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TO: Dr Anísio Teixeira, Director, CBPE, Rio de Janeiro.

FROM: Dr Bertram Hutchingson, UNESCO sociologist attached to CBPE
Regional Centre, São Paulo

SUBJECT: REPORT OF PERSONAL ACTIVITIES, November 1st, 1955 -
- Jan. 31st, 1956

1. The period on which I am reporting has been characterised by a number of events whose effect has been to slow down the more rapid rate of progress that was evident from my last report. The political situation in November, the Christmas and New Year holidays, and the University vacation, have combined to limit progress in São Paulo, as elsewhere. On the other hand, these three months are notable in that they have seen the protracted negotiations concerning the setting-up of the São Paulo Regional Centre nearing their end, and the reaching of an agreement, in principle, between Rio and São Paulo as to a starting date for the Regional Centre early in March, 1956. This is extremely gratifying, and I hope that, in addition to the contribution I may make to the research to be carried on in São Paulo, I may possibly be found of some practical assistance here in the organisation of the Regional Centre and its programme of work.
2. During the period under review I continued to make regular visits to Rio de Janeiro in order to maintain contact with Headquarters personnel, to discuss planning progress and to report on the course of my own work. I was in Rio on November 10-12, when my return to São Paulo was delayed by the political events of that period. On December 12 and 13 I was again in Rio with the particular object of meeting Prof. David Glass, whom I had known at the London School of Economics, and who was in Brazil for the Conference on Demography. With Dr Anísio Teixeira and Dr L.A. Costa Pinto I spent the greater part of an afternoon in discussion with Prof. Glass, during the course of which we took the opportunity to consult him on the subject of my São Paulo social mobility project. He offered some practical suggestions and in general approved of the project (it will be remembered that Prof. Glass directed the British social mobility and education project, published as Social Mobility in Britain, on which my own project is partially modelled). On this occasion, too, I had the pleasure of encountering for the first time Mr A.C. Pearse, the new UNESCO appointment to the Centre. Shortly after the beginning of the New Year, on January 2 and 3, I visited Rio to meet Prof. Roberto Moreira on his return from the USA in order to discuss Centre affairs and my own programme of work with him. At the end of the same month and early in

February I was again in Rio, on this occasion mainly in order to give a paper to a weekly meeting of Headquarters staff, describing the São Paulo social mobility project. On this occasion I was accompanied by sr. Carlo Castaldi and Sr. Juarez Lopes, collaborators in the project, who themselves described their own part in it.

3. The progress of my initial research project in São Paulo, that concerned with social mobility among University students, has been much slower, not only than I had hoped for, but also than I was led by Dr Otávio Eduardo to expect. It will be recalled that Dr Otávio was asked to undertake the field interviewing and mechanical tabulation of the results involved in this study, as an interim measure pending the full organisation of the CBPE. The organisation of field interviewing by Dr Otávio has been faced with certain difficulties during this period, chief among them being Dr Otávio's separation from IPOM (in which he was formerly a partner) in order to set up a sample survey concern of his own. Since the CBPE's contract was made (mistakenly, in my view) with Dr Otávio as an individual rather than with IPOM as a corporate entity, my research project was brought to a halt for some three weeks and moved extremely slowly thereafter, while Dr Otávio sought staff and set up a new organisation for his newly-formed undertaking. For this situation no blame can be attached to Dr Otávio himself, but it was unfortunate that the work of the CBPE should be held up when a direct contract with IPOM would have permitted it to continue.

4. It has not been easy to find an effective spur to greater efforts on the part of Dr Otávio's organisation, and the 50 per cent. advance payment (which I felt, at the time it was made, to be excessively generous) may have had something to do with this, although I do not suggest that Dr Otávio has been consciously influenced by it. In this connection I would suggest that if the CBPE is faced in the future, with the necessity of hiring a survey organisation for some part of its work (though I would suggest also that now that the Centre is fully organised it will be far better to arrange our own field staff, possibly composed of students) not more than 10 per cent. of the total estimated cost should be paid on starting. The remainder should be paid on the completion of stipulated stages of the work, on the advice of the member of the Centre staff responsible for the research project.

5. On December 16 I had a further serious discussion with Dr Otávio Eduardo, in which we sought an explanation of the slow progress that was being made, and the means of expediting the work that was

remaining. In response to my request, Dr Octávio agreed to certain finishing dates for various phases of the work for which he is responsible. Unfortunately, apart from the first, none of these agreed dates has been met.

