

THE OCCUPATIONAL STEREOTYPING OF WOMEN:
VALUES AND REALITY

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to test the hypothesis that the values related to the employment of women are inconsistent with the actual employment of women in the labour force. A comparison of the occupational distribution of women in magazine fiction with the occupational distribution of women according to census data was performed to test this hypothesis.

The magazines were selected to control for differences by reading level in emphasis on particular values as reported by Albrecht (1956). Three magazines were utilized for the years 1940, 1950, 1960 and 1970, and the diversity of women in each magazine and for each time period was compared to the corresponding census distribution.

It was found that the diversity of women is consistently lower in magazine fiction than in census data. The occupational diversity of women was also found to be consistently lower than that of men in both types of data. Difficulties in measuring differences in

diversity were encountered and alternatives were utilized. Variations in diversity in both magazine and census data were summarized.

The conclusions are interpreted as supporting the hypothesized divergence of values regarding the employment of women with the reality of the labour force.

This finding is of interest because it supports the notion that, though women may be capable of performing in many occupations, their appearance in these occupations is not socially accepted (Epstein, 1970).

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The changing social position of a group in any society seldom brings with it an immediate shift in the values associated with that group's situation. (As Sullerot states, "we are... the heirs of antiquated notions which influence our thinking" (1971:14). This view is based on Marx's notion that ideas are produced and maintained by factors external to the individual and that a change in ideas must be preceded by a material change in society (Birnbaum, 1953).¹ Because of this lag between social reality and ideas, social situations often arise in which a commonly agreed upon set of values has little relation to the condition to which it is supposed to apply (Durkheim, 1951). The purpose of this paper is to investigate the existence of a disjunction between reality and values with reference to the employment of women in the labour force.

It may be that the difference between a situation and the values associated with it is due to cultural lag (Ogburn, 1922), or to a lack of awareness of structural changes in society or (to an unwillingness to relinquish

previously useful social categories.) It may also be that the lack of congruence leads to role strain, deviance or social disorder. The purpose of the following, however, is to document the existence of a lack of agreement between values concerning the position of women in the occupational structure and the empirical reality of this situation, regardless of its causes or consequences.

CHAPTER II

WOMEN IN OCCUPATIONS

(i) The Differences Between the Sexes

It is often assumed that occupations are determined by sex because of the differences between the sexes in physiology, ability, temperament and experience. Physiologically, there are distinctions in maturation rates, the existence and effects of hormones, body build, genetic defects and specific processes (Garai and Scheinfeld, 1968; Anastasi, 1958; Terman and Tyler, 1954). In terms of ability, females have been found to excel in verbal fluency, clerical abilities and in logical reasoning at a concrete level, while males are reported to be superior in problem solving and in verbal comprehension and reasoning and have faster reaction times to external stimuli (Garai and Scheinfeld, 1968; Anastasi, 1958; Terman and Tyler, 1954; Maccoby, 1966; Broverman, 1968). Distinguishing between learned and innate abilities, however, is problematic and lack of conclusive proof of the effects of culture has been attributed to physiology and vice versa (Bardwick, 1972; Thompson, 1942).

(ii) Socialization and Sex-Roles

The physical differences between the sexes at birth are the basis for differential socialization which results in distinct sex-roles. These have been conceptualized as female versus male dichotomies, for example, expressive versus instrumental (Parsons and Bales, 1955; Leik, 1963; Rossi, 1968), outward versus inward orientation (Douvan, 1970) and striving for approval versus striving for personal achievement (Bennet and Cohen, 1959). These characterizations have led to a vast literature on the behavioural differences between sexes (Hochschild, 1973).

(iii) Stereotypes

Much of the research on women concentrates on the effects of a stereotype of women on their achievements. Stereotyping is defined as the assignment of identical characteristics, often negative, to all people or objects within a class; in this case, to women. The values associated with a stereotype can be thought of as individual ideas which are the outward manifestations of the stereotype.

Both men and women have been reported to evaluate feminine traits less favourably than masculine ones (McKee

and Sherriffs, 1957, 1959; Sherriffs and McKee, 1957; Sherriffs and Jarrett, 1953) and it has been shown that women will give a lower rating to female authors than to male authors of the same scholarly article (Goldberg, 1971). Achievement, while seen as skill in men, is often attributed to luck in women (Deaux and Emswiller, 1974). Children of various ages and of both sexes agreed on the differential achievement standards for both females and males, showing the uniformity of sex-based stereotypes (Stein and Smithells, 1969).

The female stereotype is often used in fiction and in textbooks. Primary grade readers often show girls and women in traditional non-achieving roles (Saario et al., 1973; B.C.T.F., 1973) as do university texts on marriage and the family (Ehrlich, 1971) and women's magazines (Flora, 1971).

One of the consequences of the physiological, psychological and temperamental differences between female and male and the variations in behavior which result is the stereotyping of occupations by sex. In other words, many occupations are considered either "women's work" or "men's work". However, it is difficult

to assess the amount of the difference which is biologically determined and it has been pointed out that there is great variability within the sexes in both physical and psychological attributes, as well as variability between them (Anastasi, 1958).

It must be concluded that the major basis for the stereotyping of occupations is social. For example, secretaries are almost always women and priests are almost always men by social definition, and not because women could never perform as priests and men could never perform as secretaries.

(iv) Women in the Occupational Structure

Most of the research on employed women concerns the effects of this stereotypical social definition and much of it emphasizes the problems encountered by women in the occupational structure with reference to their adjustment to incompatible roles, role strain and the confusion and anxiety which result if adjustment is not possible (Kando, 1972; Cottrell, 1942).

Successfully employed women are often stereotyped within their professions, as has been shown in the case of dentists (Shuval, 1970) and doctors (Kosa and Coker, 1965).

This image is reinforced by the type of women who do succeed in certain occupations.

Thus, the personality characteristics of practicing women psychologists are reported to more closely resemble those of academic men than either women college students or the female population (Bachtold and Werner, 1970).

There are also many myths expressed in the stereotype of working women, including beliefs that women have higher turnover and absenteeism rates than men, that women do not really need the money they earn and that women are interested in jobs as opposed to careers (Suelzle, 1970).

(v) The Divergence of Values and Reality

The disjunction between reality and values is based on the social definitions which have been incorporated into the stereotype but which may no longer be relevant.

Komarovsky has conceptualized this divergence as a contradiction of two roles, the fulfillment of one defining failure at the other (1946, 1953, 1973). She states that the cause of the conflict between the two roles is the trend toward undifferentiated education without a concomitant shift in sex-role expectations (1953). In studies of female university undergraduates, Komarovsky

reports that many women felt that they had not been provided with unambiguous goals by their families: though getting good marks at university was stressed, parents often expressed concern about their daughter's femininity (1946, 1953).

Komarovsky also found a contradiction between the norm of masculine intellectual superiority and the fact that women sometimes get higher grades than men at university. Some women stated that they had "played dumb" on dates to uphold the stereotype (1946, 1953) and some men reported experiencing strain when dating intelligent women (1973). A replication of Komarovsky's original research (1946) by Wallin (1952) and a pilot study by Kammeyer (1964:295n.) support Komarovsky's findings, though neither of them considers the consequences to be as serious as Komarovsky claims.

