" is being used here in a fairly broad
sense of self knowledge or awareness. By this I am referring to the

image that each individual holds of his or her self. This covers such matters of how they see their general personality, their abilities, backgrounds, attitudes and lifestyle. It is essential to note that one's self image is not always "accurate", in the sense that it will fully coincide with the images or perceptions that are held by other people. For example, a person may believe that they have certain qualities and abilities about which others would not necessarily agree. However, for the purposes of this research, the self perceptions are being set against perceptions taken from other sources in order to identify any broad patterns there may be in the relationship between images and perceptions to be found towards the "social level" seen in the conceptual scheme represented by Figure 1.1 and those which develop as one moves down through the "individual level" and into the individual having an occupational orientation rooted in experience of the particular occupational specialism.

We have to remember that we are concerned with the sketch-like stereotypical images of the three specialisms and it should be noted that it is the "general", or "overview" that we are concerned with. That is to say, the general stereotypical images of the three specialisms are being compared to the general self images and "rough and ready" items of information that those in the three specialisms have revealed.

Chapter 4

Having made this important qualification we can now review the various areas we have identified as components of images of occupational members.

Masculine or Feminine Image?

Those working in personnel are seen as being predominantly female by almost half of the respondents to the first instrument. However, a similar proportion of the respondents perceive the specialism as having neither a masculine or feminine image. In other words, a substantial number of the respondents feel that those in this specialism could be "either male or female, not predominantly a single sex". Only a very small proportion, less than 10%, of the respondents indicated that those in personnel were "most likely to be male". When we turn to our information about those actually studying for a professional qualification in personnel, we find that 70% of the sample were female. This appears to confirm the image of personnel as being a specialism where there are likely to be fewer males than females.

In contrast to personnel, accounting has a "masculine" image we saw earlier. Those in accounting are perceived as being predominantly male, over three quarters of the sample indicating that they were more likely to be male. Only 1% of the sample indicated that they were most likely to be female. This is in stark contrast to the image

of personnel. Of those studying for a professional qualification in accounting, three quarters of our sample were male, almost an exact replication of the pattern seen in the earlier reported image.

The stereotypical image of marketing suggested by my findings was that it is a specialism where the occupants could be either male of female. The specialism is not seen in single sex terms. Reference to the questionnaires completed by those actually in the field of marketing, and studying for a professional qualification, reveals a fairly equal proportion of males and females. Slightly more than half of the respondents in this sample were female.

Within the parameters of this research it is recognised that there are spheres in each of the three specialisms that may "attract" varying levels, or numbers, of males or females. As with all occupations there are areas that may have a particular "imbalance" of sexes (traditionally at least, employee relations within personnel management). It is accepted that the sampled populations, those studying for professional qualifications in each of the three fields, are not necessarily representative of all of the various "sub-specialisms" within each field but I have no reason to believe that any one of these might be over or under-represented in any of the three sample groups.

At no time during the discussion of the findings of this research is it intended to imply that the ratios of males to females, in any of

the three specialisms, is necessarily the same as pertains to the whole populations in the specialisms nationally. But the patterns shown here are indicative of a more broadly relevant pattern - even if only within the process whereby people choose to train for their occupations in professionally related courses of the type providing the samples for the present research.

Occupational Prestige

As stated in the previous chapter, there are a number of variables that can be combined to give an indication of what is known as occupational prestige. One such indicator is the level of salary that an individual receives, or is perceived or assumed to receive. Obviously what one person considers to be well paid another may not. However, it is the "general" view, or feeling, that is of interest in this research. It is for this reason that I will indicate what parameters I personally have used. "Poorly paid" I consider to be within the range £5,000 - £7,500; "Reasonably well paid" £10,000 - £12,500 and "Very well paid" in excess of £17,500. These salary ranges, or bands, correspond to those used in the questionnaires completed by those actually working, or at least studying for a professional qualification in the three specialisms.

Another factor that has to be acknowledged is that those respondents who were actually working in the three specialisms were unlikely to

be receiving a salary representative of the general levels of salary
in the fields. The respondents were, in the main, trainees and as
such would most likely to be receiving a salary that was appropriate
to this status. It is acknowledged that the levels of salary
indicated on the questionnaires does not give a true reflection of
the "potential" salary on completion of the study or training.
However, it should be noted that even whilst training, the salary
levels vary between specialisms and it taken to be a reasonable
assumption that the differences seen here may be an indication of
differentials that may become more evident at a later date, or stage,
in the respondents' careers.

Let us look at the three areas in turn:

PERSONNEL

The stereotypical image of this specialism is that those in this
field are "reasonably well paid". Only 5% of the respondents
indicated the view that those in this field were "very well paid".
Almost twice this figure, just over 10%, perceived personnel to be a
"poorly paid" field. Analysis of questionnaires completed by those
who were studying on the Institute of Personnel Management (IPM)
reveals that the average salary range indicated was £5,000 - £7,500.
The highest salary indicated was in the range £15,000 - £17,500. The
average salary may be considered by some to be "poorly paid",

although it is important to bear in mind that this is the salary of a trainee.

ACCOUNTING

The stereotypical image of accounting is that it is a "very well paid" specialism. A substantial proportion of the respondents, 64%, indicated this view. Only 5% of the respondents felt that accounting was "poorly paid". Reference to the questionnaires completed by those who were actually studying for a professional qualification in accounting indicates that the lowest salary range was £5,000 - £7,500. The highest salary range was £10,000 - £12,500, the average salary received being within the lowest range. Therefore the average salary was within the same range as that of personnel. Interestingly, those in accounting are perceived however, to be "very well paid" in contrast to the view of those in personnel who are seen as only "reasonably well paid".

Again, one must not read too much into this: there is a tradition with the better established professions for the individual to be badly rewarded in the early stages of their careers precisely because there is an expectation of very high rewards later. We would not expect to see this effect too strongly among _employed_ professionals of the type being looked at here. Employers in the business context are not likely to treat them as poorly as trainee hospital doctors or

trainee lawyers in private practice are treated (because of the problems of differentials within the organisation. Nevertheless, there may be a weak form of this effect.

MARKETING

Those in this management specialism are seen as "reasonably well paid" by slightly more than half of the respondents. However, nearly as many see this as a "very well paid" management specialism. Reference to data relating to the actual levels of salary of those studying for a professional qualification in marketing indicates that there is considerable confirmation of this view. The average salary range is £7,500- £10,000, higher than the averages of the other two specialisms. The lowest salary range of £5,000 - £7,500 is the same as the other two specialisms. However, the highest actual salary is within the range over £17,500. This "highest" salary is more than either of the other two specialisms although the stereotypical images indicate that accounting is seen as the highest paid specialism.

As previously pointed out, the salaries indicated are those of trainees. However, if they are taken as an indication of the levels , or differentials, pertaining, then marketing would appear to be the "very well paid" specialism, accounting and personnel being on a par with each other.

Chapter 4

Professionalism

Associated with the perceived level of income as a facet of the broader category of occupational prestige is the notion of "professionalism". There are, as discussed in the previous chapters, certain occupations that are considered to be professions. These professions do not necessarily command high salaries but typically do. However, in the main there is often an assumption linking levels of income to whether or not an occupation is viewed as a "profession". Levels of income are not the only indicators of professionalism, other indicators having been discussed in an earlier chapter.

How "professional" are the three areas seen?

PERSONNEL

The stereotypical image of those in this specialism is that they are best described as "administrative people". Slightly less than a quarter of the respondents indicated that those in this field would appropriately be described as "professional people", and even fewer perceived those in personnel as "clerical". Of those who were actually working in the field of personnel, just over half, considered that their work was appropriately described as "a profession". More than a third, 37%, perceived their occupation as

"administrative work". A very small number of the respondents, 7%, felt that their work was appropriately described as "clerical". In many respects this my be reflecting, once again, the respondents' career position. As trainees, the tasks that the respondents may undertake at present may be more of an administrative nature than at a point further in their career.

Those in this field are considered by slightly more than half of the respondents to 'usually' belong to a professional association. However, over one third perceived them to 'rarely' belong to such an association. This reaffirms the image of 'administrative' rather than 'professional' image of this specialism.

ACCOUNTING

In contrast to the image of Personnel stereotypical image of those working in Accounting is very clear cut. They are described by 82% of the respondents as being best described as 'professional people'. Those in Accounting were considered to 'always' belong to a professional association by more than half of the respondents. (Of the remainder 42% indicated that those in the specialism 'usually' belonged to such an association). Of those studying for a professional qualification in this field exactly two thirds considered that their occupation was best described as 'a profession'.

Chapter 4

MARKETING

Similarly, like those working Accounting, Marketing people are perceived to be 'professional people' by slightly more than two thirds of the respondents. Of the remaining respondents the greater proportion, more than a quarter, considered that they were best described as 'administrative people'. With reference to the data relating to membership of a professional association. Almost half of the respondents indicated that those in this field 'usually' belonged to a professional association. Slightly fewer respondents however, considered that those in Marketing 'rarely' belonged to such an association.

Education and training

Also associated with occupational prestige and professionalism is the notion of specialist training. There are certain occupations that are recognised generally as requiring specialist training and qualifications. The length or duration of this training can be perceived as adding further prestige or status.

Chapter 4

PERSONNEL

The stereotypical image of those in personnel is that they "usually"
have specialist training or qualifications. By indicating this view
the respondents are implying that it is not always a prerequisite of
this type of work and could be perceiving the specialism in a manner
that implies a lack of professionalism. Almost three quarters of the
respondents indicated that those in personnel "usually" have
specialist training. Only 16% of the respondents selected the option
"always" and just 10% perceived those in this field as "rarely"
having specialist training or qualifications. Analysis of the
questionnaires completed by those studying for a professional
qualification in this field indicates that over half of the sample
had a degree. It is appreciated that simply possessing a degree
alone, which may or may not be in a subject area considered to be
relevant to the specialism, does not imply confirmation or denial of
the stereotypical image. What this does do however, is to show a
certain level of educational attainment which can be an indicator of
the level of knowledge, specialist or not, that those in the
specialism have. For example, there are occupations that may not
require specialist knowledge or training, refuge collection say, this
does not mean that a person with a degree could not do that job or
that they could do the job any better than someone without a degree.
Of course, as has already been acknowledged, the respondents were
themselves in the process of obtaining further "relevant"
professional qualifications.

ACCOUNTING

Those in accounting are seen by a large proportion of the
respondents, 84%, as "always" having specialist training or
qualifications. The remainder of the respondents considered that they
"usually" had specialist training or qualifications. The
stereotypical image of accounting is therefore one of a specialism
where perhaps there is a feeling of greater levels of knowledge and
qualifications, re-enforcing the image of professionalism. Of those
individuals studying for a professional qualification in this field
75% indicated that their highest academic qualification was a degree.
This group, those actually in the field of accounting, have by far
the greatest number for whom a degree is the highest qualification,
in contrast to those in the other two specialisms. This serves to
re-emphasise the image of the field as one that "always" requires
specialist training or qualifications. As previously stated,
possession of a degree is simply being used here as an indication of
the levels of academic "ability" or knowledge.

MARKETING

More than half of the respondents indicated that those in marketing
"usually" have specialist training or qualifications. This is in
contrast to the image of those in accounting. Slightly more than one

fifth of the respondents do, however, consider that those in this field "always" have such knowledge or abilities as a prerequisite for the work. One quarter of those actually studying for a professional qualification in this field indicated that "A" levels were their highest academic qualification. Those who indicated that a degree was their highest academic qualification amounted to approximately one third. A further fifth of the sample however had reached diploma level.

Class background and behaviour

Perceptions relating to social class and parental background can also affect the image of an occupation in that in a "class aware" culture a person's social location tends to be treated as an indicator of the type of person typically to be found in that occupation. There are, for example, a number of occupations or professions that are associated with predominantly middle class backgrounds. Law is an area that springs to mind where factors relating to social class - life chances - affect the likelihood of entry of individuals with working class backgrounds. There are occupations that not only require very high educational qualifications, but also "investment" of several years of training on either little or no salary. These "restrictions" on potential entry into certain fields effectively "control" or at least limit the types of social backgrounds of those who wish to enter.

Chapter 4

There are a number of recognised indicators of social class and some more "unorthodox" ones. For example, there are those, often in the communication media themselves, who associate the reading of certain newspapers with particular social classes. Even the type of television viewing preferred is popularly linked to different social classes. Voting behaviour can also be used, in conjunction with other indicators, to assign social class. These are very generalised indicators of social class.

PERSONNEL

Those in personnel are perceived as having a middle class background, 91% of stage one respondents selecting this option on the questionnaire. In addition, more than 80% of the respondents saw those in personnel as preferring The Guardian newspaper to The Times or The Financial Times. The Guardian is popularly felt to be a "middle of the road to left" newspaper and often referred to in the media as being aimed at the middle class. There are also certain people, in various occupations, portrayed in the media as being "Guardian readers", for example, social workers, teachers and those in this specialism. Those in personnel are also seen as preferring The Mail to The Sun or The Mirror. Reference to those respondents actually in the field of personnel indicates that 70% preferred The Guardian to The Times or The Financial Times. Approximately one quarter of the respondents preferred The Times and a very small

proportion showed a preference for The Financial Times. Two thirds of

the sample indicated a preference for The Mail and almost one third

for The Mirror in preference to The Sun newspaper. It would appear

that the stereotypical image of those in personnel is quite

"accurate" in this sample.

There is no clear image of the likely voting behaviour of those in

personnel. The greatest number of respondents indicate that it likely

to be for the "Alliance". This questionnaire was given at a time when

the Social and Liberal Democrats, as they later came to be known,

were called the Liberals. They joined with the Social Democrats for

the purposes of fighting a general election. A similar number of

respondents viewed those in personnel as most likely to vote

"Conservative". Those in personnel are seen as least likely to vote

"Labour". Of those practitioners in the sample, a third voted Labour,

almost equal proportions voted for the Alliance and Conservative.

However, a quarter of the sample indicated that they either voted for

another party or that they wished to keep this information

confidential.

ACCOUNTING

The stereotypical image of accounting is also one of "middle class"

parental backgrounds. Over three quarters of the respondents

indicated this view. More than a fifth did, however, indicate the

Chapter 4

view that those in this specialism were most likely to have an "upper class" parental background. The fact that there were a significant number of respondents that indicated this view, in contrast to either of the other two specialisms, strengthens or re-enforces the image of accounting in terms of professionalism and associated status indicators.

The stereotypical image of those in accounting is that they prefer The Financial Times to The Times or The Guardian newspapers. In addition they are seen as having a preference for The Mail rather than The Sun or The Mirror newspapers. Reference to the personal data relating to those actually studying for a professional qualification in this field reveals that the image is not too far removed from the truth, in this sample. For example, over half of the sample indicated a preference for The Mail. However, of the sample exactly half indicated a preference for The Times, not The Financial Times as imagined, a small number only indicating a preference for The Financial Times. The image of preference for The Financial Times may be based on a misconception relating to the nature of the work itself. It may be that the image arises from the belief, or impression, that those in accounting have to study the financial newspapers as part of their job.

Ninety per cent of the respondents perceive those in accounting as most likely to vote Conservative, rather than Labour or Alliance. Of those in the sample of accountancy trainees, exactly half voted in

accordance with this image, at the last election. However, a third either voted for another party or preferred to keep this information confidential.

MARKETING

Almost 90% of the respondents indicated the view that those in this specialism were also likely to have a "middle class" parental background. Similar numbers of respondents indicated that those in this field would prefer The Mail and The Sun newspapers. Of those who were actually studying for a professional qualification in this field, equal numbers showed a preference for each of the three newspapers. The image of those in marketing implies a preference for The Guardian over The Times or The Financial Times. Over half of the respondents indicated that The Guardian was the most preferred newspaper amongst those in marketing. However, reference to the information relating to the actual preferences of those in marketing reveals that there is no one particular preference. For example, a quarter preferred The Guardian, and a third The Financial Times.

Almost half of the respondents perceive that those in marketing are most likely to vote Conservative, rather than for Labour or the Alliance. However, the least number of respondents perceive them as most likely to vote for Labour. Of the three specialisms, those in marketing had by far the greatest proportion who indicated that they

either voted for a party other than the three main parties at the
time, or that they wished to keep this information confidential.
Almost a third of those in the sample indicated that they voted
Conservative. In this instance it is very difficult to assess how
"accurate" the stereotypical image is.

Influence

The amount of "influence" that a particular specialism is perceived
to have is also associated with the image of prestige. This refers to
prestige that a particular occupation has in the occupational
context. There is however an amount of prestige that reflects on the
individual themselves, in terms of associated status, for example
whether or not one is seen as a professional. The amount, or level,
of influence a specialism has does not necessarily correspond to the
level of influence an individual in that specialism views it as
having. There is once again the need to stress that I am simply
outlining what those in the three specialisms feel themselves, which
may be contrary to the ACTUAL influence that they have.

PERSONNEL

Those in personnel are seen as being only "moderately influential".
Almost a third however, see those in this specialism as being

"uninfluential". Those actually in personnel, in the sample, are
undecided as to whether or not they consider their occupation to be
influential. For example, slightly more than one third agree that
their "occupation is generally one of the most influential in the
organisations in which it is found". The others are almost equally
divided between being "indifferent" and "disagreeing" with the view.

ACCOUNTING

This specialism is seen as being "very influential" in the
organisations in which it is found. Furthermore, less than 10% of the
respondents see the specialism as being "uninfluential". More than
half of those actually in the area of accounting indicate that they
"agree" that the occupation is generally one of the most influential
in the organisations in which it is found.

MARKETING

Exactly half of the respondents see those in this specialism as being
"moderately influential" when compared to people in other
specialisms. Most of the other respondents see those in this
specialism as being "very influential". It is clear that this
specialism is seen as having quite a lot of influence in
organisations. Of those actually in the field of marketing more than

half "agree" that their occupation is one of the most influential,

coinciding with the stereotypical image of those in the specialism.

Occupational motivation & entry

We now look at perceptions of why a person enters a particular

occupation. Our consideration encompasses those factors that may be

of interest to those entering the occupation. These factors are for

example, the way in which the specialism itself is perceived, the

abilities or skills that one may consider appropriate for the

occupation and other variables.

PERSONNEL

Those in personnel are seen, by equal numbers of respondents, as

doing the job primarily for the money, and for a balance of the job

satisfaction and for the money. As previously discussed the

stereotypical image of personnel is that it is a specialism that is

"reasonably well paid". Reference to the questionnaires completed by

those in this field reveals that, with respect to trainees' salaries,

it is a specialism that is reasonably well paid. Slightly more than

one third of the respondents agreed with the statement that they "do

the job primarily for the money". However, of the remainder, 22% were

"indifferent" to the statement. Therefore, the stereotypical image of

the reason why those in personnel do the job corresponds with the feelings expressed by those in the specialism itself.

ACCOUNTING

The stereotypical image of those in accounting is also that of doing the job for both job satisfaction and for the money. Exactly half of the respondents see those in accounting as doing the job for the money and only slightly fewer see them as doing the job for both reasons. One third of those studying for a professional qualification in accounting disagreed with the statement, "you do the job primarily for the money" and a quarter of the sample were indifferent to the statement. Once again it would seem that the stereotypical image of those in this specialism is "confirmed" or vindicated.

MARKETING

Those working in this specialism are seen as doing so for a combination of both the job satisfaction and for the money. Exactly half of those studying for a professional qualification in this specialism disagreed with the statement, "you do the job primarily for the money". Of the remainder, 15% of respondents were "indifferent" to the statement. There is evidence here that the "decision" could have been either, as there were 10% of both hose who

"strongly agreed" and "strongly disagreed" with the statement.This is
perhaps in line with the stereotypical image in the sense that they
could be equally doing the job for the money and for the job
satisfaction.

Occupational "choice"?

There is a generally felt view that there are certain occupations
that individuals enter for very particular reasons. The individuals
have made a conscious decision to pursue a particular path, or
career. It is possible for example, to ask a child what type of work
he or she would like to do when they grow up and they may express
definite opinions or ideas. Alternatively there are those who are
seen to have no particular ideas or inclinations towards any
particular occupation. This last group of individuals may for
example, appear to others to "drift" into an occupation - something
they tend to see as a "job" rather than a career. However, those who
apparently "plan", or direct themselves towards a particular goal may
consider this to be more than a job, a career or even a "vocation".
Examples of vocations are often occupations such as doctors, nurses,
teachers and the like. There are therefore some specialisms that are
seen as requiring a particular type of commitment, and as such a
strong personal choice is demonstrated by entering these areas. There
are of course those occupations that individuals enter through all
manner of reason, including encouragement from parents, or

"significant others" in the individual's life. By "significant
others" I am referring to those an individual takes notice of,
whether consciously or not. They are often parents, but can also be
older siblings, friends and teachers. If for example, a parent
expresses a strong desire for their son or daughter to "follow in
their footsteps", enter the same occupation, the son or daughter may,
for various reasons, do so. However, there are numerous reasons that
someone believes that they enter an particular occupation. If the
individual admires someone in that particular occupation they may
wish to imitate them, whether or not they realise they are doing so
is another matter and one for discussion elsewhere.

PERSONNEL

Those in personnel are seen as entering the specialism through
"strong personal choice". However, a third of the respondents
perceive them as doing so through "force of circumstances or luck".
Over three quarters of those actually studying for a professional
qualification in this field "believed" that they had entered it
"through strong personal choice". The stereotypical image of the
reasons why those in personnel enter the specialism corresponds to
the views held by those actually in the specialism sampled.

