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WOMEN'S LABOR FORCE EXPERIENCES: THE FIRST DECADE

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WOMEN'S LABOR FORCE EXPERIENCES:

THE FIRST DECADE

by

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Abstract

WOMEN'S LABOR FORCE EXPERIENCES:

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by Laura E. Potter

Adviser: Professor Rolf Meyersohn

This study concentrated on several aspects of women's labor force experience. Separate chapters examined labor force participation, occupational atypicality, income attainment, and professional status. First job experiences and later occupational mobility were also examined. Emphasis was put on determining the relative importance of factors influencing the quality of the jobs held in the early years of labor force experience and the role these play in the stratification process. Throughout the analysis the experiences of black and white women were examined separately. This was done in order to detect the differences in career development of black and white women.

The data used was the National Longitudinal Survey of Labor Market Experience, cohort of young women. This survey contains information on 5,159 women aged 14 to 24 in 1968. These women were interviewed from 1968 thru 1975.

The NLS is a panel study allowing both longitudinal and cross-sectional analysis to be performed. This permitted a clearer establishment of directions of causation than would have been possible with cross-sectional data alone.

One of the major findings in this study was the difference in the labor force experiences of black and white women. Although black women were more likely to be in the labor force than white women, they are less likely to be in high income, professional positions. However, education is important in explaining this difference. Once the respondent has obtained a college degree or better, there is little difference in the occupational status of black and white women.

The number of children a woman has also strongly influences her labor force experiences. The more children a woman has the less likely she was to hold a high income, professional job. This was true for both black and white women at all educational levels.

Preface

This study arose from my interests in the factors which influence the occupational achievement of young women. I felt that existing studies of women's labor force experiences, which compare the achievement of women to men, are incomplete because there are certain contingencies in choosing and attaining an occupation which are unique to women. This is why this work focuses not on a comparison of men and women but of women to each other.

The National Longitudinal Survey of Labor Market Experience, cohort of young women, was used to carry out this study. This data, obtained with the help of the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, contains information about 5,159 women. These women were interviewed from 1968 to 1975. The NSL data are longitudinal, which means they contain information for the same individuals at a number of points in time. This allows a clearer establishment of direction of causation than would be possible with cross-sectional data alone.

This study does not deal with questions about the structure of occupations or the nature of work itself. I recognize the importance of demand on occupational

experiences; however, I focus here on the individual factors which influence women's career attainment.

This study uses tabular analysis, multiple regression, and a path analysis in the final two chapters. The chi square test of significance is not employed because it is sensitive to the size of the sample. Small percent differences are seen as significant with a sample of over 5,000. The F test for significance is used in the section on multiple regression.

I am indebted to Professor Rolf Meyersohn who supervised this dissertation. He offered many valuable suggestions and a great deal of encouragement. Professor David Caplovitz provided many valuable insights on methodology and organization. I would like to thank Professor William Kornblum who has inspired me throughout my doctoral work and Professor Charlotte Mueller who offered helpful criticisms.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction and Background of Study

The proportion of women in the United States who work outside the home has more than doubled since the beginning of this century, increasing from 20% in 1900 to more than 50% in 1980 (U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics). Prior to the early 1970's most studies on occupational achievement focused on male workers, the reason for this being assumptions about the marginality of women or because of assumptions that gender differentiation is irrelevant in the occupational world.

The first assumption, that of the marginality of women workers, is supported by Parsons. Parsons (1954) suggests an essential contradiction between the occupational system and the kinship system. The occupational system in an industrial society requires a high degree of social mobility that may strain the family and marriage bonds. This strain, however, has been largely resolved because the family has developed an internal structure based on the segregation of sex roles. Parsons and Bales (1956) define this sex role segregation in terms of the structural differentiation between instrumental and expressive roles. Women who are involved in bearing and raising children are, according to Parsons, best suited to expressive roles, while men are better adapted to instrumental roles. This reduces the

tension between the occupational system and the family system because the woman is removed from the occupational world and restricted to the family. The wife's social status, then, is based upon her husband's occupational position and competition and inequalities between men and women disappear. Parsons and Bales (1956:14-15) write:

> It seems quite safe in general, to say that the adult feminine role has not ceased to be anchored primarily in the internal affairs of the family, as wife, mother and manager of the household, while the adult male is primarily anchored in the occupational world, in his job and through it by his status giving and income earning functions for the family.

Parsons's approach, which views the male breadwinner's position as the main determinant of women's status, is not adequate for a time in which only 22.4% of households have only one earner. The inadequacy of this approach is further illustrated by recent research that has shown wives' occupational status as contributing to the assessment of the entire family's status position (Nock and Rossi, 1978; Sampson and Rossi, 1975).

Although the number of women in the labor force has greatly increased since the turn of the century, the degree of occupational segregation has remained essentially unchanged since the 1900's (Gross, 1968). In fact, Oppenheimer (1975), in her analysis of the Current

Population Survey, found that the proportion of women in traditionally female occupations had increased slightly between 1959 and 1970.

Men and women clearly operate in different labor markets, and the labor market women are in is unequal in power and prestige. One attempt to explain the disadvantaged position of women in the labor force is the dual labor market theory. This concept initially grew from an attempt to understand the position of blacks in the occupational structure. It involved a critique of the human capital theory that postulates occupational position is largely determined by educational background and qualifications. The dual labor market theory posits two separate labor markets. The primary market offers relatively high wages, employment stability, and chances for advancement. The secondary market, in which most women are located, is characterized by low wages and unstable employment. Piore (1970) suggests a critical interdependence between the characteristics of secondary jobs and secondary workers. He writes "...certain workers who have the ability for stable labor force participation are trapped in the secondary labor force because their superficial characteristics resemble those of secondary workers."

Beechey (1978:158) criticizes the dual labor market theorists' approach to analyzing the disadvantaged position of women in the labor force. She writes that this theory "...fails to analyze the specificity of women's position because it ignores the importance of the sexual division of labor and the role of the family in structuring sexual inequalities."

In fact, studies have shown that sex itself affects occupational rewards independent of sectoral location (Bibb and Form, 1977; Beck, Horan, and Tolbert, 1978). Acker (1980:30) writes: "Sex divisions in the production system...present individual men and women with different work realities."

In addition, the factors that are expected to influence women's work experiences will differ from those that influence men's experiences. The primacy of family responsibilities in the lives of many women will influence their relationship to the world of work. Thus it is essential that the labor force experiences of women be examined separately from those of men in order to better understand the unique situation of women workers.

Research Design

This study concentrates on several aspects of women's

work experiences. Separate chapters examine labor force participation, occupational atypicality, income attainment, professional status, first job experiences, and early occupational experiences. These factors are first examined in terms of background influences such as parental socio-economic status (SES) and education. Later, social factors such as age, education, and IQ score are added to the analysis. Finally, the importance of familial factors including marital status, number of children, and the husband's income are considered. Initially, two variable cross-tabulations are used to clarify the relationship between the variables. Subsequently, additional variables are added to the analysis to shed further light on the labor force experiences of women. At the end of each chapter, multiple regression is used to examine the interaction of the variables and their relative importance in influencing women's experiences in the world of work. Chapters 6 and 7 also contain a path analysis to further clarify the process of social mobility.

Throughout the analysis the experiences of black and white women is presented separately. This is done to detect the differences in the career development of black and white women.

The Data

The National Longitudinal Survey of Labor Market Experience, cohort of young women, is used to carry out the analysis. This survey consists of a nationally representative sample of 5,159 women aged 14 to 24 in 1968. It includes 3,638 whites and 1,459 blacks. These women were interviewed yearly from 1968 thru 1975.

The National Longitudinal Survey (NLS) is a panel study, made up of information provided at a number of points in time for the same individual. Because of this it is possible to examine in detail the dynamics of young women's experiences. The survey contains information on personal and social characteristics such as age, race, education, marital status, and fertility. It also includes information on job characteristics such as wages, tenure, number of hours worked, and Duncan SES scores. Questions measuring attitudes toward work, job search behavior, and number of jobs held are also included in the NLS data.

Because the National Longitudinal Survey is a panel study, both cross-sectional and longitudinal analysis of the nature of women's labor force experiences can be performed. This permits a clearer establishment of directions of causation than would be possible with cross-sectional data alone.

For the young women under consideration, the years between 1968 and 1975 represent a period of maturation. For many of these women, the seven-year interval encompassed leaving school, labor market entry, marriage and childbearing. In addition, the 1968 to 1975 period is often thought to be a period of significant social change for women. An analysis of this data can lead to a better understanding of some important aspects of women's early work experiences.

Significance

This research deals with the labor force experience of young women, and it is expected that some of the findings may have implications for social policy and programs. This research may influence social policy in three major areas:

1. A better understanding of the labor force experiences of women will facilitate recognition of barriers to women's occupational mobility. Social programs to eliminate these barriers can then be formulated.

2. Knowledge of the occupational mobility process for women will help pinpoint disadvantaged groups who will benefit from social action programs.

3. This study uses longitudinal data that allows the labor force experiences of women to be viewed as a process. Studying this process will allow the determination of the point in career development where intervention, in the form of social programs, would be most effective.

CHAPTER 2

WHO WORKS OUTSIDE THE HOME?

Cultural concepts about the differences between men and women are deeply established. These stereotypes seem to derive from the necessary division of labor in much earlier times. A male's superior physical strength suited him to the tasks of hunting and providing protection from enemies. The constraints of childbearing and childrearing led women to remain behind. Although in our current technological society this rigid division of labor is not necessary, the concepts of appropriate sex role behavior formed in earlier times still exist. Rosenkrantz et al. (1968) define sex role stereotypes as consensual beliefs about the different characteristics of men and women in our society. Sex role stereotypes are now maintained primarily by attitudes and beliefs that have been institutionalized and pervade every aspect of our lives.

During the past decade, the feminist movement brought public attention to the negative consequences of sex role stereotyping. Nevertheless, although some individuals may be reconsidering their traditional sex roles, there has been little change in the public's attitude toward appropriate sex roles (Broverman, 1972). Sheriff and McKee (1957) asked male and female college students to indicate which words characterized men and women. The description

of men included competent, rational, and effective in dealing with the environment. In contrast, women were found to be irrational and emotional. Broverman (1972) concluded that sex role stereotypes exist independently of age, sex, religion, and education. These stereotypes are well defined and persistent. They serve to limit the options of women and foster the primacy of the homemaker role. Matthew and Tiedman (1964) studied the attitudes of women in three developmental stages toward career and marriage. The majority of subjects in each developmental stage--junior high school, high school, and young adults--hoped to be married and not involved in a career ten years later. Osipow (1973) found one of the principal difficulties surrounding the career development of women to be the central position that marriage occupies in their future plans. Boys grow up anticipating a career, while women have been socialized to anticipate marriage. Nevertheless, since the turn of the century, there has been an increase in the number of women working outside the home. Currently, over 51% of American women are in the labor force. However, women's work is still often viewed as secondary to her role as wife and mother and subordinate to the needs and desires of husband and children. Block (1973), in her study of the long-term effects of sex role stereotyping, found a negative

relationship between socialization and occupational commitment as defined by seeking employment and a negative relationship between femininity and advancement in one's occupation.

Women who pursue both career and marriage often experience role conflict (Epstein, 1970). The woman is still expected to shoulder the responsibility of housekeeping and childrearing in the family, and the man is expected to be the major breadwinner.

Women also face some geographical barriers to their career pursuits not faced by men. Social expectations are for the man's occupation to determine the family's area of residence, not the woman's.

Clearly, women face many obstacles in their career development, yet they are entering the labor force in increasing numbers. This chapter discusses the factors that influence a woman's participation in the labor force. Participation is measured by whether or not a woman was working full-time in 1975. Only women not attending school full-time are considered. The factors to be examined include background factors, familial factors, social factors, and attitudinal factors.

Background Factors

As the first and primary group, the potential of the family of orientation to influence a woman's work behavior is strong. The father's occupational status, as measured by the Duncan scale, can be viewed as an indicator of overall family socioeconomic status. Vocational aspirations are known to be related to family's socioeconomic levels. Brown (1970) found that children from lower socioeconomic levels have lower vocational aspirations than do children from higher socioeconomic levels. However, when the relationship between socioeconomic status and career interest is applied to women, conflicting findings emerge. Goldsen (1960), Siegel and Curtis (1963), and Almquist and Angrist (1971) have concluded that the level of the father's occupation does not influence the career orientation of the daughters. On the other hand, Kosa et al. (1962) concluded that marriage orientation is positively correlated with lower socioeconomic levels. The more recent, larger sample questioned here may shed some light upon the subject. Table 2.1 shows the relationship between the respondent's labor force participation and the father's occupational status.

TABLE 2.1

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY

FATHER'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

	Father's Occupational Status	
Labor Force Status	Low	High
Not working full-time	52%	52%
Working full-time	48%	48%
Total Percent	100%	100%
Total Cases	(3236)	(1419)

Table 2.1 shows that the father's occupational status does not affect his daughter's labor force participation. Forty-eight percent of those with low-status fathers and 48% of those with high-status fathers were employed full-time.

A woman's mother is expected to strongly influence her development. The fact that girls identify with their mothers is well-documented. As early as 1953, Beier and Ratzburg found that girls identify more strongly with their mothers than with their fathers. Through the developmental process of identification, a mother serves as a role model for her daughter. The mother's traditional or nontraditional female role concepts influence her daughter's occupational behavior. Research has shown that identification with a

model who has stereotypically female characteristics is associated with little interest in career development (Heilbrun, 1969). It is known that the mother's work orientation is related to the desire to work among young women (Siegel and Curis, 1963; Almquist and Angrist, 1971). Table 2.2 relates the respondent's labor force status to whether her mother worked outside the home during the respondent's teenage years.

TABLE 2.2

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY

MOTHER'S LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

	Mother's Labor Force Participation	
Labor Force Status	Did Not Work	Did Work
Not working full-time	54	50
Working full-time	46	50
Total Percent	100%	100%
Total Cases	(2736)	(1722)

Table 2.2 shows that those who have working mothers are slightly more likely to be currently in the labor force than those whose mothers do not work outside the home.

The status level of her mother's job may also influence a woman's labor force participation. Those whose mothers have high-status jobs are more likely to be exposed to

positive attitudes toward work, since high-status jobs usually have better working conditions and higher wages. These positive attitudes may lead to a higher labor force participation rate among women whose mother's held high-status jobs. Table 2.3 relates the respondent's labor force participation to her mother's occupational status as measured by the Duncan scale (see Appendix B).

TABLE 2.3

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY

MOTHERS' OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

	Mother's Occupational Status	
Labor Force Status	Low	High
Not working full-time	61	65
Working full-time	39	35
Total Percent	100%	100%
Total Cases	(840)	(850)

Contrary to expectations, those women whose mothers have high-status occupations are slightly less likely to be working full-time than those women whose mothers have lower status occupations.

A woman's attitude toward work, and thus her labor force participation, may also be influenced by the SES of her family of origin. A mother who worked for her own

personal fulfillment is more likely to instill in her daughter positive attitudes toward work than a mother who works strictly from economic necessity. Mother's labor force participation and family SES are both expected to influence labor force participation rates. The family SES is measured by using the Duncan scale of the father's occupation. Table 2.4 shows the relationship between the respondent's labor force participation and her mother's labor force participation controlling for SES.

TABLE 2.4

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY MOTHER'S LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY FAMILY SES

	Percent Working Full-Time	
	Mother's Labor Force Participation	
Family SES	Did Not Work	Did Work
Low	46% (882)	50% (560)
Medium	42% (823)	49% (614)
High	45% (886)	47% (430)

Table 2.4 shows that women whose mothers worked have slightly higher rates of labor force participation than women whose mothers did not work at every socioeconomic level. Among those whose mothers do not work, socioeconomic level had virtually no effect on participation rates. The same is true for those whose mothers worked outside the home.

Familial Factors

Familial factors are expected to have a strong influence on labor force participation rates. One factor expected to have a particularly strong influence is marital status. Cultural attitudes toward the role of women still foster the traditional roles of wife and mother. While opposition to the labor force participation of single women has diminished, once a woman marries the issue of working outside the home becomes more problematic because it is potentially disruptive of traditional sex roles. Nevertheless, there has been a substantial increase in the percentage of married women in the labor force over the past twenty-five years. The relationship between labor force participation and marital status is examined in Table 2.5.

TABLE 2.5

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY MARITAL STATUS

	Marital Status		
Labor Force Status	Married	Separated Divorced	Never Married
Not working full-time	47%	36%	32%
Working full-time	53%	64%	68%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(2738)	(541)	(964)

The expectation that married women are less likely to be in the labor market is supported in Table 2.5. However, even among the married women more than half of the respondents are in the full-time labor force. As degree of involvement with marriage increases, labor force participation rates decrease. Sixty-eight percent of single women worked full-time compared to only 53% of married women.

Realization of the traditional female sex role is also dependent upon the presence of children. In addition, raising children requires an expenditure of time and energy that may preclude the mother's full-time employment. Tropman (1968) studied the employment patterns of social workers and found the presence of young children to be a significant variable in determining if a woman will be employed in the future. The number of children is expected to be inversely related to the probability of a woman's employment. Table 2.6 examines the relationship between number of children and labor force participation.

TABLE 2.6

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Labor Force Status	Number of Children			
	0	1	2	3 or More
Not working full-time	26%	41%	56%	59%
Working full-time	74%	59%	44%	41%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1571)	(990)	(1031)	(649)

The probability of a woman's working full-time decreases dramatically as the number of children increase. There is more than thirty percentage points difference between the participation rates of women with no children and women with three or more children.

For married women another factor expected to influence labor force participation is the husband's income. Sobol (1963) found that financial reasons are the most frequent motives given by working wives for their employment. Women from high income families may view working as an option while women from low-income families find it an economic necessity. The relationship between the husband's income and labor force participation rates is examined in Table 2.7.

TABLE 2.7

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY HUSBAND'S INCOME

	Married Women Only Husband's Income		
Labor Force Status	Low	Medium	High
Not working full-time	40%	51%	62%
Working full-time	60%	49%	38%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1205)	(965)	(360)

As expected, Table 2.7 shows an inverse relationship between labor force participation and the husband's income. The probability of a woman's working decreases as her husband's income increases. Sixty percent of women from low-income families work full-time compared to 38% of women from high-income families.

The effect of fertility may be mediated by the husband's income. Bowen and Finnegan (1969) discuss several ways in which the presence of children may influence the labor force participation of women. Children increase the amount of work to be done in the home. However, they also increase the families' need for income. These factors have opposing influences on women's labor force participation by reducing the probability that the wife will be able to work outside

the home, while, at the same time, increasing the need for her to participate in the labor force. The deciding factor here will probably be the husband's income or the wife's earning ability. Table 2.8 examines the relationship between labor force participation and number of children, controlling for the husband's income.

TABLE 2.8

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN BY HUSBAND'S INCOME

	Married Women Only % Working Full-Time Number of Children			
Husband's Income	0	1	2	3 or More
Low	76% (340)	62% (320)	53% (320)	44% (25)
Medium	73% (230)	51% (268)	37% (302)	34% (10)
High	76% (73)	42% (73)	24% (144)	19% (6)

Table 2.8 shows that for women at all income levels labor force participation rates decrease as the number of children increases. These rates, however, decrease most sharply for women from high-income families. Participation rates for women with no children are very similar at all income levels. Participation rates become increasingly dissimilar among women with different income levels as the number of children increases. For those women with three

or more children, their husbands' income has the strongest influence on labor force participation. Women from low-income families with three or more children are more than twice as likely to be in the labor force as women with three or more children from high-income families. Fully 44% of those women from low-income families with three or more children are working full-time.