This contradiction between two roles found by Komarovsky has been studied by Horner (1970, 1972) in terms of the psychology of the individual. She claims that society produces a paradox by encouraging men and women to be self-reliant, to develop their intellectual resources and to engage in professional careers while at

the same time activating psychological pressures which limit the achievement of women. Horner calls this the "motive to avoid success" and she claims that it is based on the perception by women that success will have negative consequences such as social rejection or loss of femininity.

Though educational and legal obstacles to achievement have for the most part been removed, this psychological barrier in the form of a fear of success is still functioning. About two-thirds of Horner's female subjects exhibited a fear of success in response to a verbal cue based on the success of a medical student, while only a few of her male subjects expressed similar fears. To men, the achievement of high marks by a man was perceived as both positive and normal. For the female student, the achievement of high marks by a woman was perceived as an ambiguous situation with no preconceived expectations attached to it, even though at least a few women have been enrolled in medical schools for decades.²

Recent research (Kimball, 1973) based on Horner's (1970) study presented cues depicting the achievement of success by both men and women to Canadian subjects of both

sexes. In a comparison of grade 8 and grade 12 students' responses, Kimball reports that the difference between males and females in the number of students who exhibit a fear of success increased dramatically between grades 8 and 12, while the number of males remained constant.

(vi) Occupational Values and Reality

With specific reference to occupations, Epstein (1970) has documented the divergence between the employment of women and the values surrounding their employment. According to her, many professions resemble communities, encouraging homogeneity and uniformity. Because the current image of the occupation does not include women, the appearance of a woman in professional interaction causes confusion. She suggests that other professionals involved in these instances may fall back on a traditional stereotype of women to deal with the situation, even though the woman's perceived salient characteristic is irrelevant to the task at hand. It is the occupation which ought to be the important characteristic in this type of interaction. Only in formal situations, where the standards or the rank of the institution is high or when professionals are supervised does the gender of the

professional not disrupt the normal pattern.

Epstein attributes the stereotype of the professional woman as teacher or nurse to the fact that the sex-linked boundaries in employment have not changed as rapidly as women have sought jobs. Even though a number of women work, their appearance in many jobs is not expected or considered normal.

Employment of one sex in an occupation traditionally reserved for the other can lead to a contradiction of values and situation. In a study of male nurses, Etzkowitz (1971) found that the public reacted to male nurses in terms of the stereotype of the occupation as a woman's job. Many of the nurses reported having been called doctors and one said: "There is a set of mental equations which go: Female + Nursing Role = Nurse, Male + Nursing Role = Homosexual" (1971:432).

Though much of the research cited above was not primarily aimed at the contradiction between sex-based occupational stereotypes and the actual employment of women, it provides several examples of the existence of this divergence. It is the thesis of the following that women have penetrated further into the occupational structure than the prevalent stereotypes concerning the

employment of women would imply: a comparison of the actual employment rate of women with their assumed employment rate will show that more women work in a wider variety of jobs than would be expected from an examination of sex-based occupational stereotypes.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHOD

(i) The Comparison of Stereotypes and Reality

The assimilation of a group into a dominant culture is dependent on, among other things, the availability to the minority of the training required for many jobs and on the acceptance of the minority by the majority (Ianni, 1957). In the case of women entering the occupational structure, the necessary training has become available because of the trend in the last century toward education basically undifferentiated by sex (Komarovsky, 1953). The use of occupational diversity as a measure of acceptance is based on Ianni's (1957) study of the assimilation of Italian immigrants into the social structure in a U.S. town.

The stereotypes regarding the occupational diversity of women as presented in magazine short stories represent the social acceptability of working women. The distribution of women in occupations as reported in census data indicates actual diversity.

To test for a difference between women's actual employment and the acceptance of this employment a comparison of measures of women's occupational diversity based on census data and on magazine fiction is described

in the following pages.

(ii) Census Data

U.S. census data were utilized to measure the occupational diversity of women for the year 1940, 1950, 1960 and 1970. It is well known that census data is not perfect due to errors in both coverage and classification (Bogue, 1969; Shryock et al., 1971). The fact that the data were not gathered for the present purpose also constitutes a disadvantage (Beshers, 1967). However, as Bogue (1969) points out, census data would have to be grossly inaccurate to be useless and they would have to be impossibly precise to be perfect. It is assumed that the census data used provides enough information of acceptable accuracy to compute measures of occupational diversity within the range of these two extremes.

(iii) Content Analysis

To derive a measure of the values associated with the employment of women, a content analysis of magazine fiction was performed. The use of content analysis is appealing for a number of reasons. Phillips (1972) has pointed out that about 90 per cent of empirical sociological

research is based on data secured by interview and questionnaire, methods which ask individuals about their behaviour rather than observing behaviour itself. Content analysis, however, can be applied to written documents which are non-reactive and can therefore be used to study issues and problems to which the general public is sensitized (Webb, et al., 1966). Another advantage is the availability of massive quantities of documents which serve as continuing records and which remain relatively unchanged through time. The existence of such documents allows longitudinal and repeated analyses without risk of data contamination.

Content analysis, however, has its drawbacks. One of the most serious is the selective retention of written material which is often complicated by a lack of information on the criteria for discarding documents. Because of the symbolic nature of language, the categories and units of analysis must be developed to fit the content of interest and cannot be transposed from one study to the next, making comparison difficult.

The validity of content analysis must also be re-examined in each particular application of the method. For

the present study, the basic question is whether or not it is justifiable to assume that fiction, i.e. short stories, reflects the dominant values of the society. There are several reasons for not rejecting this assumption.

The first of these is based on a body of literature which tests the relationship of literature to society. Middleton (1960) compared family size in magazine fiction and the U.S. crude birth rate for the years 1916, 1936 and 1956 and found a significant relationship between them, supporting the notion that fertility values are expressed in fiction.

The number of employed women in short stories was compared to census data for the period 1890 to 1930 by Inglis who concluded that "although the stories do not consistently reflect actual conditions of American life, they do mirror certain typical American attitudes and ideals such as the tendency to take prosperity for granted... and the belief in opportunity for everyone" (1938:531).

Albrecht (1956) compared values associated with American family life expressed in magazine fiction and those derived from previous sociological research to determine whether or not literature mirrors common values.

In a qualitative analysis of stories in 1950 issues of magazines, he found that the previously described values of the American family were reflected in fiction. However, Albrecht also reports a variation in emphasis on particular values between three cultural reading levels.

Another reason for supporting the validity of a content analysis of magazine fiction is the characteristics of the magazines in which the stories are published. Most researchers specify that the magazines used must have a mass circulation, implying that an important element of fiction for the reader is identification. Johns-Heine and Gerth call this the "complex interaction between reader, writer and publisher which results in the reader getting what he wants and wanting what he gets" (1949:105). It is not possible to assess the effects of the publisher on the values expressed in fiction, but the importance of readership is emphasized by Albrecht's (1956) findings cited above which show variations by reading level

A final reason for accepting the assumption that magazine fiction reflects social values is that it is intuitively appealing. Coser (1963) asserts that social scientists should recognize the insight authors possess and that a knowledge of the relevant fiction is a

prerequisite to the understanding of any social phenomenon. It has been pointed out that since the late nineteenth century a trend toward the portrayal of reality in fiction has emerged (Martel and McCall, 1964). This view of literature reflecting the dominant values of its time is strengthened by Becker's (1974) conception of the creation of art as collective, rather than individual, action. Finally, characterizations and descriptions which originally appeared in fiction are often used to describe a stereotype; for example, people who do not like Christmas are often called "Scrooge".

