DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 232 173 CS 207 666

AUTHOR Dozier, David M.; And Others
TITLE Sex and the Bottom Line: Income Differences among Women and Men in Public Relations.
PUB DATE 7 Aug 83
NOTE 32p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (66th, Corvallis, OR, August 6-9, 1983).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Communication Research; Comparative Analysis; Employment Qualifications; Females; Males; Occupational Surveys; *Public Relations; *Salaries; Sex Bias; *Sex Differences

ABSTRACT

Two studies tested the hypothesis that the annual salaries of women in public relations are significantly less than those of men of equal education, professional experience, and length of employment with their current organization. A second hypothesis included organizational role status as a variable. The first study surveyed members of four communications and publications associations, in San Diego, California, including the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA), and the second study surveyed members of only the PRSA. Both studies confirmed the first hypothesis: women practitioners earned lower salaries than men, even when the influence of education, professional experience, and tenure with current employer were equalized. When organizational role segregation was added, it was confirmed that women are segregated in the organizational role of communications technician, a position that earns a lower income than other organizational roles. The two surveys of public relations practictioners provide evidence that differences in male practitioner and female practitioner salaries cannot be entirely explained in terms of preparation for advancement. The two surveys also provide strong evidence that organizational role segregation is a useful construct in a theory of salary difference among women and men in public relations. Differences in incomes are significantly reduced when organizational roles are equalized. (HTH)

SEX AND THE BOTTOM LINE: INCOME DIFFERENCES AMONG WOMEN AND MEN IN PUBLIC RELATIONS

By

David M. Dozier, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor
Department of Journalism
San Diego State University
San Diego, California 92182

Sharon Chapo
Director of Community Relations
Del Mar Fair
Del Mar, California

Brad Sullivan
Master of Science
Mass Communication Program
San Diego State University

Paper presented to the Public Relations Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication National Convention, Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oregon, August 7, 1983

One day this year -- 1983 -- a woman will accept a job in public relations for some American organization. While that practitioner will not know of her historical significance, she will push women's share of the public relations labor force over the 50 percent barrier. Through her entry, women will outnumber men in the American public relations profession.

This prediction is based on the best available information from the U.S. Department of Labor, which tracks "public relations specialists and publicity writers" as one of several hundred detailed occupations.[1] While Cutlip and Center quarrel with this description of the profession,[2] the U.S. Department of labor statistics provide the most accurate estimates of the characteristics of working public relations practitioners.

The change in gender in the public relations profession has been swift. In 1968, women made up only 25 percent of the public relations labor force.[3] Since 1977, when annual breakdowns of the profession became a regular part of Department of Labor reports, women have posted percentage gains of about 2.2 percent a year. In 1982, women ended the year in an exact tie with men practitioners, making up 50.0 percent of the public relations labor force.[4]

Nor is this dramatic shift likely to subside in the near future. As most entry-level practitioners are college educated, gender of current public relations college students provides insight. Peterson's recent reports on journalism enrollments indicate that women make up roughly two-thirds of the public relations majors in American colleges and universities.[5]

The gender trend in public relations is apparent in Table 1. The table breaks down women's share of the labor force by year. Except of a slip in 1981, women have marked steady gains. Table 1 also displays a projection of women's share of the labor force in years to come. Using a straight-line model to compute projections, 1983 will end with women holding 52.2 percent of the public relations jobs in the United States. If the trend continues, women are estimated to hold 56.6 percent of the public relations jobs in 1985. Two-thirds of all practitioners are projected to be women by 1990.

Figure 1 provides graphic display of the information in Table 1. While actual share fluxuates, the general trend marked by the broken line indicates a growing women's share of the public relations labor force.

The roots of this dramatic shift in public relations are not clearly understood. Rea Smith suggested that the highly "intuitive" nature of communication permits women to take advantage of their early socialization which emphasizes sensitivity.[6] Some women practitioners report that, while sex discrimination exists among public relations practitioners, the situation is not as bleak as in other, male-dominated professions.[7] While all the factors for the rapid emergence of a women's majority in public relations are not fully understood, the trend reflects general shifts in the industrialized labor force.

Women in the Labor Force

The American labor force has changed dramatically since World

Table 1.

Breakdown of Women's Share of the Public Relations Labor Force and Projection of Trends

YEAR	WOMEN'S SHARE OF PR LABOR FORCE (in %)	NUMBER OF PRACTITIONERS	PROJECTED* SHARE (%)
1977	38.3	120,000	39.0
1978	40.5	131,000	41.2
1979	43.8	130,000	43.4
1980	46.8	126,000	45.6
1981	45.5	121,000	47.8
1982	50.0	134,000	49.9
1983	---	-------	52.2
1984	---	-------	54.4
1985	---	-------	56.6