Chapter 4

ACCOUNTING

The stereotypical image of the reasons why individuals enter
accounting is less strong, or definite, than that of personnel.
Slightly more than half of the respondents perceived them as doing so
through 'strong personal choice". However, of the remainder of the
respondents over a third saw them as doing so through "encouragement
by parents and others". Very few of the respondents perceive that
those in accounting enter the specialism through "force of
circumstances or luck". It would appear that this specialism is
viewed generally as one where those choosing to enter are seen as
doing so for definite reasons, rather than apparently "drifting" into
it. Over three quarters of those studying for a professional
qualification in accounting indicated that they "agreed" with the
statement "you entered this occupation through strong personal
choice". Almost a fifth of the total sample of those in accounting
indicated that they "strongly agreed" with the statement. In this
instance the stereotypical image does not appear to be entirely
"accurate" or "true", in the sense that those actually in the field
felt more strongly about the reasons why they had enter the
specialism.

Chapter 4

MARKETING

More than half of the respondents perceived that those in marketing
entered the specialism through "strong personal choice". Slightly
more than a third were however more inclined to perceive the reasons
as "force of circumstances or luck" and through "encouragement by
parents and others". The stereotypical image of those in marketing is
more definitely that of one in which the individuals enter through a
strong personal choice, whereas those in the other two specialisms
are viewed as not so definitely making a "strong personal choice". In
response to the statement "you entered this occupation through strong
personal choice", a quarter of those actually studying for a
professional qualification in marketing were "indifferent" to it.
However, over half of the respondents "agreed" with it, one fifth of
the total indicating that they "strongly agreed" with the statement.
The image of those in marketing, with reference to this particular
aspect, is in line with the perceptions of those who are actually the
field or specialism.

Commitment

There are those occupations that are seen as requiring 'long term
commitment'. These occupations are often those that require
considerable personal 'investment' in terms of training or expertise.
The term 'investment' is used to describe a number of aspects of

manifestations of 'commitment'. For example, in Becker's study of
'Boys in White' illustrations of a number of personal sacrifices are
given. Becker's work is a study of medical school, of those students
who hope one day to become doctors. These sacrifices are in many
forms, the length or duration of some course of study, the hours of
study required, the offsetting of studentship against possible
immediate earnings. These sacrifices are often considered to be
warranted by those making them, for example the possible higher
earnings once qualified may counterbalance the years of relative
hardship.

In addition Alvin Gouldner points out that there are recognisable
differences in the type of occupational personality of individuals.
For example, he refers to 'cosmopolitans', those people who would
consider moving geographically in order to pursue or further a
career. In contrast Gouldner refers to those who seek advancement in
their career within the confines of perhaps the same organisation,
those less likely to change employer or move geographically, as
'locals'. With reference to the image of commitment those who are
seen as committed to their chosen career are more inclined, more
prepared, to move geographically in order to gain advancement.

Chapter 4

PERSONNEL

Those in Personnel are perceived to see their occupation either
long-term or medium-term commitment. A similar number of respondents
considered that those in Personnel viewed their occupation in this
way. Of those actually studying for a professional qualification in
this specialism, 89% agreed that they had a long term commitment to
the occupation. No one in the sample of those in the specialism, was
"indifferent" as to how they viewed their commitment.

Whether an individual is considered to be more committed to their
employer than to their occupation demonstrates strengths and the
focus of "loyalties". For example, there are those who put their
occupation before all else, who readily change employers in order to
further their careers. And there are alternatively those who express,
and demonstrate, more commitment to their employer than to their
occupation.

The stereotypical image of those in personnel indicates that this
group of people are committed equally to their profession and to
their employer. Of those in personnel sampled, over half agree that
they identify more with their occupation/specialism than with their
employer. This view corresponds well with the public perceptions of
the occupation.

Chapter 4

ACCOUNTING

In contrast to the image of Personnel, those in Accounting are
perceived to see their occupation as 'long-term commitment' by almost
90% of the respondents. The specialism is seen as one which is likely
to require such long term commitment. This may be due to the
popularly recognised belief or view that accounting requires a number
of years training. There are occupations that are seen as requiring
little or no training, for example that of milk deliverer. Of those
studying for a professional qualification in accounting over half
agreed with the statement, "you see your occupation as a long-term
commitment". However, a quarter of them were indifferent to the
statement.

In contrast to those in personnel, the image of those in accounting
is more clear cut. Those in this field are perceived to be more
committed to their occupation than to their employer. The
stereotypical image is one of individuals who would be more likely to
change employer to further their occupation, without excessive
consideration of their employer. Three quarters of those in the
sample of accounting trainees confirmed this view. Their indications
revealed that the image was in fact "accurate".

Chapter 4

MARKETING

The stereotypical image of those in marketing is that they see the occupation as a "medium term" commitment. Over half of the respondents viewed those in this specialism in this way. However, over a third considered that those in marketing see the occupation as a "long term" commitment. In many respects this image is similar to the one held of personnel. It would seem that in general those in accounting are seen as having a more long term commitment to their occupation. Of those studying for a professional qualification in marketing over half indicated that the occupation was seen as a "long term" commitment. However, a fifth of those in marketing were indifferent to the statement "you see your occupation as a long-term commitment", an equal number disagreed with the statement.

The image of those in marketing, with regard to primary commitment to employer or occupation, is similar to that relating to those in personnel. More of the respondents indicated that they perceived those in this field to be equally committed to their profession and to their employer. However, this was not the view of the majority of respondents. The stereotypical image is therefore taken as being one of commitment to both the employer and to the occupation. Similarly, of those actually working in this field, a quarter were "indifferent" to the statement "you identify more with your occupation/specialism than with your employer". Of the remaining respondents, similar proportions agreed, and disagreed, with the statement. This indicates

a corresponding situation to that relating to the stereotypical
image, so that the conclusion can be taken to be that those in the
sample have similar views to those illustrated by the stereotypical
image.

Interest in status

Interest in achieving high social status is a further factor that
illustrating the possible "motives" or desires of an individual.
There are those who do not seek high social status, but are assigned
this status. There are conversely those who continually seek what to
them may be "recognition" in the form of high social status. Society
bestows or assigns high social status to many. For example, there are
those in society that are highly regarded - vicars, doctors and
others. The high social status is sometimes, but not always, linked
to their occupation or work in some way. There are individuals that
seek to achieve this position through their work.

PERSONNEL

Those in personnel are seen as having "medium" interest in achieving
high social status. Almost a quarter of the respondents indicated
however, that those in this specialism had only "low" interest in
achieving this. Those actually studying for a professional

qualification in this specialism indicated a similar view. They are
more inclined to demonstrate low to medium interest in achieving such
status.

ACCOUNTING

The stereotypical view of those in accounting is however in contrast
to the image of those in personnel. They are perceived to have "high"
interest in achieving high social status, the image being of "medium"
to "high" interest. Of those actually training in accounting, over
half indicated that they had a "high interest in achieving a high
social status". This indicates that the image of those in this
specialism and those who are actually in the specialism corresponds
very well.

MARKETING

Those in marketing are perceived to have "medium" interest in
achieving high social status. Over a third of the respondents
perceived that they had "high" interest in doing so. Of those
actually in marketing the greatest majority indicated "medium" to
"high" interest in achieving this level of social status. Once again
the stereotypical image of those in the specialism are in accordance
with the views expressed, or held, by those actually in marketing.

Chapter 4

Ambitiousness

Ambitiousness is viewed in different ways by different individuals
and groups within society. Being ambitious is often seen as a good
thing, quite harmless if the ambition is achieved in recognised and
accepted ways. To others being ambitious may be viewed as a bad
thing. For example, it may not be "appropriate" behaviour in certain
occupations, in the Church, say.

PERSONNEL

Those in personnel are perceived by half the respondents to have
"medium" interest in future promotions. However, of the remaining 50%
of the respondents, 42% perceive that they have "high" interest in
achieving this. The image of those in this specialism is therefore
one of relatively ambitious individuals. Of those who were actually
in this specialism, 85% indicated that they were interested in future
promotions. Although the "strength" of the ambitiousness has not been
demonstrated and impression of ambitiousness can be gained from this
information.

Chapter 4

ACCOUNTING

In the main those in accounting are perceived to have a "high"
interest in future promotions. However, exactly one third of the
respondents perceived them to have only "medium" interest in future
promotions. Those in accounting are therefore regarded generally as
being ambitious. Reference to the information given by those actually
in the field of accounting indicates that they are very interested in
future promotions. Of the total sample, 83% indicated this view. This
information does not of course mean that those inn this specialism
are "actually" more interested in future promotions, simply that this
is this view that they have of themselves at the time of being asked.

MARKETING

Over 80% of the respondents perceive those in marketing to have a
"high" interest in future promotions. The stereotypical image of
those in this specialism is very definitely one of ambitious
individuals. Of those actually working in this field, 95% considered
that they were interested in future promotion. The stereotypical
image and they views expressed by those in marketing accords well.

Chapter 4

Security

Although most people are concerned with job security, for a number of reasons, there are those who are less concerned than others. There may be several reasons for the concern for job security, ranging from simply the concern to be working and receiving an income, to being apparently unconcerned. For example, an individual may have the view that to find alternative employment would not present any major problems. There are those who may feel that, for example, they possess certain talents or skills that are sort after.

PERSONNEL

The stereotypical image of those in personnel is one of "high" concern for job security. This image may stem from the belief that they do not have skills, talents or abilities that are in demand. However, it may also be based on the belief that those in this field are in some way insecure or unsure of themselves. Of those actually in the field of personnel, 60% agreed that they were "very concerned with job security".

Chapter 4

ACCOUNTING

Of those in accounting the stereotypical image is the same as that of
those in personnel; that they have "high" concern for job security.
Reference to the information given by those actually in accounting
reveals that exactly half "agree" that they are concerned with job
security. Of the remainder of those in the sample, a third were
"indifferent" to the statement "you are concerned with job security".

MARKETING

In contrast to the stereotypical images of those in personnel and
accounting, those in marketing are perceived to have medium to high
concern for job security. Only one fifth of the respondents indicated
that they perceived that those in marketing had only "low" concern
with job security. Over half of those actually in marketing indicated
that they were very concerned with job security. A quarter did
however disagree with the statement "you are very concerned with job
security". The image of those in marketing is one of individuals that
are less concerned with job security than those working in either
accounting or personnel. This may be based on an impression given by
those in this field, one of being relaxed about job security.

Chapter 4

Words and numbers

Abilities and aptitudes are often of great relevance to a number of occupations. Possession of such skills may be considered very appropriate for a number of different occupations, for various reasons. For example, the ability to sing is important to those who have their living in the world of opera, whereas it may not be of great importance to be numerate. There are of course, those occupations that are generally assumed to require certain abilities but that may not necessarily do so. In addition, one has to bear in mind that very often an individual may feel that he or she is particularly good at something when in fact to others they are not.

PERSONNEL

The stereotypical image of those in personnel is that they are particularly good with words, but not so good at figures. This assumption may be based upon misconceptions of the actual occupation itself. Over three quarters of the respondents perceive those in this specialism to have a "high" ability with words. More than half of the respondents perceived that their ability with numbers was "medium". In fact over a quarter indicated that those in this specialism had a "low" ability with numbers. Reference to information given by those actually studying in this specialism reveals that the "self perception" is in accordance with the image - they consider that

their ability with words is high. However, one third of those in the
sample indicated that their self perceptions were that they had
neither high, nor low, ability with numbers. Of the remainder, the
majority were more inclined towards seeing themselves as having a
high ability with numbers. In response to the statement "you prefer
to work with figures rather than words", a quarter were indifferent
to the statement, and over 70% disagreed with it.

ACCOUNTING

In contrast to those in personnel, those in accounting are seen as
having "high" ability with numbers. Almost all of the respondents,
95%, perceived this to be so. Their ability with words is seen as
"medium", over a quarter actually perceiving the ability to be "low".
These perceptions are obviously based upon generally held assumptions
that accounting mainly involves figure work rather than dealing with
words. Much of accounting does deal with figures but in addition
there may be considerable amounts of report writing and discussions.
This is perhaps a classic example of the misconceptions held relating
to a number of occupations. Of those actually studying for a
professional qualification in accounting less than one fifth
disagreed with the statement "you prefer to work with figures than
with words". The majority of those in the sample perceive their
ability with numbers as being "high". More than a third of the sample
felt their ability with words was "high". However, more than half of

the sample considered their ability to be neither high or low,
average.

MARKETING

More then three quarters of the respondents perceive those in
marketing to have "high" ability with words and "medium" ability with
words. The stereotypical image corresponds to that of personnel. Once
again this may be based on impressions of the occupation, that it
involves the use of words and less reliance on numbers. Of those in
marketing only a quarter" agreed" with the statement "you prefer to
work with figures than with words". The remainder were almost equally
divided between "disagree" and "indifferent". There appears to be no
particular preference for either figures or words, they are happy to
work with either. Those in the sample indicated that they considered
their ability with words, and numbers, to be high.

School subjects

The subjects that are preferred at school are also of interest when
considering the type of occupation that an individual enters.

Chapter 4

PERSONNEL

Those in personnel are perceived to have had a preference for "arts subjects" at school. Of those actually in personnel sampled, 85% "disagreed" with the statement "at school you preferred science subjects to arts subjects".

ACCOUNTING

In contrast to the image of those in personnel, those in accounting are perceived to have preferred "science subjects" at school. This stereotypical image is in complete contrast to the preferences indicated by those studying for a professional qualification in accounting.

MARKETING

The stereotypical image of those in marketing is that at school they had no preference for one particular group of subjects; they preferred "a mixture of these". Of those actually working in the field of marketing this finding is upheld - they show no particular preference for any one particular group of subjects.

Chapter 4

Personal "make up"

There are many aspects of what is commonly described as an
individual's "personality" that are presumed to be appropriate for
particular occupations. If for example, an individual is shy, quiet
or has an inability to make friends or acquaintances, they are not
likely to be considered appropriately "qualified" for a role or job
that may require them to interact with others as a major part of
their work. However, by the same token, there are personality
"traits" that are highly desirable in certain occupations.
Personality traits, as psychologists tend to call the "elements" that
make up the distinctiveness of a person as an individual, are those
factors that in many ways distinguish one person from another. For
example, one person may be considered kind and caring, another mean
and cruel.

Once again it is important to stress that when discussing the
"revelations", or self perceptions", of those in the three
specialisms, one must bear in mind that how an individual appears to
his or her self may not be "actually" how they are or, rather, how
they appear in the eyes of others.

Chapter 4

PERSONNEL

Those in personnel are perceived, by half of the respondents, to be more "outgoing and confident", rather than more "shy and reserved" than the average person. However, almost half view those in personnel are seen as being "like the average person". Of those actually in personnel, the majority consider themselves to be "outgoing and confident".

The stereotypical image relating to this particular aspect of personality corresponds well with the self perceptions of those working in this specialism.

The greatest number of respondents see those in personnel as unlike the average person. Of the remainder of the respondents, the majority see them as being more "easy going and trusting" than average, rather than "cautious and wary of others". The majority of those actually in personnel sampled, agreed with the statement "you are easy going and trusting". This is further substantiated by reference to other information obtained whereby the majority of those in the sample were inclined to consider themselves as easy going and trusting. However, slightly more than one third of the sample did not consider themselves as either easy going and trusting, nor cautious and wary of others. The overall view, of those in this sample is felt to be that they consider themselves to be easy going and trusting. This is in line with the stereotypical image of those in the specialism.

The greatest number of respondents perceive those in personnel to be more "relaxed" than the average person, rather than "tense". However, a similar proportion see those in this specialism as "like the average person". Only 10% of the respondents perceived them to be more "tense" than average. Therefore the overall stereotypical image of those in personnel is that they are generally more relaxed. Of those in the sample of individuals in the field of personnel, the greatest proportion indicated that they considered themselves to be neither relaxed, nor tense. The general stereotypical image of those in personnel is in line with the impressions held of those in the specialism themselves.

The stereotypical image of those in personnel is that they are no more "shrewd and calculating", nor "naive", than the average person. This is reflected in the self perceptions of those studying for a professional qualification in this field, who indicated that they were neither shrewd and calculating, nor naive. None of those in personnel, the sample studied, considered themselves to be naive. The stereotypical image is again reflected by the views of those in the specialism itself. Almost half of the respondents perceive those in personnel as being more "flexible" than the average person, rather than "rigid". However, this is not the view of the majority of the respondents. The view is one of those in personnel being "like the average person" with a tendency towards being more "flexible". Of those working the field of personnel, in this sample, none indicated that they were rigid; the majority considered themselves to be

flexible. These self perceptions are in line with the stereotypical image of those in the specialism. The greatest number of respondents perceive those in personnel as being "like the average person", neither "down-to-earth and practical", nor "imaginative and creative". However, this is not the view of the majority. The image of those in this specialism is undecided and has been taken to indicate that those in this specialism are like the average person to a great extent but that they are in part considered to be quite "down-to-earth and practical". Of those in personnel sampled, a reasonable proportion consider that they are neither more down to earth and practical than they are imaginative and creative. However, this is not a majority view. Of the remainder, the greatest number consider themselves to be more inclined to be down to earth and practical. The stereotypical image corresponds to the self perceptions of those working in the specialism.

When it comes to being considered "a perfectionist" or "willing to cut corners", those in personnel are perceived to be "like the average person". Of those working in this field, a third indicated that they considered themselves to be neither perfectionist, nor willing to cut corners; they were like the average person. However, of the remaining two thirds, the greatest number were more inclined to consider themselves to be willing to cut corners. The stereotypical image is reasonably well borne out by the self perceptions of those in the specialism.

When "compared to the average person", those in personnel are not perceived to be more "personally and morally principled", nor are they more "expedient and pragmatic". The greatest number of respondents, not a majority, perceive those in this specialism to be more "like the average person". However, a similar number of respondents see those in personnel as being more "personally and morally principled" than the average person. Of those training in the field of personnel, a third considered themselves to be expedient and "easy-going". However, of the remainder, a quarter could not decide whether or not they were "closer" to being expedient and "easy-going", or personally and morally principled. In this instance I have interpreted this as implying that they consider themselves to be "like the average person". An even larger proportion indicated that they considered themselves to be more inclined towards being personally and morally principled. These revelations replicate the stereotypical image of those in personnel, very well.

The image of those in personnel, relating to whether or not they are perceived as more "critical" or "accepting" than the average person, is very unclear. Slightly less then half of the respondents perceive those in this specialism to be more "accepting" than the average person. Of the remainder of the respondents, a greater proportion perceive them to be "like the average person". On balance the image is unclear, and has been taken to imply that those in this specialism are "like the average person" but may be inclined towards being "accepting". Those in the sample, training for a professional

qualification in personnel, most indicate that they are inclined to see themselves as neither more critical, nor more accepting. Over a third of those in the sample are inclined towards seeing themselves as more critical than accepting. This gives a contrasting impression of those in the sample when comparing it to the stereotypical image.

The general stereotypical image of those is personnel is that they are neither "conservative about the world", nor that they are "radical and want to change the world"; they are "like the average person". They are perceived to be "middle of the road", uncontroversial, and yet not conservative. This image is also indicated by those in the sample of individuals studying for a professional qualification in this field. Almost half of the sample indicate that they are neither conservative about the world, nor that they are radical and want to change the world. They see themselves as being like the average person. However, of the remainder of the sample almost as many consider that they are radical and want to change the world.

The image of those in personnel is that they are "like the average person", no more "honest" nor "dishonest" than average. Two thirds of those in the sample of trainees in this field, consider themselves to be honest.

Being considered, or perceived, as being patient may be appropriate for a number of occupations. For example, if one were to work with

the elderly, or very young children, being patient would be an advantage. Those who are expected to have dealings with others may be required to be patient. Those in personnel are seen as being more "patient" than "impatient", than the average person. Of those in the sample, working in the field of personnel, the greatest proportion considered themselves to be neither patient, nor impatient. They consider that they have an average amount, or measure, of patience. However, a similar number of respondents consider that they are more inclined towards being impatient. This is in contrast to the image held of those in this specialism.

Those in personnel are perceived to make friends "easily", rather than "with difficulty". They are seen as being sociable. This image is confirmed by those actually training in personnel and sampled. This may, however, be reflecting the impressions of how the work of those in personnel is viewed, in the sense that personnel is a specialism that is known to have considerable dealings with "others". Personal interaction skills may be considered desirable, or a prerequisite of the job. There are certain occupations that would be unsuitable for those who have difficulty in remaining detached, not letting their emotions affect their work and decisions. Such occupations, for example, social work, may rely on the occupant's ability to remain calm and relatively unemotional at all times. In order to obtain perceptions relating to this variable, a question was included that related to "feelings" associated with making redundant a subordinate.

Those in personnel are perceived to "reluctantly accept it as part of the job", rather than being very upset or untroubled. However, of those training in personnel sampled, slightly more than half agreed with the statement, "if you had to make a subordinate redundant you would be very upset". This view is in contrast to the image of those in this specialism.

ACCOUNTING

Similar proportions of respondents consider those in accounting to be more "shy and reserved" and "like the average person". Very few of the respondents perceived them to be "outgoing and confident". Of those actually in the field of accounting the majority consider themselves to be like the average person. The stereotypical image of those in accounting, with reference to this particular factor is quite close to the self perceptions of those in the specialism.

Those in this specialism are seen as being more "cautious and wary of others" than the average person. Less than 10% of the respondents perceived them as being more "easy going and trusting " than the average person. In contrast to the stereotypical image of those working in this field who were studied, three quarters considered themselves to be easy going and trusting. However, these are the self perceptions of those in this specialism and as such are not necessarily the way in which they are seen by others.