CHAPTER IV

THE DATA

(i) Census Data

The distribution of employed males and females in the population as reported in the U.S. census for the years 1940, 1950, 1960 and 1970 is given in Table 1.

(ii) Magazine Fiction Based Data

The procedure for obtaining a sample of short story characters involved a three stage cluster design. First the magazines for analysis were selected, second the issues of the magazines, and third the stories within the issues.³ Magazine short stories were chosen because they have a wide readership and because a large number of characters appear in a relatively small literary space. Because occupational information is often used in the first description of a character, reflecting the salience of occupations as a means of classifying people, this high density of characters did not significantly reduce the amount of data available. The use of magazine fiction also allowed the utilization of a sufficient number of stories to lessen the effect on any one author's bias in the sample of characters.

TABLE 1

Distribution of Employed Females and Males in Census Data 1940 - 1970 (in 000's)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Total</u>
1940	11,004	33,783	44,787
1950	15,433	40,052	55,485
1960	19,976	41,480	61,456
1970	29,734	49,441	79,175

TABLE 2

Distribution of Stories Analyzed by Magazine and Year

<u>Year</u>	MAGAZINE			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Atlantic Monthly</u>	<u>Saturday Evening Post</u>	<u>True Experience</u>	
1940	30	36	-	66
1950	21	34	-	55
1960	21	32	-	53
1970	<u>24</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>69</u>
TOTAL	96	117	30	243

The magazines selected for analysis were The Atlantic Monthly, The Saturday Evening Post and True Experience. These three were chosen following Albrecht (1956) who reports reading level differences in the values expressed in magazine fiction. The Atlantic Monthly represents upper level readership, The Saturday Evening Post the middle level and True Experience the lower level. Albrecht's selection of magazines to account for these three reading levels was based on Warner (1941) whose readership data corroborates other research (Morgan and Leahy, 1934; Kerr and Remmers, 1941).

Descriptions of fiction suitable for each magazine solicited directly from the publishers of the magazines are also available in Writer's Digest publications. (See Appendix B for an example of these descriptions.) These descriptions were compared for the relevant years to ensure that the magazines had not changed substantially in the time period covered. No fundamental differences were noted.

A number of difficulties with respect to magazine choice developed. The first was the difficulty in obtaining back issues of any magazine representing the lower reading level.⁴ For this reason, the one time period for which

twelve issues could be located, 1970, is the only year represented in the sample of stories from this level.

Another problem with the lower reading level magazine was the fact that The Atlantic Monthly and The Saturday Evening Post are aimed at a general audience while True Experience is directed primarily to women. Also due to the difficulty in obtaining back issues at the lower level was the substitution of True Love, True Story and Modern Romance for True Experience when it could not be located. However, because these magazines are so similar in content and because many are published by the same company (which does not differentiate between the stories for its magazines), this is not seen as a serious drawback. Because of the difficulties with the True Experience sample, data based on the stories in this magazine were analyzed separately.

The years of analysis, 1940, 1950, 1960 and 1970, were selected to correspond with the U.S. census. The range of years was limited for practical reasons, primarily involving the availability of magazines. A number of years were used so that comparisons over time could be made.

Two limitations became apparent as coding progressed.

(1) The Atlantic Monthly published too few stories in each

year, and to accommodate this, two year periods centering on the census year were coded. (2) The Saturday Evening Post was not published between February 1969 and 1974. The last full year of publication before 1970 was utilized resulting in a ten month difference from the census year. In the analysis which follows, both these cases are labelled with the corresponding census year.

The selection of dates and issues varied by magazine so that roughly similar numbers of stories from each magazine could be selected. In The Atlantic Monthly, all issues in the two year period were used. A random sample of one weekly issue of The Saturday Evening Post from each of the twelve months of the years 1940, 1950 and 1960 was selected. For 1970, all issues of The Saturday Evening Post were read because the magazine was published only twice a month and each issue contained about half as many stories as the previous issues. Because of the mixed magazines in the confession group, a total of twelve magazines published in 1970 was utilized.

In both The Atlantic Monthly and The Saturday Evening Post all stories in each issue selected were read. Because the confession magazines contain between two and

three times as many stories per issue than either of the other magazines, all stories in the census year 1970 were numbered and a randomly selected group of thirty were analyzed.

For all magazines, stories were not coded if they were historical, "book-length," took place outside North America or had no human characters. This was specified to avoid the influence of other cultural values and to ensure some degree of realism.

This resulted in 139 stories being excluded from the analysis. Stories which take place both inside and outside of the U.S. or Canada were coded only if half the action took place in North America. The exception to this rule was the inclusion of stories taking place in ships or in the air if the journey either started or ended in the U.S. or Canada. This procedure resulted in the coding of 243 stories distributed as shown in Table 2.

All the characters who appeared in the stories were coded according to occupation and sex. Occupation is defined as a job which the character is doing or has done and does not include occupational training. An example of the coding is given in Appendix B. Retired

persons are coded with their previous occupation if it is given. Because their occupations were not explicitly defined in the stories, housewives and students were not coded. A total of 32 characters were re-classified as occupationally unspecified because the information given was not specific enough for reliable coding. A record was kept of all characters whose occupation was not given. The resulting distribution of characters is given in Table 3.

(iii) Reliability of Data

In discussing content analysis, most authors emphasize that the procedure utilized must be systematic and objective. Cartwright (1953) states that to achieve data of this quality, all variables must be categorized so that the data which result are inclusive and replicable. To satisfy this requirement, the characters in the short stories were classified according to Duncan's occupational code (Robinson et al., 1969). Duncan's code consists of the abridged census occupational code organized by three-digit identification numbers and including a number of socio-economic status ratings.

Holsti (1968) further specifies that reliability

TABLE 3

(i) Distribution of Characters in Short Stories by Sex

Year	True Experience				Saturday Evening Post				Atlantic Monthly				Total			
	F	M	U	Total	F	M	U	Total	F	M	U	Total	F	M	U	Total
1940	-	-	-	-	91	253	16	360	102	221	59	382	193	474	75	742
1950	-	-	-	-	104	259	31	394	91	169	22	282	195	428	53	676
1960	-	-	-	-	120	275	35	430	68	178	38	284	188	453	73	714
1970	154	191	48	393	96	233	38	367	107	178	44	329	357	602	130	1089
Total	154	191	48	393	411	1020	120	1551	368	746	163	1277	933	1957	331	3221

TABLE 3 (continued)

(ii) Distribution of Characters in Short Stories by Sex as a Percentage of the Characters in each Magazine and Year

Year	True Experience				Saturday Evening Post			
	F	M	U	Total	F	M	U	Total
1940	-	-	-	-	25.28	70.28	4.44	100.00
1950	-	-	-	-	26.39	65.74	7.85	100.00
1960	-	-	-	-	27.91	63.95	8.14	100.00
1970	<u>39.19</u>	<u>48.60</u>	<u>12.21</u>	<u>100.00</u>	<u>26.16</u>	<u>63.44</u>	<u>10.35</u>	<u>100.00</u>
	39.19	48.60	12.21	100.00	26.50	65.76	7.74	100.00

Year	Atlantic Monthly				Total			
	F	M	U	Total	F	M	U	Total
1940	26.70	57.85	15.45	100.00	26.01	63.88	10.11	100.00
1950	32.27	59.93	7.80	100.00	28.85	63.31	7.84	100.00
1960	23.94	62.68	13.38	100.00	26.33	63.45	10.22	100.00
1970	<u>32.52</u>	<u>54.10</u>	<u>13.38</u>	<u>100.00</u>	<u>32.78</u>	<u>55.28</u>	<u>11.94</u>	<u>100.00</u>
	28.82	58.42	12.76	100.00	28.97	60.75	10.28	100.00

rests on both categories and coder being objective and systematic. The use of Duncan's occupational code ensures that the categories are reliable. Reliability, both of coder and through time, was determined by re-coding randomly selected ten per cent samples of the material and comparing the recoded data to the original. The original data, coded by one person, agreed with the results of the two recoders in 94 per cent of the cases. An agreement of 96 per cent was found between the original material and stories recoded by the same person.

