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Occupational titles and the perception of gender

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OCCUPATIONAL TITLES AND THE PERCEPTION OF GENDER

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ABSTRACT

First, this study examines the findings of Shinar's (1975) study on the perception of gender in occupations in comparison to a current population. Second, the answers of a population of college students in WV were compared to their place of origin. Third, current neutral titles were compared to earlier gendered counterparts. Lastly, the answers of male and female respondents were analyzed.

Overall, occupational titles were found to be less gendered but retained their gender when compared to data collected by Shinar in 1975. Those respondents who were native to in WV were not found to be more stereotypical in their responses than those respondents who were not native to WV. Overall, neutral titles were more neutral than their gendered counterparts but retained their gender. Male and female answers were found to be similar, with a few exceptions.

Occupational Titles and the Perception of Gender

The job title one holds can determine prestige, salary, and even the ability to advance within an organization (Berheide, Chertos, Haignere, & Steinberg, 1989; Bielby & Baron 1986; Naughton, 1988). Compensation for specific job titles are often determined through market surveys and current pay or pay history (Rynes, Weber, & Milkovich, 1989). Current pay tends to have less effect on compensation decisions than market value. Market value is obtained through salary surveys of similar jobs.

Historically, these market values were set when it was legal to pay female employees less than males; organizations chose to slot women into dead-end job and to limit opportunities (Bielby & Baron, 1986). Kim (1989) analyzed data from the state of California concerning 27 job titles from 1931 to 1986. In 1930, it was the policy of the state of California to pay women less than men. An analysis of the compensation data for women and men found that the pay differentials are essentially the same in the present as when they had been established using legal discriminatory measures.

Kim (1989), Bielby & Baron (1986), and Berheide et al. (1989) found a number of job titles that are held predominantly by males or females. Job titles held predominantly by women were found to be underpaid. Salaries surveys have shown women are paid less for the same job in marketing, advertising and library science (Curtis, 1998; Gaines, 1997; St. Lifer, 1994). In the United States,

female wages were 69% of male wages in 1988; Australia, Denmark, France, New Zealand, Norway and Sweden ranged from 80-90% in female to male wages (Lissy, 1993).

Though market values have been shown to be a key determinant in current salary decisions, the historical bases for these market values are often overlooked (Bielby & Baron, 1986; Kim, 1989; Rynes et al., 1989; Schwab & Grams, 1985). Job titles that are considered feminine, or that are mostly female, are often assigned less prestige and pay (Bielby & Baron, 1986; Kim, 1989; Mahoney & Blake, 1987) Gray (1997) suggests not basing compensation evaluation on market factors, because this will continue to compensate male-dominated jobs at a higher rate than female-dominated jobs.

Huffman & Velasco (1997) found negative effects on work rewards when female representation was strong. Huffman further found that an increase in female managers decreases earnings for both male and female managers, thus supporting some men's fears that women entering traditionally male jobs will lower salary bases. 72% of the top positions in trade associations are held by men; women who are in top positions then to run smaller revenue associations. Controlling for association revenue, geographic location, type of membership, industry representation and tenure of the executive, women earn 24% less than men for equivalent work ("Men dominate associations", 1997).

Lewis' (1996) examination of federal civil service jobs mirrored Huffman's study in that as female representation increased in traditionally male-dominated federal civil service jobs, average pay grades decreased. Increased female representation was not the result of women's education or seniority. Although the male-to-female pay disparity declined from 1976 to 1992, it was the result of lowering pay for integrated positions, not the result of paying females at the premium wages the positions had paid prior to integration.

Recent studies have sought to explore the relationships between gender and occupation. Jessell & Beymer (1992) found that more metropolitan school males than rural school males were sex-typed in their attitudes toward occupations, while more rural school females than metropolitan school females were sex-typed in their attitudes toward occupations. Lifschitz (1983) found that character stereotypes were based on occupation, not gender. McShane (1996) found that the job title had an effect on the perceived gender dominance of jobs. However, these studies have limited themselves to a narrow range of occupational titles and/or descriptions.

It is believed so strongly that job title has an impact on the perception of gender that several states have developed legislation that controls job titles and descriptive phrases employers may and may not use. Both Kentucky and the District of Columbia prohibit job titles that indicate a gender preference, unless no alternative is available. If a gendered job title must be used, a designation of

male/female must follow. New Jersey provides a list of 68 supposedly neutral job titles as well as an alternative descriptive list. For example, employers are required to use well-groomed or presentable instead of handsome or attractive. Domestic help is used instead of maid. Washington State provides guidelines but recognizes that neutral job titles may not eradicate discrimination (Lipton, O'Connor, Terry, & Bellamy 1991).

Shinar (1975) constructed a list of 129 occupations using Roe's classification of occupations (Roe, 1956). 120 college students were asked to rate the femininity or masculinity of each occupation on a seven point scale. Krefting, Berger, & Wallace (1978) point out several potential flaws in Shinar's study. Shinar's sampling only included the top four levels of Roe's occupational classification and most occupations fell into the professional-technical-managerial category. Freedman (1993) replicated Shinar's study with some changes. First, Freedman added the titles homemaker and business professor. Air steward(ess) was changed to flight attendant and prima ballet dancer was changed to ballet dancer.

Both Freedman (1993) and Shinar (1975) attempted to examined how occupations are viewed by the population in general. Because subgroups are believed to have different characteristics, a possible area of exploration is to examine how a subgroup, such as West Virginians or Appalachians, compares to the population in general.

Appalachia and West Virginia

Appalachia is an artificially constructed area, with few people agreeing on its boundaries (Isserman & Rephann, 1993). West Virginia lies entirely within the currently accepted model of Appalachia. Its residents are perceived by outsiders to be "hillbillies". (Anglin, 1992; Foster & Hummel, 1997; Oberhauser, 1995a; Oberhauser, 1995b; Website, Hillbilly World.). Hillbillies were originally seen as a quaint people, odd people, and people whose lives focused on survival. This stereotype still exists in some circles (Ferch, www.trowel...; Website, Hillbilly World.)

However, the stereotype of a hillbilly came to mean someone who was illiterate, dirty, backward, shiftless, and incapable of making their own decisions or caring for themselves. Novelist, folklorists, industrialist, social workers, social scientist, missionaries, and politicians created the popular image of Appalachia to exploit its people and resources to their own advantages (Anglin, 1992; Batteau, 1990; Foster & Hummel, Oberhauser, 1995a; Oberhauser, 1995b, Williamson, 1995).

Women's work in the early industrial period was basically free subsidized work for the early timber and coal companies. They provided household services and a steady supply of low cost labor. Historically, women in West Virginia were excluded from the formal work sector and relegated to traditional domestic roles. These traditional ideas are still thought to exist in West Virginia (Oberhauser,

1995a; Oberhauser, 1995b). However, recent scholarship raises serious questions about the accurateness of these views (Dunaway, 1996).

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to replicate Shinar's 1975 study and compare current data with Shinar's reported means. In addition, those participants whose place of origin is WV were compared to participants whose place of origin is elsewhere to determine and quantify any differences. Current neutral titles versus traditional titles were also explored.

Method

Participants

One hundred and nine college students from The University of Charleston were administered a questionnaire that contained 174 occupational titles. If a respondent left out any items or failed to follow directions that respondent was removed from the sample. The final number of respondents was seventy-four. Fifty two respondents were of West Virginia origin and twenty-one respondents were of "other" origin. "Other" origin included both U.S. and international students. There were 42 females and 32 males. The age range was 17-55 and the average age of the group was 22.77.

Instruments

Shinar's 1975 study was replicated. No changes were made to the original set of occupational titles, but additions were made including titles added by

Freedman. For the purpose of this study, errors noted by Krefting et al. were not corrected. For further research purposes, frequently used titles now in use were added, such as systems analyst, data processor and coordinator.

Job titles that have been recently considered neutral in literature were added (Lipton et al., 1991). and were compared to their gendered counterparts. Titles included were administrative assistant, office assistant, and secretary (Gal/Guy Fridays, 1996); maid and domestic help (Lipton et al., 1991) waiter, waitress, and wait help (Hall, 1993), accountant and bookkeeper (Loft, 1992), and YWCA and YMCA director (Mount & Ellis 1987). The results were analyzed for genderness.

Shinar (1975) showed internal reliability by repeating pediatrician twice and finding no significant differences in answers. Shinar retested thirteen participants three weeks after the initial testing, and found the test-retest reliability to be .97.

Hypothesis 1: The means of the responses of WV participants will be more gender-weighted than the means of responses of participants from other locations.

Hypothesis 2: Overall, occupational titles will be more neutral but will retain their genderness.

Hypothesis 3: "Neutral" titles that replace gendered ones were more neutral, but will retain genderness.

Hypothesis 4: Males will give more gender-weighted responses than females.

Procedure

Participants were asked to complete a questionnaire similar to the Shinar questionnaire with the aforementioned changes.

This study used the first version of the instructions Shinar used for the original study. Although Shinar's study used three different sets of instructions, her analysis of all three sets found no significant effects on the outcome of the responses.,

To control for potential order effects, pages of the questionnaire were administered in random order. After the participants had answered the occupational questions, they were instructed to choose the basis on which they rated the occupations. The questionnaire was administered during class or during other arranged times.

Results

The first hypothesis was that WV participants would be more gendered in their responses to job titles than participants from other locations. This hypothesis was not supported by the data. Three occupational titles showed statistical significance. WV natives were more gendered than participants from other locations regarding the occupation of prima ballet dancer. Answers from

non-WV participants were more gendered in regards to the occupations of ballet dancer and importer/exported.

The second hypothesis stated that overall occupational titles would be more neutral but would still retain their genderedness. This hypothesis was supported by the data. In 108 of the job titles, the occupational titles moved toward neutrality. Twenty-one of the job titles did not move toward neutrality. Sixteen of the job titles did not retain their 1975 gender; the three occupational titles that had a mean of completely neutral in 1975 moved toward the feminine side. Radio technician was most different from 1975; its mean moved from 2.667, or masculine, to 4.514, or slightly feminine.

The third hypotheses stated that neutral titles that replace gendered ones would be more neutral, but would still maintain genderedness. This hypothesis was, overall, supported by the data. However, using flight attendant instead of air steward(ess), and using ballet dancer instead of prima ballet dancer did not significantly change the mean. There were significant differences when using the neutral titles of administrative assistant and office assistant versus secretary and private secretary. Waithelp produced a mean closer to neutral than either waitress or waiter; the differences were statistically significant.

The fourth hypothesis stated that males would be more gender-weighted in their responses. This hypothesis was not supported by the data. Of the occupations with statistically significant differences, male answers were more

gendered only once; with administrative director. Females rated six occupations more gendered in a statistically significant way. These occupations were: clinical psychologist, occupational therapist, social worker, speech therapist, radiological technician, and homemaker. In each case, females rated the occupation as more feminine.

Discussion

Society in general still is subject to gender bias, although the situation appears to be decreasing, at least according to this data. As several factors coincide in today's job market, such as the women's movement, technological advances, and the increase of two income households, occupational titles are indeed moving toward neutrality. While subgroups such as native West Virginians might be assumed to be more traditional in their level of gender bias, this was not the case. Instead, WV natives displayed gender bias in only 3 of the 174 occupations. Because male-oriented jobs command higher wages, a prejudice on the part of males might be assumed, but again, this was not indicated by the data. In actuality, females had more gendered responses (in six occupations) than did males (one occupation).

While this study has limitations, it also provides useful avenues for exploration. Because job titles are implicated in compensation and prestige, one area of further study should examine what effect, if any, neutral job titles have on these factors. Methods for determining equitable worth free of historical bias

should be explored and compared. The possible correlation between genderness and occupational levels or whether boss positions are perceived as more masculine, and subordinate positions are perceived as more feminine, should also be examined.

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Appendix A

Literature Review

Occupations and the Perception of Gender

Sextyping And History

Sextyping

U.S. Department of Labor and U.S. Bureau of Census defines sex-typed occupations as those held by at least 70% female or 70% male (Jessell & Beymer, 1992). Bielby & Baron (1986) examined job segregation in a diverse sample of California businesses between 1964 and 1979 using data supplied by the California Occupational Analysis Field Center of the U.S. Employment Service. They state that "many sociological and economic theories take for granted either the truth or falsity of the view that sex segregation arises from employers satisficing behavior". For example, employers believe that women will quit their job or that women are unable to lift heavy items.

Bielby and Baron (1986) discovered that sex composition of an occupation concealed two patterns of segregation. First, a given line of work can be done exclusively by men in some organizational settings and by women in others. Second, men and women can do equivalent work within an organization but hold different job titles, like waiters are men versus waitresses are women. There can be segregation among organizations and segregation within organizations.

Bielby and Baron's (1986) analysis showed aggregation biases in occupational measures of segregation. They computed indices of segregation

across (a) the seven major occupational groups, (b) 645 detailed occupational categories, and (c) establishment of job titles.

The seven major groups include professional and technical workers, managers and officials, skilled production workers, unskilled and semi-skilled production workers, clerical workers, sales workers, and service workers. 36.5% of female (or male) workers would have to be reclassified in order to equalize the distribution of men and women across these groups.

Over three-fourths of the women (or men) would require reclassification across the 645 detailed occupations.

At the level of establishment job titles, sex segregation was nearly complete. In Bielby & Baron's sample, over 96% of the women would have to be transferred to different job titles to equalize sex ratios. Only 8% of the workers in the sample shared job titles with members of the opposite sex, and only 4% of the titles were mixed. Only 42% of the 290 establishments had job titles to which both men and women were assigned. Even when an establishment employed both sexes in the same line of work, males and females are usually assigned different job titles.