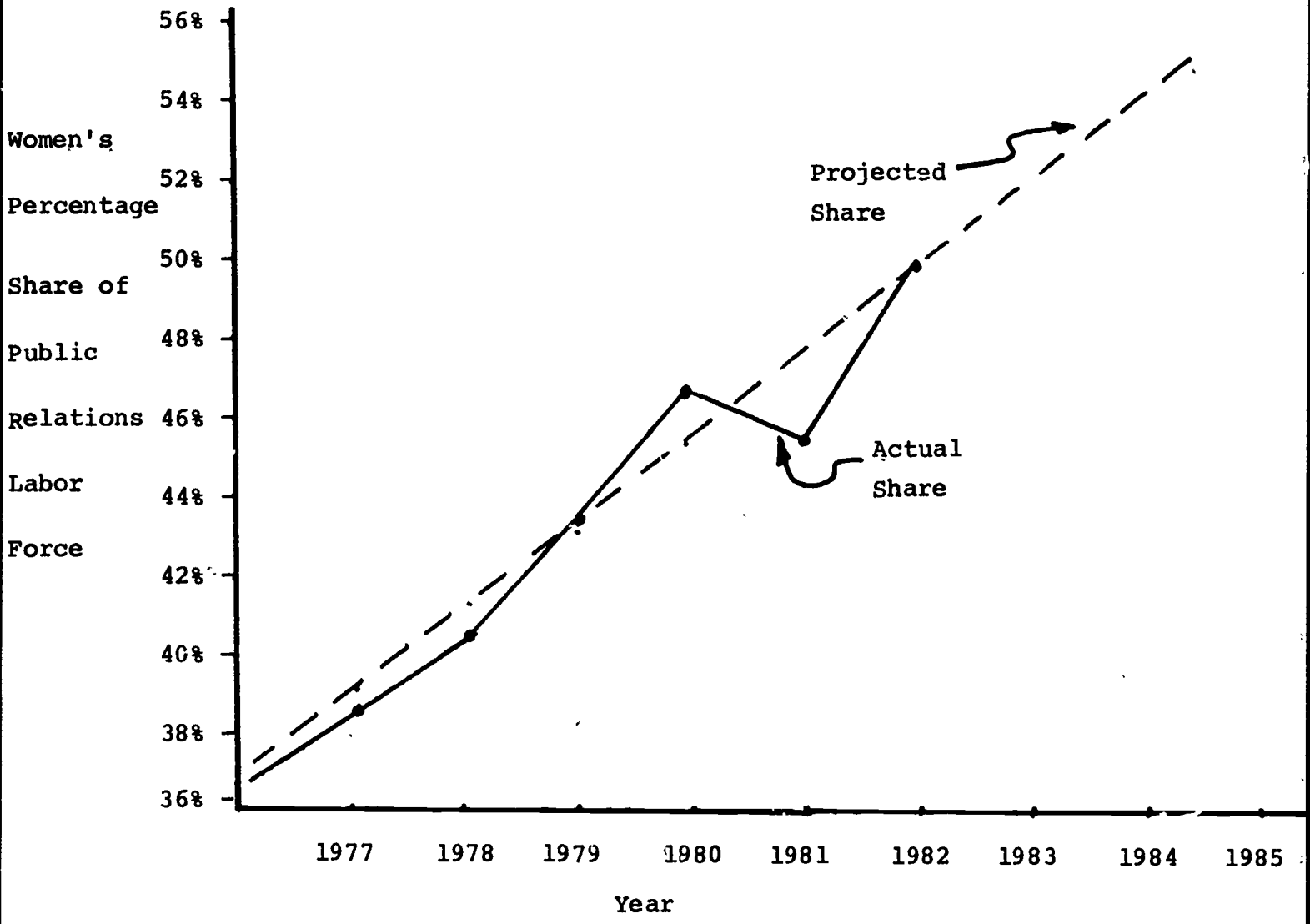
*Projected share is based on a linear regression model which predicts the women's percentage share of the public relations labor force as a function of year. The model is based on labor force characteristics over the last six years. To project women's share of the public relations labor force:

$$\%\ \text{Women's Share} = (2.19 \times \text{Year}) - 129.6$$

where year is expressed as the last two digits (e.g. 77, 78, 79, etc.) of the calendar year.

Figure 1.