6. The position as it now stands in respect of this project is as follows:
 - (a) The full quota of 700 interviews on the subject of occupational grading has been completed.
 - (b) Hand-counted statistical tables on the two special samples of 100 each from among the total of 700 interviews have been completed by Dr Octávio.
 - (c) The cards for the mechanical tabulation of the results from the remaining 500 have been perforated ready for use.
 - (d) Mechanical tabulation with these cards has begun, and should be completed early in March.
 - (e) The second set of 700 interviews with students covering material on social mobility, and opinions and wishes regarding University education, has been completed to 570, leaving 130 to be done.
7. The following remains to be done before Dr Octávio Eduardo's part in this project comes to an end:
 - (a) The tabulation of 500 occupational grading interviews.
 - (b) Completion of 130 interviews on social mobility.
 - (c) The coding of questionnaires on social mobility in readiness for transfer to punched cards.
 - (d) Perforation of cards for 700 social mobility questionnaires.
 - (e) Tabulation of these questionnaires by machine.

Dr. Octávio now assures me that all these processes will be completed by the end of March, but to judge from our past experience I feel that he is over-optimistic.

8. Nevertheless, as soon as material becomes available I shall begin its analysis, and I hope it may be possible to have at least a short paper dealing with a selection of the results ready for the next issue of the Centre's "Bulletin", Education and Social Science.

9. I described the larger social mobility project, to be done under the auspices of the São Paulo Regional Centre, in my last report, and in the paper which I gave in Rio in February. We have not been able to begin work on this project as early as I had hoped owing to

the delay in the establishment of the Regional Centre. Instead of December 1st, the opening date is now put at March 1st, from which date contracts with my collaborators in the project will date. However, I have been able to work out what promises to be a satisfactory sampling procedure for my own part of the project, to prepare draft questionnaires in readiness for starting, and to begin looking through existing statistical and other material on São Paulo which has relevance to our subject. I have also been able to offer Sr Castaldi advice on the use of one of my questionnaires in the preliminary phase of his work on the Italian group with which he is working, while I have had a number of discussions with him, Sr. Juarez Lopes and Da. Carolina Martuscelli Bori, on the objectives and methods of the project.

10. As you will already know, I intend to train and employ our own field interviewing staff, drawn from São Paulo University students, on this project, and to make my own arrangements for the mechanical tabulation of the results of the sample surveys. In this way I hope that the work will proceed at a far greater speed than has marked any of the Centre's work during the recent period of planning and organization. It is important in my view that all our work now displays a sense of urgency, providing this does not conflict with efficiency and systematic study.

Bertram Hutchinson
February 18th, 1956

April 1956 1. 1

THE STATUS-RANKING OF OCCUPATIONS BY UNIVERSITYStudents: a note on some preliminary results.

BERTRAM HUTCHINSON

The study of social status of occupations, some results of which this paper describes, forms part of a larger study whose general purpose is to show the relationship that may exist between education, social status and social mobility. While it is intended to extend the study to cover all status levels of the municipio of São Paulo and its population, the preliminary and, to some extent, exploratory phases was restricted to undergraduates of the University of São Paulo. It was necessary to make use of some objective scale of social status throughout the study, and it seemed likely that such a standard might be found in occupation. Occupation has already been used with success in this fashion in Great Britain and elsewhere. Before finally adopting in Brazil this occupational guide to social status, however, it had to be shown empirically that it is applicable to the Brazillian setting. The study of the social status of occupations, therefore, should accomplish two things. It should show whether Brazillians in general regard occupations to be closely linked with social status: if they do, then they would have little difficulty in ranking in order of status a list of selected occupations that is given to them. Secondly, it should be a means of validating an existing, a priori, status scale of occupations which it is intended to employ in estimating the status of occupations which arise in the general study of mobility. Thus, if the efficiency of the a priori scale were demonstrated in the case of the selected occupations ranked by informants in this study, then its efficiency could be justifiably assumed in the case of the many occupations which could not be tested in this way. Although the full material is not yet available, it

will be seen from the material presented in this paper that occupation seems to be a dependable guide to social status in Brazil as it is elsewhere.