"Men and women were found in distinct job classifications in almost every setting, even when their roles were so similar that they belonged to the same detailed (nine-digit) occupational classification" (Bielby & Baron, 1986). Bridges (1982) found that the degree of market power in an industry is positively related

to the level of sexual segregation in occupations and the degree of unionization is negatively associated with the level of sexual segregation. In contrast, Bielby & Baron (1986) found unionized enterprises are more segregated by job titles. One possibility is that both men and women are employed in the same occupation, but in distinct job titles. Wooten (1997) examined gender changes in occupational employment. Despite shifts, women were highly overrepresented in clerical services trades and men were overrepresented in craft, operator and laborer jobs.

History

Young female teachers in the 19th and early 20th century tended to be highly educated as compared to the general population, resulting in their abundance in elementary education. Women were less needed on the farm and were available cheap labor in early cotton and manufacturing mills. Employers hired women for work that they believed women were best suited for (Oppenheimer, 1968).

In 1960, a National Office Management Association Study reported that 28% of the 2,000 surveyed companies reported that sex appeal was given serious consideration in receptionists, switchboard operator, secretarial and stenographer positions. In addition, Oppenheimer (1968) cites various early 60's studies that indicate businesses believed women were not qualified to deal with supervisory and management positions. Women were also traditionally expected

to follow their husbands or were otherwise unwilling or unable to move with job positions, limiting choices in several fields.

These attitudes persist today. Goff (1997) relates how in 1987, she was told that she could not move into an open manager's position. "He said that if I spent five minutes with the union, I'd be in tears," she says, "only he wasn't that polite about it."

In current California State Civil Service, 62% of all classes are male dominated (70% or more male) and 16% of all classes are female dominated (70% or more female). Thirty-six of the approximately 4000 classes are composed entirely of men (100% male) and 16% are 100% female. There is also a high degree of occupational segregation and a disparity between wages of men and women (Kim, 1989).

Historically, laws and policy provided that jobs held primarily by women could and would be paid less than those held by men. Pay histories of 27 classes that were considered substantially the same from 1931 to 1986 were analyzed. Salaries in 1931 were highly correlated with present salary levels (Kim, 1989).

Regression analysis results support the conclusion that salary relationships established in the 1930's continue to influence the current salary structure. Even after accounting for California's own surveyed market rates (which are also influenced by historical salaries), the 1931 salaries still help to

predict current salary levels. Kim (1989) states that "the structure established in the 1930's was explicitly gender biased, with female-dominated jobs paying 22%-27% less than male-dominated jobs. Because this historical salary structure was maintained, by policy and practice, into the present, this gender-biased wage picture persisted. This may partly explain why female-dominated jobs are still paid less than male-dominated jobs having comparable skill, effort, responsibility, and working conditions." Mahoney & Blake (1987) found that perceived femininity of an occupation was inversely related to appropriate compensation. This was true for both male and female participants.

Perceptions and Occupations

Titles

Occupations are perceived along a continuum of masculinity, femininity, and neutrality. Shinar (1975) composed a list of 129 occupations using Roe's classification of occupations. The occupations included in the list represented the eight dimensions of Roe's occupational space: service, business contact, organization, technology, outdoor, science, general-cultural, and arts and entertainment. The order of the occupations were randomized within the list. The pages of the list were arranged in two orders, the second order being the reverse of the first. In the administration of the questionnaire, half the participants received the first order and half the second order.

Each occupation was followed by a seven point scale representing the degree to which occupations were perceived as masculine, feminine, or neutral. Three sets of instructions were given. Correlations of answers were .95 to .97 for all three sets of instructions, with similar correlations found between the answers of male and female participants. The data from all three administrations were interpreted together and the occupations were found to be stereotyped. Panek, Rush, & Greenawalt (1977) also found that stereotypes existed in occupations.

Krefting, Berger, & Wallace (1978) found that the content of the job determines its sex-type, that the job becomes stereotyped according to the number of males or females that hold that position, and that sex-typing is related to occupation. For example, active jobs such as construction and farming are seen as masculine, and passive jobs such as clerical and technical are seen as feminine.

Krefting et al. (1978) also reevaluated Shinar's (1975) study. Job sex-type was regressed separately and it was found that base rate accounted for the largest proportion of variance in job sex-types, explaining 70% of the variance in masculinity-femininity ratings of jobs. Krefting et al. (1978) noted that Shinar's (1975) occupational titles sampled only the top four levels of Roe's occupational classification, so 70% fell in the professional-technical-managerial category. They further criticized Shinar's study because the remaining occupational groups

were represented by very few jobs and one group, processing, was not represented at all.

Freedman (1993) replicated Shinar's (1975) study, adding homemaker and business professor. Air steward(ess) was changed to flight attendant, and prima ballet dancer was changed to ballet dancer. Freedman found significant differences in occupational ratings from Shinar's study. Females' perceptions shifted more than males' perceptions.

Others have also concluded that sex-typing of occupations occurs. Naughton (1988) found that the title of executive secretary was judged to be composed of more females than the same job listed as an assistant. Naughton also found that the nursing professor title was judged to be composed of more women than the engineering professor title. Like Shinar, Naughton found that there were no significant differences in ratings between male and female raters.

Hall (1998) explored waitress, waiter and wait help occupations. Even when restaurants integrate the jobs, male and female employees perform gendered service styles. Job titles and dress codes suggest that service in a fine dining restaurant is waitering, while serving in a coffee shop is waitressing. Hall suggests that looking at gendered styles of service expands the definition of gender and should be considered for its impact on efforts to achieve occupational integration.

Occupational Presenter

Shepelak, Ogden, & Tobin-Bennett (1984) found that when participants were presented with a story about an occupation, the occupation presented was classified in relation to the gender label of the person in the story.

Jessell & Beymer (1992) reduced gender label effects by having the job description and job titles on their video-tapes read alternately by a male and female voice. The participants were 1601 female and 1344 male seventh and eighth-graders who viewed two video-taped versions of job descriptions or job titles of 18 occupations.

In the videos, a female and male voice alternated reading the four paragraphs of instructions. The participants were asked whether a man, a woman, or either should be hired. Job titles elicited more sex typing than job descriptions. Males were more sex typed than females in attitudes toward occupations. More metropolitan school males than rural school males and more rural school females than metropolitan school females were sex typed in their attitudes toward occupations. (Jessell & Beymer, 1992)

Repercussions

Rynes, Weber & Milkovich (1989) sampled 406 members of the American Compensation Association. Job gender did not appear to have systematically affected pay assignments. Participants appear to have based pay decisions on the relevant quantitative data reflecting job worth: current pay, market survey

rates, and job evaluation points.. Market survey rates were shown to be stronger determinants of job pay than job evaluation points. However, current pay and market survey rates are indicative of past discriminatory pay policies (Kim, 1989, Bielby & Baron, 1986). Occupations that are feminine and females who are in traditionally male jobs are paid less and have less prestige.

Oppenheimer (1968) states "the combination of cheapness plus availability has been fairly typical of female labor jobs in the United States and has promoted the use of women in many jobs. "Major & Forcey (1998) found that women reported less expected pay than men, regardless of the job assignment. Today, women negotiate at lower prices, perpetuating the gender pay gap. (Marchetti, 1996).

Valuation

Decreases Abound

Men benefit from continued segregation. Lewis (1996) used the U.S. Office of Personnel Management's central Personnel Data File to investigate gender integration of occupations. One finding was that the average salary grades of positions declined as women's numbers in that position increased.

Huffman & Velasco (1997) also found negative effects on work rewards where female representation was strong. In their sample, for every 10% increase in female representation, an approximate annual salary decrease of $1,820

occurred. Baron & Newman (1990) found that for each 1% increase in female representation in their job sample, the salary decreased for that position.

Playing with the Pay Gap

In effect, diminishing sex-segregation does not really lessen the pay gap between men and women. It only diminishes overall pay for that position. Nermo (1996) found that the pay gap did not continue to fall the levels of decreased sex segregation in Sweden after 1981. Gaines (1997) examined compensation of U.S. advertising executives. Women outnumber men as advertising executives 2 to 1, but their median pay is about $2,600 less. In senior account executive positions, where women outnumber men 1.1:1, women receive $13,000 less. In media director positions, women outnumber men 1.9:1 but receive $10,200 less pay. Overall, U.S. women working full-time made 58% of men's wages in 1971, 62% in 1981 and only 69% in 1988 (Lissy, 1993). In Australia, Denmark, France, New Zealand, Norway and Sweden, ratio of male-to-female wages ranged from 80-90% in the late 1980's.

The wage disparity is not a result of different jobs or job complexities. Schwab & Grams (1985) found that pay level has a significant effect on the job evaluation process. As shown previously, current pay level is a result of historically gender-biased salary policies, resulting in current biased market rates (Kim, 1989, Oppenheimer, 1968).

Men are paid about 33% more than women in marketing. Pay differences can even occur within the same company and same job title (Curtis, 1998). Berheide, Chertos, Haignere, & Steinberg (1989) found that when controlling for differences of work performed in New York State government, significant differences remain in salary grades of jobs held predominantly by women, and those held predominantly by non-whites.

St. Lifer (1994) found that female librarians earn about 10% less than their male counterparts. Solberg & Laughlin (1995) used the 1991 National Longitudinal Survey of Youth to estimate earnings equations for the seven occupational categories of the sample. When fringe benefits are excluded from the compensation measures, women have significantly lower compensation than men. Solberg & Laughlin state "Occupational assignment is the primary determinant of the pay gap."

Status

The perceived gender of an occupation has significance in several ways. McShane (1990) found that the perceived gender dominance of an occupation was affected by the job title. Lewis & Stevens (1990) found that knowledge of the gender of the job holder significantly biased committee ratings. When Beyard-Tyler & Haring (1984) had participants rate occupations and prestige, the highest rating was for the category of male professional occupation. When Glick, Wilk, & Perrault (1997) investigated prestige and gender type, they found that masculine

personality traits and analytical skills loaded highly on prestige. Smith, Hornsby, Benson, & Wesolowski (1989) found that job title status significantly influenced job evaluation ratings. When Lifschitz (1983) studied occupational perceptions and sex-role stereotypes, male professions were seen as more ambitious and intelligent.

The work traditionally done by women has been legally and historically undervalued. Females are still experiencing the repercussions of those discriminatory practices and attitudes today. Minimizing or eliminating gender bias in job titles is just one of the ways the business community can begin to establish gender equality in the job market.

In addition to gender effects, it is believed that subgroups have different characteristics than the population in general. A possible area of exploration is to examine how a subgroup, such as West Virginians or Appalachians, compares to the population in general.

Appalachia

Stereotypes and Perception

Goldenson (1970) defines a stereotype as a "relatively fixed, over-simplified and usually biased concept, generally of a person or social group." There are three basic characteristics to a stereotype.

First, a stereotype is a special form of characterization in which certain attributes are selected and used to identify a group, while other

> characteristics tend to be ignored....Second, there is a consensus on the traits attributed to the group- that is, a substantial number of people agree on the group's identifying characteristics....A third characteristic is a discrepancy between attributed traits and actual traits (Goldenson, 1970).

In order for a stereotype to be formed, some type of perception must have taken place.

Perception is defined as "the process of becoming aware of objects, qualities, or relations via the sense organs; includes such activities as observing, recognizing, discriminating, and grasping meaning" (Goldenson, 1970).

What type of perceptions and stereotypes currently exist of people in Appalachia, and specifically WV?

Hillbilly stereotypes abound. At the website, Hillbilly World, you are greeted when entering the site by three long-bearded, dirty men with large tall black hats. Hillbilly world has quite a lot to say about hillbillies:

> Here at Hillbilly World, we don't look down upon hillbilly as a slur or put-down. Rather, we see hillbillies as embodying all things American, boiled down to a natural state of simple living and down-to-earth traditions.
>
> These days, hillbillies have mutated into rednecks, white trash and various overall-clad backwoodsters. But we're not concerned with any "you-know-you're a redneck" yahoos, who probably would have second

> thoughts about sharing a jug of moonshine with Snuffy Smith.....But round these parts we're talking about your honest-to-goodness, revenue-fearing, non-shoe wearing, musket-toting, chicken-plucking, white-lightning guzzling, mountain-dwelling hillbilly.

The Hillbilly World website goes on to say that hillbillies eat country ham, red-eye gravy, chicken-fried steak, collards, black-eyed peas, fried okra, biscuits and gravy, and shoo-fly pie. "The hillbilly's critter of choice is possum." In addition, Hillbilly world states that "Hillbillies love to cook outdoors over an open pit too. Usually it's right next to their moonshine still (gotta keep an eye on the corn liquor!)....". According to Hillbilly World, the hillbilly's favorite eatery is The Waffle House. Stuckey's is the hillbilly's favorite bathroom stop. Hillbilly's like RC Cola and Moon Pies, and always "has a t least a case of Mountain Dew" around the house. Piggly Wiggly is where hillbillies go shopping.

But is this only the thoughts of one site? Using Metacrawler, I found 62 sites dealing with hillbilly's or hillbilly related products. At one website, I found a an article reprint by Wally Ferch (www.trowel...), a member of the Shriner's. His view is slightly different than the first site's view.

> To me, the hillbilly image is a vital part of our American heritage. To say that a barefoot, ill-clothed hillbilly creates a negative image is like saying slavery never existed in America.
>
> Time was when that image may have portrayed that poor, rugged

individual who, because of poverty was denied the privilege of higher education. But to me, that image depicts a man from a group of plain, common, God-loving and God-fearing folk whom, in spite of severe economic hardships, overcame hard times and still survived.