Women's Actual and Projected Share of the Public Relations Labor Force



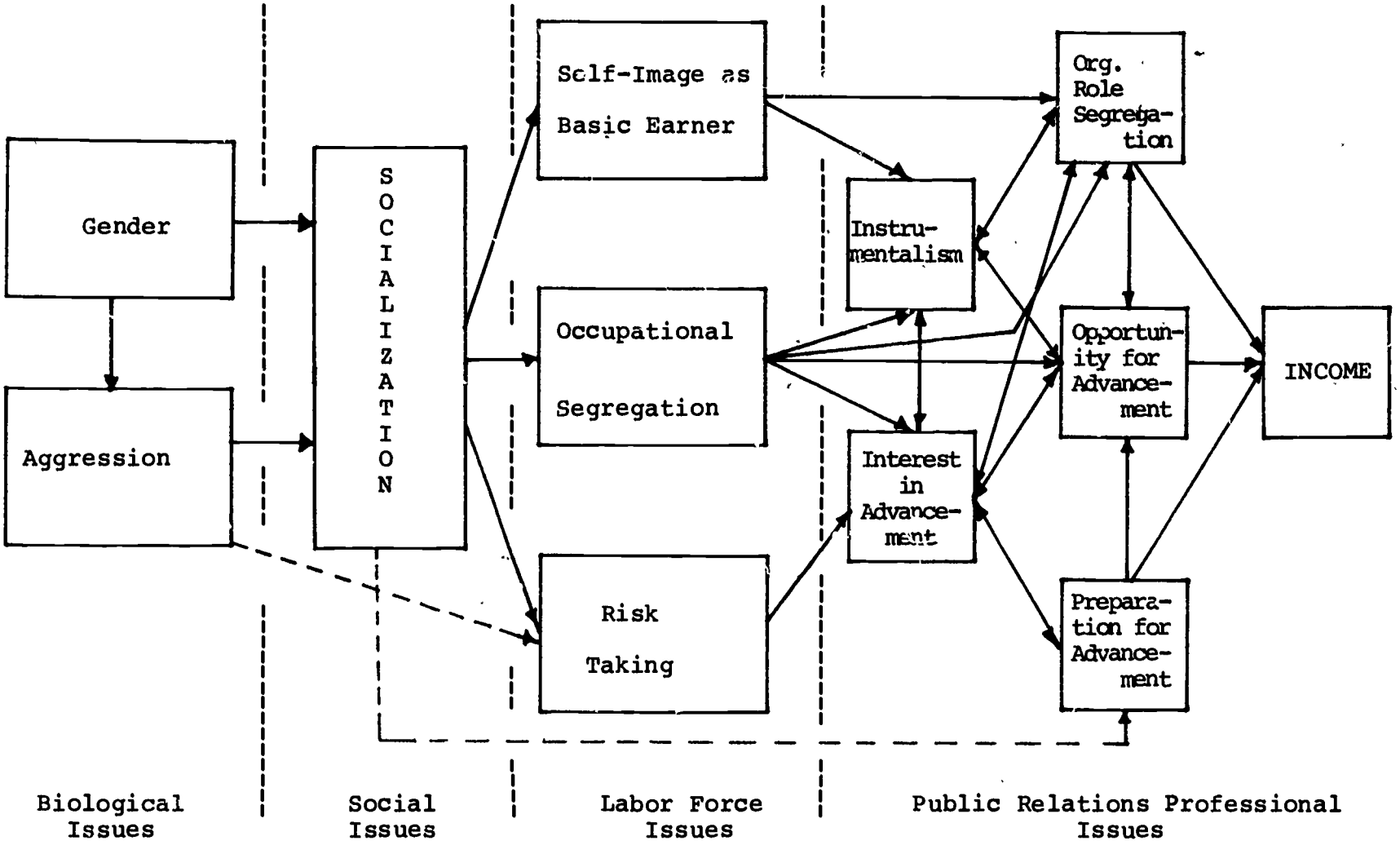
War II. More women now work outside the home, constituting the major source of expansion of the American labor force since 1940.[8] Two-income households and female head of households have increased dramatically.[9] Further, women entering the labor force have not been distributed more or less equally among occupations, but have tended to segregate in certain occupations.[10] The empirical fact that women are paid less than men has profound implications for working women in general and for the female majority of public relations practitioners in particular.[11]

Several concepts are relevant to the construction of theory regarding women, occupations and income. Figure 2 provides a partial model of several major constructs required to link differences between the sexes to income differences. The model highlights rather than exhausts the set of concepts required to causally link gender to income. The constructs can be grouped into four categories: biological issues, social issues, labor force issues, and public relations professional issues. These categories are useful for purposes in this study, because some constructs are subject to change within the profession. Other constructs, which tend to be antecedent to those subject to change within the profession, can only be modified through broad social reform.

Antecedent to different experiences in the labor force are the differential experiences of males and females during maturation. While differences in socialization of boys and girls are subtle and not fully understood, differing socializing pressures exert influence on the subsequent development of

Figure 2.

A Partial Conceptual Model of Constructs Relating Gender and Income



personality.[12]

Antecedent to the differential socialization of children are biological differences between males and females that affect how the children are socialized and perhaps interact with socialization to affect subsequent personality development. Such biological explanations for sex differences are only reluctantly accepted by social scientists, for they cast studies of sex differences outside the realm of social inquiry. Relevant here is the conclusion of psychologists Maccoby and Jacklin that boys are more aggressive than girls, even when a wide range of social variables are controlled.[13] Slovic discovered that boys were more prone to risk taking than girls, though subsequent studies indicate that such risk taking may be specific to certain age categories and certain risk situations.[14]

Differences due to biological and socialization factors influence attitudes and behavior in the work force. Agassi's studies of men and women in the labor force in America, Germany and Israel indicate several significant differences in the attitudes of men and women toward their work.[15] The most pronounced difference lies in the tendency of women in the labor force to not view themselves as basic earners. Women tend to view themselves as providing supplemental income to the household; single women tend to view their basic earner status as a transitory role. This attitude, when linked with occupational segregation and the limited advancement opportunities that such segregation implies, can be argued to promote an instrumental attitude toward work.[16] Instrumentalism

is viewing one's work solely as a means of earning money, as trading working time for money. An instrumental attitude toward a job reduces interest in advancement.[17] Interest in advancement may also be depressed by a desire to reduce risk taking. Instrumentalism and interest in advancement can be viewed as exerting reciprocal influences, setting in motion a set of self-fulfilling assessments concerning advancement.

