September 1990

Gender, Employment and Psychosocial Well-being

David C. Congdon
Metropolitan Council on Alcoholism of Central Florida

Recommended Citation

Gender, Employment and Psychosocial Well-being

David C. Congdon

Metropolitan Council on Alcoholism of Central Florida
Orlando, Florida

Although authors are increasingly addressing the specific needs of men and women at work, no theory based comparison of how employment affects their psychosocial well-being has been available. A six dimensional index was developed to explore a social exchange model of the associations among employment, psychosocial well-being, and worker productivity for men and women. Findings based on two samples of 41 (instrument pretest) and 143 (model test) employed and unemployed union workers suggest strong reliability and validity estimates for the index, support for the model, high explanatory power, and different results for men and women. Implications for further research and recommendations for developing employment programs to enhance gender specific social well-being and worker productivity are discussed.

Gender, Employment and Psychosocial Well-being

Social workers are becoming increasingly concerned with the nature of employment for clients. Public welfare programs are being structured to include work opportunities, and the role of and approach to employment in social work settings is being debated by historians, political scientists, and economists (Katz, 1986; Mead, 1986; Lekachman, 1987; Ellwood, 1988). Social work is also expanding into the workplace to help employees solve problems and boost productivity. One of the outstanding qualities of the social work profession is its commitment to respond sensitively to the needs of different client groups. Although the way women interact with and value the work experience is receiving attention (Beechy, 1987; Rosen, 1987), a specific test of theory regarding how women derive social well-being from employment, compared to men, has not been available. A theory

101

based comparison is desirable so that social workers may develop knowledge about how to meet the specific employment-oriented needs of both men and women.

This paper reports the results of an exploratory study of the differences between men and women in associations among employment and two key indicators of psychosocial well-being: trusting social contacts and participation in a collective purpose. These characteristics have been positively related to mental health by Jahoda (1982) in research replicated across time and across cultures. Deficits in these areas have also been related to severe mental illness by Hollingshead and Redlich (1958). Trusting social contacts and participation in a collective purpose have also been identified as central elements in determining the productivity of workers (Ouchi, 1981; Peters and Waterman, 1982).

Theories about how employment affects psychosocial well-being suggest approaches to the prevention of problems for the currently employed and strategies to structure employment opportunities for new workers so as to encourage their well-being and increase their ability to escape public dependency. Gender specific findings can suggest how to tailor these approaches to meet the particular needs of men and women.

Since this perspective includes indicators which reflect both psychosocial well-being and worker productivity, it is useful for examining the twin goals of achieving social welfare and worker productivity at the same time. By studying worker attitudes related to both of these concerns, social workers can learn how to develop practice partnerships with employers which can benefit current employees as well as the unemployed.

Conceptual Framework

Employment has long been recognized as a key resource to meet the human need for sharing in similar activities with others (Homans, 1950). By definition, an employed person engages in similar production activities with other employees to earn wages and contribute to the efforts of the organization, while an unemployed person would not. All else being equal, then, employed people probably experience more similar experiences with others than do unemployed people.

Homans suggests that these sharing activities lead directly to two additional results: a sense of being equal with others, and developing trusting social contact with them. Increased equality results from doing the same or equivalent thing with others; whereas, all else being equal, an unemployed person would not be able to share in such equalizing activities. Increased trusting social contact is a result of employees in similar activities working together regularly and needing to interact as equals to produce the necessary goods to continue their employment. All else being equal, unemployed people would not have the same chance to develop this kind of trust.

In addition, Homans suggests that trusting social contacts promote the development of social norms. These become formalized as informal rules of social interaction become entrenched. The distinguishing characteristic of formalized norms is that they represent an identity for a group which transcends the tasks which it is performing. Maintaining this identity becomes the purpose of the group, and working together becomes as much a process of participating in a collective purpose to meet the social needs of group members as it is a process of producing a set of goods or services.

Blau (1964, 1977) adds to Homans' basic theory with three propositions from his work regarding power and equality. He suggests that similarity in status is associated with increased likelihood of opportunities for social contact. For example, it would be more likely for two people in an organization to contact each other socially when they are both considered as somewhat equal in having valid input about a manufacturing process than if one was considered an "expert" and the other was simply a functionary perceived as only able to perform a limited task. Also, being employed in the same organization as others leads to having opportunity for social contact. For example, people may meet each other in the parking lot, cafeteria, or hallways, at a company picnic, or at a company credit union. Similarly, like activities for workers can lead directly to specific opportunities for social contact among them. When two workers are packaging machine parts together, it is likely that they will have opportunities for social contact with each other as a result. This social contact may be required by the work being done

together, and social contact outside work may be promoted by such contact while working.