I believe that survival was due to their strong family and clan ties-those family ties that are so sorely missing and so badly needed in other parts of our American society today.

Foster & Hummel (1997) give examples of Appalachia stereotypes. Appalachian men are described as tall figures in home spun clothes who point their rifle at you when addressing you. Examples of supposedly Appalachian speech are quoted as "Stop thar! What's younses name? Whar's you-uns a goin' ter?" The Appalachian males occupation is seen as running moonshine or feuding with the neighbors. He is considered shiftless, a criminal who make illegal moonshine, and speaks in an outmoded manner. Caricatures are named Clem, Zeke, Jethro, or Snuffy.

Two female Appalachia caricatures prevail. "Ma" or "Granny" is a skinny women in patched dress, with high boots or no shoes. Her hair is always unkempt, and she smokes a corncob pipe. She is stooped from working hard, while her man engages in hunting, fishing, and moonshining. (Foster & Hummel, 1997).

Foster & Hummel (1997) also describe the second female Appalachia stereotype. She is dressed in clothes that reveal her big breasts and buttocks. She has long legs and her name is either Daisy Mae or Lula Belle. She is the personification of sexual and gender exploitation. "Characterizing a people by stereotyped images commodifies a distorted version of their culture, perpetuating their exploitation."

"According to Batteau(1990), popular images of Appalachia are created by dominant political and economic forces to exploit its people and resources" (Oberhauser, 1995b).

Images include poverty, isolated communities, coal mining and subsistence farming (Oberhauser, 1995b). Perhaps these same items could be seen as "being happy with what you have", "close-knit communities", and "farming to supply your family with needs." Who created these negative perceptions? Foster & Hummel (1997) state that "novelist, missionaries, folklorist, industrialist, social workers, and social scientists....extended the fiction by rein-venting an Appalachia to be consistent with their own orientation, but maintaining a static image as the standard perception."

Classic Studies and Applications

Stanford psychologist Richard LaPiere's 1934 study of social attitudes attempted to compare people's symbolic attitudes with their actual behaviors. He

concluded that "it is impossible to make direct comparisons between the reactions secured through and from actual experience." (Hock, 1992).

Solomon Asch (1955) investigated how opinions were influenced by social pressures. He designed his experiment in order to try to manipulate a person's behavior by applying group pressure to conform. Despite knowing the correct answer, 75% of the participating subjects went along with the group's incorrect answer at least once. With a single ally, the subjects stayed with their correct answer in all but 5% of the time. One criticism of his study is that people may not behave the same in "real life" as they do in the laboratory, and that they may accept social conformity for small things but not things that really matter (Hock, 1992). However, real life social conformity can have benefits. Foster & Hummel (1997) quote J.W. Williamson (1995) as saying "While Dollywood pumps cash into Sevier County [Tennessee], the locals act the fool for more damn tourists, only reassuring these 'better others' that urban values are supreme and urban power is secure"

Darley and Latane (1968) examined bystander intervention in emergencies and discovered the phenomena of diffusion of responsibility. As the number of people in group who saw the emergency increased, the less the individual person felt personal or individual responsibility to take action. Darley and Latane concluded that part of the reason people fail to help when others are around are that people are afraid of being embarrassed or ridiculed, a

phenomena called "evaluation apprehension." (Hock, 1992). Stereotypes, by definition, imply that a large number of individuals accept the idea as true. Despite any damage stereotypes may cause, individuals may feel that many people know about the problem; "somebody" will take care of it. In addition, challenging stereotypes could lead to embarrassment or ridicule. Foster and Hummel (1997) noted that middle-class, reputable professionals so contrast with hillbilly images that they can safely revel in the imagery because they do not run the risk of having hillbilly traits personally assigned to them.

Exploitation by Scholars and Others

Hillbillies can exist in Tennessee, the Ozarks, the Appalachia's, and most rural places in the south. (Foster & Hummel, 1997). Foster and Hummel states that the "Southern Appalachian Mountaineer (SAM) or hillbilly stereotypes, particularly in caricature, persist in the United States despite the national sensibilities and tolerance of diversity. " They argue that "SAM stereotypes arose and persist not despite, but because of, the more than 100 years of scholarship that invented a mythical Appalachia.

Appalachia as a construct has largely been elaborated by those outside the mountains (Foster & Hummel, 1997). Other forces used the Appalachia's for their gain early. Writer's, who knew little about the area, created vivid and delightful tales about the Appalachia's that contrasted with the upheaval of the late nineteenth century life of their readers (Anglin, 1992). The Presbyterian

Church was instrumental in changing these pastoral stories into a culture of poverty. They told outsiders of "the plight of little mountaineers, neglected by wicked, lazy fathers" needed their help. They contrasted the people of the region with their new, improved people, Christians produced through the mission school. Creating the sense of need in these people assured a steady stream of missionaries (Anglin, 1992).

Coal companies in Central Appalachia yielded power by "their ability to manipulate laws and property relations to their own ends, as well as to wage a battle over cultural property" (Anglin, 1992). Timber, gas, oil and coal companies were instrumental in forcing people from their land; people then sought employment in these rapidly growing fields. There were still labor shortages, resulting in an influx of migrant labor from Europe and the southern U.S. (Oberhauser, 1995b).

Where is Appalachia? "No consensus exists among scholars and others as to just where the real Appalachia lies" (Isserman & Rephann, 1993).

Current Labor Force in West Virginia

The work eligible population is defined as "civilian, noninstitutional population 16 years of age or older" (Isserman & Rephann, 1993). In 1991, West Virginia had the lowest rate of male participation at 68%, 3 percentage points below the next state. The female rate was 44%, 7 points below the next state. In the U.S. overall:

> The higher the wage, the more likely a person will enter the labor force, but the more the non-wage income, the more likely the person will stay out of the labor force.....The presence of young children increases both the actual and opportunity cost of entering the labor force, leading to declines primarily in female labor participation. Higher wages available to men increase the likelihood of male labor force participation through the price effect but decrease the likelihood of female participation by providing the family a higher income. A husband's unemployment makes more likely the wife's labor force participation. (Isserman & Rephann, 1993).

The longer the unemployment, and the higher the unemployment rates, the least likely a person will continue to hunt for work. Higher corporate income taxes decrease income and participation, due to less availability of jobs. Lower income taxes can decrease a place's participation by encouraging retired people to influx. Amenities can increase participation by drawing in people and decrease participation by increasing the value of leisure time. Labor unions cause less jobs to be available, but offset the possible negative effect on unemployment by increasing wages. (Isserman & Rephann, 1993).

The industrial and occupational composition affect job participation, as well as spatial concerns. Spatial concerns include space for businesses, as well as how far the worker lives from available jobs. Isserman & Rephann state the "Sectors vary greatly in the extent in which they create opportunities for women.

Women hold 62 percent of service jobs....59 percent of finance, insurance, and real estate jobs, and 51 percent of retail trade jobs." In manufacturing women hold 33% of the jobs. Of these jobs, 89% are in textile sewing machine operations; only 4% are mechanics and repairers. Women hold only 9% of precision production, craft, and repair workers (Isserman & Rephann, 1993).

Liberality and ease in obtaining transfer payments result in work disincentives. Ease in obtaining disability compensation, unemployment compensation, and higher Aid for Dependent Children programs results in lower than expected work force participation. Disability claims rise during an economic downturn. West Virginia had large numbers of claims for disabilities arise when industries, including coal mining, took large downturns (Isserman & Rephann, 1993).

Underground and informal work is not reported for taxes. It is therefore not counted in labor force participation. It is hypothesized that the higher the cost of living, the more likely an individual is to enter the labor force. Individuals may chose to stay in rural areas, due to low or non-existent mortgages, and less living expenses (Isserman & Rephann, 1993).

West Virginia lies entirely within the currently defined area for Appalachia. Isserman & Rephann found that West Virginia had gaps in both male and female participation. However there were no Appalachian labor force gap, male or female, in nonmetropolitan counties. Male labor force gaps are not a

predominantly Appalachian phenomenon. In Isserman's and Rephann's analysis (1993), Florida had the greatest gap.

Women and Labor

The exploitation of West Virginia's resources, as previously discussed, eventually led to high paying jobs for males (Oberhauser, 1995b). Life in early coal towns depended on women maintaining households and reproducing the labor force. "Given this gender division of labor, women's work was essentially free and subsidized the profits of coal companies by insuring a ready supply of laborers. (Oberhauser, 1995b). Women grew vegetables, livestock, and sold clothing, fabric and crafts to provide income when layoffs, strikes, death or injury stopped their husbands income.

Women were not employed in resource jobs such as mining and timber. They entered the workforce late and, as a result, currently face economic disadvantages (Oberhauser, 1995b). An increase in service jobs between 1980 and 1993 have dramatically increased female labor participation. However, many of these jobs are unskilled, part-time, and low-paid. "Women in West Virginia have a lower economic status than their national counterparts due to their higher concentration in low-paid sectors, lower labor force participation rates, and higher unemployment." (Oberhauser, 1995b)

When comparing women in the U.S. versus those in WV, WV women were more concentrated in female-dominated industries such as trade, financial,

insurance, and real estate services. The mining sector, dominated by men, had the highest average hourly wage at $17.58 an hour; the retail-trade, dominated by women, had the lowest paying wage at $6.35 and hour. (Oberhauser, 1995b). Women have a lower rate of unemployment than men in West Virginia. One explanation for this lower rate is that the official definition of unemployment does not include discouraged workers or those not working in the past two years.

The proportion of household headed by females has increased both nationwide and in West Virginia. In West Virginia. more than half of the female-headed household with children under 18 live in poverty. Central and southern West Virginia have some of the highest percentages of families living below the poverty level. (Oberhauser, 1995b).

Oberhauser (1995b) states that "transportation remains an obstacle to employment for many households in rural West Virginia, especially for women. The one vehicle in many households is oftentimes used by the man, leaving the woman without transportation or dependent of neighbors or relatives for rides into town." She attributes low labor force participation of West Virginia women to transportation problems, women's historical exclusion from the formal work sector during the state's early industrialization, the limited option for women, and traditional attitudes toward women still predominantly held in West Virginia. There are other factors that affect women in general.

> Gender divisions of labor stemming from traditional domestic responsibilities often prevent women from obtaining higher education, career training, and consequently, well-paying and secure jobs. Additionally, reproductive activities continue to land in the lap of working mothers with limited support in the way of affordable, quality child care or support for household tasks. As a result of these household constraints, many women tend to travel shorter distances to work, which further restricts their employment opportunities. (Oberhauser, 1995a)

If current research is to be believed, one conclusion that can be drawn is that women in West Virginia face a double whammy - bias due to place as well as general gender bias. "With a view of Appalachia 'as a repository for social pathos' and Appalachians as damaged selves, in contrast to mainstream Americans, Appalachians suffer reduced opportunities. Why employ such persons in positions of responsibility, and, because Appalachians are such persons, why employ any Appalachian in a position of responsibility?" (Foster & Hummel, 1997).

Further Questions

The research raised questions on how individuals fit in the overall picture of stereotypes and obedience. The following paragraphs suggest several ideas for further exploration.

Fighting against a stereotype, or speaking out against it, would require an individual to disobey the authority of "accepted knowledge" and to challenge social norms. People obey authority (Hock, 1992). The benefit of obeying this authority for the early companies in Appalachia was that the acceptance of this knowledge left them free to exploit the people and the resources in the area.

Milgram (1963) studied obedience. Subjects were asked to deliver electric shocks to someone for each incorrect answer; the level of shock would go up with each incorrect answer. Even when showing intense concern and stress for the individual being shocked, the subjects continued to obey the command to administer the next shock. 65% of the volunteers delivered shocks to the top of the scale. It was concluded that they perceived the laboratory assistant as an authority figure. Social norms dictate that people obey authority figures. Therefore, the subjects continued to obey the authority figure even when it was not congruent with their personal comfort levels. When subjects were allowed to punish the other person with any level of shock they preferred, no one ever went over no.2., or 45 volts. (Hock, 1992). Speaking out against, or not accepting stereotypes such as the hillbilly, would require an individual to disobey the authority of "accepted truth" and would require the individual to challenge social norms.

