INDICES OF CHANGE IN THE TRANSFORMATION

OF A LOW STATUS OCCUPATION

Ву

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1960

Submitted to the faculty of the Graduate School of the Oklahoma State University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF SCIENCE August, 1965

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PREFACE

There is a strong movement on the part of many occupations today to alter their status to that of profession. The purpose of this study is to present some indices of change in the transformation of cosmetology, an occupational group currently seeking to become professionalized.

The author wishes to express her appreciation to Drs. Gerald R. Leslie, Solomon Sutker, and Barry A. Kinsey for their invaluable assistance in preparing this thesis. Sincere thanks is due also to Dr. Richard F. Larson for his suggestions in the statistical computations and to Mrs. Diane Celarier for the typing of this thesis.

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INTRODUCTION

This study presents some indices of change in the transformation of a low-status occupation. This is done within the context of the process of professionalization of occupations and consideration of the experience of traditional, borderline, and questionable professions.

In presenting this study the following outline will be used. First there will be a discussion of the development of professions in the United States and a comparison of traditional, borderline, and questionable professions. A discussion will then follow of the nature of professions and the various criteria propounded for distinguishing an occupation as a profession. A case will be developed, using cosmetology, to show the extent to which an occupation fits or does not fit the model of professionalism.

CHAPTER I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROFESSIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

There is a tendency today to talk of the "professionalization" of many occupations, and in truth, there is a strong movement on the part of many occupations to alter their status to that of profession. This thesis deals with some aspects of the professionalization of occupations and presents data from cosmetology, an occupational group currently seeking to become professionalized.

The assumption that any occupation naturally evolves into a profession is fallacious. Very few of the thousands of occupations in modern society will attain professional status. Wilensky¹ estimates there are only thirty to forty occupations which are fully professionalized. Since the late Middle Ages, law, theology, and medicine have been established. By the early 1900's dentistry, architecture, and some areas of engineering were professionalized. Later came certified public accounting. Those occupations involved in the process today include social work, correctional work, veterinary medicine, and various managerial jobs for nonprofit organizations. In addition to these, there are certain borderline professions, such as librarianship, nursing, and pharmacy. Finally, there are those occupations with such a market orientation, (for example, funeral directing and advertising), that are considered professions by no one but themselves.²

A. Evolution of the Traditional Professions

The earliest instance of the use of the term "profession" was in the Oxford English Dictionary in 1591, where it was defined as "a vocation in which a professed knowledge of some department of learning or science is used in its application to the affairs of others or in the practice of an art founded upon it."³ Traditionally, the three established professions have been medicine, law, and theology. Even though in the ancient world every society had its priests, lawyers, and physicians, they had not received any formal training, nor had they formed distinct social groups or vocational associations. Modern professionalism emerged with the rise of the universities in European medieval times. Since religion was so powerful, the universities came under the dominance of the church. Within the universities were the Faculty of Arts, and the Three Superior Faculties of Theology, Law, and Medicine. As religion lessened in importance in the Middle Ages, the professions emerged from the church and became organized. These professions were unique in that they alone made the transition from the protection of the cloister to the protection of the community.4

<u>Medicine</u>. A small number of physicians holding the M. D. degree came to the early settlements in the United States. More common in the colonies, however, were those who had secured some sort of practical training--maybe as an apprentice or in a hospital. Few European physicians came to the colonies, and as the American economy expanded, students would go abroad and return as first-class medical men. In 1730 it was estimated that of the 3,500 established practitioners in the colonies only five per cent held degrees.

Efforts to raise requirements for practitioners characterized the American professional medical history from 1760 to 1910. The first English-American hospital was founded in Philadelphia in 1751, and was set up under voluntary auspices and governed by a private board. The first American medical school was established within the College of Philadelphia in 1765 and was an immediate success.

The first state medical society was organized in New Jersey in 1766, and by 1815 nearly all states possessed them. The goal of these societies was to set better-qualified practitioners apart from others by licensing provisions and to seek a voluntary regulation of competition. The excessive competition of this time was very damaging to the image of the profession. Codes based on Thomas Percival's <u>Medical Ethics</u> were published in the United States in the 1820's and similar ones were subsequently adopted by various medical societies.

During this time it was assumed that most candidates for a license would not be medical graduates; therefore, regulations concerning apprenticeship as well as examinations were provided. New York, in 1792, required that candidates lacking a college education must serve an apprenticeship of three years with a reputable practitioner. It is difficult to determine how effective these apprenticeship regulations were.

Before 1790 few professional leaders published in professional journals. One reason for this was the availability of British publications. The scientific tempo increased after 1810, however, and there was an increase in medical publications. In 1812 two journals were founded which still exist today.

The first two decades of the nineteenth century were optimistic ones in the medical field. However, the rest of the century was filled with

disillusionment. Among the difficulties encountered were political tensions between the North and the South, a loss of faith in internal medicine, and the difficulty of maintaining training standards. Also, the rise in sectarianism and quackery reached its peak in the 1850's and 1860's. The American Medical Association was organized in 1847 with the prime purpose of reforming medical education. The Johns Hopkins Medical School, formally opened in 1893, placed the study of medicine on a graduate basis by requiring a college degree for admission.⁵

American medicine progressed steadily and rapidly during the early years of the twentieth century. The medical schools improved and medical research assumed a higher stature. In 1901 the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research was founded, and in 1912 a member of the staff won the Nobel Prize in medicine, the first time the award crossed the Atlantic.

The career of the physician has been greatly affected by the research drive of this century. Many have become increasingly involved in fulltime investigation or laboratory work, often supported by long-term grants. A generation ago large numbers of American physicians went abroad for postgraduate work. Today the reverse is true. Most medical colleges give extensive post-graduate instruction.⁶

Law. There was no uniform growth of colonial law. Although state law resembles the law of England, it was not accepted without resistance. First of all was the dissatisfaction with some aspects of English justice; second was the lack of trained lawyers which retarded the development of American law, and third was the disparity of conditions in the two lands.

During the seventeenth century the justice which was administered in the colonies was often lacking in technicalities and was sometimes

based on a general sense of right or wrong.

The beginning of the eighteenth century saw considerable refinement of colonial law and an increase in the influence of English case law. With the growth of trade in 1700, the ranks of trained lawyers grew. Some of the lawyers were English immigrants, while others were native lawyers who had studied in London or as apprentices in law offices in the colonies.

During the first part of the nineteenth century, agriculture and trade dominated the economy. From the westward expansion came law which grew out of local usages or needs. After the war there was a growth of large scale industry and the resulting complexities in the corporate form of organization. The creation of a stable system of law took on increased importance. The influence of English law in America is small today. Yet the fundamental approach is the same as English law.

Legal education reflects the diversity of the legal system. In spite of the variety in American law schools, there are two characteristics which distinguish them from other law schools in the world: their graduate level and professional objective, and the case method of instruction.

Until well past the middle of the nineteenth century, legal education was principally in the hands of the practitioners, and the accepted way of preparing for the bar was by "reading law." The present day American law school originated with the Harvard Law School in 1829. Law was taught on the assumption that the student had acquired a sufficient background in the liberal arts before he was admitted to law school. The American Bar Association was formed in 1878 for the improvement of legal education. By 1905 it required of its members the present minimum of three years of law study. By 1952 three years of college education was required as a prerequisite for admission to law school. Many students today have completed the four years necessary for a bachelor's degree.

The regulation of the legal profession is the concern of the states. Each state has its own requirements and most require two years of college and a law degree. Each administers its own examination, emphasizing its own law.

Today, the number of people admitted to practice is large. Out of every twenty attorneys, approximately fifteen are in private practice, two are employed by private business concerns, two are in government service, and one is a member of the teaching profession.⁷

<u>Theology</u>. The most obvious characteristic of the clergy in America is its diversity and its separation into many independent bodies. Most of this diversity comes from the transplantation of Christianity through immigration.

There was a great shift in the traditional idea of religion in the colonies. These denominations were primarily voluntary associations engaged in the transmitting of the Gospel. By the decade of the 1850's both the conception of the ministry and the life of the minister had changed to ways of thinking and doing that were different from anything previously known.

In the early days, all the churches began as local congregations whose ministers only later could be drawn into Presbyteries, Conventions, Conferences, or whatever their traditional policy called for. The minister was likely to be completely isolated from the status giving context of his church and was thrown into intimate contact with his congregation. Because the laity was in a position to wield power, the minister had to rely on political shrewdness. This political relationship tended to make the American minister very sensitive to and subservient to his parish.

There was no radical departure from the traditional view of Christians that the ministry is a vocation to which individuals are called. In order to guard the office, all the evangelical churches recognized the desirability of examining these things in the candidate: (1) authenticity of his religious experience; (2) acceptability of moral character; (3) genuineness of call; (4) correctness of his doctrine; (5) adequacy of his preparation. The differences among the denominations were on the relative emphasis to be placed on these.⁸ Ordination commonly took place when the minister received a call and was approved by the local congregation.

Generally, a measure of prestige was given to an individual entering the field. However, after 1800, ministers were recruited more and more from the lower economic and social strata of the society. Education Societies were formed to help worthy but needy young men to partake of theological training. In the period of rapid growth following independence, it became evident that a system of theological training would have to be developed to give candidates more adequate training. The establishment of professional schools in law and medicine gave further impetus to this movement. Between 1807 and 1827, seventeen permanent institutions had their beginnings.

Emphasis on the professional character of the ministry has increased during the last hundred years. Vigorous attempts to raise the standards of ministerial education and training have been made. Nevertheless most denominations still regard an authentic call as fundamental for entrance

to the ministry.

The university schools such as Yale, Harvard, and Chicago have become interdenominational in character. They have trained many men and women for ecumenical enterprises and other special types of ministry which do not fit readily into the traditional pattern of theological education. Meanwhile, the number of denominational seminaries has greatly increased during the past century.

There is today a large number of ministers who have received little or no professional training. It is difficult to raise the educational level because of a lack of qualified candidates, a strong tradition of lay control and a suspicion of education in many areas. Competition from other professions and occupations has become greater in the last century. At one time the ministry was at the top of the professions in terms of status. This is no longer the case.

<u>Dentistry</u>. Dentistry was the first full-time specialty in American medical practice. It broke off from the medical profession because of the latter's unwillingness to recognize specialization of any sort. During the 1830's some dentists were M. D.'s and some medical schools gave a little dental training. However, most medical schools did little in this field and the better educated and more ambitious dentists established schools, societies and journals of their own.⁹ In 1840 the first dental school, the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, the first national organization, the American Society of Dental Surgeons, and the first dental periodical in the world were founded in the United States. These developments took place in Baltimore and were followed by similar developments farther west. The Mississippi Valley Association of Dental Surgeons was organized in 1844 and the Ohio Dental College at Cincinnati was founded in 1845. The American Society of Dental Surgeons was dissolved in 1856 because of a difference of opinion as to the use of amalgam, a substance used to fill teeth. In 1860 a new association, the American Dental Association, was formed. Because of the Civil War, the Southern Association was organized as a separate body in 1869, but the two were reunited in 1897. In 1922 the National Dental Association became the American Dental Association.¹⁰

Between 1830 and 1860 there were pioneer colleges and efforts to standardize the licensing of graduates. By the very nature of their work dentists were in danger of being relegated to the level of technicians. Yet, by 1860 they had a better status in the United States than in Europe, and they represented the first medical field in which Americans attained pre-eminence.¹¹

Regulation of the practice of dentistry started as early as 1841, when Alabama made an unsuccessful attempt toward such regulation. State licensure was required in all the states in the Union by 1907. The National Board of Dental Examiners administers a written examination for dental graduates which is accepted in lieu of the state board's written examination in thirty-three of the states.¹²

<u>Architecture</u>. Architecture in the United States was influenced by Great Britain, France and Germany. During the nineteenth century most architects entered the profession via apprenticeship. However, the need for organized instruction became apparent, and the first American institution to offer architectural instruction was the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, established in 1868. The second American

institution to offer architectural instruction was the University of Illinois. Other institutions soon followed, and by 1898 there were seven other schools: Cornell University, Syracuse University, Columbia University, The University of Pennsylvania, George Washington University, Armour Institute of Technology, and Harvard University. Originally, the curricula of the architecture schools conformed to the normal four-year academic pattern, but in 1922 Cornell required a five-year program and by 1949 all accredited curricula were required to be this length.

During the 1930's and the early 1940's, depression and war greatly reduced enrollments in architecture, but by the late 1940's there were 11,000 students enrolled in sixty-six schools.