Chapter 4

Over half of the respondents perceive those in accounting to be more "tense" than the average person, rather than more "relaxed". Approximately 10% only view those in this specialism as being more "relaxed". However, in contrast to this image, those actually in accounting considered themselves to be relaxed. This emphasises the point made earlier, that how an individual views themselves may not be how they are seen by others. In this instance, the stereotypical image does is not confirmed by those in the specialism itself. The image of those in accounting is, that when compared to the average person, they are more "shrewd and calculating" rather than "naive". Of those in the sample, those studying for a professional qualification, the greatest number were inclined towards considering themselves to be shrewd and calculating. However, a similar proportion considered themselves neither shrewd and calculating, nor naive. The stereotypical image of those in this specialism corresponds to the images held by those in the specialism themselves, very well.

The stereotypical image of those in accounting is in contrast to those in personnel. Those in accounting are perceived to be more "rigid" than the average person, by the majority of the respondents. Of those training in this field, in this sample, most were inclined see view themselves as being flexible. This is in contrast to the public perceptions indicated. As previously discussed, how one sees oneself may be quite different to how one is seen by others.

Chapter 4

Being "down-to-earth and practical", rather than imaginative and
creative", is the impression held of those in accounting. This image
is borne out by those in the specialism, who indicate that they
consider themselves to be so.

The majority of respondents see those in accounting as being
"perfectionist", rather than willing to cut corners. Of those
actually working in this specialism a third considered themselves to
be mid way between the extremes; neither perfectionist nor willing to
cut corners. However, of the remainder, the greatest proportion
considered themselves to be willing to cut corners. This is in
complete contrast to the stereotypical image.

There is no clear stereotypical image relating to expediency or moral
principles, of those in accounting. Slightly less than half of the
respondents consider those in this field to be "like the average
person". However, a similar number of respondents consider them to be
more "personally and morally principled". Less than 10% of the
respondents perceive them to be "expedient and pragmatic". This
inconclusive image is believed to indicate that those in this
specialism are perceived as equally like "the average person" and
"personally and morally principled".

The self perceptions of those training in this field indicates that
this view is partly confirmed. Exactly half of those in this field,
in this sample, considered themselves to be more inclined towards

being expedient and "easy-going". However, in view of the very small

proportion that considered themselves to lie somewhere in between

being expedient and "easy-going" and personally and morally

principled, the tendency is that the self perceptions indicate

feelings of average strength.

In stark contrast to the image of those in the other two specialisms,

those in accounting are clearly perceived to be more "critical" than

"accepting". Almost three quarters of the respondents indicated this

view. Just 5% of the respondents perceived those in accounting to be

"accepting". Slightly less than half of the sample of those actually

studying for a professional qualification in this field indicated

that they felt that they were no more accepting than they were

critical. However, of the remainder, slightly more indicated that

they were more inclined towards being more critical. The self

perceptions of those actually in the field are not as clear cut as

the stereotypical image would have one believe. As previously

discussed, it is possible that how one is perceived, by others,is not

how one perceives oneself to be. In this instance, those in

accounting are perceived to be clearly more critical than the average

person and yet the self perceptions of those in the specialism do not

"correspond".

The image of those in this specialism is clear and decisive in one

respect: three quarters of the respondents perceive those in

accounting as being "conservative about the world" rather "than

radical and wanting to change the world". Of the sample of those
training for professional qualifications in this specialism almost
half indicate that they perceive themselves to be no closer to being
conservative about the world, than they are radical and want to
change the world. In fact the greatest number consider that they are
"in between" the two, like the average person. However, equally as
many perceive themselves to be more conservative about the world.
This view probably accounts for the way in which those in accounting
are viewed. If a reasonably large proportion of the sample are
prepared to indicate that they are conservative about the world, they
probably appear this way to others. The stereotypical image and the
self image of those in accounting corresponds reasonably well.

The image of those in accounting relating to honesty, is not very
conclusive. The greatest proportion of the respondents perceive those
in this field to be "like the average person". However, a similar
number of respondents see them to be "honest". Of those in the sample
of people training in accounting, more than two thirds indicate that
they believe themselves to be honest. The image of those in this
specialism is partly borne out by those in the specialism.

The level of patience that those in accounting are perceived to have
is seen as similar to that of the average person, they are also
perceived to be more "patient" than "impatient", by a third of the
respondents. Of those training in this field, the greatest proportion
consider themselves to be more inclined towards being patient, rather

than impatient. These self perceptions correspond reasonably well with the image held of those in the specialism.

The sociability of those in accounting is in contrast to that of the other two specialisms. Those in this field are by less than 10% as making friends "easily". The majority of respondents perceive them to be like the average person, finding it no more easy, than difficult, to make friends. In contrast to this image, those in the sample of trainees in this field, indicated that they consider that they find it easy to make friends.

Almost half of the respondents perceive those in accounting as neither "very upset", nor "untroubled", by the prospect of making redundant a subordinate. However, slightly more than a third imagine them to be"untroubled" at this prospect. The image is therefore bordering on seeing those in this specialism as untroubled and accepting this feature as part of the job. Of those working in this field a contrasting view is revealed. The self perceptions indicate that exactly the same number of trainees agree with the statement, "if you had to make a subordinate redundant you would be very upset", as indicate an "indifference" to the statement. This indicates that those in the field both would accept this aspect as part of the job, and are indifferent, or have no positive or negative emotions with regard to it.

Chapter 4

MARKETING

Those in marketing are seen, by 90% of the respondents, as being more
"outgoing and confident" then the average person. Three quarters of
those actually in marketing considered themselves to be outgoing and
confident, not shy and reserved. The stereotypical image corresponds
with the self images of those in the specialism, very accurately.

Those in the field of marketing are seen, by the greatest number of
respondents, as like the average person. They are perceived to be
neither more "easy going and trusting", nor more "cautious and wary
of others" than the average person. Of those actually in the field of
marketing half agreed with the statement, "you are easy going and
trusting". Equal proportions of the remainder of those in the sample
either disagreed or were indifferent to the statement. From this
information, the indication appears to be that those in marketing
consider themselves to be like the average person. However, reference
to further information reveals that a majority of the sample consider
themselves to be more inclined towards being "easy going and
trusting". Overall the stereotypical image has a reasonable "fit" to
the views expressed by those in the sample. The image of those in
marketing is one of those who are neither more "tense" , nor more
"relaxed", than the average person. Similar proportions of
respondents indicated their views of those in the specialism giving
no majority view held. However, the greatest number of respondents
indicated that those in marketing are more "tense" than average. In

view of the proportions of distributions it can be taken to infer
that those in this field are like the average person. Of those
actually working in the specialism, the greatest number considered
themselves to be neither tense, nor relaxed. Of the remainder
however, the majority considered themselves to be more relaxed. The
stereotypical image in this instance corresponds reasonably well with
the self perceptions of those in the specialism.

As with the image of accounting, those in marketing are also
perceived to be more "shrewd and calculating" than the average
person, rather than "naive". Over half of those in the sample of
those studying for a professional qualification in marketing,
considered themselves to be neither shrewd and calculating, nor
naive. This view is in contrast to the stereotypical image expressed.

Those in marketing are seen as being "flexible" by the majority of
respondents - only a very small number considered that they were
"rigid". Those actually in marketing indicated that they considered
that they were flexible, in accordance with the image of the
specialism.

The image of those in this specialism is of "imaginative and
creative" people. However, the majority those in the specialism
indicated that they were no more "down-to-earth and practical" than
they were "imaginative and creative".

Chapter 4

The view of those in marketing is that they are more "willing to cut corners" than the average person, rather than appearing as "perfectionists". Those actually in the specialism are more inclined to view themselves as being more perfectionist than willing to cut corners. This is in contrast to the public perception of those in the specialism.

In complete contrast to the stereotypical images of those in the other two specialisms, the image of those in marketing is clear cut. They are seen as being more "expedient and pragmatic" than the average person. Less than 10% of the respondents perceived them as being more "personally and morally principled" than the average person. Of those studying for a professional qualification in marketing a quarter indicated that they considered themselves to be neither more expedient and "easy-going", nor personally and morally principled. A quarter indicating that they felt themselves to be like the average person. However, of the remainder the indications are less than clear. Very slightly more people indicated that they were more inclined towards being personally and morally principled. The proportions in this instance were also very inconclusive. This is therefore taken to indicate that the self perceptions of those in the specialism are very close to the image held of those in this specialism.

Whether or no those in marketing are seen as more "critical" or "accepting" than the average person is undecided. A greater number of

respondents perceive them to be more "critical", although this is not
a majority. Slightly less than one third consider them to be "like
the average person". This is taken to indicate that the image is one
of people who are more critical than accepting, but often like the
average person. Of those actually in the sample of those training in
this specialism, almost half considered that they were no more
critical than they were accepting - like the average person. However,
of the remainder, more were inclined to consider themselves as being
more critical. The stereotypical image of those in this specialism is
borne out by the self perceptions of those in the specialism. As
previously stated, it must be remembered that the self perceptions
may not be accurate. A person may consider himself to be more
critical, but to others he may be accepting.

Exactly half of the respondents perceive those in marketing to be
"radical and want to change the world". Of the remainder, the
greatest number consider those in this field to be "like the average
person". The stereotypical image of this specialism is generally
that of those who are "radical and want to change the world", but
"overlapping into the realms of viewing those in this specialism as
"like the average person". This image is almost exactly replicated by
those in the sample within marketing. Half of the sample indicate
that they are no more inclined towards being radical and wanting to
change the world, and the other extreme, being conservative about the
world. They apparently consider themselves to be like the average
person. However, of the remaining half of the sample, equal

proportions consider themselves to be conservative about the world
and radical and wanting to change it. The greatest proportion
indicate that they consider themselves to be like the average person,
this only partly corresponding to the general image.

Those in marketing are perceived to be no more "honest", nor
"dishonest", than the average person. Perhaps predictably, those in
the marketing sample indicate that they consider themselves to be
honest. I say predictably because I would not expect many, if any, to
admit to being dishonest! The stereotypical image of those in this
specialism is that they are like the average person, those in the
field contradicting this in some sense by indicating that they are
more inclined to be honest.

The image held of those in marketing is that they are primarily more
"impatient" than "patient", when compared to the average person. This
image is perhaps based on the impressions expressed relating to other
aspects of what is called personality. For example, they are seen as
"flexible", "willing to cut corners" and "imaginative and creative".
This image is in contrast to the self perceptions of those in the
specialism. They consider themselves to be patient, only a quarter
indicating that they were neither patient, nor impatient, like the
average person.

Also associated with working with others is the notion of
sociability. If a person is expected in the course of their work to

interact with people,at a variety of levels, they would be required to be able to do so without any problems. Those in marketing are perceived to make friends "easily", rather than "with difficulty". This is in line with the self perceptions of those working in the field sampled, who indicate that they find it easy to make friends.

If those in marketing had to make redundant a subordinate they are perceived to view it, "reluctantly accepting it as part of the job", rather than being "very upset" or "being untroubled". They are seen as having the ability, or quality, of being able to remain detached or unemotional in their work. Half of those training in this field, in this sample, agreed with the statement "if you had to make a subordinate redundant you would be very upset". However, of the remaining number, one and a half times as many were "indifferent" to the statement as "disagreed" with it. This would suggest that those in the sample were inconclusive, and neither confirm, or deny, the stereotypical image held of themselves.

Entrepreneurial inclinations

Of the three specialisms, those in both accounting and marketing are seen as being more likely than most people to consider starting their own business. In contrast, the image of those in personnel is that they would be less likely than most, rather than the same as most people, to consider starting their own business. This image of those

in marketing is confirmed by the self perceptions of those in this field, who indicate that they "agree" with the statement, "the idea of starting your own business appeals to you". However, those in accounting do not indicate such clear-cut views. Only half of the sample "agree" that the idea of starting their own business appeals to them. Of the remainder, they are equally divided between indifference to, and disagreement with the statement. The self image of those in this specialism is concluded to be "as the average person", with a tendency towards liking the idea. In complete contrast to the image of those in personnel, the individuals themselves indicate that they clearly "agree" that the idea of starting their own business appeals to them.

Attitudes and lifestyles

The sorts, or types of interests and activities that one has, when not working, are, as discussed earlier, often taken to be an indication of the "type" of person one is. For example and most obviously, the individual who demonstrates an interest in a particularly "active" pastime, may not like, or suit, the type of work that requires them to spend most of their working day behind a desk.

Those in personnel are perceived to prefer "watching television" to playing "chess" or "swimming". Watching television is a "passive"

pursuit and does not require a great amount of either effort or concentration, it tends to be assumed. In contrast to this image, two thirds of those in this specialism, as sampled, indicate a preference for "swimming". The stereotypical image of those in accounting is clearly shown as one which perceives those in the specialism as preferring chess, to swimming or watching television. In complete contrast to this image, those in the ample indicate that they least prefer the cerebral pursuit of chess! Exactly half of those in the sample indicated a preference for "watching television", a third preferring swimming. Those in marketing are perceived to prefer the active pastime of swimming. Exactly half of those in the sample agreed with the image; they preferred swimming. However, of the remainder, more indicated a preference for watching television.

When it comes to religion, the image of all three specialisms is that they all believe that there is no need for the people in this country to be more, or less, religious. All three groups of trainees, actually in the three specialisms, indicate that they believe that the country is fine as it is now; that there is no need to increase or decrease the religious views of the people.

Concern for the general career opportunities of workers suggests a liberal management view. Believing that the career opportunities for workers should be increased demonstrates a belief that there are

insufficient opportunities for workers, indicating a concern for
"fairer play".

Those in personnel are seen as holding the view that the career
opportunities for workers should be increased. More than three
quarters of those in the sample of personnel trainees agreed with
this.

Of those in accounting over 90% indicated that the opportunities for
workers should be increased. This is in contrast to the stereotypical
image which perceives than as believing that the opportunities should
remain as they are now. The stereotypical image relating to the
perceived beliefs of those in marketing is more in line with the
views indicated by the practitioners themselves, however. Three
quarters of the practitioners agreed that the career opportunities
for workers should be increased.

When it comes to concern for the environment and "fellow man", all of
those within each of the three specialisms, are perceived to worry no
more, nor less, than the average person about nuclear weapons. This
image is borne out by information given by those in the three
specialisms. Each group of trainees disagree that they worry more
about nuclear weapons than the average person. Of course this could
be said to imply that they worry less than the average person but,
less than a quarter of the respondents in each specialism actually

"agreed" with the statement, "you worry more than the average person about nuclear weapons".

Those in personnel are seen as worrying more, rather than less, about British race relations than the average person. In contrast the image of those in marketing and accounting is that they worry "the same as the average person", about British race relations. Of those training in personnel, the greatest proportion disagreed with the statement, "you worry about British race relations more than the average person". However, approximately a quarter of the sample were "indifferent" to the statement. This is in contrast to the image of those in this specialism. A quarter of the trainees in accounting, and over a third of those in marketing, are "indifferent" to the statement. Only a third of those in accounting and a quarter of those in marketing, "agreed" with the statement.

Both those in personnel and marketing are perceived to believe in a need for heavier and more physical penalties for criminals, "the same as the average person", rather than more or less than the average person. However, the image of those in accounting is less than clear. Equal proportions of the respondents perceive then as believing more than the average person, in a need for heavier and more physical penalties for criminals, and "the same as the average person". Of those training in personnel a third were "indifferent" to the statement, "there should be heavier and more physical penalties for criminals". However, slightly more than a third of the sample

"agreed" with the statement. Of those in marketing the statistics reveal a contrary view to that of the image. Over half of the sample "agreed" with the statement. The impression revealed by those in accounting is inclined to support part of the image, over three quarters of the sample "agreeing" with the statement, and wanting increased penalties for criminals.

Working preferences

There are many different, and varied, types and styles of work. There are those occupations that require one to work in solitude for the most part of the working day. Other occupations involve working with others, as a team. Equally there are those who prefer a routine pattern of work and those who like the unexpected. Different people have differing requirements from their work.

PERSONNEL

In the main those in personnel are seen, by the greatest number of respondents, as preferring a mixture of both "managing crisis" and "a routine pattern of work". Of the remainder, almost a third perceive them to prefer "a routine pattern of work". Of those training in personnel, and sampled, more than a third indicated no particular inclination towards either a routine pattern of work, or managing

crisis. However, of the remainder, most indicated a preference for managing crises. In some respects the image of those in this specialism does not correspond to the views of those actually in the field.

Those in this specialism are perceived to have a preference for working "with other people", rather than "on their own" or "either of these". Of those working in this specialism more than half did not indicate a preference for working either with others or on their own. The assumption is that they are happy with either. In addition, in response to the statement, "you have a preference to work alone and not as a member of a team", over half were "indifferent".

The image of those in personnel, with reference to initiating ideas, is unclear. The greatest proportion of respondents perceived those in this specialism as having a preference for both initiating ideas and applying other people's ideas. Of the remainder, a third perceive them as preferring to apply other people's ideas. The preferences indicated by those in the sample of personnel trainees, reveals a balance in favour of initiating ideas. However, almost half of the respondents indicated no preference for either.

The image of preferences relating to being a leader or being part of a team, suggests that those in personnel prefer "either of these roles", with a bias towards being part of a team. Those practitioners in the sample indicate a preference for being a leader.

Chapter 4

ACCOUNTING

Those in accounting are perceived to have a preference for "a routine
pattern of work", rather than "managing a crisis" or a mixture of
both. This is in contrast to the preferences indicated by those
actually in the field. They indicate a preference for managing
crises, and, furthermore, a third reveal no preference for either, in
contrast to the image of those in this specialism.

Almost three quarters of the respondents perceive those in this
specialism to have a preference for working "on their own", rather
than "with other people". In complete contradiction to this image,
exactly half of those in the sample of accountant trainees indicate
no particular preference; they are happy with either. Of the
remainder, the largest proportion is more inclined towards preferring
to work with others. Furthermore, in support of this view, less than
10% of those in the sample agreed with the statement, "you have a
preference to work alone and not as a member of a team".

Those in accounting are seen as preferring to "apply other people's
ideas", rather than "initiate ideas". Of those practitioners in the
sample, half indicated no preference for either one of these styles.
Of the remainder more preferred to initiate ideas. This is in
contrast to the stereotypical image of those in this specialism.

There is no clear stereotypical image of those in accounting,
relating to preferences for being part of a team or a leader. Most of
the respondents see them as preferring to play either of these roles,
although a similar proportion perceive them as preferring to be part
of a team. Of those actually in this specialism sampled, a third
indicates no particular preference for any one style of work. In
addition, a further third is more inclined towards preferring to be a
leader. This is in "part only" in line with the stereotypical image.

MARKETING

Those in marketing are seen as preferring "a mixture" of both "a
routine pattern of work" and "managing crises". The majority of those
in the sample of marketing practitioners indicate a definite
preference for managing crises. This is in contrast to the image
held.

The image of those in this specialism infers that they are both happy
with either working with other people and happy with either working
on their own or with other people. The indications revealed by those
actually in the specialism show that half of the sample have no
preference for either one of these styles of work. Of the remainder,
a greater number indicate a preference for working with other people.
Only 15% of the respondents indicated that they agreed with the
statement, "you have a preference to work alone and not as a member

of a team". The stereotypical image is partly confirmed in this
instance. Those in this field are seen by three quarters of the
respondents as preferring to "initiate ideas" rather than "applying
other people's ideas". This image is confirmed by those in the
specialism, the majority of those in the sample indicating a
preference for initiating ideas.

Preferring to be a leader rather than being part of a team, is the
way in which most of the respondents see those in marketing. However,
more than half of the respondents disagree with this image and
perceive those in marketing as happy to play either of these roles or
as being part of a team. Of those in the marketing sample, the
majority indicated a preference for being a leader, in contrast to
the image expressed.

What we see, then are many ways in which there is confirming of the
stereotypical images revealed in the previous chapter and some
interesting areas where there is not a confirming of the stereotype
images by the responses elicited from the application of our second
research instrument to samples of people in the early stages of
careers in the three occupational areas. For the present we turn, in
the next chapter, to some qualitative biographical evidence about
these trainees. Then, in the final chapter, we can return to review
these areas where there is and there is not correspondence or
confirming.

Chapter 5. Individuals & occupations: cases of entry processes

Having now established that there are strong stereotypes of the three occupations in existence at the first level indicated in the conceptual scheme developed in chapter 1 (Figure 1.1, box 1) and having seen that there is a considerable carry-over of these assumptions into the occupational awareness of people who actually enter the three occupational areas, we turn to look at the processes which occur as the work and occupational orientation (Figure 1.1, box 5), in conjunction with circumstantial factors represented by box 6 (Figure 1.1), influences the occupational entry aspect of the individual's work and occupational behaviour (Figure 1.1, box 7).

During the previous chapter the emergent stereotypical images of those in the three specialisms were discussed. In a sense, in the present chapter I am putting flesh on the bare bones, using data obtained from interviews with actual practitioners. People in the three occupational areas are being allowed to speak for themselves, albeit within a broad framework of questions asked by the researcher. This qualitative material can also be seen as contextualising the quantitative material offered in the previous two chapters. This material is drawn from both the interviews with respondents studying for professional qualifications in each of the three specialisms and from the more "open" responses invited at the end of the questionnaires whose main results were considered in the previous chapter.

Chapter 5

Following from the methodological assumptions set out in the first
two chapters, it has to be stressed that these statements are not
seen as having any absolute objective status. It is imperative that
such "data" is placed in context: accounts are given which are, in a
sense, rationalisations of people's biographies. It has to be
recognised that often the person's self perception may differ from
both others' accounts of "reality" generally or, more specifically,
from perceptions by others of that "self". This does not necessarily
mean that either, or both, of the perceptions are inaccurate, or that
one impression is less valid than the other, simply that the self
perception and perceptions of others are, by their very nature,
subjective. For example, one may feel that one has a particular
talent or skill, when to others this may not be the case. Simply
believing that one is a particular type of person is not necessarily
how others may see it. For example, if a person describes a
particular job or occupation as boring may lead some to believe that
the person who does such a job has to be boring themselves and this
simply need not be the case.