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Appendix C

Data Analysis

Table 1

Means, maximums, and minimums of occupations

occupation	N	minimum	maximum	mean
miner	74	1.00	4.00	1.703
auto mechanic	74	1.00	4.00	1.716
race car driver	74	1.00	4.00	1.811
heavy equipment operator	74	1.00	4.00	1.824
plumber	74	1.00	4.00	1.838
construction worker	74	1.00	4.00	1.892
railroad conductor	74	1.00	7.00	1.919
mining engineer	74	1.00	4.00	1.973
carpenter	74	1.00	4.00	2.014
highway maintenance worker	74	1.00	4.00	2.041
barber	74	1.00	5.00	2.081
fisherman	74	1.00	4.00	2.108
electrician	74	1.00	4.00	2.162
building contractor	74	1.00	5.00	2.176
game warden	74	1.00	4.00	2.189
boat captain	74	1.00	5.00	2.230
police sergeant	74	1.00	5.00	2.230
farm manager	74	1.00	4.00	2.230
pilot	74	1.00	4.00	2.311
waiter	74	1.00	6.00	2.324
used car sales dealer	74	1.00	5.00	2.392
groundskeeper	74	1.00	5.00	2.405
streetsweeper	74	1.00	6.00	2.460
hardware store sales work	74	1.00	4.00	2.514
janitor	74	1.00	4.00	2.527
magician	74	1.00	4.00	2.541
stockbroker	74	1.00	7.00	2.608
taxidermist	74	1.00	5.00	2.608
engineer	74	1.00	4.00	2.676
university president	74	1.00	5.00	2.689
air traffic controller	74	1.00	5.00	2.689
probation officer	74	1.00	4.00	2.716

Table 1 (cont'd)

occupation	N	minimum	maximum	mean
forestry engineer	74	1.00	5.00	2.730
aviator	74	1.00	4.00	2.730
us supreme court justice	74	1.00	4.00	2.730
FBI agent	74	1.00	4.00	2.743
company president	74	1.00	4.00	2.757
orchestra conductor	74	1.00	4.00	2.770
maintenance supervisor	74	1.00	4.00	2.797
park manager	74	1.00	4.00	2.824
professional athlete	74	1.00	4.00	2.824
bartender	74	1.00	4.00	2.838
federal judge	74	1.00	4.00	2.865
business machine sales work	74	1.00	5.00	2.865
high government official	74	1.00	5.00	2.878
YMCA director	74	1.00	7.00	2.946
bell captain	74	1.00	5.00	2.946
law professor	74	1.00	4.00	2.973
pawnbroker	74	1.00	5.00	2.987
watch repair work	74	1.00	5.00	3.000
tailor	74	1.00	7.00	3.027
top labor official	74	1.00	6.00	3.054
architect	74	1.00	6.00	3.054
politician	74	1.00	7.00	3.054
astronomer	74	1.00	7.00	3.108
history professor	74	1.00	4.00	3.108
mathematician	74	1.00	4.00	3.122
computer programmer	74	1.00	4.00	3.122
geologist	74	1.00	7.00	3.135
radio technician	74	1.00	4.00	3.189
chief risk officer	74	1.00	6.00	3.203
importer exporter	74	1.00	4.00	3.216
sales president	74	1.00	5.00	3.230
composer	74	1.00	4.00	3.243
mayor	74	1.00	5.00	3.257
motel manager	74	1.00	5.00	3.270
drafting work	74	1.00	6.00	3.284
meteorologist	74	1.00	7.00	3.284
physicist	74	1.00	6.00	3.284
district attorney	74	1.00	5.00	3.324
paramedic	74	1.00	5.00	3.365

Table 1 (cont'd)

occupation	N	minimum	maximum	mean
dentist	74	1.00	6.00	3.378
door to door sales work	74	1.00	6.00	3.405
school principal	74	1.00	6.00	3.419
research scientist	74	1.00	7.00	3.432
customs inspector	74	1.00	7.00	3.446
business professor	74	1.00	5.00	3.460
oceanographer	74	1.00	5.00	3.473
radio announcer	74	1.00	4.00	3.473
insurance agent	74	1.00	6.00	3473
comedian	74	1.00	6.00	3.473
technical sales work	74	1.00	7.00	3.487
information systems specialist	74	1.00	7.00	3.500
surgeon	74	1.00	5.00	3.500
financial manager	74	1.00	7.00	3.514
educational administration	74	1.00	7.00	3.514
TV sale work	74	1.00	7.00	3.514
managing editor	74	1.00	7.00	3.527
physician	74	1.00	4.00	3.527
sales manager	74	1.00	6.00	3.541
systems analyst	74	1.00	7.00	3.541
statistician	74	1.00	6.00	3.595
theatrical director	74	1.00	6.00	3.622
administrative director	74	1.00	7.00	3.622
doctor of naturopathic medicin	74	1.00	7.00	3.676
agronomist	74	1.00	5.00	3.676
information officer	74	1.00	5.00	3.703
short order cook	74	1.00	7.00	3.716
banker	74	1.00	6.00	3.757
divination services provider	74	1.00	7.00	3.770
dry cleaning store owner	74	1.00	7.00	3.770
claims specialist	74	1.00	6.00	3.838
data processor	74	1.00	7.00	3.851
veterinarian	74	1.00	6.00	3.905
conservationist	74	1.00	7.00	3.919
accountant	74	1.00	7.00	3.932
pharmaceutical sales work	74	1.00	7.00	3.932
humanities professor	74	2.00	7.00	3.973
coordinator	74	1.00	7.00	3.973
assistant in scientific lab	74	1.00	7.00	3.973

Table 1 (cont'd)

occupation	N	minimum	maximum	mean
pharmacist	74	2.00	7.00	3.987
certified public accountant	74	2.00	7.00	3.987
lab technician	74	1.00	7.00	3.987
writer	74	1.00	6.00	4.014
psychiatrist	74	1.00	7.00	4.027
personnel director	74	1.00	7.00	4.054
public relations director	74	1.00	7.00	4.081
law clerk	74	1.00	7.00	4.135
creative artist	74	2.00	7.00	4.149
journalist	74	1.00	7.00	4.162
high school teacher	74	1.00	7.00	4.176
occupational therapist	74	1.00	7.00	4.203
real estate sales work	74	1.00	7.00	4.216
singer	74	1.00	7.00	4.216
rehabilitation counselor	74	1.00	7.00	4.257
pediatrician	74	1.00	7.00	4.257
animal caretaker	74	1.00	7.00	4.297
clinical psychologist	74	1.00	7.00	4.311
counseling psychologist	74	1.00	7.00	4.351
x-ray technician	74	2.00	7.00	4.378
telemarketer	74	2.00	7.00	4.419
herbalist	74	2.00	7.00	4.432
choreographer	74	1.00	7.00	4.487
jewelry designer	74	2.00	7.00	4.500
administrative assistant	74	1.00	7.00	4.514
radiological technician	74	3.00	7.00	4.514
telephone sales representative	74	1.00	7.00	4.527
cashier	74	3.00	7.00	4.568
caterer	74	2.00	7.00	4.595
reservations clerk	74	4.00	7.00	4.608
jewelry sales work	74	1.00	7.00	4.622
wait help	74	3.00	7.00	4.635
office assistant	74	3.00	7.00	4.635
hospital attendant	74	2.00	7.00	4.676
physician's assistant	74	2.00	7.00	4.689
bookkeeper	74	3.00	7.00	4.703
YWCA director	74	1.00	7.00	4.743
speech therapist	74	4.00	7.00	4.757
social worker	74	1.00	7.00	4.838

Table 1 (cont'd)

occupation	N	minimum	maximum	mean
school psychologist	74	3.00	7.00	4.851
file clerk	74	2.00	7.00	4.919
dietitian	74	3.00	7.00	5.027
bankteller	74	3.00	7.00	5.041
domestic help	74	3.00	7.00	5.054
dental hygienist	74	1.00	7.00	5.081
florist supply sales	74	1.00	7.00	5.176
nurses aide	74	2.00	7.00	5.216
elementary school teacher	74	2.00	7.00	5.392
flight attendant	74	3.00	7.00	5.432
practical nurse	74	4.00	7.00	5.446
registered nurse	74	3.00	7.00	5.608
private secretary	74	3.00	7.00	5.676
housekeeper	74	4.00	7.00	5.716
air steward(ess)	74	3.00	7.00	5.757
receptionist	74	3.00	7.00	5.784
secretary	74	4.00	7.00	5.797
ballet dancer	74	1.00	7.00	5.865
head librarian	74	4.00	7.00	5.919
homemaker	74	1.00	7.00	5.932
cosmetologist	74	4.00	7.00	5.987
manicurist	74	3.00	7.00	6.014
maid	74	4.00	7.00	6.081
prima ballet dancer	74	3.00	7.00	6.095
waitress	74	4.00	7.00	6.135

Table 2

Comparison of Means Between Current Study and Shinar (1975)

occupation	**Shinar 1975**	from neutral	**This Study**	from neutral
OVERALL	**3.160**	0.840	**3.571**	0.429
miner	**1.000**	3.000	**1.703**	2.297
highway maintenance worker	**1.167**	2.833	**2.041**	1.959
heavy equipment operator	**1.167**	2.833	**1.824**	2.176
US supreme court justice	**1.250**	2.750	**2.730**	1.270
building contractor	**1.333**	2.667	**2.716**	1.284
construction worker	**1.333**	2.667	**1.892**	2.108
mining engineer	**1.417**	2.583	**1.973**	2.027
railroad conductor	**1.500**	2.500	**1.919**	2.081
boat captain	**1.500**	2.500	**2.230**	1.770
auto mechanic	**1.583**	2.417	**1.716**	2.284
electrician	**1.583**	2.417	**2.162**	1.838
district attorney	**1.583**	2.417	**3.324**	0.676
company president	**1.583**	2.417	**2.757**	1.243
race car driver	**1.583**	2.417	**1.811**	2.189
police sergeant	**1.667**	2.333	**2.230**	1.770
top labor official	**1.667**	2.333	**3.054**	0.946
carpenter	**1.750**	2.250	**2.014**	1.986
university president	**1.750**	2.250	**2.689**	1.311
mayor	**1.833**	2.167	**3.257**	0.743
stockbroker	**1.917**	2.083	**2.608**	1.392
aviator	**1.917**	2.083	**2.730**	1.270
game warden	**1.917**	2.083	**2.189**	1.811
high government official	**1.917**	2.083	**2.878**	1.122
farm manager	**1.917**	2.083	**2.230**	1.770
engineer	**1.917**	2.083	**2.676**	1.324
forestry engineer	**1.917**	2.083	**2.730**	1.270
federal judge	**1.917**	2.083	**2.865**	1.135
groundskeeper	**2.000**	2.000	**2.405**	1.595
air traffic controller	**2.000**	2.000	**2.689**	1.311
pawnbroker	**2.000**	2.000	**2.987**	1.013

Table 2 (cont'd)

occupation	**Shinar 1975**	from neutral	**This Study**	from neutral
used car sales dealer	**2.083**	1.917	**2.392**	1.608
dentist	**2.083**	1.917	**3.378**	0.622
sales president	**2.083**	1.917	**3.230**	0.770
FBI agent	**2.083**	1.917	**2.743**	1.257
park manager	**2.083**	1.917	**2.824**	1.176
fisherman	**2.167**	1.833	**2.108**	1.892
sales manager	**2.167**	1.833	**3.541**	0.459
surgeon	**2.167**	1.833	**3.500**	0.500
professional athlete	**2.167**	1.833	**2.824**	1.176
physicist	**2.250**	1.750	**3.284**	0.716
bell captain	**2.333**	1.667	**2.946**	1.054
orchestra conductor	**2.333**	1.667	**2.770**	1.230
drafting work	**2.417**	1.583	**3.284**	0.716
CPA	**2.500**	1.500	**3.987**	0.013
probation officer	**2.500**	1.500	**2.716**	1.284
agronomist	**2.500**	1.500	**3.676**	0.324
politician	**2.500**	1.500	**3.054**	0.946
banker	**2.500**	1.500	**3.757**	.0243
customs inspector	**2.500**	1.500	**3.446**	0.554
architect	**2.500**	1.500	**3.054**	0.946
technical sales work	**2.583**	1.417	**3.487**	0.513
oceanographer	**2.583**	1.417	**3.473**	0.527
law professor	**2.583**	1.417	**2.973**	1.027
radio technician	**2.667**	1.333	**4.514**	0.514
veterinarian	**2.667**	1.333	**3.905**	0.095
physician	**2.667**	1.333	**3.527**	0.473
geologist	**2.750**	1.250	**3.135**	0.865
radio announcer	**2.750**	1.250	**3.473**	0.527
conservationist	**2.833**	1.167	**3.919**	0.081
watch repair work	**2.833**	1.167	**3.000**	1.000
insurance agent	**2.833**	1.167	**3.473**	0.527
astronomer	**2.917**	1.083	**3.108**	0.892
hardware store sales work	**2.917**	1.083	**2.514**	1.486
motel manager	**2.917**	1.083	**3.270**	0.730
composer	**2.917**	1.083	**3.243**	0.757
TV sales work	**3.000**	1.000	**3.514**	0.486
pharmacist	**3.000**	1.000	**3.987**	0.013

Table 2 (cont'd)

occupation	**Shinar 1975**	from neutral	**This Study**	from neutral
managing editor (e.g., TIME)	**3.000**	1.000	**3.527**	0.473
magician	**3.083**	0.917	**2.541**	1.459
school principal	**3.083**	0.917	**3.419**	0.581
research scientist	**3.167**	0.833	**3.432**	0.568
dry cleaning store owner	**3.167**	0.833	**3.770**	0.230
meteorologist	**3.167**	0.833	**3.284**	0.716
mathematician	**3.167**	0.833	**3.122**	0.878
pediatrician	**3.250**	0.750	**4.257**	0.257
taxidermist	**3.250**	0.750	**2.608**	1.392
educational administrator (dean)	**3.250**	0.750	**3.514**	0.486
public relations director	**3.333**	0.667	**4.081**	0.081
business machine sales work	**3.333**	0.667	**2.865**	1.135
statistician	**3.417**	0.583	**3.595**	0.405
real estate sales work	**3.417**	0.583	**4.216**	0.216
computer programmer	**3.417**	0.583	**3.122**	0.878
history professor	**3.417**	0.583	**3.108**	0.892
personnel director	**3.500**	0.500	**4.054**	0.054
door to door sales work	**3.500**	0.500	**3.405**	0.595
theatrical director	**3.500**	0.500	**3.622**	0.378
clinical psychologist	**3.583**	0.417	**4.311**	0.311
lab technician	**3.583**	0.417	**3.987**	0.013
animal caretaker	**3.667**	0.333	**4.297**	0.297
psychiatrist	**3.667**	0.333	**4.027**	0.027
humanities professor	**3.667**	0.333	**3.973**	0.027
pharmaceutical sales work	**3.667**	0.333	**3.932**	0.068
creative artist (painter)	**3.667**	0.333	**4.147**	0.147
comedian	**3.750**	0.250	**3.473**	0.527
rehabilitation counselor	**3.833**	0.167	**4.257**	0.257
hospital attendant	**3.833**	0.167	**4.676**	0.676
journalist	**3.833**	0.167	**4.162**	0.162
law clerk	**3.833**	0.167	**4.135**	0.135
writer	**3.917**	0.083	**4.014**	0.014
school psychologist	**4.000**	0.000	**4.851**	0.851
counseling psychologist	**4.000**	0.000	**4.351**	0.351
high school teacher	**4.000**	0.000	**4.176**	0.176
assistant in scientific lab	**4.167**	0.167	**3.973**	0.027
short order cook	**4.167**	0.167	**3.716**	0.284