(iv) Measures of Diversity

There are two dimensions of the distribution of women in the labour force which are of interest: the number of women employed and the number of jobs they perform. Both are equally important because if either the number of working women is small or their concentration is high, values displaying a lack of acceptance of women in the occupational structure are indicated.

There are numerous measures of the diversity of a population (e.g. Gibbs, 1972; Lieberman, 1969) and the choice among them is made according to which maximizes the predictive accuracy of the relevant theory (Gibbs, 1972.)

Measures which control for the number of categories, which are standardized to have either a minimum of .000 or a maximum of 1.000 or which take into account all combinations of these restrictions can be computed (Gibbs and Poston, 1975). However, Gibbs and Poston (1975) suggest that the utility of a measure for the data at hand should be assessed in terms of the mathematical and empirical properties of each measure. The measures mentioned above which control for various factors are of limited utility in estimating occupational diversity because they reflect only the distributive dimension of occupational differentiation.

With these properties in mind, two measures of occupational diversity were selected for the present research. The first of these is:

$$D1 = 1 - \left[\frac{\sum_{i=1}^N X_i^2}{(\sum_{i=1}^N X_i)^2} \right]$$

where X is the number of people in any one of two or more classes and N is the number of classes. This measure describes both dimensions of occupational differentiation and thus is suitable for the present purpose. D1 is interpreted with reference to a minimum level of diversity,

.000, and a maximum of $(1-1/N)^5$.

A second measure of diversity is available:

$$D2 = N \left[1 - \frac{\sum_{i=1}^N (|X_i - \bar{X}|) / 2}{N} \right]$$

$$\sum_{i=1}^N X_i$$

where X is the number of individuals in each category and N is the number of categories. This measure is more difficult than $D1$ to interpret because the maximum value is equal to N (see examples in Table 4), but it is preferable to $D1$ because it gives more equal weighting to the two dimensions of differentiation. Because one is easier to interpret and the other is more exact, both measures were computed. Examples of the measures applied to a variety of populations are presented in Table 4 and show the variation in both measures.

(v) The Index of Dissimilarity

The measures of diversity used to describe the occupational distribution of a population do not distinguish between occupations (Matras, 1973). In other words, if all women are in occupations 1 and 2 and all men are in occupations 2 and 3, $D1$ and $D2$ will not reflect the

TABLE 4

Occupational Distribution of Five Hypothetical Populations
and Two Measures of Occupational Differentiation

Occupation	<u>No. of Individuals in Each Occupation</u>				
	Pop.1	Pop.2	Pop.3	Pop.4	Pop.5
1	1	1	10	1	0
2	1	1	10	1	0
3	1	1	10	46	0
4	1	0	10	1	50
5	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	5	4	50	50	50
N	5	4	5	5	1
<u>Measures</u>					
D1	.800	.750	.800	.152	.000 ¹
D2	5.000	4.000	5.000	1.400	1.000

¹ See footnote 5, p.62

TABLE 5

Occupational Distribution of Two Hypothetical Populations
and Two Measures of Occupational Differentiation

Occupation	<u>No. of Individuals in each Occupation</u>	
	Pop.1	Pop.2
1	75	0
2	25	25
3	<u>0</u>	<u>75</u>
Total	100	100
<u>Measures</u>		
D1	.375	.375
D2	1.500	1.500

differences between these distributions. The example given in Table 5 illustrates this point.⁶

To determine whether or not the distributions of the census and fiction populations are related in this way, the index of dissimilarity was computed for each comparison made. The index of dissimilarity is:

$$\Delta a,b = 1/2 \sum_{i=1}^N |a_i - b_i|$$

where a and b are the categories of each distribution and N is the number of categories. The index of dissimilarity can be interpreted as representing the minimum percentage of one or the other distributions which would have to change categories for the populations to be identical (Matras, 1973). For the example in Table 5,

$$\Delta a,b = 1/2 \sum_{i=1}^N |a_i - b_i| = 1/2(150.0) = 75.0$$

For these two distributions to be identical, 75 per cent of either population would have to change categories. It should be noted that the index of dissimilarity is computed using the relative frequencies of the distribution in each category and, unlike the measures of diversity, does include categories which are empty.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS

(i) Measures of Diversity

It was hypothesized that a comparison of the distribution of women in census data and in magazine short stories would show a greater occupational diversity of women in the former. In other words, the two measures of diversity would be higher when based on census data than when computed using the occupational distribution of magazine characters. A comparison of the two measures of diversity computed for census data (Table 6) with those based on the sample of magazine characters (Table 7) confirms this hypothesis.

The measures of diversity based on census data indicate a relatively stable degree of diversity for both sexes over time. The first measure of diversity drops for both sexes in the time period 1940 to 1970. The decrease is small for both sexes; the difference between the highest and the lowest scores is .042 for women and .072 for men. D2, with one exception also becomes smaller over the time period. The difference between

TABLE 6

Two Measures of Diversity Computed for Census
Data 1940-1970

<u>Year</u>	<u>D1</u> <u>Female</u>	<u>D1</u> <u>Male</u>	<u>D2</u> <u>Female</u>	<u>D2</u> <u>Male</u>
1940	.848	.883	6.881	8.660
1950	.843	.874	7.043	8.355
1960	.819	.867	6.659	8.042
1970	.806	.861	6.120	7.742

TABLE 7

Two Measures of Diversity Computed for Magazine
Fiction Characters' Employment

<u>Magazine and Year</u>	<u>D1 Female</u>	<u>D1 Male</u>	<u>D2 Female</u>	<u>D2 Male</u>
Saturday Evening Post:				
1940	.771	.812	4.947	6.398
1950	.737	.801	4.043	6.267
1960	.617	.745	2.652	5.139
1970	.685	.722	3.176	4.385
Atlantic Monthly:				
1940	.497	.795	2.217	5.504
1950	.762	.803	5.317	6.322
1960	.790	.830	4.667	6.231
1970	.806	.817	4.909	6.357

measures over time for D2 is only .923 for women and .918 for men.

The only deviation from this pattern is the diversity of women in 1950, 7.043, which is higher than any other for women. Because D1 for the same year for women does not vary in a similar manner, and because D2 more accurately reflects the number of occupations, it is assumed that it is a change in the number of occupations, rather than in the number of working women, which is causing D2 to fluctuate. Thus, both D1 and D2 indicate a decrease in diversity of the census distribution over time, though the differences are slight.

The sample of characters from The Saturday Evening Post short stories show a similar decrease in occupational diversity over time. D1 dropped by .157 for women and by .090 for men and D2 decreased 2.295 for women and 2.013 for men. With the exception of D1 for men, these are much larger decreases than were found in the census data. The one variation in this trend is the low diversity of women, reflected in both measures, for the year 1960; D1 for this period is .614 and D2 is 2.652.

