

Trait-Based and Sex-Based Discrimination in Occupational Prestige, Occupational Salary, and Hiring¹

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Two investigations examined how occupational stereotypes relate to sex discrimination in the prestige and salaries accorded to “men’s” and “women’s” jobs, and in hiring decisions. A distinction was drawn between the sex type of jobs (the ratio of male to female jobholders) and the gender type of jobs (the personality traits associated with jobholders). A descriptive study revealed that although the sex type and gender type of most jobs studied were consistent, significant exceptions occurred. Furthermore, most jobs that were “sex neutral” with respect to sex ratios were found to be highly gender typed. Regression analyses revealed that the “masculinity” of a job was a strong predictor of occupational salary and prestige, whereas feminine traits made a much smaller contribution to prestige and were unrelated to salary. The percentage of women jobholders was negatively related to occupational salary, but unrelated to prestige. Finally, a survey of career planning and placement professionals—who rated the suitability of job applicants whose sex and gender type were varied—demonstrated that two processes underlie sex discrimination in hiring decisions: gender-typed personality trait matching and sex matching of applicants to jobs.

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Although in recent years women and men have increasingly pursued jobs that have traditionally been dominated by the other sex, the job market in the United States is still significantly segregated by sex (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1987). This segregation is partly due to differences in the career aspirations of men and women (Gottfredson, 1981); however, considerable evidence demonstrates that sex discrimination in hiring plays a significant role (see Safilios-Rothschild, 1979, for a review). Furthermore, jobs dominated by women are generally accorded lower salary and prestige than those dominated by men (Chafetz, 1990; Bose & Rossi, 1983).

Two general approaches have been taken by those who seek to explain the differences in prestige and salary between men's and women's jobs and the existence of sex discrimination in hiring. The first emphasizes the gender-typed personality traits associated with job incumbents and job applicants, whereas the second suggests that the sex of incumbents and applicants is important *regardless* of the traits they are thought to possess. Within each of these approaches, two types of processes have been proposed: one that deals with occupational salary and prestige, and one that is specific to discrimination in hiring. I will review these explanations and suggest a new way of classifying jobs that makes it possible to untangle the relationships of gender-typed traits and sex to occupational sex discrimination.

Gender-Typed Trait Discrimination

Proponents of the trait approach have suggested that sex discrimination in occupation prestige and pay is a result of greater value being placed on stereotypically "masculine" personality traits as compared to stereotypically "feminine" traits (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, & Rosenkrantz, 1972). This can be termed *masculine chauvinism*. Such chauvinism seems likely given that masculine traits tend to be instrumental or agentic, and are therefore the kind of traits required in most jobs, whereas feminine traits cluster around the home-oriented trait of nurturance (Eagly, 1987). Jobs that are associated with masculine traits are therefore likely to be more prestigious and high paying, whereas feminine traits may be negatively correlated with prestige and pay.

Although masculine traits may generally be viewed as more valuable than feminine ones, cases of "reverse discrimination" in hiring suggest that masculine employees are not invariably preferred (e.g., Cash, Gillen, & Burns, 1977; Cohen & Bunker, 1975; Shaw, 1972). This has been explained by proponents of the gender-typed trait approach in terms of *gender-typed trait matching* between the personality traits applicants are presumed to

possess and the traits deemed appropriate for the job. Although most jobs may require instrumental traits to some degree, some jobs require feminine traits. For instance, a day care worker ought to be patient, nurturant, and soft-spoken. Masculine traits, such as aggressiveness and ambitiousness, are likely to be seen as inappropriate for the role. Although masculine traits may generally be more valued, they may be seen as useless or even detrimental for particular roles. Thus, it may be that the overall value society places on masculine traits does more to explain why “women’s jobs” are generally accorded lower prestige and salary than “men’s jobs” than it does to explain discrimination against women in access to specific jobs. Of course, such “reverse discrimination,” on the whole, still favors men if it only serves to restrict them from jobs that are not considered particularly desirable. Women may be preferred over men for certain occupations, but these jobs may typically be of low status and pay.

Sex-Based Discrimination

A counterpart to the masculine chauvinism explanation is *male chauvinism*. This explanation presumes that men are more highly valued than women, regardless of the traits that men and women are believed to possess. This account suggests that because men are the dominant cultural group, they are more highly valued. Thus, jobs with a large proportion of men in them will be of higher prestige (Jacobs & Powell, 1985; Bose & Rossi, 1983; Touhey, 1974a, b) and pay better wages (Treiman & Hartmann, 1981).

Finally, there is a counterpart to the trait-matching explanation that deals specifically with sex discrimination in hiring decisions—the *sex-matching* model, which suggests that men and women are matched to jobs on the basis of the ratio of men to women jobholders (Glick, Zion, & Nelson, 1988; Krefting, Berger, & Wallace, 1978). Once a job is dominated by one sex, “it is expected that job holders will be of that sex, and members of that sex are most likely to apply and be selected for that job” (Krefting et al., p. 182). Krefting et al. further speculate that this is due to the “availability” bias—people’s tendency to be influenced in their judgments by the cognitive constructs that are most accessible to them (Kahneman & Tversky, 1973). If men dominate a profession, then the image of a successful incumbent that comes most quickly to mind is a man and, in turn, male applicants may be seen as a better match for the job. If so, this process may be wholly independent of the gender-typed trait inferences made about men and women.

Although various researchers have often used one or more variants of these four explanations, they have generally assumed either a trait-based or a sex-based approach without considering the existence of the other. This, in turn, has resulted in research that conflates the two processes, making it difficult to discern which of the two is operating. For instance, research on the relationship between the sex ratios of jobs and prestige have failed to consider simultaneously the gender-typed traits associated with jobs that may be related to prestige. Because jobs dominated by one sex probably tend to be perceived as requiring the personality traits associated with that sex, it is unclear whether the negative correlation between the percentage of women in jobs and prestige can actually be accounted for by the gender-typed traits, rather than the sex ratios, associated with jobs.

A similar sort of confusion has been evident in the research literature on discrimination in hiring. For example, given the findings of Locksley and her colleagues (e.g., Locksley, Borgida, Brekke, & Hepburn, 1980) that highly diagnostic individuating information can easily eliminate stereotyped trait inferences about individuals, proponents of the trait-matching model (e.g., Kalin & Hodgins, 1984) have argued that sex discrimination can be eliminated by providing individuating information about applicants. The sex-matching model suggests that such a strategy will not be completely successful. Indeed, Glick et al. (1988) found that even when identical personality trait inferences were made about male and female applicants, sex discrimination still remained. Although applicants who were perceived as having masculine, as opposed to feminine, personality traits were preferred for a masculine job, a female applicant who was perceived as possessing the required masculine personality traits was discriminated against in comparison to a male applicant who was perceived to have the identical traits. Opposite results were obtained for a stereotypically feminine job.