Social Factors

A woman's age may be relevant to her labor force status because age is an indicator of position in the life cycle. A woman in her early twenties may not yet have married and begun childbearing and, therefore, has fewer restrictions on her ability to work outside the home. By the time she has reached her late twenties, marriage and childbearing is likely to have taken place, thus inhibiting her labor force participation. Haller and Rosenmayr (1971) compared the work commitment of white- and blue-collar women. Among white-collar workers, the desire to continue working increased with age. Among blue-collar workers, work commitment did not vary with age. The relationship between labor force participation and age is examined in Table 2.9.

TABLE 2.9

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY AGE

	Age		
Labor Force Status	Under 25	25-29	30-32
Not working full-time	49%	53%	63%
Working full-time	51%	47%	37%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1498)	(2515)	(1123)

Table 9.2 shows that, as age increases, labor force participation rates decrease. Women under thirty are somewhat more likely to be employed full-time than women over thirty.

Age, in addition to marital status, is another indicator of position in the life cycle. Labor force participation rates are likely to vary by both age and marital status because of the changes in family obligations that usually occur with age. Baruch (1967) hypothesized that changes in women's need for achievement were associated with age and family situation. The relationship between labor force participation and age, controlling for marital status, is examined in Table 2.10.

TABLE 2.10

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY AGE

BY MARITAL STATUS

	% Working Full-Time		
	Age		
Marital Status	21-25	26-29	30-32
Married	62% (658)	53% (1387)	40% (693)
Divorced Separated	62% (114)	63% (186)	61% (136)
Never Married	56% (494)	72% (372)	65% (96)

When age is examined, controlling for marital status, additional information is brought to light. Among married women, as age increases, labor force participation rates decline. Married women over thirty have the lowest participiation rates of any of the groups considered. For women who are divorced, separated, or widowed, labor force participation rates hardly vary with age. For women who have never married, the relationship between labor force participation and age is curvilinear. For those women labor force participation rates peak between 26 and 29.

Race is a factor that has been repeatedly shown to influence an individual's life experience. These experiences include employment. The labor force participation of women is expected in the black community to a much greater extent than in the white community. Axelson

(1970) found that 68.7% of black men agreed with the statement that a wife should work if she wants to. Only 48.1% of white men agree with that statement. Table 2.11 shows the relationship between labor force participation and race.

TABLE 2.11

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY RACE

	Race	
Labor Force Status	White	Black
Not working full-time	54%	48%
Working full-time	46%	52%
Total Percent	100%	100%
Total Cases	(3638)	(1459)

Table 2.11 shows that black women are somewhat more likely to be in the full-time labor force than white women. Fifty-two percent of black women are working full-time compared to 46% of white women. One possible explanation for this finding is that, because black men are disproportionately relegated to lower paying occupations, the black wife must work to support the family. The relationship between labor force participation and race, controlling for the husband's income, is examined in Table 2.12.

TABLE 2.12

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY RACE

BY HUSBAND'S INCOME

	Married Women Only % Working Full-Time Race	
Husband's Income	White	Black
Low	59% (861)	64% (328)
Medium	45% (827)	69% (130)
High	35% (3391)	68% (19)

Table 2.12 shows that black women have higher labor force participation rates than white women at every income level. For women from low-income families, the racial difference in participation rates is small. The difference increases as income increases. Among women from high-income families, blacks are almost twice as likely to work outside the home as whites. For white women labor force participation rates decrease as their husbands' income increases. For black women participation rates remain stable regardless of their husbands' income.

Education is a factor that is expected to be positively related to labor force experience. There are several reasons for expecting this. Bowen and Finnegan (1969:114) write:

> Additional years of schooling increase a woman's expected earnings and thus encourage her to substitute time in the labor market for time she might otherwise have spent at home...Years of school completed may serve as a proxy for underlying tastes for market work and for natural aptitudes for employment.

The relationship between labor force participation and education is examined in Table 2.13.

TABLE 2.13

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY EDUCATION

	Education			
Labor Force Status	Less Than High School	High School Graduate	Some College	College Degree Or More
Not working full-time	53%	42%	35%	32%
Working full-time	47%	58%	65%	68%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(760)	(1893)	(602)	(575)

Table 2.13 illustrates that, as education increases, labor force participation increases. There is a 21 percent difference in participation rates of women with less than high school education and those who are college graduates.

Attitudinal Factors

Sex role attitudes are expected to influence labor force behavior. Those women with traditional attitudes toward women's roles are expected to have lower labor force

participation rates than women with less traditional attitudes. In order to examine this premise, an additive index of sex role attitudes was developed (see Appendix A). This index was recoded into three categories: (1) Strongly Traditional Sex Role Attitudes; (2) Middle Level Sex Role Attitudes; and (3) Non-Traditional Sex Role Attitudes. The relationship between labor force participation rates and sex role attitudes is shown in Table 2.14.

TABLE 2.14

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY SEX ROLE ATTITUDES

	Sex Role Attitudes		
Labor Force Status	Strongly Traditional	Moderate	Non-Traditional
Not working full-time	55%	47%	43%
Working full-time	45%	53%	57%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1542)	(1441)	(1379)

An examination of Table 2.14 shows that women with strongly traditional sex role attitudes are less likely to be employed than women with less traditional attitudes.

A woman's labor force participation may be influenced not only by her attitudes toward women's roles but also by more practical factors. A woman from a low-income family may be forced to work out of economic necessity, regardless

of her attitudes. Table 2.15 shows the relationship between labor force participation and sex role attitudes, controlling for the husband's income.

TABLE 2.15

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY SEX ROLE ATTITUDES AND BY HUSBAND'S INCOME

	Married Women Only % Working Full-Time Sex Role Attitudes		
Husband's Income	Strongly Traditional	Moderate	Non-Traditional
Low	52% (400)	62% (443)	68% (334)
Medium	39% (306)	52% (369)	54% (278)
High	29% (137)	40% (133)	45% (84)

An examination of Table 2.15 shows that non-traditional women have high labor force participation rates than traditional women at every income level. However, participation rates decrease as the husband's income increases, regardless of sex role attitudes. Women with non-traditional attitudes, from low-income families, have the highest labor force participation rates. Women from high-income families with strongly traditional sex role attitudes have the lowest labor force participation rates. There is approximately a 15 percent difference in

the labor force participation rates of traditional and non-traditional women at every income level.

Multiple Regression

The previous section discussed the ways in which the individual variables were related to labor force participation. The interaction of these variables and their relative importance in influencing labor market behavior will now be examined using the technique of multiple regression. This technique allows analysis of the relationship between a dependent variable and several independent variables. It also facilitates the evaluation of the overall dependence of a variable on a group of other variables. In this analysis the variables that were shown to influence work behavior in the previous sections were regressed against labor force status. In order to take the interdependence of variables into account when considering how they relate to one another in influencing labor force participation, step-wise regression was used. The variables were entered into the equation on the basis of degree of influence.

The following variables were entered into the equation:

labor force participation (dependent variable)	labor force participation in 1975 coded 1 if working full-time coded 0 if not working full-time

number of children in 1975	actual number
education	number of school years completed
mother's occupational status father's occupational status	Duncan scale
age	
marital status	coded 1 if married coded 0 if not married

Table 2.16A shows the influence of the above variables on labor force participation for black women. Table 2.16B shows the same information for white women.

TABLE 2.16A

INFLUENCE OF SELECTED VARIABLES ON LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

Black Women Only

	Step Number					
Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
Number of children	-.20*	-.14*	-.15*	-.12*	-.12*	-.13*
Education		.14*	.17*	.19*	.18*	.18*
Mother's occupational status			.09*	.10*	.11*	.11*
Age				.09*	.08*	.09
Father's occupational status					.05*	.05*
Marital status						.04
R^2	.07	.09	.10	.11	.11	.11

Standardized Regression Coefficient

*Significant at .05 level.

TABLE 2.16B

INFLUENCE ON SELECTED VARIABLES ON LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

White Women Only

Variable	Step Number 1	2	3	4	5	6
Number of children	-.31*	-.27*	-.28*	-.25*	-.25*	-.25*
Education		-.12	-.13*	-.12*	-.12*	-.12*
Mother's occupational status			.04*	.05*	.06*	.06*
Age				.04*	.04*	.04*
Father's occupational status					.03	.03
Marital status						-.004
R^2	.9	.10	.11	.12	.13	.13

Standardized Regression Coefficient

*Significant at .05 level.

Table 2.16B shows that for black women, when all variables are considered, family size is the strongest determinant of labor force participation. Although the strength of this variable diminishes somewhat when other variables are added to the equation, its influence remains strong and significant. Education also has a significant effect on work behavior. In fact, the influence of education increases somewhat when the other variables are considered. Both parents' occupational status and age have a small but still significant effect on labor force

participation. For black women, the influence of marital status on labor force participation is not statistically significant. These six variables, taken together, account for 11% of the variance in labor force participation for black women.

Table 2.16A shows that, for white women, the story is somewhat different. Fertility is the strongest determinant of labor force participation. However, the second most important influence is marital status, which is moderately strong and significant. Both parents' occupational status and age maintain a small but still significant influence on this aspect of work behavior. Education, which was the second most important determinant of labor force participation for black women, is, for white women, very small and not statistically significant. For white women, the six variables taken together account for 13% of the variance in labor force participation.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the factor that has the greatest influence of labor force participation is fertility. For both black and white women the number of children has a strong negative effect on their working full-time. This influence remains regardless of the husband's

income. For black women, education has a strong positive effect on labor force participation, for the more education a black woman has the more likely she is to be in the full-time labor force. The effect of education on the labor force participation of white women is much smaller. The background variables of the mother's and the father's occupational status have a small but still significant influence for both black and white women. Marital status strongly influences the labor force participation of white women, but has little effect on the participation of black women.

CHAPTER 3

WOMEN IN MALE OCCUPATIONS

Occupational segregation by sex has long been a feature of the American labor force. Since the turn of the century, every census has shown that the great majority of female workers were concentrated in jobs that were disproportionately female. In 1970, more than one-third of working women were concentrated in seven typically female occupations: secretary, saleswoman in retail store, private household workers, teacher in elementary school, bookkeeper, waitress, and nurse (Lyle, 1973).

The degree of occupational segregation has not changed much over the years. Gross (1968) found that 66.9% of women and/or men would have had to change their occupations in order to equalize the occupational sex distribution. The comparable figure in 1920 was 68.4% with minimal variations in between. Sell and Johnson (1977), using Gross's index, found that in 1970 65.3% of men and women would have to change occupations in order to equalize the occupational sex distribution.

Lapidus (1976) sees two types of occupational segregation. The first, horizontal segregation, refers to a distribution of workers that results in certain occupations being dominated by women and others by men. The second dimension is the vertical stratification of

individual occupations. The proportion of women declines at successively higher levels of responsibility, status, and income in all professions, even those dominated by women.

To the extent that an occupational category becomes associated with a particular sex, it is sex typed, according to Merton, and sex becomes a salient feature of the occupational status (Epstein, 1970). Women in occupations usually defined as male are violating important social norms. Social definitions of appropriate behavior for women have recently expanded to include paid labor force participation, but this participation is still expected to be in occupations that can be viewed as an extension of the traditional female role and utilizes such "womanly" attributes as nurturance. Thus it is viewed as natural for women to work as schoolteachers and nurses but somewhat deviant for women to work as firefighters and police officers.

Society's pervasive view of what is appropriate behavior for women is learned at an early age. Schlossberg and Goodman (1972) found that, as early as the elementary grades, children are already aware of the sex typing of occupations. This awareness continues through adolescence (Harmon, 1971).

Occupational segregation takes place in two interrelated ways: first, through structural barriers that

limit women's entry into certain sex-typed occupations; and through the formation and exercise of individual preferences in which women are socialized to choose predominantly female occupations. Psathas (1968) summed up these dual processes: "An understanding of the factors which influence the entry of women into occupational roles must begin with the relationship between sex role and occupational role."

Occupational segregation has important ramifications for society. Not only does it limit women's occupational options, it limits their income levels. Knudsen (1969) found a negative relationship between levels of income and the percentage of women in occupational categories. Bridges and Berk (1978) found income disparities in male and female typed jobs. This disparity continued after adjusting for job qualifications and work complexity. Hartman (1976:139) recognized the consequences of occupational segregation, writing: "Job segregation by sex is a major mechanism for maintaining the superiority of men over women."

Given the disadvantage suffered by women in typically female occupations, an understanding of the different social and demographic characteristics of women in predominantly male and predominantly female jobs is important. This

understanding may facilitate recognition of barriers to women's participation in a wider range of occupations.

The Dependent Variable

This chapter focuses on women in predominantly male occupations. These women are occupational innovators and, like all innovators, are likely to be viewed by society as unusual or even deviant. Epstein (1970) asserts that occupational sex segregation becomes salient to the individual, to the degree that she finds herself in the minority in a profession. The "atypicality index" found in the National Longitudinal Survey's data affirms Epstein's assertion. This index measures the difference for each occupational category and women as a percentage of the civilian labor force. If this number is negative, women are underrepresented in that occupation and it is classified as atypical. If this number is positive, women are overrepresented and the occupation is labeled typical. Examples of atypical occupations are coal miner, doctor, and plumber. Examples of typical female occupations are nurse, seamstress, and receptionist.

Background Factors

The family, as one of the major agencies of socialization, is expected to influence work behavior. White

(1959) concludes that girls show a closer degree of identification with their mothers than with their fathers. Therefore, the mother's influence on her daughter's occupation is expected to be particularly strong. Sorensen and Winters (1975:38) write:

> Through the developmental process of identification, a mother functions as a role model for her daughter; that is a daughter may model her mother's role behavior or concepts. The mother's traditional or non-traditional female role concepts will influence her daughter's vocational behavior.

A number of small-scale studies have been done on background factors relating to occupational role innovation. Tangri (1972) reports that orientation toward a non-traditional career is associated with the mother's employment and with her role innovation. Almquist and Angrist (1970) also found that atypical career goals are associated with the mother's work and role innovation. On the other hand, Trigg and Perlman (1976) and Klemmack and Edwards (1973) reported that the mother's occupational status had no influence on her daughter's occupational role innovation.

There has been little consistency in findings on the relationship of the mother's achievements to her daughter's occupational choice in these small-scale studies. The

larger sample, used in this study, may shed some light on this important subject.

Her mother's accomplishments in the educational and occupational world are expected to influence a daughter's career orientation. Higher educational and occupational achievements of the mother are expected to influence a woman in the direction of atypical careers. This influence would probably take place through direct learning from maternal values, a decrease in the sexual division of labor in the parental home, and greater independence associated with maternal employment.

Table 3.1 shows the relationship between occupational innovation and the mother's labor force participation.

TABLE 3.1

OCCUPATIONAL ROLE INNOVATION BY

MOTHER'S LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

	Mother's Labor Force Participation	
Occupation	Did Not Work	Worked
Typical female	84	84
Atypical female	16	16
Total Percent	100%	100%
Total Cases	(2259)	(1433)

An examination of Table 3.1 reveals that the mother's labor

force participation has no effect on her daughter's occupational innovation.

The mother's educational level is expected to influence the daughter's occupational innovation. Those mothers with higher education and high achievement motivation are more aware of the options available to women and thus likely to influence their daughters in the direction of atypicality.

Table 3.2 shows the relationship between the mother's education and her daughter's occupational innovation.

TABLE 3.2

OCCUPATIONAL INNOVATION BY MOTHER'S EDUCATION

	Mother's Education			
Occupation	Less Than High School	High School	Some College	College Graduate or More
Typical female	84	86	85	80
Atypical female	16	14	15	20
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1931)	(1367)	(295)	(231)

Table 3.2 shows that the mother's higher education influences occupational role innovation in the direction of atypicality. Those whose mothers are college graduates are somewhat more likely to be in atypical occupations than those whose mothers have less education.

The mother's work experience will be influenced by

her educational level. Mothers with higher education are more likely to have had better jobs with more comfortable working conditions and higher pay. Those women whose mother's had better jobs are more likely to have been exposed to positive attitudes toward working. Therefore, they may be more committed to work and thus seek more innovative occupations.

Table 3.3 illustrates the relationship between occupational innovation and the mother's labor force participation controlling for the mother's education.

TABLE 3.3

OCCUPATIONAL INNOVATION BY MOTHER'S LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND BY MOTHER'S EDUCATION

	Mother's Labor Force Participation	
Mother's Education	Did Not Work	Worked
Less than high school	17% (987)	18% (632)
High school graduate	13% (764)	14% (486)
Some college	16% (172)	11% (97)
College graduate or more	24% (109)	16% (99)

Table 3.3 shows that, among those women whose mothers have a high school diploma or less, the mother's labor force participation has little influence on rates of atypicality. For those women with mothers who have at least

some college education, those whose mothers did not work at more likely to hold atypical occupations. This relationship is particularly strong for women whose mothers were college graduates.

However, the influence the mother's labor force participation has on her family is likely to be affected by the SES of the family. A woman from a high SES family is likely to be working from choice rather than necessity. The high status level of the family will also enable the hiring of substitutes to take over some of the household duties often performed by the mother. The mother's job, then, is likely to be seen by all family members as a positive experience rather than a necessary evil. This viewpoint is likely to influence the later work experiences of the daughter in the direction of atypicality.

The measure of SES to be used here is the Duncan scale of the father's occupation. As previously mentioned, this scale combines measures of occupational prestige, expected income, and educational level.

Table 3.4 shows the relationship between occupational innovation and the mother's labor force participation, controlling for family SES.

TABLE 3.4

OCCUPATIONAL INNOVATION BY MOTHER'S LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY FAMILY SES

	Percent in Atypical Occupations Mother's Labor Force Participation	
Family SES	Did Not Work	Worked
Low	20 (734)	17 (458)
Medium	10 (654)	17 (504)
High	17 (759)	14 (374)

A careful examination of Table 3.4 reveals that, among those women from families with a medium SES, those whose mothers worked are more likely to be in atypical occupations. Among those women from families with a high or low SES, those whose mothers worked are slightly less likely to be in atypical occupations.

One explanation for this may be that, for low SES families, wives working may be viewed as an economically necessary evil. This attitude may foster stereotypical attitudes toward women's roles and thus more typical occupations for the daughter. Among high SES families, the mother's choice to work allows her less time and ability to support her husband's career. This support is especially necessary for husbands in high SES occupations, and its lack may have negative repercussions on the husband's

occupational success. Thus her working may be viewed with ambivalence by the mother and negatively by the father. Therefore, the daughter may have a conflict between her drive for achievement and her desire to realize the feminine role. One way this conflict may be resolved is by working, but in a typical occupation.

Among families with medium levels of SES, the mother is not likely to be working strictly from economic necessity, nor is her husband's career success likely to be influenced by large expenditures of her time and talents. All family members, then, are likely to see the mother's work in a positive light.

Another element of the labor force experience of her mother is the status level of her occupation. Mothers who work at higher status occupations, as measured by the Duncan scale, are likely to be more committed to their careers and reap greater rewards from working. They thus present a more positive role model of the working woman and may influence a daughter's choice in the direction of atypicality.

Table 3.5 illustrates the relationship between occupational innovation and the mother's occupational status.

TABLE 3.5

OCCUPATIONAL INNOVATION BY

STATUS OF MOTHER'S OCCUPATION

	Mother's Status		
Occupation	Low	Medium	High
Typical female	80	84	87
Atypical female	20	16	13
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(556)	(317)	(533)

A careful examination of Table 3.5 reveals that, contrary to expectations, as the mother's occupational status increases, rates of atypicality decreased. This, in addition to the evidence in Table 3.12, may indicate that women who have more options prefer typical occupations. Reubens (1979:119) writes: "Superior job environment and working conditions and greater stability of employment in many typical jobs may offset the higher pay available in suitable atypical jobs."

Atypicality of the mother's occupation is expected to influence the work role of her daughter by providing a model for occupational choice.