The Atlantic Monthly, however, shows increased

diversity for both sexes in the time period 1940 to 1970. The range for men is smaller than that found in The Saturday Evening Post distribution; .035 and .853 for D1 and D2 respectively. However, the range for women, .308 for D1 and 3.099 for D2, is the largest of the three samples.

There are two exceptions to this pattern. In 1960, men had a higher degree of diversity as measured by D1 and a lower degree of diversity according to D2 than would be expected from the upward trend. D2 for women in 1950, 5.317, is higher than in any other period for The Atlantic Monthly. It is interesting to note that this is the same period for which the census shows higher diversity for women than in any other year.

Both measures indicate greater diversity for men than for women in all years and in both census and magazine distributions. In the census data, this difference between men and women increases for D1 between 1940 and 1970 and fluctuates over time for D2. The differences between the sexes in D1 measures range from .035 in 1940 to .059 in 1970. The differences in D2 between women and men vary from 1.778 at the highest in 1940 to 1.312 at the lowest

in 1950. It should be noted that the lowest difference between female and male for D2 is for the same year, 1950, which produced the highest diversity for women in the census data.

There was no consistent pattern for the differences between female and male diversity in magazine fiction. Women's diversity is consistently lower than that of men. The largest differences in The Saturday Evening Post sample were both found in 1960; .130 for D1 and 2.487 for D2. The Atlantic Monthly distribution has the highest difference between females and males in 1940 where D1 is .298 higher for males than females, and where the difference in D2 is 3.286.

The measures of diversity which resulted from the analysis of True Experience are given in Table 8. These figures are also less than those based on census data. The difference between females and males is .130 for D1 and 3.182 for D2.

(ii) Indices of Dissimilarity

Because the measures of diversity do not distinguish between occupational categories, the index of dissimilarity between males and females was computed for the census and

TABLE 8

Two Measures of Diversity for the True Experience
Sample 1970

<u>Sex</u>	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>
Female	.694	4.000
Male	.824	7.182

TABLE 9

Indices of Dissimilarity between Female and Male for
Magazine and Census Distributions 1940-1970

SOURCE OF DATA

<u>Year</u>	<u>Saturday</u> <u>Evening Post</u>	<u>Atlantic</u> <u>Monthly</u>	<u>True</u> <u>Experience</u>	<u>Census</u>
1940	42.836	73.516	-	46.247
1950	48.380	62.233	-	43.533
1960	48.454	47.660	-	44.517
1970	54.616	37.446	41.570	40.328

the magazine distributions. The results appear in Table 9. The index of dissimilarity can be interpreted as representing the minimum percentage of cases in either distribution which would have to change categories in order for the two distributions to be identical.

For the census data, the index of dissimilarity decreases through time, indicating increasing overlap of occupational categories for males and females from 1940 to 1970. Again, 1950 is the only variation in this pattern.

It has already been noted that the high value of D2 for women in 1950 in census data is likely reflecting an increase in the number of occupations which employ women rather than an unusually large increase in the number of working women. The index of dissimilarity for census data for 1950 provides additional support for this interpretation. The index for 1950, 43.533 suggests that more women were employed in the same occupations as men than in either 1940 or 1960. However, the range of the index of dissimilarity for census data is only 5.919, reflecting no dramatic change through the thirty year time period under investigation.

The Atlantic Monthly shows a steady decrease in

indices of dissimilarity over time. The difference between 1940 and 1970 is 32.070, which is larger than either the census decrease or the increase in The Saturday Evening Post sample. The indices of dissimilarity have a range of 11.780 for The Saturday Evening Post distribution and increase steadily from 1940 to 1970.

There is no consistent relationship between the measures of diversity and the indices of dissimilarity. In the census, both the measures of diversity and the index of dissimilarity decrease through time. The sample based on The Saturday Evening Post short story characters produces measures of diversity which drop and indices of dissimilarity which increase from 1940 to 1970. Conversely, the diversity increases and the indices of dissimilarity decrease between 1940 and 1970 in the Atlantic Monthly based data.

In summary, the occupational diversity of the samples has been found to vary in both the census and the magazine data. Though the direction of change is not uniform, the magazine data consistently indicate less diversity than does the census data.

The highest DI for women in census data, .848 in

in 1940, is larger than the highest D1 for women in the magazine sample, .806 in The Atlantic Monthly in 1970. Similarly, the largest D2 value for women in the census, 7.043 in 1950, exceeds 5.317 which is the D2 for women in The Atlantic Monthly in 1950 and is the highest D2 in the magazine data. For men, the highest census D1 and D2, .883 and 8.660 respectively, are both from the year 1940. They are both larger than the highest measures for men in fiction characters; D1 is largest in The Atlantic Monthly in 1960 at .830 and D2 is largest in The Saturday Evening Post at 6.398.

- The index of dissimilarity also varies between samples and over time but there is some overlap between census and magazine indices in its range. The range of the index of dissimilarity in the census data, from 40.328 in 1970 to 46.247 in 1940 is contained within the range of the indices of dissimilarity for the magazine samples. For both magazines, the highest index of dissimilarity, 73.516 in 1940, and the lowest index, 37.446 in 1970, are found in The Atlantic Monthly distributions.

Unfortunately, there is no test for the significance of difference of measures of occupational diversity.⁷

Though many of the differences found between the diversity of census and magazine character samples are quite large, a few are close to zero.

A brief examination of the various distributions either as raw data (see Appendix A) or as percentages of the total labour force (see Appendix B) reveals that there are differences in the distributions which neither measure of diversity accurately reflects. For example, in the distribution based on the short story characters from The Saturday Evening Post in 1940 (Table 10), there are four occupational categories in which there are no women while all occupational categories contain at least one man. The D1 measures for female and male are .771 and .812 respectively. Though D2 takes more account of the number of categories in the distributions, the difference between female and male is still relatively small; D2 is 4.944 for females and 6.398 for males.

In summary, this difficulty in interpreting the differences between two values of the same measure when added to the lack of a test of the significance of these differences makes it difficult to conclusively accept or reject the hypothesized difference between census and

TABLE 10

Distribution of Employed Characters in The Saturday Evening Post 1940 Short Stories by Sex and Occupational Category

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>
Professional, Technical & Kindred	15	49
Farmers & Farm Managers	0	12
Managers & Administrators	5	55
Clerical & Kindred	7	7
Sales	3	3
Craftsmen & Kindred	0	28
Operatives	3	10
Private Household	3	5
Service	2	17
Farm Labourers & Foremen	0	1
Labourers	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>
TOTAL	38	191
D1 =	.771	.812
D2 =	4.947	6.398

magazine distributions.

(ii) Indices of Dissimilarity Between Magazine
and Census Data

It will be recalled that the two measures of diversity were chosen because they account for both the number of employed women and the number of occupations in which women work. Because of the difficulty in interpreting D1 and D2, it was decided to test for the difference between census and magazine distributions for the two dimensions of diversity separately.

The index of dissimilarity can be interpreted as reflecting the difference between two populations in the specific job categories in which women are employed. Indices comparing the occupational categories of women and men between magazine and census data were computed and appear in Tables 11 and 12.