Interpretations of both actions and what a person says gives a number
of indications of "reality". As with so many things there is both the
possibility of misinterpretations by self and others. By their very
nature individuals may interpret their actions in a certain way
because of all manner of outside influences, consequences and
outcomes. In addition there may be other influences that at the same
time may "colour" the way in which an individual interprets an action

And this may well be something that the individual is not conscious
of.

In order to reveal the nature of the data obtained I will concentrate
upon a number of examples of individuals, presenting their accounts
for the reader to consider whilst bearing in mind the stereotypical
images revealed in the previous chapter. I will reveal that in some
cases the responses indicated on the questionnaire do not correspond
to the views, or statements, made in response to the corresponding,
or follow-up, questions asked at the time of interview. This may be a
matter of the changes in mood, time and place that affect any
responses in research contexts but it is also a result of the fact
that any conversation is always a function of the specific context in
which it occurs as much as it is an account of more basic attitudes,
feelings and so on of those speaking. This research shows that this
at times can mean that the respondents indicate contrary views in the
two situations. In addition, it will be seen that in some cases an
individual's original account of how he or she came to have entered
the specialism has changed. This could be a matter of memories fading
but, equally, is to understood that an individual's "presentation of
self" is always presentation fitted to a certain milieux (Goffman
1959).

In selecting from the interview material gathered, I pay particular
attention to the way in which the individual has interpreted the
events or decisions leading to entry into the various specialisms. Of

Chapter 5

particular interest is the way in which stereotypical images of the occupations or careers affect the choice or entry into the management fields. At this stage I will allow this to emerge from the account given of each individual, leaving overall analysis until the next chapter.

In reading these accounts, the reader is invited not just to look for signs of the "stereotype effect" but to consider the "level" of effect, or awareness of the image the individual perceives there to have been. It should be noted that not every person is aware, of course, of the influence of stereotypical images on such decisions as entry into work. Similarly, an individual often may not be conscious of having had any information of any nature relating to the occupation that he or she finds themselves in. There is a great deal of what Berger and Luckmann categorise as part of "taken-for-grantedness" operating in areas like this.

We can illustrate this situation by noting that not everyone who has had a parent or other relative working in a particular occupation finds themselves interested enough in the occupation to make a positive effort to enter the same occupation. Nevertheless, each individual has at some time obtained information, either consciously or not, relating to these and to a number of other occupations. From this repertoire, or index, it is possible to develop certain strategies, routes or plans, that might influence entry into a particular career. In addition to those who work to particular plan,

to whatever degree, there are inevitably those who find themselves in occupations through sets of circumstances which may well be interpreted as the outcome of chance or luck.

To make manageable the large amount of material obtained from the 59 interviews carried out, I intend to look at selected examples from each specialism. I have made the judgement that these individuals are more or less typical of all of those whom I interviewed.

Personnel management entrants

I interviewed Erica three weeks after she had completed the questionnaire. The interview took place in her office during her working day. Erica works for a large soft drinks company and her employer is paying for her to do the IPM course. She is in her late twenties, is single and describes her position as being a "generalist" one within the personnel function. Erica refers to her generalist personnel position as being one which involves recruitment, health and safety, disciplinary matters and "all other aspects of personnel work". Prior to this post, Erica was an infant teacher.

The occupations considered prior to entering this field were given as teaching, accountancy, library work or secretarial. On the questionnaire, in response to the question relating to entry into the

occupation, for example, asking whether entry was through strong

personal choice, Erica had actually indicated that she strongly

disagreed with the statement. In addition she had taken the trouble

to insert the words "BY ACCIDENT !!".

I asked Erica how she came to be in Personnel?

> I did my degree in English and went on to be a teacher.
> After a while I found that I needed more mental stimulation
> so I applied for lots of other jobs. I really did get this
> by accident, there was no great master plan to get into
> Personnel.

Both her parents had run a public house and had not previously had

any more "conventional" business type occupations. We discussed her

parents' influence in her career choice:

> Mum and Dad liked the idea of me going into teaching - it's
> secure, or it used to be any way! This work isn't so far
> removed from what they do, it's all dealing with people.

Erica could not think of anyone that she had known to be in personnel

work, prior to entering the field herself.

Chapter 5

And what about the other occupations she considered?

> Well accountancy is a good stand by, very secure and very
> well paid. I don't think that I could have done that
> seriously though, it's so boring.....As for the secretarial
> work maybe some people would think that a lot of what I do
> is secretarial. It's not though.....Secretarial work
> wouldn't have been me really. The library work was a
> possibility but it would be too quiet, not enough action.
> This work really suits me.

Erica has been in Personnel for just over three years. She had
indicated on the questionnaire that she sees the occupation as a
long-term commitment and I asked her to expand on this:

> Well I love this work so much. I know that sounds really
> corny but it's great. There is plenty of variety and it's
> quite flexible. I knew that one day I would end up working
> with people.

Chapter 5

Although Erica felt that Personnel work was reasonably well paid she strongly disagreed that she did the work primarily for the money. I asked what the main reason for doing this work was?

> It's very satisfying. I suppose I'm supposed to say that aren't I? Aren't all people in Personnel supposed to be saints?

I asked where she had obtained this impression from:

> It's just the way in which people in Personnel are portrayed on the television. And most people think of us as wimps don't they - we are goody goodies.

This negative image of the specialism did not appear to bother or affect the way Erica felt about her work:

> I know it's only the image that we've got, it's not reality. It doesn't bother me what people think.

Moving on from the basic image that Erica had expressed relating to personnel work, I asked if she thought there was a particular type of person that was suited to this work:

> I think to some extent the image is right, you have got to be a bit of a saint to put up with everything. The

workforce expect you to be able to sort out all of their

problems, and management don't consult you about anything.

I know we've not got a very good image. I think that a lot

of the time people just don't realise what we do.

Erica's hobbies and interests outside work included church

activities, walking and theatre. I asked if she felt that this was

significant in her type of work:

I think it helps that I am a practising Christian, but it

is certainly not compulsory!....Many people associate going

to church with being weedy. It's not true.

Approximately half way through the interview we were interrupted by

Erica's boss. Erica briefly explained what I was doing for my

research. He smiled and said:

You couldn't wish to meet a more natural personnel person.

I think she was born to it She's just right, an absolute

natural. I've known loads of wishy washy personnel types in

my time. I've been in business for many years as you can

see; she's a real natural, a real natural.

When he had left the office Erica explained that he was always saying

that and she thought he actually meant it. She could not explain

exactly what he meant by the phrase "a natural", however. Apparently

Chapter 5

he had never actually explained what he meant. Erica revealed that she found it amusing considering that she had ended up in personnel through what she called "pure chance".

It's really mad isn't it. I sometimes feel that there must have been a magnet that pulled me towards this sort of work. I certainly wasn't aware of it though! Maybe I am a born personnel person?"

Moving on to how the occupation is viewed by Erica, she said:

I definitely see this as a long term commitment. I can't imagine doing anything else. I really enjoy this. I'm sure that this is what I'm meant to do."

Erica revealed that she had thought long and hard about the question on the questionnaire that related to making a subordinate redundant:

Yes I do strongly agree that I would be upset. I think that may be one of the worst aspects of the job. I think that I am a very sensitive person at heart, a lot does upset me that may not upset others.....That doesn't mean that I can't be tough though. If a person is being sacked for doing something wrong then they are the ones to blame. People have to help themselves.

Chapter 5

Erica does not consider that she is any more or less easy going and trusting than others, in fact she commented:

I'm no soft touch just because I'm a woman!

Erica has no interest in starting her own business:

You've got to be joking, I need the security of knowing where my next pay cheque is coming from. I certainly don't like to take risks, it's not in my nature.

When discussing the image of personnel itself and the influence that it does, or does not have, in organisations Erica commented:

I actually laughed when I saw that question [referring to the statement "Your occupation is generally one of the most influential in the organisations in which it is found"]. I don't think there could be any one person in personnel who would agree with that. In fact I think that may be part of the reason why other people have such a naff image of what personnel is all about. They all think that they can walk all over Personnel.....Maybe we should smarten up our act!

Shortly before the close of the interview I asked Erica for her views on accounting and marketing. In particular I wanted to know what her impression was of the type of person most suited to those

occupations, if in fact there were "types" of person that were most
suited or attracted to these specialisms:

> Well that's difficult. I've already said that I was
> interested, for a time, in accounting. If you remember
> though I did say that I wasn't really suited to it. I think
> there is a particular type of person who does go into
> accounting though. They tend to be regimented, rather
> inflexible, people. A lot of men go in for accounting,
> perhaps that explains it! Seriously though, it does attract
> a type. They are not exactly lively. Do you think that it's
> because the work is so boring? I've never worked out
> whether it's the people that are boring or the work that
> they do that makes them boring!!.....As for Marketing,
> that's never really interested me. I think perhaps anyone
> who is outgoing could do that. They've got to be quite
> intelligent, I realise that. It always strikes me that
> there are a lot of women in Marketing. Maybe being a woman
> helps.

Another example of a personnel specialist is Dianne. She is in her
late twenties, is single and has been studying for the IPM course for
two years. The actual job title was, "Employment Services Officer".
In effect, Dianne was head of recruitment, providing employment
services to managers and staff. I interviewed Dianne at her home ten

days after completing the questionnaire. As with many of those
studying for this qualification Dianne's employer is paying for part
of the cost of the course.

> Well actually I didn't expect them to pay for any of it...
> this has been a bonus really. You see it was not my
> employer who required or asked me to do the course, I just
> wanted to do it!

I asked why she had particularly wanted to do the course:

> I think that I was influenced by the fact that a number of
> job advertisements had stated the IPM was required.

This had implied that Dianne was thinking of moving on from her
present employment:

> I've been here a year now in this position, four years with
> this employer though. I think that I could get a lot more
> money elsewhere, particularly when I've got the IPM
> qualification.

I referred to Dianne's actual job title and asked if she enjoyed this
sort of work:

> Yes, I always wanted to get into working with people, in
> management though. This is the ideal type of work for me.

Chapter 5

Noticing that Dianne had used the word "always" I enquired whether or
not she could recall when she first thought of this as a career:

> It must have been before my degree [Dianne had done an
> Degree in economics).

I pursued the line of questioning, asking what first interested her
in the type of work. Did she know anyone in the personnel field and
where had she obtained the information from in the first instance?

> I don't know really. I suppose I just like it. I didn't
> know anyone who worked in personnel. I can't think where I
> got the idea from. Come to think of it, I wonder what it
> was that first interested me in personnel?....I suppose
> like a lot of people I just knew what personnel, or
> basically what, Personnel was all about. In some respects
> my first actual contact with a real live personnel
> specialist was the interview for my first job!

Prior to her present position, Dianne had worked in the Medical
Records Section, Medical Staffing, and then been a Personnel
Assistant in the National Health Service.

I was interested in Dianne's choice of Economics for her degree and
asked if she had thought of going into accounting?

Chapter 5

> No. Never. You've got to be joking. I'd never stand that
>
> sort of work....Well it's just so boring and routine.
>
> Everyone hates accountants as much as tax men!

Following this comment I asked if it bothered her what other people
thought of her or what she did for a living:

> I think it must bother me. Probably bother is the wrong
>
> word though. It seems to concern most people what the
>
> people that matter to them think of their job. I think that
>
> is what I mean really: those around me, that matter to me.
>
> Just think of the reaction social workers must get when
>
> they say what they do for a living at parties.

The image of the occupation obviously had a lot of bearing on the
choice of occupation, albeit in a negative sense:

> It is so boring though [referring to accounting]...Yes I
>
> suppose I may consider what impression other people have of
>
> me.

I asked if in her opinion the image of personnel was more favourable
than hat of accounting:

> Of course. Personnel is a nice area to work in.

Chapter 5

Following on from the discussion of the image of accounting I asked
for her views on marketing:

I suppose it's O.K. but I don't think that I could do it.

Dianne had a simple explanation for why she could not do it:

I'm not pushy enough!...You've got to be able to convince
someone that they really want or need something that they
don't. I'm too honest I think. I just couldn't do it.

In view of the comments made relating to those individuals in the
various specialisms I asked Dianne if she considered that there was a
particular type of person that was most suited to accounting or
marketing:

Obviously those that are very good at figure work are
suited for accounting. But there is more to it than that.
They have to be a particular type. Calm, good at routine
work, methodical. It certainly wouldn't suit someone who
was the least bit lively....I think it's the routine that
would put me off.....As for marketing, they have certainly
got to have a lot of get up and go. They have to be able to
communicate with other people. They are often quite
creative as well.

Chapter 5

The responses to the questions on the questionnaire completed by
Dianne reveals that she also sees that occupation as long-term
commitment. Also she disagrees that she does the job primarily for
the money and that, as with Erica, she strongly agrees that she would
be upset if she had to make a subordinate redundant. However, in
contrast to Erica, Dianne feels that she entered the occupation
through strong personal choice. Dianne does not appear to be able to
pinpoint a particular reason, other than wanting to work with people,
for wanting to go into personnel. She can not think of anyone that
she knew that worked in Personnel at the time she first became
interested in it. In addition there does not seem to have been an
origin to her image of the profession. This contrasts to her views,
which are very definite, relating to the reasons for disliking the
other two specialisms.

During the interview Dianne gave her reason for voting for The
Alliance party at the last election:

> I'm a very caring person and as such I think that I must
> care what happens to others. The Alliance is the only party
> that appears to hold the same values.

Chapter 5

Dianne considers herself to be more tense than relaxed:

> Yes, I find it difficult sometimes to switch off from work.
> I worry about things quite a lot.

Dianne considers herself to be interested in future promotions, have a high ability with words and, despite choosing economics as a degree subject, sees herself as having low ability with numbers. She sees herself as outgoing and confident, not shy and reserved. Dianne feels that she makes friends easily and that she is more down to earth and practical rather than imaginative and creative.

.

I now turn to a male member of the personnel occupation, who I came into contact with indirectly - not as a follow up to the questionnaire part of the research programme. Simon's relatively senior position in a large electronics organisation makes him a helpful comparison with those who were part of the main study.

Simon is in his early thirties and is considered by a number of people to have reached the position that he is in quicker than many would have done. He is married with two children and has had only three employers. He comes from a family of accountants, his father is an accountant and he has two brothers who are both in accounting. He recounts that from an early age he was aware of what he describes as "pressure" to follow the family line and go into accounting. He

describes how a lot of stress was placed upon success in maths. Simon

reluctantly admits that it may have been a form of rebellion against

this that directed him away from accounting. Although very good at

figure work Simon did not, in his words, feel confident enough to do

anything other than Economics at University. After successfully

completing his degree he went on to do a Masters in the same field.

However, when it came to considering a career he found it difficult:

> The thought of working with figures all day long drove me
>
> mad. I couldn't imagine becoming another clone of my
>
> father...anyway I just wanted to do something more directly
>
> useful. Personnel is the backbone of any organisation
>
> really......I wanted to be where the action is.

I asked what the reaction of his family was to his going into

personnel:

> I think most of the time they try to forget it. It's like
>
> I've let the side down. Almost as if I have failed....Yes,
>
> they react very much as if what I do is not as good as
>
> their field. I actually earn a lot more than my brothers,
>
> because of the position I'm in and yet I'm a second class
>
> citizen to them....No one talks about what I do...In some
>
> ways I think that is why many people in this field are
>
> looking more to referring to it as Human Resource
>
> Management - trying to off-load the old personnel image.

Chapter 5

I asked what that image was, in his opinion:

> The really outdated image of do gooders, nobodies, wimps or
> wallies, whatever you care to say; the women, the softies.
> It's a wonder that anyone ever goes into personnel. We're
> obviously thick skinned. I suppose that could mean that
> those in personnel are the ones best suited to it. Just
> think, they go into it despite all that!

Retracing our discussion, Simon and I explored the origins of his
entry into personnel. He does not seem to be aware of when he first
became interested in this type of work, or of how he gained any
information or awareness of what the specialism involved:

> I know that I suddenly, and I mean suddenly, became aware
> that there was no way I wanted to become an accountant.
> Maybe I had enough at home, and doing the course that I
> did..... Anyway I became very interested in personnel. I
> know that I started to think about it after I had been for
> several interviews and we'd had milkround presentations at
> university. Perhaps I thought that I'd like to do the job
> that they were doing! I really have no conscious
> recollections about it.

The interviews that Simon mentioned were for jobs that he had applied
for whilst at university. These included vacation jobs in a meat

Chapter 5

packing factory, administrative work in the Passport Office and later

interviews for management training schemes for large organisations

including ICL.

For a number of varying reasons Simon has steered his career away

from accounting. This raised the question of whether he had ever

considered marketing?

> You can't be serious. Can you really see me in marketing?
>
> Don't you think more of me than that?........There are many
>
> reasons that spring to mind when I think of marketing.
>
> Firstly, there never seems to be much organisation in those
>
> departments. The work appears to be bitty, fragmented,
>
> unstructured and, although not as boring as accounting,
>
> pretty boring. No way could I ever go into
>
> marketing....Anyway I think that I am too honest and
>
> certainly not flash enough.

Simon later revealed the source of his negative impressions of

marketing:

> Since I've been working, and particularly since I've been
>
> in this sort of position, I've had quite a lot to do with
>
> those in marketing. They really are like their stereotype.
>
> They are brash, often quite thick. They don't seem to be
>
> able to organise a piss up in a brewery.. basically all

mouth and trousers.....Yes I mean that even the few women

are like the blokes, all mouth not very feminine.

Having touched on the aspect of masculine/feminine image I asked

Simon about the image of personnel. Did he feel that personnel had a

single-sex image?

Perhaps the reason most people think personnel is women's

work is because at particularly the lower levels there are

a lot of women. One way into personnel is via the

secretarial route.

Marketing entrants

Having looked at these people located in personnel management, I now

turn to interview material selected from that provided ny people

working in and studying marketing.

I interviewed Susan, two weeks after she had completed her

questionnaire, at her place of work. Susan's job title is Marketing

Services Executive Account Handler. She is in her mid twenties and

had been with the company for two years. The company is a financial
organisation and she explained that the term Account Handler is:

> Like an ad agency term....I work for four or five companies
> and my role is to liaise with everyone here, data printing
> people downstairs, main accounts, telemarketing - anything
> like that. I'm the one contact to see that everything is
> O.K.

Prior to entering marketing Susan admits to showing little, or no,
definite intentions for a career:

> I actually went to college for six months to do nursery
> nursing. I wanted to work in the prem. baby unit. I don't
> know why really, I think we all go through phases on things
> don't we? Then I thought it really would be good to be an
> archaeologist; I was into fossils for a while. I think I
> thought about being a teacher for a while, most females do
> I think. That is about it as far as I can remember.

At school Susan was interested in a number of subjects:

> I liked English, history, NOT maths... drama, French, I
> quite enjoyed French.

Chapter 5

During our discussion relating to school Susan made reference to her
qualifications:

> See this lot [pointing to a number of colleagues through
>
> the door], they are nearly all graduates....Yes I would say
>
> 75%.

Susan's highest academic qualification is 'O' levels. She indicated
that she is rarely allowed to forget her lack of formal
qualifications:

> You are never allowed to forget, the graduates are always
>
> brought on above you. I went to do this course, I suppose,
>
> to get the qualifications to say, 'look I knew I was as
>
> good as you anyway'....that doesn't work because my boss
>
> believes that you have to be a graduate before you count.
>
> It doesn't matter how good you are, it's all down to bits
>
> of paper.

I asked Susan how she actually became interested in marketing:

> I fell across it really. I used to run the sweet shop
>
> across the road, part of a family business. Half of our
>
> customers were from here. We found that we weren't really
>
> doing as well perhaps as we ought to be. It wasn't really a
>
> viable proposition any more. Somebody offered me a job,

originally to do the accounts, just to do all the invoicing
for everybody. I came in and did that for three months. I
picked up on what people were doing with clients then took
a couple of tiny clients and loved it. It's just blossomed
from there. I came in the February and started this course
in the September. It's fabulous....I haven't even got 'O'
level maths. I think a lot of it is common sense.

Susan explained that there was plenty of variety in her work:

If you are bored you are doing the job wrong.....yes I
think it's great. I love my job.

I asked what her impression of marketing had been before she got this
job:

The age old one unfortunately, a posh name for
selling.....The spiv, but posh, well paid bum job.....It's
a bit tedious the way people think you're just all mouth
and no brains.

Susan reveals her ambitions to get on in marketing:

When I came here two years ago there were three in this
department, now there are over twenty, and because you are
one of the early ones you go up with it. There are two of

us that sit in this office and run one half...So long as
I'm happy with my job staying here can only be a good thing
because as long as I keep proving myself promotion will
come. It is not dead men's shoes.

I asked Susan if there were any particular skills or qualities
required to do this type of work:

I think you have to be fairly outgoing. I think if you are
shy and clam up sometimes with people who want this that
and the other, who can be quite nasty at times, you have to
be fairly patient and I don't think that you have to back
down too quickly. Stand your ground and be fairly
confident, fairly gregarious I think....If you are shy you
are going to suffer. It's hard work all the time.

The image of marketing in Susan's opinion is masculine:

They instantly think that you are going to rush off and
have children. Well I have managed for two years. Cor, dear
me is there something wrong? They do tar you with that and
men do. Whether we like it or not, it's a man's world. This
company is definitely a man's company. You aren't taken
seriously, you never ever are, we don't have anybody
sitting on the Board that is female, no Executive Directors
at all.