The relationship between the respondent's occupational innovation and the mother's occupational innovation is examined in Table 3.6.

TABLE 3.6

OCCUPATIONAL INNOVATION BY MOTHER'S OCCUPATIONAL INNOVATION

	Mother's Occupation	
Occupation	Typical Female	Atypical Female
Typical female	85%	80%
Atypical female	15%	20%
Total Percent	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1385)	(371)

Scrutiny of Table 3.6 reveals that those whose mothers worked in atypical occupations have slightly higher rates of atypicality.

The educational goal her parents had for her is expected to influence the daughter's occupational innovativeness. Those whose parents desired them to achieve educationally are likely to have high achievement and mobility aspirations. They would, therefore, be expected to have higher rates of atypicality.

Table 3.7 shows the relationship between occupational innovation and the parents' educational goal.

TABLE 3.7

OCCUPATIONAL INNOVATION BY EDUCATIONAL GOAL OF PARENTS

	Educational Goal of Parents			
Occupation	Less Than High School	High School Graduate	Some College	College Graduate or More
Typical female	81%	83%	85%	85%
Atypical female	19%	17%	15%	15%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(192)	(1787)	(204)	(1861)

A careful examination of Table 3.7 reveals that, surprisingly, as the educational goal her parents have for her increase, rates of atypicality decrease. Those whose parents desired them to achieve less than a high school education were slightly more likely to be in atypical occupations than those whose parents wished them to complete college.

The explanation for this may lie in the wide range of occupations which are atypically female. Such occupations range from truckdrivers and dock workers, which traditionally require little education, to medical positions that require years of postgraduate study.

In addition, Lyle (1973) has found that one characteristic of occupations in which most women are concentrated is that, although wages are low, the amount of education required is high.

Women whose parents had high educational goals for them may be concentrated in the heavily female professions such as teacher and social worker.

The influence of background variables on rates of atypicality seem conflicting. It was expected that the mother's high level occupational and educational achievements would influence her daughter in the direction of atypicality. This expectation was not fully realized. Women whose mothers were highly educated or who worked in atypical occupations were more likely to be in atypical occupations. However, women whose mothers had high-status occupations were more likely to be in typical occupations. In addition, those women whose parents had high educational goals for them were less likely to be in atypical occupations.

Familial Factors

In the previous chapter, familial factors were shown to have a strong influence on women's occupations. Marital status was particularly important in determining rates of labor force participation. It is expected that marital status will also influence occupational role innovation.

Tangri (1972) found that women who prefer atypical occupations were more likely to delay marriage than women

who prefer typical occupations. Feldman (1973) noted that single and married women are more likely to report that their family takes precedence over their career. Separated and divorced women saw their careers as being more important to them.

This leads to the prediction that women who are not married will have higher atypicality rates than women who are currently married.

Table 3.8 shows the relationship between occupational innovation and marital status.

TABLE 3.8

OCCUPATIONAL INNOVATION BY MARITAL STATUS

	Marital Status		
Occupation	Married	Separated Divorced	Never Married
Typical female	85%	79%	85%
Atypical female	15%	21%	15%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(2530)	(440)	(1290)

Scrutiny of Table 3.8 shows that, as expected, separated and divorced women have higher rates of atypicality. Never-married women, however, have atypicality rates equal to that of married women. One explanation for this finding is that divorced women without a husband or the need to find one

having precedence in their lives are freer to violate social norms about appropriate female behavior and thus seek atypical occupations. Another possibility is that divorced women need the higher wages, often found in atypical occupations, to support their children.

Family size is known to influence women's labor force participation (Bowen and Finnegan, 1969; Sweet, 1973). The more children a woman had the less likely she was to be in the labor force. It is likely that family size also influences rates of atypicality. Katelman (1968) found that traditional-oriented women had more children living at home than did modern-oriented women. Since traditional-oriented women are likely to be in traditional occupations, it is predicted that, the larger the size of the family, the lower the rates of atypicality.

Table 3.9 examines the relationship between occupational innovation and the number of children.

TABLE 3.9

OCCUPATIONAL INNOVATION BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN

	Number of Children			
Occupation	None	One	Two	Three or More
Typical female	85%	85%	84%	80%
Atypical female	15%	15%	16%	20%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1940)	(1034)	(805)	(481)

The prediction that the larger the family size the lower the rates of atypicality is not supported by the data. Women with three or more children are more likely to be in atypical occupations. Perhaps a woman with three or more children needs the higher wages usually found in atypical occupations to support her family.

In the previous chapter, the husband's income was found to have a strong effect on labor force participation. The higher the husband's income the lower the participation rates. Katekman (1968) found no family income differences between modern and traditionally work-oriented women. However, women from low-income families may need the higher pay associated with atypical occupations.

The relationship between occupational innovation and the husband's income is examined in Table 3.10.

TABLE 3.10

OCCUPATIONAL INNOVATION BY HUSBAND'S INCOME

	Married Women Only Husband's Income		
Occupation	Low	Medium	High
Typical female	84%	86%	84%
Atypical female	16%	14%	16%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1047)	(934)	(447)

The husband's income had virtually no influence on rates of atypicality.

However, the husband's income by itself does not determine the family's financial situation. Family size is an important determinant of the need for income. For women from low-income families, as the family size increases, the greater the need for the higher pay associated with traditionally male occupations. The need is not as great for women from higher income families.

Table 3.11 shows the relationship between family size and occupational innovation, controlling for the husband's income.

TABLE 3.11

OCCUPATIONAL INNOVATION BY FAMILY SIZE BY HUSBAND'S INCOME

	% in Atypical Occupations			
	Number of Children			
Husband's Income	None	One	Two	Three or More
Low	13%(493)	15%(498)	18%(211)	20% (211)
High	17%(193)	16%(225)	12%(275)	11% (132)

The data support the contention that one reason women with many children work in atypical occupations is because of their need for income. For women from low-income families, as the family size increased, so did the rates of atypicality. For women from higher income families, as the

number of children increased, the rates of atypicality went down. Among those women with three or more children, those from low-income families were almost twice as likely to be in atypical occupations than those from high-income families. Katelman's findings on middle-income women do not hold true for lower income women.

Social Factors

A woman's age has been shown to be crucial to her labor force participation (Havens, 1973; Sweet, 1973) and, therefore, belongs in an examination of occupational innovation. Age is an indicator of position in the life cycle and may influence occupation. Katelman (1968) found modern work-oriented women to be older, while traditionally oriented women are younger. In addition, the varied experiences of older women may lead to awareness of a broader range of occupational possibilities.

Table 3.12 shows the relationship between occupational innovation and age.

TABLE 3.12

OCCUPATIONAL INNOVATION BY AGE

	Age		
Occupation	19-22	23-27	28-31
Typical female	87%	84%	81%
Atypical female	13%	16%	19%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(933)	(2077)	(1245)

Table 3.12 shows that, as age increases, occupational atypicality increases slightly.

Race is a factor expected to influence occupational innovation. Epstein (1973) noted that a greater percentage of black women enter "masculine" professions than do white women. One of the reasons proposed for the racial discrepancy is that black female professionals pose less threat to the white male establishment than do black males, and thus are allowed to enter these occupations.

Table 3.13 shows the relationship between occupational innovation and race.

TABLE 3.13

OCCUPATIONAL INNOVATION BY RACE

	Race	
Occupation	White	Black
Typical female	85%	82%
Atypical female	15%	18%
Total Percent	100%	100%
Total Cases	(3042)	(1171)

A careful examination of Table 3.14 shows that black women are slightly more likely to be in atypical occupations than white women.

Another possible explanation for this finding is that, because black men are disproportionately concentrated on the

lower end of the economic scale, the family may need the higher wages found in atypical occupations.

Table 3.14 shows the relationship between occupational innovation and race, controlling for the husband's income.

TABLE 3.14

OCCUPATIONAL INNOVATION BY RACE BY HUSBAND'S INCOME

	% in Atypical Occupations	
	Race	
Husband's Income	White	Black
Low	15% (466)	27% (200)
Medium	13% (685)	17% (173)
High	14% (738)	16% (83)

Table 3.14 shows that black women from low-income families are almost twice as likely to be in atypical occupations than white women. This racial difference in atypicality rates decreases as income increases. Among white women, the husband's income makes little difference in atypicality rates. Among black women, those from low-income families are much more likely to be in atypical occupations than those from medium- or high-income families.

The previous section dealt with the way in which individual variables were related to occupational innovation. The interaction of these variables and their relative importance in influencing atypicality of occupation will now be examined. To do this, variables that were shown

to influence occupational innovation in the previous section were regressed on atypicality scores. Step-wise regression was used in order to take the interdependence of variables into account. The variables were entered into the equation on the basis of degree of influence. The following variables were entered into the equation:

occupational innovation: the dependent variable as previously discussed is an index that measures the difference, for each occupational category, between women as a percentage of all workers in that occupation and women as a percentage of the civilian labor force in 1970. One decimal place was implied. For example, in 1970 women were 38.1% of the civilian labor force, 4.6% of all architects, and 97.5% of all registered nurses. The atypicality index for architexts, therefore, is -335 (46-381). The value for registered nurses is 594 (975-381). The values for this index range from -303 thru 609. The higher the score the more typically female the occupation.

age: coded as year born.

mother's education: number of years of school completed.

mother's occupational innovation: coded same as dependent variable.

IQ: actual IQ score.

sex role attitudes: 8-item scale of respondent's attitudes toward the labor force participation of women.

marital status: 1=married; 0=never married, widowed, divorced.

number of children: actual number.

respondent's education: actual number of school years completed.

The regression equations were run separately for black and white respondents. This was done in order to understand the relative importance of factors influencing the occupational position of black and white women.

TABLE 3.15

INFLUENCE OF SELECTED VARIABLES ON OCCUPATIONAL INNOVATION

	White Women Only						
	Step Number						
Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Age	-.18*	-.18*	-.31*	-.34*	-.35*	-.36*	-.36*
Mother's innovation		.14	.17	.19*	.21*	.22*	.21*
Number of children			-.18	-.16	-.19	-.18	-.18
Mother's education				.11	.12	.12	.11
IQ					-.09	-.10	-.10
Marital status						-.03	-.02
Sex role attitudes							-.02
R^2	.023	.043	.082	.090	.109	.116	.120

Standardized Regression Coefficients

*Significant at .05 level.

TABLE 3.16

INFLUENCE OF SELECTED VARIABLES ON OCCUPATIONAL INNOVATION

	Black Women Only						
	Step Number						
Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mother's innovation	.34*	.40*	.50*	.51*	.50*	.47*	.54*
IQ		.36*	.41*	.58*	.59*	.57*	.55
Sex role attitudes			-.30*	-.26*	-.17	-.14	-.23
Age				-.16	.23*	.22*	.21
Number of children					.18	.20	.16
Mother's education						.08	.15
Marital status							.04
R^2	.10	.19	.31	.35	.36	.37	.38

Standardized Regression Coefficient

*Significant at .05 level.

Table 3.15 shows the influence of selected variables on occupational innovation. For white women, age has the strongest influence on occupational innovation, with advancing age being negatively associated with typicality. The mother's innovation also has a significant influence on her daughter's occupational innovation, although the influence was diminished when additional variables were considered. Number of children, IQ, marital status, and role attitudes have no significant influence on occupational

innovation. Taken together, these eight variables accounted for 12% of the variation in atypicality rates.

For black women, Table 3.16 shows a somewhat different story. The mother's occupational innovation has the strongest influence on atypicality rates. This influence appears to be very powerful. Respondent's IQ also has a strong significant influence on innovation. Sex role attitudes, which had no significant influence on innovation for white women, have a strong significant influence here. Age has a significant negative relationship with innovation, but the relative influence of age is less important for black women than for white women. The mother's education, number of children, and marital status have no significant influence on innovation. Taken together, these seven variables account for 38% of the variation in atypicality rates for black women. This is much higher than the amount of accounted variation for white women. It appears that black women are much more strongly influenced by the occupational innovation of the mother than white women. This difference may be explained by the different views of working women held by many members of the black community. Ladner (1971) has found that career interests are not regarded by black girls as unfeminine, primarily because an

employed mother is normative. Black women, because their feminine identity is less strongly associated with their labor force participation, may suffer less role conflict over working in atypical occupations and thus could be strongly influenced by their mothers.

IQ strongly influences occupational innovation for black women. Increases in IQ are associated with decreases in typicality. As previously mentioned, Epstein (1973) has observed that a greater percentage of black women enter "masculine" professions such as medicine and law. Fichter proposes several reasons for this. The first is that black female professionals pose less threat to the white male establishment than do black males. A second reason offered is that there is more acceptance by the black male than the white male of a working wife. Because of this, black women with high IQ's may face fewer barriers to atypical occupations than white women.

Conclusion

The research shows that, when all factors are considered, the occupational innovation of the mother is significantly related to her daughter's atypicality rates in both black and white women. This relationship is particularly strong for black women. IQ and sex role attitudes

are also significantly related to occupational innovation for black women, but this is not true for white women. For both black and white women, age is related to atypicality rates, although the relative influence of this variable is stronger for white women. Neither marital status nor number of children is significantly related to occupational innovation when all the variables are considered. It appears that familial variables, so important in determining rates of labor force participation, have little influence on occupational innovation. The variables considered in the regression analysis also explain a much larger percent of the variance in black women than in white women. Perhaps rates of atypicality in white women are less affected by personal characteristics and more affected by labor market factors that are not examined here.

CHAPTER 4

THE CORRELATES OF INCOME ATTAINMENT

During the past decade, the effects of sex on socio-economic achievement has been examined by a number of researchers. In some of these studies, occupational status has been used as the measure of socioeconomic achievement. The results of these studies, which attempt to model the status attainment process of males and females, have been conflicting. Featherman and Hauser (1976:463) conclude: "the effects of socioeconomic background in educational attainment and of both social origins and schooling in occupational achievement appear to be generally the same for each gender." Treiman and Terrell (1975) and McClendon (1976) report similar findings. On the other hand, Alexander and Eckland (1974) found sex to have an effect on the educational attainment process that remained despite controls on academic ability, status background, and educational goals. Sewell and Shah (1968) reported that female educational attainments are more sensitive to background factors than male educational attainments.

When earnings are used as the measure of socioeconomic achievement, the findings are more conclusive. Women earn less money than men. In fact, the relative earning power of women has declined slightly over the past 25 years. Featherman and Hauser (1976:481) conclude:

> The process of earnings attainment is sharply different for the sexes with men deriving greater benefits from their social origins, education and occupational standings even among persons of statistically equivalent work experiences and levels of current labor force participation.

Suter and Miller (1973) have found that women exchange educational level or occupational status for income at less than half of the rate achieved by men.

Various studies have attempted to account for the differences in earnings between men and women. Mincer and Polachek (1974) argue that women are less productive than men because their home and child-care responsibilities do not allow them to invest in on-the-job training. Also women spend less time in the labor force and are less likely to work continuously. Periods of paid market work are alternated with periods of labor force withdrawals for child-rearing purposes. Women's human capital investments may depreciate during these periods. Polachek (1975) concludes that the division of labor within the home affects women's wages. When women work, they must balance the demands of work and family. They may be forced to accept lower-paying jobs closer to home in order to have work schedules compatible with those of their families. They may also have higher absenteeism rates in order to care for

young children when they are ill. It is argued that these factors may lower women's productivity and thus wages relative to men. Another explanation for the earnings differential is that women tend to be concentrated in female intensive industries. Bridges and Berk (1978) found income disparities in male and female typed jobs. This disparity continued despite adjustements for job qualifications and work complexity. Knudsen (1969) discovered a negative relationship between levels of income and the percentage of women in occupational categories. Fuchs (1971) found that differences in the occupational distribution of men and women comprise an important source of wage differentials.

Researchers have examined the correlates of socioeconomic achievement for men. Blau and Duncan (1967) traced the influence of an individual's socioeconomic origins on occupational status, incorporating several intervening variables including education. They later extended their earlier work by incorporating other variables, the most important being personality variables (Duncan et al., 1972). Jencks et al. (1972) extended the Blau and Duncan model by adding measures of cognitive ability.

This chapter examines the correlates of socioeconomic

achievement for young women. The measure of achievement used here is hourly income in 1975. The need for additional research on income attainment is indicated by the fact that of the three interrelated aspects of socioeconomic achievement (education, occupational status, and income) the amount of explained variance in income attainment is smallest. In addition, it is for income attainment that sex inequalities are greatest. Hourly wage rather than annual income is used as the measure of socioeconomic achievement because of the large number of women who work part-time. The income variable is recorded here into three approximately equal divisions. Those women earning under $2.23 an hour are classified as low income. Those earning between $2.24 and $3.50 per hour are deemed middle income, and those earning $3.51 an hour or more are considered high income. Table 4.1 shows the distribution of women in each category.

TABLE 4.1

INCOME CATEGORY DISTRIBUTION

Income	Percent Distribution	N
Low	27%	808
Medium	40%	1222
High	33%	964
Total	100%	2994

Background Factors

Studies of the socioeconomic achievement process for males have found family background to be strongly significant (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Duncan et al., 1972). Jencks (1977:10) writes: "Background seems to exert appreciable effect on both occupational status and earnings even among men with the same test scores and education." Featherman and Hauser (1976), however, found that, among women, family background had no appreciable effect on earnings. This is surprising because high SES parents are more able to pass on achievement-oriented values to their daughters. In addition, girls from high SES families are freer to follow their interests and abilities since they are not bound by financial necessity. A woman's knowledge of career opportunities can also be influenced by family SES. Table 4.2 shows the relationship between family SES, as measured by the Duncan index of the father's occupation, and the respondent's income.

TABLE 4.2

INCOME BY FAMILY SES

	Family SES	
Income	Low	High
Low	31%	21%
Medium	42%	39%
High	27%	40%
Total Percent	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1402)	(1304)

Table 4.2 illustrates that women from high income families are much more likely to be earning high incomes than women from low income families.

Her parents' educational level may also influence a woman's career achievement. Well-educated parents may be less likely to discourage their daughter's career aspirations than less-educated parents. In Table 4.3 the relationship between income and the father's education is examined.

TABLE 4.3

INCOME BY FATHER'S EDUCATION

	Father's Education		
Income	High School	High School Graduate	Some College or More
Low	31%	19%	21%
Medium	42%	39%	38%
High	27%	42%	41%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1185)	(639)	(413)

Her father's attendance at college seems to confer no income advantage over those women whose fathers had only a high school diploma.

Table 4.4 illustrates the relationship between income and the mother's educational status. Her mother's achievements in the occupational and educational realm may be

particularly influential in determining a daughter's accomplishments. Beier and Ratzburg (1953) found that the girls in their sample identified more with their mother than with their father. Mothers usually serve as female role models for their daughters. A high-achieving mother is less likely to portray the female role as one that limits behavior. Horner (1972) found the "motive to avoid success" to be present in many of the women she studied. She defines the "motive to avoid success" as a tendency to feel anxious about achieving because negative consequences of success are anticipated. Femininity and achievement are thought contradictory in American culture. If a woman is considered feminine, she cannot be achievement-oriented; if she is achievement-oriented, she is not considered feminine. The daughter of a high-achieving mother may suffer less role conflict between financial success and traditional female pursuits.

TABLE 4.4

INCOME BY STATUS OF MOTHER'S OCCUPATION

	Mother's Occupational Status	
Income	Low	High
Low	34%	20%
Medium	42%	44%
High	24%	36%
Total Percent	100%	100%
Total Cases	(493)	(533)

An examination of Table 4.4 shows a positive relationship between the mother's occupational status and the respondent's income. Those whose mothers had high-status occupations are more likely to be in the high-income category than those whose mothers were in low-status occupations. Both parents' occupational status show about a 12 percentage point difference in the high-income category.