In 1912, the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture was formed. Its main function was to serve as an informal accrediting agency through standards of admission to its membership. In 1945, the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture joined the American Institute of Architects and the National Council of Architectural Registration Boards to create the National Architectural Accrediting Board. They issue an annual list of accredited schools, and graduates from accredited schools can qualify for registration much more readily than other applicants.

All graduates are required by registration law to serve as an employee of a practicing architect for a term, usually three years, before they are permitted to take the examination for registration.¹³

Engineering. Technical education was regarded with hostility by the classicists prior to 1860, but by 1880 education for the practical professions of life entered an era of tremendous development. In fact, the birth of engineering education coincided with the revolt against the classical tradition in American higher learning.

The first formally organized instruction in engineering was established at the United States Military Academy in 1817 to satisfy the need for officers qualified to construct military works. For more than ten years this was the only school to offer college-level engineering instruction. The American Literary, Scientific, and Military Academy was established in 1821 for the training of civilians. In 1824 the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute was founded to teach "sons and daughters of farmers and mechanics the application of science to agriculture, domestic economy, the arts and manufactures."¹⁴

Engineering education had its university origins in three of the strongest institutions in the United States: North Carolina, Harvard and Yale. At this time fewer than one out of four engineers were graduates of any college program. In fact, most practicing engineers denied the value of organized engineering education.¹⁵

The Morrill Act of 1862 had a great impact on engineering education. Within ten years the number of institutions offering engineering had increased to 72.

In 1893 the Society for the Promotion of Engineering Education was established; in 1946 it was reorganized and renamed the American Society for Engineering Education. The Engineers' Council for Professional Development was established in 1932 in order to advance scientific and engineering education for the promotion of public welfare through better educated engineers.

The National Science Foundation, established in 1950, has provided funds for research in engineering colleges and for scholarships and fellowships. Philanthropic foundations, such as the Carnegie Corporation

and the Ford Foundation, have supported engineering colleges with grants totaling many millions of dollars.

Engineering is the largest profession for men. In the mid-1960's, the number of engineers in the United States had passed the 900,000 mark. Most engineers specialize in one of the branches of the profession, the three largest being civil engineering, mechanical engineering, and electrical engineering. About 75 per cent of all engineers are employed in private industry.¹⁶

B. Some Borderline Professions

Pharmacy is an occupation which is today marginal to business and profession. Its early development in the colonies went hand in hand with the development of medicine, which was practiced to a large extent by housewives. The early medical practitioners dispensed their own medicine but by the first decades of the eighteenth century there were a considerable number of drugstores in North America. These drugstores -- whether operated by physician-pharmacists, trained pharmacists, or self-styled ones--did not restrict themselves to the sale of drugs but dealt in every possible commodity. Before the Revolutionary War and for some time after, American pharmacy showed little scientific life of its own. Three groups of people were in the field: those who had served a lengthy apprenticeship with a medical practitioner, those who had trained as apothecaries, and storekeepers without any special pharmaceutical training. Kremers and Urdang¹⁷ point out that nonprofessional medicine was responsible for the development of American pharmacy as an independent calling, for the people who created pharmacy came from the wholesale drug field.

Early laws in Louisiana (1808, 1816) and South Carolina (1817)

established the principle of examination and licensure as prerequisites for the practice of pharmacy. However, most of the earlier attempts at the regulation of pharmaceutical practice failed, and for a long time regulation was left to self-discipline and initiative by the individual and by associations. The first associations were formed because of outer pressures, such as those from the medical profession, more than from the professional enthusiasm of member druggists.

In 1821 the "College of Apothecaries" was established as an association, and the year later changed its name to "Philadelphia College of Pharmacy." This change was made with the intent of placing the new corporation on the same footing with its medical sister, the Philadelphia College of Physicians. Soon honorary members were appointed, and the college considered itself on a par with other professional societies.

The leaders of the college founded the first American pharmaceutical journal in 1825 to disperse current scientific information. In 1852, the American Pharmaceutical Association was formed by the colleges of pharmacy to promote the concept of professional pharmacy on a larger scale. A Code of Ethics was adopted, but it quickly disappeared from the literature of the association until its modified revival in 1922. Other pharmaceutical associations in the United States have been specialized outgrowths of the American Pharmaceutical Association.

The first state supported school to produce graduates in pharmacy was the Medical College of South Carolina (1867). The movement for higher and more uniform educational standards began around 1900, and by 1932, all schools in good standing with the American Association of Colleges of Pharmacy had adopted a four-year course beyond high school as the minimum requirement. Today, the minimum requirement is a five-year

pharmacy curriculum. These programs require university courses in mathematics, chemistry, biology, and related sciences.

McCormack feels that the factor which primarily distinguishes pharmacy as marginal is its "incorporation of the conflicting goals of business and profession."¹⁸ Because of the overlapping of business and professional demands, the service objectives of a profession are at odds with the pecuniary goals of a business. Indications are that the marginality which now exists may be prolonged, for it is those from low-income groups who find it easier to adjust to the role of salaried professionals and these may be the very ones excluded as the required professional training is lengthened.

<u>Nursing</u>. Nursing is an occupation which is experiencing a period of rapid transition in training requirements and in the type of instruction offered. Medicine and nursing had independent origins and existed for many centuries without much contact. During the Middle Ages, nursing was carried out by religious or military groups, or by uneducated or untrained women. With the advent of increased medical knowledge, demands on the individual doctor grew and the need arose for the modern nurse. Closely connected with the evolution of modern nursing in the United States is the Industrial Revolution, evolution of modern medicine and the modern hospital, and the emancipation of women.

Nursing became a full-time occupation by the seventeenth century. In 1833, the "Institute of Deaconesses" was founded and it was here that Miss Nightingale received her formal education. The first modern schools of nursing were supported by committees of women; however, because of economic problems they were gradually taken over by hospitals. While

schools of nursing have developed as educational institutions, they have not been supported or administered by educational institutions. Pressures for the improvement of nursing schools came in the 1930's and 1940's as scientific advances were made and the complexity of the nursing services increased. Most nursing schools, however, continued under hospital control and operated on a sub-professional level. During World War II women nurses received commissions in the military services, and this gave a lift to their prestige. But after the war the relative number of nurses declined because of the low level of salaries and the fact that other vocations offered more freedom and a better future. In seeking to overcome this, hospitals resorted to "grey ladies" and practical nurses. This shortage opened up debate on the whole place of nursing in American society and the educational needs of nursing. Professional nursing made some headway by this, and many good hospital schools decided to establish contacts with universities. By 1946, ninety-one had done so. In these schools a student can receive all the usual nursing training and also secure a bachelor's degree in five years. Students may also become nurses via the diploma school or the two-year junior college program.

The earliest American nurses' association was the Philomena Society, formed in New York in 1886. However, this association lasted only a year. Other associations sprang up, and today the two major national organizations of professional nursing are the American Nurses' Association and the National League for Nursing. One of the major duties of the National League for Nursing is to grade and evaluate the state board examinations for nurses.

The fact that nursing has been primarily an occupation for women may

have tended to lower its status. Shryock¹⁹ points out that while nursing on the upper levels has improved over the last several decades, it is still a field in flux. Progress has been retarded at many points by medical skepticism, vested interests of the hospitals, and a social tradition which has long placed nursing little above the servant level. He feels that the extent to which the upper levels of nursing can attain full professional status is not clear today, but there is no doubt that nursing has been moving toward professional status and may move further in the future.

<u>Library Science</u>. Librarians are among those occupational groups seeking professional status. Data from the 1950 Census show librarianship to be one of the faster growing occupations.²⁰

Public libraries can be traced directly from the early college, semiprivate, and subscription libraries to the popular institution of the present day. Two significant dates for American librarianship are 1854, when the Boston Public Library opened, and 1876, the formation of the American Library Association.²¹

The first library school was opened at Columbia University in 1887, and education for librarianship has been in ferment since.²² There is little agreement about what librarians should know, resulting mainly from the diversity of work a librarian can do in the many different types of libraries. In the post-World War II period, two major developments have taken place in library education. One is the type of degree awarded for library education, and the other is the increase in the number of institutions offering courses in the field. Before 1948, the library student at most accredited library schools received an additional

bachelor's degree for a fifth year of study in the professional field. Beginning in 1948, the program was modified to provide for a master's degree after the fifth year of college work. The other development stems from the fact that almost six hundred colleges and universities offer courses in library science, most of which are on the undergraduate level. This increase has been of concern to the American Library Association because of their stated principle that the professional program takes a minimum of five years. Most educators feel that the undergraduate program is downgrading professional training. In 1959, the American Library Association adopted standards for the undergraduate program with the hope of improving quality.

The American Library Association has set up standards for positions in libraries of different size, but these standards are not mandatory. Many small libraries are so poorly financed that they cannot employ trained librarians. Formerly, libraries met this situation through local training or apprentice classes, but today this procedure is out of favor.

Although the occupation of librarian has risen in income over the past twenty years and librarians have more formal education, Goode²³ asserts that the occupation of librarian will not become fully profession-alized. However, this is not to say it won't move further in that direction.

C. Some Questionable Professions

<u>Funeral Directing</u>. By the close of the nineteenth century, the undertaker had moved from the furnisher of goods and paraphernalia in the direction of becoming a seller of personal services.²⁴

The first formal organization of undertakers was formed in Philadelphia

in 1864. During the period 1865 - 1880, undertakers formed associations for the purposes of mutual protection and setting of preliminary standards for the operation of their trade. In 1882, at the first national convention, the organization was named "The Funeral Directors' National Association of the United States," emphasizing the term "funeral director" instead of "undertaker." A Code of Ethics was established in 1884, patterned after other codes of the times which emphasized secrecy, delicacy, and high moral principles.

By 1900, some of the problems facing funeral directors centered around the processes, equipment, and materials available for use, and the lack of a firm, universal definition of what constituted proper training. There was also a lack of state laws for licensing.

The early embalming schools consisted of a team of demonstrators who would tour from city to city, holding sessions of about three or four days. School diplomas were granted at the end of these sessions. Courses at the more reputable schools lasted about four weeks. The first university school was established in 1914, and in 1934 the nine months' course was originated. Also, in 1934, a commission was set up to develop examinations, to be used by state boards, and to distribute and grade these for a stipulated charge. Presently the course ranges from nine months to one year, depending on the requirements of the individual states. Entrance to the vocation of funeral directing and embalming is controlled by state boards in all states.

Discussion has raged for many years in funeral circles around the question of "professionalism" versus a "trade" business status of funeral directors. However, within the society at large, few people acknowledge there is even a question involved. Mitford²⁵ reports that, in 1959,

the Commission on Mortuary Education proposed that the terms "funeral director" and "embalmer" should be replaced by the single title "funeral service practitioner." Caplow,²⁶ in pointing out that pretentiousness in occupational titles is often a device to prevent misidentification and to escape an unfavorable stereotype, cites the case of funeral directors.

Today there are many trade association with funeral directors many times belonging to several at the same time. However, the largest and most influential of these associations is the National Funeral Directors' Association. Throughout its history it has acted to boost the educational requirements for the licensing of embalmers.

<u>Advertising</u>. Another questionable profession is advertising, whose image has suffered because earlier the buying public was regarded chiefly as a source from which money could be drawn by misleading and false statements about articles of merchandise.

The development of advertising in this country has followed the development of the American newspaper, magazine, and other periodicals. Advertising became a full-time occupation in the 1840's, when the first advertising agents began business.²⁷ However, for about fifty years the function of the advertising agent was simply to buy space and make sure that the advertisement appeared as ordered. Only if it were requested would he look after the composition and electro-typing of the advertiser's copy. The transition from mere space selling to a service that covered every phase of the advertiser's campaign began around 1890. With full responsibility for the campaign, specialists developed and the copy man gravitated to the agency.

By 1893, the total expenditure for newspaper advertising was estimated

at \$100,000,000 and political economists were calling advertising a waste. Organized advertising came into being in 1896, with the establishment of the Agate Club and the Sphinx Club to promote a clearer understanding of the problems of advertising and the betterment of advertising. The publication of a book on the psychology of advertising in 1903 was the beginning of the development of a vocabulary of advertising.

The early part of the twentieth century saw much concern about honesty in advertising, and, in 1913, seventeen states introduced laws forbidding fraudulent advertising. Another move for greater honesty, this time internal, was the establishment of the Audit Bureau of Circulations in 1914.

There are no state licenses required for advertising. An agency can consist of one man with a typewriter or can be a large concern, employing many writers, copy men, secretaries, and so on. The Census of Business in 1954 reported around 5,000 advertising agencies in the United States.²⁸

D. The Trend Toward Professionalization of Occupations

There appears to be a relationship between the degree of industrialization and the amount of professionalization in a society. In the United States there has been an increase in the proportion of the labor force in the white collar occupations and an increase in the number of occupations trying to achieve professional status. In 1870, there were 859 professionals per 100,000 population; the corresponding number in 1961 was 4,535.²⁹ Today, representatives from almost every white-collar occupation claim professional status.