Opportunity for social contact, then, is a key requisite for the development of trusting social contacts. This proposition suggests that the more opportunity people have for social interaction with others, the more likely they will engage in social interaction and develop trusting social contacts.

These characteristics are drawn together into a conceptual framework (Figure 1) that proposes a pattern of influences among them.

Figure 1. Conceptual framework.

    1. Employment
    2. Activity with Others
    3. Equality with Others
    4. Opportunity for social Contact
    5. Trusting Social Contact
    6. Norm Development
    7. Participation in a Collective Purpose (Norm Formalization)
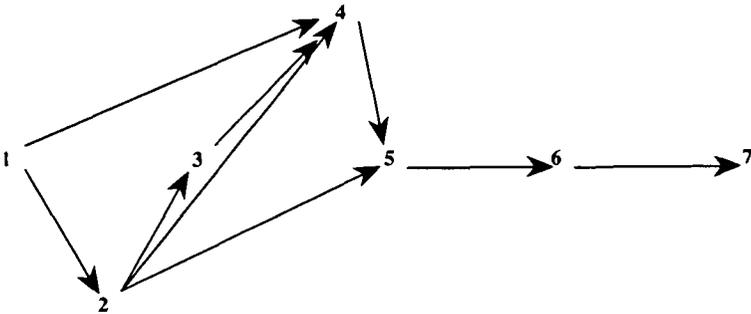
It suggests that in order to enhance both trusting social contacts for employees and their sense of participating in a collective purpose, it is necessary to promote activity with others, a sense of equality, and opportunities for social contact for them. People tend to develop perceptions about activity with others, the degree to which they are equal with others, and how much they trust others through a psychosocial process.

To what extent does this framework capture and account for the crucial processes linking employment and key dimensions of human well-being? Testing the usefulness of the framework faced the challenge of clear definition and operationalization of each component and then the empirical assessment of their combined explanatory power.

Measurement of Variables

All variables in this analysis other than employment status were measured by administering a questionnaire (see Appendix 1) to a random sample of employed and unemployed individuals. The questionnaire was made-up of six scales which contained four to eight questions each, designed to measure the six concepts or constructs, other than employment, whose relationships are charted above. Employment status was derived from employment records for surveyed individuals. It was necessary to define these seven conceptual areas to provide a guideline for scale development and to clearly define the elements of this research.

The works of Turner (1982), Homans (1950), and Emerson (1976) are helpful in determining the meaning of activity with others. Emerson (1976) defined contact with others as a single, basic unit of analysis for sociological research. This definition focuses on the interaction process as the core of activity with others, defined here as the exchange of some personal, emotional, or monetary resource with another person. Following such leads, our scale items asked about such things as whether respondents' days were full of things to do with other people and whether most of the time they were busy doing things with other people.

There is a generous literature on the meaning of equality. Hawkins (1977) cautions that equality is meaningful only in the context of individual differences. Individual differences can coexist with equal treatment in an environment in which both equal opportunities and generally equal results are guaranteed (Aron, 1969; Hewes, 1959; Van Fossen, 1979). Rawls (1971) saw such an environment as a prerequisite for social justice, noting that only when each person in a society can rise to its highest status level with reasonable effort can there be justice.

The conceptualization of equality used here assumes that economic and social differences will exist in society at any one point in time but that, with reasonable effort, most individuals could change statuses to most other positions in that society. Equality scale items referred to such things as whether the respondents thought they "had just as good a chance as the next person" to "make it to the top" in the kind of work they did and whether or not they thought that it was more important to know somebody important to advance in their work than to have well developed skills.

Blau (1964) postulates that if people are unequal in status, they will be less likely to come in contact with each other. He suggests that being equal does not preclude being different (1977) and labels the combination of these two conditions as heterogeneity. From this background, opportunity for social contact can be defined as the exchange of resources between people who are perceived by the other as equal to themselves. Some of the items developed to measure this concept referred to whether or not respondents felt they had shared "a lot of" time with equals and whether they felt they had recently exchanged resources with others who were equal to them, such as buying each other coffee at work or elsewhere.