The results of the computations indicate that women are portrayed in fiction as employed in occupations different from those which employ women according to census data. For example, for females in 1970 (Table 11), 34.160 per cent of either the census distribution or the characters in The Saturday Evening Post would have to change

TABLE 11

Indices of Dissimilarity between Magazine and
Census Distributions for Females 1940-1970

<u>Year</u>	<u>Saturday Evening Post</u>	<u>Atlantic Monthly</u>	<u>True Experience</u>
1940	34.585	58.288	-
1950	40.299	40.312	-
1960	45.207	40.305	-
1970	51.757	34.16	33.235

TABLE 12

Indices of Dissimilarity between Magazine and
Census Distributions for Males 1940-1970

<u>Year</u>	<u>SOURCE OF DATA</u>		<u>True Experience</u>
	<u>Saturday Evening Post</u>	<u>Atlantic Monthly</u>	
1940	43.659	36.832	-
1950	47.153	40.085	-
1960	52.832	37.275	-
1970	51.953	45.802	29.212

occupational categories in order for the two distributions to be exactly the same. For women, the index of dissimilarity for The Saturday Evening Post characters increases 17.172 over time, showing less agreement with census data. The Atlantic Monthly index of dissimilarity decreases 24.128 between 1940 and 1970, indicating less divergence between the occupational categories in the census and the short stories.

For men (Table 12), the index of dissimilarity increases through time by 8.294 for The Saturday Evening Post and by 8.970 for The Atlantic Monthly. There is one exception to this trend in each magazine. For the year 1950, the index is higher for The Saturday Evening Post and lower for The Atlantic Monthly than would be expected from what appears to be the overall pattern.

The indices of dissimilarity between the True Experience and census distributions for 1970 are 33.235 for women and 29.212 for men. These represent the smallest divergence from the census data for both males and females in all magazine data.

Though both female and male distributions differ substantially from the census distribution in occupational

categories, the range of the difference is higher for women than men. Thus, though the comparison of women with men results in indices of dissimilarity which are similar in magazine fiction and census material (see Table 9), a difference exists between the distributions of both men and women in the census and magazine distributions. In other words, women and men are found in different occupational categories in both types of material and women and men are each found in different occupational categories between the two sources of data.

(iv) The Number of Employed Women

The second dimension of diversity, the number of women who work, can be examined utilizing the raw data from the census and from the short story analysis. These distributions for women and men are presented in Tables 13 and 14, along with the percentage of the total labour force which is female and male for each year.

In the census data, as the number of women employed steadily increased from 24.57 per cent of the labour force in 1940 to 37.55 per cent in 1970, the percentage of men decreased from 75.43 of the labour force in 1940 to 62.45 in 1970. The actual number of working women increased

TABLE 13

Distribution of Employed Women in Magazine Short Stories and the Census - Raw Data and as a Percentage of the Total Labour Force 1940-1970

<u>Year</u>	<u>SOURCE OF DATA</u>					
	<u>Saturday Evening Post</u>		<u>Atlantic Monthly</u>		<u>Census (in 000's)</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1940	38	16.59	23	14.94	11,004	24.57
1950	23	12.23	30	25.00*	15,433	27.81
1960	23	10.95	18	12.95	19,976	32.50
1970	17	11.56	22	20.75	29,734	37.55

NOTE: All differences between magazine and census proportions are significant at $p < .01$ with the exception of The Atlantic Monthly in 1950.

*Not significantly different from Census proportion

TABLE 14

Distribution of Employed Men in Magazine Short Stories and the Census - Raw Data and as a Percentage of the Total Labour Force 1940-1970

<u>Year</u>	<u>Saturday Evening Post</u>		<u>Atlantic Monthly</u>		<u>Census (in 000's)</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1940	191	83.41	131	85.06	33,783	75.43
1950	165	87.77	90	78.00*	40,052	72.19
1960	187	80.05	121	87.05	41,480	67.50
1970	130	88.44	84	79.25	49,441	62.45

NOTE: All differences between magazine and census proportions are significant at $p < .01$ with the exception of The Atlantic Monthly in 1950.

*Not significantly different from census proportion.

from 11,004,000 in 1940 to 29,734,000 in 1970, and the number of men jumped from 33,783,000 in 1940 to 49,441,000 in 1970.

The percentage of the labour force which is female as portrayed in short stories is not as high as the lowest figure for the census data in either The Saturday Evening Post or The Atlantic Monthly. The Saturday Evening Post shows a decrease in the number of employed who are women, from 16.59 per cent in 1940 to 11.56 per cent in 1970 with a lower figure of 10.95 per cent in 1960. The labour force is depicted as comprised of an increasingly higher proportion of men during this time, contrary to the trend in the census.

The Atlantic Monthly sample fluctuates in the proportion of the labour force which is female for each year. The highest percentage, 25.00, appears in 1950 and the lowest, 12.95 is in 1960. The lowest percentage of employed people who are portrayed as women in The Atlantic Monthly appears in 1960 as does the lowest percentage in The Saturday Evening Post.

True Experience in 1970 has the highest percentage of the labour force depicted as women, 28.26, and the

lowest percentage of men, 71.74.⁸ In this, it more closely resembles the census data distribution than do the other two magazine distributions.

Because of the lack of consistency in the proportion of the labour force which is female in The Atlantic Monthly sample, it is difficult to discern a relationship between the indices of dissimilarity between magazine and census data and in the raw data. The index of dissimilarity increases for women in The Saturday Evening Post as the percentage of the labour force which is female drops. In The Atlantic Monthly sample, the index of dissimilarity decreases, indicating less difference between the magazine and census distributions. However, as the variations in the female proportion of the labour force are not consistent, it is difficult to draw any conclusions. The census data, however, shows a steady increase in the numbers of employed women and men and an increasingly higher proportion of the labour force comprised of women.

To summarize, though the use of the two measures of diversity has resulted in figures which are difficult to interpret, the findings generally support the hypothesis that women would show more occupational diversity

in census data than in magazine short stories. However, when the two dimensions of diversity are compared separately for the census and magazine material, the differences between the two sources of data become more apparent. Though there are variations in the distributions of the measures between magazines and between years (these variations are given in Figure 1, p61) the differences between census and magazine samples are in the hypothesized direction. The index of dissimilarity reveals a difference between census data and magazine short stories in the specific occupational categories employing women. The distributions of the numbers of employed women and men show that there are fewer employed women portrayed in fiction than exist according to the census. Together, these two conclusions imply that the occupational diversity of women, in both structural and distributive dimensions, is lower in fiction than in reality.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

The failure of the two measures of diversity to accurately reflect the differences found between occupational distributions is due to the difficulty in comparing measures based on two different populations. The distribution of characters from The Saturday Evening Post for the year 1970 (Table 15) illustrates this point.

Because empty categories are not included in the measures of diversity, D_1 is similar for females and males. D_2 , because it is more dependent on the number of occupations, is slightly more accurate. However, in comparison, neither measure gives full weight to the fact that there are more than seven times as many employed men as employed women. Though the measures of diversity do reflect the relative numbers within each population, they do not accurately indicate the size of the sample. In the comparison of two populations this important aspect is obscured. It appears that these measures of occupational diversity are of limited utility in situations in which

TABLE 15

Distribution of Employed Characters in The Saturday Evening Post 1970 Short Stories by Sex and Occupational Category

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>
Professional, Technical & Kindred	7	28
Farmers & Farm Managers	0	4
Managers & Administrators	0	56
Clerical & Kindred	1	2
Sales	0	0
Craftsmen & Kindred	0	8
Operatives	1	3
Private Household	2	0
Service	6	26
Farm Labourers & Foremen	0	1
Labourers	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>
TOTAL	17	130
D1 =	.685	.722
D2 =	3.176	4.385

the population sizes are not roughly equal.