The informants selected for this study were all first-year students from all Faculties of the University of São Paulo. Out of a total, in August 1955, of some 1 800 students a sample of 700 was drawn by selecting names at equal intervals from the Faculty lists. In order to meet the probability that some students drawn on this main sample would fail to be interviewed, a smaller list was drawn up in the same fashion, though selecting names at a wider interval. This smaller, or substitute, list was to be used whenever it was found impossible to interview the informant originally selected. On the completion of interviewing exactly 700 interviews had been completed; and there seems no reason to suppose these do not accurately represent the first year student-body as a whole.

Informants were interviewed either at the University or at their homes. In the course of the interview the informant was handed 30 cards, on each of which was written the name of one occupation. He was then asked to sort these cards into six groups of descending social status, every occupation in each group to be equivalent class status. When this was completed he was asked to rank in order of status the occupations in each of the six groups. It was emphasised that what was required was not so much his personal judgement, but rather what he thought the judgement of "people in general" would be. When these two processes were completed the 30 occupation cards had been ranked in a single continuous hierarchy, No. 1 being the highest status and No. 30 the lowest status. All informants, with certain exceptions mentioned in the next paragraph, were permitted to rank two or more occupations as of equal status if they wished to do so.

As an experiment, 100 informants selected randomly from the main list were explicitly forbidden to give same

ranking to more than one occupation, with a view to discovering what effect, if any, this had on the final ranking order of the 30 occupations. A second sub-sample of 100 informants drawn from the main list, though allowed to tie occupations they considered of equal status, were given a special set of occupation cards which, in addition to the name of an occupation also mentioned the occupation's average income. The purpose of this was to discover if such additional information influenced the final ranking order of the occupations. The final total of 700 interviews was therefore made up of 500 interviews in which the name only of the occupations was given, and tying was permitted; 100 interviews using the same occupation cards, but in which ^{tying} was prohibited; 100 interviews in which tying was permitted but information concerning an occupation's average income was shown on the cards.

The present results constitute a preliminary report on this study, the complete analysis of which is not yet completed. When other material becomes available it will be possible to examine in some detail such ranking differences as may appear between men and women, and between age-groups; how far the fact that a student has paid employment in addition to his University work influences his ranking of the occupations; what difficulties informants experienced in the ranking process, and which occupations were found most difficult to rank; and what social and economic peculiarities are thought to characterise the occupations of various status classes. Particularly important will be the material arising from the six-class ranking, which is not discussed here. This preliminary report presents material on the ranking order of the 30 occupations, the degree of dispersion of opinion, the effect of the income cards and the effect of prohibiting tying.

II

By means of Powers electrical tabulating equipment, ordinary frequency distributions were produced for each of the

30 occupations, showing (for the main sample of 500) the number of informants who had attributed various rankings to these occupations. These frequency distributions were then analysed by five University-entrance grades. For each of these grades the median ranking-judgement was calculated for each of the occupations, giving five sets of 30 median judgements. The arithmetic means of the five median judgements were calculated, and the 30 occupations were then arrayed in rank order, as shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

The rank order of the thirty occupations as shown by the mean of five median judgements

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Median Judgement</u>
Médico	1.0
Advogado	2.4
Padre	3.6
Diretor Superintendente de Companhia	3.8
Jornalista	4.6
Fazendeiro	5.2
Gerente de Fábrica	6.4
Gerente Comercial de Firma	7.2
Professor Primário	8.2
Contador	10.0
Funcionário Público de Padrão Médio	10.8
Dono de Pequeno Estabeleci- mento Comercial	10.8
Despachante	13.6
Escriturário	13.6
Viajante Comercial	13.6
Sitiante	14.8
Empreiteiro	15.6
Mecânico	17.6
Guarda Civil	18.6
Balconista	18.6
Motorista	19.4
Cosinheiro (restaurante de 1ª classe)	20.0
Tratorista (agricultura)	21.0
Carpinteiro	21.8
Condutor de Trens	22.0
Garçon	22.6
Pedreiro	23.8
Trabalhador Agrícola	23.8
Estivador	26.4
Lixeiro	28.4