Chapter 5

Susan is unsure of her views relating to whether or not marketing is considered to be a profession':

> I know that we would like to see it as a profession.......I
> don't think that marketing has been around long enough
> ....I know we like to term it a "new profession". I'm not
> entirely convinced.

Moving to Susan's image of the other two specialisms:

> Accounting: the only dealings I have had with accountants,
> well they seem, [quite a long pause and a smile]... this is
> going to sound awful, they seem very rigid, very fixed.
> Everything is very clearly thought out and done in a
> logical pattern....I think that I am too scatty to ever
> really be logical. I think I'm a butterfly at times, I
> would make a lousy accountant, I couldn't do it....second
> year management accounting is just killing me. I think it's
> absolutely awful. It's so fixed, I don't think that I am
> thorough enough to put everything into its step and follow
> it through. I would get bored, I like to float about....I
> think that certain types of jobs attract certain types of
> people...accounting?... well really boring, conservative
> and stuffy people.

Chapter 5

Personnel I could probably become very interested in....the
fact that you feel that although you aren't directly
involved with everybody, if they really need you, and they
can't talk to their boss, there is somebody else to talk
to...I sometimes think that it is very difficult for people
at home to understand the sorts of things you need to talk
about at work......sometimes I think you can really go and
sound off at personnel. They can sit back from it all and
try to look at it in a non emotional way.....I don't know a
lot about personnel, I should imagine they have to be
fairly unemotional, or if you are emotional you must keep
it in... be patient, calm and not prone to making snap
decisions.

When asked to describe the image of marketing Susan once again
referred to the sales image:

Marketing: selling, loud. I would have thought that was the
marketing image - lots of gift of the gab!

Susan agrees that she sees the occupation as a long-term commitment
and that, according to the questionnaire, does the job primarily for
the money. During the interview Susan did however say that the money
was not the main reason for doing the job: she found it interesting.

Chapter 5

In contrast to the interview with Susan, Michael was interviewed in
his home three weeks after completing the questionnaire. Michael is
in his early thirties, married with a family.

When I asked Michael for his reasons for doing the Institute of
Marketing course, which his employer is paying for, he replied:

> In a roundabout way I suppose I knew that I had to get this
> eventually [referring to the qualification], being Product
> Marketing Manager. It wouldn't look very good if I didn't
> have it would it?

Michael has been with the same company for eight and a half years and
prior to his present position he was Design Manager. He refers to "a
sort of natural progression" - moving from the previous post to the
current one.

I asked Michael when it was that he first considered going into
marketing:

> As I said, this job was a natural progression, but my
> previous post was linked quite closely to marketing....My
> degree is in engineering. I wanted to do something in that
> field. I geared my qualifications towards engineering of
> some sort. The design job was something I went into
> straight from university. I don't suppose I particularly

had marketing as my goal, but that doesn't mean I didn't

want to get this job.

Michael indicated on the questionnaire that his salary was in excess

of £17,500. I was curious to find out whether he considered marketing

in general to be very well paid:

From what I know marketing is a highly paid field. I earn

£7,000, I get profit sharing and a company car. I think

that's quite good don't you?.....Other management areas

aren't so well paid.

On the questionnaire Michael had indicated that he had entered the

occupation through strong personal choice and that he considered this

to be a long-term commitment. I enquired whether he was referring to

marketing or to engineering:

That's difficult because yes I did enter engineering

through strong personal choice. It was a definite and

conscious decision. But I'm in marketing now aren't I

[pause, a wry smile] maybe I didn't realise that marketing

was where my destiny was! As for long-term commitment, yes,

I'll be in the marketing field now, hopefully getting to

Product Marketing Director. I doubt if I ever get out of

the engineering field, or marketing.

Chapter 5

Michael indicated that the money was not the primary reason for working. I asked what the reason was:

> I suppose that it's easy to say when you're earning what I get. But it's not the main reason for doing the job. I enjoy it very much and it's a challenge.

Job security did not appear to be a particular concern for Michael, in contrast to a number of others:

> I reckon that at my position a new job wouldn't be that difficult. I think it's something to do with being a specialist. As you can see I quite fancy starting my own business, so if I did lose my job I'd make one for myself: NOT necessarily in the engineering field though.

I enquired about the type of business most likely:

> I've no idea, maybe a shop.

What makes a good marketing person in Michael's opinion? Do they have any particular qualities?

> They've got to know what they want and go for it. They have to be hard working, out going and sociable , to a certain extent that is. I mean they have to get on with all sorts.

Chapter 5

> They need a tough centre and a not quite so tough exterior.
> They wouldn't get anywhere being soft, or seen as soft.

When asked about the attributes or qualities for personnel or accounting Michael responded:

> Well to use the same analogy, those in personnel would have
> to be soft centres and be seen to be soft. Soft all the way
> through! Accounting, now that's difficult. I know an
> Accountant quite well, he's very straight, bordering on the
> boring. As you'd expect though he's also very tough. I'm
> not sure about accounting. It's a job I'd hate. I suppose
> someone has to do it, it's like bin men, it's not
> necessarily their fault they have such a bum job.
> Accountants get much more notice taken of them than
> personnel. I don't know anyone who takes personnel
> seriously.

Accounting entrants

Of the three specialisms accounting is the one that has the decidedly masculine image. As previously shown, this image is almost exactly replicated in the fact that over three quarters of those in the sample studying for a professional qualification in this area were male.

Chapter 5

I interviewed David at his family's home in Leicester approximately six weeks after he had completed the questionnaire. I was welcomed into the home by David's father. Also living in the same house were other family members, his brother and sister, also accountants.

David revealed that his main reason for studying for the qualification was:

to satisfy requirements for eventual membership.

David described his position as Graduate Accountant. He had been with his current employer for five months. David had studied Economics at university and had participated in a one year sandwich course requirement with a firm of Chartered Accountants. He had been an audit/accounts junior. As far back as he could remember David had always wanted to become an accountant. David's father was a semi-skilled machine operator and his mother was a packer. His interests were listed as photography, music, driving and sports.

Confirming the statement indicated on the questionnaire, David agreed that he entered the occupation through strong personal choice:

As you can see, we've worked hard as a family. The family is very important in our culture. One of the reasons I think that we all seem to have steered ourselves towards a career in accounting is because it is recognised as being a

good profession to get into. There is a lot of status

attached to it. Our parents have always wanted us to do

well, much better than themselves. A lot of importance was

attached to education. That is important to us,

particularly for boys....In our culture it is not so

important for the girls.

I asked David where it was that he obtained his image of accounting:

I don't know really. I suppose it is just one of the oldest

professions, very highly thought of. I think that most

people know what Accountants do.

David had indicated on the questionnaire that he was indifferent to

the notion of the occupation as a long-term commitment:

You see we place an awful lot of importance on a good

grounding in business. I assume that I will go into to a

family business some day. My uncles have businesses or

perhaps my brother and myself may do some thing together.

This response almost contradicts that response given to the statement

in the questionnaire relating to interest in starting one's own

business. Although working with his brother, and to a certain extent

working for an uncle would not exactly be on his own account it is

certainly not considered to be as secure as working for an
established organisation.

David indicated that his income was between £5,000 and £7,500 and
disagreed that he did the work primarily for the money. His views on
the level of income were given during the interview:

> I think that accounting is one of the highest paid of the
> professions, probably the highest. But that isn't why I
> chose to enter it. As you can see I don't earn a lot. I
> know that I am training and that the money will go up when
> I've finished but it's not that. It's probably the
> prestige, the status, that is more important to us.

Of the three professions, David considered that accounting was the
best paid:

> I don't know a lot about personnel, I think that the pay
> would probably be about average for what they do. Marketing
> though...(pause) they get a lot don't they? Yes, they are
> paid very well I should think.

David considers that he is "easy going and trusting", and that he
finds it easy to get on with people that he works with:

> I'm a very friendly sort of person really. Very sociable.

Chapter 5

David was one of the few in the sample of those in this specialism
who "strongly disagreed" that "your occupation is on of the most
influential in the organisations in which it is found:

> I think that it is pure fiction that accounting has any
> influence really......I'm not sure where the influence lies
> in organisations It's probably just the top people and not
> a particular department.

David feels that he is very ambitious, would like to succeed and get
to the top:

> It is very important for me to do well...for my family as
> well; we are all ambitious.

David considers that he is no more rigid nor flexible than the
average person. He is willing to cut corners and does not consider
himself to be a perfectionist':

> I bet you thought that we would all put that we were
> perfectionists. Isn't that how we are supposed to be?

In contrast to David, Andrew "strongly agrees" that he sees the
occupation as a long-term commitment. I interviewed Andrew in his

office some seven weeks after he had completed the questionnaire. Andrew works for a very large national communications organisation and he gives the reason for studying for the ICMA as:

> To become an accountant.....It's very hard to get on at becoming an accountant unless you have got the qualifications. It's very hard these days to get on without it.... to get the responsible positions and to get the money you want unless you have got it......Obviously the money is important, but the job gets more interesting as well, the higher you get.

Andrew has been with his current employer for two and a half years, only ten months in the current post, Management Accountant. Andrew indicates that he entered the occupation through strong personal choice. He admits that the decision or idea came to him in the final year of his degree. At university he studied Politics and Economics. So why accounting?

> Lack of other things to do really I think. I didn't have a driving licence so I couldn't do sales or marketing so accountancy just seemed like something worth doing....Just looking at what jobs were going.

Once in accounting Andrew sees this as a long-term commitment:

Chapter 5

    Yes I'd like to stay in accounting. Hopefully not to the
exclusion of other things, but I will stay in accounting in
some form or other for the foreseeable future, the next ten
or fifteen years. I'd like to get into general management
later on but obviously that is going to take some time.

Andrew considers that he is very ambitious:

    I'm ambitious but not to the extent that it takes
everything out of me. I believe in myself and I've got a
strong mind, I'm fairly intelligent and that I can go along
way. I'm not overly ambitious though.

When asked what makes accounting a profession Andrew gave the
following explanation:

    Well there's the rules, the ethical code, the way you're
supposed to do things. You know you belong to a Body, a
professional organisation. It's definitely a profession.

During the interview I asked Andrew if he felt that there was a
particular type of person best suited to accounting:

    I know people always say they are really boring or they are
really steady or something like that. I think you have to
have a brain that can cope with a lot of things at once,

you've got so much information coming in you've got to sort

it out in your own mind and store a lot of information as

well. You don't have to be a particularly good talker,

maybe that's the difference between us and the salesmen.

They have got the patter and the confidence to go with it.

An accountant has got to be a more steady person.

When asked if he would ever consider going into personnel or

marketing, he replied:

Not personnel no, I see personnel as a negative force

rather than a positive one... there to sort problems out

rather than to attack the root cause of them...Personnel:

sorting problems out, keeping people happy, not at the

forefront of business asking what shall we do now, where

shall we go.....I don't really know a lot about marketing,

we seem to employ a lot of marketing people. I don't see

the link between accountancy and marketing. Marketing is a

very specialised area.

Reading and interpreting

In this chapter, we have seen pictures of a number of individuals

each with their own unique personalities, backgrounds and

eccentricities. Obviously and inevitably the words they spoke in the

Chapter 5

interview were influenced by the circumstances of a research
interview and, equally, the selection from the taped interviews
presented here is made by the researcher with her own biases and
interests. But, as far as possible, the respondents have been allowed
to give their own account and the reader is left to make their own
interpretation of the role which stereotypical images might have
played in these people's perceptions of their occupational approach
and entry processes. In the next chapter I will consider the patterns
which I see as emerging here and relate these to the broader findings
and implications of the study.

Chapter 6.   Conclusions, interpretations and implications

Three questions were posed at the end of chapter 1. These were to be answered by the empirical research programme which was designed following the conceptual principles established in that chapter and within the methodological principles discussed in chapter 2.

The first question was about the extent to which people with varying degrees of "proximity" to managerial careers hold stereotypes of personnel management, marketing and accounting and what, broadly, these stereotypes look like.

The second question was about the relationship between whatever stereotypical ideas exist among these people outside the occupations with the views held by trainee members of these specialisms themselves?

And the third question was about the part stereotype-based images appear to play in he processes whereby a selection of people entered the three specialisms.

This concluding chapter will look back to the occupational stereotype revealed in chapter three and then consider how this varied with proximity of those holding such stereotypes to the occupations themselves. Following this, the chapter will build upon what has been shown in previous chapters to throw light on the role of occupational stereotypes in the processes of "occupational choice" of people in the three managerial specialisms.

Chapter 6

The stereotypes revisited

To remind us of the findings on the content of the stereotypes
established in the early part of the research, we can draw out what
are, in effect, three "caricatures".

Our Marketing specialist is male or female and has a middle class
background and votes Conservative. He or she is a reasonably well
paid professional person who usually belongs to a professional
association, rarely to a trade union, and enters the occupation
through strong personal choice. The occupation is seen as medium term
commitment and the job is done for both job satisfaction and for the
money. In common with our Personnel specialist the Marketing
specialist has a high ability with words and medium numerical
ability. He or she is outgoing and confident, imaginative and
creative and willing to cut corners. Our Marketing specialist is
critical and impatient. He or she is shrewd and calculating, more
tense than average, radical and wants to change the world. During
their leisure time preferences are for swimming, watching comedy
programmes on television and reading The Guardian or The Mail
newspapers.

Chapter 6

In common with those working in Marketing, the Personnel specialist
is middle class, of either sex, reasonably well paid and has a
'middle of the road political bias', voting for "The Alliance". He or
she rarely belongs to a trade union, more usually belonging to a
professional association and usually has specialist training and/or
qualifications. He or she has entered the specialism through strong
personal choice for a combination of both motives, a mixture of
financial concern and job satisfaction, and sees this as a long term
commitment. There is a high ability with words with a medium
numerical ability. Our Personnel specialist is outgoing and
confident, flexible and relaxed. He or she makes friends easily and
believes that life is in general a combination of luck or fate and
what one makes of it. This Personnel specialist prefers The Guardian
and The Mail to other newspapers and likes to watch fiction on
television.

On the other hand our Accounting specialist is a very well paid male
from a middle class background who would vote Conservative. He is a
professional person always with specialist training and/or
qualifications. In common with our Personnel specialist, he entered
the occupation through strong personal choice and sees this as long
term commitment. The main reason for working is a financial one. He
is a shy and reserved person, a perfectionist, critical, rigid and
tense. He is cautious and wary of others, shrewd and calculating and
conservative about the world. He likes to work alone and prefers a

routine pattern of work. His numerical ability is high although he
has only a medium ability with words. During his leisure time he
enjoys playing chess, watching documentary programmes on television
and prefers The Financial and The Mail to other newspapers. Our
Accounting specialist believes that life is what one makes of it.

The effect of "occupational proximity" on stereotypes held

Reference to the sub groups, those respondents with five years or
more industrial/business experience and those with none, reveals a
number of interesting findings. These revelations are interesting not
simply because of their similarities and/or differences but also
because they indicate that in some instances the stereotypical images
of the specialisms does not become 'modified' with increased
occupational proximity.

As previously stated the term 'occupational proximity' is used to
refer to the differing levels of awareness, or familiarity, that
individuals have as a result of actual direct experience or knowledge
of the specialisms.

As discussed in Chapter 3 there are a number of stereotypical
factors, or components, that remain regardless of increased awareness
or occupational proximity. This can be demonstrated by referring to a
number of specific factors or component parts of the stereotyped

images. For example, the image of Accounting is that of a masculine domain, whilst in contrast, the images of both Marketing and Personnel is one of dual sex membership. These images remain constant regardless of the level of occupational proximity, those with no industrial or business experience having similar perceptions to those with five years or more business experience. It is therefore important to note that such findings demonstrate an overall belief or view that even when there has been the probability of direct contact with one or more of the specialisms (regardless of whether or not the actual contact has been limited to experience on a superficial level, perhaps at interview) the image of the specialisms remains static.

One may have expected that with increased occupational proximity a greater number of 'amendments' or 'revisions of perceptions' would have occurred. However, it appears from the data obtained that a majority of the component parts of the total stereotypical image is unaffected by increased occupational proximity. For example, both groups of respondents, those with five years or more industrial/business experience and those with none, perceive those in Personnel to be best described as 'administrative' and as 'reasonably well paid'. On the other hand Marketing and Accounting are perceived to be 'professions', regardless of the level of occupational proximity. Social class is also a component of the stereotype that remains constant and is not amended as a result of greater industrial or business experience. Both those respondents with five years or

more business experience, and those with none perceive all three specialisms as having a middle class background.

Further examples of non amendment of perceptions are evident and of interest. With reference to commitment, the pattern of responses remains constant, those with no industrial or business experience having an overall perception that those in Personnel and Accounting having long term commitment to their occupation and those in Marketing having a lesser degree of commitment, medium term. This component part of the stereotypical image is mirrored by those with five years or more business experience, the actual percentage of respondents in each group selecting the same response option is very nearly identical. The impressions that have been gleaned by those with the increased, or greater, occupational proximity is firmly entrenched. It may be possible that contact with those in Accounting and Personnel has reinforced the 'professional' image, that of additional requirement to study and obtain professional qualifications. The nature of the work may have added to the 'mystery' of the occupation itself. On the other hand those in Marketing may appear, perhaps as a result of a combination of other stereotyped notions (personality, a more easy going nature or relaxed impression) results in the general view that these specialists are slightly less 'committed' to their occupation.

A further example of the almost exact mirroring of image, regardless of level of occupational proximity can be seen in the data relating

to ability with both numbers and words (see Chapter 3, Figure 3.3).
The view that those in Accounting have high ability with numbers
remains constant regardless of level of occupational proximity. This
component of the stereotype of those in Accounting is relatively
predictable as the very nature of the occupation, an almost
historical or traditional belief that the work consists of 'dealing
with figures' leading to the perception that simply to be in
Accounting one has to be good with numbers.

For example, a respondent with no industrial experience indicated
that, given the choice, he would prefer to enter Accounting, in
contrast to the other two specialisms as:

> I am not creative enough to work in Marketing, and
> Personnel would be boring, just dealing with problems all
> day. I am very good at maths I would be good at this.

Many of those in Accounting will point out that nowadays the modern
Accountant is more than a 'number cruncher', particularly those in
Management Accounting. Similarly, those in Personnel and Marketing
are seen by both groups of respondents as having a slightly lessor
degree of ability with numbers, perhaps this may be because of the
image relating to those in Accounting, for example those in these
specialisms are 'not exactly poor with numbers but they can not be as
good with them as those in Accounting!' Likewise the overall image of

those in Accounting, with reference to ability with words, is such
that the nature of the work does not rely on a great deal of contact
with people, and as such their ability with words assumed to be less
than those in Personnel and Marketing. The latter two specialisms are
regarded as 'people contact' occupations as opposed to the view of
Accounting which is 'paper contact', balance sheets, financial
statements and the like. Those in Personnel and Marketing are
perceived by both groups of respondents as having a high ability with
words whilst those in Accounting are seen as having only medium
ability (see Chapter 3, Figure 3.3).

It is interesting that the image of the specialists with reference to
ability with words and numbers remains constant with increased
occupational proximity. It would be expected that with the greater
occupational proximity and actual experience/contact with the
specialists themselves that heightened awareness of the actual nature
of the occupations would have resulted in more similar stereotyped
image of the three specialisms. The increased contact with the
specialisms may have led to an overall impression of similarity, with
reference to words and numbers, between all three specialisms. As
previously indicated many of the notions relating to the specialisms
appear to be historically based, traditional ideas or beliefs, these
I would have expected to have modified, as have the occupations
themselves, over the years.

Chapter 6

Those in Marketing and Accounting are perceived by both groups of respondents to be shrewd and calculating, a further example of the apparent lack of affect of occupational proximity on the stereotypical image. Similarly those in Personnel are perceived by those with no business experience and those with five years or more experience to be no more, nor less, shrewd and calculating, nor naive, just like the average person.

The image of those in Accounting as being down to earth and practical also remains constant, the level of occupational proximity having no apparent bearing on the issue. Likewise those in Marketing are perceived to be imaginative and creative both groups of respondents.

One respondent with three years industrial experience chose Personnel on the basis of:

> I'm no good at maths so I couldn't be an accountant, and
> there's no way I could go into Marketing because I just
> don't have the flair and imagination you need. I think I'd
> have to choose Personnel reluctantly!

One would assume that during the course of this person's working experience they would have come into contact, either directly or not, with one or more of the specialisms. It appears that despite this increased proximity their image remains consistent with that of respondents with no industrial experience what so ever.

Chapter 6

However, there is slight modification of the image of those in

Personnel. Those with no business experience indicating that these

specialists are imaginative and creative, whilst those with greater

occupational proximity consider these specialists to be like the

average person. Once again it would appear that it is the

'traditional' view of both Marketing and Accounting that has

prevailed. This view is the one that is frequently reinforced in the

media, that of the Accountant dealing with the 'concrete facts' and

those in Marketing dealing with the more 'abstract' matters that

appear to require a different approach and thinking.

In keeping with many of these findings is the stereotypical image of

those in Accounting, seen as a perfectionist by both groups of

respondents. This I believe to be due largely to the image and actual

nature of the work itself, there is little point in having requests

for financial statements and forecasts if they are not accurate or as

perfect as can be. A certain amount of the work undertaken by those

in Accounting will require attention to detailed statistics and this

I feel is generally accepted. However, those in Marketing are seen as

being willing to cut corners, a view indicated by both those with no

business experience and those more experienced respondents. This I

feel follows on in natural progression from the stereotyped image

relating to imagination and creativity. It would have been contrary

to the general impression of the nature of the work of those in

Chapter 6

Accounting for this group of specialists to be considered willing to cut corners. The majority of those respondents with five years or more business experience, and the greatest number of those with no business experience, perceive those in Personnel to be 'like the average person', neither more perfectionist nor more willing to cut corners.