It is also possible that the two dimensions of differentiation are each obscuring the effect of the other. For example, the male proportion of the labour force increases through time from 83.41 per cent to 88.44 per cent of the sample based on The Saturday Evening Post. The index of dissimilarity between the short story characters and the census also increased from 43.659 in 1940 to 51.953 in 1970. The two measures of diversity drop through time, D1 from .812 to .722 and D2 from 6.398 to 4.385.

Thus, though the number of working men increased, so did the difference in the occupational categories in which they are employed. All that can be concluded from an examination of D1 and D2, however, is that diversity decreased. This demonstrates the need for more precise information on the relative weights of the two dimensions of the measures of diversity.

The variations in the occupational diversity of both sexes in short story distributions, as indicated both by the measures of diversity and the separate examinations of the two dimensions of differentiation, are difficult

to interpret. The differences may be due to problems in the method.

Though the sample of characters from all magazines was quite large, numbering 3,203 and though the number of employed characters produced a sample size of 1,431, the number of employed women was only 233. Some years for some magazines had particularly small samples; in The Saturday Evening Post there were only 17 employed women in all the stories from 1970 and The Atlantic Monthly had only 18 employed women in short stories from the year 1960. The variations in the results may also be interpreted as showing a need for further examination of the validity of the assumption that, controlling for reading level, fiction can be used either as an indicator of general cultural values, or of values regarding the employment of women specifically.

The difference in occupational diversity, both over time and between magazines, may also be due to the difference in reading levels as reported by Albrecht (1957). If reading level is the important distinction, the variations would indicate changing values over time within the upper and middle reading levels. The idea that the differences may be caused by different reading patterns

is strengthened by the fact that for True Experience the measures of diversity are quite distinct from those of the other two magazines when the two dimensions of diversity are compared separately. True Experience most closely resembles the census distribution in the proportion of the labour force which is depicted as female and has the lowest indices of dissimilarity between census and magazine characters' occupational categories. Further research is necessary to determine which of the above factors is responsible for the variations in diversity over time within samples.

The finding that a difference exists between the distribution of women in census and short story data is interpreted as supporting the hypothesis that there is a divergence between reality and values with reference to the employment of women. However, other factors which may be operating to produce the findings should be noted. It is possible that particular historical events are influencing the census data, the magazine data or both. For example, the relatively high diversity of women in 1950, especially as reflected in D2, may be the lingering result of the increased employment of women in World War II.

Difficulties with the sample of magazine characters, the reservation about the use of content analysis and the difficulties in utilizing census material, all mentioned above, may also have affected the results.

However, because the data consistently show greater occupational diversity in census data than in magazine fiction, it is concluded that there is a divergence between reality and values as far as women's employment is concerned. This conclusion is congruent with much of the literature cited above which indicates a lack of acceptance of women into the occupational structure. It also contributes to this literature by making explicit the relationship between values and the employment of women. Much research on women in the occupational structure has dealt with the difficulties women encounter because of a lack of acceptance in particular fields. Epstein's (1970) study of professional women is an example of this focus. This present research has made explicit the assumption that the values concerning women's employment are not consistent with the actual employment of women.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The research described above has demonstrated:

1. That the occupational diversity of women for the years 1940, 1950, 1960 and 1970 is consistently lower as portrayed in magazine short stories than according to census data.
2. That the occupational diversity of women for these years is consistently lower than that of men in both magazine fiction and census data.
3. That the two measures of occupational diversity outlined by Gibbs and Poston (1975) do not adequately describe the differences between populations of dissimilar sizes.
4. That there exist variations over time in the diversity of both women and men in magazine fiction and census data. These variations are described in Figure 1.

To conclude, the hypothesized divergence between values and reality, with respect to the employment of women in the labour force, is confirmed.

FIGURE 1

Variations Over Time in Measures Computed for The Saturday Evening Post, The Atlantic Monthly and Census Data

Source of Data

Measures	Atlantic Monthly		Saturday Evening Post		Census Data	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
1. Measures of Diversity (D1 & D2)	increase	increase	decrease	decrease	decrease	decrease
2. Indices of Dissimilarity-Females & Males	decrease		increase		decrease	
3. Indices of Dissimilarity-Magazine & Census	decrease	increase	increase	increase	-	-
4. Number of Employed as a Percentage of Total Labour Force	no pattern	no pattern	decrease	increase	increase	decrease

FOOTNOTES

1. According to Birnbaum (1953) this is opposed to Weber's notion that ideas can be produced independent of material changes. Marx's view on this matter is an assumption of this paper.
2. It should be noted that recent research (Levine and Crumrine, 1975) has encountered difficulties in replicating Horner's (1970) study.
3. It should be noted that, because there are no Canadian magazines which have as large readerships as American magazines and on which readership surveys have been done, American magazines and census data were used.
4. Confession magazines are not subscribed to by libraries and it was discovered that the publishers themselves do not store back issues.
5. Gibbs and Poston state that D1 can only be interpreted when there are at least two occupational categories. However, as can be seen with reference to Table 4, when only one category exists, D1 is equal to .00. As this result makes sense in terms of the stated minimum and maximum of D1, the restriction was not adhered to.
6. The index of dissimilarity is computed from either percentages or proportions. The two measures of diversity are computed from raw data. The examples given in Table 5 used raw data which would add to 100 for illustrative purposes.
7. The authors utilizing measures of diversity (e.g. Gibbs and Poston, 1975; Labovitz and Gibbs, 1964; Lieberman, 1969) do not test for differences between populations and no method of doing so is known to exist. This has been corroborated in personal communication with Charles Lazer and Leland Donald.
8. The difference between these percentages and the census data percentages of 37.55 for women and 62.45 for men is significant at $p < .05$ in both cases.

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APPENDIX A

Table 16 - (i) - (v) Distribution of Employed Characters by Magazine, Sex and Occupational Category - 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970.

Table 17 - (i) - (iv) Distribution of Census Data by Sex and Occupational Category - 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970.