It is evident from Table 1 that these informants found no difficulty in ranking the occupations in a hierarchy. Moreover bearing in mind what we know of the thirty occupations used in this study, it is fairly clear that the status of an occupation is closely related, as might be expected, to the degree of skill, the extent of education and the amount of income, which characterise it. For a foreign observer imperfectly acquainted with the structure and values of Brazilian society, however, the order of ranking contains two unexpected results, in that Fazendeiro is accorded a lower status, and Jornalista a higher status, than was expected. The low status of the Cosinheiro of a first-class restaurant (an occupation which, with its title of "chef", carries rather higher status in Europe) is perhaps a reflection of the manual nature of the work, and perhaps also of its associations with low-status preto workers. A cursory comparison of the results with those of a recent British study(1) suggests two main differences. First, we have in Brazil a clearer separation of manual from non-manual occupations, more or less independent of the skill involved in the manual occupation: the mere fact of an occupation's being non-manual seems in general to raise it in status above most types of even skilled manual work. Thus, while in Britain a routine clerk has a place among a group which includes mechanic, carpenter and bricklayer, in Brazil this occupation is in a higher, entirely non-manual, group which includes Despachante, Viajante Comercial and the Dono de Pequeno Estabelecimento Comercial. Secondly, there seems to be a tendency in Brazil to relegate all heavy manual occupations to the lowest level, although in Britain this tendency is not so clear.

The central tendencies of the ranking judgements, as indicated by the medians, showed considerable stability in so far as analysis has been completed. Thus, the median judgments of the five University-entrance grades (which may be considered a

(1) David Glass, (ed.), Social Mobility in Britain, London, 1954, p. 34

TABLE 2

The thirty occupations ranked according to dispersion of opinion, as measured by the mean deviation from the median judgement

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Mean Deviation</u>
Lixeiro	0.92
Médico	1.02
Advogado	1.25
Jornalista	2.08
Gerente Comercial de Firma	2.17
Diretor Superintendente de Companhia	2.20
Gerente de Fábrica	2.24
Padre	2.39
Contador	2.56
Professor Primário	2.79
Dono de Pequeno Estabelecimento Comercial	2.88
Viajante Comercial	2.94
Funcionário Público de Padrão Médio	2.97
Fazendeiro	2.99
Escriturário	3.00
Mecânico	3.22
Despachante	3.60
Motorista	3.60
Balconista	3.71
Carpinteiro	3.72
Tratorista (agricultura)	3.73
Garçon	3.75
Condutor de Trens	3.80
Pedreiro	3.85
Empreiteiro	3.97
Guarda Civil	4.00
Sitiante	4.15
Cosinheiro (restaurante de 1ª classe)	4.16
Estivador	4.18
Trabalhador agrícola	4.66

rough approximation to intelligence grades) showed only slight differences. On the other hand, there was often considerable disagreement among informants as to the ranking of specific occupations. Table 2 shows the 30 occupations ranked according to the degree of dispersion of opinion, indicated by the mean deviation from the median judgement.

It is clear that the highest degree of unanimity among informants was displayed at the two extremes of the status scale established in Table 1: at the top, Médico and Advogado; at the ranking of the following occupations: Empreiteiro, Guarda Civil, Sítiante, Cosinheiro, Estivador and Trabalhador Agrícola. It is not easy to see any factor which is common to these six occupations. Two of them, however, are rural occupations with which urban University students may be unfamiliar, while similar considerations may apply to Estivador. The Cosinheiro of a first class restaurant may also be an unfamiliar figure; and judgements as to the status of the Guarda Civil may have been influenced by considerations that were not strictly occupational. But with these six exceptions, and with that of Lixeiros (with its remarkably low mean deviation), an examination of Table 2 suggests that dispersion of opinion increase directly as occupational status falls. If we calculate an approximate coefficient of correlation between these two variables as given by Spearman's rank correlation formula (2), we obtain a value for p of 0.7, which represents a fairly high degree of association. We cannot assume this correlation to persist throughout the general population, at least in the form in which it appears here. The correlation we have observed between dispersion of judgements and status level is probably a reflection of the population represented by the sample. University students are largely drawn from higher social status levels, and ignorance

(2) This formula, of course, is

$$p = \frac{6 \sum (d^2)}{N(N^2 - 1)}$$

Where N represents the number of pairs of variables ranked, and d represents the difference between the two rankings for any one pair.

of the character of occupations (and hence of their status) might be expected to increase as the distance separating them from the University level, becomes greater. On the other hand, it could possibly be true for informants drawn from any social level that greater doubt exists among them as to the relative status of lower level occupations than of those occupations at the higher levels. There are therefore two alternatives. First, we may find that the correlation we have noted among student informants persists throughout the population, lower status occupations always showing an association with lack of unanimity in status-judgements. Alternatively, it may be that the pattern of dispersion varies according to the status-level of the informants. In such a case we would expect greatest dispersion of judgement by a sample of low status-level informants to occur in respect of occupations at the highest level - those at greatest distance from themselves. It is to be hoped that the completion of the present project, with its planned extension to the general population of São Paulo, will shed some light on this problem.