Carr-Saunders explains the multiplication of professions during the

last 150 years in terms of the mechanical and scientific revolution and the subsequent social revolution which brought a demand for intellectual specialists.³⁰ Caplow states that virtually all non-routine white collar functions are in the process of being professionalized to some extent; also many personal service functionaries such as barbers and taxi drivers are involved in this process.³¹ Common today is the tendency to label what is happening among newspaper reporters (journalists), real estate agents (realtors), undertakers (funeral directors) and laboratory technicians (medical technologists) as "professionalization."

There seems to be a certain sequence of events that occupations go through in their drive to achieve professional status. Everett Hughes pictures a "natural history" of professionalism;³² Caplow sees a series of steps to professionalization.³³ Wilensky summarized the social history of eighteen occupations and confirms the idea that there is a "typical sequence of events."³⁴

The first step is to start doing full time the thing that needs doing. Of necessity, at this stage, many practitioners are recruited from other occupations.

Next comes the establishment of a training school. The first teachers are either the leaders of a new movement or the champions of some new technique, or both. If these training schools don't originate within a university, they eventually seek contact with a university. There is an expansion of the base of knowledge by a steady development of academic degrees and research programs. Another inevitable accompaniment is a corps of people who teach rather than practice; and as standards become higher, the length and cost of training becomes higher. This forces

earlier commitment among recruits.

A professional association then emerges made up of those who have pushed for prescribed training and the first recruits to go through it. At this time such issues as whether the occupation is a profession, what the professional tasks are, and how to raise the quality of recruits receive prime focus. The name of the occupation also may be changed. The function this change in name serves is to reduce identification with the previous, less professional, occupation.

At this time, there is a drive to separate the competent from the incompetent, which leads to further definition of essential professional tasks. From this definition of core tasks a pecking order emerges, in which those higher up delegate their less attractive, less technical work to those who have lesser training. Conflict, both internal and external, now enters the picture. The internal conflict is between the home guard who have learned the hard way (old experience) and the newcomers who are labeled as upstarts (new training). The external conflict takes the form of severe competition with neighboring occupations.

Support of the law for the protection of job territory and formulation of a code of ethics is the next step in professionalization. This turn toward legal regulation may come from the members of the occupation who feel it will enhance their status or protect jobs, or it may be forced on the occupation in order to protect the layman. The formal code of ethics evolves to eliminate the unqualified and unscrupulous, to reduce internal competition, and to protect clients and emphasize the service ideal.

Many occupations today are involved in some step in this sequence

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of events. In their status striving, though, they may deviate from the order set down. For example, the marginal professions often adopt a new title or code of ethics or set up paper organization on a national level before their technical base has been formed. Also, the new professions are making contacts with universities earlier in their careers.

Each of the major professions is engaged in a struggle against the intruders who are assuming its titles. Goode speaks of professionalization as the "climax job pattern" of the occupational environment, with the processes of succession being composed of many small "encroachments, attacks and retreats, and absorptions."³⁵ When a new occupation claims it can solve a problem formerly solved by another, it is charging incompetence and the countercharge is encroachment.

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FOOTNOTES

¹Harold L. Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?" <u>The</u> <u>American Journal of Sociology</u>, LXX (1964), p. 141.

²Ibid.

³A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson, "The Emergence of Professions," <u>Man, Work and Society</u>, ed. Sigmund Nosow and William H. Form (New York, 1962), p. 199.

⁴Ibid. p. 202.

⁵Richard H. Shryock, <u>Medicine and Society in America: 1660 - 1860</u> (New York, 1960).

⁶Ralph N. Major, "American Medicine in the World Today: An Historical Perspective and Reappraisal," <u>History of American Medicine</u>, ed. Felix Marti-Ibanez (New York, 1959), p. 173.

⁽Allan Farnsworth, <u>An Introduction to the Legal System of the United</u> States (New York, 1963), p. 25.

⁸H. Richard Niebuhr and Daniel D. Williams, eds., <u>The Ministry in</u> <u>Historical Perspective</u> (New York, 1956), p. 231.

⁹Shryock, <u>Medicine and Society in America: 1660 - 1860</u>, p. 175.

¹⁰George B. Denton, "Dentistry," <u>Encyclopedia Americana</u> (New York, 1964), IV, pp. 690-697a.

¹¹Shryock, <u>Medicine and Society in America: 1660 - 1860</u>, p. 180.

¹²Denton, p. 697a.

¹³Turpin C. Bannister, "Architecture," <u>Encyclopedia Americana</u> (New York, 1964), I, pp. 182-185.

¹⁴Kenneth K. Landes, "Engineering," <u>Colliers' Encyclopedia</u> (New York, 1965), IX, p. 147.

¹⁵Thorndike Saville, "Engineering," <u>Encyclopedia Americana</u> (New York, 1964), V, p. 346.

¹⁶James K. Finch, "Engineering," <u>Encyclopedia International</u> (New York, 1963), VI, pp. 437-443.

17 <u>Kremers and Urdang's History of Pharmacy</u>, rev. by Glenn Sonnedeckers (Philadelphia, 1963), p. 177.

¹⁸Thelma Herman McCormack, "The Druggists' Dilemma: Problems of a Marginal Occupation," <u>American Journal of Sociology</u>, LXI (1956), pp. 308-315.

¹⁹Richard H. Shryock, <u>The History of Nursing</u> (Philadelphia, 1959), pp. 317-318.

²⁰William J. Goode, "The Librarian: From Occupation to Profession?" <u>Library Quarterly</u>, XXXI (1961), p. 306.

²¹Ernestine Rose, <u>The Public Library in American Life</u> (New York, 1954), p. 20.

²²Louis Shores, "Library Science," <u>Colliers' Encyclopedia</u> (New York, 1965), XIV, p. 570.

²³Goode, "The Librarian: From Occupation to Profession?" p. 317.

²⁴Robert W. Habenstein and William M. Lamers, <u>The History of Funeral</u> <u>Directing</u> (Wisconsin, 1955), p. 131.

²⁵Jessica Mitford, The American Way of Death (New York, 1963), p. 229.

²⁶Theodore Caplow, <u>Sociology of Work</u> (Minneapolis, 1954), p. 135.

²⁷Frank S. Presbrey, <u>The History and Development of Advertising</u> (New York, 1929), p. 29.

²⁸Ibid., p. 189.

²⁹Goode, "The Librarian: From Occupation to Profession?" p. 306.

³⁰Carr-Saunders and Wilson, p. 202.

31 Caplow, p. 88.

³²E. C. Hughes, <u>Men And Their Work</u> (Glencoe, 1958), pp. 133-137.

³³Caplow, pp. 139-140.

³⁴Wilensky, pp. 141-146.

³⁵William J. Goode, "Encroachment, Charlatanism, and the Emerging Profession: Psychology, Sociology, and Medicine," <u>American Sociological</u> <u>Review</u>, XXV (1960), p. 902.

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CHAPTER II

THE NATURE OF PROFESSIONS

In order to analyze the success of an occupation's claim to professional status, the main determinants of a profession must first be examined. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the nature of professions and to arrive at a satisfactory criteric of professionalism, so that the developments can be analyzed. The occupation to be used, cosmetology, can be identified as to whether it has any of the attributes of a profession.

A. Various Criteria Propounded

In general, professionalization implies the transformation of some lower status occupation into a vocation with the attributes of a profession. However, within the sociological literature there is some variance in the criteria used to define a profession. Greenwood,¹ in discussing five attributes of a profession, suggests that the difference between professional and non-professional occupations is quantitative, the non-professional occupations possessing the same attributes but to a lesser degree. To support his argument that labor is becoming professionalized, Foote² sets down three criteria for defining a profession. Wilensky³ feels that the label "professional" is loosely applied today and suggests the traditional model of professionalism should be used. Goode⁴ believes there are two sociologically central traits of professions.

These several conceptions will be discussed in an effort to develop a satisfactory framework for this study.

<u>Greenwood's Conception</u>. After reviewing the literature, Greenwood concluded that five attributes distinguish a professional occupation from a non-professional one. They are: (1) a systematic body of theory; (2) professional authority; (3) sanction of the community; (4) a regulative code of ethics; and (5) a professional culture.

1. It is assumed that at the base of the professional's performance is a good deal of skill. The element of skill <u>per se</u>, though, is not the distinguishing factor because many nonprofessional occupations involve a much higher degree of skill. However, the professional's skill has been organized into a systematic body of theory, the acquisition of which comes through formal education in a professional school, usually one affiliated with a university. There is an orientation of rationality that encourages a critical attitude toward the theoretical system. This creates group self-criticism and theoretical controversy, thereby producing an intellectually stimulating environment very much different from that of a nonprofessional occupation. The theory which provides the basis for professional techniques must come from scientific research.

2. Professional authority is achieved as a result of extensive education in the systematic theory. The non-professional occupation has customers who determine what services they want and judge the potential of the service to satisfy them. The professional occupation has clients, who because of their lack of theoretical background, are at the mercy of the professional. Because the client is unable to evaluate the service he receives, the professional has a monopoly of judgment. However, this

authority is confined to those areas within which the professional has been educated.

3. The community grants certain powers and privileges to the professional group, both formal and informal. One of these powers is the control the profession has over its training centers through the granting or withholding of accreditation. This way the profession can regulate the number, location and curriculum content of its schools. The profession can also control the admission into it in two ways: by persuading the community that professional titles should be given only by an accredited professional school, and by the institution of a licensing system. One of the most important privileges granted the profession is that of confidentiality. Another is the immunity from community judgment on technical matters peculiar to the professionals. Together these powers and privileges constitute a monopoly granted by the community to the professional group. The acquisition of this monopoly is one of the first things an occupation wants as it strives toward professional status. It is also one of the hardest things to obtain, because counterforces within the community resist strongly the profession's claim to authority.

4. A built-in regulative code of ethics, both formal and informal, protects the community from the hazards of the profession's monopoly. The formal code is the written one sworn upon by the professional as he is admitted to practice; the informal is the unwritten code. While nonprofessional occupations have regulative codes, the professional code has more altruistic overtones and is more public-service oriented. The professional must be universalistic in his relations with his clients, while a non-professional may be particularistic in his relations with his customers. The ethics concerning colleague relationships demand cooperation, in that any advance in theory and practice made by one professional is dispersed to others through the professional associations. In their relations with their colleagues, professionals must be equalitarian and supportive of one another. The profession enforces the observance of its ethical code both informally and formally. The informal discipline consists of that which colleagues force upon one another; the formal discipline is exercised by the professional associations which possess the power to censure.

5. According to Greenwood, the attribute that most clearly distinguishes the professions from other occupations is the professional culture, consisting of its values, norms and symbols. The social values are the basic beliefs; foremost among these is belief in the essential worth of the service performed. Other values include the concepts of professional authority and monopoly and the value of rationality. The professional norms are the guides to behavior covering every standard interpersonal situation that might occur in professional life. (For example, seeking admittance into the profession, progressing within the hierarchial structure, relating to peers, and acquiring clients). The symbols include such things as the emblems and the history of the profession. Central to the professional culture is the career concept, an attitude toward work as a calling. Professional work is never viewed as a means to an end, for theoretically the professional performs his services primarily for the psychic satisfactions and secondarily for the monetary compensation. The novice in a profession goes through an acculturation process whereby he internalizes the professional culture. Although innovation in theory is encouraged, deviation from the social values and

norms is discouraged.

<u>Foote's Conception</u>. One of the protagonists of the idea that labor is becoming professionalized is Nelson Foote, who in his arguments sets down the following criteria, the possession of which constitutes an occupation as a profession: (1) a specialized technique supported by a body of theory; (2) a career supported by an association of colleagues; and (3) a status supported by community recognition.

1. The basis for professional authority comes from a specialized technique which is supported by a body of theory. As an occupation moves toward professionalization, likenesses in certain processes become recognized, published and standardized around the world. Improvements in the process depend upon research and experimentation requiring a basic scientific theory. In addition to involving a specialized technique, manual jobs are increasingly involving transferable skills.

2. The second essential of professionalism is that the careers are regulated and supported by a colleague group. In labor today, unions are trying to assure every man a stable career by demanding seniority in promotions (like the system of rank and pay of the professor) and a continuous income (salaried status).