Of course, the four processes described above are not mutually exclusive. It is quite conceivable that the prestige and salary of jobs are influenced by both *masculine* chauvinism (greater value placed on masculine than feminine traits) and by *male* chauvinism (greater value placed on men than women). Discrimination in hiring may well be based on both gender-typed personality trait matching and sex-matching. Indeed, the Glick et al. (1988) study showed evidence of both processes being involved in the matching of applicants to jobs.

As mentioned above, the gender types and sex ratios of jobs are no doubt correlated. Male jobs are likely to be seen as masculine and female jobs as feminine. In fact, Eagly (1987) argues that the sex-based division of labor in which men work outside the home and women primarily engage in domestic activities is the origin of gender stereotypes. Nevertheless, there may be a significant number of exceptions to this rule, including jobs domi-

nated by one sex that require masculine and feminine traits (e.g., elementary school teacher), require neither masculine or feminine traits (e.g., mail carrier), and jobs with balanced sex ratios that are nevertheless gender-typed (e.g., administrative assistant may require masculine, but not feminine, traits). If so, pulling these two dimensions apart would allow an assessment of to what degree gender-typed trait-based and sex-based processes are related to the prestige and pay of jobs, as well as to sex discrimination in hiring.

One source of the prior confusion over trait-based and sex-based approaches is that researchers have failed to distinguish between the sex and the gender type of jobs in the way that has been done with people. Bem (1974, 1977), for instance, has argued that there are androgynous women and men, women and men who have neither masculine or feminine traits ("undifferentiated" in the terminology of Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1975), and people whose traits match those of the opposite sex. Similarly, it is possible to classify a job according to its "sex" as measured by the ratio of male and female job incumbents and according to its "gender-type" in terms of the gender-typed personality traits that are or are not associated with the job. For instance, the job of paramedic is certainly "male" in that proportionately few women hold this job, yet it may be androgynous in terms of the personality traits required (both masculine traits, such as decisiveness, and feminine traits, such as sympathy). Unlike the sex of a person, the *sex type* of a job is on a continuous, rather than dichotomous, scale because a job with 90% women is more "female" than one with 75% women. As yet, no one has classified jobs with these distinctions in mind. Rather, when researchers ask people to make judgments of the "sex-type" of jobs (typically on a scale where the anchors are "masculine" and "feminine") it is unclear whether people respond in terms of the traits associated with the jobs or in terms of sex ratios (an analysis by Krefting et al., 1978, suggests the latter).

In addition to this lack of clarity, the typical measure of the "sex type" of jobs uses a bipolar scale. This is entirely reasonable if sex type is defined as the sex-ratio of incumbents, because proportionately more men in a job necessarily indicates proportionately fewer women (and vice versa). If, however, one seeks to measure the gender type of the traits associated with jobs, this type of scale is problematic. Even though people generally see masculine and feminine personality traits as negatively correlated to some degree (Bem, 1974), theoretical and empirical advances have been made by treating masculinity and femininity as conceptually distinct dimensions. This allows a distinction to be made between people with androgynous and undifferentiated personalities. The simple bipolar sex-type scale confuses these conceptually distinct categories of jobs, and forces raters to exagger-

ate the perceived negative correlation between masculinity and femininity. This also may obscure the nature of masculine chauvinism (if it does occur). There are three distinct forms that such chauvinism might take. In each case, masculine traits would be positively valued but are feminine traits negatively valued, unrelated to occupational prestige and salary, or positively but less strongly valued than masculine traits? Bipolar ratings cannot answer this question.

I conducted an initial study to determine how people's perceptions of the masculine and feminine personality trait requirements and sex ratios of a sample of jobs are related to perceptions of occupational prestige and salary.

STUDY 1

Method

Participants

Twenty-five men and 36 women were recruited from the Appleton, Wisconsin, YMCA to participate in a "job perception" study. Each individual was paid \$4.00 for his or her participation. The sample was diverse in occupation and age. Most of the participants were employed full time (of the 9 who were not, 4 were students and 5 were homemakers). Participants held a variety of occupations including factory workers, engineers, teachers, managers, and one corporation president. Ages ranged from 19 to 65. The average age of participants was 40. Most participants were at the YMCA waiting for their children who were participating in sports programs. The participants were allowed to complete the survey on their own and return it to the YMCA office when completed.

Procedure

Items from the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem, 1974, 1977) were used to measure the masculinity and femininity of the personality traits associated with jobs, and to classify jobs as masculine, feminine, androgynous, or undifferentiated. A total of 46 jobs were selected from Gottfredson and Brown's (1978) list of occupational titles. These jobs represent an extremely wide range of sex ratios, prestige, and salary. Participants were instructed to rate the characteristics listed—10 masculine and 10 feminine traits taken from the BSRI—according to whether the traits were *required*

for the job on a 1 (indicating that the trait is harmful to job success) to 7 (indicating that the trait is crucial for job success) scale, with 4 labeled as the neutral point. For this section of the questionnaire participants were explicitly instructed to rate the traits as *job requirements*, not in terms of the traits of typical jobholders. This was done to avoid the problem of participants rating the job traits in terms of the traits of the sex of the typical jobholder as opposed to the traits associated with job tasks. Participants were instructed to complete all of the trait ratings for one job before proceeding to the next. In the second section of the questionnaire participants rated the prestige and the salary of each job on a 1 (*extremely low*) to 5 (*extremely high*) scale, and estimated the percentage of men and women in the jobs.

Results

Reliability of Job Ratings

The internal consistency reliability of the masculinity and femininity scales was examined for a randomly chosen subset of 10 of the jobs rated. Cronbach's alpha was computed separately for each of these 10 jobs for the masculine personality trait ratings (average alpha = .89, $p < .001$) and for the feminine trait ratings (average alpha = .92, $p < .001$). The reliability of the other ratings was determined by averaging across participants and correlating their ratings with actual labor statistics. Participants' estimates of the percentage of women in each job were highly correlated to the actual percentage of women in these occupations according to recent census data ($r = .92$, $n = 42$, $p < .001$; census data were obtained from U.S. Department of Commerce, 1987). The prestige ratings made by the participants were highly correlated with standard prestige ratings of the same jobs (obtained from Gottfredson & Brown, 1978; $r = .82$, $n = 46$, $p < .001$). Finally, participants' salary ratings were highly correlated with actual weekly salaries for the jobs (obtained from Wright, 1987-1988; $r = .78$, $n = 45$, $p < .001$). (Actual percentages of women jobholders could not be determined for 4 jobs: hospital orderly, children's day camp counselor, travel agent, and paramedic. Actual salary for the used car sales job could not be determined.) The correlations between average perceived masculinity, femininity, and the percentage of women incumbents were all moderate and in predictable directions. The highest percentage of variance shared by these ratings was 28%. Given the high reliability of the measures, these moderate correlations suggest that these ratings are not simply imperfect measures of a single construct.