In Table 4.5 the relationship between the respondent's income and the mother's education is examined. In addition to occupational status, educational level is another aspect of a woman's accomplishments. A woman whose mother achieved a high educational level may have passed this achievement motivation to her daughter.

TABLE 4.5

INCOME BY MOTHER'S EDUCATION

	Mother's Education		
Income	Less Than High School	High School Graduate	Some College or More
Low	33%	20%	19%
Medium	41%	40%	39%
High	26%	40%	42%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1341)	(971)	(396)

As shown in Table 4.5, the mother's education is positively related to her daughter's income. Those with mothers having at least a high school diploma were more likely to be in the high income category than those whose mothers had less education. As was the case with the father's education, the crucial determinant is the high school diploma. There is a 14 percent difference in income rates between those whose mothers had completed high school and those whose mothers had less education. There is virtually no difference in income rates among those women whose mothers had only a high school diploma and those women whose mothers had at least some college.

The background factors examined here were all related to income levels. Family, SES, their mothers' occupational status, and both parents' education influences respondents' income achievements. However, the influence of these variables may be diminished by adding the respondents' education to the analysis. The extent to which background factors are important when education is held constant will be examined in a later section.

Familial Factors

In the previous chapters familial factors were shown to strongly influence women's employment experiences.

Marital status was found to be particularly influential. Marital status might affect the income attainment of women in several different ways. The role of homemaker may take precedence over occupational achievement for married women. In addition, her husband's occupation may limit a woman's geographic mobility and thus her occupational opportunities. In this way, marital status may constrain a woman's full participation in the labor force and consequently lower her income attaintments. Table 4.6 illustrates the association between income and marital status.

TABLE 4.6

INCOME BY MARITAL STATUS

	Marital Status		
Income	Married	Separated, Widowed or Divorced	Never Married
Low	26	31	26
Medium	42	39	40
High	32	30	34
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1795)	(406)	(739)

An examination of Table 4.6 reveals that there is little relationship between marital status and income. One explanation for this finding may be that married women, because they are not the sole support of the family, may

choose to work outside the home only under optimal conditions and consequently reduce the constraining effects of marriage.

Table 4.7 shows the relationship between number of children and income. Women are still responsible for the primary care of children in the home. This responsibility may limit their freedom to participate in the labor force to their fullest ability. Refuting this assertion, McClendon (1976:62) writes: "Although children at home may limit entry into the workplace they do not handicap a woman already in the workforce." In a similar vein, Jencks (1977:240) writes about the occupational constraints caused by number and age of children: "We expect these variables to affect a wife's decision to work (if at all) but not to affect how much she is paid if she works." These writers show little understanding of the dynamics of occupational achievement. The number of children a woman has often sets constraints on her freedom to participate in the labor force to her fullest ability. Corcoran (1978) found that about one-third of all white women and one-fifth of all black women in her study reported limitations on job hours and/or job locations were factors in taking their present jobs. The women with the severest restrictions are likely

to be women with many children. In addition, time spent out of the labor force raising children has a negative effect on wages. Corcoran and Duncan (1979) found that differences in work history patterns accounted for a large portion of the wage gap between men and women largely because women acquire less tenure.

TABLE 4.7

INCOME BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN

	Number of Children			
Income	None	One	Two	Three or More
Low	19%	27%	35%	46%
Medium	40%	43%	40%	39%
High	41%	30%	25%	15%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1349)	(725)	(596)	(324)

Table 4.7 shows that, as the number of children increases, income levels decrease. Women with no children are almost three times as likely to be in the high income group than women with three or more children.

Her husband's income may be related to a woman's income in either of two ways. If her husband's position is a high paying, high status one, as in the professions or corporate structure, a wife may be expected to restrict

the time and effort spent on developing her own career in order to support his. This may preclude her from working in a high-salaried position. On the other hand, Blau and Duncan (1967:354) found the educational attainments of husband and wife to be similar. They write: "...associative mating with respect to education of the bride and groom is well represented by a correlation of about .6...." Given this similarity in the educational achievements of spouses, a positive association between husband's and wive's income is likely. Table 4.8 shows the relationship between the husband's income and the income of the respondent.

TABLE 4.8

INCOME BY HUSBAND'S INCOME

	Married Women Only		
	Husband's Income		
Income	Low	Medium	High
Low	35	24	15
Medium	44	42	40
High	21	34	45
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(580)	(716)	(394)

The data in Table 4.8 supports the second supposition. Women whose husbands have high incomes are more than twice as likely to have high incomes themselves than women

whose husbands have low incomes.

The familial factors examined here are considered as potentially constraining to a woman's full participation in the labor force. Marital status, however, shows no relation to income level. The number of children a woman has strongly influences her income level. As the number of children increases, the percentage of women in the high income category decreases. Only 15% of the women with three or more children were in the high income group compared with 41% of women with no children. A husband's income was also found to be related to the respondent's income. A husband with a high income, however, does not constrain a wife's achievements. In fact, those women whose husbands are in the high income category are more than twice as likely to have high incomes than those women whose husbands are in the low income category.

Social Factors

Age is a factor that was found in previous chapters to influence the occupational experiences of women. Age is also expected to influence income levels. This influence, however, may be a function of time spent in the labor force rather than age itself. Sandell and Shapiro (1980) found that aging plays an important independent role in

wage growth among white women. They hypothesize that the lack of a significant aging effect for black women is due to a decline in racial discrimination over the years. This would result in better job opportunities for more recent labor force entrants than for slightly older workers. Table 4.9 shows the relationship between age and income levels.

TABLE 4.9

INCOME BY AGE

	Age		
Income	21-24	25-27	28-34
Low	34%	22%	24%
Medium	46%	40%	36%
High	20%	36%	40%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1005)	(923)	(1064)

Table 4.9 illustrates that, as age increases, income increases. Women in the older age group are twice as likely to be in the high income category than women in the younger age group. Much of the increase in the percentage of women in the high income group takes place between those in the 21-24 age group and those in the 25-27 age group. There is a 16 percent difference in the number of women in

the high income group between those in the youngest and those in the middle-age category.

The relationship between race and occupational attainment has been well studied for men. Jencks (1977) found that race had a large effect on earnings with all other factors controlled. Blau and Duncan (1967) reported that race had a significant effect on occupational achievement. Duncan et al. (1977) reported similar findings. The relationship between income and race is shown in Table 4.10.

TABLE 4.10

INCOME BY RACE

	Race	
Income	Black	White
Low	36	23
Medium	38	42
High	26	35
Total Percent	100%	100%
Total Cases	(880)	(2077)

An examination of Table 4.10 reveals that white women are more likely to be in the high income group than black women (35% compared to 26%).

Table 4.11 shows the influence of education on income. A woman's educational achievements are expected to influence

her income. One of the more obvious ways in which this influence takes place is by providing the individual with access to the better paying occupations. However, education influences income in other ways as well. Stolzenberg (1975:302) writes: "Within an occupational category incumbents with higher levels of education generally obtain higher wage rates than those with less schooling." The main reason employers are willing to pay a wage premium for education is probably that they use it as an indicator of social class, trainability, and reliability.

TABLE 4.11

INCOME BY EDUCATION

	Education			
Income	Less Than High School	High School Graduate	Some College	College Graduate or More
Low	55%	28%	16%	9%
Medium	40%	45%	46%	30%
High	5%	27%	38%	61%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(426)	(1321)	(467)	(445)

An examination of Table 4.11 reveals that education has a very strong influence on income. As educational attainment increases, income increases. Those with a college degree are much more likely to be in the high income group than

those who have not completed high school (61% compared to 5%). Obtaining a diploma, both high school and college, is strongly influential in raising income levels. Of those who had a high school diploma, 22% were in the high income category compared to 5% of those who had not completed high school. Similarly, 61% of those who were college graduates reported high income levels as compared with 38% of those with only some college.

Table 4.12 shows the relationship between IQ score and income. IQ scores have been found to influence occupational attainment for men. Jencks (1977:121) writes: "Men with higher IQ scores earn more even when controlling for background factors." IQ tests do not, of course, measure intelligence. They do measure the degree to which an individual has mastered certain cultural skills. To the extent that mastery of these skills facilitates occupational achievement, IQ will influence income levels. The IQ variable used here measures high school administered tests divided into thirds.

TABLE 4.12

INCOME BY IQ

	IQ		
Income	Bottom Third	Middle Third	Top Third
Low	30	20	14
Medium	42	47	36
High	28	33	50
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(490)	(656)	(832)

The four social factors examined here are related to income. Education has the strongest effect on income levels. Fully 61% of those with a college diploma or more education are in the high income category compared to only 5% of those who had not completed high school. Similarly, IQ score influences educational level. Almost twice as many women whose IQ scores are in the top third reported higher incomes than women whose IQ scores were in the bottom third. A woman's age also influences her income level. As age increases, the percentage of women in the high income category increased. Of those women 28-34 40% are in the high income category compared to 20% of those 21-24. Race, also, is related to income. Whites are more likely than blacks to be in the high income category (35% as compared to 26%).

Sex Role Attitudes

The relationship between sex role attitudes and income is shown in Table 4.13. Sex role attitudes may influence the income level a woman obtains because those who disapprove of married women working may view their own labor force participation as only temporary. They may therefore invest less in their jobs. Sandell and Shapiro (1980:337) write: "Ex ante preferences for future labor force

attachment are significantly related to rates of post-school human capital accumulation among young, white working women." This leads to the expectation that those women with strong traditional sex role attitudes are less likely to be in the high income group than those women with less traditional attitudes.

TABLE 4.13

INCOME BY SEX ROLE ATTITUDES

	Sex Role Attitude		
Income	Strongly Traditional	Moderate	Strongly Non-Traditional
Low	34%	26%	20%
Medium	41%	41%	41%
High	25%	33%	39%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(896)	(1203)	(833)

As expected, sex role attitudes are related to income distribution. Women with strongly non-traditional sex role attitudes are somewhat more likely to be in the high income category than women with strongly traditional attitudes (39% compared to 25%).

Table 4.14 shows the relationship between time spent in the labor force and income. Human capital theory suggests that women with more extensive employment accumulate

a larger stock of human capital, which, in turn, increases their productivity and their earnings. Rosenfeld's (1978) research supports this contention. She found that, for white women, the greater the proportion of adult life spent in the labor force the greater the occupational advancement.

TABLE 4.14

INCOME BY LABOR FORCE EXPERIENCE

	Labor Force Experience			
Income	Less Than 2 Years	2-4 Years	4-6 Years	6-7½ Years
Low	50%	32%	19%	12%
Medium	37%	45%	44%	36%
High	13%	23%	37%	52%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(572)	(825)	(790)	(802)

An examination of Table 4.14 reveals that, as labor force experience increases, income increases. Fully 52% of women with 6-7½ years of labor force experience were in the high income category compared to 13% of the women with less than 2 years experience.

The previous sections have examined the relationship of individual variables to income. In this section, the influence of two or more variables on income are considered. Multivariable analysis allows a better understanding of the

income attainment process for these young women.

The preceding section showed that a woman's income is related to her family's socioeconomic status. However, the influence of the family's socioeconomic status may take place primarily through education. If women from high income families obtain more education, the direct influence of family socioeconomic status on income may diminish. Table 4.15 examines the relationship between income and family socioeconomic status, controlling for education.

TABLE 4.15

INCOME BY FAMILY SES BY RESPONDENTS' EDUCATION

	% High Income	
	Family SES	
Respondents' Education	Low	High
Less than high school	8% (277)	13% (95)
High school graduate	24% (686)	32% (480)
Some college	33% (190)	42% (249)
College graduate or more	62% (134)	60% (285)

Table 4.15 shows that the influence of family SES on income is diminished when the effect of education is examined. However, at every educational level, except college graduates, those from high SES families are slightly more likely to be in the high income category than those from low SES

families. For those who are college graduates, family SES has almost no effect on income level. For those from both high and low SES families, education strongly influences income attainment.

The relationship between income and the mother's occupational status, controlling for education, is examined in Table 4.16. In the previous section, the mother's occupational status was shown to influence the respondent's income. This influence may diminish with the addition of a variable measuring the respondent's education.

TABLE 4.16

INCOME BY MOTHER'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

BY RESPONDENT'S EDUCATION

	% High Income	
	Mother's Occupational Status	
Respondents' Education	Low	High
Less than high school	4% (105)	8% (25)
High school graduate	25% (275)	25% (195)
Some college	36% (52)	34% (109)
College graduate	61% (28)	62% (128)

Table 4.16 reveals that the mother's occupational status has virtually no influence when a variable measuring respondent's education was added to the analysis. The mother's occupational status has no independent effect on

her daughter's income. The influence of the mother's occupational status on income takes place through its effect on education.

An earlier section showed that the number of children a woman had strongly influenced her income attainments. However, the number of children a woman has may influence the amount of education she can obtain. If this is the case, the relationship between number of children and income may be reduced by adding a variable measuring education to the analysis. Table 4.17 shows the relationship between income and number of children, controlling for education.

TABLE 4.17

INCOME BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN BY EDUCATION

	% High Income			
	Number of Children			
Education	None	One	Two	Three or More
Less than high school	4% (63)	11% (102)	12% (127)	11% (134)
High school graduate	36% (482)	24% (384)	21% (311)	16% (144)
At least some college	51% (567)	46% (193)	44% (124)	37% (27)

An examination of Table 4.17 shows that for women who have a high school diploma or more education, as the number of children increases, income levels decrease. Those who are high school graduates with no children are more likely

to be in the high income category than high school graduates with three or more children: 36% compared to 16%. Similarly, 51% of women who attend college and have no children report high incomes, as compared to 37% of those who attend college and have three or more children. For those women who do not complete high school, having a child slightly raises their income rates. However, after these women have one child, subsequent children do not influence income rates.

Table 4.18 examines the relationship between income and fertility, controlling for race. Race may also influence the relationship between income and number of children. Corcoran (1978) found that black women's work history involved fewer and shorter labor force withdrawals than white wmen's. If black women are less likely to interrupt work after the birth of children, a black woman's fertility may have less influence on her income than a white woman's fertility.

TABLE 4.18

INCOME BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN BY RACE

	% High Income			
	Number of Children			
Race	None	One	Two	Three or More
Black	37% (286)	26% (233)	24% (195)	11% (166)
White	42% (1043)	32% (489)	24% (394)	18% (151)

The relationship between income and fertility is not changed when race is added to the analysis. For both races, as number of children increases, the percentage of women in the high income category decreases in about the same proportion.

Table 4.18 shows the relationship between income and fertility, controlling for labor force experience. The strong negative effect of fertility on income may be influenced by the extent of a woman's employment experience. Women with several children may have experienced several labor force withdrawals. These withdrawals rather than her fertility, per se, may be influencing her income.

TABLE 4.19

INCOME BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN BY LABOR FORCE EXPERIENCE

	% High Income			
	Number of Children			
Labor Force Experience	None	One	Two	Three or More
Less than 2 years	20% (202)	12% (119)	9% (150)	7% (101)
2 years-4 years	31% (376)	16% (196)	18% (165)	17% (88)
4 years-6 years	45% (369)	32% (196)	29% (145)	20% (80)
6 years-7½ years	57% (401)	50% (213)	45% (135)	21% (53)

The data demonstrate that fertility affects income independently of labor force experience. For women at all levels of experience, as the number of children increases, the percentage of of women in the high income category

decreases. For women with zero to two children, increasing experience has a substantial effect on income. However, for women with three or more children, increasing experience has a smaller effect on income.

The previous section showed that race was related to income. White women were more likely to be in the high income category than black women. However, to the extent that the amount of education achieved by the races differs, the income gap may be due to education rather than race per se. Table 4.20 shows the relationship between income and race, controlling for education.

TABLE 4.20

INCOME BY RACE BY EDUCATION

	% High Income	
	Race	
Education	Black	White
Less than high school	6% (205)	11% (219)
High school graduate	22% (404)	29% (904)
Some college	41% (101)	47% (355)
College graduate or more	67% (86)	60% (353)

Table 4.20 shows that, for those women who have had some college or less education, white women are slightly more likely to be in the high income category than black women. However, for those women who have attained a college degree

or more education, black women are slightly more likely to be in the high income group.

The relationship between income and IQ score, controlling for education, is examined in Table 4.21. Previously, IQ scores were found to be positively related to income. However, the influence of IQ may take place primarily through education. If this is the case, the influence of IQ on income will diminish when education is added to the analysis.

TABLE 4.21

INCOME BY IQ BY EDUCATION

	% High Income		
	IQ		
Education	Bottom Third	Middle Third	Top Third
Less than high school	13% (70)	16% (50)	24% (21)
High school graduate	23% (299)	29% (351)	39% (256)
Some college	35% (63)	37% (121)	48% (157)
College graduate	59% (32)	49% (184)	63% (274)

Table 4.21 indicates that the addition of education to the analysis diminishes the effect of IQ on income. However, IQ does maintain a small effect on income independent of education. This effect is smallest for those who have graduated from college. Education maintains a strong influence on income despite IQ. At every IQ level, as education increases, income increases.

This section attempted to further clarify the correlates of high income achievement. Focusing on those women in the high income category, additional variables were added to the analysis. The original strong positive relationship between family SES and income was diminished when education was also considered. However, family SES maintained some positive influence on income attainment at every educational level except college. The initial positive relationship between the status of a mother's occupation and her daughter's income almost disappeared when education was added to the analysis. This shows that the influence of a mother's occupational status on income takes place through the educational process.

A woman's fertility was found to strongly influence her income attainment. This relationship remained when education was added to the analysis. For the women who had a high school diploma or more education, as number of children increased, income decreased. For those who had not completed high school, having children slightly increased the percentage of women in the high income category. Race was also added to the relationship between income and fertility. However, the addition of race to the analysis did not change the original relationship. For both races, as

the number of children increased, the proportion of women in the high income category decreased.

The influence of labor force experience on the relationship between income and fertility was also considered. Fertility maintained an independent effect on income regardless of labor force participation.

Education was added to the analysis of race and income. When this was done, for those women who had some college or less education, the income gap between whites and blacks remained. However, for those women who had a college degree or more education, black women were slightly more likely to be in the high income group.

Originally, IQ scores were found to be positively related to income. The addition of education to the analysis reduced the strength of this association. However, IQ scores maintained a small effect on income independent of education.

The previous section considered the way in which one or two variables were related to income. The interaction of these variables and their relative importance in influencing income will now be examined. In doing this, variables that were shown in the previous section to influence income levels are regressed on hourly income.

Step-wise regression is used in order to take into account the interdependence of variables. The variables are entered into the equation on the basis of degree of influence.

The following variables are entered into the equation:

income: the dependent variable is a measure of the respondent's hourly wage in 1975.

age: coded as year born.

education: number of school years completed.

sex role attitudes: 8-item scale of respondent's attitude toward the labor force participation of women.

family SES: Duncan scale of the father's occupation when respondent was age 14.

number of children

labor force experience: number of weeks in the labor force since 1968.

The regression equation was run separately for black and white women. This was done in order to understand the relative importance of factors influencing income for both races.

TABLE 4.22A

INFLUENCE OF SELECTED VARIABLES ON INCOME

	White Women Only					
	Step Number					
Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6
Labor force experience	.32*	.33*	.31*	.32*	.29*	.24*
Education		.17*	.17*	.15*	.14*	.11*
Sex role attitudes			.13*	.12*	.12*	.12*
Family SES				.11*	.11*	.09*
Age					-.07*	-.15*
Number of children						-.14*
R^2	.10	.13	.15	.16	.16	.18

Standardized Regression Coefficients

*Significant at .05 level.

TABLE 4.22B

INFLUENCE OF SELECTED VARIABLES ON INCOME

	Black Women Only					
	Step Number					
Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6
Labor force experience	.32*	.31*	.31*	.31*	.31*	.30*
Number of children		-.21*	-.21*	-.20*	-.19*	-.19*
Education			.16*	.16*	.16*	.15*
Sex role attitudes				.09*	.08*	.08*
Family SES					.08*	.08*
Age						-.02
R^2	.10	.15	.18	.18	.19	.19

Standardized Regression Coefficient
*Significant at .05 level.