Table 2 (cont'd)

occupation	**Shinar 1975**	from neutral	**This Study**	from neutral
florist supply sales work	**4.333**	0.333	**5.176**	1.176
singer	**4.500**	0.500	**4.216**	0.216
telephone sales representative	**4.583**	0.583	**4.527**	0.527
choreographer	**4.583**	0.583	**4.487**	0.487
x-ray technician	**4.750**	0.750	**4.378**	0.378
jewelry sales work	**4.750**	0.750	**4.622**	0.622
social worker	**4.750**	0.750	**4.838**	0.838
occupational therapist	**4.833**	0.833	**4.203**	0.203
file clerk	**4.917**	0.917	**4.919**	0.919
physicians assistant	**5.000**	1.000	**4.689**	0.689
jewelry designer	**5.083**	1.083	**4.500**	0.500
bank teller	**5.167**	1.167	**5.041**	1.041
cashier	**5.167**	1.167	**4.568**	0.568
dietitian	**5.250**	1.250	**5.027**	1.027
reservations clerk	**5.417**	1.417	**4.608**	0.608
elementary school teacher	**5.583**	1.583	**5.392**	1.392
head librarian	**5.583**	1.583	**5.919**	1.919
air steward(ess)	**5.750**	1.750	**5.757**	1.757
dental hygienist	**5.833**	7.833	**5.081**	1.081
practical nurse	**5.917**	1.917	**5.446**	1.446
prima ballet dancer	**5.917**	1.917	**6.095**	2.095
private secretary	**6.250**	2.250	**5.676**	1.676
receptionist	**6.333**	2.333	**5.784**	1.784
registered nurse	**6.583**	2.583	**5.608**	1.608
manicurist	**6.667**	2.667	**6.014**	2.014

Table 3.

Significance of Neutral Job Titles versus Traditional or Gendered Job Titles

Paired Job Titles	Significance Level
air steward(ess) flight attendant	.024
prima ballet dancer ballet dancer	.031
private secretary administrative assistant	.000
private secretary office assistant	.000
secretary administrative assistant	.000
secretary office assistant	.000
maid domestic help	.000
waitress waithelp	.000
waiter waithelp	.000

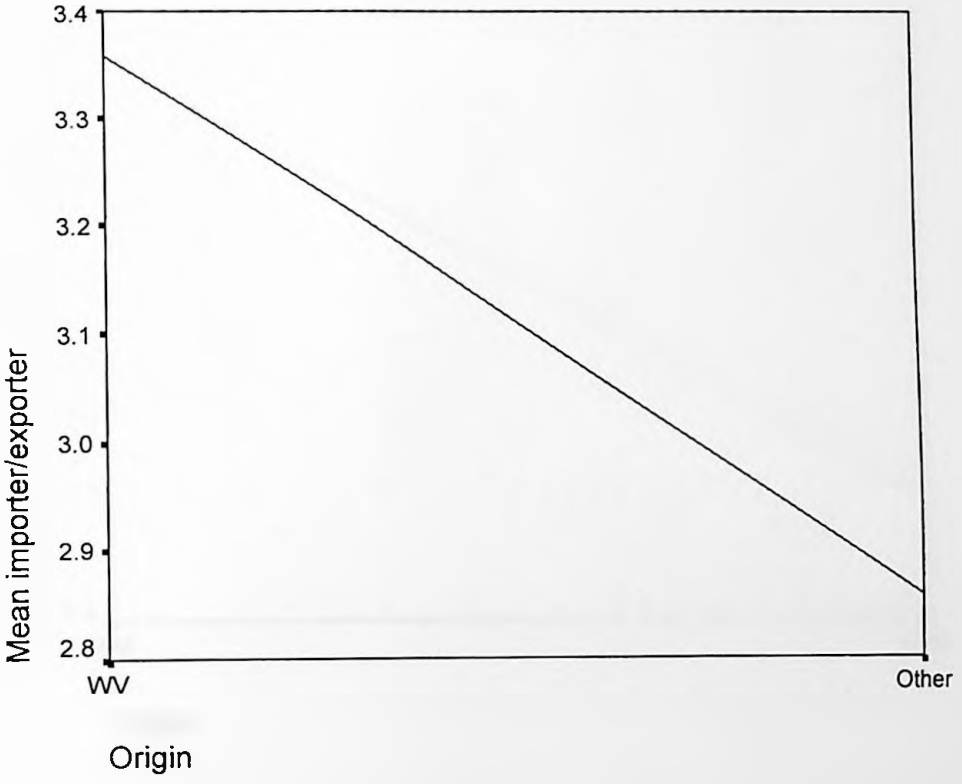
Table 4

Significant Occupational Means Compared by Gender

Occupation	Significance
homemaker	.042
speech therapist	.010
administrative director	.024
occupational therapist	.024
social worker	.008
clinical psychologist	.014
radiological technician	.011

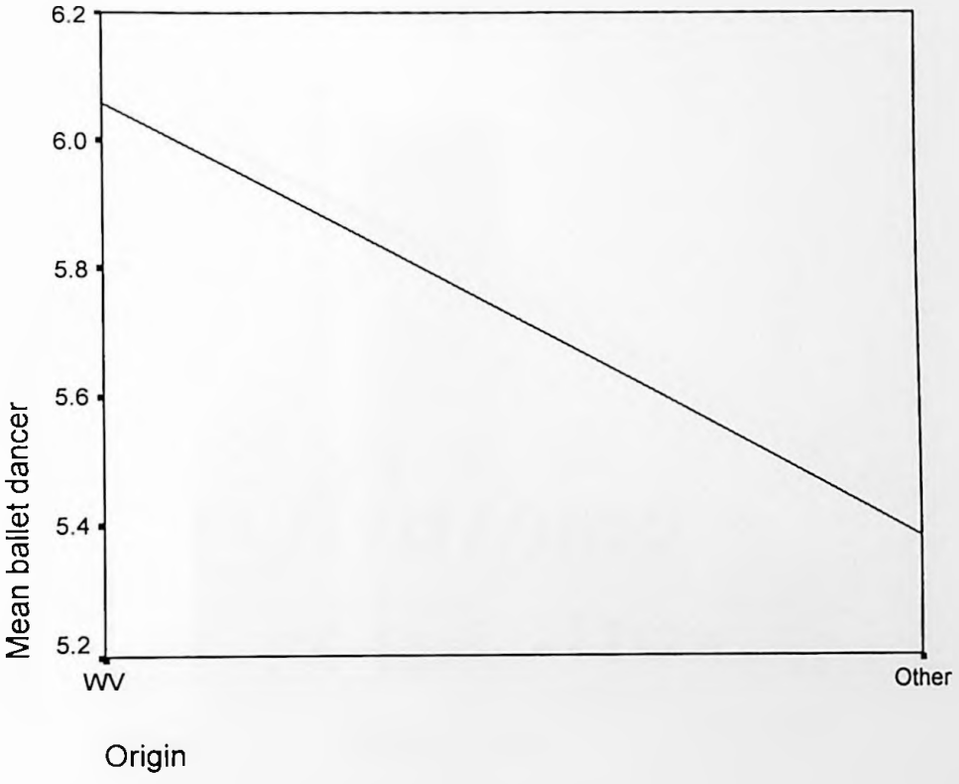
Graph 1.

Place of Origin and Importer Exporter Means



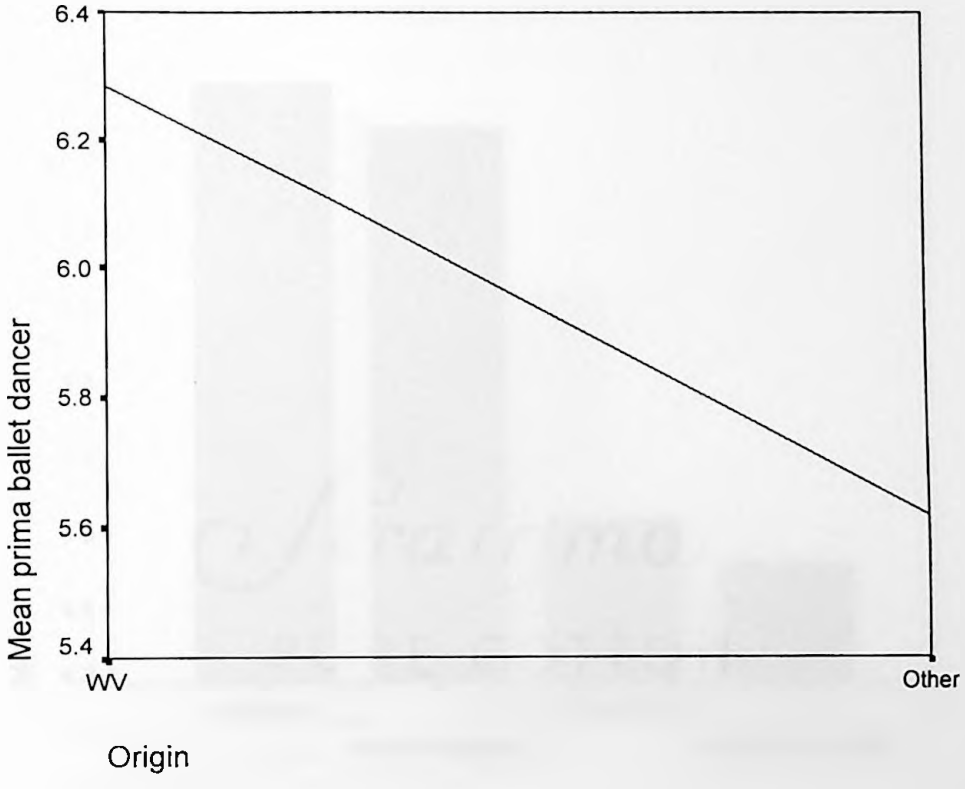
Graph 2.

Place of Origin and Ballet Dancer Means



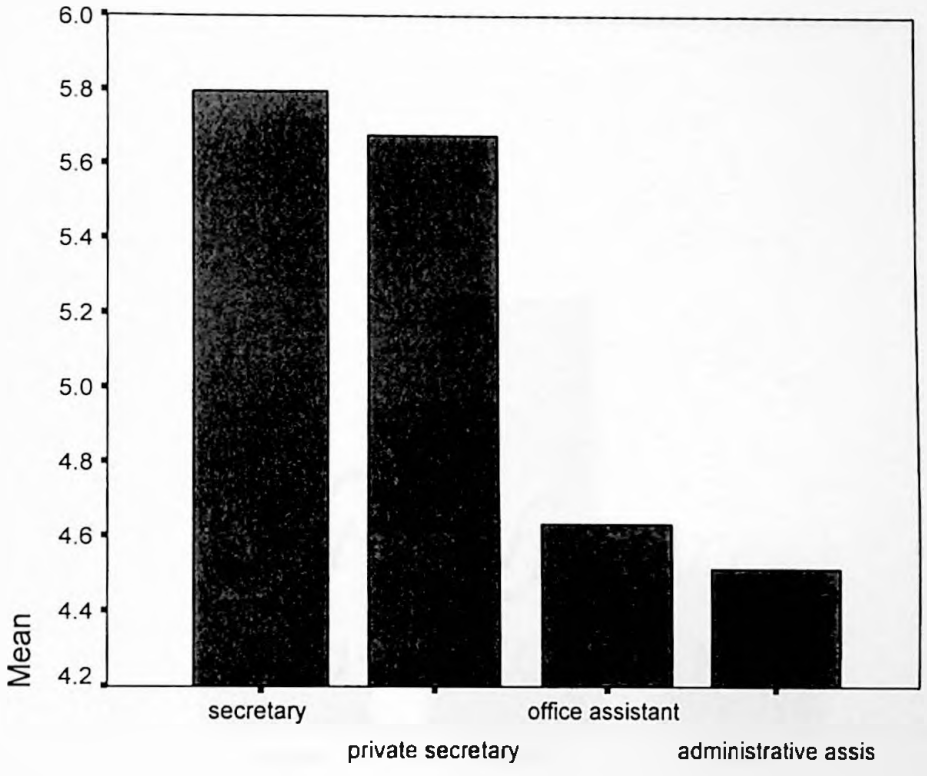
Graph 3.