Table I. Personality Ratings, BSRI Classification, Sex Ratios, Prestige, and Salary of Jobs

Occupation ^a	Feminine traits ^b	Masculine traits ^b	Percent women	BSRI ^c	Prestige rating ^d	Salary rating ^d
Women's jobs						
Day care worker	5.80	4.67	89.9	F ^e	2.19	1.95
Receptionist	4.91	4.67	86.8	F ^e	2.29	2.14
Secretary	4.96	4.87	85.8	F	2.46	2.41
File clerk	4.49	4.55	81.1	U	1.93	1.90
Flight attendant	5.32	4.72	79.5	F ^e	2.91	3.00
Beautician	5.07	4.59	78.0	F ^e	2.28	2.30
Dietician	4.63	4.68	77.8	U	3.00	2.96
Nurse	5.54	4.89	76.9	F ^e	3.54	3.29
Librarian	4.95	4.57	76.5	F ^e	2.78	2.49
Bank teller	4.78	4.51	73.5	F ^e	2.51	2.38
Interior designer	4.67	5.47	73.1	M ^e	3.59	3.74
Travel agent	4.88	4.97	70.2	F	2.63	2.59
Reservations clerk	4.83	4.52	69.0	A	2.14	2.05
Elementary teacher	5.49	5.31	65.6	A ^e	3.53	3.21
Social worker	5.21	4.92	61.7	F ^e	3.09	2.84
Sex-neutral jobs						
Paralegal	4.45	5.32	55.9	M ^e	3.28	3.13
Physical therapist	5.17	4.56	54.5	F ^e	3.48	3.32
X-ray technician	4.94	4.48	53.0	F ^e	3.31	3.21
Camp counselor	5.08	4.49	48.1	F ^e	2.23	1.89
Administrative assistant	4.77	5.34	47.6	A ^e	3.47	3.43
Real estate agent	4.42	5.43	47.2	M ^e	3.31	3.42
Magazine journalist	4.45	5.92	43.8	M ^e	3.45	3.46
Short order cook	4.51	4.49	43.3	U	1.74	1.68
Men's jobs						
Public relations director	4.93	5.64	38.7	A ^e	3.46	3.50
Psychotherapist	5.15	5.11	37.5	A	4.17	4.30
Mail clerk	4.59	4.51	35.5	U	2.41	2.81
Accountant	4.36	5.09	35.1	M ^e	3.84	3.97
Advertising sales manager	4.43	6.13	30.9	M ^e	3.47	3.67
Veterinarian	5.07	5.25	29.4	A	4.05	4.32
Insurance agent	4.69	5.49	29.0	M ^e	3.09	3.54
Lawyer	4.59	6.28	27.8	M ^e	4.47	4.86
Paramedic	5.08	5.31	27.5	A ^e	3.49	3.05
Hospital orderly	5.19	4.38	26.7	F ^e	1.93	1.93
Pharmacist	4.69	4.58	26.3	U	3.88	3.80
Banker	4.68	5.57	24.3	M ^e	4.04	4.00
Financial planner	4.51	5.69	23.5	M ^e	3.75	4.04
Mail carrier	4.66	4.45	21.9	U ^e	2.74	3.28
Architect	4.45	5.74	20.6	M ^e	4.42	4.48
High school administrator	5.11	5.66	19.0	A ^e	3.93	2.98
Stock broker	4.05	6.08	18.7	M ^e	3.95	4.30
Police officer	4.53	5.72	16.5	M ^e	3.55	2.90
Hospital administrator	4.92	5.82	16.5	A ^e	4.35	4.46

Table I. Continued

Occupation ^a	Feminine traits ^b	Masculine traits ^b	Percent women	BSRI ^c	Prestige rating ^d	Salary rating ^d
Used car salesperson	4.49	5.58	11.6	M ^e	2.09	2.84
Real estate developer	4.33	6.07	11.4	M ^e	3.86	4.32
Construction worker	4.26	5.02	10.5	U ^e	2.51	3.52
Auto mechanic	4.40	4.98	5.4	U ^e	2.45	2.88

^aJobs are listed in descending order according to the perceived percentage of women jobholders.

^bRange = 1-7.

^cF: feminine; M: masculine; A: androgynous; U: undifferentiated.

^dRange = 1-5.

^eDenotes statistically significant difference in masculinity and femininity ratings.

Male and female participants rated the jobs similarly. No significant differences in the average ratings (across all 46 jobs) of the masculinity, femininity, percentage of men and women incumbents, prestige, or salaries of jobs emerged. Pairwise comparisons between men and women on each type of rating for individual jobs yielded slightly under the number of such differences expected by chance. Because of their similarity, the ratings made by men and women were averaged for further analyses.

Classification of the Sex Type and Personality Type of Jobs

The jobs were divided into women's (60% or more female incumbents), sex-neutral (between 40% and 60% female), and men's jobs (40% or fewer female incumbents) according to perceived ratios of men to women in the jobs. The "personality type" of each job was classified as feminine, masculine, androgynous, or undifferentiated using Bem's (1977) median-split procedure (median for femininity ratings = 4.74; median for masculinity ratings = 5.06). Pairwise comparisons were conducted for each job to determine whether differences between femininity and masculinity ratings were significant. The perceived femininity, masculinity, percentage of women jobholders, BSRI categories, prestige, and salary ratings are presented in Table I.

Although feminine personality traits were more characteristic of the women's jobs and masculine personality traits more typical of the men's jobs, this was not true for a substantial minority of jobs in this sample. According to BSRI median-split classifications, 7 of the jobs dominated by one sex are androgynous, 7 are undifferentiated, and 2 are actually cross-typed (interior designer and hospital orderly). Jobs with balanced sex ratios, however, were typically perceived as *either* masculine or feminine, rather

than androgynous or undifferentiated. It should be noted that in no case were the feminine or masculine traits seen as detrimental to job performance—for even the most masculine jobs, feminine traits were rated above the neutral point of 4 on the scale. Further, the fact that there were only 8 jobs (17%) classified as undifferentiated suggests that gender-typed personality traits are seen as requirements for a wide variety of jobs.

Relationship Between Sex Type and Personality Type of Jobs

To examine the relationship between the sex ratios and gender-typed personality traits associated with jobs, a 3 (sex ratio of job) \times 2 (gender-typed trait rating of job) analysis of variance of the trait ratings was conducted (masculine and feminine trait scores were treated as a repeated measures factor). This analysis revealed a main effect such that, overall, masculine traits ($M = 5.13$) were more strongly associated with the jobs than were feminine traits [$(M = 4.79)$, $F(1, 43) = 5.97$, $p < .05$]. This effect, however, must be interpreted in light of the significant Sex Type of Job \times Gender-Typed Trait Rating of Job interaction [$F(2, 43) = 10.18$, $p < .001$]. A posteriori contrasts (Kirk, 1968) revealed that this interaction occurred because “men’s” jobs were perceived to be more masculine than feminine [$F(1, 43) = 29.90$, $p < .001$], whereas “sex-neutral” jobs [$F(1, 43) = 1.40$, ns] and “women’s” jobs [$F(1, 43) = 2.24$, ns] were rated equally masculine and feminine. Thus, even though jobs dominated by women were typically classified as feminine using the median-split procedure, the ratings

Table II. Gender-Typed Personality Ratings of Occupations with Differing Sex Ratios^a

Sex of job	Personality traits	
	Feminine	Masculine
Female		
<i>M</i>	5.04	4.79
<i>SD</i>	.37	.29
Neutral		
<i>M</i>	4.72	5.00
<i>SD</i>	.31	.56
Male		
<i>M</i>	4.66	5.40
<i>SD</i>	.37	.56

^aRange = 1-7.

for these jobs as a group were not significantly more feminine than masculine. See Table II for means.