3. The third criterion comes under the heading of ideology. A profession is characterized by a code of ethics supported by public trust. Foote expands this criterion to include the set of work rules and standards enforced by grievance procedures and arbitration under union contract in labor.

In refuting Foote's criteria for professionalization, Wilensky offers the following rebuttals.

Specialization is not a basis for professional authority. A high degree of specialization can be found at every skill level, whether the job is one which can be done by almost anyone or only by the trained. Also, the link between manual work and theory is tenuous. Transferability of skills is not necessarily a criterion for professionalization since many times it is absent in the established professions. For example, professionals have skills which are bound to a particular organization; their knowledge concerns the procedures unique to that organization.

Foote's second criterion on professionalization (careers regulated and supported by a colleague group) included such items as salaried status and stable attachment to the firm. Wilensky points out that if salaried status were a criterion of professionalism, the fee-taking doctor would have to be called non-professional and his office clerk, professional. Also, if stable attachment to the enterprise were a criterion, there necessarily would be a decline in colleague control.

A set of work rules is not acceptable as constituting a code of ethics supported by public trust, for these rules are overwhelmingly concerned with the protection of the employees rather than the public.

<u>Wilensky's Conception</u>. After dismissing specialization, transferability of skill, stability of employment or attachment to the firm and the existence of work rules as defining a profession, Wilensky offers a two-fold criterion of distinction: "(1) The job of the professional is technical--based on systematic knowledge or doctrine acquired only through long prescribed training; and (2) the professional man adheres to a set of professional norms.⁵

1. Technical knowledge does not mean scientific knowledge, for both scientific and non-scientific systems of thought can serve as a technical base for professionalism. However, where there is widespread consensus regarding the knowledge to be applied, professional authority is more easily attained.

2. Technical knowledge is not enough, however, to claim professional authority. The craftsman can fulfill many of the requirements for professional status, such as a trade school education, an apprenticeship, membership in an occupational association and legal sanction for his practice. The central point on which the claim to professional status rests is the service ideal. These moral norms dictate that the practitioner do competent, high-quality work and, more important, that he be devoted to the client's interests more than to his personal interests or profit. This norm of selflessness operates at a higher rate in the professions because of the belief that they can offer superior service and also because the client is vulnerable; he needs the service of the professional and does not himself have the knowledge necessary to help himself. Supporting the service ideal is the impersonality, objectivity, and impartiality required of the professional in his relations with his clients.

Goode feels that even though debate on the precise definition of "profession" persists, a commendable unanimity exists. He, like Greenwood, feels that occupations should be thought of as falling somewhere along the continuum of professionalism. Another discussion of the criteria of professions appears in the article, "Is Social Work a Profession?" by Abraham Flexner.⁶

B. Conclusions On Satisfactory Criteria

Two criteria will be used in defining an occupation as a profession. One is a long period of specialized training in a body of abstract knowledge which culminates in exclusive technical competence and the other is adherence to a service ideal or set of professional norms. An occupation will be judged a profession to the degree that it can claim exclusive technical competence and by the extent to which it adheres to the service ideal and its supportive norms.

In regard to the first criterion, the knowledge on which the job of the professional is based can come from both scientific and non-scientific systems of thought. The success of the claim of professionalism is greatest where the society evidences strong consensus regarding the knowledge to be applied. The profession must not only possess this knowledge, it must also help to create it. The profession must be the final arbiter in any dispute about what is or is not valid knowledge.

The service orientation criterion means that the professional decision is not to be based on the self-interest of the professional, but on the need of the client. Devotion to the interests of the client more than commercial or personal profit should direct action when the two are in conflict. Only to the extent that the society believes the profession is regulated by this service orientation will it grant the profession freedom from lay control. The service ideal is the axis on which the claim to professional status rests.

The remainder of this thesis will be devoted to the analysis of cosmetology as an occupational group seeking to become professionalized. In this analyses, the two criteria discussed above will be utilized.

FOOTNOTES

¹Ernest Greenwood, "Attributes of a Profession," <u>Social Work,</u> II (1957), pp. 45-55.

² Nelson Foote, "The Professionalization of Labor in Detroit," <u>American Journal of Sociology</u>, LVIII (1953), pp. 371-380.

³Wilensky, p. 141.

⁴Goode, "Encroachment, Charlatanism, and the Emerging Profession: Psychology, Sociology, and Medicine," p. 905.

⁵Wilensky, p. 138.

6 Abraham Flexner, "Is Social Work a Profession?", <u>Social Foundations</u> of Education, ed. William O. Stanley, et. al. (New York, 1965), pp. 558-

CHAPTER III

COSMETOLOGY AS AN OCCUPATION

There is a dearth of literature on cosmetology as an occupation. The use of cosmetics dates back to about 5000 B. C. and the early Egyptians, although the finding of a sculpture of a woman's head with waved tresses among Paleolithic ruins indicates that hairstyling was not unknown in prehistoric times. While the field of cosmetics is very old, until recently there has been little effort to publish any scientific information on cosmetics. The only known sociological study of cosmetics in the English language is one in which cosmetic and grooming practices are analyzed.¹

As detailed in Chapter II, many occupations today are engaged in attempts to alter their status to that of profession. The purpose of this chapter is to examine cosmetology as an occupation currently involved in this process.

A. Descriptive Background on Cosmetology

Cosmetology as an occupation has not enjoyed a very high rank. In 1950, out of the twelve major groups in the occupational classification system used by the United States Bureau of the Census, beauticians were classified along with barbers and manicurists in the ninth category, "Service workers, except private household."²

In the Dictionary of Occupational Titles, used by the United States

Employment Service, there are seven major occupational groups. Barbers, beauticians, manicurists and hair stylists are classified in the third group, "Service occupations, personal service."³

In his Two-Factor Index of Social Position, Hollingshead uses a seven-fold occupational classification, in which hairdressers rank in the sixth category, "Machine operators and semi-skilled employees," and hair stylists rank in the fifth category, "Skilled manual employees."⁴

However, cosmetology is achieving some recognition, for in the 1960 Census of Population (Detailed Characteristics) hairdressers and cosmetologists were listed in a separate category for the first time. Though listed separately, they were still listed as service workers.

1. <u>National Hairdressers and Cosmetologists Association</u>. The National Hairdressers and Cosmetologists Association, which was formed in 1921, is composed of state and local associations. It claims a membership of 60,000 from ore than 1,300 local units. The original name of the association, the National Hairdressers Association, was changed in October, 1927, to its present name.

In a publication entitled <u>NHCA Fact Book</u>, issued in 1961, the organization describes itself as a professional organization: "NHCA was founded, and still remains, a voluntary professional association of State and Local Association Affiliates which conduct their own affairs with guidance and strength from the National Association. Today its membership is so large and widespread that it is the only association of professional cosmetologists with sufficient strength and a long record of accomplishments to represent the profession nationally."⁵ The program it offers includes: (1) malpractice insurance protection; (2) income Overall, the reactions were very favorable. Twenty-eight (48 per cent) of the respondents saw hairdressers as professionals, 16 (27 per cent) saw them as skilled and five (8 per cent) saw them as semi-skilled. Relatively few respondents saw hairdressers as business people or artists.

The adjectives used to describe hairdressers were favorable. Eightysix per cent described hairdressers as pleasant, courteous, hard working and well groomed. Fifty-one per cent said they were ambitious and ten per cent saw them as fashion experts. Eleven per cent described hairdressers as gossipy and ten per cent thought they were careless about their appearance.

Out of a possible 427 favorable possibilities, 275 were assigned to hairdressers. From the 427 unfavorable possibilities hairdressers received only 26.

Twenty-three per cent ranked hairdressers higher than the eight occupations they were paired with; 16 per cent ranked one of the occupations higher; 28 per cent ranked two of the occupations higher; 18 per cent ranked three higher; 14 per cent ranked four higher and only one per cent ranked five higher.

Fifty-four per cent indicated that men and women become hairdressers to earn a living; 31 per cent believed the motivating factor was to create fashion or beauty.

3. <u>Collection of Data for Study</u>. Basic data were collected via questionnaire from one hundred ten licensed Oklahoma cosmetologists attending the Annual Cosmetology Institute held on the Oklahoma State University campus August 16-20, 1964. This constituted the entire population of those attending the Institute. Because the enrollment of the

Institute was relatively small, and possibly select, additional respondents were sought.

In September, 1964, an opportunity to collect more data presented itself when a beauty supply house sponsored a show in Oklahoma City. The cosmetologists attending this show were described by hairdresser informants to be a somewhat different group from those attending the Institute. The cost of the show was minimal, it only lasted two days, and it was designed primarily to introduce new products and hair styles. The attendance was very large and an additional one hundred thirty-eight questionnaires were obtained. This made a total of two hundred forty-eight questionnaires. (See Appendix B).

C, Descriptive Data on Cosmetologists

The accidental sample of Oklahoma cosmetologists studied included 30 males and 218 females. From the age distribution of those who completed the question dealing with age, it can be seen that a large number of females (28) are in the age category 20-24. The number then drops to 15 in the 25-29 age category; rises to 20 in the 30-34 age category; 22 in the 35-39 age category; 35 in the 40-44 age category; and is at its peak in the 45-49 age category. One explanation for this is that a large number of females in the 20-24 age category are not married, or, if married, do not yet have children, thus freeing them for work. As they marry or have children, they drop out of the field. By age 40 their children are probably gone from home and the women return to work for outside interests or to help finance college educations. As can be seen in Table I, a large number of males are concentrated in the younger age categories. An explanation for this could be that cosmetology has a

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higher occupation ranking than it did in the past and is therefore more appealing to the younger men. Another explanation might be that males start out in the field but later go on to other occupations.

TABLE I

AGE GROUP BY SEX OF RESPONDENTS

										<u>n≕221</u>
		N	umber W	ho Are	in Age	Categor	X			
Sex	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	<u> </u>	<u>55-59</u>	<u> 60–64 </u>	Totals
Male	8	8	6	4	2	0	l	0	0	29
Female	28	15	20	22	35	36	22	11	3	192
Totals	36	23	26	26	37	36	23	11	3	221

One hundred seventy-four (71 per cent) of the total sample are married. Eighteen males and 156 females checked this category. Ten males and 32 females are single. Two males and 19 females are divorced, and eight of the females are widows. About the only difference between the males and females is the per cent who are single. Thirty-three per cent of the males, as compared with 15 per cent of the females, are single.

TABLE II

MARITAL STATUS BY SEX OF RESPONDENTS

					n≕245
Sex	Single	<u>Nu</u> Married	mber Who Are Divorced	Widowed	Totals
Male	· 10	18	2	0	30
Female	32	156	1.9	8	215
Totals	42	174	21.	8	245

One hundred twenty-nine (52 per cent) of the cosmetologists are high school graduates. The breakdown by sex, however, shows that 46 per cent of the males as compared to 17 per cent of the females have had some college training. Although the educational requirement for entry into beauty college is an eighth-grade education, only three per cent of the sample indicated their education terminated with the eighth grade.

TABLE III

	i						n=247_
		Number		<u>ed Category</u>			
	Post	College		High School	<u> </u>	-	Totals
Sex	Graduate	Graduate	<u>College</u>	<u>Graduate</u>	School	or less	
Male	0	0	· 14	13	3	0	,30
	_	_		(
Femal	e l	1	.36	116	56	7	217
							<u> </u>
Ma±a]	- 7	7	FO	129	50	77	247
Total	<u>s </u>			LCY			<u> </u>

AMOUNT OF EDUCATION BY SEX OF RESPONDENTS

Of the cosmetologists who had some college training, 12 (24 per cent) are in the age category 20-24 and 11 (22 per cent) are in the 45-49 age category. Of those who completed only high school, 24 (22 per cent) are in the age category 40-44. The age categories in which there are the largest number of people who have some high school are 35-39, 40-44, and 45-49, which contain ten each. Of those with eight years or less of school, three are in the age category 50-54. The "n" size of Table IV is not as large as it is for Table III because some of the respondents did not complete the question dealing with age. In the younger age group there is a significant difference in the number of cosmetologists with a high school diploma and those with some high school. For example, the difference in

the age group 20-24 is 13; from age group 45-49 on, however, the difference is much smaller. One explanation of this could be that percentage wise, cosmetology as an occupation is attracting more high school graduates.