Both those in Marketing and Personnel are seen by both groups of respondents as preferring The Guardian to The Financial Times and The Times newspapers. Similarly there is further mirroring of the responses of both groups with reference to the view of the preference of those in Accounting. Those in Accounting are perceived to prefer The Financial Times. The latter newspaper may be considered to be 'essential' reading for those in this specialism by the very nature of its business orientation. On the other hand The Guardian is widely believed to be a 'middle of the road' newspaper and somewhat 'lighter' in content than both The Times and The Financial Times.

The overall impression of the data indicates that there is little effect of increased occupational proximity on the stereotyped image of the three specialisms. Where there has been modification of the image it has been very slight. It is possible that there are a number of reasons for the consistent stereotypical images of the three specialisms. For example, it is possible that by the very nature of the fact that it is a stereotype individuals are conscious of that

there are 'always exceptions to the rule'. In other words those
individuals that they have encountered in the course of their work
have been considered to be these 'exceptions' if in fact their
personality/ image is not consistent with the more familiar
stereotypical image reflected in the media etc. Likewise, the
stereotypical image of each of the specialism remains unaltered
despite the respondents having come into contact with such
'exceptions', the assumption being that these contacts are exceptions
rather than the rule.

Further examples can be found of similar images regardless of the
occupational proximity. The reader will recall that at the end of the
first questionnaire, that designed to obtain the stereotypical image
of the three specialisms, the respondents were given the opportunity
to state which of the three specialisms they would choose to enter,
and indicate why. And here we see two respondents, both preferring to
enter Marketing, giving very different reasons for their choice:

The first respondent has no industrial experience whatsoever,
indicating that she has no experience of either of the three
specialisms, her preference was for marketing:

> I prefer to work in a team environment, with people. I'm
> easy going and wouldn't want to be working with figures or
> people's problems all day."

Chapter 6

The second respondent indicates that he has between two, but less
than five, years industrial/business experience. He indicates that he
has worked in all three specialisms:

> Marketing is more interesting than the others, Personnel
> just sorts out petty problems most of the time, and
> Accounting, you spend most of the time checking columns of
> figures.

This brings us to broader questions of 'occupational choice'.

Stereotypes, structures and choices

The choice/chance debate of occupational placement has been one which
has interested both psychologists and sociologists. I now wish to
relate the foundations of this debate to that which is referred to as
'career'.

Some of the generalisations relating to career and occupational entry
of individuals into the field of work I shall be making may seem like
drastic over simplifications but I consider that for the purposes of
this exercise it is essential. There exists class based
'differentials' in opportunities, as touched on in more detail
previously in this research, I refer to the 'life chances' arising

out of the individual's location within the structure of

opportunities element of social structure - shown as box 2 of

Figure 1.1 in Chapter 1. Reference has been made to differing life

chances with particular reference to educational opportunities and

associated effects. These opportunities, or lack of them, have their

foundations set within a number of interrelated concepts, class,

housing, parental interests/background etc. For example, those from

working class backgrounds are found to enter predominantly manual

occupations, often unskilled. Those living in poor housing areas,

those areas of high unemployment and consequently lack of money are

more likely to have lower self esteem. On the other hand, those

individuals from middle class backgrounds are found to enter

non-manual occupations, more often skilled. As previously stated this

is an oversimplification and there are always exceptions to be found.

When reference is made to the 'life chances' of the differing social

groups, the availability of good quality education, housing and other

environmental factors, explanations can be found for the entry into

contrasting occupational fields. For example, it may be that an

individual from a middle class family background is more likely to

have parental encouragement, support, throughout education, the

school will have been 'chosen' rather than simply sending the child

to the nearest one. In addition the general locality is likely to

have better standards of private housing and thus school, many

factors combining to provide increased 'advantages'. In addition

there is likely to be a greater availability of information relating

to careers/occupations. The 'knock on' effect of the increased life

chances, in particular with relation to educational entry and
resulting educational qualifications, can determine the 'range' of
occupations available to 'choose' from - this relating to box 4 of
the conceptual scheme (Chapter 1, Figure 1.1).

There are many very subjective factors that combine to produce what
is known generally as a 'career choice' as the scheme established in
chapter one suggests. But we must note that 'career' means different
things to different people. The notion of career itself has been
described broadly as:

> ......subjectively career is the moving perspective in
> which a person sees his life as a whole, and interprets his
> attributes, actions and the things which happen to
> him.....objectively it is a series of statuses and clearly
> defined offices.....typical sequences of positions,
> responsibility and even of adventure (Hughes 1937
> pp409-410).

On the other hand the more general usage of the term career, relating
to career in its more specific occupational sense is described be
Becker as:

....one position to another in occupational system made by
an individual who works in that system. Furthermore, it
includes the notion of 'career contingency', those factors
on which mobility from one position to another depends.
Career contingencies include both objective facts of social
structure and changes in the perspectives, motivations and
desires of the individual.' (Becker 1963, p24)

It must be acknowledged that there will always be those for whom a
'career', in the occupational sense, is almost an irrelevance. By
this I am referring to those for whom restricted 'life chances',
social and cultural constrains have combined to 'narrow' the field of
so called choice. Regardless of the knowledge or awareness of many
occupations social circumstances have conspired to result in very
limited possibilities. For example, lack of adequate educational
opportunities resulting in little or no qualifications. For these
individuals the 'career' in this sense is abandoned in favour of 'a
job'. These individuals viewing work as a 'means to an end', having a
job as opposed to a career. For this group of people the route from
box 2 to box 6 is direct (see Chapter 1, Figure 1.1). It is
recognised that there are those who disregard 'images of
occupations', those who simply seek to work, have a job, have no
particular desire to enter a 'particular' occupation.

The entry into and occupation may be constrained be external
structural factors, as previously discussed, by the level of
qualifications, economic conditions etc. The entry is also influenced
by the imagery the individual holds regarding certain occupations,
his/her aspirations and orientations. It is this imagery (central to
the left hand side of the conceptual scheme) that has been of
particular interest to me throughout this study, both the images held
of the occupations and the level, or amount, of effect, if any, this
has on the individual's final choice.

In Chapter 4 a comparison was made of the 'public perceptions', of
the three specialisms at the heart of this research, and the 'self
images' of those actually studying for further qualifications in
either of the specialisms themselves. It was revealed that almost
half of the respondents perceived Personnel to be a mainly female
specialism. When reference is made to those in the sample actually
studying for a qualification in this field it is found that indeed
70% were female. When questioned about the image or stereotype of
their chosen specialism the replies reveal some interesting comments.
Simon, who has worked for a large organisation for over six years in
the Industrial Relations department comments:

> I don't know, I suppose so many people think it's soft and
> a job for women....

Of those female interviewees to make comments relating to the image
of their chosen specialism a continuation of the 'defensive' line is
taken:

> Most people think I deal with problems all day. They don't
> take this sort of work seriously enough. I think that we're
> seen as just a shoulder to cry on......No one seems to
> realise that we do some industrial relations work and
> something other than see that the toilet rolls are ordered!
> (Pauline has worked in Personnel for three years)

On the other hand Marketing has no single sex image. Coincidentally
those studying for a qualification in this field were quite evenly
divided between males and females.

As previously stated, a discussion comparing the image relating to
the levels of salary of those in the three specialisms is difficult.
Much of this difficulty lies in the fact that like is not being
compared with like. For example, the stereotypical image relates to
perceptions of those practitioners who are no longer considered to be
trainees, those in the sample of 'actual' practitioners are in fact
in the process of studying for professional qualifications. It is
therefore most likely that the salaries are significantly different,

reflecting the differing levels of experience within the specialism of those 'established' practitioners and the trainees.

It is of course interesting that those individuals within each of the specialisms acknowledge, or recognise, this particular aspect of the stereotypical images. Approximately two thirds of those interviewed made reference in some way to the image of monetary rewards perceived to be associated with their particular specialism. Each of these interviewees also made comparisons with other specialisms, including some that were not included in this study, for example other areas of management. Each interviewee was all too aware of the image of their specialism.

With reference to Figure 1.1, Chapter 1, it can be seen that each of these interviewees is aware of the occupational image and stereotype (box 1).

Eileen, working in Marketing states:

> The pay is very good, some might think it's too good, but
> we all work hard for the rewards we get.

Chapter 6

Alan, who has been in Accounting for three years stated:

> when my friends realised I'd decided to go into this
> profession they made comments about, 'just for the money'
> and 'I suppose you'll be driving a Porsche next'. We do get
> paid well, that could attract some, but you've got to be
> able to do the job haven't you?

There are a number of aspects of each stereotype that are
'acknowledged' by those in the sample actually in the process of
obtaining professional qualifications in the specialism. For example,
Matthew, studying for ICMA:

> We're not all in it for the money....I actually play rugby,
> I go windsurfing and I don't think that the people who
> really know me would consider me to be boring.......by the
> way I don't even vote Tory!

Peter in the process of studying for a further qualification in
Marketing, aged 29 years:

> Most people think we're really loud, the life and soul of
> the party.... I mean all the time! It's a real strain,
> because we are just ordinary people. Maybe we are

> friendlier than most but I don't think we are all
>
> loud.....Maybe people think we're all like pushy because of
>
> the type of job, selling a product I mean.

It also interesting that of the total number of respondents
completing the first questionnaire, designed to obtain the
stereotypical images, only three made reference to their concern for
the 'image' that the specialisms had (at the end of the questionnaire
each respondent was required to indicate which of the three
specialisms they would choose, and to state why). I find this
interesting that of the 150 completed questionnaires only three
showed specific concern for the image of the occupation. Furthermore,
it should be noted that each of the three showed a preference for
Marketing. This information leads me to wonder if Marketing is seen
as the least 'offensive' specialism when respondents are forced to
make a decision.

First, a male student with between two and five years
industrial/business experience, having experience of working in all
three specialist areas states:

> Hopefully I possess the capacity of persuading people to
>
> understand a concept, purchase a product or to generate
>
> ideas. The Accountancy professional, although a valuable
>
> entry into the business world, has a high dependence on

numeracy, an area in which I have difficulty. My main worry
about the Personnel function is that the image of that
function is not favourable.

Second, a female respondent, having worked in each of the
specialisms, has less than two years business experience:

Because Accountants tend to have a stuffy image with strict
guidelines to routine work and Personnel is also very
boring routine work whereas Marketing is also routine but
interspersed with imaginative and creative skills with
fascinating end products with a lot of satisfaction.

Finally, a male respondent choosing Marketing, having between two and
five years industrial/business experience. This respondent indicates
that he has worked in Accounting and Marketing but NOT Personnel:

In my view PM is too much of a 'vague' discipline to suit
me, whereas accounting (although I like figure work) has a
very un-glamorous reputation and tends to be very routine
and mundane.....

Chapter 6

Many of those interviewed, we must note, appeared to be defensive, particularly when the stereotype acknowledged was a 'negative' one.

Jennifer, working in Personnel for the last three years:

> According to our image we just listen to problems all day
>
> long.....I wonder if people realise the type of work we do.
>
> I mean the union side of things. We are seen as an
>
> extension of the welfare section...

Timothy in Accounting for the last two years:

> if we all took notice of the image there would be no
>
> accountants! We are all supposed to be boring, wear Hush
>
> Puppies(a type of suede shoe considered to be rather
>
> unfashionable) play golf and see the highlight of our
>
> social calender to be the dinner and dance at the
>
> Conservative Club!.......That's so far from the truth, I
>
> can be quite dynamic!

The stereotypical 'sketch' of each of the three specialisms contains aspects, or component parts, that are or could be considered to be negative. In the light of this it is of great interest that there are

those who actively set out to become part of that particular group of
specialists. The argument as to whether or not individuals enter
certain occupations through choice or chance is acknowledged, and is
discussed more fully elsewhere in this study. It is also stressed
that there are a number of individuals who demonstrate the desire to
enter a particular occupation from an early age and despite increased
knowledge relating to the sometimes negative aspects of their chosen
career persist with their choice. This factor is at the forefront of
this study when considering the extent to which each individual, when
'armed' with increased information and knowledge relating to their
favoured occupation 'uses', or is affected by that information.

It is recognised, and acknowledged that aspects of each stereotype,
by it's very nature, is made up of one or more 'negative' components.
Of course not all individuals have the same views relating to what
each would consider a 'negative' aspect. For example, there are those
for whom an aggressive, pushy, tough image would be considered to be
favourable, a positive aspect, to others this may be the contrary.
Likewise there are aspects of each stereotype that traditionally
considered attractive/unattractive, for example, it is not usual for
a woman to be consider feminine if she has a tough or ruthless image.
Conversely an image associated with tenderness, sympathy is more
likely to be associated with feminine traits and less attractive to
males seeking to enter the occupation.

The image that each specialism has comprises of both negative and
positive components, as previously stated, each viewed subjectively.
The focus of this study has been to assess the extent to which an
occupational stereotype influences, if at all, the entry of
individuals into the three specialisms.

Earlier I referred briefly to the sociological debate, a key issue
relating to occupational entry, the question of choice or chance?
There are a number of theories associated with this debate, located
within both psychology and social psychology. These theories
concentrate on aspects of one's self-perception, a need to satisfy
ambitions, desires and aspirations. However, those theories of a
sociological nature are more inclined towards differing
interpretations of the term 'choice'.

The crux of the problem for sociological theorists has been how much
'choice', there is within the notion of free choice. This area of
study is further subdivided into who favour a theory of the
individual/ambition within occupational choice, for example,
Ginzberg, Super and Musgrave. On the other hand, the
structure/opportunity model has been formulated by Roberts and is
taken up in the conceptual scheme outlined in chapter one. One can
relate the evidence found in the present study to views taken on
either side of this debate although, inevitably, I lean towards the

side suggested by the position taken in the first chapter. It is valuable, nonetheless, to make some use of the perspectives offered by researchers like Ginzberg, Rosenberg and Super and to relate them to the present research.

In 1951, Ginzberg's research identified stages through which individual occupational choices develop. The basis of Ginzberg's theory was that as an individual matures he or she reaches decisions regarding a potential career. The individual matured and together with this maturation was a series of 'refinements' of decisions, over a period of time. Ginzberg's theory can be divided into three parts, each factor influencing the decision making process. The 'self' comprises of the individual appraisal of the possible time span relating to any training required, his/her interests and values. The second aspect is 'reality', this addresses the social environmental factors, socio-economic grouping of family, the evaluation of the world of work, educational considerations necessary and more general life plans that the individual may have relating to relationships/marriage etc. The final stage Ginzberg refers to as 'key persons'. These are the significant others - parents, teachers, family members etc., who have influence on the individual. Basically Ginzberg showed how the gradual maturation of the self-concept combined with a growing increased awareness of both internal and external factors were influencing the objective choice of a career. The choice is therefore based on an individual's interests, then on

the personal qualities/abilities to be taken into account and finally
the individual evaluates the occupational options available in the
light of these first two sets of considerations. A transition stage
is reached at the time an individual is about to leave school, enter
college or work. The Ginzberg theory has three main age stages, the
'fantasy' period covers the period from 6-11 years, characterised by
the acting out of adult roles. The 'tentative' choice stage covers
the period from 11-17 years, this period includes the self-
assessment of interests, abilities, values etc. The 'transition'
stage, which comes at the time immediately before entry into
college/work, is that in which there comes a greater awareness of
external realities. The 'realistic' stage is that at approximately
age 18 years, the opportunity to enter into discussion with key
personnel, attend career counselling, peruse occupational literature.
This leads to the final stage of specification, the final decision.

One factor referred to briefly, in the previous paragraph, is that of
external constraints or influences, for example, socio-economic
pressures. The Ginzberg conclusions are based upon a study of a
'deliberately privileged group' where financial and family support
was not a major concern. This was deliberate in order to obtain data
relating to choice based upon internal decisions/influences only. It
should be noted that Ginzberg stresses that there may be difficulty
in relating this theory to lower income groups.

Chapter 6

Ginzberg's theory maintains that the decision to enter a particular occupation is a gradual process and is based primarily upon that maturing self and the gradual gathering of specific occupational information. However, during the course of this research a number of factors have arisen that put into question the relevance of this theory at the current time. For example, I would agree that the process of decision making is a gradual one when related to occupational choice. As discussed in the main body of this thesis I see the essence of the occupational personality to be a growing/developing self (see Figure 1.1, Chapter 1). The individual obtains information relating to occupations from a number of sources, family members, the family members of friends, the media (images of occupations portrayed in television situation comedies, documentary, newspapers etc.), teachers and others. The gathering of this increased awareness is not a conscious process.

The data obtained relating to the stereotypical images of the three occupations at the core of this research reveals that 'occupational proximity' has little, or no, bearing upon the images held of the three specialisms. For example, it was demonstrated that often those with direct experience of the three specialisms, be it from personal work experience or perhaps personal knowledge of someone working in those fields, held similar stereotypical images to those with no direct experience of the three occupations. In other words occupational proximity had very little influence on the images held,

stereotypes were rarely modified in the light of increased personal
experience. It is of course interesting to reflect upon the origins
of these images, some of which may have their roots in history. For
example, the image of the Personnel specialist as female may come
from the 'welfare' origins that the specialism has. Likewise, the
masculine image of the Accountant may have similar origins in the
sense that those in this field were often the sons of the wealthier
families, those that could afford the training. Historically, women
were unlikely to have received the necessary education and would be
unlikely to receive family support or encouragement to enter this
sort of profession. More recently however, increasingly since the
advent of 'equal opportunities' girls are encouraged to obtain
educational qualifications and enter careers previously restricted
and unavailable to them.

Furthermore, my data has revealed that often the images held of these
occupations may be quite 'negative', not particularly attractive. Yet
despite the often negative aspects of an occupation's image certain
individual's are attracted to them. Not only do some individuals
appear to actively seek to pursue the desire to enter a particular
occupation, they do so despite what they point out to be aspects of
the image as negative. One might assume that this could be either a
subconscious desire to change/alter the image of those individuals in
that occupation. Or they consciously weigh up the arguments and
information relating to the stereotypical image and conclude that

they, as individuals, are exceptions to the rule. In 'Occupations and
Values', Morris Rosenberg (1957) emphasises the relationship between
the individual's attitudes, values and occupational choice. For
example, reference is frequently made to the notion that there are
certain people that enter various occupations purely for the monetary
rewards associated with them. However, Rosenberg points out that 'a
wide range of values may be satisfied in work....there is sometimes
an off-hand tendency to assume that people work because of the money
or status or security it will bring them, a little reflection makes
obvious a fact revealed by our data, namely, that many place greater
stress on the satisfactions involved in doing the job itself, in
expressing their creative potentialities, or in the pleasures of
interpersonal interaction which is a part of their work.' (Rosenberg.
1957. P17). At the heart of Rosenberg's research was this notion that
there are certain individuals that are drawn towards specific
occupations as a result of the attitudes and values that they
possess. Furthermore, Rosenberg cites Personnel amongst his 'people-
orientated' occupations, along with social work and the like. In
addition the other two main areas of interest to him were those
occupations ranked as 'self- expression-orientated' and
'extrinsic-reward-orientated'. Rosenberg states 'The
"people-orientated" value complex.....is most strongly stressed by
students planning to enter social work, medicine, teaching, social
science and personnel work. It is quite obvious in this case that the
occupational value and the nature of the work are meaningfully

related, for each of these occupations involves work for, with, or
about people' (ibid P16).

Values represent the individual's desires or preferences, what he/she
considers to be important, that matter most, consisting of opinions
they are not subject to objective testing. Value systems are the
rankings of values along a continuum of importance. Values held by
the individual play a part in occupational choices and occupational
decisions. These are best regarded as largely continual processes in
that they are often the result of interaction over a protracted
period between aspiration, preference, opportunity and experience,
many varying factors. Rosenberg has shown that students who value pay
and status to a higher degree had a tendency to choose careers in
business, whilst those putting values of self-expression as a first
priority were more inclined towards careers in art, architecture or
journalism. Those students more strongly orientated towards careers
in medicine, social work or personnel management were those showing
indications of 'people-orientated' values. Rosenberg's indices are
not however determinants of choice but indicators. Personal values
are very much influenced by the society in which the individual
interacts and the groups within that society. It is essential to
remain aware of the interplay between individual and society. An
individual's prior orientation to work is influenced by the values
held.

An individual who considers that he or she possesses a particular
skill may prefer to choose an occupation which permits the use of
such a talent/skill. Thus self-conceptions may affect occupational
choices. Rosenberg demonstrated how those who perceived themselves as
artistic and creative may prefer being an architect to being a
doctor. Likewise those considering themselves to be accurate with
figures may even be expected to prefer being in an occupation where
this skill is required to doing a job where no reference to figure
work is required. In effect, believed possession of the skill could
be sufficient to develop the desire to use the skill, whether it
really exists or not.

In the Rosenberg study those students whose reported values did not
coincide with their occupational choices, tended to change their
values to agree more closely with the occupations that they selected.
This is evidence in support of the view that the individual is
flexible in his views and perceptions, and can adapt and obtain the
requires 'fit' rather than experience any discomfort resulting from
choosing an occupation that does not correspond to the original
values.

Following on from Rosenberg's comments regarding the modification of
values, it should be noted that (refer to Figure 1.1, Chapter 1)
boxes 5 and 6 are at a corresponding level, the 'dynamic self' work
and occupational orientation being affected by the labour market

opportunities. Once again, with regard to the present occupational climate, there may not necessarily be positions available to apply for in the ideally desired occupation. It is my view that frequently the individual applies for many jobs, often in a broadly similar range, and is 'channelled' into whichever area offers the position. Thus the individual may believe that entry into the occupation was all part of some great master plan, to coincide with desires, ambitions etc..