Predicting Prestige Ratings

Is the prestige of jobs more closely associated with the percentage of women jobholders or the gender-typed personality trait requirements of jobs? A multiple regression analysis was conducted using the masculine and feminine trait ratings and the perceived percentage of women jobholders as predictors of the perceived prestige of jobs. Table III displays the correlations between the variables, unstandardized regression coefficients (*B*) and intercept, standardized regression coefficients (β), semipartial (*sr*) and squared semipartial (*sr*²) correlations, *R*, *R*², and adjusted *R*².

This analysis revealed that the prestige of jobs is best predicted by their perceived masculinity, but that feminine traits also are positively associated with greater prestige in jobs once the influence of other predictors is held constant. The percentage of women in the occupation did not account for a significant portion of the variation in prestige once the other predictors were entered in the equation. Overall, about half of the variation in prestige between jobs was accounted for by the masculine and feminine trait ratings. Examination of the first-order correlations in light of the regression coefficients suggests that the negative correlation between the masculine and feminine trait ratings of jobs typically masks a positive correlation between femininity and prestige. This occurs because masculine, in contrast to feminine, traits account for a much greater proportion of the variance in prestige (42% as compared to 9%). The negative first-order correlation between the percentage of women jobholders and prestige

Table III. Multiple Regression of Personality Trait Ratings and Percentage of Women Jobholders on Occupational Prestige

Variables	Prestige	Masculine traits	Feminine traits	<i>B</i>	β	<i>sr</i>	<i>sr</i> ² (unique)
Masculine traits	.69 ^a			.96 ^a	.70	.65	.42
Feminine traits	-.11	-.41 ^a		.52 ^b	.26	.30	.09
% Women	-.41 ^a	-.53 ^a	.51 ^a	-.005			
		Intercept = -4.06					

*R*² = .53
 Adjusted *R*² = .49
R = .73^a

^a*p* < .01.
^b*p* < .05.

Table IV. Multiple Regression of Personality Trait Ratings and Percentage of Women Jobholders on Salary

Variables	Salary	Masculine traits	Feminine traits	<i>B</i>	β	sr	sr ² (unique)
Masculine traits	.72 ^a			87.67 ^a	.60	.60	.36
Feminine traits	-.33 ^b	-.41 ^a		10.44			
% Women	-.55 ^a	-.53 ^a	.51 ^a	-.83 ^b	-.26	-.29	.08
Intercept = -143.89							
<i>R</i> ² = .55							
Adjusted <i>R</i> ² = .52							
<i>R</i> = .74 ^a							

^a*p* < .01.

^b*p* < .05.

seems to be an artifact of the negative correlation between masculinity and percentage of women jobholders.

Predicting Salaries

A similar analysis was conducted substituting salary ratings as the dependent variable. Table IV displays the results.

Although salary and prestige ratings were extremely highly correlated ($r = .91$, $n = 46$, $p < .001$), the outcome of the regression on salary differed in some important respects from the regression on prestige. As in the prediction of prestige, the best single predictor of occupational salary was the masculinity of the job (accounting for 36% of the variance). In contrast to the prediction of prestige, however, feminine traits were unrelated to salary when the influence of the other independent variables as partialled out. In addition, the percentage of women jobholders was negatively related to salary when the influence of the other independent variables was removed (accounting for 8% of the variance). Overall, 55% of the variance in salary was explained by the predictors.

Discussion

The results of this study support the value of distinguishing between the sex ratios and gender-typed personality traits that are associated with jobs. With respect to personality traits, Study 1 revealed that masculine, as opposed to feminine, traits are more highly valued in jobs. Even jobs dominated by women were, as a group, rated as requiring masculine traits as much as feminine ones—although due to the lower median for the feminine

trait ratings, the median-split procedure led to a feminine classification for most of the female jobs. Regression analysis revealed that the best predictor of job prestige was the degree to which masculine personality traits are associated with a job. Although the degree to which feminine traits are associated with jobs did not correlate directly with prestige, feminine traits were found to have a positive correlation with prestige when the negative relationship between the masculine and feminine trait ratings of jobs was controlled for. This result suggests that feminine traits are valued to some degree in the workplace, but not nearly as much as masculine traits (which accounted for over four times as much variation in prestige ratings—42% as opposed to 9%). Thus, although this supports the notion of masculine chauvinism in prestige ratings, it is unfair to say that feminine traits are negatively valued or even that they are not positively valued. For practical purposes, however, the inverse relationship between masculine and feminine traits means that highly feminine jobs are likely to be low in prestige—not because they are associated with feminine traits, but because they are *not* associated with masculine ones.

Regression analysis also revealed that the negative first-order correlation between the percentage of women in a job and prestige is probably due to the negative relationship between the percentage of women and the perceived masculinity of jobs. This result indicates that masculine, rather than male, chauvinism is responsible for the difference in prestige accorded men's and women's jobs, and suggests an alternative explanation for inconsistencies in previous findings concerning whether the sex of the typical jobholder bears a causal relationship to occupational prestige such that increases in the number of women who enter male-dominated occupations reduce their prestige (see Shaffer, Gresham, Clary, & Theilman, 1986). It may be that such an effect only occurs when people infer that an influx of women will reduce the masculine trait requirements of the job. [Although Touhey (1974a) found that when male and female undergraduates were led to believe more women would soon be entering several high-status occupations, their ratings of the prestige of the jobs decreased, only some subsequent studies have found results consistent with this (Touhey, 1974b; Beyard-Tyler & Haring, 1984), others have obtained mixed results (Hawkins & Pingree, 1978), and many failures to replicate Touhey have been reported (Shaffer et al., 1986; Johnson, 1986; Littig & Reynolds, 1984; White, Crino, & DeSanctis, 1981; Suchner, 1979). Perhaps in the studies that found effects of changing sex ratios on prestige, participants altered their views of the traits required in the job after receiving information about the future sex ratio of jobholders, whereas perception of prestige remained unchanged when such inferences were not made.] In future research into the predictors of job prestige investigators ought to be careful to distinguish

between the influence of the sex of the typical jobholder and of the gender type of the personality traits associated with jobs.