TABLE IV

AMOUNT OF EDUCATION BY AGE OF RESPONDENTS

						······	n=221
		· · · ·	Numbe	<u>r Checking</u> High	Some		
Age <u>Group</u>	Post Graduate	College Graduate	Some College	School Graduate	High School	8 years _or less	Totals
20-24	0	1	12	18	5	0	36
25-29	l	O	6	14	2	0	23
30 - 34	0	0	7	14	-5	0	26
35 - 39	0	O .	5 ·	11	10	0	26
40 - 44	0	0	2	24	10	l	37
45-49	0	0	11	14	10	l	36
50 - 54	0 ·	0	5	8	7	3	23
55 - 59	0	0	2	4	5	0	11
60-64	0	0	0	2	0	l	3
Totals	<u> </u>	1	50	109	54	6	221

Of the total sample of cosmetologists, 39 identify themselves as hairdressers; 41 as hair stylists; four as managers; and 127 as owners. The greatest number of hairdressers and hair stylists is concentrated in the age category 20-24. Of those who own their shop, 28 are in the age category 40-44 and 25 are in the age category 45-49.

The number of shop owners in each age category increases up to age group 40-44; from there on it decreases with each age group. This can

be explained in that it is more economically feasible for the cosmetologists in the younger age categories to work for someone else rather than own their shop. The longer they stay in the field the more likely they are to own their shop. The decrease in the number of shop owners that starts with age 50 is probably related to retirement.

As can be seen in Table V, there is a large drop in the number who are hairdressers and hair stylists after age 24. The decrease in these two categories as age increases is probably related to the younger females dropping out of the field after marriage and the probability of the men who stay in the field becoming shop owners.

TABLE V

OWNER - MANAGER - NON-OWNER STATUS BY AGE OF RESPONDENTS

			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	·	n=211
Age		Number Wh	no Are:		
<u>Group</u>	Hairdressers	Hair Stylists	Shop Managers	Shop Owners	Totals
20-24	11	17	0	. 8	36
25-29	8	6	_ l	8	23
30 - 34	2	6	· 1	15	24
35-39	5	2	0	19	26
40 - 44	6	2	1	28	. 37
45 - 49	5	4	1.	25	35
50 - 54	2	1	0	13	16
55-59	0	2	0	9	11
60 - 64	0	l	· 0	2	3
Totals	39	41	4	127	211

Thirteen males and 114 females own their shops. This constitutes 45 per cent of the males and 56 per cent of the females. It is interesting to note that 11 of the males (38 per cent) call themselves hair stylists as compared to 35 (17 per cent) of the females. Only four (14 per cent) of the males call themselves hairdressers as compared with 50 (25 per cent) of the females. It could be that the males who go into the field are more interested in a permanent career and prefer to think of themselves as "hair stylists" rather than "hairdressers". No doubt the reason a higher per cent of females own their shops is that there are more females in the older age categories, thus having more of an opportunity to acquire ownership.

TABLE VI

	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·				n=232
		Number N	Who Are		
Sex	Hairdressers	Stylists	Managers	Owners	Total
Male	μ.	11	l	13	29
Female	50	35	24	114	204
Totals	54	46	· _ 5	127	232

PRESENT JOB STATUS BY SEX OF RESPONDENT

Forty-three of the cosmetologists have worked four to five years as cosmetologists; 41 have worked five to 10 years. The category with the greatest frequencies of males is four to five years worked; for the females the greatest frequencies are in the categories one to three years, and more than 20 years worked.

No pattern in number of years worked exists with the females. The

peak number of years worked for the males is four-five years. This is explained by the fact that most of the males in cosmetology are in the younger age groups and could not have worked very many years.

TABLE VII

YEARS WORKED AS COSMETOLOGIST BY SEX OF RESPONDENTS

		N	imber T	Who Have	e Worked		<u>n=247</u>
<u>Sex L</u>	ess than l	<u>l-3</u>	4-5		10-20	More than 20	Totals
Male	4	6	8	7	3	2	30
Female	32	40	34	37	34	40	217
Totals	36	46	42	44		42	247

The greatest number of salon owners (30) have worked more than 20 years, while the greatest number of both hairdressers and hair stylists have worked one to three years. As years of work experience increase

TABLE VIII

YEARS WORKED AS COSMETOLOGIST BY OWNER-MANAGER, NON OWNER STATUS OF RESPONDENT

						<u></u>	n=235
Occup. Group	Less than l Yr.	<u>Numbe</u> 1-3 Yrs.	er Who H 4-5 Yrs.	ave Work 5-10 Yrs.	<u>ed</u> 10-20 Yrs,	More than 20 Yrs.	Totals
Hairdresse	er 16	18	. 6	7	5	2	54
Stylist	7	14	11	7	4	6	49
Manager	. O	l	1	2	0	l	5
Owner	8	12	25	28	24	30	127
Totals	31	45	43	44	33	39	235
	,			:			

the number of people who are hairdressers and stylists decreases. When the majority of cosmetologists first embark on their career they work for someone else, but as their work experience increases they tend to become shop owners. Only 45 of the shop owners had less than five years' experience, while 82 had more than five years' experience.

In order to determine the socio-economic origins of the respondents, a modification of Hollingshead's Two Factor Index of Social Position was used. This index combines two factors, occupation and education, by the use of statistical techniques to determine the social class of the individual. Class I is the highest and Class V is the lowest. Ninety-six of the cosmetologists had parents who belonged to Class IV. Fifty-five had parents who belonged to Class V and 40 had parents who belonged to Class III.

TABLE IX

		INDEX	OF SOCIAL PC	SITION		
						n=221
	·	C	lass of Pare	nts		
	Number of	Number of	Number of	Number of	Number of	
Sex	Parents in	Parents in	Parents in	Parents in	Parents in	
Group	<u>Class I</u>	<u>Class II</u>	<u>Class III</u>	<u>Class IV</u>	<u>Class V</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Mala	. ,	0	-7	· ٦٦	8	07
Male	Т.	0	(11	0	27
Female	T	11	27	107	48	194
1 0110 10					. 🗸	
			- 1			
Totals	2	11	34	118	56	221

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORIGINS OF RESPONDENTS BY SEX GROUP USING HOLLINGSHEAD'S TWO FACTOR INDEX OF SOCIAL POSITION

One hundred seventeen cosmetologists grew up in a small town; thirtyeight in the city; and ninety in the country. Providing they were raised in Oklahoma, the fact that most of the cosmetologists grew up in a small town can be explained in that there are few large cities in the state.

TABLE X

PLACE OF RESIDENCE PRIOR TO ADULTHOOD BY SEX GROUP OF RESPONDENT

			<u></u>	<u>n=245</u>
-		per with Place of Re		
Sex	Country	Small Town	Large City	Totals
Male	7	15	8	30
Female	83	102	30	215
Totals	90		38	245
locals	90			-

Of the married women in the sample, 42 have husbands whose occupation is in division five in Hollingshead's occupational classification, "skilled manual workers." Forty-one have husbands whose occupation is in division four, "clerical and sales workers, technicians, and owners of little businesses." It is significant that this is weighted toward the lower occupational classifications. The female respondent in many cases is probably working to supplement a rather low level of income.

TABLE XI

OCCUPATION OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS' SPOUSES USING HOLLINGSHEAD'S OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

<u></u>				,		•	n=151
		Number		band's Job	1		
			Belongs	ln			
lst	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	
Division		Division	Division	Division		Division	Totals
			· .				
l	l	28	40	42	36	3	151
					•		

ļ

Of the 18 married men in the sample, nine have wives who work outside the home. Of these nine, three work part-time and six work full time. The occupational classification of the wives' job is shown in Table XII.

TABLE XII

OCCUPATION OF MALE RESPONDENTS' SPOUSES USING HOLLINGSHEAD'S TWO FACTOR INDEX OF SOCIAL POSITION

<u></u>		Numb	er Whose W				
lst Division	2nd Division	3rd Division	Belongs 4th Division	5th	6th Division	7th Division	_Total
0 [°] .	0	l	2	4	2	0	9
		<u></u>		•			

D. Hypotheses.

If cosmetology is in the period of transition that certain of its spokesmen have asserted, certain indices of change in this transformation process should be evident. Since no previous studies have been reported on cosmetology, this change cannot be traced directly. The basic technique used will be the comparison of older and the younger hairdressers, with the break in age after the category 35-39. It is expected that younger hairdressers will differ from older hairdressers in certain respects.

1. The transition in cosmetology toward higher status will be reflected in a change in the socio-economic origins of hairdressers; the parents of hairdressers under the age of forty will be of higher social class than the parents of

hairdressers over forty.

- The transition in cosmetology toward higher status will be reflected in a change in the career patterns of hairdressers:

 (a) more hairdressers under the age of forty will aspire to manager or owner status and
 (b) hairdressers under the age of forty will aspire to forty will aspire to permanent careers in cosmetology.
- 3. The transition in cosmetology toward higher status will be reflected in a change in the conception of cosmetology:

 (a) hairdressers under the age of forty will be more likely to conceive of cosmetology as an art or profession and (b) hairdressers under the age of forty will rank their professional association higher than will hairdressers over the age of forty.
- 4. The transition in cosmetology toward higher status will be reflected in a sex differential in that the proportion of cosmetologists who are men is increasing; that is, the proportion of male cosmetologists under forty will be greater than the proportion of those over forty.
- 5. The transition in cosmetology toward higher status will be reflected in a change in place of residence prior to adulthood; that is, the proportion of hairdressers under the age of forty from an urban background will be greater than the proportion of those over forty.
- 6. The transition in cosmetology toward higher status will be reflected in a change in formal education; hairdressers under the age of forty will have more formal education than those

over forty.

7. The transition in cosmetology toward higher status will be reflected by a division within the occupation; that is, attitudes and values of instructors, salon owners, and managers will differ from those of operators: (a) instructors, salon managers and owners will be more likely to indicate as their highest goal in life a desire for upward social mobility; (b) instructors, salon managers, and owners will be more likely to choose professional rather than occupational goals as appropriate for the Oklahoma Cosmetology Association; (c) instructors, salon managers, and owners will be more likely to conceive of cosmetology as an art or profession rather than a business, skill or semi-skill.

E. Data

1. As an occupation moves toward higher status, it attracts individuals from a higher socio-economic class. Therefore it was hypothesized that the transition in cosmetology would be reflected in the higher socio-economic origins of the younger hairdressers.

A modification of Hollingshead's Two-Factor Index of Social Position was used to determine socio-economic status.⁷ The two factors, occupation and education, are combined by the use of statistical techniques to determine the approximate limits of the social position an individual occupies.

The educational scale used in this study consists of six categories, while the one utilized by Hollingshead contains seven. The six categories used here are (1) graduate professional training; (2) standard college or university graduate; (3) partial college training; (4) high school

graduate; (5) partial high school; and (6) eight years or less.

The occupational scale consists of the following seven categories: (1) higher executives, proprietors of large concerns, and major professionals; (2) business managers, proprietors of medium sized businesses, and lesser professionals; (3) administrative personnel, small independent businesses, and minor professionals; (4) clerical and sales workers, technicians, and owners of little businesses; (5) skilled manual employees; (6) machine operators and semi-skilled employees and (7) unskilled employees.

The factor weight given to occupation is seven and the factor weight given to education is four. To obtain an individual's index score, the scale value for occupations is multiplied by the factor weight for occupations and the scale value for education is multiplied by the factor weight for education, and the two scores are added. The social position score is rated as follows:

2	Social <u>Class</u>	Range_of Computed Scores
	I	11 - 17
	II	18 - 27
	III	28 - 43
	IV	44 - 60
•	V	61 - 77

To test the hypothesis that the transition in cosmetology would be reflected in the socio-economic origin of the younger hairdressers, the chi square test of significance was applied to the data, with the break in age after the age category, 35-39, and the break in class differentiation after Class II. Nine per cent of the hairdressers under forty had parents who belonged in Class I and II while none of those over forty had parents in these classes. The value of chi-square is 6.40, which is

significant at the .05 level of confidence. Therefore, the first hypothesis is accepted.

TABLE XIII

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORIGINS OF RESPONDENTS BY AGE GROUP USING HOLLINGSHEAD'S TWO FACTOR INDEX OF SOCIAL POSITION

Age Group	<u>Class of Parents</u> Number of Parents in Class I and II	Number of Parents in Class III, IV and V
Under 40	9	95
Over 40	° *	91

 $x^2 = 6.40$, p < .05 correction factor for continuity applied

2. The second hypothesis is concerned with the change in the career patterns of hairdressers. First, it was reasoned that more hairdressers under the age of forty would aspire to manager or owner status. Answers to the open-ended question, "What are your future plans in the field of

TABLE XIV

Age Group	Number Aspiring to Manage/Own Shop	Number Aspiring to Teach Cosmetology or be Platform Artist	Number with Indefinite or No Future Plans
Under 40	26	17	44
Over 40	16	14	53
x ² =	3.37, p > .05		

ASPIRATIONS OF RESPONDENTS BY AGE GROUP

cosmetology, if any?" were coded in the following way: (1) Manage or own shop, or expand present one; (2) Teach cosmetology or be a platform artist; and (3) No future plans, or indefinite. The chi square value in this case was 3.37; therefore the hypothesis is rejected.