Table 4.22A shows the influence of selected variables on the income of white women. Labor force experience has the strongest influence on income. Increasing experience is associated with increasing income. Education is also significantly related to income, as are sex role attitudes, family SES, age, and number of children. Taken together, these six variables account for 18% of the variation in income for white women.

For black women, Table 4.22B shows a similar story. As for white women, labor force experience has the strongest influence on income. The number of children a woman has, also significantly related to income, is relatively more important for black women. Education, sex role attitudes, and family SES are all significantly related to income. Age, which has a small but significant influence on the income of white women, has no significant effect on the income of black women.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that, when all factors are considered, labor force experience has the strongest influence on income for both black and white women. The more time a woman has spent in the labor force the higher

her income is likely to be. Education, sex role attitudes, and family's socioeconomic status are also significantly related to income. Fertility is shown to have a negative effect on income, but the relative effect of fertility on income is stronger for black women than white women. Age, which has a small but significant effect on income for white women, is not significant for black women. The amount of variation explained by the six variables is similar for both black and white women, approximately 20%.

CHAPTER 5

PROFESSIONAL WOMEN

The professions are at the top of the American occupational hierarchy in terms of power and prestige. Traditionally, the professions have been distinguished from other occupations by the following characteristics: (1) Specialized technique based on systematic theory and obtained by a long period of intensive training; (2) Authority based on this knowledge recognized by both the clientele and the larger community; (3) Autonomy in the exercise of skills, in the training of new entrants, and in the evaluation and control of the profession; (4) A code of ethics and a professional culture developed by formal professional associations; (5) An intense commitment to the profession and a strong sense of identification with work (Patterson and Engelberg, 1978).

The major professions of medicine, law, and higher education have been in existence for centuries. They began as medieval guilds controlled by men and continue to be largely male dominated. Male-dominated professions are more highly professionalized than those in which women predominate, such as teaching, nursing, and social work.

These female-dominated professions, classified by Etzioni (1969) as semi-professions, replace theoretical study with technical skill. Their practitioners lack autonomy and are subject to numerous rules and regulations

(Simpson and Simpson, 1969). As a result of this, the semi-professions lack the power, prestige, and income that characterize the traditional professions.

Given the advantages associated with working in the traditional professions, why are women so poorly represented? One explanation may be found in the characteristics of the professions themselves. Hughes (1945) points out that ascriptive statuses define what is considered appropriate characteristics for a professional. Epstein (1971:167) emphasizes the features that deter the participation of women in the professions. She writes: "Professions share many of the characteristics of communities. They tend towards homogeneity and exercise exclusionary practices which deter the participation of persons or groups which do not possess characteristics defined as appropriate." Epstein (1970) draws attention to the ways in which the structure of the professions limits women's attainment of professional careers. Among the limiting factors are the colleague system of the professions; the sponsor-protege relationship that determines access to the highest level of most professions; and the fact that norms governing occupational role behavior in the professions are often in conflict with expectations of appropriate female

sex role behavior.

Parsons (1951) writes that the service aspect of the ideal type of professional-client relationship is functionally specific, instrumental, affectively neutral, and universalistic. All this is at odds with the supposedly female characteristics of warmth, sensitivity, and emotionalism. Simpson and Simpson (1969:235) write of the service orientation of the semi-professions:

> It is an emotionally felt humanitarian urge to give of oneself, to relate in an intensely personal way to the recipient of the service. The act of service is its own reward, an expressive act, and it establishes a diffuse, particularistic tie. The humanitarian service motive is thus quite different from the professional orientation.

Work in the semi-professions can be seen as an extension of the traditional female sex role and is, therefore, easier for a woman to integrate into other aspects of her life.

Currently, women in the professions are viewed as unusual. Epstein (1971:165-166) writes: "As long as certain occupations are defined as male, women who seek entry to them will be defined as social deviants and subjected to social sanctions."

The barriers to female participation in the professions are reflected by the fact that women are very likely to

exhibit "fear of success" in traditional male occupations (Janda et al., 1978).

Many women deal with this fear by changing their career plans. Rossi (1964) observed that female freshmen tend to lower their aspirations from a professional field to a more traditionally female occupation. This change may be seen as necessary in order to succeed at other aspects of the female role. Fichter (1971) found that the majority of both black and white women in his study felt that attaining an advanced degree, which is necessary for entering most professions, lessens a woman's chance of finding a husband. If a woman attains a professional position and marries, the necessity of integrating her role into her husband's occupation may limit her achievement. Holstrom (1971), in her study of professional couples, found that both partners viewed the husband's career as being more important than the wife's.

It is clear that women's full participation in the professions is limited not only by the sex-typing of occupations but by the broader cultural concept of sex role. Still, some women overcome these barriers and enter the professions. Other women enter the semi-professions. This chapter will focus on the difference between women who enter the professions, the semi-professions, and

non-professional occupations. The traditional professions include the male-dominated occupations of lawyer, physician, engineer, the ministry, and college profession. The semi-professions include the traditionally female occupations of nurse, teacher, librarian, and social worker. The non-professional occupations are those classified by the Bureau of the Census as other than professional, technical, and kindred workers. The factors to be examined are as follows:

background factors that measure parental influence.

individual characteristics such as the respondent's age, race, and educational achievements.

familial factors including fertility and marital status.

attitudinal factors including a scale measuring sex role attitudes.

Table 5.1 shows the total number and percentage of the sample employed in professional, semi-professional, and non-professional occupations.

TABLE 5.1

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONAL STATUSES

Occupational Status	N	%
Professional	110	3%
Semi-professional	585	14%
Non-professional	3410	83%
Total	4105	100%

Background Factors

A father's occupational status and educational achievement are likely to influence his daughter's occupational attainment. Women from high status homes are likely to achieve the educational levels necessary for entering the professions. In addition, their father's occupational status may involve contacts that facilitate their daughter's attainment of a professional position. Table 5.2 shows the relationship between professional status and the father's education.

TABLE 5.2

PROFESSIONAL STATUS BY FATHER'S EDUCATION

	Father's Education				
Professional Status	Less High School	High School Graduate	Some College	College Graduate	Advanced Education
Professional	1%	4%	4%	6%	9%
Semi-Professional	11%	20%	24%	31%	28%
Non-Professional	88%	76%	72%	63%	63%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1658)	(848)	(239)	(163)	(153)

Table 5.2 shows that, as the father's educational attainment increases, the percentage of women in professional occupations increases. This is also true of the percentage

of women in the semi-professions. However, having a father with an education beyond the college level is associated with a slight decrease in the percentage of women in the semi-professions. As fathers' educational level increases, the percentage of women in non-professional occupations decrease.

A father's occupational status is also expected to influence the respondent's professional status. Those women from high SES families are able to acquire the education necessary for entering the professions without concern over finances. Table 5.3 shows the relationship between the respondents' professional status and their fathers' occupational status.

TABLE 5.3

PROFESSIONAL STATUS BY FATHERS' OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

	Father's Occupational Status	
Professional Status	Low	High
Professional	2%	4%
Semi-professional	11%	19%
Non-professional	87%	77%
Total Percent	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1944)	(1771)

Table 5.3 reveals that women whose fathers are in high status occupations are twice as likely to be in professional

occupations than women whose fathers had low status jobs (4% compared to 2%). A similar pattern is found for women in the semi-professions. Women in non-professional positions are more likely to have fathers in low status occupations than high status ones.

A mother's educational achievement is also expected to influence her daughter's occupational attainment. High achieving mothers may pass on this achievement orientation to their daughters, thus giving her a broader view of appropriate female behavior. In Table 5.9 the relationship between professional status and a mother's education is examined.

TABLE 5.4

PROFESSIONAL STATUS BY MOTHERS' EDUCATION

	Mothers' Education				
Professional Status	Less High School	High School Graduate	Some College	College Graduate	Advanced Education
Professional	1%	4%	6%	9%	9%
Semi-Professional	8%	19%	26%	32%	41%
Non-Professional	91%	77%	68%	59%	51%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1869)	(1321)	(280)	(159)	(61)

An examination of Table 5.4 reveals, as the mothers' education increases, the percentage of women in professional

occupations increases, up to the level of college graduate. Having a mother with advanced education does not increase the likelihood of attaining a professional position. The pattern is similar for semi-professional women. However, having a mother with an advanced education increases the likelihood of working in the semi-professions. For non-professional women, as their mothers' education increases, the percentage of women working in these occupations decreases.

A mother's occupational status is also expected to influence her daughter's professional status. Those women in high level occupations tend to present a positive view of women's achievement in the world of work. Bielby (1978:263) writes about the effect of mothers' work: "...maternal employment is mediated through positive attitudes towards career salience formed during daughter's socialization."

Table 5.5 shows the relationship between the respondents' professional status and their mothers' occupational status.

TABLE 5.5

PROFESSIONAL STATUS BY MOTHER'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Professional Status	Mother's Occupational Status	
	Low	High
Professional	1%	4%
Semi-professional	6%	23%
Non-professional	93%	73%
Total Percent	100%	100%
Total Cases	(659)	(689)

Table 5.5 shows that a mother's occupational status strongly influences her daughter's professional status. Women with mothers in high status occupations are much more likely to be in the professions and semi-professions than women with mothers in low status positions. Women with mothers in low status occupations are more likely to be in non-professional occupations than in professional or semi-professional occupations.

The background factors discussed in this section were all found to influence professional status. Both parents' educational achievement positively influences professional status. A father's advanced education, however, increases the likelihood of professional employment, while a mother's advanced education increases the likelihood of semi-professional

employment. This difference may be due to the difference in educational fields pursued by the parents. Grimm (1978) found that women earning master's degrees are disproportionately represented in the fields of education, health, library sciences, and social work. If a woman models herself after her mother and attains a degree in these fields, she is likely to become a semi-professional worker.

Both parents' occupational status also influences professional achievement. However, a mother's occupational status seems to be more influential. Women whose mothers are in high status positions are four times more likely to be professionals than women whose mothers are in low status positions. Women with high status fathers are only twice as likely to be professionals than women with low status fathers. A mother's occupational status is also more important in determining her daughter's semi-professional employment. There is a 17% difference in semi-professional occupations between women with high and low status mothers. For women with high and low status fathers there is only an 8 percent difference in semi-professionals.

Familial Factors

The previous chapters have shown familial factors to be very influential in determining a woman's labor market

experiences. Marital status is expected to influence professional status. One reason for this expectation is that women who are not married are able to stay in school longer and thus achieve the education necessary for attaining a professional position. Carter and Glick (1970) found a correlation between a woman's high education and low rates of marriage. In addition, the difficulty of integrating the wife's role into the husband's occupational role is often an insurmountable obstacle to a woman's professional involvement. She is often expected to entertain socially, travel, and be willing to leave her position if her husband's career advancement involves moving to another area. Holstrom (1971) found that among professional couples the husband's career was seen as more important than the wife's in deciding where to live. Table 5.6 shows the relationship between professional status and marital status.

Table 5.6

PROFESSIONAL STATUS BY MARITAL STATUS

	Marital Status		
Professional Status	Married	Separated, Widowed, Divorced	Never Married
Professional	3%	2%	4%
Semi-professional	14%	8%	18%
Non-professional	83%	90%	78%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(2665)	(523)	(917)

Table 5.6 shows that separated, widowed, and divorced women are less likely to be professionals than women who have never married or are currently married. The same pattern holds true among semi-professional women. Never married women are most likely to be in professional and semi-professional occupations, followed by currently married women and women who are separated, widowed, or divorced. Never married women are less likely to be in non-professional occupations than the married.

The explanation of the low professional status of divorced and separated women may be due to the constraining presence of children in the home. Although married women are also likely to have children in the home, the husband's presence may lift some of the responsibility from them. This will enable them to participate more fully in the labor force, although not as easily as the never married who have responsibility for neither husband nor children. Table 5.7 shows the relationship between professional status and number of children.

TABLE 5.7

PROFESSIONAL STATUS BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Professional Status	Number of Children			
	None	One	Two	Three or More
Professional	5%	2%	2%	0%
Semi-professional	21%	13%	10%	5%
Non-professional	74%	85%	88%	95%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1525)	(974)	(992)	(612)

Table 5.7 shows that, as number of children increases, the percentage of women in both professional and semi-professional occupations decreases. Women with no children are five times more likely to be in professional occupations than women with three or more children. Those without children are four times likely to be in semi-professional occupations than those with at least three children.

Her husband's income may have a negative impact on a woman's professional status. Those women with husbands in high-paying occupations are more likely to be required to support their husbands' careers by social entertaining and travel. High-paying occupations may also require more geographic mobility on the part of the family than low-paying occupations. This would inhibit the wife's

professional attainment. Table 5.8 shows the relationship between professional status and a husband's income.

TABLE 5.8

PROFESSIONAL STATUS BY HUSBAND'S INCOME

	Husband's Income		
Professional Status	Low	Medium	High
Professional	2%	2%	4%
Semi-professional	10%	15%	17%
Non-professional	88%	83%	79%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(723)	(992)	(693)

An examination of Table 5.8 reveals that women whose husbands have high income occupations are more likely to be professionals and semi-professionals than women whose husbands are in low-paying jobs. This may be due to the fact that people generally marry those with similar educational achievements. Blau and Duncan (1967) found a high correlation between the educational level of husband and wife. This being the case, the finding that a husband's high income is positively related to his wife's professional status is not surprising.

The familial factors examined here are expected to influence a woman's labor market experiences, particularly her professional status. Marital status influences

professional status. Being separated, widowed, or divorced constrains professional or semi-professional attainment. This has most likely to do with the responsibilities of raising children without the assistance of a spouse. This supposition is supported by Table 5.7, which shows the number of children negatively influences professional status. Those with no children are much more likely to attain professional or semi-professional status than those with three or more children.

A husband's income is also related to his wife's professional attainment. Women with husbands earning high incomes are more likely to be in professional and semi-professional occupations than women whose husbands earn less. The explanation for this is likely to be found in the prevalence of educational homogamy.

Social Factors

Age is expected to be positively related to professional status among women in this sample. As previously discussed, the sample contains information on a relatively young group of women, ages 21-31 in 1975. Since most professional occupations require many years of schooling, young women in the labor force would not have had time to complete

this schooling and thus should be less likely to hold professional positions. If the age range of the sample were broader, a curvilinear relationship between age and professional status would be likely. Older women would have been shut out of the traditionally male professions. It is just recently that women have begun to make progress in this area, and younger women (under 25) in the labor force may not have had time to benefit from this. Table 5.9 examines the relationship between professional status and age.

TABLE 5.9

PROFESSIONAL STATUS BY AGE

	Age		
Professional Status	21-24	25-27	28-31
Professional	1%	3%	3%
Semi-professional	11%	16%	15%
Non-professional	88%	81%	82%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1217)	(1230)	(1656)

An examination of Table 5.9 shows that age has an effect on professional status. Women over 25 are more likely to be in professional occupations and slightly more likely to be in semi-professional occupations than women under 25.

Epstein (1970) has pointed out that membership in a profession is associated with certain ascribes characteristics and that exclusionary practices often hinder individuals whose ascribed characteristics are not considered appropriate. Among the ascribed characteristics considered most important are sex and race. Members of a profession are expected to be both white and male. Allen (1974:672) writes: "Black women consistently gravitate towards careers and positions within the female sector of the occupational system." This is not surprising, since black women must overcome the double "handicap" of race and sex in order to enter the traditional professions. Semi-professional positions, on the other hand, involve a relatively high degree of status and are sex-typed. Grimm (1978) found that the proportion of black women entering the semi-professions has greatly increased over the past decade. In Table 5.10 the relationship between professional status and race is examined.

TABLE 5.10

PROFESSIONAL STATUS BY RACE

	Race	
Professional Status	Black	White
Professional	1%	4%
Semi-professional	10%	16%
Non-professional	89%	80%
Total Percent	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1129)	(2931)

Table 5.10 shows that white women are more likely to be in professional occupations and slightly more likely to be in semi-professional occupations than black women. White women are four times more likely to hold professional positions but only 60% more likely to hold semi-professional status.

Education is expected to be strongly related to professional status. In general, the more education a woman has the greater the probability she will be in a professional occupation (Oppenheimer, 1972). However, the proportion of women earning degrees decreases as the level of education increases (Grimm, 1978). There are two possible reasons for this. First, entry into the semi-professions of teaching, nursing, and social work does not usually require an advanced degree. Second, Fichter (1970) found that a large proportion of both black and white women feel that an advanced degree lessens a woman's chance of finding a husband. Table 5.11 shows the relationship between professional status and education.

TABLE 5.11

PROFESSIONAL STATUS BY EDUCATION

Professional Status	Education: Less than High School	High School Graduate	Some College	College Graduate	Advanced Education
Professional	0%	1%	3%	7%	21%
Semi-professional	1%	4%	15%	56%	61%
Non-professional	99%	95%	82%	37%	18%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(692)	(1852)	(596)	(437)	(128)

An examination of Table 5.11 shows that, as education increases, the percentage of women in professions and semi-professions increases. However, among professional women, the largest increase is found among those with advanced education. Only 7% of those with only college diplomas are in professional occupations compared with 21% of those who have education beyond the baccalaureate. On the other hand, among semi-professional women, the largest increase is found with the attainment of the college diploma. Only 15% of those with some college are in semi-professional occupations compared to 56% of those who have completed college. Attainment of education beyond the bachelor's degree is associated with only a small increase in the

percentage of women in semi-professional positions.

In addition to education, IQ is known to influence occupational attainment (Duncan, Featherman, and Duncan, 1972). Present-day IQ tests do not measure many aspects of an individual's intelligence. They do, however, measure how well an individual fits into the educational system. It is likely that those who fit into the educational system also fit into the occupational system. Therefore, IQ is expected to be related to professional status.

TABLE 5.12

PROFESSIONAL STATUS BY IQ

	IQ		
Professional Status	Lower Third	Middle Third	Upper Third
Professional	1%	2%	6%
Semi-professional	7%	12%	28%
Non-professional	92%	86%	66%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(704)	(939)	(1111)

Scrutiny of Table 5.12 reveals that, as IQ increases, the percentage of women in professional and semi-professional occupations increases. With an increase in IQ from middle third to upper third, the percentage of women in professional occupations triples, and the percentage of women in

semi-professional occupations increases 133%.

Of the social factors examined in this section, education has the greatest influence on professional status. Fully 21% of those with education beyond the baccalaureate are in professional occupations compared to 0% of those who have not completed high school. Race also influences professional status. White women are four times more likely to be in professional occupations than black women.

IQ scores are related to professional status. Six percent of women with IQ scores in the upper third are in professional occupations compared to 1% of women with scores in the lower third. Age also has an effect on professional status. Only 1% of women under 24 were in professional positions compared to 3% of those over 24.

Attitudinal Factors

A woman's attitude toward appropriate female behavior is expected to influence her occupational experience. Chenoweth and Maret (1980) found that commitment to traditional values concerning a woman's place in the home influenced occupational choice. The sex role attitude scale defined in Appendix 1 was recoded into three categories: strongly traditional, moderate, liberal. Table 5.13 shows the relationship between professional status and sex role attitude.

TABLE 5.13

PROFESSIONAL STATUS BY SEX ROLE ATTITUDE

	Sex Role Attitude		
Professional Status	Non-Traditional	Moderate	Traditional
Professional	4%	3%	2%
Semi-professional	18%	14%	11%
Non-professional	78%	83%	87%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1155)	(1575)	(1290)

Table 5.13 reveals that sex role attitudes influence professional status. Women with liberal sex role attitudes are twice as likely to be in professional occupations than women with traditional values. Women with liberal sex role attitudes are also slightly more likely to be in semi-professional occupations than women with traditional attitudes. The likely reason for this is that women who view working outside the home in a negative light are less likely to prepare for a career. If they are working, they are likely to see this as temporary. Attainment of a professional career requires a commitment more likely to be made by women with a desire to remain in the labor force.