The differences between the prediction of prestige and of salary were intriguing. Although feminine traits did have a significant, although relatively small, positive relationship with occupational prestige, they were not significantly related to salaries when the influence of masculine traits and the percentage of women jobholders was partialled out. This represents a particular form of masculine chauvinism—one in which masculine traits are positively valued and feminine traits, although not negatively valued, receive no weight at all. It seems that feminine traits in jobs are associated with enhanced prestige, but not enhanced pay. This is consistent with Kilstad's (1977) finding (as cited by Bose & Rossi, 1983) that "pink-collar" jobs tend to be rated more highly in terms of prestige than their salaries would warrant (or conversely, that they pay less than one would predict from their prestige ratings). Masculine traits did account for a significant portion of variance in salaries (36%), as did the percentage of women jobholders (8%), which was negatively related to salary. The unique contribution of the percentage of women jobholders to salary reflects wage discrimination that is not based upon differential values given to masculine and feminine personality traits. This suggests that male, in addition to masculine, chauvinism is related to occupational salary differences. Historically, men's jobs have been associated with higher wages in part because men were assumed to be the primary wage earners for families (Treiman & Hartmann, 1981). The negative relationship between the percentage of women in an occupation and salary may reflect the lingering effects of this form of discrimination, and perhaps other historical factors (e.g., strong union activity in low prestige men's jobs that resulted in higher pay, but little or no gain in prestige).

Data obtained in a pilot study with college students yielded similar patterns of results for regression analyses. The consistency of the regression analyses suggests that the impressive ability of the masculinity ratings to predict the prestige and salary of jobs reflects a stable phenomenon.

STUDY 2

The first study examined evidence for trait-based and sex-based discrimination in occupational salary and prestige, but not in terms of hiring decisions. I have proposed that two independent processes are jointly responsible for sex discrimination in judgments of candidates' suitability for jobs. One process involves matching of candidates and jobs according to the sex of the candidate and the sex of the job (as determined by the ratio

of female to male incumbents). The second process involves matching on the basis of gender-typed personality traits according to the types of traits associated with the job and the perceived traits of the applicant.

The marriage of the gender-typed personality trait and sex-matching models should increase our ability to predict the occurrence and strength of sex discrimination in hiring decisions. For instance, discrimination against women is likely to be stronger for a job such as lawyer, which is both highly sex typed as male *and* requires masculine personality traits (e.g., persuasiveness), as compared to a job such as real estate agent, which may require a masculine personality, but which is not highly sex typed. Although these are proposed as independent processes, as Study 1 demonstrates, most jobs that are dominated by one sex are also associated with the personality traits of that sex. Thus, if both types of discrimination do occur, they usually work in tandem. Nevertheless, it is possible to untangle these two processes sufficiently to demonstrate that each occurs. The influence of gender-typed traits apart from sex matching can be isolated because, as Study 1 demonstrated, jobs that have roughly equal sex ratios may be associated with highly gender-typed personality traits. Examining how applicants are matched to these jobs not only ensures that the gender-typed personality trait-matching process can be examined separately from the sex-matching process, but it also allows for the possibility of demonstrating that jobs previously seen as sex neutral on the typical bipolar sex-type rating scale (because approximately equal numbers of men and women hold these jobs) are, in fact, jobs for which individuals who possess particular gender-typed personality traits are preferred.

Isolating the sex-matching process independent of personality trait inferences may not seem as simple a matter; however, Glick et al. (1988) were able to do so by providing individuating information about male and female job applicants. This strategy takes advantage of the fact that stereotyped personality trait inferences are easily circumvented in individual cases if highly diagnostic information about the applicant suggests that he or she is an exception to the rule (Kreuger & Rothbart, 1988; Locksley et al., 1980). Glick et al. were able to eliminate personality inferences based on sex alone and demonstrated that the sex of the applicant nevertheless led to hiring discrimination for jobs dominated by one sex. Their study, however, involved only three jobs, including only one female and one male job. The inclusion of female and male jobs that vary in terms of the percentage of female and male jobholders in a similar study would allow for more rigorous testing of the prediction that the degree of sex matching depends on the unevenness of these ratios. The present study was designed to do so and thereby provide a more stringent test of the proposed sex-matching process. Furthermore, the Glick et al. (1988) study used only male partici-

pants and therefore did not examine whether women discriminate in a similar manner to men, whereas the current study included both female and male personnel professionals.

The present study involved a mail survey of career planning and placement professionals in which each respondent received information about a single applicant. Respondents were asked to rate the applicant's suitability for various jobs. The applicant information varied on two dimensions—sex and personality traits (masculine and feminine)—such that there were four resumes representing all combinations of the manipulated dimensions.

Method

Participants

Surveys were mailed to the 159 members (84 women and 75 men) of the Wisconsin Career Planning and Placement Association. The members of this association consist mainly of corporate personnel officers, career placement consultants, and college-affiliated career planning counselors. Sixty-six surveys were returned for a return rate of 41.5%; however, 12 surveys could not be analyzed because of missing responses. Among the 54 usable surveys, 33 of the respondents were women and 21 were men. It is not clear whether those who failed to return the surveys were representative of the larger group. Similar return rates did, however, occur across conditions. Thus there is no particular reason to suspect that the results of the study would be different if everybody had responded.

Procedure

The survey included a cover letter explaining that I was conducting a study of the personnel decision-making process under conditions of limited applicant information. Participants were instructed to read the enclosed applicant information carefully and then (a) to indicate whether or not they would interview the applicant for each job listed, and (b) to rate the applicant's suitability for each job on a 1 (*not at all suitable*) to 5 (*extremely suitable*) scale. Thirty-five jobs selected from the list employed in Study 2 were used. The respondents were asked to respond to both ratings for a given job before proceeding to the next job. An addressed, stamped return-envelope was provided. No compensation was provided to the respondents, but they were informed that they would receive a letter detailing the results of the study after the responses were analyzed. This letter (sent

to everyone on the original list) constituted the debriefing. Other than occupation and sex, no personal information about the respondents was solicited. Respondents were instructed not to include their names to ensure the anonymity and confidentiality of their responses.

Applicant Information. The applicant was said to be an actual person (although the name was supposedly changed). The information about the applicant indicated that he or she was a recent college graduate of average intelligence (according to standardized tests); this information was constant for all applicants. The sex and the gender type of the traits of the applicants were varied such that all combinations of sex (male and female) and two levels of the gender type of personality traits (masculine and feminine) were represented. Androgynous and undifferentiated applicants were not included because of the small number of androgynous and undifferentiated jobs on the list and because the limited number of participants available did not allow for an expanded design. Sex of the applicant was manipulated by varying the applicant's name (Joan vs. John Andrews), which was listed prominently at the top of the applicant information sheet. The applicants' traits were manipulated through the results of what was said to be a standardized personality inventory. All of the traits used in these personality summaries were taken from the BSRI. The feminine applicant was said to be compassionate, sincere, understanding, sensitive to the needs of others, affectionate, understanding, loyal, and cheerful. The masculine applicant was said to be forceful, self-reliant, unafraid to assert his or her views, analytical, independent, ambitious, assertive, and willing to take risks. Past studies have suggested that this kind of manipulation is typically successful at eliminating personality trait inferences based on targets' sex (Locksley et al., 1980; Glick et al., 1988).