Works by Argyle (1969), Blau (1964), Emerson (1976), Gibb (1954), Homans (1950, 1961), Turner (1982), Ullman (1967), and Vernon (1965) were reviewed to determine a construct of trusting social contact. They conceptualized it as a set of discrete signals, activity itself, reciprocal communication, social exchange as an integral aspect of group functioning, and an interactional result which is greater than the sum of its parts and evidences itself in expectations of self and others.

A summary definition of trusting social contact reveals an ongoing equal exchange of resources between people in a relationship in which expectations of each person will generally be fulfilled. Items on the scale which measured this variable asked about such concerns as the degree to which respondents could "talk things over" with their friends and "help each other out." As the model suggests, trusting social contacts lead to the development of social norms.

Shaffer (1983) concludes that social norms prescribe rather than describe the influence of one person on another, function in a theoretical orientation of social consensus, regulate behavior by setting latitudes of both acceptable and objectionable behavior, specify regulated behavior through specific guidance, are articulated by verbalized standards, and are enforced through specific rewards or punishments. Additionally, it can be argued from the work of Argyle (1969), Homans (1950), Ullman (1977), and Zaleznick and Moment (1964) that norms are developed through the interaction of individual perceptions and begin with compliance, proceeding to shared identification and internalization by individuals. This internalization yields shared goal attaining patterns of behavior for the group, which are verbalized statements put into action. Questionnaire items which measured this construct asked about the degree to which respondents saw their lives to be very similar to the lives of people they knew and the degree to which they were sure of what others expected from them. The difference between norm development and norm formalization appears to lie in the degree to which people personally identify with social norms in a way that gives them a sense of purpose in working with a group.

Ullman (1977) suggests that coordination rewards contribute to a binding pattern of behavior or formalized norms through regulating and channeling expectations, providing a principle of continuation, and increasing the degree of articulation and explicitness associated with norms (pp. 85–89). In Homans' (1950) terms, these convictions are perceived by group members as "orders" for personal goal achievement and therefore define group purposes for members. He conceptualizes these internalized orders as necessarily changing from time to time. In other words, it becomes part of the group purpose to maintain the group by making internal changes to adjust to those in the environment.

Norm formalization or participation in a collective purpose can be defined as following formalized rules which act to structure a group, and acting to change the nature, rules, and function of a group in order to maintain its cohesion in a changing environment. Some inquiries on the measure for this variable concerned how much guidance respondents received from

friends and how well they have been able to work with others
on achieving their goals.

Unlike other variables in the analysis, measuring employ-
ment status was straight forward and simple. Employment was
operationally defined as being regularly employed for wages for
more than 20 hours per week. Based on employment records,
half of the respondents for the research were randomly selected
from an employed group and half were selected from an un-
employed group. Employment status was verified on the sur-
vey instrument.

Workers identify personally with organizational goals as a
result of the positive feedback from others in joint efforts to
achieve them. Participating in a collective purpose begins with
the idea of accomplishing some goal. It continues, however,
because of the value of the group in providing positive rein-
forcement. Group members reap the rewards of reinforcement
through their role in achieving group goals, maintaining the to-
getherness of the group, and being seen as positive reinforcers
by others. Participation in a collective purpose, then, is an ex-
ercise in positive reinforcement for group members, building
self-image and self-confidence, and the mental health and per-
sonal productivity related to this self esteem. In order to conduct
research on how this participation was affected by the other
elements of the model, it was necessary to determine if the
proposed set of items could consistently and accurately reflect
changes in the identified conceptual areas.

Analysis of Validity and Reliability

Having identified operational indicators of each component
of the proposed framework, it was then necessary to assess their
validity and reliability. A seven member panel of experts in the
fields of mental health and organizational behavior reviewed
the formulation of various scale items to determine if they re-
flected the definitional material summarized above. Based on
their responses, the items were refined and organized into a
self-administered questionnaire. An agree-disagree answer for-
mat made it possible to use responses as "dummy" continuous
variables which ranged from a low score of 0, representing no

perception of the measured variable, to a high of 1, representing a positive perception.

In order to assess the validity of our scales, the questionnaire was pretested with two groups of respondents in Cleveland, Ohio. Half were *unemployed* union members who had expressed an interest in a program for developing employment-seeking skills and support but had not followed through. The other half were *employed* union members on an inactive membership list of The United Labor Agency.