Similarly, it can be seen from the interview data that there exists a large proportion of individuals, almost three quarters of those interviewed, that have modified their view relating to the reasons for entering a particular specialism. For example, reference to the questionnaires completed by those studying for the IPM qualification, those currently working in the field of Personnel, reveals that 78% considered that they 'entered the occupation through strong personal choice'. However, a detailed examination of the transcripts of interviews with a sample reveals evidence that in the cases of over half, entry into the occupation was more accidental than planned.

Robert indicated that he had entered the occupation through strong personal choice, however during the interview he stated:

> Well I've always done clerical work, ever since finishing A
> levels. I didn't necessarily want to be in the Personnel

department, I suppose I could just have easily ended up in
sales. I like this work though.

I asked if he had an ambition to go into this type of work?

No. I applied for loads of jobs when I got my results, I
didn't want to do one particular type of job......I just
wanted a job!

Furthermore Robert's comments echo a common sentiment, that of simply
wanting a job, any job. When this is related to the theories of
career choice it can be seen that the choice is often a 'chance'. On
reflection many of those interviewed implied that there was little or
no choice involved in their actual career entry. It should be borne
in mind that in the present industrial climate, at the time this
research was undertaken, there was a particularly high number of
unemployed. Most of those interviewed made reference to it either
directly or indirectly. For example, a number simply made reference
to their concern that they should have a job, and that this is not
necessarily considered as a career. Others emphasised their concern
by referring to the importance of obtaining increased qualifications
in order to obtain better jobs.

Chapter 6

Sheila working in Marketing stated:

> It's important to me to get this qualification, especially
> as my company encourage it, I'll be able to get on more.

Coincidentally Sheila had in her own words drifted into this field
but when asked if she was likely to consider leaving to do something
else she was positive in her response:

> Like a lot of my friends at college I didn't really have
> much of an idea of what I was going to do when I left.
> (Studied at Leicester Polytechnic, B.A. Business Studies.)
> We all sent off loads of applications each week towards the
> end of the course.....No way! I'm not leaving Marketing
> now, it's interesting and I think I'm good at my job. I
> don't fancy anything else really.

Much of the data obtained from both the interviews and the
questionnaire responses reveals that very often those who had
appeared to enter a particular occupation through pure chance or
circumstances, were very likely to agree that they 'see the
occupation as a long-term commitment'. Once settled in a particular
occupation, and as with my sample, making a further investment in
terms of time and often money to obtain the additional professional

qualification, the occupation was considered to be long-term. In many respects this is very logical as one would not expect an individual to make such an 'investment' simply to through it away. Once 'committed' it was for good, long-term, in the majority of cases. This pattern was the same across each of the three occupations, there was no one occupation that appeared to be viewed in less of a long-term way.

The work of Donald Super (1957) is similar to that of Ginzberg in that he also develops a processual theory of occupational choice. However, in contrast to Ginzberg he does not suggest that ambitions are firmly crystallised at the time of entering employment. He suggests that ambitions change direction, more specifically that the self-concept continues to develop during the early stages of work. Rosenberg also suggests that the individual may change, or modify, values in order to make a 'good fit' if occupation or career entered is not at first 'comfortable or compatible with his/her values.

Examples of the modifications referred to by these theorists is revealed in the interview material. During a large proportion of the interviews the interviewees had a tendency to 'amend' the initial information as given on the questionnaire. For example, frequently there appeared to be 'justification' of the present career position:-

Chapter 6

Matthew studying for the ICMA qualification stated:

> I can see what you are getting at.... I did disagree that I
> entered this occupation through strong personal choice, and
> then I've gone on to give the response the this is
> long-term commitment......This was only going to be a fill
> in job while I thought about what was available.

Matthew was in his late twenties and had originally considered
teaching, insurance and banking amongst his career ideas. The banking
and insurance could be viewed as similar occupations to accounting,
teaching, particularly as he stated he was interested in teaching
juniors, was certainly the odd one out. He explained that towards the
end of his degree course, in History, like many of his friends
applied for a number of jobs. Matthew's first job was in Local
Authority administration, in the finance department but he did not
actually have anything to do with the accounts. He felt that one of
the reasons he had been successful at the interview for his current
job was because of his prior experience in the finance department.

Matthew is now in the final throws of obtaining qualifications in
Accounting, how did he see the image of the Accountant?

> The same as everyone I think. Boring, middle class,
>
> conservative and Conservative with a 'C'! I'm not like that
>
> at all.

I asked Matthew if he actually knew, or had been in contact with any,

people who were like this image, bearing in mind he had been in an

accounting department:

> A few, but generally we are not like that. There have even
>
> been a couple of women.....they were a bit strange though."
>
> (He was reluctant to amplify this comment)

When asked if he felt the image, particularly quite a negative one

had an affect on his entering the specialism:

> I don't think people care that much what others think of
>
> their work. Most people know that there has to be
>
> exceptions to the rule.....Like I said we are not all like
>
> that.

Consistently, those interviewed were keen to dismiss the stereotype

of their specialism as an irrelevance. It, according to the majority,

had no affect on their choice of occupation. Likewise, almost all

recognised that even when they had originally completed the
questionnaire stating that they entered the occupation through strong
personal choice, most went on to reveal in the interview strong
elements of 'chance' involved in their present occupation. As
previously stated it is interesting that having found themselves in a
particular specialism almost all considered this to be a long-term
commitment. Of course there are obvious reasons for example, the
present employment climate, the fact that they are currently
'investing' time, and in some cases their own money, do obtain a
qualification that to consider leaving may unwise.

Roberts' theory criticises the developmental approaches to
occupational choice implicit in the above approaches. He considers
that an individual's career movements are best explained in terms of
'opportunities' (Roberts 1975). His view is that there are differing
expectations relating to occupational accessibility, taking into to
account family traditions, social class, degree of parental
aspiration, attitude of teachers and type of school together with the
general employment availability, both nationally and locally. Roberts
suggests that the careers develop into patterns dictated by the
opportunity structures exposed to the individual.

I feel that the theories of Ginzberg, Super, Rosenberg and the like,
give explanations of these patterns of occupational entry 'in the

ideal world'. In other words, at the time those particular theories were being developed it may have actually been possible to choose careers, albeit with varying levels of degrees of free choice (consideration given to the varying constraints such as ability, educational qualifications, etc.). However, at the present time I am more inclined towards Roberts' view that:

The notion that young people possess freedom of occupational choice and that they can select careers for themselves upon the basis of their own preferences is a pure myth. It is not choice but opportunity that governs the manner in which many young people make their entry into employment" (Roberts 1971 p145).

Roberts concluded that for the majority of young people the main constraint is reconciling their dreams and aspirations with existing opportunities. This I feel goes a long way towards explaining why a large proportion of those interviewed revealed an element of chance, force of circumstances, in their eventual entry into their current occupation. It appears that in a vast number of cases when the respondents completed the questionnaires, relating to entry into the specialism, many had distorted memories of the actual entry, often indicating that they entered through strong personal choice. This is obviously how they remembered it at the time of completion and how they perhaps assume it to be. However, often when talking about the

process of entry they revealed information that confirmed a more

chance entry. During discussions with the interviewees the majority

invariably recognised this chance element, previously not

acknowledged. This process of revelation often triggered a defensive

response, for example, some felt that there was some criticism

inferred in pointing to chance entry. It was as though their current

position was in some way being viewed as indicating less of a

commitment to the specialism they now considered to be 'the chosen

one'. In the majority of the cases, despite an element of chance

entry, the interviewees considered this to be their only possible

area of work. Very few were prepared to seek employment outside of

the field in which they were currently working. As previously stated,

part of the explanation for this is the investment made, the time

spent studying and the commitment now shown towards the specialism.

Most of the interviewees expressed views that they were happy in the

type of work the did, the image of the occupation was to a large

degree an irrelevance. As previously stated, all were able to echo

the sentiments of the stereotypical images relating to both their

personal specialism an to the other two specialisms, on the whole

though all gave the impression that in many instances they were the

exception, (particularly when discussing the negative aspects of the

image).

Of those interviewed the impression given, almost without exception,

was that they were not like the stereotype of the specialist. As I

have just indicated, there were a couple of exceptions, for example, the really loud, boastful male in Marketing. And the very conservative-looking male in Accounting who appeared to put a monetary value on every aspect of life. These impressions are of course subjective, my own personal opinions of the people as I perceived them to be, they cannot be scientifically assessed and quantified!

Implications for Professional Education/Management Training

In conclusion I would like to point out that there appeared to be little difference in the responses of those in each of the three specialisms, indicating that each could just have easily have been working in one of the other two fields. This leads me to conclude that in today's industrial climate what is required are more 'general' managerial skills and aptitudes. This would enable those in management to progress 'sideways' in career terms, into different specialisms, rather than purely progressing 'upwards' within the confines of the specialism that the individual finds themself in. It is possible that more generalist qualification would be of more relevance today, in managerial skills across all spectrums of the business organisation, rather than those qualifications designed to develop skills in any one discipline, be it Personnel, Accounting or Marketing. This would ensure that those who are currently working in Accounting for example, develop skills in the area of Personnel, and

would then be able to take up positions in Personnel managing and overseeing areas where experience has been gained. This type of generalist qualification would ensure 'flexibility' of those entering the managerial functions, and would be less 'restrictive', in terms of career, than current professional qualifications.

It is not intended to suggest a 'watering down' of the present qualifications but a widening of aperture. This widening of the present professional qualifications giving each 'specialist' a broader knowledge of other management functions. This would also enable the individual to progress up the ladder of organisational hierarchy by making 'diagonal step' across from for example marketing to Personnel Director. The individual would be given more scope to progress within 'management' generally rather than being restricted to progressions only within the given area of his/her specialism. To this end the Professional Bodies would benefit from shared expertise. likewise the business organisation would benefit greatly from having highly trained professionals who have a less restricted appreciation of general organisational problems.

Each Professional qualification is currently obtained by training/study lasting a number of years, varying from specialism to specialism. The modular formation of the training programmes could do well to develop aspects that could be given as 'credits'. Whereby the individual could transfer to another professional training course if desired, without necessitating duplication of study or wasting

previous training or knowledge. It is not suggested that individuals
should transfer from one course to another on a mere whim, but that
on occasions individuals may feel that they have 'developed' and no
longer wish to pursue the course originally entered.

It may also be possible to develop professional qualifications,
acceptable by each Professional Body, made up entirely from modules
that have a 'core' element. a requirement to complete certain aspects
and then completion of the qualification left to the individual to
choose, from a selection of several, a given number. This would
ensure that the Professional Bodies would be satisfied that the core
areas were those considered most appropriate and that the additional
free choice modules were a 'bonus' in terms of generality within the
broad base of management.

As discussed in Chapter 1, senior managers, and recruiters generally,
may inadvertently be creating the very situation about which they
often complain. Child and Ellis (1973) indicated that much of
management selection depends heavily on a 'development of criteria
for effective performance' and that these 'presumed characteristics'
form the expectations themselves. It would therefore seem more
appropriate to engage professional recruiters to assess applications,
interviews and make the selections of candidates for managerial
positions rather than leaving it to those senior managers that often
perform this task. The highly skilled recruitment consultant has a

wide range of techniques, personality assessment and suitability for
the detailed job description in hand.

Trent Business School   Mrs. N.R.Wallis-Ryder
Trent Polytechnic   Prof. T.J.Watson
                                               Mr. C.A.Rice

IMAGES OF THREE OCCUPATIONS

This questionnaire is intended to find out what images you hold of the types
of people who work in personnel management, accounting and marketing.

You do not need to have particular knowledge of these occupations to complete
the questionnaire. We are interested in your ideas about what you think would
be typical of job holders in these areas.

We are interested in people's broad images so do not worry about giving a lot
of thought to each item. We are interested in your immediate responses.

We would appreciate some personal details, although we do not require your
name:

    Age:

    Gender (M/F):

    Job Title (if any):

    Course Membership (if any):

    Industrial/Business

Experience: None.......................................! !
                         More than 1/2 year but less than 2 years....! !
                         More than 2 years but less than 5 years.....! !
                         More than 5 years but less than 10 years....! !
                         More than 10 years..........................! !

                                         Yes No
Have you ever worked in: Personnel......! !! !
                         Marketing......! !! !
                         Accounting.....! !! !

Remembering that our concern is with TYPICAL people working in personnel,
marketing and accounting, tick answer (a) or (b) or (c) for each
occupation in response to each question.

Appendix 1.

For example:

	Persnl	Accntng	Marktng
They tend to have:			
(a) blue eyes.....................................			
(b) brown eyes....................................			
(c) could be any colour..........................			
At work they wear:			
(a) boiler suits.................................			
(b) lounge suits.................................			
(c) casual clothes...............................			

Appendix 1.

	Persnl	Accntng	Marktng	
They are most likely to be:				1
(a) male..				
(b) female..				
(c) could be either..............................				
As management people go, they are:				2
(a) very well paid...............................				
(b) reasonable paid..............................				
(c) poorly paid..................................				
They are appropriately described as:				3
(a) 'professional people'........................				
(b) 'administrative people'......................				
(c) 'clerical people'............................				
They belong to a professional association:				4
(a) always.......................................				
(b) usually......................................				
(c) rarely.......................................				
They belong to a trade union:				5
(a) always.......................................				
(b) usually......................................				
(c) rarely.......................................				
Their parental background is:				6
(a) upper class..................................				
(b) middle class.................................				
(c) working class................................				
They have specialist training and/or qualifications:				7
(a) always.......................................				
(b) usually......................................				
(c) rarely.......................................				
Compared to people in other specialisms, they are:				8
(a) very influential.............................				
(b) moderately influential.......................				
(c) uninfluential................................				
They enter this work through:				9
(a) strong personal choice.......................				
(b) encouragements by parents and others.........				
(c) force of circumstances or 'luck'.............				
At school they preferred:				10
(a) arts subjects................................				
(b) science subjects.............................				
(c) a mixture of these...........................				

	Persnl	Accntng	Marktng	
They see the occupation as:				11
(a) long-term commitment.........................				
(b) medium-term commitment.......................				
(c) short-term commitment........................				
They do the job:				12
(a) primarily for the money......................				
(b) primarily for job satisfaction...............				
(c) for a balance of both of these..............				
Their interest in achieving high social status is:				13
(a) low..				
(b) medium.......................................				
(c) high...				
Their interest in having power through their job is:				14
(a) high...				
(b) medium.......................................				
(c) low..				
Their concern with job security is:				15
(a) high...				
(b) medium.......................................				
(c) low..				
Their interest in future promotions is:				16
(a) high...				
(b) medium.......................................				
(c) low..				
They prefer to work:				17
(a) on their own.................................				
(b) with other people............................				
(c) are happy with either of these..............				
Their ability with numbers is:				18
(a) high...				
(b) medium.......................................				
(c) low..				
Their ability with words is:				19
(a) high...				
(b) medium.......................................				
(c) low..				
They prefer to:				20
(a) be a leader..................................				
(b) be part of a team............................				
(c) play either of these roles..................				

Appendix 1.

	Persnl	Accntng	Marktng	
They prefer to:				21
(a) initiate ideas..................................				
(b) apply other people's ideas....................				
(c) do both of these.............................				
They prefer to:				22
(a) take decisions................................				
(b) follow other's decisions.....................				
(c) do both of these.............................				
They prefer:				23
(a) a routine pattern of work....................				
(b) managing crisis..............................				
(c) a mixture of these...........................				
The likelihood of them considering starting their own				24
business is:				
(a) greater than with most people...............				
(b) the same as with most people................				
(c) less than with most people..................				
They are:				25
(a) more committed to their occupation				
than their employer......................				
(b) more committed to their employer				
than their occupation....................				
(a) committed equally to their profession				
and their employer.......................				
If they had to make redundant a subordinate they would				26
(a) be very upset.................................				
(b) be untroubled.................................				
(c) reluctantly accept it as part of the job.....				
Compared to the average person they tend to be more:				27
(a) shy and reserved.............................				
(b) outgoing and confident.......................				
(c) like the average person......................				
Compared to the average person they tend to be more:				28
(a) easy going and trusting......................				
(b) cautious and wary of others.................				
(c) like the average person......................				
Compared to the average person they tend to be more:				29
(a) tense...				
(b) relaxed.......................................				
(c) like the average person......................				

	Persnl	Accntng	Marktng	
Compared to the average person they tend to be more:				30
(a) shrewd and calculating........................				
(b) naive...				
(c) like the average person.......................				
Compared to the average person they tend to be more:				31
(a) rigid...				
(b) flexible......................................				
(c) like the average person.......................				
Compared to the average person they tend to be more:				32
(a) down-to-earth and practical...................				
(b) imaginative and creative......................				
(c) like the average person.......................				
Compared to the average person they tend to be more:				33
(a) a perfectionist...............................				
(b) willing to cut corners........................				
(c) like the average person.......................				
Compared to the average person they tend to be more:				34
(a) personally and morally principled.............				
(b) expedient and 'easy going'....................				
(c) like the average person.......................				
Compared to the average person they tend to be more:				35
(a) critical......................................				
(b) accepting.....................................				
(c) like the average person.......................				
Compared to the average person they tend to be more:				36
(a) conservative about the world..................				
(b) radical and want to change the world..........				
(c) like the average person.......................				
Compared to the average person they tend to be more:				37
(a) honest..				
(b) dishonest.....................................				
(c) like the average person.......................				
Compared to the average person they tend to be more:				38
(a) impatient.....................................				
(b) patient.......................................				
(c) like the average person.......................				
They make friends:				39
(a) easily..				
(b) with difficulty...............................				
(c) like the average person.......................				

	Persnl	Accntng	Marktng	
They believe that:				40
(a) one's life is what one makes of it............				
(b) one's life is determined be luck or fate.....				
(c) something of each of these...................				
Of the following hobbies, they are likely to prefer:				41
(a) chess..				
(b) swimming.....................................				
(c) watching television..........................				
Of the following three newspapers, they would prefer:				42
(a) The Times....................................				
(b) The Guardian.................................				
(c) The Financial Times..........................				
Of the following three newspapers, they would prefer:				43
(a) The Mail.....................................				
(b) The Sun......................................				
(c) The Mirror...................................				
Of the following three types of television programme they would prefer:				44
(a) fiction (films & plays)......................				
(b) documentary.................................				
(c) comedy......................................				
They are most likely to vote:				45
(a) Labour.......................................				
(b) Conservative.................................				
(c) Alliance....................................				
They would like to see the discretion/power of British management:				46
(a) increased...................................				
(b) reduced.....................................				
(c) remain as now...............................				
They would like to see the influence of trade unions:				47
(a) increased...................................				
(b) decreased...................................				
(c) stay the same...............................				
They believe that the country would be better if people were:				48
(a) more religious..............................				
(b) less religious..............................				
(c) as they are now.............................				

	Persnl	Accntng	Marktng	
They believe that career opportunities for workers should be:				49
(a) increased.....................................				
(b) decreased.....................................				
(c) stay the same................................				
They worry about nuclear weapons:				50
(a) more than the average person.................				
(b) less than the average person.................				
(c) the same as the average person..............				
They worry about British race relations:				51
(a) more than the average person.................				
(b) less than the average person.................				
(c) the same as the average person..............				
They believe in a need for heavier and more physical penalties for criminals:				52
(a) more strongly than the average person........				
(b) less strongly than the average person........				
(c) the same as the average person..............				

<u>Appendix 1.</u>

AND FINALLY:

If you had to opt for one of the following, would you choose to work
in:

        (a) personnel management......

        (b) accounting...............

        (c) marketing................

Please say why you think you would be better suited to this rather than
the other two types of work.

Trent Business School   Mrs.N.R.Wallis-Ryder
Trent Polytechnic   Prof.T.J.Watson
                                         Mr.C.A.Rice

A STUDY OF THREE OCCUPATIONS

In recent years there have been a number of sociological studies of
various occupations. It is my intention to concentrate this research on
the three managerial functions of Personnel, Accounting and Marketing.
This questionnaire has been designed to obtain both general information
relating to the occupation, and more specific background information
relating to the individuals who have chosen to enter the three
managerial functions.

ALL INFORMATION WILL BE TREATED AS CONFIDENTIAL

Most of the questions simply require you to tick in an appropriate box,
circle the appropriate response or tick through appropriate answer to a
statement. A few questions do, however, require that you write a few
words in the space provided.

It is very important for me to interview each person who has completed a
questionnaire. For this reason I would be very grateful if you would
provide a telephone number, daytime or evening (please specify).

Personal Information

Full name:

Telephone number: (daytime or evening)

Course membership:
Year or Stage:

Is your employer paying for this course? (please tick)

        Yes   No

Job Title & brief description:

How long have you been in your present post?

How long have you been with your present employer?

<u>Appendix 2.</u>

Industrial/Business experience: (please tick)
None.....................:

Between 1/2 and 2 years..:

Between 2 and 5 years....:

Between 5 and 10 years...:

More than 10 years.......:

Present salary: (please tick)

Less than £5000..........:

Between £5000 and £7500..:

Between £7500 and £10000.:

Between £10000 and £12500:

Between £12500 and £15000:

Between £15000 and £17500:

More than £17500.........:

Highest Academic qualification attained: (please tick)

'O' Level   'A' Level   Diploma   Degree

Employment prior to present pbst:

What other occupations, if any, did you consider prior to entering
this field?

Father's occupation:

Mother's occupation:

Interests/Hobbies outside work:

Attitudes, beliefs and preferences

(Please indicate your response to each statement by circling the
applicable answer.)