Jobs. A subset of 35 of the 46 jobs used in Study 1 was selected. The job list was shortened primarily to help encourage participation (with the idea that respondents were more likely to complete and return a shorter survey). Two of the jobs that were eliminated, however, were chosen for systematic reasons. The construction worker and auto mechanic jobs were eliminated because respondents would be likely to assume for the former job that women possessed less physical strength than men and, for the latter job, that women were less likely to have mechanical skills. These assumptions would have yielded results supportive of sex matching, but for reasons specific to only these jobs. The other jobs that were eliminated (veterinarian, high school administrator, lawyer, nurse, mail carrier, bank teller, hospital administrator, insurance agent, architect) were chosen by random selection (although, because of their special importance for testing one of the main hypotheses, all of the sex-neutral, but highly gender-typed, jobs were retained).

Results

The dichotomous interview decisions and job suitability ratings were highly correlated (point-biserial $r = .77, p < .001$). Further analyses were conducted using the suitability ratings because these analyses required a parametric dependent variable. The high correlation between the measures suggests that the suitability ratings are likely to be predictive of interview decisions.

Gender-Typed Personality Trait Matching for Sex-Neutral Jobs

The sex-neutral jobs (those with roughly equal sex ratios) provided an opportunity to examine the trait-matching process among a set of jobs for which the influence of sex ratios was naturally eliminated. Suitability ratings for masculine and feminine applicants were averaged across the 3 masculine and across the 3 feminine sex-neutral jobs from Study 1. Because an analysis that included all of the independent variables revealed no effects involving sex of the applicant, I averaged across this factor and performed a 2 (personality traits of jobs) \times 2 (personality traits of applicants) \times 2 (sex of respondents) analysis of variance. Means are presented in Fig. 1.

This analysis confirmed that jobs with roughly equal sex ratios can nevertheless have highly gender-typed personality trait requirements. The predicted interaction between the personality traits associated with the jobs

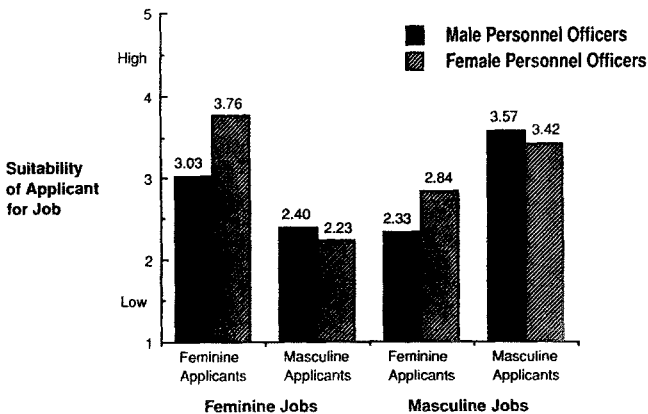


Fig. 1. Effects of sex of respondent and gender type of job on perceived suitability of masculine and feminine applicants for sex-neutral jobs.

and personality traits of the applicants was highly statistically significant, [$F(1, 52) = 63.18, p < .001$]. A posteriori contrasts for simple effects (Kirk, 1968) revealed that masculine applicants were seen as more suitable for masculine jobs ($M = 3.46$) than feminine jobs [$M = 2.29; F(1, 52) = 52.03, p < .001$]. Feminine applicants were perceived as more suitable for feminine jobs ($M = 3.45$) than masculine jobs [$M = 2.63; F(1, 52) = 21.96, p < .001$].

Unexpectedly, there was a Sex of Respondent \times Personality Traits of Applicant interaction [$F(1, 52) = 5.29, p < .05$]. Examination of this interaction revealed that female respondents rated feminine applicants ($M = 3.30$) higher overall than did male respondents [$M = 2.83; F(1, 52) = 4.76, p < .05$]. In contrast, male respondents did not rate masculine applicants ($M = 2.98$) significantly higher than female respondents did [$M = 2.68; F(1, 52) = .67, ns$]. The three-way interaction was nonsignificant [$F(1, 47) = 1.46, ns$], indicating that this tendency for female personnel officers to rate feminine applicants more highly than did male personnel officers occurred for both feminine and masculine jobs.

A separate analysis was conducted to determine whether the differences between male and female respondents' ratings of feminine applicants held true for the entire sample of jobs (not just the sex-neutral ones). The Traits of Applicant \times Sex of Respondent interaction remained significant [$F(1, 55) = 4.27, p < .05$]. Examination of the means revealed that for the sample of jobs as a whole, the tendency for female personnel officers ($M = 3.25$) to rate feminine applicants more highly than the male personnel officers did ($M = 2.93$) was just as strong as the tendency of male respondents ($M = 2.93$) to rate masculine applicants more highly than female respondents did ($M = 2.61$). Individual contrasts, however, revealed that neither of these differences were statistically significant [both $F_s < 2.60, ns$].

Manipulation Check

The analysis of the sex-neutral jobs also allowed me to see whether the manipulation of the personality traits of the applicants eliminated gender-typed personality trait inferences based on applicants' sex. If respondents based inferences about applicants' traits on applicants' sex, this should have affected applicants' perceived suitability for masculine and feminine jobs. The Sex of Applicant \times Personality Traits of Job interaction was nonsignificant [$F(1, 47) = .05, ns$], indicating that the personality trait manipulation was completely successful at erasing sex-based inferences about masculinity and femininity.

Sex Matching

Were applicants matched to jobs with differing sex ratios based on their sex apart from personality inferences? To answer this question the complete set of 35 jobs was divided according to the perceived percentage of women incumbents in 20% increments, creating a within-subjects jobs factor with five levels of percentages of female incumbents. For this analysis, suitability ratings were averaged across the 4–10 jobs that made up each category

Although the jobs with high percentages of men were also, on average, the most masculine, and the jobs with high percentages of women, on average, the most feminine, because the traits of the applicants were specified on their resumes, this confounding should not matter. Even though masculine applicants would undoubtedly be preferred for men's jobs (because these jobs tend to also be masculine), if there are masculine applicants who are women as well as ones who are men, then it is possible to see the influence of sex *apart from* the influence of the traits. If masculine women are preferred less than masculine men for male jobs, this must be due to the effect of sex apart from personality trait inferences. The only potential problem with this strategy is that masculine men might, for instance, be perceived as more masculine than masculine women. However, the analysis of the suitability of applicants for sex-neutral, but not gender-neutral, jobs (see above) indicated that this problem was avoided.

A 5 (sex type of job) \times 2 (sex of applicant) \times 2 (personality traits of applicant) analysis of variance was conducted on job suitability ratings. Means for this analysis are presented in Table V. Sex of respondents was excluded from this analysis because no significant effects involving this factor occurred when it was included in an initial analysis of variance.