It was also reasoned that in response to the question, "Do you intend to remain in cosmetology indefinitely?" more of the younger hairdressers would indicate they planned to do so. The results, however, did not confirm this and the hypothesis is rejected. The explanation for this may be that many older hairdressers already have left the occupation, leaving only those with more permanent aspirations.

TABLE XV

PLANS OF RESPONDENTS FOR A PERMANENT CAREER BY AGE GROUP

Age Group	Number Who Seek a Permanent Career in Cosmetology	Number Who Don't Seek a Permanent Career in Cos- metology or are Undecided
Under 40	96	15
Over 40	99	11

x² = .64, p < .05

3. Since no previous studies of cosmetologists as an occupational group had been reported, it was difficult to test the hypothesis that a change in cosmetologists' conceptions of their occupation had taken. place. However, it was believed this change might be reflected in the younger cosmetologists' conception of their occupation. To test the hypothesis that hairdressers under the age of forty would conceive of cosmetology as an art or profession, the respondent was asked to choose from

a list of five categories the one he felt cosmetology was most like. No significant differences in conceptions of cosmetology by age group were found. It was discovered that a large percentage of both age groups regarded cosmetology as an art or a profession. The value of chi-square is 1.38 and the hypothesis is rejected. To insure that the inclusion of "business" in the category of "skill" or "semi-skill" did not confound the results, a two by three contingency table was calculated. However, the same results were obtained.

TABLE XVI

CONCEPTION OF COSMETOLOGY BY AGE GROUP OF RESPONDENTS

Age Group	Number Who Conceive of Cosmetology as an Art or_Profession	Number Who Conceive of Cosme- tology as a Business, Skill or Semi-Skill
Under 40	92	ב ¹ +
Over 40	93	12

 $x^2 = 1.38, p > .05$

Closely connected with this hypothesis is the prediction that younger hairdressers would rank their occupational association (Oklahoma Cosmetologists Association) higher than those in the older age group. The respondent was asked to rank nine organizations from one to nine, from the one with the highest status to the one with the lowest status. In addition to the Oklahoma Cosmetologists Association, the organizations included in the list were the State Medical Organization, Local Retail Clerks Union, Funeral Director's Association, Electrical Worker's Union, Federation of Teachers, Association of University Professors, Bartender's Association, and Taxi Drivers' Union. Again, no significant difference was found in the conceptions of cosmetologists under forty and those over forty. The chi-square value of this test is 4.69; therefore, the hypothesis is rejected. One explanation for the failure of this prediction could lie in the fact that some of the respondents had difficulty in handling the question, since they had to rank nine organizations in a hierarchical order. This may be accounted for by the relatively low level of education of some of the respondents.

TABLE XVII

STATUS RANKING OF OKLAHOMA COSMETOLOGISTS ASSOCIATION FROM A LISTING OF NINE ASSOCIATIONS, BY AGE GROUP OF RESPONDENTS

Number Ranking Cosmetology			
Age Group	First, Second or Third in Status	Fourth in Status	Fifth or Sixth <u>in Status</u>
Under 40	32	43	20
Over 40	14 <u>1</u>	35	11

 $x^2 = 4.69; p > .05$

⁴. One of the reasons that cosmetology has ranked low as an occupation may be that it has traditionally been an occupation for women. An indication that the status of the occupation is rising could be reflected by the entrance of more men in the field. Therefore, the two variables, age group and sex, were tested to determine if there is a significant difference in the proportion of male cosmetologists under forty as compared to the proportion of those over forty. Twenty-three per cent of the cosmetologists under forty are men as compared to only three per cent of those over forty. The chi square value is 19.2 and the hypothesis is accepted.

TABLE XVIII

Age Group	<u>Number Who Are</u> Male Cosmetologists	Female Cosmetologists
Under 40	26	85
Over 40	3	108

SEX OF RESPONDENTS BY AGE GROUP

 $x^2 = 19.2, p < .05$

5. The next hypothesis concerns the place of residence, prior to adulthood, of the respondents. It was reasoned that there would be a significant difference in the proportion of cosmetologists under forty with an urban background as compared with those over forty. This hypothesis is confirmed. Twenty-four per cent of the cosmetologists under forty grew up in a large city while of those over forty, only five per cent had urban backgrounds. Forty-seven per cent of those under forty

TABLE XIX

PLACE OF RESIDENCE PRIOR TO ADULTHOOD BY AGE GROUP OF RESPONDENT

Number with Place of Residence in			
Age Group	Country	Small Town	Large City
Under 40	34	51	24
Over 40	49	104	5
	-		

x² = 15.83, p < .05

grew up in a small town or city and thirty-one per cent grew up in the country. The corresponding percentages for those over forty are fiftyone per cent and forty-five per cent, respectively. How much this apparent relationship simply reflects the overall change in rural-urban composition of the population is not known.

5. In order to become a manicurist, operator, or advanced operator, an individual must have completed the eighth grade or the equivalent. One of the current concerns in the field is with the setting of higher qualifications for students. For example, some of the leaders in the field are advocating more academic education and more hours of beauty school training. An indication that an occupation is increasing in prestige could be reflected in the fact that it is attracting individuals with more formal education.

In the 1950 United States Census of Population (Special Characteristics) the mean education of barbers, hairdressers, and cosmetologists was 8.8 years.⁸ Unfortunately, no Special Characteristics report was published for the 1960 Census of Population, so no nation-wide comparison

TABLE XX

Age Group	tologists Who Are College Graduates or Have Partial College Training	Number of Cosme- tologists Who Have Completed High School	tologists Who Have Partial High School Training Or Eight Years Or Less
Under 40	32	35	22
Over 40	20	52	38

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF RESPONDENTS BY AGE GROUP

 $x^2 = 7.41, p < .05$

can be made. However, in the present sample, twenty-nine per cent of the cosmetologists under forty had partial college training or were graduates of a college or university; the corresponding percentage for those over forty was eighteen per cent. The chi square value is 7.40 and is significant at the .05 level of confidence; therefore the hypothesis is accepted.

7. A division between instructors, salon managers and owners, and operators in certain values and attitudes was predicted to exist in the group studied. To test the hypothesis that there was a significant difference in values, responses to the open-ended question, "What is your highest goal in life?" were coded into two categories: (1) Moving up, getting ahead; and (2) Status quo (raise a good family, be a good person).

No significant difference was found in values as tested by this question. The chi square value is 3.0 and is not significant at the .05 level of confidence.

TABLE XXI

HIGHEST GOAL IN LIFE OF RESPONDENT BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

Occupational <u>Classification</u>	Number Indicating Desire to Move Up	Number Indicating Desire to Maintain Existing Condition
Hairdresser, Stylist	26	51
Instructor, Manager or Owner	25	87

 $x^2 = 3.0, p > .05$

These three groups, instructors, salon managers, and owners were matched with operators to see if there was a significant difference in the number of professional goals they choose as appropriate for the Oklahoma Cosmetology Association. The list contained six goals, three professional and three occupational, and the respondent was instructed to select any three.

TABLE XXII

Number Choosing				
Occupational <u>Classification</u>	l Professional Goal	2 Professional Goals	3 Professional Goals	
Hairdresser, Stylist	l ¹ +	247	37	
Instructor, Manager or Owner	11	1414	45	

NUMBER OF PROFESSIONAL GOALS CHOSEN AS APPROPRIATE FOR THE OKLAHOMA COSMETOLOGY ASSOCIATION BY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

 $x^2 = 1.85, p > .05$

No difference was exhibited in the conception of cosmetology by the difference in occupational status. In fact, there was almost an even division, in that eighty-eight per cent of the hairdressers and stylists saw cosmetology as an art or profession compared to eighty-seven per cent of the instructors, owners and managers. This hypothesis, therefore, is rejected. The lack of significant results may again be a function of the inability of the respondent to handle these items.

TABLE XXIII

Occupational Classification	Number Who Conceive of Cosmetology as An Art or Profession	Number Who Conceive of Cosmetology As A Business, Skill or Semi-Skill
Hairdresser, Stylist	84	12
Instructor, Manager or Owner	115	17

CONCEPTION OF COSMETOLOGY BY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF RESPONDENT

2 x = .05, p < .05

F. Summary of Results

In the course of this investigation, statistical tests were made for seven hypotheses. The data upon which these tests were made were from a sample of two hundred forty-eight cosmetologists; 110 who were enrolled in a cosmetology institute on the Oklahoma State University campus, August, 1964, and 138 who were attending a beauty show in Oklahoma City in September, 1964.

A summary of the results obtained follows.

I. Hypothesis.

The transition in cosmetology toward higher status will be reflected in a change in the socio-economic origins of hairdressers; the parents of hairdressers under the age of forty will be of higher social class than the parents of hairdressers over forty. <u>Statistical Test</u>.

Chi square, 1 d.f.

<u>Results</u>,

Chi square = 6.40; a probability of less than .05

Disposition of Hypotheses.

Null: Rejected

Alternate: Confirmed.

II. <u>Hypothesis</u>.

The transition in cosmetology toward higher status will be reflected in a change in the career patterns of hairdressers: (a) more hairdressers under the age of forty will aspire to manager or owner status and (b) hairdressers under the age of forty will aspire to permanent careers.

 e^{-i}

Statistical Test.

- (a) Chi square 2 d.f.
- (b) Chi square, 1 d.f.

Results.

- (a) Chi square = 3.37; a probability greater than .05
- (b) Chi square = .65; a probability greater than .05

Disposition of Hypotheses.

Null: (a) Accepted; (b) Accepted

Alternate: (a) Rejected; (b) Rejected

III. <u>Hypothesis</u>.

The transition in cosmetology toward higher status will be reflected in a change in the conception of cosmetology: (a) hairdressers under the age of forty will conceive of cosmetology as an art or profession and (b) hairdressers under the age of forty will rank their association higher than hairdressers over the age of forty.

Statistical Test.

- (a) Chi square, 1 d.f.
- (b) Chi square, 2 d.f.

<u>Results</u>.

- (a) Chi square = 1.38; a probability greater than .05
- (b) Chi square = 4.69; a probability greater than .05

Disposition of Hypotheses.

Null: (a) Accepted; (b) Accepted

Alternate: (a) Rejected; (b) Rejected

IV. Hypothesis.

The transition in cosmetology toward higher status will be reflected in a sex differential in that the proportion of cosmetologists who are men is increasing; that is, the proportion of male cosmetologists under forty is greater than the proportion of those over forty. <u>Statistical Test</u>.

Chi square, 1 d.f.

Results.

Chi square = 19.2; a probability of less than .05

Disposition of Hypotheses.

Null: Rejected

Alternate: Confirmed

V. Hypothesis.

The transition in cosmetology toward higher status will be reflected in a change in place of residence prior to adulthood; that is, there will be a significant difference in the proportion of hairdressers under the age of forty from an urban background as compared to those over forty.

Statistical_Test.

Chi square, 2 d.f.

<u>Results</u>.

Chi square = 15.83; a probability of less than .05

Dispostion of Hypotheses.

Null: Rejected

Alternate: Confirmed.

VI. The transition in cosmetology toward higher status will be reflected in a change in formal education; hairdressers under the age of forty will have more formal education as compared to those over forty.

Statistical Test.

Chi square, 2 d.f.

Results.

Chi square = 7.61; a probability of less than .05

Disposition of Hypotheses.

Null: Rejected

Alternate: Confirmed

VII. Hypothesis.

The transition in cosmetology toward higher status will be reflected by a division within the occupation; that is, attitudes and values of instructors, salon owners and managers will differ from those of hairdressers and hair stylists: (a) Instructors, salon managers and owners will be more likely to indicate as their highest goal in life a desire for upward social mobility; (b) Instructors, salon managers and owners will be more likely to choose professional rather than occupational goals as appropriate for the Oklahoma Cosmetology Association; (c) Instructors, salon managers and owners will be more likely to conceive of cosmetology as an art or profession rather than a business, skill or semi-skill.

Statistical Test.

- (a) Chi square, 1 d.f.
- (b) Chi square, 2 d.f.
- (c) Chi square, 1 d.f.

<u>Results</u>.

- (a) Chi square = 3.0; a probability greater than .05
- (b) Chi square = 1.85; a probability greater than .05
- (c) Chi square = .05; a probability greater than .05

Disposition of Hypotheses.