Place of Origin and Prima Ballet Dancer Means



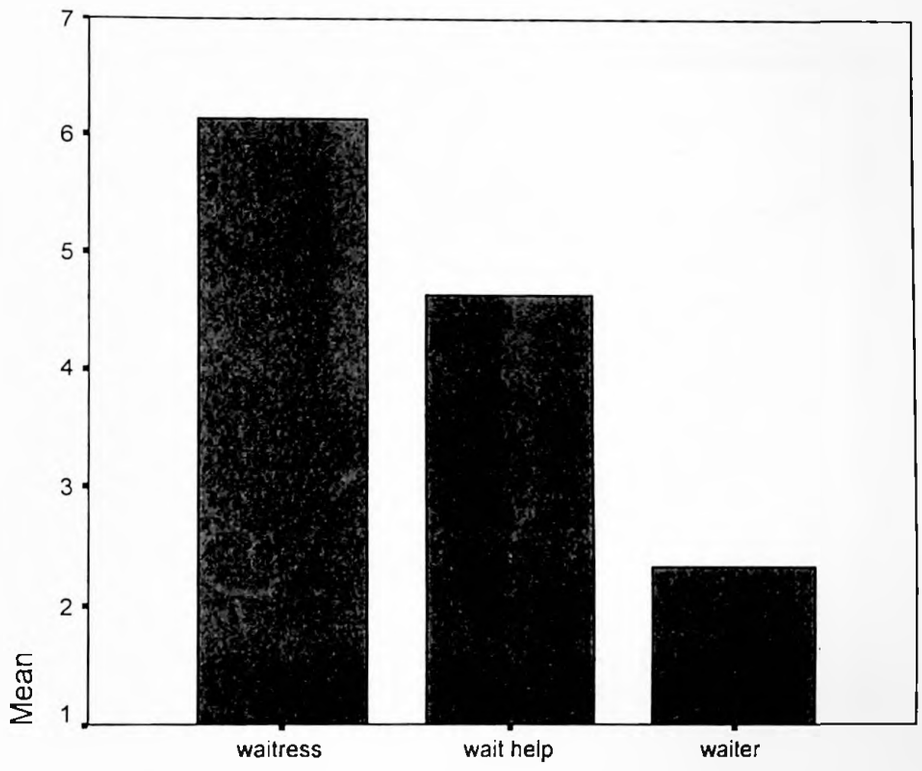
Graph 4.

Neutral Job Titles and Gendered/Traditional Means of Office Positions



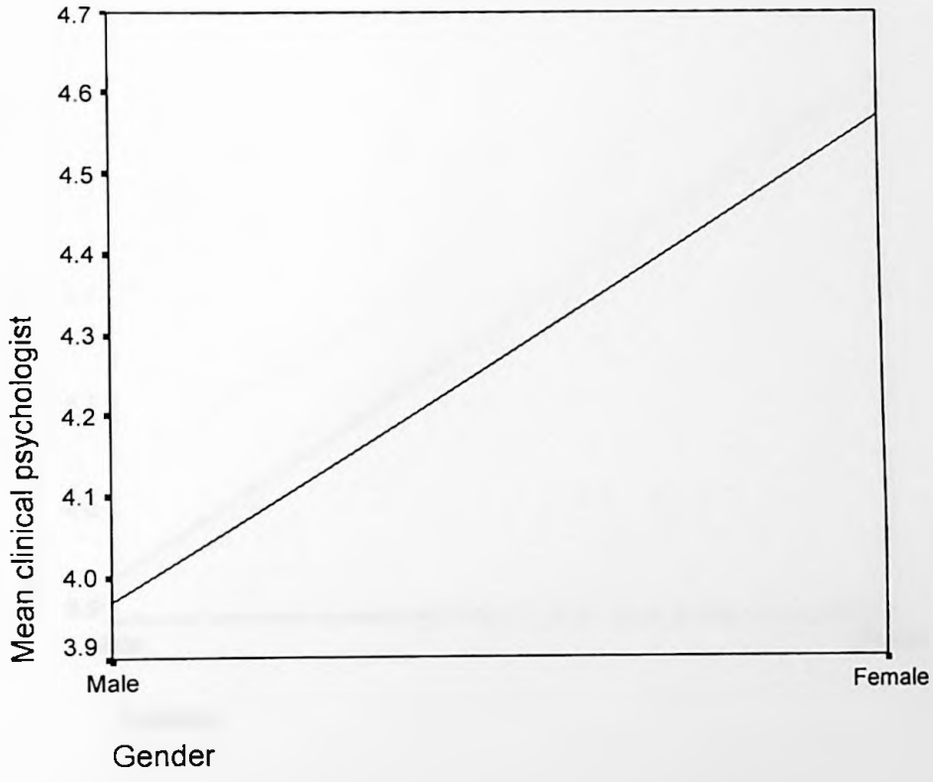
Graph 5.

Waitressing, Waithelp, and Waiter Means



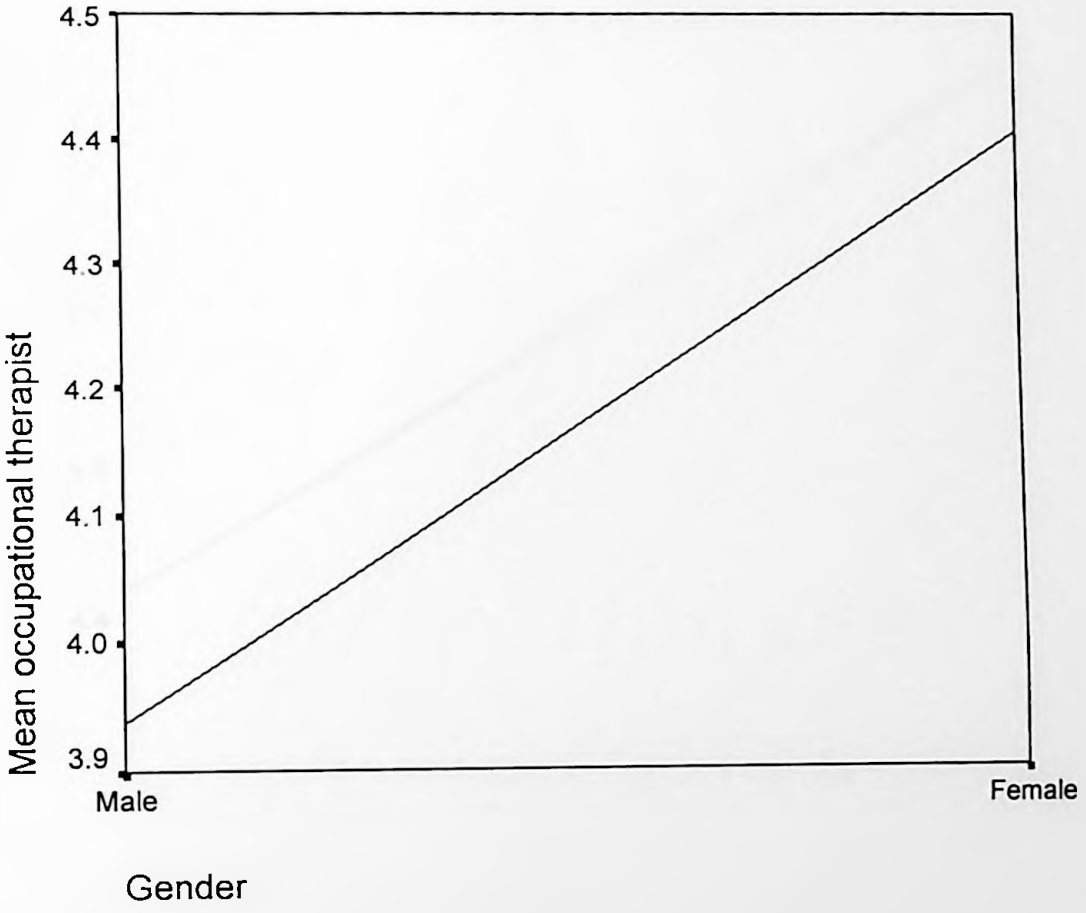
Graph 6.

Gender of Respondent and Clinical Psychologist Mean



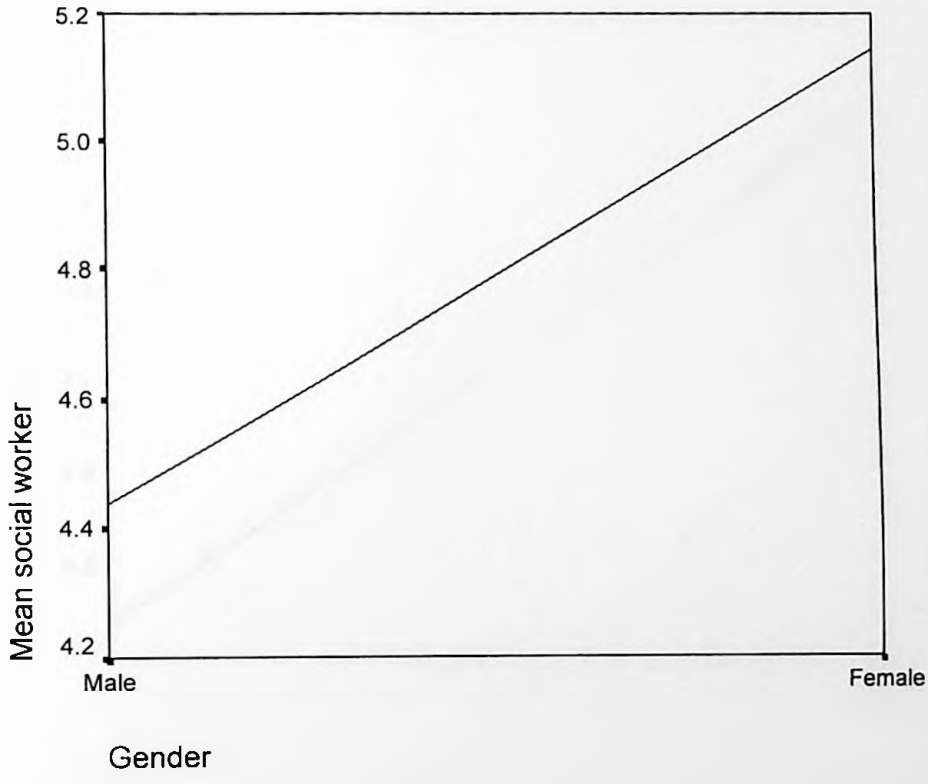
Graph 7.

Gender of Respondent and Occupational Therapist Mean



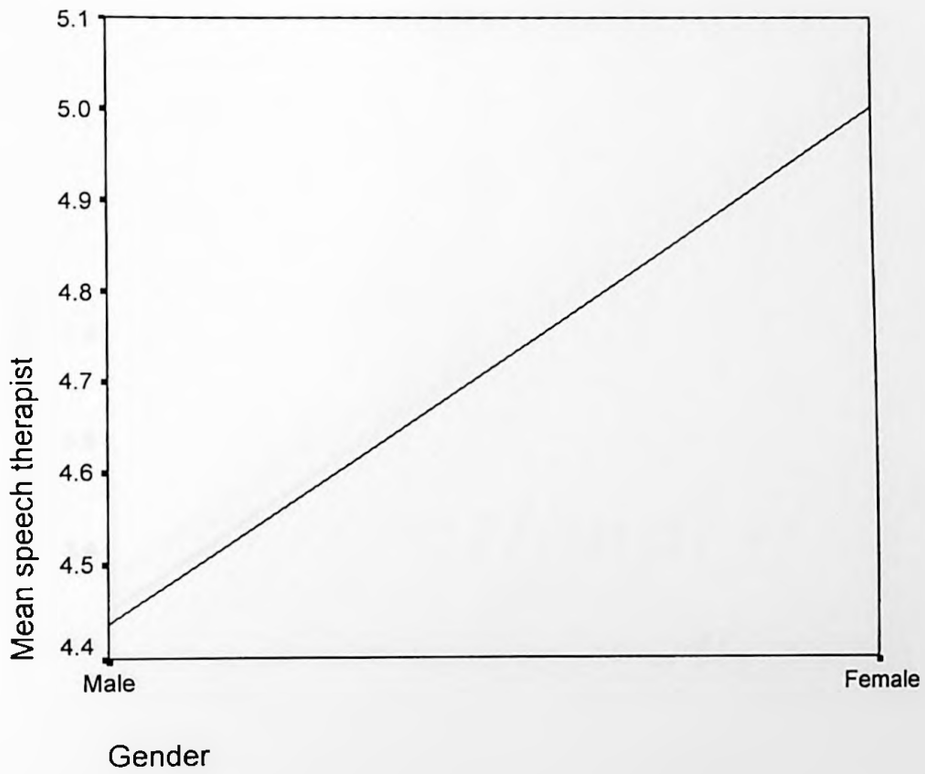
Graph 8.

Gender of Respondent and Social Worker Mean



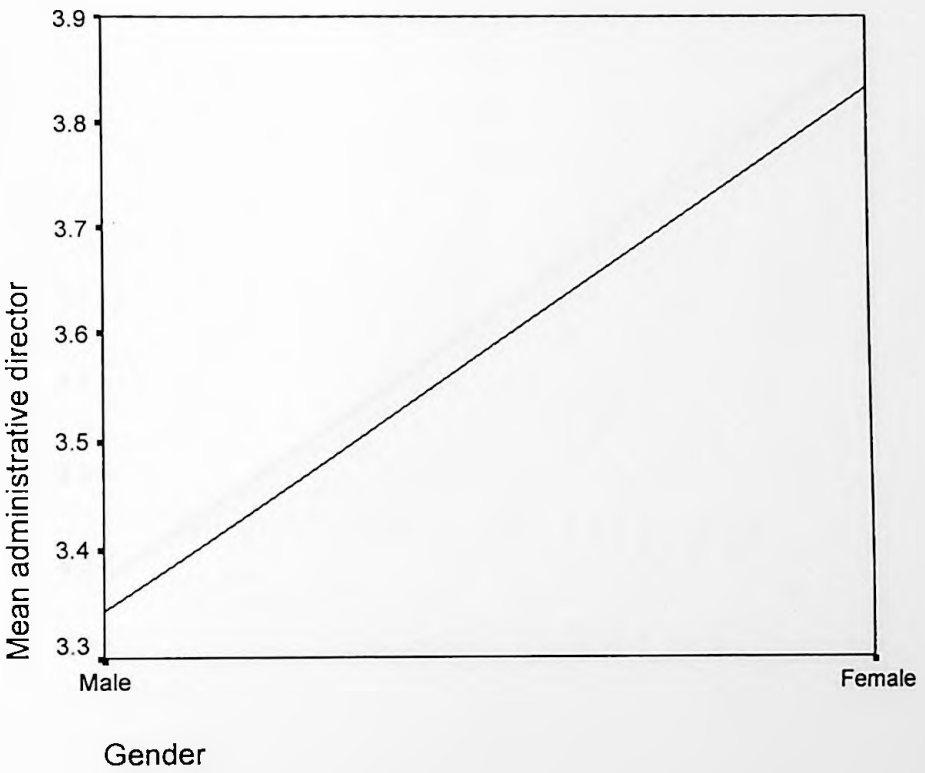
Graph 9.