It seems highly probable that income enters largely into the determination of an occupation's status, though in what degree we do not know. In order to ascertain something of the part which income plays in the ranking of occupations, a special sample (which we have already described) of 100 students were given information concerning the average income of each of the thirty occupations. In other respects the interview was identical with that of the main sample. Consequently, any significant differences in the final ranking order of the occupations, or in the dispersion of judgements, may be safely assumed to be the result of the greater knowledge which this special sample possessed. The rank order of the occupations resulting from the judgements of these students may be seen in Table 3.

TABLE 3

The rank order of the 30 occupations as shown by the median judgements of students who were told average incomes; and the dispersion of judgements as shown by the mean deviation from the median judgement.

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Median Judgement</u>	<u>Mean Deviation</u>
Médico	1.0	1.38
Advogado	2.0	1.26
Diretor Superintendente de Companhia	3.0	1.80
Padre	4.0	2.38
Fazendeiro	4.0	2.67
Jornalista	5.0	2.62
Gerente Comercial de Firma	6.0	2.01
Gerente de Fábrica	6.0	1.76
Professor Primário	8.5	3.21
Contador	10.0	2.59
Dono de pequeno estabelecimento comercial	10.0	2.82
Funcionário Público de padrão médio	11.0	2.75
Despachante	12.0	2.93
Empreiteiro	12.0	3.71
Viajante comercial	12.0	2.94
Sitiante	14.0	3.87
Escriturário	16.0	3.42
Guarda civil	17.0	4.13
Mecânico	18.0	2.77
Balconista	19.0	3.76
Motorista	19.0	3.80
Cosinheiro (restaurante de 1ª classe)	20.0	4.03
Tratorista (agricultura)	20.0	3.75
Carpinteiro	20.0	3.15
Condutor de trens	21.0	4.01
Garçon	22.0	3.77
Pedreiro	23.0	3.49
Trabalhador agrícola	23.5	4.45
Estivador	26.0	3.51
Lixeiro	28.0	3.61

A comparison of Table 3 with Table 1 reveals remarkably few variations from the ranking order established for the main sample: on the whole the order remains unchanged, although there are one or two minor modifications in precedence. Thus, the informants' knowledge of his average income has caused Padre to move down one position to give way to Diretor Superintendente, who advances one position. Fazendeiro also moves up one position to exchange with Jornalista. Gerente Comercial now has equal status with Gerente de Fábrica. The Dono de Pequeno Estabelecimento Comercial moves up one position to exchange with Funcionário Público; and Guarda Civil moves up one position to exchange with Mecânico. The most considerable change is that affecting Escriurário and Empreiteiro, who make an exchange in the latter's favour involving four positions. But the effect of these several changes on the general ranking order is slight, which suggests either that income plays a subordinate part in determining an occupation's status, or that the average incomes of the occupations are already familiar to the informants.

The more significant effect of the experiment comes to light, however, when we examine the changes which occurred in the degree of dispersion of ranking judgements. Knowledge of an occupation's average income reduced dispersion (that is, it created a greater unanimity of opinion) in the case of 14 occupations, which included all but one of the six occupations which, in the main sample results, displayed particularly large dispersion - the exception being Guarda Civil. In 8 cases dispersion was not affected; and in the other 8 cases dispersion was actually increased compared with the main sample. These last cases of increased dispersion (Jornalista, Professor Primário, Médico, Escriurário, Lixeiro, Motorista, Conductor de Trens and Guarda Civil) deserve a special comment.