The squares in Figure 2, in contrast to the rectangles, are characteristics of focal concern to the public relations profession. Two constructs, interest in advancement and instrumentalism, are heavily influenced by occupational segregation and women's self-images as basic earners. However, these constructs are also influenced by conditions in the work place. Key here is opportunity for advancement. If opportunities for women practitioners to advance are in fact blocked, or are perceived by women practitioners to be blocked, then interest in advancement is reduced. Further, such blocked opportunities further an instrumentalist attitude toward the job.

Opportunity for advancement may be blocked by mechanisms subject to change within the profession, as well as mechanisms rooted in socialization and modified only by broad social reform. Within the public relations profession, opportunity for advancement among women practitioners may be blocked by explicit, conscious sex discrimination by male practitioners in hiring and promotion practices. At the same time, opportunity for advancement may be reduced for women through more subtle mechanisms of reduced preparation for advancement and

organizational role segregation.

Of most direct relevance to this study are the constructs of preparation for advancement and organizational role segregation. Preparation for advancement is a construct that includes actions taken by the individual to increase competence for advancement. Some actions are actively directed toward advancement opportunities, such as education and professional development training. Other actions which enhance advancement opportunities are a product of accumulated career experiences, measured by years of professional employment and length of employment with the same organization in the same capacity. An instrumentalist attitude toward one's position and reduced interest in advancement are likely to reduce active preparation for advancement. Along different lines, preparation for advancement is reduced by the recent arrival of many women in the profession. The rapid growth of women's share of the public relations labor force has created a pool of younger, less-experienced female practitioners and a pool of older, more-experienced male practitioners. Thus, women are expected to score lower than males, as a group, on any valid measure of professional experience, a key indicator of preparation for advancement.

Organizational role segregation is a construct that argues a segregation of organizational roles within public relations, similar to a segregation along sex lines that typifies the labor force as a whole. If organizational roles are sexually segregated within the public relations profession, then the playing of organizational roles may be an important mechanism for

reducing a woman's opportunity for advancement and equal income. This construct requires further explication in the public relations context.

Practitioner Roles

Broom and Smith[18] and Broom[19] provide a theoretical framework for analyzing segregation within the profession along lines of gender. Based on a review of literature regarding consulting roles in organizations, Broom identified four organizational roles that public relations practitioners all perform to varying degrees in the course of their work. One role, the communication technician role, is of special interest to this study because women appear significantly segregated in this role.[20] Broom defined the communication technician as the practitioner providing "the organization or client the specialized skills" needed to implement public relations programs. Communication technicians are hired for "journalistic skills," including "writing, editing and working with the media." Excluded from management decision making, communication technicians concern themselves with "preparing and producing communications materials."[21]

While all practitioners play all roles to some degree, the communication technician engages in the discrete activities that make up this role more frequently -- on the average -- than activities that constitute measures of other roles. In a separate study of practitioner roles, Dozier found that communication technicians earn significantly less than practitioners who play other organizational roles.[22] The finding

that communication technicians tend to be women and tend to earn smaller salaries suggests that the communication technician role may be an objective manifestation of intra-occupation segregation through organizational roles.

Research Question

The research questions of this study are limited to a small portion of the conceptual model in Figure 2. The first research question is concerned with the influence that preparation for advancement exerts on practitioner incomes. Male practitioners, as a group, are generally better educated, have more professional experience, and have been working longer for their current employer than women practitioners.[23] Does superior preparation for advancement account for the higher salaries earned by male practitioners? Or do significant income differences exist between men and women in public relations, even when the influences of education, professional experience, and tenure with current employer are statistically removed?

Resolution of this question has profound implications for the profession. If preparation for advancement explains differences in income, then an "evolutionary" corrective strategy could be advocated. That is, differences in income between men and women practitioners will disappear, once women accumulate equivalent levels of education, professional experience, and tenure. Segregation of women in the communication technician role, then, may be viewed as an artifact of shifting demographics. If preparation for advancement accounts for income differences, then women will evolve into better-paying practitioner roles as their

professional experience develops.

The second research question is concerned with the impact of organizational roles on sex differences in salaries. Specifically, is the concentration of women in the low-paying communication technician role sufficient to account for differences in practitioner incomes? If so, a corrective strategy would shift away from an "evolutionary" response to an active effort to determine the mechanisms that affect role taking by women practitioners and to actively alter those mechanisms.

Methods for Two Tests

Two studies of public relations practitioners permit independent tests of the research questions. In the first study, a census was attempted of all public relations practitioners in a single community, affiliated with any one of four professional associations. In the second study, a systematic sample of the national membership of the Public Relations Society of America was surveyed.

The first study was completed in 1981 in San Diego, using mailed surveys of 333 local members of the Public Relations Society of America, the International Association of Business Communicators, the Public Relations Club of San Diego, and practitioners affiliated with Women in Communications. A total of 172 questionnaires were returned, a 51.7 percent response rate. The questionnaire included items measuring gender, years of education, years of combined media and public relations experience, years of tenure with current employer in comparable position, and income. The income item, which sought income

estimates to the nearest $1,000 from "full time public relations work," was problematic. A full 27.9 percent of the respondents declined to answer that item. Men were more likely than women to refuse. Of the 98 male respondents, 33 percent refused to answer the income item. Only 22 percent of the 74 women surveyed declined to answer the income item.