Multivariable Analysis

In the previous sections of this chapter, the influence of individual variables on professional status was examined. The relationship between three or more variables will now be considered. Multivariable analysis will lead to a better understanding of the factors that influence the attainment of professional status. Since few women work in the traditional professions and similar factors affect the attainment of semi-professional and professional positions, the two have been combined in this section. The dependent variable used here contains all those occupations classified by the Bureau of the Census as professional/ technical.

Table 5.2 showed that a father's occupation influenced his daughter's professional status. Those women whose fathers had high status occupations were more likely to be in professional positions than those whose fathers had low status jobs. However, the influence of a father's status may take place mainly through its influence on the educational process. Spandy (1967) found that boys whose fathers were in low status occupations were less likely to attend college than those whose fathers had high status occupations. If those women with high status fathers are

likely to obtain more education, the direct influence of a father's occupation on his daughter's professional status will decrease. Table 5.14 examines the relationship between professional status and a father's occupation, controlling for education.

TABLE 5.14

PROFESSIONAL STATUS BY FATHER'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS BY RESPONDENT'S EDUCATION

	% in Professional Occupations	
	Father's Status	
Respondent's Education	Low	High
Less than high school	4% (460)	0% (138)
High school graduate	4% (954)	5% (704)
Some college	17% (225)	18% (331)
College graduate	71% (139)	60% (276)
Advanced education	80% (25)	85% (94)

An examination of Table 5.14 reveals that for those women with less than a college degree, their fathers' occupations have little effect on professional status. For those who have received college diplomas, their fathers' occupational status does influence professional status. However, it does so in a direction opposite from the way which was expected from viewing the two-variable table.

Those whose fathers are in low status occupations are more likely to be professionals than those whose fathers are in high status positions. Among those with advanced education, their fathers' occupations have a small positive effect on professional status. Those whose fathers have high status occupations are slightly more likely to be professionals than those whose fathers have low status jobs.

Table 5.5 showed the relationship between a mother's occupational status and her daughter's professional status. Those whose mothers worked in high status positions were more likely to be professionals than those whose mothers worked in low status positions. However, this influence may also take place primarily through the educational process. If this is the case, the effect of a mother's occupation on her daughter's professional status will diminish when education is held constant. Table 5.15 shows the relationship between professional status and a mother's occupation, controlling for education.

TABLE 5.15

PROFESSIONAL STATUS BY MOTHER'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS BY RESPONDENT'S EDUCATION

	% in Professional Occupations Mother's Status	
Respondent's Education	Low	High
Less than high school	0% (164)	0% (42)
High school graduate	4% (352)	6% (270)
Some college	16% (62)	20% (135)
College graduate	55% (27)	68% (118)
Advanced education	85% (7)	83% (41)

An examination of Table 5.15 shows that, when education is held constant, the effect of a mother's occupation on her daughter's professional status diminishes. However, a mother's occupational status maintains some effect on her daughter's professional status even controlling for education. This effect is particularly strong for those women with college diplomas. Among these women, 55% of those with low status mothers were in professional positions compared to 68% of those with high status mothers. For those women with advanced education, a mother's occupational status has a very small negative effect on her daughter's professional status. This, however, may be due to error caused by the small number of women in this group.

Table 5.7 showed that family size had a strong negative effect on professional status. The more children a woman has the less likely she is to be in a professional occupation. However, the influence of fertility on professional status may be indirect, taking place primarily through its effect on educational attainment. If this is so, the effect of fertility on professional status will diminish when education is held constant. Table 5.16 illustrates the relationship between the number of children and professional status, controlling for education.

TABLE 5.16

PROFESSIONAL STATUS BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN

BY EDUCATION

	% in Professional Occupations Number of Children			
Education	None	One	Two	Three or More
Less than high school	0% (90)	.7% (151)	1% (205)	0% (245)
High school graduate	5% (533)	4% (519)	3% (520)	4% (280)
Some college	17% (276)	18% (141)	20% (134)	14% (44)
College graduate or more education	63% (328)	72% (106)	70% (87)	78% (14)

Table 5.16 shows that for those women with less than a college diploma family size has little effect on professional status. For those women with a college education or more, those without children are less likely to be

professionals than those with children. Women with a college degree and three or more children are the most likely to be in a professional occupation. However, the small number of women in this category makes this finding suspect. Table 5.16 reveals that most of the effect of fertility on professional status is indirect, taking place through its influence on educational attainment.

Race may also influence the relationship between fertility and professional status. There is some evidence that children have less of an influence on the employment of black women than of white women (Almquist and Wehrle-Einhorn, 1978). One explanation for this is put forth by Macke and Morgan (1978:188). They write: "For black women, mothering probably does not require the constant surveillance of children considered necessary by whites, a difference made possible largely by both the presence of mother substitutes within the extended black family and the high density of black households." Table 5.17 shows the relationship between professional status and race, controlling for the number of children.

TABLE 5.17

PROFESSIONAL STATUS BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN BY RACE

	% in Professional Occupations			
	Number of Children			
Race	None	One	Two	Three or More
Black	18% (324)	10% (289)	10% (260)	3% (255)
White	28%(1179)	17% (682)	12% (721)	7% (348)

Table 5.17 shows that the effect of fertility on professional status is similar for women of both races. As the number of children increases, the percentage of women in professional occupations decreases. For women of both races, the sharpest decline in the percentage in professional positions occurs from no children to one child. For black women, the change from one child to two children is not associated with a decrease in the percentage in professional occupations. For white women this change is associated with a small decrease.

Table 5.10 illustrated that professional status is influenced by race. White women are more likely to be in professional occupations than black women. However, the effect of race on professional status may be influenced by education. If the educational levels of black and white women differ, the difference in professional status may be due to education rather than other aspects of what it means

to be black. Race, then, would have an indirect effect, primarily, on professional status. Table 5.18 shows the relationship between professional status and race, controlling for education.

TABLE 5.18

PROFESSIONAL STATUS BY RACE BY EDUCATION

	% in Professional Occupations			
	Race			
Education	Black		White	
Less than high school	.6%	(317)	.4%	(371)
High school graduate	3%	(502)	5%	(1334)
Some college	10%	(80)	20%	(471)
College graduate or more education	75%	(96)	65%	(462)

Table 5.18 illustrates that education influences the relationship between professional status and race. Among those women who have not graduated from college, white women are slightly more likely to be in professional occupations than black women. Among those women with college degrees, however, the situation changes. Among these women, blacks are more likely to be in professional occupations than whites. One explanation for this is offered by Bock (1971:127). He writes: "...the number of Negro female professionals results from the necessity of employment.

Negro women, whether married or not, are more likely to work than white women." Women who expect to spend most of their lives in the labor force are more likely to make the commitment of time and energy necessary to achieve a professional occupation.

Table 5.12 showed that IQ score influenced professional status. However, this influence may take place primarily through its effect on education. IQ scores measure those aspects of intelligence particularly necessary for success in the school system (Hager, 1974). Those who succeed in the system will obtain more education. Therefore, it may be said that the influence of IQ score on professional status is indirect, taking place primarily through its effect on educational achievement. Table 5.19 shows the relationship between professional status and IQ, controlling for education.

TABLE 5.19

PROFESSIONAL STATUS BY IQ BY EDUCATION

	% in Professional Occupations		
	IQ		
Education	Lower Third	Middle Third	Upper Third
Less than high school	.8% (130)	0% (83)	0% (31)
High school graduate	2% (426)	5% (523)	8% (382)
Some college	11% (79)	14% (167)	23% (205)
College graduate or more education	76% (39)	61% (107)	67% (348)

Scrutiny of Table 5.19 shows that for women who are high school graduates IQ has a small positive effect on professional status. For those women who attended college, IQ also influenced professional status. Among these women, only 11% of those with IQ's in the lower third held professional positions compared to 23% with IQ's in the upper third. Once a woman has graduated from college, however, the situation changes. Among these women, 78% of those with IQ scores in the lower third held professional positions compared to 67% of those with IQ's in the upper third. For these women, their academic credentials apparently outweighed the importance of scores on these tests, thus allowing them to attain professional positions.

In this section an attempt was made to gain greater insight into the factors that influence a woman's professional status. The analysis focused on those who had attained professional occupations, as defined by the Bureau of the Census, and the effect of two or more variables was considered.

For most women, the original relationship between a daughter's status and her mother's occupational status also diminished with the addition of education. However, a mother's occupation maintained some effect on her daughter's professional status despite controlling for education. This

effect was particularly strong among those women who had graduated from college. Among these women, 55% of those whose mothers were in low status occupations were in professional positions compared to 68% of those whose mothers were in high status occupations.

The relationship between fertility and professional status also changed when education was added to the analysis. For those women who had not graduated from college, fertility had little effect on professional status. However, among women with college degrees, those without children were less likely to be professionals than those with children. This may be due to a greater need for income among women with children.

Race was added to the original relationship between fertility and professional status. However, there were few racial differences in the effect of fertility on professional status. For women of both races, as the number of children increases, the percentage of women in professional occupations decreases.

In an attempt to specify the relationship between professional status and race, education was added to the analysis. It was found that, among women who have not graduated from college, whites were more likely to be professionals than blacks. However, for college graduates, the

situation changes. Among these women, blacks were more likely to be in professional positions than whites (75% compared to 65%).

Education was added to the original relationship between IQ score and professional status. It was found that IQ score had a direct positive influence on professional status for women who had less than a college degree. However, once a woman has graduated from college, the direction of the influence of IQ changes. For these women, those with IQ's in the lower third were more likely to be professionals than those with IQ scores in the middle and upper third.

This section showed that education is by far the most important factor in determining professional status. Factors such as coming from a low SES background and having many children, that seemed to hinder professional status in the two-variable analysis, lost most of their importance when education was held constant. Race, which was originally related to professional status, was also influenced by education. The initial finding showed that white women were more likely to be in professional positions than black women. However, this held true only for women who did not have a college education. Once a college

diploma was received, black women were more likely to be professionals than white women.

These findings are significant because they show the importance of programs designed to improve educational opportunities. Facilitating access to higher level education among disadvantaged groups is the key to improving occupational position. This is particularly significant at a time when funding cuts for educational programs have become politically expedient.

Previously, the relationship of one and two variables to professional status was considered. In this section, the interaction of the variables and their relative importance in influencing professional status are examined. Only those factors shown to influence professional attainment in the earlier analysis are considered. Variables are entered into the equation on the basis of their degree of influence. Step-wise regression is used, which will allow the influence of each independent variable on the dependent variable to be clearly seen. The following variables are entered into the equation:

professional status: the dependent variable coded 1 if professional and 0 if non-professional.

education: actual number of school years completed.

sex role attitude: 8-item scale measuring a respondent's attitude toward the labor force participation of women.

number of children

father's occupation: measured by the Duncan scale.

mother's occupation: measured by the Duncan scale.

IQ score: actual score on school-administered test.

The regression equation was run separately for black and white women. This was done in order to understand the relative importance of factors influencing the professional status of women of different races. Table 5.20A shows the influence of selected variables on professional status for white women. Table 5.20B shows the influence of selected variables on the status of black women.

TABLE 5.20A

INFLUENCE OF SELECTED VARIABLES ON PROFESSIONAL STATUS

	White Women Only				
	Step Number				
Variables	1	2	3	4	5
Education	.63*	.62*	.63*	.62*	.62*
Sex role attitudes		-.07*	-.07*	-.07*	.07*
Father's occupation			.03	.03	.03
Mother's occupation				.02	.02
IQ					.02
R^2	.400	.405	.408	.409	.410

Standardized Regression Coefficients

*Significant at the .05 level.

TABLE 5.20B

INFLUENCE OF SELECTED VARIABLES ON PROFESSIONAL STATUS

	Black Women Only				
	Step Number				
Variables	1	2	3	4	5
Education	.55*	.61*	.60*	.61*	.60*
Number of children		-.12*	-.15*	-.14*	-.14*
Sex role attitudes			.09*	.09*	.09*
Father's occupation				.07*	.08*
Mother's occupation					.03
R^2	.303	.316	.324	.329	.330

Standardized Regression Coefficients

*Significant at the .05 level.

The regression analysis shows that for both black and white women education has a strong influence on professional status. The influence of education does not diminish even when other variables are added to the equation. Taken alone, education accounts for 40% of the variance in professional status for white women and 30% of the variance for black women. For black women, the number of children is the next most influential variable. It has a small but significant negative effect on professional status. For white women, the number of children is excluded from the analysis because of a tolerance level below .01. This means that the addition

of fertility to the analysis would add virtually nothing to the proportion of the variance not already explained by the independent variables already in the equation. Among white women, fertility has little independent effect on professional status. Sex role attitude has a small but significant effect on professional status for both black and white women. A father's occupation has a small but significant effect on the professional status of black women. The effect on the status of white women is not significant. The effect of a mother's occupation on professional status is small and insignificant for both races.

The effect of IQ on professional status is very small for white women and so small for black women that it is excluded from the analysis because of its low tolerance level. All the independent variables taken together account for 41% of the variance in professional status for white women and 33% of the variance for black women.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that, when all factors are considered, education has the strongest effect on professional status. The effect of education is so strong that it counteracts the negative influence of ascribed characteristics such as race and family SES. These findings suggest

that increasing the availability of higher education among the disadvantaged would have the greatest effect on their professional opportunities.

This chapter has also shown that, when multiple regression is performed, for black women, family size has a negative effect on professional status. This would also suggest that increasing the availbility of child care facilities for these women might increase their chances for professional careers.

CHAPTER 6

THE CORRELATES OF FIRST JOB QUALITY

The first job, the point of entry into the labor force, has important consequences for the social stratification system. Class differences, to a large extent, rest on occupational position and the related economic and political leverage. Some research has been done on the process of labor force entry for men. The classic Blau and Duncan (1967) study of occupational mobility found the individual's educational attainment to have the strongest effect on the quality of the first job. This factor, together with a father's occupation and education, explained nearly one-third of the variation in the status of the first job. Parnes (1970) reported that family socioeconomic status influenced a young man's educational attainment and thus the quality of the first job. Ornstein (1976) found the status of a young man's first job to be influenced primarily by his education and various aspects of his family background.

The first job also influences an individual's later social mobility. Research on men has shown that the first job influences later occupational position. Blau and Duncan (1967) reported a strong relationship ($r=.54$) between the status level of the first job and the status level of succeeding jobs. Duncan, Featherman, and Duncan (1972) found the status level of the first job to be one of

the basic predetermining factors in subsequent achievement.

These studies, however, shed little light on the causes and consequences of women's labor force entry. There is some controversy over how similar is the status attainment process for men and women. Featherman and Hauser's (1976) and McClendon's (1976) findings revealed little sex difference in the process of educational and occupational attainment. On the other hand, Alexander and Eckland (1974) found female educational attainments were more strongly dependent on social class origins than those of males. Sewell and Shah (1968) also found female educational attainment to be more sensitive to background factors. Sewell, Hauser, and Wolf (1980:558) found women to have an initial advantage in occupational status. By mid-life, however, the mean status of occupations held by men is higher than those held by women. In an attempt to explain the inconsistency between their findings and those of Featherman and Hauser and McClendon, they write:

> The latter studies were based on samples with a broad age range over which the relationship between the mean occupational attainment of men and women might be expected to change. If in the life cycle, the occupational standing of women is at first higher and then lower than that of men, a sex differential in occupational standing need not appear in a sample that is heterogenous with respect to age.

Family factors are also expected to have a different influence on the status attainment process of men and women. The first job (in the paid labor force), for men, is likely to be found shortly after leaving school. Many women, however, upon leaving school, may start raising families, obtaining their first paid jobs later in life. Family factors, therefore, may have an important influence on the way in which women enter the labor force.

To the extent that the factors that influence the first job differ by sex, additional research on the entry process for women is needed. Not only are the factors that influence the first job expected to differ by sex, but also the consequences of the first job for later social mobility are expected to differ. As previously mentioned, research on men has determined that the status level of the first job influences the status level of subsequent positions. The influence of the first job on later occupational achievement may be even stronger for women because of their lack of upward mobility.

Rosenfeld (1979) discovered that women, as opposed to men, have a flat career line rather than an ascending one. In short, the status level of a woman's first job is likely to be the same or similar to the status level of her subsequestion positions. Clearly, a woman's initial occupational

position will strongly influence her labor force history.

This chapter discusses the factors that influence the status level of a woman's first job. The factors to be examined are as follows:

1. Background factors, which characterize the respondent's family of orientation.

2. Individual characteristics, such as educational attainment, race, and age at the time of the first job.

3. Familial factors, including marital status and the number of children at the time of the first job.

Various researchers have defined entry into the labor force in different ways. Blau and Duncan (1967) define labor force entry as a man's first job after leaving full-time school. Ornstein (1976) defines entry as the first job held for sixteen months after leaving full-time school. For women, the issue is even more problematic because women's labor force participation is more likely to be intermittent and women are more likely to work part-time. Labor force entry will be defined in this study as the first job after leaving full-time school.

The dependent variable, the status level of the first job, is measured by the Duncan scale. Duncan's scale is used here to measure the relative desirability of jobs held by women.

Background Factors

Characteristics of the family of origin are expected to influence the status level of a woman's first job. Women from high SES families may be more achievement-oriented, more knowledgeable about the labor force, and able to obtain more education. In addition, a high status family is likely to have personal contacts that may facilitate their daughter's entry into a high level position. Research on the occupational achievement of men has found that the father's occupation has a significant influence on the quality of the first job (Ornstein, 1976). Table 6.1 shows the relationship between the father's occupational status, as measured by the Duncan scale and the respondent's first job.

TABLE 6.1

FIRST JOB STATUS BY FATHER'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

	Father's Occupational Status	
First Job Status	Low	High
Low	31%	16%
Medium	29%	25%
High	40%	59%
Total Percent	100%	100%
Total Cases	(2066)	(1860)

Table 6.1 shows that the father's occupation is related

to the quality of the first job. Women whose fathers have a high occupational status were more likely to enter the labor force in a high status occupation than women whose fathers have low status occupations.

Table 6.2 examines the relationship between the father's education and the quality of the first job. Well-educated parents may be in a position to foster their daughter's career achievements, particularly in the earlier stages. They may use their influence in helping her attain a higher level first job.

TABLE 6.2

FIRST JOB STATUS BY FATHER'S EDUCATION

	Father's Education			
First Job Status	Less High School	High School	Some College	College Graduate
Low	29%	15%	14%	10%
Medium	29%	25%	23%	18%
High	42%	60%	63%	72%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1755)	(902)	(246)	(322)

An examination of Table 6.2 reveals that, as the father's educational level increases, the percentage of women who entered the labor force in high status positions increases. Of those women whose fathers have not completed

high school, 42% had high status first jobs compared to 72% of those women whose fathers have graduated from college.

Table 6.3 illustrates the relationship between the status of the first job and the mother's education. Sewell, Hauser, and Wolf (1980) found a woman's education to be directly affected by her mother's educational achievements. A high-achieving mother is likely to serve as a positive role model, fostering her daughter's achievements. Mother's education is, therefore, expected to relate positively to her daughter's first job status.

TABLE 6.3

FIRST JOB STATUS BY MOTHER'S EDUCATION

	Mother's Education			
First Job Status	Less than High School	High School Graduate	Some College	College Graduate
Low	31%	16%	16%	10%
Medium	30%	25%	18%	18%
High	39%	59%	66%	72%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1977)	(1385)	(296)	(227)

Table 6.3 shows a positive relationship between the mother's education and the quality of the respondent's first job. Only 39% of those whose mothers have not completed high school are in high status first jobs compared to 72%

of those whose mothers have graduated from college.