Differential validity criteria required that responses for the unemployed group and the employed group be significantly different at the .05 level on each of the scale measures. Positive interscale correlations of approximately .4 or greater and significant at the .05 level were required to support construct validity. Reliability criteria for the various scales required that an average scale item have a mean between .25 and .75 (midrange between the low score of 0 and the high score of 1 for one scale item). The average scale item standard deviation was required to be greater than .25 (half way between the unacceptable level of 0 and the maximum level of .5). And a Cronbach's alpha score of .6 or greater (preferably .8 or .9) was required for each scale (Nunnally, 1978).

An approximately equal number of responses to the pretest were received from employed and unemployed people: ten men and eleven women who were unemployed and eight men and eleven women who were employed. The average length of their time in the workforce was 24 years.

Cronbach's alpha estimates of reliability for all scales were greater than the required .6 as indicated in Table 1. This table also indicates that criteria limits were met on all scales for acceptable means (.25–.75) and standard deviations (> .25). Scores on all of the scales related to psychosocial well-being and productivity were significantly lower for the unemployed group than for the employed group, thus supporting the differential validity of the set.

Initial tests of construct validity showed that all interscale correlations were significant at the .05 level and that, generally, correlations were at least moderate, usually being greater than .4. These results are reported in Table 2.

Table 1

Scale Reliability, Central Tendency, and Variance Measures

Scale Name	Cronbach's Alpha Alpha Estimate	Average Item Mean	Average Item Standard Deviaition
Activity withs Others	.91561	.4646675	.692363
Equality with Others	.81653	.4846538	.5993613
Opportunity for Social Contact	.88056	.4946025	.490625
Trusting Social Contact	.72811	.492415	.5961525
Norm Development	.77412	.49917	.4487175
Participation in a Collective Purpose	.61127	.5022925	.54605

Table 2

Correlation Matrix for Scale Scores with Significance Levels

Scale	ES	A	EQ	OSC	TSC	ND
Activity with Others (A)	.399* .000					
Equality with Others (EQ)	.189 .012	.451* .000				
Opportunity for Social Contact (OSC)	.478* .000	.721* .000	.542* .000			
Trusting Social Contact (TSC)	.337 .000	.740* .000	.431 .000	.618* .000		
Norm Development (ND)	.261 .000	.472 .000	.358 *.000	.536 .000	.495* .000	
Participation in a Collective Purpose (Norm Formalization)	.161 .027	.597 .000	.548 .000	.556 .000	.652 .000	.465* .000

*=Hypothesized Correlations
ES=Employment Status

Findings

The questionnaire was refined based on the pretest results. It was then administered to a larger sample of respondents. While the goal of the first administration was to test the reliability and validity of the instrument and to hone the number of items to present an efficient set of measures, the goal of the second administration was to test the causal model in Figure 1 to determine if the findings supported it. Because employment status is a factor in the model, both employed and unemployed respondents were surveyed. The initial goal was to determine the effect of this employment status on respondents' psychosocial well-being, both at work and away from it. The different results for men and women grew from this initial exploration.

As noted earlier, each construct or concept in the model was measured through a scale score consisting of four to eight items each. Equal numbers of the questionnaire were once again sent to random samples of employed and unemployed union members in the same geographic region. As in the case of the pretest, respondents of retirement age were excluded from the analysis because of the possible confounding effects of retirement status on determining the effect of employment on the psychosocial variables of interest. After eliminating questionnaires with missing data, and responses from those who were retired, 143 responses were analyzed in the actual test of the model. This sample included 51 employed men with an average work history of 25.7 years, 35 employed women who had been in the work force an average of 22.9 years, 35 unemployed males with an average working history of 24.6 years, and 22 women who were not employed and had generally been working about 22.7 years.

Attention in this analysis is focused on the proposed direct and indirect causal routes hypothesized in Figure 1 using the technique of path analysis. As Holland, Konick, Buffum, Smith, & Petchers (1981) note:

> Under circumstances in which independent variables are not directly manipulable by the researcher, ordinary least squares regression provides a useful analytic substitute for experimental controls. The use of OLS regressions within

a path-analytic framework allows the researcher the additional advantage of testing the adequacy and implications of a particular set of theoretically derived causal orderings among variables for which only cross-sectional data are available (Land, 1969). Path analysis results of such analyses are only as good as the theoretical justifications undergirding the model. However, path analysis does allow a proposed conceptual model to be carefully examined for its consistency or "fit" with observations, and it facilitates the process of revising and testing theory (Alwin and Hauser, 1975; Asher, 1976).

Figure 2. Path analysis results for men.