1. You entered this occupation through strong personal choice.

| Strongly Agree | Agree | Indifferent | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |

2. At school you preferred science subjects to arts subjects.

| Strongly Agree | Agree | Indifferent | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |

3. You see your occupation as a long-term commitment.

| Strongly Agree | Agree | Indifferent | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |

4. You do the job primarily for the money.

| Strongly Agree | Agree | Indifferent | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |

5. You are very concerned with job security.

| Strongly Agree | Agree | Indifferent | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |

6. You have a preference to work alone and not as a member of a team.

| Strongly Agree | Agree | Indifferent | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |

7. You prefer to work with figures rather than words.

| Strongly Agree | Agree | Indifferent | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |

8. If you had to make a subordinate redundant you would be very upset.

| Strongly Agree | Agree | Indifferent | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |

9. You are 'easy going' and trusting.

Strongly   Strongly
Agree   Agree   Indifferent   Disagree   Disagree

10. You find it easy to 'get on' with people that you work with, i.e.
    both colleagues and 'clients'.

Strongly   Strongly
Agree   Agree   Indifferent   Disagree   Disagree

11. Your occupation is generally one of the most influential in the
    organisations in which it is found.

Strongly   Strongly
Agree   Agree   Indifferent   Disagree   Disagree

12. The idea of starting your own business appeals to you.

Strongly   Strongly
Agree   Agree   Indifferent   Disagree   Disagree

13. You identify more with your occupation/specialism than with your
    employer.

Strongly   Strongly
Agree   Agree   Indifferent   Disagree   Disagree

14. This country would be better if people were more religious.

Strongly   Strongly
Agree   Agree   Indifferent   Disagree   Disagree

15. The career opportunities for workers should be increased.

Strongly   Strongly
Agree   Agree   Indifferent   Disagree   Disagree

16. There should be heavier and more physical penalties for criminals.

Strongly   Strongly
Agree   Agree   Indifferent   Disagree   Disagree

17. You worry about nuclear weapons more than the average person.

Strongly   Strongly
Agree   Agree   Indifferent   Disagree   Disagree

18 You worry about British race relations more than the average person

Strongly   Strongly
Agree   Agree   Indifferent   Disagree   Disagree

Appendix 2.

(For the following items please tick answer most applicable.)

19. At the last election you voted:

    a) Conservative..:
    b) Labour...:
    c) Alliance...:
    d) Other/prefer to keep confidential....................:

20. Of the following hobbies which would you prefer:

    a) Chess..:
    b) Swimming...:
    c) Watching television..................................:

21. Which one of the following newspapers would you prefer to read:

    a) The Times..:
    b) The Guardian...:
    c) The Financial Times..................................:

22. Of the following newspapers which one would you choose to read:

    a) The Mail...:
    b) The Sun..:
    c) The Mirror...:

23. Is your occupation best described as:

    a) Administrative work..................................:
    b) Clerical work..:
    c) A profession...:

24. The most likely reason for changing your job would be:

    a) To get increased material rewards....................:
    b) To receive higher status............................:
    c) To obtain greater job security......................:

25. If you received a promotion that meant moving to another city:

    a) Your friendships would not influence your moving.......:
    b) You would most dislike leaving your friends at work....:
    c) You would most dislike leaving your other friends......:

As a person you are:

Please indicate, by circling the number, on a scale of 1 to 5 which description is most applicable.

26. You are not concerned   ! ! ! ! ! !   You have a high interest
    with achieving high   in achieving high social
    social status.status.

27. You are not concerned   ! ! ! ! ! !   You are concerned with
    with with job   job security.
    security.

28. You are not   ! ! ! ! ! !   You are interested
    interested in   in future promotion.
    future promotion.

29. You prefer to work   ! ! ! ! ! !   You prefer to work
    on your own.   with others.

30. Your ability with   ! ! ! ! ! !   Your ability with
    numbers is low.   numbers is high.

31. Your ability with   ! ! ! ! ! !   Your ability with
    words is low.   words is high.

32. You prefer to be part   ! ! ! ! ! !   You prefer to be a
    of a team.   leader.

33. You prefer to apply   ! ! ! ! ! !   You initiate ideas.
    other people's ideas.

34. You like a routine   ! ! ! ! ! !   You prefer managing
    pattern of work.   crisis.

35. You are shy and   ! ! ! ! ! !   You are outgoing and
    reserved.   confident.

36. You are easy going   ! ! ! ! ! !   You are cautious and
    and trusting.   wary of others.

37. You are tense.   ! ! ! ! ! !   You are relaxed.

38. You are shrewd and | | | | | | You are naive.
    calculating.

39. You are rigid. | | | | | | You are flexible.

40. You are down-to-earth | | | | | | You are imaginative and
    and practical.   creative.

41. You are a | | | | | | You are willing to
    perfectionist.   cut corners.

42. You are personally | | | | | | You are expedient and
    and morally   'easy-going'.
    principled.

43. You tend to be more | | | | | | You are more accepting.
    critical.

44. You are conservative | | | | | | You are radical and
    about the world.   want to change the world.

45. You are dishonest. | | | | | | You are honest.

46. You are impatient. | | | | | | You are patient.

47. You find it difficult | | | | | | You find it easy to
    to make friends.   make friends.

No experience of personnel, accounting or marketing

		Per	Acc	Mrk
1. They are most likely to be				
	a) male	10%	80%	38%
	b) female	44%	1%	4%
	c) could be either	46%	19%	58%
2. As management people go, they are				
	a) very well paid	6%	73%	40%
	b) reasonable paid	86%	23%	56%
	c) poorly paid	8%	5%	4%
3. They are appropriately described as				
	a) professional people	26%	79%	63%
	b) administrative people	64%	11%	30%
	c) clerical people	10%	11%	7%
4. They belong to a professional association				
	a) always	10%	60%	13%
	b) usually	50%	38%	52%
	c) rarely	40%	2%	35%
5. They belong to a trade union				
	a) always	5%	1%	1%
	b) usually	38%	26%	31%
	c) rarely	57%	73%	68%
6. Their parental background is				
	a) upper class	4%	23%	6%
	b) middle class	89%	75%	90%
	c) working class	7%	2%	4%
7. They have specialist training and/or qualifications				
	a) always	18%	88%	26%
	b) usually	76%	12%	63%
	c) rarely	6%	0%	11%
8. Compared to people in other specialisms, they are				
	a) very influential	12%	48%	42%
	b) moderately influential	58%	46%	54%
	c) uninfluential	30%	6%	5%
9. They enter this work through				
	a) strong personal choice	55%	48%	58%
	b) encouragements by parents and others	13%	44%	12%
	c) force of circumstances or luck	32%	8%	30%

No experience of personnel, accounting or marketing

		Per	Acc	Mrk
10.	At school they preferred			
	a) arts subjects	51%	10%	43%
	b) science subjects	1%	60%	2%
	c) a mixture of these	48%	31%	55%
11.	They see the occupation as			
	a) long-term commitment	51%	88%	31%
	b) medium-term commitment	43%	10%	57%
	c) short-term commitment	6%	2%	12%
12.	They do the job			
	a) primarily for the money	5%	52%	27%
	b) primarily for job satisfaction	48%	11%	17%
	c) for a balance of both of these	48%	37%	56%
13.	Their interest in achieving high social status is			
	a) low	23%	5%	7%
	b) medium	69%	33%	58%
	c) high	8%	62%	35%
14.	Their interest in having power through their job is			
	a) high	25%	49%	46%
	b) medium	57%	42%	50%
	c) low	18%	10%	4%
15.	Their concern with job security is			
	a) high	58%	68%	37%
	b) medium	40%	26%	43%
	c) low	1%	6%	20%
16.	Their interest in future promotions is			
	a) high	44%	65%	81%
	b) medium	48%	32%	19%
	c) low	8%	2%	0%
17.	They prefer to work			
	a) on their own	8%	77%	8%
	b) with other people	68%	5%	54%
	c) are happy with either of these	24%	18%	38%
18.	Their ability with numbers is			
	a) high	6%	95%	30%
	b) medium	75%	5%	62%
	c) low	19%	0%	8%
19.	Their ability with words is			
	a) high	76%	10%	74%
	b) medium	24%	64%	26%
	c) low	0%	26%	0%

Appendix 3.

No experience of personnel, accounting or marketing

		Per	Acc	Mrk
20.	They prefer to			
	a) be a leader	23%	36%	48%
	b) be part of a team	48%	33%	27%
	c) play either of these roles	30%	31%	25%
21.	They prefer to			
	a) initiate ideas	24%	12%	71%
	b) apply other peoples ideas	32%	54%	8%
	c) do both of these	44%	35%	20%
22.	They prefer to			
	a) take decisions	40%	36%	65%
	b) follow others decisions	20%	39%	2%
	c) do both of these	39%	25%	32%
23.	They prefer			
	a) a routine pattern of work	23%	74%	12%
	b) managing crisis	32%	11%	27%
	c) a mixture of these	45%	15%	61%
24.	The likelihood of them considering starting their own business is			
	a) greater than with most people	4%	60%	62%
	b) the same as with most people	51%	31%	32%
	c) less than with most people	45%	10%	6%
25.	They are			
	a) more committed to their occupation than their em	23%	58%	33%
	b) more committed to their employer than their occu	27%	17%	19%
	c) committed equally to their profession and their	50%	25%	48%
26.	If they had to make redundant a subordinate they would			
	a) be very upset	26%	13%	13%
	b) be untroubled	12%	36%	26%
	c) reluctantly accept it as part of the job	62%	51%	61%
27.	Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
	a) shy and reserved	2%	50%	1%
	b) outgoing and confident	50%	11%	85%
	c) like the average person	48%	39%	14%
28.	Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
	a) easy going and trusting	38%	7%	21%
	b) cautious and wary of others	18%	51%	37%
	c) like the average person	44%	42%	42%
29.	Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
	a) tense	12%	50%	39%
	b) relaxed	43%	14%	27%
	c) like the average person	45%	36%	33%

No experience of personnel, accounting or marketing

		Per	Acc	Mrk
30.	Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
	a) shrewd and calculating	21%	69%	60%
	b) naive	12%	7%	2%
	c) like the average person	67%	24%	38%
31.	Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
	a) rigid	13%	74%	8%
	b) flexible	49%	12%	64%
	c) like the average person	38%	14%	27%
32.	Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
	a) down-to-earth and practical	35%	61%	8%
	b) imaginative and creative	26%	11%	86%
	c) like the average person	39%	29%	6%
33.	Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
	a) a perfectionist	15%	85%	21%
	b) willing to cut corners	25%	7%	56%
	c) like the average person	60%	8%	23%
34.	Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
	a) personally and morally principled	32%	49%	12%
	b) expedient and pragmatic	30%	10%	57%
	c) like the average person	38%	42%	31%
35.	Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
	a) critical	30%	75%	48%
	b) accepting	40%	4%	26%
	c) like the average person	30%	21%	26%
36.	Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
	a) conservative about the world	27%	81%	18%
	b) radical and want to change the world	12%	2%	52%
	c) like the average person	61%	17%	30%
37.	Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
	a) honest	33%	40%	10%
	b) dishonest	8%	14%	38%
	c) like the average person	58%	45%	52%
38.	Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
	a) impatient	7%	30%	57%
	b) patient	61%	30%	12%
	c) like the average person	32%	40%	31%
39.	They make friends			
	a) easily	65%	4%	76%
	b) with difficulty	6%	44%	6%
	c) like the average person	29%	52%	18%

No experience of personnel, accounting or marketing

	Per	Acc	Mrk
40. They believe that			
a) ones life is what one makes of it	36%	51%	55%
b) ones life is determined be luck or fate	12%	15%	5%
c) something of each of these	52%	33%	40%
41. Of the following hobbies, they are likely to prefer			
a) chess	8%	75%	11%
b) swimming	39%	10%	48%
c) watching television	52%	15%	42%
42. Of the following three newspapers, they would prefer			
a) The Times	18%	18%	36%
b) The Guardian	80%	10%	55%
c) The Financial Times	2%	73%	10%
43. Of the following three newspapers, they would prefer			
a) The Mail	63%	86%	44%
b) The Sun	10%	6%	30%
c) The Mirror	27%	8%	26%
44. Of the following three types of television programme they would prefer			
a) fiction (films & plays)	49%	18%	35%
b) documentary	12%	69%	12%
c) comedy	39%	13%	54%
45. They are most likely to vote			
a) Labour	26%	4%	7%
b) Conservative	37%	93%	46%
c) Alliance	37%	4%	46%
46. They would like to see the discretion/power of British management			
a) increased	44%	50%	49%
b) reduced	20%	6%	12%
c) remain as now	36%	44%	39%
47. They would like to see the influence of trade unions			
a) increased	19%	0%	5%
b) decreased	49%	67%	54%
c) stay the same	32%	33%	42%
48. They believe that the country would be better if people were			
a) more religious	10%	20%	0%
b) less religious	14%	19%	32%
c) as they are now	76%	61%	68%

Appendix 3.

No experience of personnel, accounting or marketing

	Per	Acc	Mrk
49. They believe that career opportunities for workers should be			
a) increased	86%	31%	50%
b) decreased	1%	12%	2%
c) stay the same	13%	57%	48%
50. They worry about nuclear weapons			
a) more than the average person	35%	17%	8%
b) less than the average person	11%	26%	21%
c) the same as the average person	55%	57%	70%
51. They worry about British race relations			
a) more than the average person	58%	6%	14%
b) less than the average person	10%	33%	21%
c) the same as the average person	32%	61%	64%
52. They believe in a need for heavier & more physical penalties			
a) more than the average person	30%	54%	23%
b) less than the average person	26%	4%	12%
c) the same as the average person	44%	43%	65%

Appendix 4.   Questionnaire results

Industrial experience greater or equal to 5 years

	Per	Acc	Mrk
1. They are most likely to be			
a) male	25%	75%	50%
b) female	30%	0%	5%
c) could be either	45%	25%	45%
2. As management people go, they are			
a) very well paid	10%	45%	50%
b) reasonable paid	85%	55%	50%
c) poorly paid	5%	0%	0%
3. They are appropriately described as			
a) professional people	40%	70%	70%
b) administrative people	50%	10%	25%
c) clerical people	10%	20%	5%
4. They belong to a professional association			
a) always	15%	50%	15%
b) usually	60%	50%	45%
c) rarely	25%	0%	40%
5. They belong to a trade union			
a) always	0%	0%	0%
b) usually	40%	20%	20%
c) rarely	60%	80%	80%
6. Their parental background is			
a) upper class	5%	25%	10%
b) middle class	90%	65%	85%
c) working class	5%	10%	5%
7. They have specialist training and/or qualifications			
a) always	30%	90%	40%
b) usually	65%	10%	40%
c) rarely	5%	0%	20%
8. Compared to people in other specialisms, they are			
a) very influential	10%	50%	45%
b) moderately influential	75%	50%	55%
c) uninfluential	15%	0%	0%
9. They enter this work through			
a) strong personal choice	50%	55%	40%
b) encouragements by parents and others	15%	40%	10%
c) force of circumstances or luck	35%	5%	50%

Industrial experience greater or equal to 5 years

	Per	Acc	Mrk
10. At school they preferred			
a) arts subjects	30%	15%	35%
b) science subjects	0%	60%	0%
c) a mixture of these	70%	25%	65%
11. They see the occupation as			
a) long-term commitment	70%	100%	45%
b) medium-term commitment	30%	0%	45%
c) short-term commitment	0%	0%	10%
12. They do the job			
a) primarily for the money	5%	50%	60%
b) primarily for job satisfaction	55%	25%	10%
c) for a balance of both of these	40%	25%	30%
13. Their interest in achieving high social status is			
a) low	15%	5%	5%
b) medium	70%	35%	35%
c) high	15%	60%	60%
14. Their interest in having power through their job is			
a) high	45%	50%	55%
b) medium	45%	45%	40%
c) low	10%	5%	5%
15. Their concern with job security is			
a) high	60%	80%	25%
b) medium	40%	15%	45%
c) low	0%	5%	30%
16. Their interest in future promotions is			
a) high	50%	75%	75%
b) medium	50%	25%	25%
c) low	0%	0%	0%
17. They prefer to work			
a) on their own	20%	60%	20%
b) with other people	50%	10%	70%
c) are happy with either of these	30%	30%	10%
18. Their ability with numbers is			
a) high	10%	100%	20%
b) medium	75%	0%	60%
c) low	15%	0%	20%
19. Their ability with words is			
a) high	75%	15%	90%
b) medium	25%	65%	10%
c) low	0%	20%	0%

Industrial experience greater or equal to 5 years

	Per	Acc	Mrk
20. They prefer to			
a) be a leader	35%	40%	65%
b) be part of a team	45%	25%	20%
c) play either of these roles	20%	35%	15%
21. They prefer to			
a) initiate ideas	30%	25%	80%
b) apply other peoples ideas	45%	35%	15%
c) do both of these	25%	40%	5%
22. They prefer to			
a) take decisions	65%	55%	60%
b) follow others decisions	25%	25%	5%
c) do both of these	10%	20%	35%
23. They prefer			
a) a routine pattern of work	20%	75%	5%
b) managing crisis	50%	10%	30%
c) a mixture of these	30%	15%	65%
24. The likelihood of them considering starting their own business is			
a) greater than with most people	10%	40%	50%
b) the same as with most people	35%	60%	30%
c) less than with most people	55%	0%	20%
25. They are			
a) more committed to their occupation than their em	35%	65%	45%
b) more committed to their employer than their occu	30%	15%	20%
c) committed equally to their profession and their	35%	20%	35%
26. If they had to make redundant a subordinate they would			
a) be very upset	30%	15%	10%
b) be untroubled	35%	25%	35%
c) reluctantly accept it as part of the job	35%	60%	55%
27. Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
a) shy and reserved	0%	35%	0%
b) outgoing and confident	45%	5%	90%
c) like the average person	55%	60%	10%
28. Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
a) easy going and trusting	20%	0%	25%
b) cautious and wary of others	25%	40%	45%
c) like the average person	55%	60%	30%
29. Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
a) tense	20%	40%	35%
b) relaxed	30%	20%	50%
c) like the average person	50%	40%	15%

Industrial experience greater or equal to 5 years

	Per	Acc	Mrk
30. Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
a) shrewd and calculating	35%	80%	75%
b) naive	20%	5%	5%
c) like the average person	45%	15%	20%
31. Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
a) rigid	25%	55%	5%
b) flexible	40%	25%	80%
c) like the average person	35%	20%	15%
32. Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
a) down-to-earth and practical	30%	55%	5%
b) imaginative and creative	25%	15%	85%
c) like the average person	45%	30%	10%
33. Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
a) a perfectionist	20%	100%	20%
b) willing to cut corners	10%	0%	65%
c) like the average person	70%	0%	15%
34. Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
a) personally and morally principled	50%	35%	10%
b) expedient and pragmatic	15%	15%	70%
c) like the average person	35%	50%	20%
35. Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
a) critical	45%	90%	40%
b) accepting	30%	0%	20%
c) like the average person	25%	10%	40%
36. Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
a) conservative about the world	25%	90%	10%
b) radical and want to change the world	15%	0%	65%
c) like the average person	60%	10%	25%
37. Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
a) honest	30%	60%	10%
b) dishonest	15%	5%	60%
c) like the average person	55%	35%	30%
38. Compared to the average person they tend to be more			
a) impatient	5%	30%	65%
b) patient	75%	40%	15%
c) like the average person	20%	30%	20%
39. They make friends			
a) easily	55%	10%	75%
b) with difficulty	15%	50%	10%
c) like the average person	30%	40%	15%

Industrial experience greater or equal to 5 years

		Per	Acc	Mrk
40.	They believe that			
	a) ones life is what one makes of it	20%	45%	35%
	b) ones life is determined be luck or fate	20%	15%	25%
	c) something of each of these	60%	40%	40%
41.	Of the following hobbies, they are likely to prefer			
	a) chess	15%	75%	15%
	b) swimming	40%	15%	50%
	c) watching television	45%	10%	35%
42.	Of the following three newspapers, they would prefer			
	a) The Times	15%	5%	45%
	b) The Guardian	85%	5%	50%
	c) The Financial Times	0%	90%	5%
43.	Of the following three newspapers, they would prefer			
	a) The Mail	70%	90%	30%
	b) The Sun	15%	5%	35%
	c) The Mirror	15%	5%	35%
44.	Of the following three types of television programme they would prefer			
	a) fiction (films & plays)	35%	25%	45%
	b) documentary	25%	60%	20%
	c) comedy	40%	15%	35%
45.	They are most likely to vote			
	a) Labour	30%	0%	5%
	b) Conservative	45%	95%	45%
	c) Alliance	25%	5%	50%
46.	They would like to see the discretion/power of British management			
	a) increased	65%	55%	65%
	b) reduced	20%	20%	15%
	c) remain as now	15%	25%	20%
47.	They would like to see the influence of trade unions			
	a) increased	10%	0%	0%
	b) decreased	70%	80%	70%
	c) stay the same	20%	20%	30%
48.	They believe that the country would be better if people were			
	a) more religious	15%	15%	0%
	b) less religious	5%	10%	25%
	c) as they are now	80%	75%	75%

Industrial experience greater or equal to 5 years

	Per	Acc	Mrk
49. They believe that career opportunities for workers should be			
a) increased	75%	40%	50%
b) decreased	5%	10%	5%
c) stay the same	20%	50%	45%
50. They worry about nuclear weapons			
a) more than the average person	30%	20%	10%
b) less than the average person	15%	20%	35%
c) the same as the average person	55%	60%	55%
51. They worry about British race relations			
a) more than the average person	50%	15%	15%
b) less than the average person	10%	20%	15%
c) the same as the average person	40%	65%	70%
52. They believe in a need for heavier & more physical penalties			
a) more than the average person	30%	45%	25%
b) less than the average person	20%	5%	15%
c) the same as the average person	50%	50%	60%

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