Gender of Respondent and Speech Therapist Mean



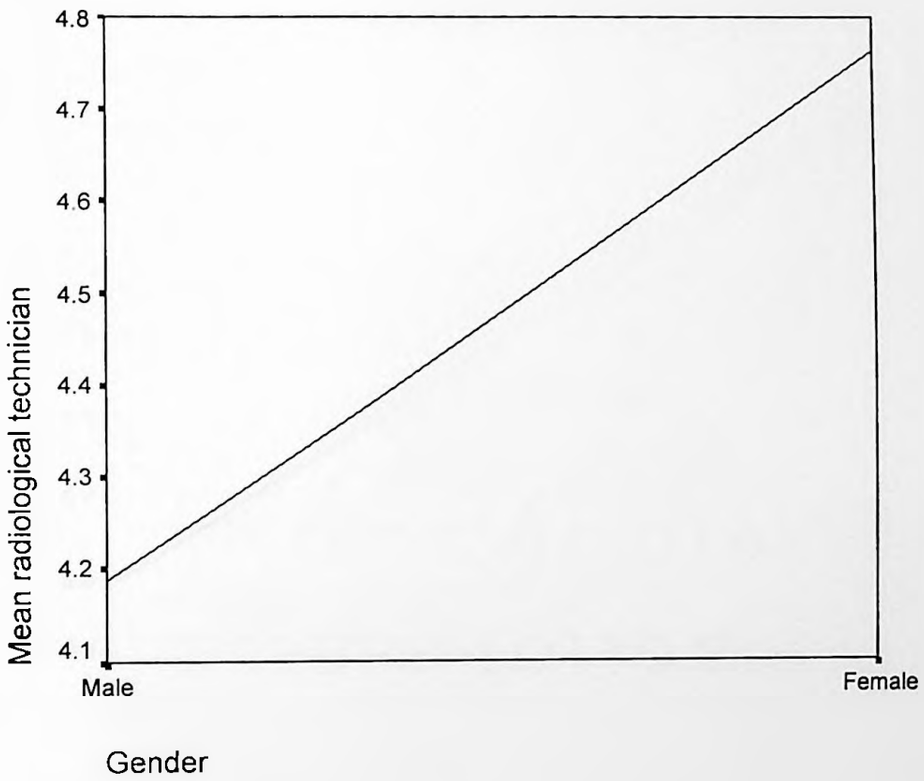
Graph 10.

Gender of Respondent and Administrative Director Mean



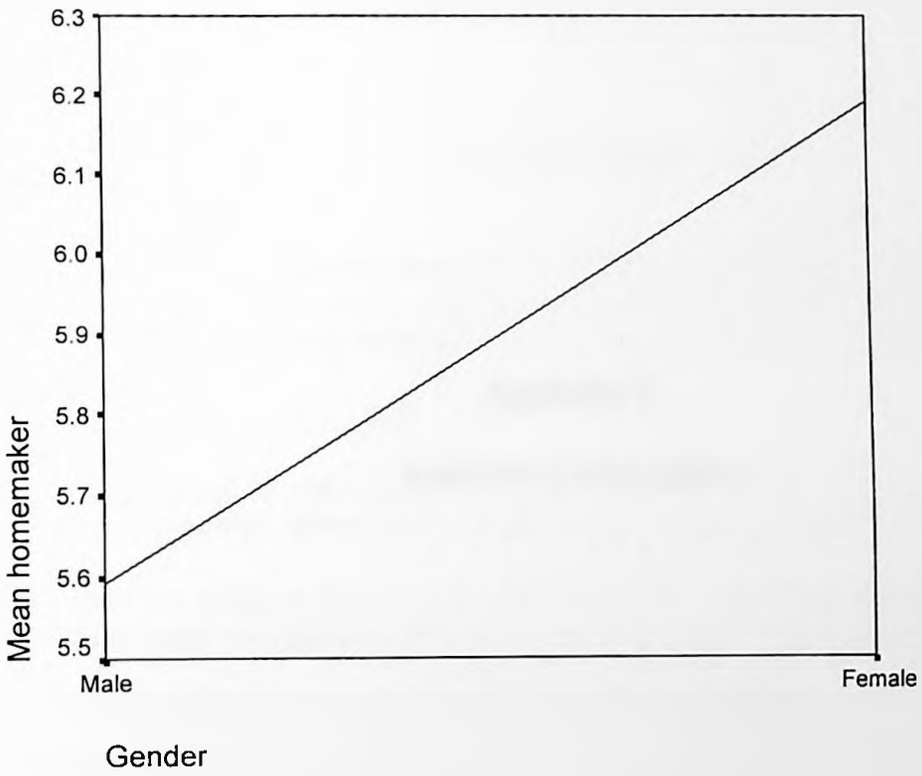
Graph 11.

Gender of Respondent and Radiological Technician Mean



Graph 12.

Gender of Respondent and Homemaker Mean



Appendix D

Instrument Information

Consent Statement

I agree to participate in this study. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time. By signing and dating below, I understand that I am agreeing participate in this study and that I am declaring that I am my own legal guardian.

Name _____ Date _____

INSTRUCTIONS

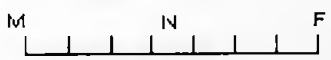
Any given concept can be described on a continuum between two adjectives having opposite meaning. For example, the concept "knife" can be rated on a 7-point graphic scale as being more closely related to one or the other of a pair of opposites, such as

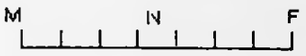
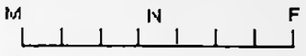
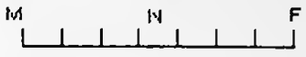
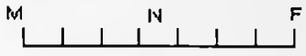
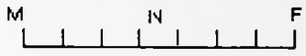
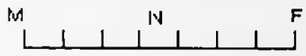
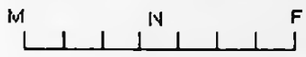
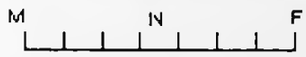
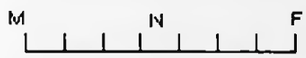
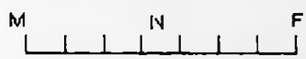
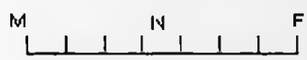
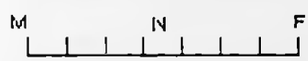
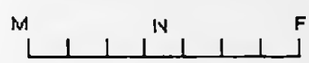
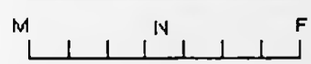
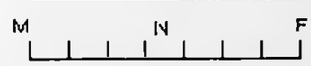
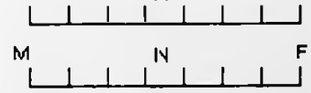
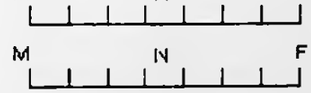
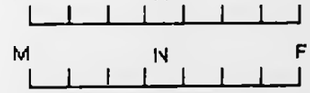
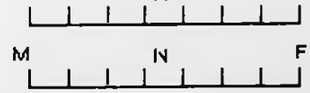
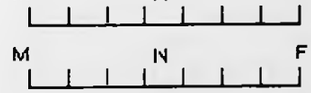
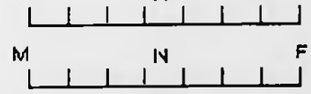
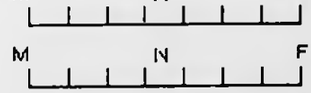
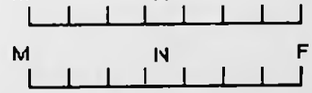
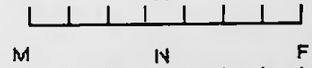
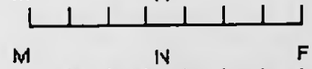
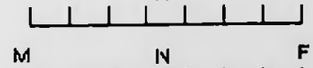
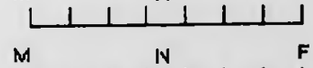
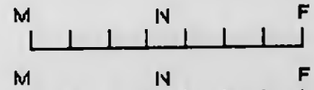
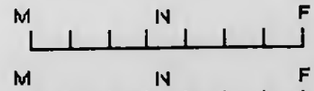
sharp __ __ __ __ __ __ __ dull.

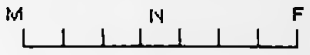
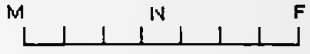
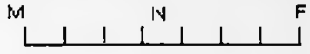
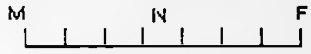
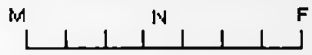
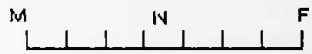
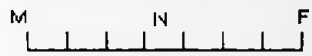
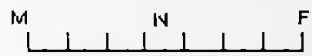
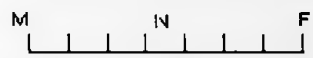
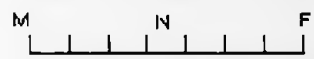
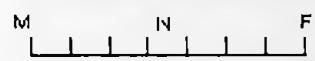
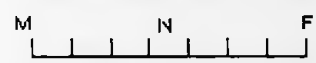
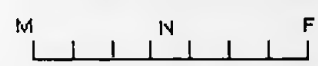
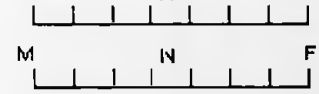
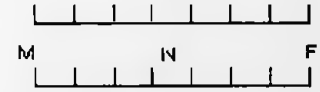
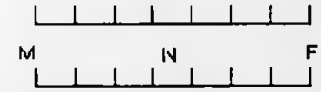
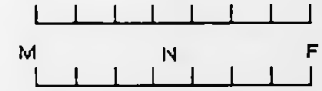
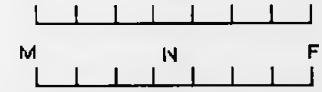
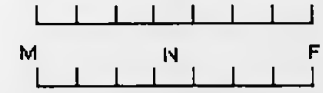
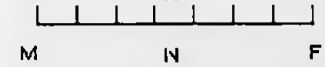
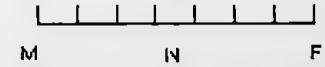
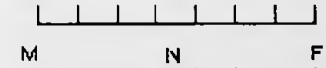
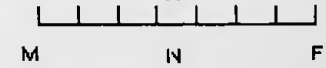
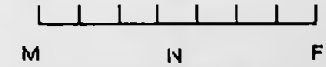
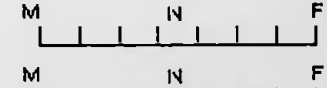
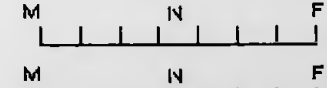
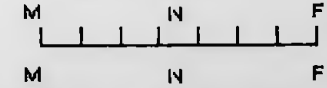
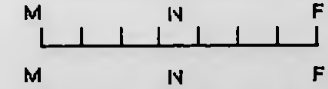
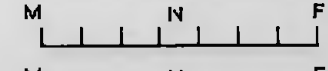
On the following pages you will see lists of occupations. Rate each occupation in terms of its being masculine, feminine or neutral on the following 7-point graphic scale.

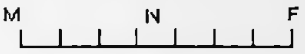
Assume that the scale is divided into equal intervals. Make a quick and independent judgment for each occupation. When you have finished a page, go on the next page.

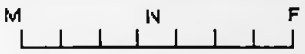
Mark inside the slots as shown below, but mark only **ONE** slot.