     1. Employment (sd=.494)
     2. Activity with Others (sd=1.460)
     3. Equality with Others (sd=2.748)
     4. Opportunity for Social Contact (sd=2.680)
     5. Trusting Social Contact (sd=2.748)
     6. Norm Development (sd=1.265)
     7. Participation in a Collective Purpose (Norm Formalization) (sd=1.245)


$p < .000$ unless otherwise indicated
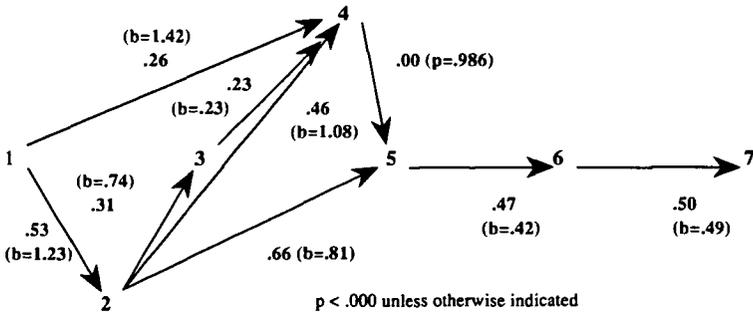
As can be seen from the coefficients reported for men in Figure 2, only the proposed path of influence from employment to "activity with others" to "trusting social contact" to "norm development" to "participation in a collective purpose" appears to be supported by our data. For the male subsample, this result would suggest eliminating "equality with others" and "oppor-

tunity for social contact" as relevant in explaining variation in the indicators of interest. The total R squared for the model with this subsample is .48 for perceptions of trusting social contacts, and .46 for perceptions of participation in a collective purpose, apparently explaining a large portion of variance based on responses to a reasonably reliable and valid index.

Figure 3 demonstrates how the proposed model is more accurate in estimating paths of effect for women. Our data support all of the hypothesized paths for this subsample.

Figure 3. Path analysis results for women.

1. Employment (sd=.491)
2. Activity with Others (sd=1.636)
3. Equality with Others (sd=2.428)
4. Opportunity for Social Contact (sd=2.797)
5. Trusting Social Contact (sd=1.469)
6. Norm Development (sd=1.1)
7. Participation in a Collective Purpose (Norm Formalization) (sd=1.401)
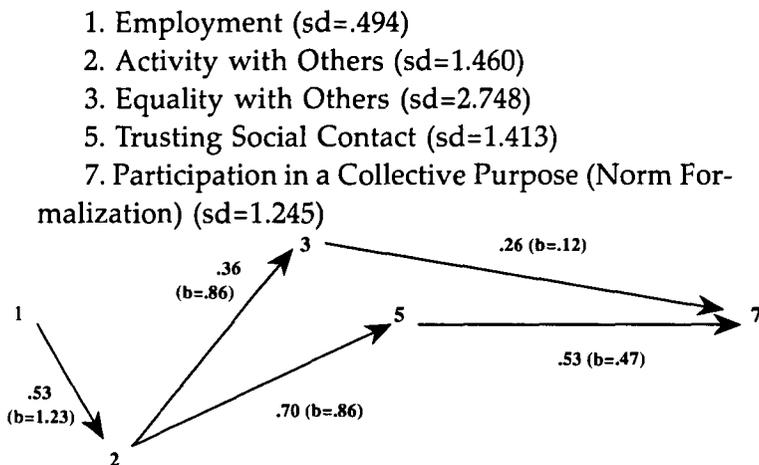

p < .000 unless otherwise indicated
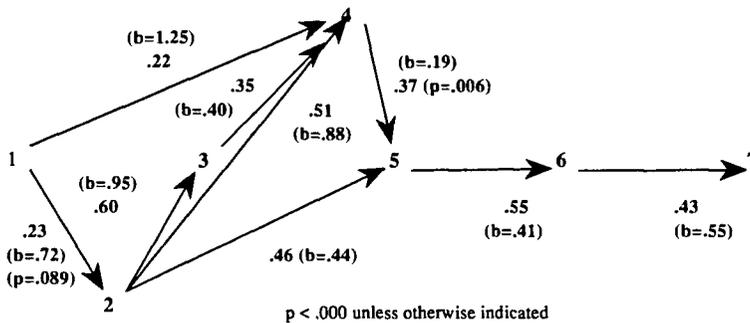
The total R squared for women was .68 for perceptions of trusting social contacts, and .66 for perceptions of participation in a collective purpose. Employment appears to affect these variables in different ways for the two sexes, and differences in paths of effect are even more apparent in attempts to "fit the model to the data."