The mother's occupational status is also expected to influence the quality of her daughter's first job. Treiman and Terrell (1973) discovered that the mother's occupation had a strong influence in determining the occupational attainment of her daughter. Table 6.4 shows the relationship between the mother's occupational status and her daughter's first job.

TABLE 6.4

FIRST JOB STATUS BY MOTHER'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

	Mother's Occupational Status	
First Job Status	Low	High
Low	32%	16%
Medium	32%	20%
High	36%	64%
Total Percent	100%	100%
Total Cases	(705)	(717)

Table 6.4 reveals that the mother's occupational status is strongly related to her daughter's first job. Only 36% of those women whose mothers are in low status occupations have high status first jobs compared to 64% of those whose mothers have high status occupations. In fact, the influence of the mother's occupation on her

daughter's first job appears to be stronger than the influence of the father's occupation. The percent difference in high status first job by the mother's occupation is 28% compared with 19% for the father's occupation.

The background factors examined here are all related to the quality of the first job. Both parents' occupational status and education influence the status level of their daughter's first job. However, the influences of these factors may take place primarily through their influence on education. The extent to which these background factors influence the first job independently of education will be examined in a later section.

Familial Factors

The preceding chapters showed that familial factors were strongly related to women's labor force experiences. Marital status is expected to be particularly influential in determining the quality of the first job. Those women who have family responsibilities at the time of labor force entry may be restricted in these responsibilities in the amount of time and effort they can devote to paid work. These restrictions may be reflected in their lower entry status. Single women without family responsibilities may be able to expend more energy on their jobs and thus

enter the labor force in higher status occupations. Table 6.5 shows the relationship between marital status and first job.

TABLE 6.5

FIRST JOB STATUS BY MARITAL STATUS

	Marital Status		
First Job Status	Married	Separated, Widowed, Divorced	Never Married
Low	25%	34%	25%
Medium	29%	29%	28%
High	46%	37%	47%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(2551)	(457)	(1085)

Table 6.5 shows that the first job status of married and never married women are virtually identical. Forty-six percent of married women and 47% of never married women start their careers in high status positions. Divorced and separated women, however, are somewhat less likely to have high status first jobs. Only 37% of divorced and separated women enter the labor force in high status positions.

It is likely that these women planned to give precedence to the homemaker role. Not having planned on working outside the home, they may have been thrust into the labor force upon the dissolution of their marriage. They do not

have the choice of homemaking available to some married women nor the option to wait until an appropriate job is available. Unlike never married women, they did not postpone marriage until preparing for and gaining labor force experience. For these reasons, their first job is less likely to be in a high status occupation.

The care of children remains primarily the responsibility of women. The time and energey necessary to care for children may influence the mother's labor force participation. Those women who postponed labor force entry until they have borne several children may be at a disadvantage. A heavy investment in labor force participation may be precluded by the need to care for children.

In addition, women with many children who enter the labor force may do so out of financial necessity. Sweet (1973) reports that, as the number of children decreases, the percentage of women in the full-time labor force decreases. Table 6.6 shows the relationship between the number of children at labor force entry and the status of the first job.

TABLE 6.6

FIRST JOB STATUS BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN

First Job Status	Number of Children			
	None	One	Two	Three or More
Low	16%	27%	31%	39%
Medium	23%	31%	30%	14%
High	61%	42%	39%	27%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1960)	(1051)	(824)	(495)

Table 6.6 reveals the relationship between the quality of the first job and fertility. As the number of children increases, the percentage of women who entered the labor force in a high status position decreases. The biggest decrease takes place after the first child is born. Sixty-one percent of the women with no children have high status occupations, compared to 41% of women with one child. There is little difference in the number of women in high status positions between those with one and those with two children (42% compared to 39%). Once there are three or more children, however, the percentage of women in the high status group again declines. There is a 12 percent difference in high status first jobs between women with two and women with three or more children.

The familial factors discussed in the previous section were viewed as potentially limiting to women's occupational achievement. Those women who assumed family responsibilities by marrying before entering the labor force were expected to have lower status first jobs because of these responsibilities. This was not the case. The status level of married and never married women was almost identical. Divorced and separated women were found to have somewhat lower status first jobs. Besides marital status, children are also another measure of family responsibility. Those women who had many children upon entering the labor force were expected to have lower quality first jobs. This expectation was supported by the data. As the number of children increased, the percentage of women who entered the labor force in high status first jobs decreased. Only 27% of the women with three or more children had high status first jobs compared to 61% of those women with no children.

Social Factors

In the previous chapters age has been shown to influence women's employment experiences. Age at labor force entry is also expected to influence the quality of the first job. Parnes (1970), in his study of young men, found that older individuals knew more about the

labor force and thus got better jobs. Table 6.7 shows the relationship between the status of the first job and age at labor force entry.

TABLE 6.7

FIRST JOB STATUS BY AGE AT LABOR FORCE ENTRY

	Age		
First Job Status	Young: 16-23	Medium: 24-26	Older: 27-34
Low	30%	22%	25%
Medium	29%	31%	27%
High	41%	47%	48%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1473)	(1289)	(1327)

Table 6.7 shows that age at labor force entry has little influence on the quality of the first job. Of those women who were 16 to 23 at the time of labor force entry, 41% are in high status jobs. Of those 24 to 26 at the time of entry, 47% have high status jobs. Forty-eight percent of the women who entered the labor force between 27-34 obtain high quality jobs.

The quality of the first job is known to be influenced by race. Coleman et al. (1972:248), in their study of men's careers, found that black and white men start out in the labor force 5.59 status points apart on the Duncan

scale. Ornstein (1976:45), in his study of occupational attainment, found the mean occupational prestige score of the first job to be 29.3 for white men compared with 24.8 for black men. Treas (1978:397), in her analysis of the National Longitudinal Survey of older women, found race to have a strong influence on the quality of the first job. She writes: "Discrimination against black women occurs largely in initial placement." Table 6.8 shows the relationship between the status level of the first job and race.

TABLE 6.8

FIRST JOB STATUS BY RACE

	Race	
First Job Status	Black	White
Low	32%	21%
Medium	33%	25%
High	35%	54%
Total Percent	100%	100%
Total Cases	(1207)	(3079)

An examination of Table 6.8 reveals that race has a strong influence on the quality of the first job. Only 35% of black women enter the labor force in high status positions compared with 54% of white women.

The previous chapters have shown education to be a determinant of women's employment experience. Education is also expected to influence the quality of the first job. Well-educated women may know more about the labor force and, therefore, be able to obtain better jobs. In addition, education is often used as a screening process by employees. Educational attainment is often seen as an indicator of intelligence and reliability. Rosenfeld (1980) found that, for both men and women, education has an important influence on early occupational attainment. Coleman et al. (1972) found that, for young men of both races, education is the most important determinant of the quality of the first job. The relationship between the status of the first job and education is shown in Table 6.9.

TABLE 6.9

FIRST JOB STATUS BY EDUCATION

	Education			
First Job Status	Less Than High School	High School Graduate	Some College	College Graduate
Low	49%	24%	12%	3%
Medium	31%	33%	27%	10%
High	20%	43%	61%	87%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(958)	(2051)	(602)	(468)

Table 6.9 reveals that education has a strong

relationship to the quality of the first job. As educational level increases, the status level of the first job increases. Fully 87% of the women who were college graduates and high status jobs compared with only 20% of women who had not completed high school.

Table 6.10 shows the relationship between the quality of the first job and IQ score. Sewell, Hauser, and Wolf (1980) found IQ to be related to the status of the first job for both men and women, although the relationship was stronger for men. IQ scores do not measure intelligence but rather mastery of certain culturally determined skills. To the extent that mastery of these standardized skill influences occupational attainment, IQ scores will be related to the quality of the first job. The IQ variable used here measures high school-administered tests divided into thirds.

TABLE 6.10

FIRST JOB STATUS BY IQ SCORE

	IQ		
First Job Status	Lower Third	Middle Third	Upper Third
Low	31%	20%	11%
Medium	34%	28%	21%
High	35%	52%	68%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(752)	(995)	(1148)

Table 6.10 shows that IQ score is strongly related to the quality of the first job. As IQ scores increases, the percentage of women in high status occupations increases. Only 35% of women with scores in the lower third have high status first compared with 68% of those with scores in the upper third.

Of the social factors examined in this section, education at labor force entry has the strongest influence on the quality of the first job. Nearly 90% of college graduates have high status first jobs compared to 20% of high school dropouts. Race also has a strong influence on the first job. Almost 55% of white women entered the labor force in high status positions compared with 35% of black women. IQ scores are also related to first job quality. Of those women with IQ scores in the lower third, 35% started in high status occupations, while 68% of the women with IQ scores in the upper third started in high status positions. However, the relationship between IQ scores and first job status may be influenced by education. The relationship between first job and IQ score, controlling for education, is examined in a later section. Age at labor force entry had only a small effect on first job status. Those who entered the labor force at an older age were slightly more likely to

have high status first jobs than those who entered young.

In the preceding sections the relationship of individual variables to the status of the first job was discussed. In this section, the influence of two or more variables on first job status is considered. Multivariable analysis will shed more light on the status attainment process of women.

The previous section showed that the status level of the first job was related to the socioeconomic status of the family of origin. However, the influence of socioeconomic origins may work primarily through education. If women from high SES backgrounds achieve more education, the direct influence of family SES on first job status will lessen. Table 6.11 shows the relationship between the status of the first job and a father's occupational status as measured by the Duncan scale.

TABLE 6.11

FIRST JOB STATUS BY FATHER'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS BY EDUCATION

	% High Status	
	Father's Occupational Status	
Respondent's Education	Low	High
Less than high school	18% (603)	25% (228)
High school graduate	39% (1036)	48% (817)
Some college	57% (216)	64% (348)
College graduate	89% (131)	87% (314)

Table 6.11 shows that the influence of family SES on first job status is diminished when educational level is added to the analysis. Nevertheless, the father's occupational status continues to exert a small effect on first job status at every occupational level except college graduate. Once a woman has graduated from college, her father's occupational status has virtually no effect on the quality of her first job. For those from both high and low income families, education strongly influences the quality of the first job.

Table 6.12 illustrates the relationship between first job status and mother's occupational status, controlling for education. In the previous section, the mother's occupational status was found to strongly influence her daughter's first job. However, to the extent that women whose mothers had high level occupations achieved more education the influence of the mother's occupation may take place indirectly through its effect on educational achievement.

TABLE 6.12

FIRST JOB STATUS BY MOTHER'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS BY RESPONDENT'S EDUCATION

	% High Status First Job	
	Mother's Occupational Status	
Respondent's Education	Low	High
Less than high school	16% (220)	30% (78)
High school graduate	38% (368)	50% (309)
Some college	52% (67)	71% (139)
College graduate	83% (29)	89% (115)

An examination of Table 6.12 reveals that adding education to the analysis diminishes the effect of the mother's occupation on her daughter's first job. However, the mother's occupational status maintains a small influence on her daughter's first job at all educational levels. This influence is weakest among women who have graduated from college.

An earlier section showed that a woman's fertility strongly affected the quality of her first job. The number of children a woman has, however, can influence her educational attainments. To the extent that this is true, the relationship between fertility and first job status will be reduced when education is added to the analysis. Table 6.13 examines the effect of number of children on first job quality when education is held constant.

TABLE 6.13

FIRST JOB STATUS BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN BY EDUCATION

	% High Status First Job			
	Number of Children			
Education	None	One	Two	Three or More
Less than high school	26% (207)	20% (221)	21% (263)	16% (265)
High school graduate	47% (850)	40% (602)	40% (412)	35% (187)
Some college or more	75% (656)	69% (226)	69% (145)	55% (42)

Table 6.13 shows that fertility affects the status of

the first job independently of education at labor force entry. At every educational level, as number of children increases, the proportion of women in high status occupations decreases. The effect of fertility on first job status is particularly strong for women who have attended college. At every educational level, having one child slightly decreases the percentage of women in the high status category. Having an additional child has virtually no effect on first job status. However, once a woman has three or more children at labor force entry the percentage of women in the high status category drops again. This drop is greatest for women who have attended college.

Race may also influence the relationship between fertility and the quality of the first job. Almquist and Wehrle-Einhorn (1978) found that the presence of children in the home has less of an effect on the employment of black women than on the employment of white women. They hypothesize one reason for this difference as being kinship patterns within the black community that provide sufficient child care to allow the black women to more fully participate in the paid labor force. If this is the case, a black woman's fertility may have less effect on her first job status than a white woman's fertility.

Table 6.14 shows the relationship between the number of children at labor force entry and the status of the first job.

TABLE 6.14

FIRST JOB STATUS BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN BY RACE

	% High Status First Job Number of Children			
Race	None	One	Two	Three or More
White	65% (1503)	45% (716)	44% (542)	31% (267)
Black	48% (432)	34% (325)	25% (226)	21% (222)

Table 6.14 shows that regardless of race, as the number of children increases, the percentage of women in high status occupations decrease. For white women, having one child brings a sharp decline in the percentage of women in high quality first jobs (from 65% to 45%). The birth of an additional child, however, has virtually no effect on first job quality for white women. However, once three or more children are born, the percentage of white women in high status occupations again declines from 44% to 31%. For black women, also, the birth of the first child brings about a decline in the percentage of women in high status occupations. The decline, however, is not as precipitous as for white women. Unlike white women, the birth of an additional child brings about only a small decline in the

proportion of black women in high status occupations from 34% to 25%. Once two children are born, the birth of additional children brings about only a small decline in the percentage of black women who entered the labor force in high status positions from 25% to 21%. Regardless of the number of children, white women are more likely to have had high status first jobs than black women. The racial difference is particularly strong for women who have not had children.

Earlier, it was shown that race was related to the status level of the first job. However, the influence of race on the quality of the first job may be affected by educational level at the time of labor force entry. To the extent that education achieved by black and white women differ, the gap in first job quality may be due to education rather than race per se. Table 6.15 shows the relationship between first job status and race, controlling for education.

TABLE 6.15

FIRST JOB STATUS BY RACE BY EDUCATION AT FIRST JOB

Education at Labor Force Entry	% High Status First Job by Race	
	Black	White
Less than high school	17% (428)	23% (521)
High school graduate	33% (530)	46% (1503)
Some college	48% (117)	64% (477)
College graduate	90% (64)	88% (399)

Table 6.15 shows that the effect of race on first job status is influenced by education. Among women who are college graduates there is virtually no racial difference in the percentage of women in high status first jobs. For black women who have attended college, receiving a college diploma is associated with a large increase in the proportion of women who entered the labor force in high quality occupations (90% compared to 48%). Receiving a college diploma also brings about a large increase in the percentage of white women in high status positions (88% compared to 64%). However, this increase is not as large as for black women. The largest racial difference in first job quality is found among high school graduates and those with some college. Only a small racial difference is found among women who did not complete high school at labor force entry.

Table 6.10 showed that the quality of the first job was strongly related to IQ score, but this influence may be indirect, taking place primarily through the educational process. The IQ test measures only certain skills often associated with educational achievement. These skills may be less relevant to achievement in the occupational realm compared with creativity and initiative, which are not measured by IQ tests. If this were the case, the influence

of IQ on first job quality will diminish when education is added to the analysis. Table 6.16 shows the relationship between first job status and IQ score, controlling for educational achievement.

TABLE 6.16

FIRST JOB STATUS BY IQ BY EDUCATION

Education at Labor Force Entry	% High Status First Job by IQ		
	Lower Third	Middle Third	Upper Third
Less than high school	20% (173)	33% (126)	38% (53)
High school graduate	33% (462)	45% (584)	54% (438)
Some college	57% (81)	60% (176)	67% (253)
College graduate	91% (25)	87% (77)	87% (318)

Table 6.16 shows that adding education to the analysis diminishes the relationship between IQ score and first job. However, for most women, IQ does maintain a small effect on first job status regardless of education. For all women, except those who have graduated from college, as IQ level increases, the percentage of women in high status first jobs increases. IQ seems to have little effect on job status for women who have college diplomas. For these women, the credentials of the college diploma seem to outweigh any personal ability measured by IQ in influencing first job status. For women in every IQ category, as education

increases, first job status increased. The effect is particularly marked for women in the lower third category.

In this section an attempt was made to shed further light on the factors that influence first job quality. Focusing on those who had obtained high status first jobs, additional variables were added to the analysis. The original strong relationship between the father's occupational status and first job quality diminished with the addition of income. This indicated that the influence of the father's status on the respondent's first job status took place indirectly through its influence on the educational process. However, the father's occupational status maintained a small effect on first job status at every educational level except college. Similar findings were uncovered when education was added to the relationship between first job status and the mother's occupational status. The original relationship was diminished; however, the mother's status maintained a small influence on first job quality at every educational level.

A woman's fertility was strongly related to her first job status. This relationship remained even when education was added to the analysis. For women at all educational levels, as the number of children increased, the percentage

of women in high status first jobs decreased. This effect was particularly strong for those who had attended college.

Race was also added to the relationship between first job quality and fertility. However, adding race to the analysis did not change the original relationship. For women of both races, as the number of children increased, the percentage of women who entered the labor force in high status jobs decreased.

Education was added to the analysis of first job status and race. At every educational level except college graduates white women were slightly more likely to have had high status first jobs. Among women who are college graduates, however, there is virtually no difference in the status of the first job.

In the previous section, IQ scores were found to be related to first job status. Adding education to the analysis reduced this relationship. However, at every educational level except college graduate IQ scores maintain a small effect on first job status. For college graduates, IQ has virtually no effect on the proportion of women who entered the labor force in high quality first jobs.

In the previous section, two- and three-variable analysis was used in order to examine the correlates of

first job quality. Now multivariate analysis will be used in order to further analyze the process of attaining the first job. An examination will be made of the interaction of the variables and their relative importance in influencing the quality of the first job. Only those variables shown earlier to influence the labor force entry process will be examined here.

Tables 6.17A and B show the Pearson correlation between the variables to be used in the path analysis. The Pearson r measures the degree in which change in one variable is related to change in another variable. The value of r ranges from 0 to 1, with 0 indicating no relationship between the variables and values approaching 1 indicating a strong relationship.