The second survey was completed in 1982. A systematic sample of 600 PRSA members was mailed questionnaires. A total of 303 questionnaires were returned, a 50.5 percent response rate. The questionnaire again included items measuring gender, years of combined media and public relations experience, years of tenure with current employer, and income. Again, the income item was problematic, though the refusal rate was lower. Only 15 percent refused to answer the income question. Men again refused with greater frequency. Some 19 percent of the 200 males surveyed declined to provide income estimates, while only nine percent of the 103 females surveyed refused.

In addition to the above variables, both studies systematically measured the respondent's organizational role, using a battery of 24 items that measured how often the respondent engaged in specific organizational activities. The items were developed by Broom.[24] Scales measuring empirically-grounded roles were developed using Broom's 1979 survey of PRSA members.[25] Using these scales, each practitioner could be classified as communication technician or as some other practitioner type.[26]

Operational Hypotheses

Two operational hypotheses implied by the research questions test a portion of the conceptual model in Figure 2. They are:

h_1: The annual salaries of women in public relations are significantly less than men of equal education, professional experience, and length of employment with their current organization.

h_2: The annual salaries of women in public relations are significantly less than men of equal education, professional experience, length of employment with their current organization, and organizational role status.

The hypotheses are cumulative, in that any influence of education, professional experience, and tenure with current employer ought to be controlled in the test of the second hypothesis, in order to isolate the influence of role status from these other practitioner characteristics.

Analysis of variance procedures were used to test hypotheses. The first hypothesis treated income as the dependent variable and respondent gender as the independent variable. Variables measuring years of education, years of professional experience, and years of tenure with current employer were treated as covariates. In the test of the second hypothesis, a dichotomous variable was created, indicating whether the respondent was a

communciation technician (1) or not (0). The dichotomous communication technician variable was added to the set of other covariates and the statistical test was repeated.

A 95 percent decision rule was envoked. If a relationship within the sample was sufficiently strong to generalize to the population at the 95 percent confidence level, the hypothesis was confirmed.

Findings

Both studies provided evidence confirming the first hypothesis: women practitioners earn lower salaries than men, even when the influence of education, professional experience, and tenure with current employer are equalized.

In the 1981 San Diego study, male practitioners earned $31,310 on the average. Female practitioners in that same study earned $22,250. The $9,060 difference is statistically significant. In the San Diego study, men were better educated, had more extensive professional experience, and had been with their current employer longer.[27] When these indicators of preparation for advancement were equalized for men and women, salaries remained significantly different. Adjusting salaries for the influence of education, professional experience, and tenure, male practitioners earned $29,590 on the average, down $1,720 from their actual annual salaries. This same adjustment improved the average earnings of female practitioners by $1,570, for an adjusted female income of $23,820. The $5,770 difference remained statistically significant ($F(1,119)=5.34$; Significance=.02). See Table 2.

Table 2.

1981 San Diego Public Relations Study

Analysis of variance of Income Differences Among Men and Women Practitioners, Controlling for Professional Experience, Education, and Tenure with Current Employer

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F-Stat.	Sig.
Covariates	4157.1	3	1385.7	9.85	.001
Pro. Exper.	2485.2	1	2485.2	17.67	.001
Tenure	253.6	1	253.6	1.80	.182
Education	116.5	1	116.5	.83	.365
Main Effects					
Sex	751.6	1	751.6	5.34	.023
Explained	4908.7	4	1227.2	8.72	.001
Residual	16741.7	119	140.7		
TOTAL	21650.4	123	176.0		

Multiple Classification Analysis

Grand Mean = $26,890	Unadj. Dev.	Adjusted Dev.
For Male Practitioners	+ $4,340	+ $2,700
For Female Practitioners	- $4,940	- $3,070

In the 1982 study of PRSA members nationally, the same differences in education, professional experience, and tenure were found between male and female practitioners.[28] The study also indicated a large difference in the annual salaries of men and women. Men earned $43,220 annually, compared to only a $27,820 annual average among female PRSA members. When the influences of education, professional experience, and tenure were controlled, women fared somewhat better. Female salaries increased $2,990 to an annual average of $30,810. Male salaries dropped $1,750 to an adjusted or equalized average of $41,470. The $10,660 difference in salaries is statistically significant ($F(1,245)=25.45$; Significance=.001). See Table 3.

What happens when communication technician status, the operational indicator of organizational role segregation, is added to the set of covariates? In the 1981 study of San Diego practitioners, the prior finding that women are segregated in the organizational role of communication technician was again confirmed.[29] In San Diego, 36.2 percent of the women practitioners were communication technicians, compared to only 22.2 percent communication technicians among males in the same study. Further, communication technicians earn lower incomes than practitioners who predominently play other organizational roles.[30]

Table 4 displays the analysis of variance where communication technician status is controlled as a covariate. In the 1981 San Diego study, communication technician status accounts for all significant differences in income between the sexes, once

Table 3.