Beyond the specific theoretical propositions described here, further analysis can test whether any alternative, simpler model may fit the reported data as well as one originally proposed. The

model in Figure 4 proved to not be significantly different (p=.05) than the original model in the amount of variance explained for men.

Figure 4. Path analysis results for men on a simplified model.

1. Employment (sd=.494)
2. Activity with Others (sd=1.460)
3. Equality with Others (sd=2.748)
5. Trusting Social Contact (sd=1.413)
7. Participation in a Collective Purpose (Norm Formalization) (sd=1.245)

p < .001 unless otherwise indicated

Our data support a path of influence from activity with others to trusting social contacts for this group (B=.70, p < .001). The dominant influences on participation in a collective purpose for men were trusting social contacts (B=.53, p < .001) and perceptions of equality with others (B=.26, p < .001).

For women, the results were quite different, as shown in Figure 5. This model was not significantly different (p=.05) in the amount of variance explained for women than the original model. The female subsample showed a more complex path of influence on trusting social contacts from both activity with others (B=.48, p < .001) and from opportunity for social contacts (B=.41, p < .001). For women, it was not perceptions of trusting social contact but having opportunity for social contact that apparently led to a sense of participating in a collective purpose (B=.42, p < .001). Similar to men, the more equal with others women perceived themselves, the more they apparently sensed participation in a collective purpose (B=.45, p < .001).

Figure 5. Path analysis results for women on a simplified model.

        1. Employment (sd=.491)
        2. Activity with Others (sd=1.636)
        3. Equality with Others (sd=2.428)
        4. Opportunity for Social Contact (sd=2.797)
        5. Trusting Social Contact (sd=1.469)
        6.Participation in a Collective Purpose (Norm Formalization) (sd=1.401)

p < .000 unless otherwise indicated
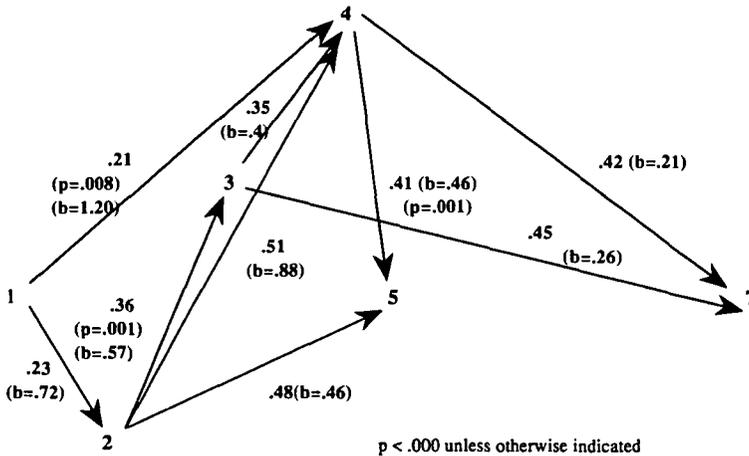
Discussion

The results of this exploratory study suggest four ways that social work can shape employment experiences to meet the particular needs of men and women to achieve psychosocial well-being. (a) Both men and women apparently need to be involved in the activity of mutual social exchange in work relationships to develop a sense of trusting social contacts with others. This trust allows workers to count on each other for solving and working through both personal problems and production problems, leading to psychosocial well-being and to higher worker productivity. Activity with others could be enhanced by management styles and job task structuring which allow for high levels of interaction, and by workplace designs which promote access among workers.

(b) Women appear to be different from men in the way they value social exchanges as equals (opportunities for social contact) which contribute to trusting social contacts. It may be that women value egalitarian exchange more because they have a history of not being treated equally. Perhaps, men also value equality in developing trusting relationships, but they have traditionally had it and do not realize its value, not having gone without it. The women in the sample may be pointing out the importance of equal treatment for all employees in developing trusting social contacts. Both men and women appear to see activity with others as leading to increased equality among workers and this increased equality leading to opportunities for egalitarian social exchanges. Equal treatment for employees could be implemented through equal pay for equal work, equal input to decisions, equal chances for promotion based on abilities, and being equally respected by others for one's contributions regardless of sex.

(c) For both men and women, perceptions of being treated as equals with others appeared to promote their developing a sense of collective purpose in the employment setting. Reducing pay and status differences in work organizations could enhance the development of purpose in employees.