The predicted sex-matching process should have resulted in a Sex Type of Job \times Sex of Applicant interaction such that the preference for female relative to male applicants was directly and linearly related to the percentage of female jobholders. This interaction was significant [$F(4, 200) = 5.91, p < .001$]. To test whether the interaction confirmed the proposed sex-matching process, comparisons were made between the preference for male and female applicants within each job category. Comparison between job categories would not test the theory as directly as the comparisons within the categories because it is possible that the constant information in the resumes could influence between-job contrasts. For instance, there was a tendency to give all applicants relatively low ratings for the category of jobs most dominated by women. In fact, the main effect for the sex ratio of the job was significant [$F(4, 200) = 4.64, p < .01$]. This may have occurred because the applicants were said to be college graduates and many

Table V. Effects of Applicant Sex and Traits on Perceived Suitability for Jobs with Varying Sex Ratios^a

Applicant sex	n	Percentage of female incumbents in jobs				
		0-20%	20-40%	40-60%	60-80%	80-100%
Feminine applicants						
Female	12	2.08	2.63	2.99	3.82	3.92
Male	14	2.66	2.67	2.93	3.60	3.14
Masculine applicants						
Female	12	3.40	2.56	2.54	2.29	1.88
Male	16	3.73	2.96	2.83	2.48	1.84

^aRange = 1-5 for suitability ratings.

of the jobs most dominated by women (80%-100% female incumbents) are ones that do not necessarily require a college education (e.g., secretary, receptionist, beautician). As a result, the sex-matching hypothesis does not necessarily predict that the female applicants presented in this study will be seen as *most* suitable for jobs with the highest percentage of women.

Comparisons of the preference for female relative to male applicants within the job categories provided evidence for the sex-matching model. Figure 2 shows a plot of the relative preference for women as opposed to men applicants for jobs of varying sex ratios after averaging across masculine and feminine applicants. As can be seen in Fig. 2, the differences demonstrate the predicted linear trend. The probability of obtaining this predicted monotonic ordering is 1/5! ($p < .01$). A posteriori tests of the simple main effects (Kirk, 1968) showed that the preference for men ($M = 3.33$) over women ($M = 2.81$) applicants for the jobs with 0%-20% female jobholders was statistically significant [$F(1, 250) = 7.16, p < .01$]. The preference for men ($M = 2.89$) as opposed to women ($M = 2.61$) for the jobs with 20%-40% female incumbents was not significantly different [$F(1, 250) = 2.03, ns$]. Similarly, as predicted, there was no difference in the preference for men ($M = 2.88$) and women ($M = 2.77$) in the sex-neutral jobs [those with 40%-60% female incumbents; $F(1, 250) = .31, ns$]. There was also no difference in the ratings of female ($M = 3.06$) and male ($M = 2.94$) applicants for women's jobs with 60%-80% female incumbents [$F(1, 250) = .31, ns$]. Respondents did, however, rate women ($M = 2.89$) significantly higher than men ($M = 2.38$) for the jobs with 80%-100% women [$F(1, 250) = 6.73, p < .05$]. It should be noted that the magnitude of this difference almost perfectly mirrors the opposite preference for male over female applicants for jobs with less than 20% women. A floor effect may, however, have lessened the difference between ratings of women and

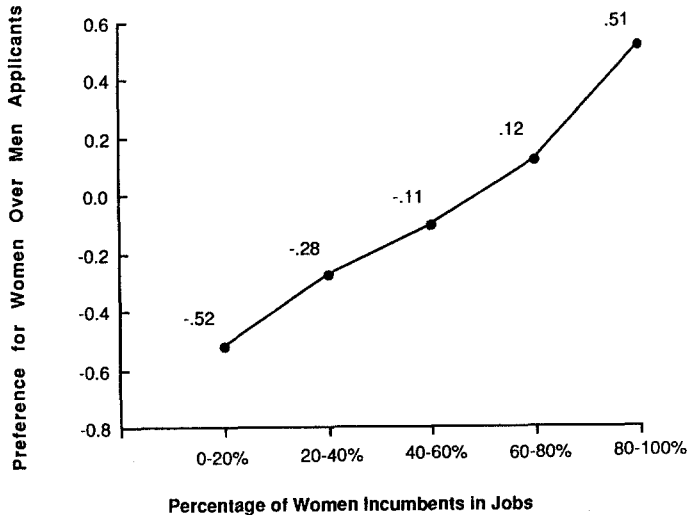


Fig. 2. Difference between perceived suitability of women and men applicants for jobs of varying sex ratios.

men for jobs with 80%–100% women because masculine applicants of both sexes were rated near the bottom of the scale for these typically feminine jobs (a similar effect occurred in the Glick et al., 1988, study).

Not surprisingly, given that the sex ratios of jobs are related to how masculine and feminine they are perceived to be, the Sex Type of Job \times Personality Traits of Applicant interaction was also highly significant [$F(4, 200) = 70.55, p < .001$]. There were no other significant interaction effects for this analysis— $F(1, 50)$ for the Sex of Applicant \times Traits of Applicant interaction = .90, ns; $F(4, 200)$ for the three-way interaction = 1.75, ns.

Discussion

The present investigation provided evidence for both the proposed trait-matching and sex-matching processes. Applicants were clearly matched to jobs on the basis of the manipulated personality trait information even when these jobs typically employed roughly equal numbers of men and women. Applicants were also matched to jobs on the basis of sex apart from the influence of personality trait inferences. A statistically significant linear trend was found such that the preference for women as opposed to men applicants (while controlling for applicants' personality traits) was directly proportional to the percentage of female incumbents in the jobs. This

trend existed for both male and female respondents, suggesting that this form of discrimination occurs whether the person making the hiring decision is a man or a woman.

The results also indicated the presence of an in-group *trait* bias, but not an in-group *sex* bias, on the part of people who are in charge of selecting applicants. Although the sex of the evaluator did not influence the degree of discrimination based on the *sex* of the applicant, female, as compared to male, respondents tended to rate feminine applicants more highly and masculine applicants less highly across all jobs in the sample. This may reflect differences in what men and women professionals value and perceive to be appropriate traits for a variety of work roles. (It seems odd that sex differences occurred in Study 2 that seem to indicate that men and women view the requirements of jobs differently when no such differences occurred for the masculinity and femininity ratings of job requirements in Study 1. Although Study 1 included a sample of working adults, the personnel specialists in Study 2 may differ from the former sample of people in terms of their knowledge of a variety of jobs and may therefore have been less influenced by shared social stereotypes of jobs.) Although a definitive answer is not possible, it is interesting to speculate about whether the male or the female personnel specialists are more accurate in their perceptions of the traits that jobs require. It may be that women are more apt to perceive accurately that the degree to which masculinity is required for the successful performance of many jobs has been exaggerated. Indeed, industrial psychologists (particularly those of the human relations school) have often argued for the importance of feminine traits in stereotypically masculine roles. For instance, think of the stress put upon “consideration”—a combination of the feminine traits of expressiveness and nurturance—in the classic Ohio State leadership studies (Fleishman, 1967). These researchers also indicate the importance of masculine traits (“initiating structure”); however, their studies are consistent with the idea that the masculinity of some work roles has been overemphasized relative to feminine traits. Analyses of individual jobs suggested that jobs that men saw solely as masculine, women respondents often saw as requiring both masculine and feminine traits (administrative assistant, travel agent, paralegal, real estate agent, and paramedic).