1982 National PRSA Membership Study

Analysis of variance of Income Differences Among Men and Women Practitioners, Controlling for Professional Experience, Education, and Tenure with Current Employer

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F-Stat.	Sig.
Covariates	14941.9	3	4980.6	23.15	.001
Pro. Exper.	6148.2	1	6148.2	28.58	.001
Education	739.5	1	739.5	3.44	.065
Tenure	1516.7	1	1516.7	7.05	.008
Main Effects					
Sex	5475.1	1	5475.1	25.45	.001
Explained	20417.0	4	5104.3	23.72	.001
Residual	52712.9	245	215.2		
TOTAL	73129.9	249	293.7		

Multiple Classification Analysis

Grand Mean = $37,550	Unadj. Dev.	Adjusted Dev.
For Male Practitioners	+ $5,670	+ $3,920
For Female Practitioners	- $9,730	- $6,740

indicators of preparation for advancement (principally years of professional experience) are controlled. That is, women and men practitioners in San Diego did not differ significantly in income, once the influences of communication technician status and preparation for advancement were "equalized."

This finding requires some explanation. As Table 4 indicates, professional experience accounts for significant differences in income. However, communications technicians as a whole (both sexes) have professional experience comparable to practitioners playing other roles.[31] Moreover, women are more likely to be communication technicians, even when the influence of years of professional experience is controlled.[32] Further, significant differences in incomes of male and female practitioners remain, even when professional experience is "equalized" among the sexes (see Table 2). However, when the mechanism of organizational role segregation (communication technician status) is controlled, differences in income become statistically insignificant.[33]

The 1982 survey of PRSA members nationally provides slightly different findings. As indicated in Table 5, all indicators of preparation for advancement are significantly related to income: years of education, years of professional experience, and tenure with current employer. The additional construct of organizational role segregation, measured by communication technician status, is also significantly related to income. As in the San Diego study, women are more frequently relegated to the communication technician role. Among PRSA members nationally, 34.1 percent of

Table 4.

1981 San Diego Public Relations Study

Analysis of Variance of Income Differences Among Men and Women Practitioners, Controlling for Professional Experience, Education, Tenure with Current Employer, and Communication Technician Status

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F-Stat.	Sig.
Covariates	5342.1	4	1335.5	9.40	.001
Pro. Exper.	2580.2	1	2580.2	18.16	.001
Tenure	169.8	1	169.8	1.20	.277
Education	119.9	1	119.9	.84	.360
Comm. Tech.	1237.8	1	1237.8	8.71	.004
Main Effects					
Sex	205.3	1	205.3	1.45	.232
Explained	5547.4	5	1109.5	7.81	.001
Residual	15060.6	106	142.1		
TOTAL	20607.9	111	185.7		

Multiple Classification Analysis

Grand Mean = $27,020	Unadj. Dev.	Adjusted Dev.
For Male Practitioners	+ $4,290	+ $1,550
For Female Practitioners	- $4,770	- $1,730

Table 5.

1982 National PRSA Membership Study

Analysis of Variance of Income Differences Among Men and Women Practitioners, Controlling for Professional Experience, Education, Tenure with Current Employer, and Communication Technician Status

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	d.f.	Mean Square	F-Stat.	Sig.
Covariates	18621.7	4	4655.4	25.28	.001
Pro. Exper.	5515.0	1	5515.0	29.95	.001
Tenure	1016.7	1	1016.7	5.52	.020
Education	997.6	1	997.6	5.42	.021
Comm. Tech.	4586.6	1	4586.6	24.91	.001
Main Effects					
Sex	2718.4	1	2718.4	14.76	.001
Explained	21340.0	5	4268.0	23.18	.001
Residual	39589.3	215	184.1		
TOTAL	60929.3	220	276.9		

Multiple Classification Analysis

Grand Mean = $37,250	Unadj. Dev.	Adjusted Dev.
For Male Practitioners	+ $5,480	+ $3,030
For Female Practitioners	- $9,100	- $5,030

the women practitioners are communication technicians, while only 21.3 percent of the male practitioners are communication technicians. Further, women are relegated to the communication technician role with greater frequency, even when years of professional experience are equalized.[34] However, the PRSA membership survey data indicate that women practitioners earn less than men practitioners, even when communication technician status and indicators of preparation for advancement are "equalized" among the sexes. Other mechanisms, in addition to organizational role segregation and preparation for advancement, also cause women to earn less money than men among PRSA members.

Limitations

Before implications of findings are considered, two important limitations of the studies must be noted. First, both studies used self-administered, mailed questionnaires. After repeat mailings to non-responding sample members, response rates for both surveys are only slightly better than 50 percent. As such, findings from these surveys are properly generalized to the population of public relations practitioners who complete mailed questionnaires. Indeed, people who complete questionnaires are likely to differ systematically from people who don't.

A second limitation involves the differential response to the income item in both surveys. As indicated earlier, women were more likely than men to answer the income question in both surveys. However, the most likely explanation for this difference is that older, more experienced, better-paid male practitioners are less inclined to state their annual income than

younger, less-experienced, lesser-paid female practitioners. However, such systematic bias in response rates of male and female practitione. reduces the probability of mistaking random fluxuations in samples for genuine differences in the population. That is, these surveys systematically underestimate the differences in male and female incomes, if the above propoaition is correct.