Welfare employment programs could enhance worker productivity and personal sense of purpose by paying prevailing wages for work performed, offering work environments comparable to prevailing standards, encouraging advancement based on abilities, and treating men and women similarly. David Ellwood (1988) suggests that such egalitarian treatment could be enhanced by the elimination of welfare programs and making employment available to all prospective workers so that welfare recipients are not isolated and stigmatized. Whether welfare recipients are afforded respect in the normal labor markets or in drastically altered welfare employment programs, it appears that they could benefit in being treated as equals with other citizens.

(d) Although men and women both appear to relate increased egalitarian treatment to an increased sense of purpose and the psychosocial well-being it provides, men appear to perceive more of a need for trusting social contacts to attain this

result as opposed to women's requirement for more opportunities for social contacts. Again, it is possible that men value trusting social contact as a contributor to participation in a collective purpose because they have not traditionally experienced it. Women can often develop trusting social contacts more easily because they are more oriented to collective efforts (deBeauvoir, 1953) and may naturally develop more trusting relationships in the process. As a result, women may not relate trusting social contacts directly to participation in a collective purpose. Women have often been denied the opportunity to exchange expertise and ability with others as equals, however. They may see the equal exchange of opportunity for social contact as especially important in light of this history. It appears that social workers need to tailor their services to help women be seen as equals in their work activities and to help men develop more trust in their social contacts at work.

Implications of this exploratory research are limited to the population studied, older union workers in a northern, industrial city. Further work is needed to determine if results are similar for younger and nonunionized workers and those in other localities. Also, the efforts toward "fitting the model to the data" are atheoretical . Since they form the base of many of the implications discussed here, it is especially important that they be grounded in theory. Because of the relatively small size of the female subsample (n=57), replication with a larger sample is in order. Understood in the context of these limitations however, this exploratory research has supported some basic theoretical relationships and refined others relevant to how employment effects psychosocial well-being for men and women. It provides a starting point for developing theory based practice and further research on how social work can help men and women successfully address their specific needs to enhance psychosocial well-being in employment settings.

Appendix

Pretested scale items, grouped by concept area they measure, are as follow (numbers indicate order on questionnaire):

Activity with Others Scale
    1. During the last month, my activities with others have been so limited that I have often been bored.
    .....agree   .....disagree
    20. Most of the time, I have been busy doing something with other people during the last month.
    .....agree   .....disagree
    2. My days have been full of things to do with other people during the last month.
    .....agree   .....disagree
    21. During the last month, I have enjoyed spending alot of time with my friends.
    .....agree   .....disagree

Equality with Others Scale
    3. Equality is just an idea, I don't really have the same chance to succeed as other people do.
    .....agree   .....disagree
    10. I have just as good a chance as the next person to make it to the top in the kind of work I do.
    .....agree   .....disagree
    4. Even though I may go through some harder times than other people, things even out in the end.
    .....agree   .....disagree
    22. In the long run, the world is basically fair.
    .....agree   .....disagree
    23. You usually get what is coming to you based on how hard you try.
    .....agree   .....disagree
    24. I have just as good a chance as the next person to make alot of money at what I do.
    .....agree   .....disagree
    11. Most people are too busy to help a person when he (sic) is down.
    .....agree   .....disagree
    25. Who you know in life is more important than what you know.
    .....agree   .....disagree

Opportunity for Social Contact Scale
    12. I have had as much of a chance to meet new people during the last month as I ever had.
    .....agree   .....disagree

5. During the last three months, I went on or made plans for a vacation where I had a chance to meet people.

.....agree   .....disagree

13. During the last month, I have been invited to at least two events where I could meet other people.

.....agree   .....disagree

26. During the last month, I have not had enough money to go out with my friends like I used to.

.....agree   .....disagree

6. During the last month, I have not been able to afford the same kind of recreation with other people I used to enjoy.

.....agree   .....disagree

7. I used to "treat" others just for fun or on special occasions, but during the last month, I have not been able to afford it.