Finally, this study demonstrated that gender-typed traits are not irrelevant as qualifications for many sex-neutral jobs. For these jobs, no discrimination toward applicants should be expected (nor was found) based on the sex of applicants when applicants have equivalent traits. The gender type of applicants’ traits, however, was related to applicants’ perceived suitability for these jobs. Thus, to the degree that gender-typed traits are inferred about applicants based on sex (i.e., when diagnostic individuating

information is not provided), discrimination against women for sex-neutral jobs requiring masculine traits and against men for those that require feminine traits is likely.

These results suggest that individual applicants for sex-neutral jobs ought to be careful to consider whether the job requires masculine or feminine traits. It is fortunate for those applicants whose sex is inconsistent with the gender of the personality type of the job that being forewarned gives them a chance to alter the trait inferences made by employers. This can easily be done by presenting individuating personality information about themselves that fits the job. This strategy should be completely successful when applying for jobs with balanced sex ratios because of the power of individuating information to pierce sex-stereotyped trait inferences. The other form of discrimination, sex matching, is, unfortunately, not so amenable to control by applicants. At least it appears that one can estimate the degree to which this form of discrimination is likely to occur by knowing the ratio of male to female jobholders.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Taken together, the investigations presented here provide considerable evidence of the utility and importance of distinguishing between the "sex" of jobs and the gender of their personality types much as such distinctions are made about people. Future research into sex discrimination in access to occupations, occupational prestige, and pay ought to be performed with these distinctions in mind, and past research that has confounded these dimensions of jobs must be interpreted with appropriate caution. The most important contribution of these studies, however, is that they represent the beginnings of a synthesis of what have often seemed competing explanations of sex discrimination in occupational access, prestige, and pay.

These two studies indicate that the preference for a masculine or a feminine applicant depends very much on the traits associated with the job (a judgment that was strongly related to agreed-upon occupational stereotypes, but also related to the sex of the employer to a significant degree). That greater value is placed on masculine relative to feminine traits (masculine chauvinism) is evidenced more by the significantly stronger relationship of the masculinity of jobs to occupational prestige (over four times the strength of the association between feminine traits and prestige) and to salary (which was completely unrelated to how feminine jobs were). In fact, masculine traits are an impressive predictor of both the perceived prestige and salary of jobs, strongly supporting the masculine chauvinism ex-

planation. It should be recalled, however, that there was no indication that this involved a *negative* valuation of feminine traits, but rather a less strong but positive valuation (in the case of prestige) or a lack of valuation (in the case of salary).

Male chauvinism was evident in the negative relationship that was demonstrated between the percentage of women in an occupation and occupational salary when the influence of gender-typed personality traits associated with jobs was held constant. It seems that part of the differential in pay between men's and women's jobs may be due to a tendency to pay men more money not because they are believed to have valued masculine personality traits, but simply because they are men. (Regression analysis on *actual* salaries for the jobs in Study 1 using the actual percentage of women, perceived masculinity, and perceived femininity of jobs as predictors revealed very similar results to the regression on perceived salaries. The perceived masculinity of jobs accounted for 29% of the variation in actual salaries and the actual percentage of women in the jobs accounted for 8.4% of this variation when all of the variables were entered into the regression equation.)

It is important, however, to keep in mind the limitations of this research. In particular, although the present research may suggest that prestige and salary differences between men's and women's jobs are more closely related to the personality traits, rather than sex ratios, associated with jobs, it is quite possible that the perception of the masculinity and femininity of jobs is strongly influenced by sex ratios. For example, in the Soviet Union, physicians are predominantly female. It is probably not coincidental that the job is also seen as requiring feminine traits and is of relatively low status and pay compared to how this occupation is treated in the United States (Goldberg, 1972). Safilios-Rothschild (1979) has suggested that the personality trait characterizations of jobs are used as justifications for according women's jobs lower status and pay. The causal influences these variables have on one another cannot be untangled by the correlational study reported here. However, the much stronger association of masculine traits, as compared to sex ratios, to prestige as well as to pay, suggests that even if the personality traits associated with jobs historically arose as justifications for the differential treatment of men and women, these justifications may now be of more immediate importance than are sex ratios in explaining prestige and pay gaps between men's and women's jobs.

It should also be noted that although Study 2 can help explain discrimination in hiring against individual applicants, Study 1 was aimed at explaining the variation in prestige and salary *between jobs*, not between individuals who hold the same job. Thus, Study 1 tells us nothing about

wage gaps between men and women who hold the same job, or why women may be offered lower salaries than men for the same position.

In terms of discrimination in the hiring of individuals, Study 2 goes a long way toward solving a puzzle posed by Brown (1986). Brown noted that the research of Locksley and her colleagues (e.g., Locksley et al., 1980; Locksley, Hepburn, & Ortiz, 1982), which demonstrates that individuals can easily avoid being stereotyped as a typical member of their social category by providing diagnostic individuating information, implies that sex discrimination in hiring decisions ought not to occur very frequently. Applicants for jobs typically provide a great deal of individuating information about themselves tailored to the requirements of the jobs they seek—which ought to eliminate inferences about their traits based on social categories—yet researchers have repeatedly demonstrated widespread sex discrimination in hiring decisions. The realization that more than one process sustains discrimination in hiring decisions provides a resolution to this contradiction: Women may not be hired as often as equally qualified men for men's jobs, regardless of whether they are seen as having masculine traits. Clearly, the traits the applicant is thought to possess matter a great deal; however, applicants are not only matched to the jobs based on these traits, but on the basis of sex as well. Thus, although applicants may be able to control the personality traits potential employers ascribe to them, this may not be sufficient to avoid being the victims of discriminatory hiring practices.

Fortunately, the recent influx of women into "men's" jobs (and vice versa) is likely to reduce discrimination in access to jobs traditionally dominated by one sex by equalizing the sex ratios of incumbents. In addition, given the differences in how male and female personnel specialists in Study 2 evaluated masculine and feminine applicants, it may also have an impact on enhancing the perceived appropriateness of feminine, as compared to masculine, traits in the business world. This research revealed that although women professionals are just as likely as men to discriminate in hiring decisions on the basis of how the sex of the applicant matches the sex of the job, women, as compared to men, professionals sampled here tended to downgrade the importance of masculine traits and to elevate the importance of feminine traits for a variety of jobs. As a result women, relative to men, professionals in this study tended to view traditionally masculine jobs as more androgynous. Whether women professionals have to "act like men," or indeed, whether they have adopted masculine traits in their professional lives and forsaken feminine traits in order to adapt to the demands of men's jobs, has been a topic of much recent public debate and even popular entertainment (such as the film *Working Girl*). At least as far as one sample of women who specialize in career planning and placement is concerned, the answer seems that they have adopted a different view (in

comparison to their male counterparts) of what jobs require, and are more likely to emphasize the feminine and deemphasize the masculine aspects of jobs. As women advance and exert more influence on the valuation of traits in male occupations, androgynous traits may increasingly be viewed as appropriate and important for jobs that are now seen as masculine. Perhaps, to paraphrase a leader who has sometimes adopted feminine values (if only in his campaign rhetoric, as opposed to his actions), we may then see a kinder, gentler nation at work.

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