In any case, both limitations must be kept in mind when interpreting the findings of this study.

Interpretation and Implications for Future Research

The two surveys of public relations practitioners provide evidence that differences in male practitioner and female practitioner salaries cannot be entirely explained in terms of preparation for advancement. That is, male practitioners indeed have more years of professional experience, education and tenure with current employer than female practitioners. However, these differences in professional credentials do not fully explain why women earn substantially less than men in public relations.

The two surveys also provide strong, though differing, evidence that organizational role segregation is a useful construct in a theory of salary difference among women and men in public relations. That is, women tend to be communication technicians with greater frequency than men. In the San Diego study, such relegation of women to the communication technician role, when coupled with measures of preparation for advancement, constitutes a sufficient explanation of differences in male and

female practitioner incomes. In the 1982 survey of PRSA members nationally, women were again relegated to the communication technician role with greater frequency than men. However, when communication technician status was equalized among the sexes, along with measures of preparation for advancement, significant differences still existed in incomes of male and female practitioners. However, organizational role segregation remains a useful construct in a theory of income differences. Differences in incomes are significantly reduced when organizational roles are equalized among men and women practitioners.

Returning to the theoretical model in Figure 2, the San Diego study indicates that the model is complete, that preparation for advancement and organizational role segregation are sufficient constructs to explain income differences among men and women practitioners. The national PRSA study suggests that another construct impacts opportunity for advancement and income, in addition to organizational role segregation and preparation for advancement. As indicated above, one such construct may be conscious sex discrimination among the predominantly-male managers who make hiring and promotion decisions.

However, the importance of occupational role segregation in both surveys suggests that mechanisms of role sending and role taking are fruitful areas of future inquiry.[35] In such inquiries, distinctions between public relations professional issues and societal issues will remain useful. If women are blocked by actual or perceived sex discrimination from playing

other, better-paying roles in public relations units in organizations, then corrective action is appropriately taken within the profession itself. On the other hand, if antecedent constructs of socialization, aggression, risk taking, and the like cause women to self-select the communication technician role with greater frequency than men, then corrective action involves not only the profession but society as a whole. Agassi has eloquently argued, however, that even antecedent constructs such as instrumentalism and interest in advancement can be modified through positive experiences in the workplace.[36] As such, difference in income among male and female practitioners remains a professional issue. Further understanding of organizational role segregation will suggest the most productive path for corrective action within the profession.

NOTES

[1]U.S. Department of Labor statistics on the public relations profession are available in the Department of Labor's Employment and Earnings, a monthly publication. In January of each year since 1978, the gender characteristics of the public relations labor force is summarized for the previous year. The summary is based on a monthly sampling of 50,000 households in the United States. Details of the sampling strategy are provided in Employment and Earnings.

[2]Scott M. Cutlip and Allen H. Center, Effective Public Relations, 5th ed. (Englewood: Prentice-Hall, 1978), p. 19. The authors correctly argue that the Department of Labor statistics are imprecise in categorizing sample respondents as truly "in" or "out" of the public relations labor force. Despite these limitations, the Department of Labor statistics remain the best annual indicators of the public relations labor force.

[3]Rea Smith, "Women in Public Relations," Public Relations Journal, Vol. 24, No. 10 (1968), 26-29.

[4]U.S., Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment and Earnings, Vol. 30, No. 1 (1983), 180.

[5]Paul Peterson's annual survey of journalism programs in the United States provide strong empirical evidence that public relations will continue to be a profession made up mostly of women. In 1982, women made up 68.6 percent of students "majoring" in a public relations emphasis, sequence or department. In 1981, women made up 70.2 percent of the public relations majors. In 1980 and 1979, women made up 67.1 percent of the public relations majors. The gender of public relations majors provide a good indication of future shares of the labor force: in 1969, women made up only 32 percent of public relations majors. See Paul V. Peterson, "J-school enrollments hit record 91,016," Journalism Educator, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Winter 1983), 3-10. Breakdowns by gender are provided in issue number four in previous volumes of Journalism Educator.

[6]Smith, p. 27.

[7]Barbara Ireton, "The Female Practitioner Talks About Her Status," Public Relations Journal, Vol. 23, No. 9 (1967), 14.

[8]Richard J. Schiffer, "Demographic and Social Factors in Women's Work Lives," in Emerging Woman: Career Analysis and Outlook, ed. Samuel H. Osipow (Columbus: Merrill Publishing, 1975), p. 11.

[9]Cynthia B. Lloyd, "The Division of Labor between the Sexes: A Review," in her Sex, Discrimination, and the Division of Labor (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), p. 19.

[10]Harriet Zellner, "The Determinants of Occupational Segregation," in Sex, Discrimination, and the Division of Labor, ed. Cynthia B. Lloyd, p. 125.