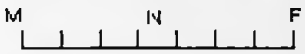


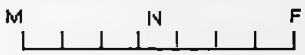
Police sergeant	
Receptionist	
Composer	
Race car driver	
Pawnbroker	
Physician	
Hardware store sales work	
Used car sales dealer	
Dietitian	
Door to door sales work	
Motel manager	
Engineer	
Clinical psychologist	
Registered nurse	
Certified Public Accountant	
Miner	
Geologist	
Creative artist	
Customs inspector	
Top labor official	
Personnel director	
Reservations clerk	
Banker	
District attorney	
Veterinarian	
Construction worker	
Lab technician	
Educational administration (e.g. Dean)	
Highway maintenance worker	

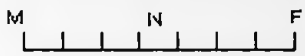
Insurance agent	
Taxidermist	
Carpenter	
Astronomer	
Cashier	
Radio announcer	
Electrician	
Surgeon	
TV sales work	
Bank teller	
Conservationist	
Federal Judge	
Comedian	
Probation Officer	
University president	
Architect	
Jewelry designer	
Dentist	
Heavy equipment operator	
Pediatrician	
Drafting work	
Manicurist	
Mayor	
Agronomist	
Physician's assistant	
High government official	
Private secretary	
Animal caretaker	
Sales president	

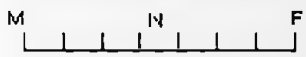
File clerk 

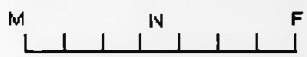
Technical sales work 

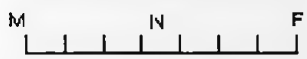
Telephone sales representative 

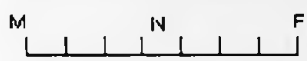
Auto mechanic 

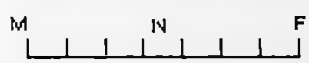
Politician 

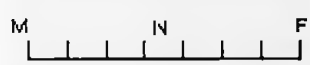
Prima ballet dancer 

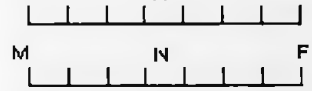
Elementary school teacher 

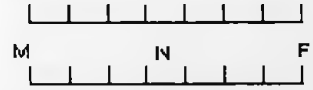
Aviator 

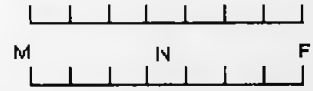
Farm manager 

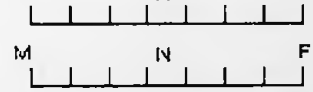
Counseling psychologist 

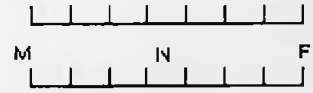
Boat captain 

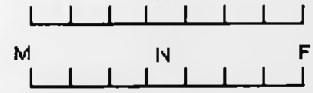
Choreographer 

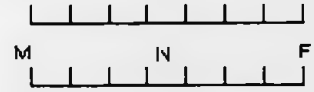
Oceanographer 

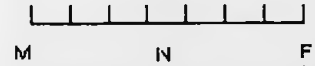
Sales manager 

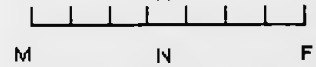
Rehabilitation counselor 

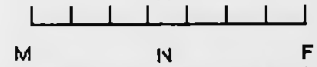
Law professor 

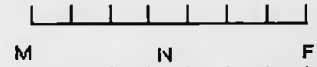
Game warden 

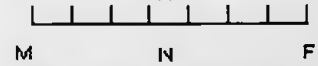
US supreme court justice 

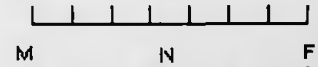
Assistant in scientific lab 

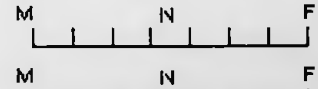
Radio technician 

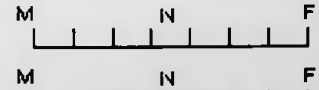
Law clerk 

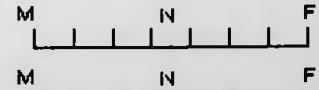
Forestry Engineer 

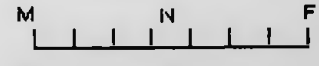
Watch repair work 

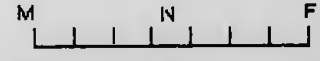
Journalist 

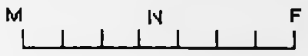
High school teacher 

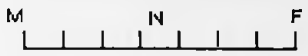
Fisherman 

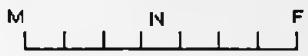
Psychiatrist 

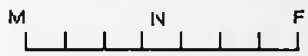
Occupational therapist 

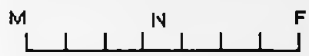
Public relations director 

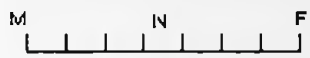
Air traffic controller 

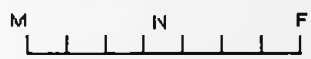
Short order cook 

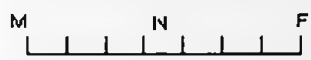
Head librarian 

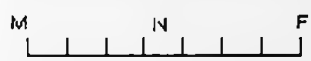
Pharmacist 

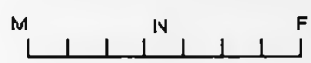
Park manager 

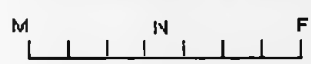
Social worker 

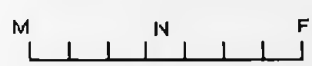
School psychologist 

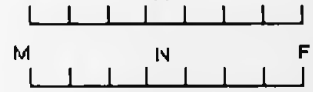
Stockbroker 

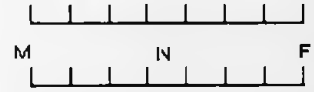
Air steward(ess) 

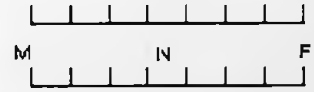
Mathematician 

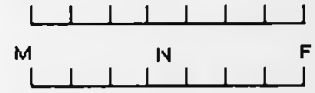
Business machine sales work 

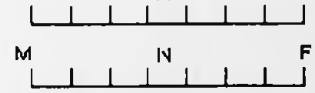
Professional Athlete 

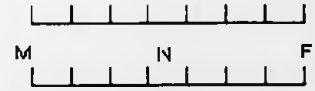
Managing editor (e.g. TIME) 

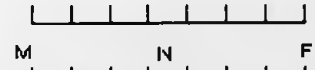
Jewelry sales work 

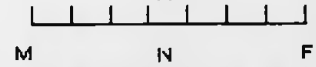
Building contractor 

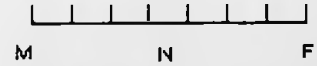
Hospital attendant 

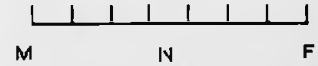
Statistician 

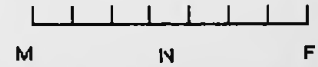
Orchestra conductor 

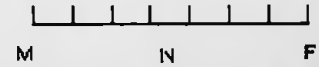
Magician 

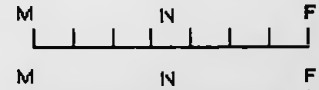
Dental hygienist 

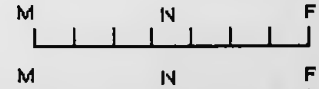
Railroad conductor 

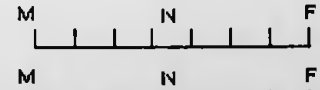
Florist supply sales 

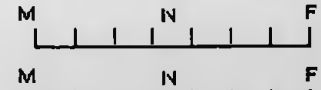
X-ray technician 

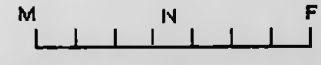
Humanities professor 

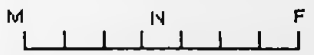
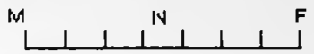
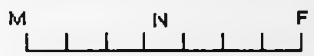
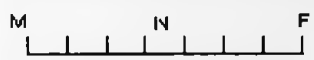
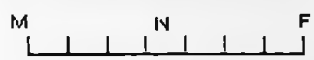
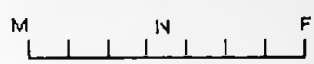
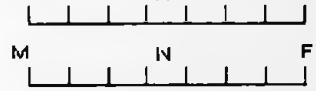
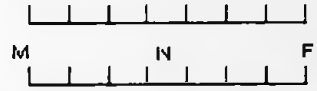
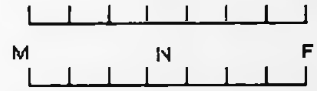
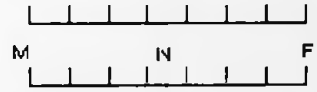
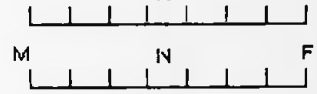
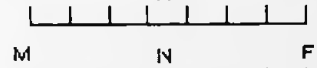
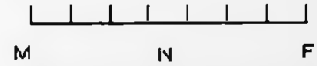
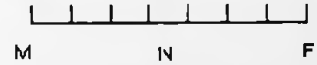
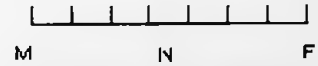
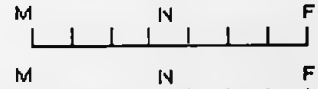
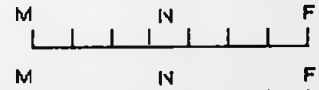
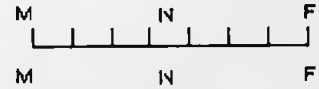
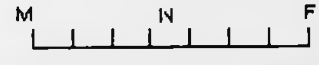
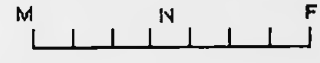
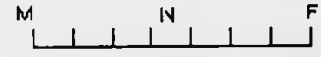
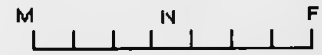
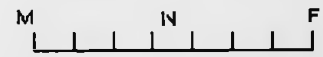
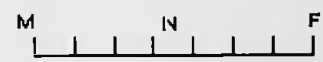
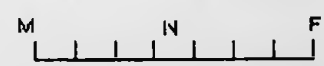
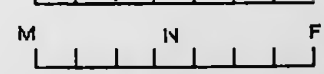
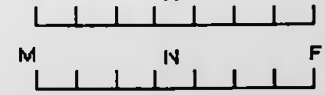
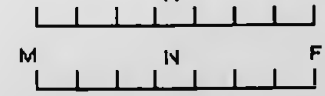
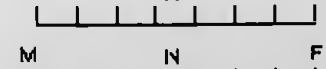
Mining engineer 

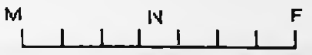
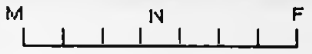
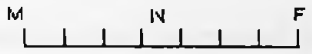
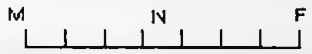
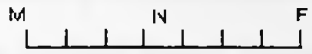
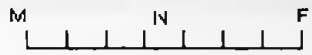
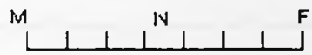
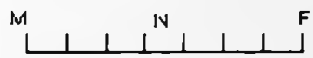
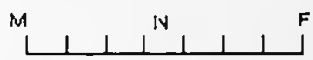
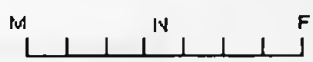
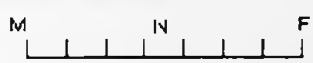
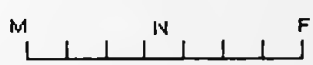
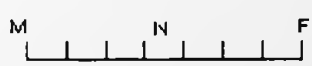
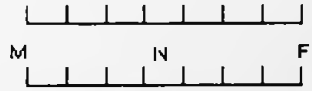
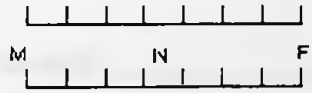
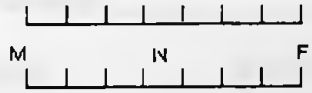
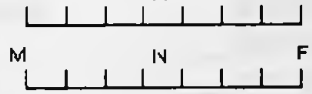
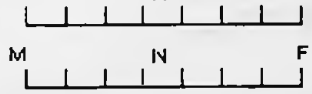
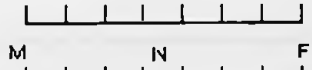
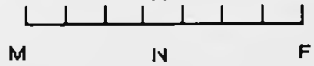
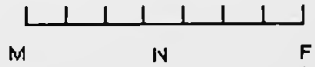
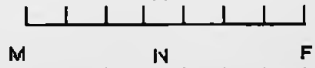
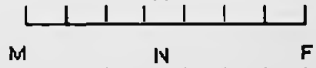
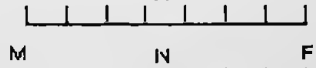
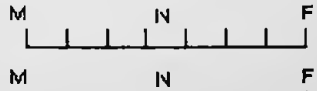
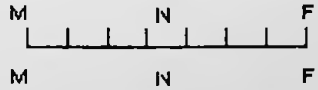
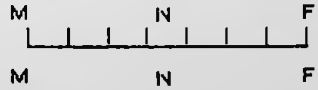
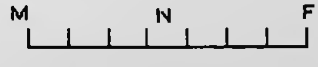
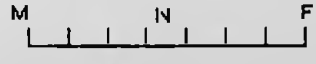
Meteorologist 

Dry cleaning store owner 

Real estate sales work 

Physicist 

Practical nurse	
FBI agent	
School principal	
Pharmaceutical sales work	
Singer	
Company president	
Writer	
Research scientist	
Groundskeeper	
Computer programmer	
History professor	
Bell captain	
Theatrical director	
Administrative assistant	
Janitor	
YWCA director	
Systems analyst	
Domestic help	
Waitress	
Chief risk officer	
Ballet dancer	
Streetsweeper	
Coordinator	
Homemaker	
Bartender	
Maintenance supervisor	
Cosmetologist	
Telemarketer	
Bookkeeper	

Accountant	
Secretary	
Wait help	
YMCA director	
Nurse's aide	
Flight attendant	
Financial manager	
Divination services provider	
Maid	
Business professor	
Herbalist	
Waiter	
Information systems specialist	
Housekeeper	
Data processor	
Caterer	
Speech therapist	
Importer/exporter	
Tailor	
Plumber	
Administrative director	
Office assistant	
Barber	
Information Officer	
Paramedic	
Claims specialist	
Radiological technician	
Doctor of naturopathic medicine	
Pilot	

Please circle the basis on which you made your judgment of the masculinity, femininity or neutrality of each occupation.

a. on the basis of the proportion of men and women employed in the occupation

b. on the basis of the personality traits matching the occupation

c. on the basis of the physical capabilities required for the occupation

d. other. please specify _____

Please answer the following questions about yourself.

What is your age?_____

Please check an answer for each set.

1. ___male ___female

2. ___WV origin ___Other origin (specify _____)

3. Income
___Less than $10,000 year
___$10,000 to $20,000
___$20,000 to $30,000
___$30,000 to $40,000
___$40,000 to $50,000
___over $50,000

4. What type work do you do? _____

Please put any comments here.