Null: (a) Accepted; (b) Accepted; (c) Accepted Alternate: (a) Rejected; (b) Rejected; (c) Rejected

FOOTNOTES

¹Murray Wax, "Themes in Cosmetics and Grooming," <u>American Journal of</u> <u>Sociology</u>, LXII (1957), pp. 588-593.

²U. S. Bureau of the Census, <u>U. S. Census of Population: 1950.</u> Volume IV, <u>Special Reports</u>, Part 1, Chapter B, Occupational Characteristics. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1956.

⁵U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Employment Security, <u>Dictionary</u> of <u>Occupational Titles</u>, Volume I. Definitions of Titles, Washington, 1949.

⁴ August B. Hollingshead, "The Two Factor Index of Social Position," Unpublished manuscript.

⁵<u>NHCA Fact Book</u>, New York, 1961, pp. 1-12.

⁶ The opportunity to study cosmetologists arose out of a summer workshop held on the Oklahoma State University campus, August 16-20, 1964. Sponsors of this Annual Cosmetology Institute were the Oklahoma Cosmetology Association, the Thunderbird Hair Fashion Committee, the State Board of Cosmetology, the State Board for Vocational Education, and Oklahoma State University. The registration fee for the Institute was \$30. In an effort to expand the offerings of the Institute, arrangements were made for three professors from Oklahoma State University to lecture; two in the area of biochemistry and one in the area of human relations. Because the Head of the Oklahoma State University Sociology Department was a guest lecturer, permission was granted by the Institute to collect data from those attending.

⁽Hollingshead, pp. 2-11.

8 U. S. Bureau of the Census, <u>Special Reports</u>, p. 113.

CHAPTER IV

COSMETOLOGY AS A PROFESSION

A. Sequential Development of Cosmetology

In Chapter I the development of traditional, borderline, and questionable professions was traced and a discussion was presented of a certain sequence of events that occupations go through in their drive to achieve professional status. This sequence of events was formulated by Wilensky from a summary of the social history of eighteen occupations. This is an ideal model and is one way of looking at the process of professionalization. There is considerable variation within this model as to the way some occupations developed.

The first step in this history is the doing full-time the thing that needs doing. While in earlier times cosmetology was performed by priests, physicians, slave girls and barbers, cosmetology did not become a fulltime occupation until the last decade of the nineteenth century. It was 1905 before the permanent wave, one of the cornerstones of the occupation, was invented. Beauty salons did not exist in Oklahoma until the second decade of the twentieth century.

The next step in this sequence of events is the establishment of a school which, if not connected with a university, soon seeks contact with one. Accompanying the establishment of the school is the expansion of the base of knowledge, higher standards, and increased length and cost

of training. The first school for beauty culture was established by A. B. Moler in Chicago in 1896, and the first formal text book of cosmetology was also published that year. This school did not originate within a university and most beauty schools today are not connected with universities, although there are exceptions (Langston University in Oklahoma has a cosmetology department). Cosmetology is also taught in some public high schools. In Oklahoma this is part of the program of the State Board for Vocational Education and is supervised by the State Board of Cosmetology. Licenses permitting the operation of beauty schools are granted by the State Board of Cosmetology.

The effort on the part of those in cosmetology to seek contact with universities can be seen in the fact that the Annual Institute of Cosmetology in Oklahoma is conducted as a summer workshop on either the Oklahoma University or Oklahoma State University campus. In 1964, almost half of the subject matter covered was academic. At the conclusion of the five-day Institute, President Willham presented certificates from Oklahoma State University to all individuals who had successfully completed the course.

The establishment of a professional association is the third step in this sequence of events. The National Hairdressers Association was formed in 1921, and in 1927 changed its name to the National Hairdressers and Cosmetologists Association. While the name of the association was changed to add "Cosmetologists" in 1927, today the association is very much concerned with changing many of the terms in the field.

The separation of the competent from the incompetent is the next step outlined by Wilensky. This necessitates the further definition of

essential professional tasks, development of internal conflict, and competition with outsiders who do similar work. From this definition of tasks comes a pecking order, in which those higher up delegate their less attractive work to those of lesser training. Some ambiguity exists in regard to the development of this pecking order in cosmetology. While there is definitely a hierarchical ordering of manicurists, operators, advanced operators, and instructors, there seems to be no standard division of labor among them. Some salons use shampoo girls and manicurists while in some salons one person handles the complete process. While this division of labor is not clearly spelled out at this time and a definite pecking order does not exist, there is evident within the field a hierarchy of status. This can be seen nation-wide by the national associations' high-status organization, the Official Hair Fashion Committee, and the comparable organization in Oklahoma, the Thunderbirds.

One internal conflict which has been observed is between those who effect "high fashion" hair styles and those who produce more conservative styles with Longer lasting effects. This conflict seems to be centered around sex and age differences, with younger hairdressers and male hairdressers many times being accused of producing fabulous hair styles that "flop" the next day. This could be compared with the internal conflict Wilensky refers to when he speaks of conflict between the home guard who have Learned the hard way and the newcomers who are labeled as upstarts.

The degree of internal conflict is hard to determine. However, there are evidences of external conflict. A hint of this is given in the NHCA Bulletin (March, 1964), "In the 1930's the talents of the

members were being exploited by some individuals in other branches of the industry, and it became necessary to adopt an ethical practice provision regarding the appearance of members at trade events."

From the <u>NHCA Fact Book</u> comes the following quote, "NHCA has been alert constantly to efforts of barbers and Barbers' Union groups trying to encroach upon your personal and professional rights. NHCA established your right to cut hair without securing a barber license. In doing so, NHCA fought to defeat or amend more than 150 barbers' bills introduced into 40 state legislatures which tried to make haircutting a barbers' monopoly. NHCA has joined with its New York and Chicago Units, supported by counsel for the National Labor Relations Board, to protect the rights of the National and its affiliates to conduct beauty shows without unfair and illegal secondary picketing."²

This is closely connected with the next step, that of political agitation in order to win the support of law for job territory protection. Early provisions for licensing were made and by the early thirties, 29 states had enacted legislation. The first State Board examination was given and licenses issued in Oklahoma in 1935. NHCA does not call itself a union but claims the union functions of lobbying, arranging for malpractice liability insurance, and protection against "unfair advertising claims of home beauty treatment manufacturers."³ In Oklahoma there is a committee that is working for legislation.

The last step in the series of events toward professionalization is the formulation of rules to eliminate internal competition, to protect clients, and to eliminate the unscrupulous. The formal code of ethics for cosmetologists was first adopted in 1923. In 1955 a code of ethics

for the conduct of the Official Hair Fashion Committee was drafted. In 1955, a statement for display in salons, the Code of Cosmetology, was prepared. In 1962, a new code of ethics was adopted.

As has been mentioned, this constitutes an ideal model of the series of events leading to higher status and perhaps ultimately to professionalization. Oftentimes status-striving occupations deviate from this sequence.

How far has cosmetology come in this sequence of events? In analyzing the brief history of cosmetology as a full-time occupation, deviations from the order set down in the model can be seen, There was early support for job territory protection via licensing procedures and ethical practice provisions, usually the last two steps in the sequence of events. The first national association was formed in 1921 and by 1923 an elaborate Code of Ethics was adopted. These events occurred long before a technical base for cosmetology was developed. In fact, this is a problem that confronts cosmetology today. While the first school of cosmetology was established in 1896, cosmetology schools today are separate training schools which have relatively little contact with universities. There has been little expansion of the base of knowledge by the development of academic degrees and research programs. Standards have not become increasingly higher and the length of the training has not lengthened considerably.

Although cosmetology as an occupation has been involved in some aspects of this sequence of events, the fact that the technical base is rather inadequate and the division of labor is not highly developed may make the successful completion of the other steps less meaningful.

B. Fulfillment of Professional Criteria

In Chapter II various criteria of professions were analyzed in order to develop a satisfactory framework for the study of cosmetology. It was concluded that an occupation could be defined a profession if it could meet the two criteria of exclusive technical competence and adherence to the service ideal. How well does cosmetology fit these criteria?

The first criterion of a profession is a successful claim to exclusive technical competence. Cosmetology as an occupation has difficulty in claiming a monopoly of skill because the nature of the base of its knowledge consists of a vocabulary that sounds familiar to all. Most beauty products (permanents, rinses, dyes) can be purchased at any drug or cosmetic counter and applied by anyone. Paradoxically, while seemingly a contradiction of this, cosmetology faces the problem of a scientific base which is too narrow. When a skill can be broken down into a sequence of tasks that leave little to the judgment of the worker and can be taught to most people in a short time, there is not much basis for professional jurisdiction. By its very accessibility, cosmetology is open to critical examination and is therefore vulnerable.

Another aspect of exclusive technical competence is tacit knowledge. This lends an aura of mystery and the public feels this knowledge cannot be acquired by the ordinary man. Since tacit knowledge is inaccessible, it is less subject to criticism. The optimal base of knowledge is a combination of explicit and implicit knowledge which makes a long training period necessary and persuades the public of the mystery of the craft. Cosmetology lacks this tacit knowledge and, in addition to the other reasons stated above, cannot claim exclusive technical competence.

The second criterion of professionalization is the degree of

adherence to a service ideal, or set of moral norms. The service ideal calls for devotion to the client's interests when decisions concerning personal or commerical profit are in conflict. In the well-established professions this norm of selflessness is more than lip-service because of the belief in the superiority of opportunity for service the profession offers and the fact that the client is very vulnerable.

Cosmetology as an occupation lacks the basic ingredients for the development of a strong service ideal. The superiority of opportunity for service is not emphasized in the field of cosmetology. Idealism does not flourish in an occupation that stresses a short training period and quick profit. A brochure distributed nation-wide by the Beauty Career Council includes the following reasons for starting a beauty career: "(1) Your security is assured. (2) You will meet many interesting people. (3) Your course of study only requires a few months. (4) The beauty business is little affected by depressions. (5) It is not a seasonal business. (6) You will become an important and respected member of your community. (7) You will improve your own appearance. (8) As you become more experienced you will find the door wide open for you to start your own business."⁴

In addition to the lack of the belief in the superiority of opportunity for service, both the cosmetologist and the patron are aware that the vulnerability of the patron is not critical. While somewhat in trouble, the patron is not entirely ignorant of how to get out of it. A specific result at a specific time can be demanded.

In the established professions, two norms in the area of colleague relations seem well developed. The first one deals with the maintenance

of professional standards of work and includes such items as honoring the technical competence of the formally qualified, avoiding criticism of colleagues in public, and condemning unqualified practitioners. The second norm calls for honoring the claims of other specialities and the referring of clients to more competent colleagues.

In the NHCA Cosmetology Code of Ethics the norm dealing with the maintenance of professional standards of work is outlined as follows: "The responsibility of the cosmetologist to his fellow cosmetologist is. . . to refrain from directly or indirectly falsely or maliciously injuring the good name, reputation, or discrediting the ability of fellow cosmetologist." However, no formal norms have been established in the area of honoring the claims of other specialities, in part because the occupation has not yet developed to a high level of diversity.

So, while cosmetology has a formal code of ethics which honors the service ideal, the inadequate development of its technical base and the commercial emphasis make it difficult to fully develop the service ideal.

C. Summary of Study

From the study done on two hundred forty-eight Oklahoma cosmetologists certain indices of change were found to be in operation. Using a modification of Hollingshead's Two-Factor Index of Social Position, it was found that a significant proportion of hairdressers under forty came from families of higher social class. Nine per cent of the hairdressers under forty had parents in Classes I and II. This change might indicate that cosmetology as an occupation is moving toward higher status, thereby attracting recruits from a higher socio-economic class.

The proportion of cosmetologists who are men was found to be

increasing. Twenty-three per cent of the cosmetologists under forty were men as compared to three per cent of those over forty. Traditionally, cosmetology has been an occupation for women. A rise in its status could be reflected by the entrance of more men in the field.

Another factor found was a change in formal education. Twenty-nine per cent of the cosmetologists under forty had partial college training or were college graduates while the corresponding percentage for those over forty was 18. This increased level of education could indicate that cosmetology today is attracting individuals with more formal education.

A rural to urban shift in residence prior to adulthood was reflected by the younger hairdressers. Twenty-four per cent of those under forty grew up in a large city, while of those over forty, only five per cent had urban backgrounds. How much this change is a factor of the overall change in the composition of the population or its relation to indices of change in the occupation is difficult to determine.

No significant difference was found to exist in the aspirations of younger and older hairdressers as tested in this study. In their conceptions of cosmetology hairdressers under forty and those over forty did not differ significantly. Finally, when asked to express their highest goal in life, to choose appropriate goals of their association, and to indicate their conception of cosmetology, no significant difference was found to exist between the two groups of operators and instructors, managers, or owners. The lack of significant results may be due to the mobility out of the occupation.