.....agree   .....disagree

14. During the last month, there has been enough money in my budget to go out and have fun with others.

.....agree   .....disagree

32. I don't worry about having things to do because I always seem to have the chance to go out with friends.

.....agree   .....disagree

Social Contact Scale

8. During the last month, in general, I have talked things over with my friends less than I used to.

.....agree   .....disagree

27. During the last month, I have shared alot of my time with my friends like they have with me.

.....agree   .....disagree

9. During the last month, most of the time I have been alone rather than doing things with my friends.

.....agree   .....disagree

15. During the last month, my friends and I have spent alot (sic) of time helping each other out.

.....agree   .....disagree

Norm Development Scale

16. My life is not much different than the life of most people I know.

.....agree   .....disagree

28. I seem to be different than other people I know.

.....agree   .....disagree

29. Things have changed so much for me recently that I don't know that to expect next.

.....agree   .....disagree

17. I sometimes wonder what people expect from me.

.....agree   .....disagree

Norm Formalization Scale

18. During the past month, I have been able to count on my friends to let me know when I have been "getting out of line."

.....agree   .....disagree

30. During the last month, if I needed some good advice, I could get it from my friends.

.....agree   .....disagree

19. During the last month, I have been able to work with other people on goals I want to achieve and to make progress on my goals.

.....agree   .....disagree

31. During the last month, I have had trouble fitting in with the usual things people do.

.....agree   .....disagree

References

Alwin, D. F., & Hauser, R. M. (1975). The Decomposition of effects in path analysis. *American Sociological Review, 40, 37–47.*

Argyle, M. (1969). *Social interaction.* London: Methuen & Co.

Aron, R. (1968). *Progress and disillusion: The dialectics of modern society.* NY: Praeger.

Asher, H. B. (1976). *Causal modeling.* Beverly Hills: Sage.

Beechy, V. (1987). *Unequal work.* London: Verso.

Blau, P. M. (1964). *Exchange and power in social life.* NY: John Wiley & Sons.

Blau, P. M. (1977). *Inequality and heterogeneity.* NY: The Free Press.

de Beauvoir, S. (1953). *The second sex.* New York: Knopf.

Ellwood, D. (1988). *Poor support: Poverty in the American family.* New York: Basic Books.

Emerson, R. M. (1976). *Social exchange theory.* Annual Reviews Inc., 335–362.

Gibb, C. A. (1969). Leadership, In G. Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology (pp. 205–282).* Reading, MA: Addison Wesley.

Hawkins, D. (1977). *The Science and ethics of equality.* NY: Basic Books.

Hewes, T. (1959). *The American ideal and key to world peace.* Pittsfield, MA: The Ben Franklin Press.

Holland, T. P., Konick, A., Buffum, W., Smith, M. K., & Petchers, M. (1981). Institutional structure and resident outcomes. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 22, 4, 433–444.*

Hollingshead, A. B., & Redlich, F. C. (1958). *Social class and mental illness.* NY: John Wiley.

Homans, G. C. (1950). *The human group.* NY: Harcourt Brace.

Homans, G. C. (1961). *Social behavior: Its elementary forms.* NY: Harcourt, Brace.

Jahoda, M. (1982). *Employment and unemployment: A social-psychological analysis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Katz, M. (1986). *In the shadow of the poorhouse: A social history of welfare in America.* NY: Basic Books.

Land, K. C. (1969). Principles of path analysis. In E. F. Gorgatta (Ed.), *Sociological methodology (pp. 3–37)*. San Francisco: Jossey- Bass.

Lekachman, R. (1987). *Visions and nightmares: America after Reagan*. NY: Macmillan.

Mead, L. M. (1986). Beyond entitlement: The social obligations of citizenship. NY: The Free Press.

Nunnally, J. C. (1978). *Psychometric theory*. NY: McGraw-Hill.

Ouchi, W. B. (1981). *Theory z: How American business can meet the Japanese challenge*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Peters, T. J. & Waterman, R. H. (1982). *In search of excellence: Lesons from America's best run companies*. NY: Warner Books.

Rawls, J. (1971). *A theory of justice*. Cambridge, MA: The Harvard University Press.

Rosen, E. I. (1987). *Bitter choices: Blue collar women in and out of work*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Shaffer, L. S. (1983). Towards Pepitone's vision of a normative social psychology: What is a social norm? *The Journal of Mind and Behavior, 4* (2), 275–294.

Turner, J. H. (1982). *The structure of sociological theory*. Homewood, IL: The Dover Press.

Ullman, M. E. (1977). *The emergence of norms*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Van Fossen, B. E. (1979). *The structure of social inequality*. Boston: Little Brown.

Vernon, G. M. (1965). *Human interaction: An introduction to sociology*. NY: The Ronald Press.

Zaleznick, A. & Moment, D. (1964). *The dynamics of interpersonal behavior*. NY: John Wiley.