[11]Several economists have analyzed the segregation of the labor force by gender, arguing that the "crowding" of the female majority occupations exerts a depressing effect on incomes. See Part 2 of Lloyd's Sex, Discrimination, and the Division of Labor, pp. 125-222. While women practitioners may seem most affected by these issues, men practitioners in public relations may also be negatively impacted.

[12]Eleanor E. Maccoby and Carol N. Jacklin, The Psychology of Sex Differences (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), p. 348.

[13]Maccoby and Jacklin, p. 352.

[14]P. Slovic, "Risk-Taking in Children: Age and Sex Differences," Child Development, Vol. 37 (1966), 169-176.

[15]Judith A. Agassi, Comparing the Work Attitudes of Women and Men (Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1979), pp. 241-254.

[16]Agassi, p. 252.

[17]Agassi, p. 250.

[18]Glen M. Broom and George D. Smith, "Testing the Practitioner's Impact on Clients," Public Relations Review, Vol. 5, No. 3 (Fall 1979), 47-59.

[19]Glen M. Broom, "A Comparison of Sex Roles in Public Relations," Public Relations Review, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Fall 1982), 17-22.

[20]The concentration of women in the communication technician role has been confirmed by a 1979 survey of PRSA members nationally (Broom), by a 1981 survey of practitioners in San Diego affiliated with four professional organizations (Dozier), and by a 1982 survey of PRSA members nationally (Sullivan).

[21]Broom, p. 18.

[22]David M. Dozier, "The Diffusion of Evaluation Methods Among Public Relations Practitioners," Association for Education in Journalism, Public Relations Division, East Lansing, Michigan, 9 August 1981, p. 27.

[23]Broom utilized a subset of these covariates to control for the influence of age and professional experience on the organizational roles played by male and female practitioners. See Broom, p. 19.

[24]Broom's measures of role items were developed to measure four organizational roles: communication technician, communication facilitator, problem-solving facilitator, and expert prescriber. Six items were included in the battery of organizational role measures for each of the four roles. Respondents indicated how often they engaged in each practitioner activity, using a seven-point scale ranging from "never" (1) to "always" (7).

[25]Broom's 1979 survey of PRSA members nationally was analyzed. Non-agency (internal) practitioner role items (N=355) were factor analyzed (principal factors with iterations) using SPSS and rotated to a varimax solution. Four roles emerged and are interpreted as communication manager, communication technician, media relations specialist, and communication liaison. See Dozier, pp. 12-18.

[26]In the present study, the communication technician score for each respondent was computed using a factor score model and normalized values for all items measuring the communication technician role as described by Dozier, pp. 12-18. In like manner, each respondent's score was computed for the communication manager, communication liaison, and media relations specialist roles. A respondent was deemed a communication technician if his or her communication technician factor score was greater than factor scores for each of the other three roles.

[27]In the 1981 San Diego survey, men completed five years of college education on the average, compared to a four-year average for women. Men averaged 17.3 years of combined media and PR experience, compared to only 7.2 years on the average for female practitioners. Male practitioners averaged 5.4 years with their current employer, while women averaged only 3.2 years.

[28]In the 1982 survey of PRSA members nationally, men averaged 4.7 years beyond high school while female PRSA members averaged 4.4 years. Male PRSA members averaged 21.4 years of combined media and PR experience, compared to only 8.9 years for women. Male PRSA members posted 8.9 years on the average with their current employer, while women averaged only 4.4 years with their current employers.

[29]Broom, who used a different approach to identifying communication technicians, first reported the female majority within the communication technician role. As Broom notes, all practitioners perform aspects of all roles to some degree. A communication technician is a practitioner who performs the activities of the communication technician role with greater frequency than the activities that make up other organizational roles.

[30]In the San Diego study, communication technicans earned $21,771 on the average. Practitioners playing other organizational roles predominantly (communication managers,

communication liaisons, and media relations specialists) earned $29,403 annually on the average. The $7,632 difference in incomes is statistically significant (F(1,110) = 8.03; Significance = .005). Similar relations were found in the 1982 PRSA membership survey.

[31]In the San Diego study, communication technicians averaged 12.6 years of combined media and public relations experience. Practitioners in other roles averaged 13.0 years of combined media and public relations experience. The difference is not statistically significant (F(1,157) = .041; Significance = .84). Similar relations were found in the 1982 PRSA membership survey.

[32]Sex and communication technician status are related in the 1981 San Diego study (women are more likely than men to be communication technicians) even when years of professional experience is controlled. The partial correlation coefficient between gender and communication status equals 0.17 (N=154; Significance = .019).

[33]The residual $3,280 difference is not statistically significant (F(1,106) = 1.45; Significance = .232).

[34]Sex and communication technician status are related in the national PRSA membership survey (women are more likely than men to be communication technicians) even when years of professional experience is controlled. The partial correlation coefficient between gender and communication status equals 0.13 (N=255; Significance = .022).

[35]Role sending includes all activities through which other members of an organization communicate their expectations, their proscriptions and prescriptions, to a member of an organization. Role taking is the internalization of the proscriptions and prescriptions of others by a member of an organization, which affects how that organizational member behaves within the organization. See Daniel Katz and Robert L. Kahn, The Social Psychology of Organizations (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1966), pp. 171-198.

[36]Agassi, pp. 252-254.