It was notable that the main sample showed a considerable degree of unanimity as to the status of Lixeiro (the mean deviation being 0.92). However, when the average income of this occupation was known, opinion as to its status was dispersed to such an extent that the mean deviation from

the median judgement rose to 3.61, a value four times as great as before. It is possible to account for this if we postulate a widely-known, or stereotyped, status for the occupation of Lixeiro, (perhaps based upon the disagreeable nature of the work), which many informants felt obliged to reconsider in the light of the monetary reward that it receives. Something of the same sort though in rather different terms may have happened in the case of Médico, Jornalista, Professor Primário and Escriturário - occupations from which many students' parents are drawn, and which many students may feel they will have to enter.

While further research into the part which knowledge of income plays in determining occupational status is clearly necessary, the effects revealed by this experiment are small. Some of the reasons for this may emerge from our later material arising from the larger study of which this is a part. In particular it will be important to estimate how far informants already know approximately the income levels of these various occupations, and so automatically take this into account in judging status; or, alternatively, whether income plays only a minor part in determining status, except perhaps in marginal cases of unfamiliar occupations.

In conclusion we must examine briefly the problem of tying. Informants in the main sample were told that if, in the process of ranking the thirty occupations, they found any two or more occupations which they considered to be of equal status, this was to be recorded. Furthermore, with the intention of discovering what effect the following mode of procedure might have upon the resulting ranked order of occupations, a special sample of 100 students were explicitly forbidden to record ties. In all other respects the interview was identical with that of the main sample, and differences in rank order or dispersion are attributable to the prohibition of tying. Table 4 shows the rank order of the thirty occupations arising from this special sample, and the mean deviation of all judgements from the median judgement of each occupation.

TABLE 4

The thirty occupations ranked according to the median judgements of students to whom typing was forbidden; and the dispersion of judgements as shown by the mean deviation from the median

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Median Judgement</u>	<u>Mean Deviation</u>
Médico	1.0	1.20
Advogado	3.0	1.03
Padre	3.0	2.35
Diretor Superintend. de Companhia	5.0	1.94
Jornalista	5.0	2.07
Fazendeiro	6.0	2.76
Gerente comercial de Firma	7.0	1.67
Gerente de Fábrica	8.0	2.15
Professor Primário	8.0	2.74
Contador	10.5	1.97
Funcionário Público de Padrão Médio	12.0	2.33
Dono de Pequeno Estabelecimento Com.	12.0	2.87
Despachante	14.0	3.43
Escriturário	15.0	2.54
Viajante Comercial	15.0	2.45
Sitiante	15.0	4.35
Empreiteiro	16.0	3.16
Guarda Civil	18.5	3.64
Mecânico	19.0	2.76
Balconista	21.0	2.98
Motorista	21.0	2.81
Carpinteiro	21.5	3.02
Cosinheiro (restaurante de 1ª classe)	23.0	3.39
Tratorista (agricultura)	23.0	3.30
Condutor de trens	25.0	2.66
Garçon	25.0	3.07
Pedreiro	25.0	2.85
Trabalhador agrícola	27.0	3.46
Estivador	29.0	1.72
Lixeiro	30.0	1.24

Again, a comparison of this Table with Table 1 shows the effect of the experiment to have been small. Gerente de Firma moves up one position to exchange with Gerente de Fábrica. Guarda Civil moves up one position to exchange with Mecânico. Carpinteiro moves up two positions, above Cosinheiro and Tratorista who are now of equal status. Garçon and Conductor de Trens also become equal in status. None of these modifications, however, radically effect the general pattern established by the main sample. It will be seen that dispersion was reduced in all except four cases, where it was unchanged, and three others where it was very slightly increased. We are therefore to conclude that whether or not informants are permitted to judge two or more occupations as of equal status makes very little difference to the emergent rank order of the occupations.

III

Summing up, we may draw the following conclusions from the preliminary data reported in this paper:

- (i) University students appear to regard occupation as indicating social status, and they are able to rank a list of occupations according to this status.
- (ii) Dispersion of opinion as to the status of an occupation appears to vary directly with the distance of the occupation from informant's own status.
- (iii) The general ranking order persists with only slight variations when the experiment is varied to include information concerning average incomes, and when informants are explicitly forbidden to rank two or more occupations as of equal status.
- (iv) The effect of varying the experiment in these ways is more clearly seen in the changes in dispersion of judgment than in ranking order. Information regarding average incomes of the selected occupations increased disagreement in more than a quarter of the occupations. The prohibitions of tying, on the other hand, reduced dispersion in the majority of cases.