The occupation of cosmetology does not meet the criteria of a profession as it is herein defined. Nor is it probable that it will in

the near future. Among the factors that prevent it are the inability to claim autonomy because of the lack of a firm knowledge base and more of a self-interest orientation than a service orientation.

However, to state that cosmetology will not become a profession is not to say that it will not develop a higher level of training and performance or dedication to its task. Cosmetology should be re-examined as to the occupational category to which it belongs.

As previously mentioned, in the classification system used by the United States Bureau of Census, hairdressers are included in the category "service workers, except private household" in the sub-category "other service workers". Also included in this category are bootblacks, charwomen, chambermaids, and elevator operators. Perhaps it would be more accurate to classify cosmetology in the category "professional, technical, and kindred workers" as it takes on some of the aspects of a technical or semi-professional occupation. However, it still has a long way to go before it can be classed a true profession, and it is doubtful it will ever attain this goal.

D. Limitations of Study.

The objective of this thesis was to examine some indices of change in the transformation of a low status occupation, cosmetology, and to place the analysis in the context of a model of professionalization. In interpreting the findings of this investigation, however, there should be an awareness of some of the limitations of the study.

First, the sample from which the data was taken was an accidental sample and the power of generalization is indeed limited. Also, the sample was composed of a relatively small number of cosmetologists in

one state in the West South Central portion of the United States. With a larger, more representative sample, more of the hypotheses might have proved to be significant. Another factor that could have affected the data is the relatively high rate of migration in and out of the occupation. It is possible that the cosmetologists in Oklahoma are atypical and that the career patterns, conceptions of cosmetology, aspirations and values of cosmetologists in the United States would be somewhat different.

Second, the responses on the questionnaires were not complete in many cases. While the questionnaire was designed to be answered in a relatively short period of time, it did contain some open-ended questions which some of the respondents did not complete. From coding the completed questionnaires, it became quite evident that the low educational level of some respondents was a detriment both to their understanding and answering some of the questions.

FOOTNOTES

¹"Emme Report on Code of Ethics," <u>N.H.C.A. Bulletin</u>, March (1964) pp. 8-10.

²<u>NHCA Fact Book</u>, p. 4.

³Ibid., p. 9.

⁴"A Beauty Career for Women and Men," Beauty Career Council, New York.

⁵"NHCA Cosmetology Code of Ethics," <u>N.H.C.A. Bulletin</u>, March (1964) . p. 9.

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APPENDIX A

CODE OF COSMETOLOGY

As a Member of The National Hairdressers and Cosmetologists Association, Inc., I subscribe to the following:

That the best interests of the patron shall always receive the first consideration in the conduct of this salon;

That we dedicate our professional skills to the enhancement of the beauty of each patron, according to her individuality. In so doing, we shall give the highest quality of service through constant attention to the artistry of the newest hair fashions and the other advancements in professional beauty care;

That we shall continue to maintain the highest professional skill through attendance and study of professional educational programs under the guidance of our Association;

That we shall be ever aware of the latest scientific developments, techniques and products which have been proved beneficial for the best interests of the patron;

That we are thankful for the respect, loyalty and confidence which the patron has displayed and shall compensate for it with courteous, fair and professional treatment in a salon cognizant of the health and welfare of the patron; and

That we shall always try to be good citizens in the communities in which we live and practice our profession.

NHCA COSMETOLOGY CODE OF ETHICS

Adopted by the Delegates at the 42nd NHCA Convention -- July, 1962

I. RESPONSIBILITY OF THE COSMETOLOGIST TO THE PUBLIC

To place dedication to service before financial reward or personal... gain.

To stand ever ready to volunteer his special skills, knowledge and training in the interest of the public welfare.

To endeavor to maintain a reputation in the community as an intelligent, honest, efficient and courteous professional worthy of public trust.

To see that those admitted to the practice of cosmetology are properly qualified by character, ability and training, and that those who thereafter prove unworthy of these privileges are deprived of them. To carry malpractice and public liability insurance.

II. RESPONSIBILITY OF THE COSMETOLOGIST TO HIS PATRON

To give full measure of service in the best interest of the patron. To learn new methods, receive new ideas and improve techniques. To render service on the basis of quality rather than price.

To make no charge for services that cannot be proved by competent evidence to be a fair charge.

To refrain from false representation and misleading advertising. To refrain from misrepresenting the type, quality, and manufacture of products used in rendering service.

To observe the rules of sanitation and hygiene set forth by law. To give the patron, wherever possible, the benefit of the doubt in matters of differences.

To refrain from discussing with one patron the type of service rendered to another.

To hold as confidential personal matters entrusted by the patron.

To render service in such a manner that a charge of gross negligence, incompetency or misconduct is unwarranted.

III. RESPONSIBILITY OF THE COSMETOLOGIST TO THE PROFESSION AT LARGE

To uphold the dignity and honor of the profession.

To affiliate with a unit of the recognized professional organization of the profession and to contribute time, energy and ability to the organization so that the profession may be advanced, and ideals kept constant.

To safeguard the profession so that only those qualified by education, and possessing good moral character may be admitted.

To practice strictly within the provisions of the Cosmetology Law, and to cooperate with the proper authorities in its enforcement and administration, and to refrain from assisting others to evade the law.

To lend his best efforts in improving the education standards of the profession.

IV. RESPONSIBILITY OF THE COSMETOLOGIST TO HIS FELLOW COSMETOLOGIST

To conduct himself so that the spirit of fair dealing, cooperation and courtesy shall govern relations between members of the profession.

To refrain from soliciting patrons by offering services through advertising or by other means, at a price below the prevailing range charged by the profession for like services in the community.

To refrain from directly or indirectly offering employment or hiring an employee of another salon. This shall not be construed so as to inhibit negotiations with anyone who of his own initiative, or in response to public advertisement, shall apply for employment.

To refrain from advertising for help "with a following".

To refuse to endorse or permit the use of his name in conjunction with publicity or advertising of cosmetic products produced primarily for non-beauty salon consumption.

To refuse the use of his name in editorial or news items in which his professional knowledge is exploited to encourage self application of a product or service.

To refrain from lending his talents to trade events of the industry which are not in the best interests of the profession.

To refrain from directly or indirectly falsely or maliciously injuring the good name, reputation, or discrediting the ability of a fellow cosmetologist.

To respect information given in confidence by a fellow cosmetologist, in any matter of business, and not to divulge or use it to the detriment of the informant.

To refrain from using his office in the organization of the profession for personal gain.

To refrain from performing any act tending to promote his own interest to the detriment of the profession or its professional $\sim_{\rm co}$ organization.

V. RESPONSIBILITY OF THE COSMETOLOGIST EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE TO ONE ANOTHER

To develop a mutual bond with his employees which will result in reciprocal interest.

To assume responsibility for the services rendered by the employee. To instill professional pride in the employee in the quality of service performed by the employee.

To observe all wage and hour regulations -- Federal, State and Local.

To establish charges for services rendered by the salon that will permit a fair and equitable remuneration to the employee commensurate with his ability.

To provide incentives to encourage the employee to increase his abilities.

To provide periodic training sessions.

To refrain from misrepresentation as to conditions and permanency when advertising or offering employment.

APPENDIX B

COSMETOLOGY SURVEY

1. Have you, during the past year, patronized a beauty salon, or salons, regularly?

	yesno
(a)	If yes, approximately how often?
	once a week or oftener
	about every other week
	about once a month
	less than once a month
(b)	If no, have you ever patronized a salon regularly in the past?
	yes no
	1. If yes, why did you stop going?
	2. If no, can you tell us why you have never used beauty
salons?	
• •	
<u> </u>	

2. For each of the following pairs of occupations, check the one that you think is the most desirable.

(a)	(b)
hairdresser	factory machine optr.
or	or
taxi driver	hairdresser
(c)	(f)
bartender	hairdresser
or	or
hairdresser	clerk in a store
(e)	(f)
hairdresser	bookkeeper
or	or
plumber	hairdresser
(g)	(h)
hairdresser	restaurant cook
or	or
undertaker	hairdresser

3. Check the occupational group to which you think hairdressers belong.

_____ professional

_____ business

_____ artists

_____ skilled workers

_____ semi-skilled workers

_____domestic workers

4. Why do you think men and women become hairdressers?

to create fashion or beauty
to make money
because they can't do anything else
to earn a living

5. Check all of the terms that you think fit hairdressers.

.well-groomed	fashion expert
pleasant	lazy
loud	careless about appearance
courteous	gossipy
close-mouthed	hard working
rude	ambitious
brassy	two faced

Now may we ask for just a little bit of information about yourself?

6. Into what age category do you fit?

_____ 20 years of age or under _____ 21 - 30 _____ 31 - 40 _____ 41 - 50 _____ 51 - 60 _____ 61 - 70

- 7. If you are married, how would you classify your husband's occupation? ______unskilled employee
 - _____ small farmer
 - machine operator or semi-skilled employee
 - _____ skilled employee
 - _____ owner of small business
 - _____ clerical, sales worker, or technician
 - administrative personnel, minor professional
 - _____large farmer
 - business manager, professional, owner of medium sized business higher executive, major professional, owner of large business
- 8. If you are married, how far did your husband go in school?
 - graduate professional training (beyond bachelor's degree)
 - _____standard college education
 - _____ partial college training
 - _____ high school graduate
 - _____ partial high school training
 - _____ junior high school graduate
 - less than seven years of school

SURVEY OF COSMETOLOGISTS

1.	Are you a	_man? _woman?	2.	Are you	white? Negro? other?
3.		age group? _under 20 _20-24 _25-29 _30-34 _35-39			40-44 45-49 50-54 55-59 60 or over
<u>)</u> 4 。		_single? _married? _divorced? _widowed?	5.	Do you l	have children at home?
6.		ou go in school? _8 yrs. or less _some high school _high school gradu	ate		some college college graduate postgraduate college
7.		s have you worked a less than l year l-3 years _4-5 years	s a	cosmetol	ogist? 5-10 years 10-20 more than 20 years
8.		license do you now _operator's _advanced operator _instructor's		?	
9.	Before you bed	came a hairdresser, ?	wha	t kind o	f work did you do? For how many years?
	a)				
	c)				

10.	In your present job, are you a (check as many as apply) salon owner?stylist? salon manager?hairdresser? manicurist?
.1.1.•	How far did your father go in school? 8 years or lesssome college some high schoolcollege graduate high school graduatepostgraduate college
12.	What did your father do for a living while you were growing up? job title job description
13.	For the most part, where did you grow up? in the country in a small town or city in a larger city
14.	For married women only. What does your husband do for a living? job title job description
15.	<u>For married men only</u> , Does your wife work outside the home? not at all part time full time
	If she works, what does she do? job title job description
16.	What made you decide to become a cosmetologist?
17.	Do you intend to remain in cosmetology indefinitely? yes no undecided
18.	What are your future plans in the field of cosmetology, if any?

92.

- 19. Which occupation do you think cosmetology is most like? _____artist _____professional person _____small business man _____semi-skilled worker _____skilled worker _____office worker
- 20. Do you have any future job plans outside of cosmetology? _____yes _____no

If "yes," what are they?

If future plans include marriage, do you plan to continue working? _____yes _____no ____undecided

21. Rank the following organizations from 1 to 9, from the one with highest status to the one with lowest status. Let 1 represent the highest status.

> State Medical Association Local Retail Clerks Union Funeral Director's Association Electrical Worker's Union Federation of Teachers Association of University Professors Oklahoma Cosmetologists Association Bartender's Association Taxi Drivers' Union

- 22. What is your highest goal in life?
- 23. What do you think the three chief goals of the Oklahoma Cosmetology Association should be? (check 3 only)
 - _____raise incomes of hairdressers
 - _____encourage high ethical standards among hairdressers

shorten working hours of hairdressers

- ____limit the number of people allowed to become hairdressers
 - promote goals of service to salon customers

.

- encourage high moral standards among hairdressers
- 24. What are your chief goals as a cosmetologist?
 - 1. 2.

ATIV

Mary Carolyn Stout

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: INDICES OF CHANGE IN THE TRANSORMATION OF A LOW STATUS OCCUPATION

Major Field: Sociology

Biographical:

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- Education: Attended grade school in Drumright, Oklahoma; graduated from Drumright High School in 1956; received the Bachelor of Science degree from the Oklahoma State University, with a major in Business Education, in May, 1960; completed requirements for the Master of Science degree from the Oklahoma State University, with a major in Sociology in August, 1965.
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