Occupational Categories:

1. Professional, Technical and kindred workers
2. Farmers and Farm Managers
3. Managers and Administrators, except farm
4. Clerical and kindred workers
5. Sales workers
6. Craftsmen and kindred workers
7. Operatives
8. Private household workers
9. Service workers, except private household
10. Farm Labourers and farm foremen
11. Labourers, except farm

TABLE 16

(i) The Distribution of Employed Characters by Magazine, Sex and Occupational Category - 1940

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Saturday Evening Post</u>		<u>Atlantic Monthly</u>	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
1	15	49	16	18
2	0	12	0	11
3	5	55	1	26
4	7	7	0	2
5	3	3	0	7
6	0	28	0	10
7	3	10	0	46
8	3	5	3	0
9	2	17	3	11
10	0	1	0	0
11	0	4	0	0
TOTAL	38	191	23	131

(ii) Distribution of Employed Characters by Magazine, Sex and Occupational Category - 1950

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Saturday Evening Post</u>		<u>Atlantic Monthly</u>	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
1	6	42	3	31
2	0	4	2	3
3	1	53	1	17
4	4	7	6	3
5	1	6	1	5
6	0	11	0	4
7	0	12	0	14
8	2	2	12	1
9	9	21	4	9
10	0	4	0	1
11	0	3	0	2
TOTAL	23	165	30	90

(iii) Distribution of Employed Characters by Magazine,
Sex and Occupational Category - 1960

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Saturday Evening Post</u>		<u>Atlantic Monthly</u>	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
1	9	70	4	28
2	0	7	0	6
3	1	58	2	30
4	11	2	2	1
5	0	5	2	3
6	1	10	0	14
7	0	4	0	9
8	0	0	2	0
9	1	19	6	19
10	0	10	0	0
11	0	2	0	11
TOTAL	23	187	18	121

(iv) Distribution of Employed Characters by Magazine,
Sex and Occupational Category - 1970

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Saturday Evening Post</u>		<u>Atlantic Monthly</u>	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
1	7	28	6	24
2	0	4	0	3
3	0	56	2	20
4	1	2	4	3
5	0	0	2	4
6	0	8	0	4
7	1	3	0	2
8	2	0	3	1
9	6	26	5	14
10	0	1	0	8
11	0	11	0	1
TOTAL	17	130	22	84

(v) Distribution of Employed Characters in True Experience by Sex and Occupational Category - 1970

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>
1	19	29
2	0	5
3	0	12
4	7	2
5	3	4
6	0	15
7	3	12
8	1	0
9	6	18
10	0	2
11	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
TOTAL	39	99

TABLE 17

(i) Distribution of Census Data by Sex and Occupational Category - 1940 (in 000's)

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>
1	1,470	1,875
2	152	4,992
3	424	3,326
4	2,375	2,237
5	781	2,124
6	107	4,949
7	2,046	6,206
8	1,969	142
9	1,262	2,197
10	320	2,770
11	<u>98</u>	<u>2,966</u>
TOTAL	11,004	33,783

(ii) Distribution of Census Data by Sex and Occupational Category - 1950 (in 000's)

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>
1	1,939	2,970
2	116	4,190
3	677	4,341
4	4,292	2,603
5	1,330	2,597
6	236	7,537
7	3,019	8,127
8	1,334	73
9	1,914	2,373
10	449	1,951
11	<u>127</u>	<u>3,290</u>
	15,433	40,052

(iii) Distribution of Census Data by Sex and Occupational Category - 1960 (in 000's)

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>
1	2,753	4,479
2	118	2,387
3	780	4,630
4	6,291	3,015
5	1,661	2,978
6	253	8,489
7	3,256	8,642
8	1,665	61
9	2,846	2,599
10	243	1,202
11	<u>110</u>	<u>2,998</u>
TOTAL	19,976	41,480

(iv) Distribution of Census Data by Sex and Occupational Category - 1970 (in 000's)

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>
1	4,644	6,917
2	72	1,357
3	1,077	5,386
4	9,777	3,748
5	2,247	3,378
6	684	10,530
7	4,546	9,789
8	1,166	38
9	5,037	4,010
10	173	848
11	<u>311</u>	<u>3,440</u>
TOTAL	29,734	49,441

APPENDIX B

Example of Coding of Magazine Data

Examples of Writer's Digest Descriptions of Fiction

Letters from Magazine Publishers

CODING EXAMPLE

From "Supercharged Harmony" by Ray Millholland,
The Saturday Evening Post, December 7, 1940, p.26.

Look at all the pictures in the papers are running of this man J.G.Ashurst, touting him as chairman of the board of Superaviation and the big brain behind the five-million-dollar plant that is up to schedule - or almost - furnishing motors for these new zip-and-gone fighter planes the Army is buying for national defense.

You'd think --- Well, I'm maybe prejudiced about this thing, but Blue Chip Haggerty is who ought to get the credit. And I'm not signing off until I tell somebody why.

Don't get me wrong - this Ashurst knows a lot of hard answers or he wouldn't have known that Blue Chip was the man behind the reputation which Banks toolroom lathes have for being dead accurate. Furthermore, this Ashurst had the gall it takes to walk right in on old Gus Banks, who owned the lathe plant, and ask to borrow his superintendent - meaning Blue Chip - for the duration of the present national emergency.

The coding of this section resulted in the following list of characters:

J.G.Ashurst - male - Chairman of the Board of an
aviation company
Blue Chip Haggerty - male - Superintendent of a lathe
plant
Gus Banks - male - owner of a lathe plant
"I" - sex unspecified - occupation unspecified

Examples of Writer's Digest Descriptions of Fiction

True Experience and True Romance 1970

Buys 22 stories each month. Must be good stories, told in the first person about family life, love, courtship, health, religion, inspiration, behind-the-headlines; about teenagers, old-agers, babies, romantic couples, suspense--in short "it is the story that counts and pays well... Better, fresher stories get the highest rates... Do not send hackneyed sin stories about pregnancy-before-marriage, the illegitimate child born of a single meeting, the overdone back street; and please make other heroines and heroes than the orphan, the only child, the waitress, the auto worker, the drunken parents. There are so many other interesting humans who have had so many other memorable experiences."

The Saturday Evening Post 1940

...uses aviation, romance and adventure fiction, serials of any length and shorts of 5000 words.

The Atlantic Monthly 1950

Uses fiction and articles of a distinguished quality, up to about 5000 words ... should present a human interest or timely problem and follow through to its solution.

MACFADDEN WOMEN'S GROUP

TRUE STORY • PHOTOPLAY • T.V. RADIO MIRROR • TRUE CONFESSIONS • MOTION PICTURE • TRUE ROMANCE • TRUE LOVE • TRUE EXPERIENCE

205 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017 (212) 983-5600

86

11 July 1975

S. Dier
Department of Sociology
University of Victoria
P.O. Box 1700
Victoria B.C. Canada
V8W 2Y2

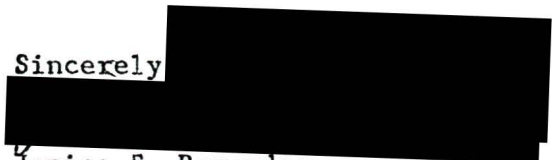
Dear Sir or Madam,

In answer to your letter dated July 4, 1975 requesting 12 issues of TRUE ROMANCE Magazine, I regret that I must inform you that they are not available.

After making several inquiries I discovered that there is somewhat of a critical shortage of storage space thereby making it necessary to store a very limited supply of back issues. When you consider that TRUE ROMANCE is but one of eight magazines published by the Macfadden Women's Group you can begin to see the problem.

I would like to thank you for expressing an interest in our magazine. If we can be of any further assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely


Janice E. Barandes
Research Manager

True Story

205 E. 42ND STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

July 10, 1975

S. Dier
Department of Sociology
University of Victoria
P. O. Box 1700
Victoria, B. C.
Canada V8W 2Y2

Dear Sir or Madam:

I am in receipt of your letter dated July 4, 1975.

I have checked our files and we no longer have any available copies of 1960 issues of True Story.

Sorry I can't be of help to you.

Sincerely,

Donald McClintock ([REDACTED]
Assistant Editor [REDACTED]

DM/dd

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Title of Thesis/Dissertation

THE OCCUPATIONAL STEREOTYPING OF
WOMEN: VALUES AND REALITY

Author 

Signature

JUSTIN S. DIER

Name

AUG. 19, 1975.

Date