The following variables will be used in the analysis:

the Duncan score of the first job

the Duncan score of the father's occupation

number of school years completed by the father

the Duncan score of the mother's occupation

number of children at labor force entry

coded 1 if married 0 if not married

score on high school-administered IQ test

education at first job

the number of school years completed by the mother

TABLE 6.17A

CORRELATION COEFFICIENT OF SELECTED VARIABLES

	Blacks Only								
	First Job	No. of Children	Marital Status	Ed. at First Job	IQ	Father's Occupation	Mother's Occupation	Father's Education	Mother's Education
First job	1.0	-.30	-.08	.06	.34	.16	.32	.21	.20
Number of children	3.0	1.0	.24	-.12	-.15	-.06	-.13	-.09	-.11
Education at first job	.06	.01	.01	1.0	.16	.07	-.09	-.02	-.03
Marital status	.08	.24	1.0	.01	-.02	.02	-.03	-.05	-.03
IQ	.34	-.15	.02	-.16	1.0	.12	.25	.21	.20
Father's occupation	.16	-.06	.02	.07	.12	1.0	.22	.28	.26
Mother's occupation	.32	-.13	.03	.09	.25	.22	1.0	.27	.48
Father's education	.21	-.09	.05	.02	.21	.28	.27	1.0	.52
Mother's education	.24	-.11	.01	.02	.29	.27	.47	.51	1.0

TABLE 6.17B

CORRELATION COEFFICIENT OF SELECTED VARIABLES

	Whites Only								
	First Job	No. of Children	Marital Status	Ed. at First Job	IQ	Father's Occupation	Mother's Occupation	Father's Education	Mother's Education
First job	1.0	-.27	.14	.21	.34	.20	.25	.24	.25
Number of children	-.27	1.0	.42	.04	-.18	-.12	-.16	-.21	-.23
Education at first job	.21	.04	.02	1.0	-.21	-.05	.05	-.11	-.14
Marital status	-.14	.42	1.0	.02	-.08	-.10	-.08	-.15	-.14
IQ	.34	-.18	-.08	-.21	1.0	.22	.23	.31	.34
Father's occupation	.20	-.12	-.10	-.05	.22	1.0	.27	.38	.30
Mother's occupation	.25	-.16	-.08	.05	.23	.27	1.0	.27	.38
Father's education	.24	-.21	-.05	-.11	.31	.38	.27	1.0	.58
Mother's education	.25	-.23	-.14	.41	.34	.30	.38	.58	1.0

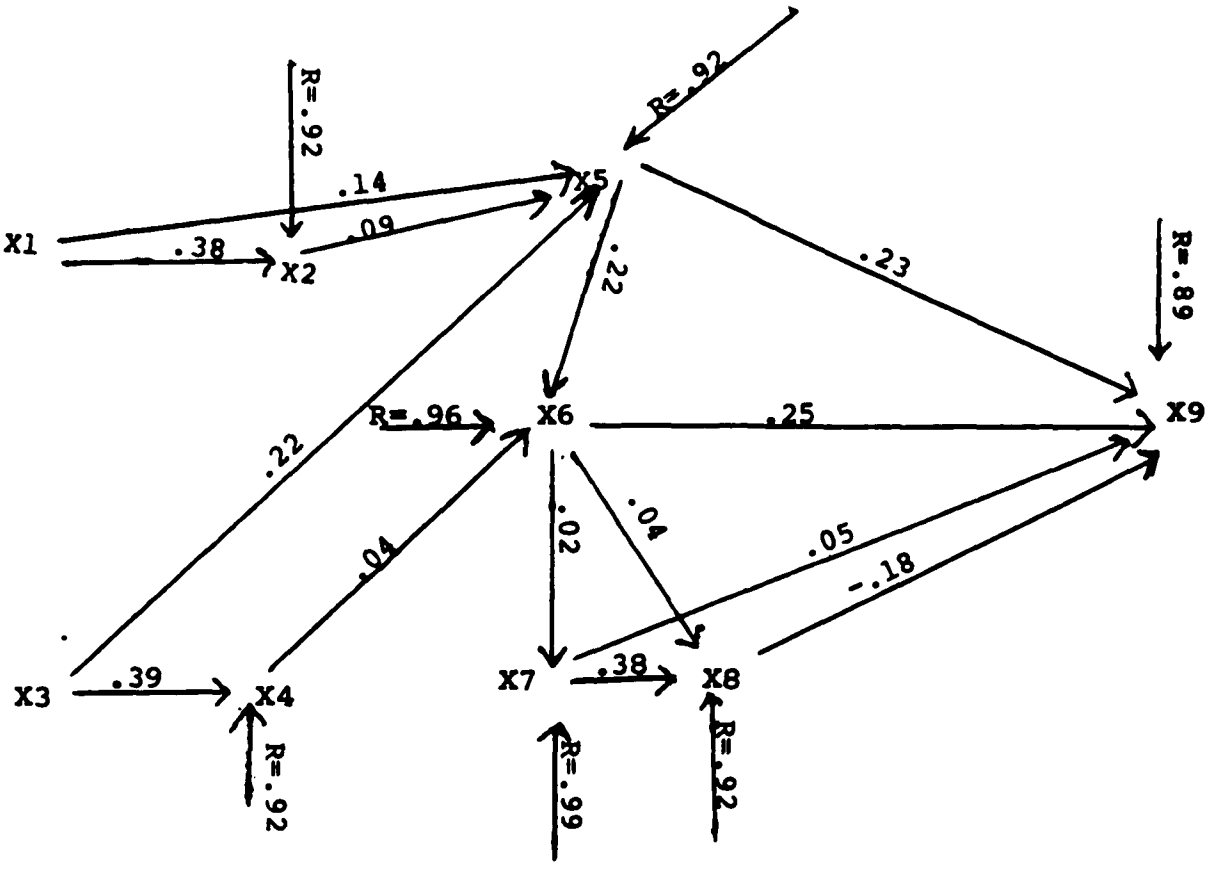
Tables 6.17A and B show that IQ score and fertility are strongly related to the first job status of black and white women. The background factors of the father's and the mother's occupation and education are also moderately correlated with the first job. Education, which shows a moderate relationship to the first job status of white women, shows a very small relationship to the first job of black women. The influence of marital status on first job quality is stronger for white women than for black women.

Path Analysis

In this section, path analysis is used in order to describe the labor force entry process. Path analysis is a powerful technique that attempts to resolve questions about possible causes of a phenomenon. It aids in the selection of variables that are potential determinants of a phenomenon and allows analysis of the specific contribution of each variable to the phenomenon being examined. The use of path analysis should allow additional insights into the process of attaining the first job. Separate models are presented for black and white women. This is done in order to determine the relative importance of factors influencing first job quality for women of both

races. The initial construction of the diagram included all simple and compound paths. Since the goal of this section is to make causal inferences with respect to the status attainment process, only those paths that are significant at the .05 level are included in the model. Table 6.18A shows the path model to labor force entry for white women. Table 6.18B shows the same information for black women.

TABLE 6.18A

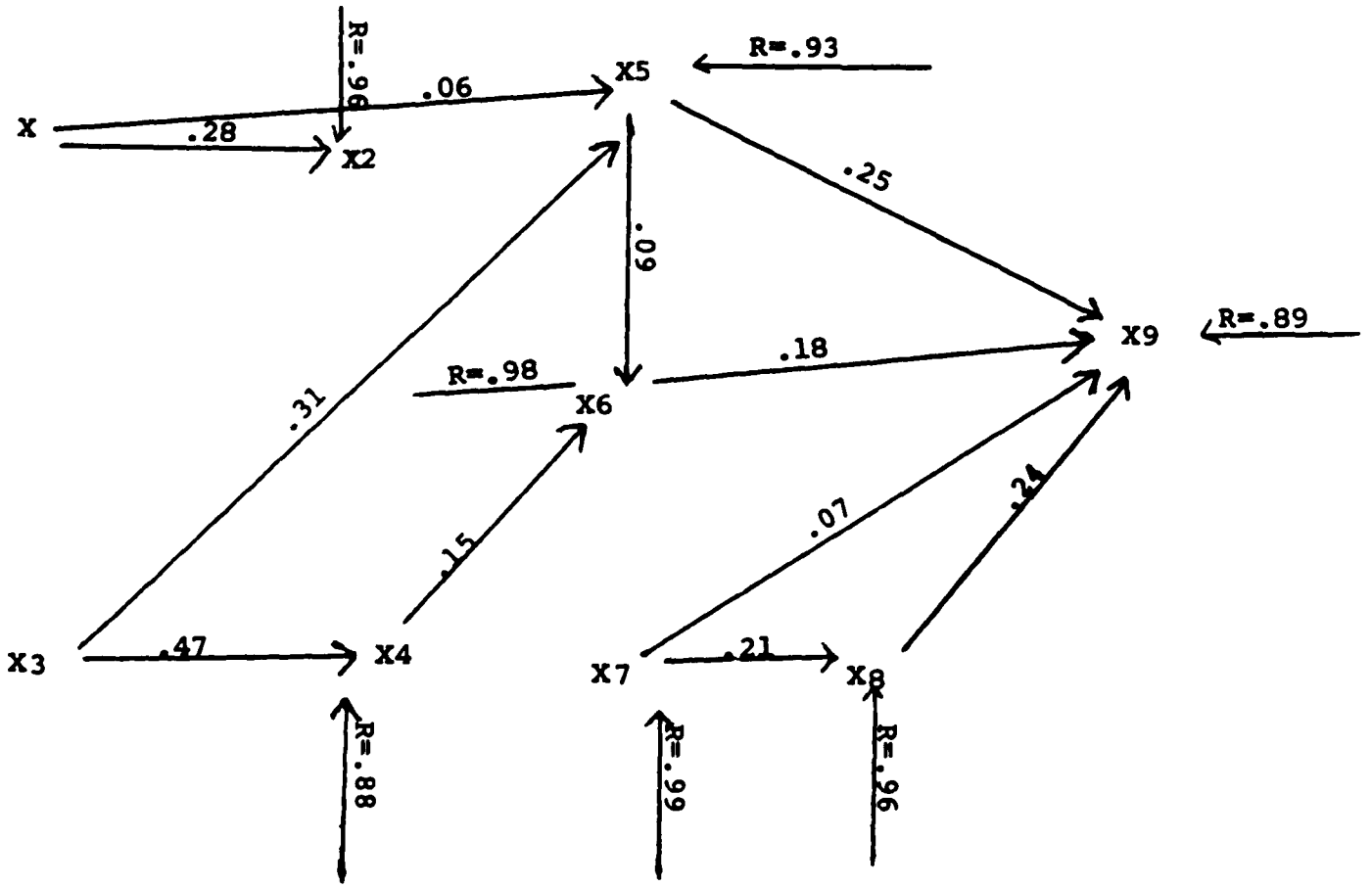


PATH MODEL TO LABOR FORCE ENTRY

WHITE WOMEN ONLY

X1	Father's education
X2	Father's occupation
X3	Mother's education
X4	Mother's occupation
X5	IQ
X6	Education at first job
X7	Marital status
X8	Number of children
X9	Status of first job

TABLE 6.18B



PATH MODEL TO LABOR FORCE ENTRY

BLACK WOMEN ONLY

X1	Father's education
X2	Father's occupation
X3	Mother's education
X4	Mother's occupation
X5	IQ
X6	Education at first job
X7	Marital status
X8	Number of children
X9	First job status

An examination of Table 6.18A shows that, for white women, education at labor force entry has the strongest effect on the quality of the first job. IQ score also has a strong effect on the status level of the first job through both its influence on the first job itself and its indirect influence on education. For white women, parental characteristics have no direct effect on first job quality. Parental influence takes place primarily through its effect on IQ score and education. The father's occupation and education do not directly influence his daughter's education, but they do influence IQ score which, in turn, influences education. The mother's education influences IQ score, while her occupation has a small direct effect on her daughter's education. Marital status has a strong direct influence on fertility and a small effect on first job status. The number of children has a negative effect on first job quality for white women.

Table 6.18B shows that, for black women, IQ score has the strongest effect on first job quality. It also has a small effect on educational achievement. The direct influence of education on first job status is smaller for black women than for white women. As was the case with white women, for black women the effect of parental

characteristics on first job quality is largely indirect. The father's education has a small direct effect on IQ score, while the influence of the mother's education on IQ score was strong and direct. For black women, the mother's occupation had a small effect on educational achievement, while the father's occupation had no significant effect on either IQ or education.

CHAPTER 7

WHO GETS AHEAD?

Of crucial importance to the study of social stratification is the process of social mobility. Two types of mobility are usually distinguished. The first, intergenerational mobility, refers to changes in occupational status from one generation to the next. The second type is intragenerational mobility which refers to changes in an individual's occupational status during his or her lifetime.

The occupational mobility process is well-documented for men. The classic Blau and Duncan (1968) study found that occupational mobility is influenced by education and social origins. Sewell, Haller, and Portes (1969) constructed an occupational mobility model which included measures of educational and occupational aspirations. Jencks (1977) incorporated measures of cognitive ability in his study of men's occupational mobility. These researchers limited their analysis of social mobility to men. The implicit assumption here is that the mobility process for men and women differ and that separate models must be used to best explain the achievement of the sexes.

More recently, several investigators have compared the occupational mobility of men and women. Treiman and Terrell (1975) found the educational and occupational

attainment process to be similar for both sexes. McClendon (1976) also concluded that the process of status attainment is essentially the same for men and women. Featherman and Hauser (1976:463) write: "Men and women face similar processes of attainment vis a vis schooling and occupational status...."

However, these conclusions were based on cross-sectional samples. Research using longitudinal data has shown considerable life-cycle variation in the occupational attainment of men and women. Rosenfeld (1978) found that white women experience virtually no upward occupational mobility, while black women show a small but significant gain in occupational status over time. Rosenfeld writes of her findings: "The lack of status gains over time contrasts with the rise in status from career beginnings which men (at least white men) experience." Sewell, Hauser, and Wolf (1980) found that women experience a slight downward mobility over the course of their careers, while men experience upward mobility.

One explanation for this is the large percentage of women working in occupational fields dominated by women. Wolf and Rosenfeld (1978) concluded that predominantly female occupations offer few chances for upward mobility

compared to mixed or predominantly male occupations.

Another plausible explanation lies in the different work history patterns of men and women. Men tend to stay in the labor force continually, while women often withdraw for child-rearing purposes. Sewell, Hauser, and Wolf (198) found that the average occupational status of women with children declines over time and that the decline is greatest among women with many children. Labor force withdrawals significantly affect women's occupational mobility. Rosenfeld (1978) found that, for white women, the greater the proportion of time spent in the labor force, the greater the upward mobility.

Clearly, the factors affecting the mobility process of women seem to be different from those factors that influence men's mobility. In particular, family responsibilities are expected to be particularly important in determining women's labor force experiences.

This chapter examines the early labor force mobility of women. Only women who have been in the labor force at least five years are included in the analysis. Coleman et al. (1972) found that most occupational mobility occurs in the early years of labor force experience. The dependent variable is the change in the Duncan score from the

first to the last job. Those whose Duncan scores decreased from the first to the last job are classified as downwardly mobile. Those whose Duncan scores did not vary from first to last job are labeled "no change." Women whose scores increased are classified as upwardly mobile.

Table 7.1 shows the distribution of occupational mobility among the respondents.

TABLE 7.1

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Occupational Mobility	N	%
Downwardly mobile	295	21
No change	790	56
Upwardly mobile	313	23
Total	1398	100%

Table 7.1 shows that most women do not advance occupationally during the first five years of labor force participation. Fully 56% show the same Duncan score at the time of the first and last job, while 21% are downwardly mobile.

Background Factors

The previous chapter showed that characteristics of the family of origin strongly influenced the quality of

the first job. These family influences affect a woman's occupational achievement in several different ways. New, New, and May (1969) found that social origins influence educational attainment and grades, which, in turn, influence occupational success. Berlin (1976) found that the family's socioeconomic status influenced the adolescent daughter's career aspirations. Background factors may also affect occupational achievement in other more subtle ways. Treas (1978) acknowledges the varied effect of social origins when she writes: "...these variables also influence occupational outcomes to the extent that they form each woman's definition of personally appropriate, attainable and acceptable employment."

However, the affect of family background variables may have a stronger affect on first job status than subsequent occupational mobility. Spilerman (1977:552) writes: "...background factors have only a minor impact on rate of advancement once entrance is secured."

Table 7.2 shows the relationship between occupational mobility and the father's occupational status.

TABLE 7.2

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY BY FATHER'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Occupational Mobility	Father's Occupational Status Low	High
Downwardly mobile	21%	20%
No change	58%	56%
Upwardly mobile	21%	24%
Total Percent	100%	100%
Total Cases	(654)	(621)

Table 7.2 shows that, for most women, the father's occupational status does not effect occupational mobility. The father's occupational status shows a small positive influence only among women who are upwardly mobile.

Another background factor that may influence a woman's occupational mobility is the status of her mother's occupation. Falk and Salter (1978) found that a mother's occupation had the most significant affect on the occupational plans of a teenage girl. This finding suggests the importance of role modeling in influencing women's aspirations.

Table 7.3 shows the relationship between occupational mobility and mother's occupational status.

TABLE 7.3

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY BY MOTHER'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Occupational Mobility	Mother's Occupational Status	
	Low	High
Downwardly mobile	24%	28%
No change	56%	53%
Upwardly mobile	19%	19%
Total Percent	100%	100%
Total Cases	(229)	(248)

An examination of Table 7.3 reveals that the mother's occupational status has virtually no influence on her daughter's occupational mobility.

This section showed that parental occupations had almost no affect on daughter's career achievements. These findings suggest that characteristics of the family of origin only slightly influence occupational mobility. Stronger determinants of mobility may be found when educational and familial factors are examined.

Familial Factors

Being married is expected to be negatively related to occupational mobility. Mueller and Campbell (1977) found that women who excel occupationally are less likely to marry. Havens (1973:980) writes: "...the higher the

economic achievement of females, the less their desire to accept the confining traditional female sex role of wife and mother...." Once a woman marries, her home responsibilities may keep her from devoting the time and energy necessary for career mobility, thus minimizing her occupational achievements. Table 7.4 shows the relationship between occupational mobility and marital status.

TABLE 7.4

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY BY MARITAL STATUS

	Marital Status		
Occupational Mobility	Married	Separated, Divorced	Never Married
Downwardly mobile	20%	24%	26%
No change	57%	50%	45%
Upwardly mobile	23%	26%	29%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(886)	(174)	(288)

Table 7.4 shows that women who have never married are slightly more likely to be upwardly mobile than women who are married or separated or divorced. The career disadvantages suffered by married and divorced women is probably linked to the constraining presence of children in the home. In addition, the currently married woman is limited in her geographic mobility,

while the divorced or separated woman often raises her children alone.

Fertility is known to influence occupational achievement. Sewell, Hauser, and Wolf (1980) found that women with children suffered downward mobility during their careers, while women without children did not. Table 7.5 illustrates the relationship between occupational mobility and number of children.

TABLE 7.5

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN

	Number of Children			
Occupational Mobility	0	One	Two	Three of More
Downwardly mobile	26%	17%	19%	22%
No change	49%	60%	61%	54%
Upwardly mobile	25%	23%	20%	24%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(612)	(368)	(258)	(97)

Table 7.5 shows that family size has little affect on occupational mobility. The change in a woman's Duncan score from the first to the last job is influenced only slightly by the number of children she has.

This section examined the relationship between the familial factors, marital status, and fertility and occupational

mobility. Marital status was found to have a small influence on career achievements. Those women who had never married were slightly more likely to be upwardly mobile than the separated or divorced or the currently married.

Family size had virtually no affect on occupational mobility. A woman's career achievements were only slightly influenced by the number of children she had.

Social Factors

Studies on occupational mobility have found education to strongly influence career achievements (Rosenfeld, 1980; Sewell, Hauser, and Wolfe, 1980). Treas (1978:392) writes: "...education continues to be causally important to ultimate achievement even apart from its role in initial occupational placement." However, the role played by advanced education in occupational achievement has been questioned. New, New, and May (1969:18) write: "Even though education is a time-honored way to get ahead our data suggests that in and of itself, education does not always lead to desired results."

Table 7.6 illustrates the relationship between occupational mobility and education.

TABLE 7.6

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY BY EDUCATION

	Education			
Occupational Mobility	Less Than High School	High School Graduate	Some College	College Degree +
Downwardly mobile	19%	23%	21%	18%
No change	62%	57%	53%	54%
Upwardly mobile	19%	20%	26%	28%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(111)	(657)	(252)	(200)

Table 7.6 shows that education has an influence on occupational mobility. As education increases, the percentage of women in the upwardly mobile category increases. Women who are college graduates are more likely to be highly mobile than women with less than a high school diploma.

Race has also been shown to influence an individual's career achievements. Treas (1978) found race to be the only ascribed status to directly affect a woman's occupational success. She found the influence of race to be strongest at the beginning of a career but also influential for later achievement. Table 7.7 shows the relationship between occupational mobility and race.

TABLE 7.7

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY BY RACE

Occupational Mobility	Race	
	Black	White
Downwardly mobile	23%	20%
No change	55%	56%
Upwardly mobile	22%	24%
Total Percent	100%	100%
Total Cases	(289)	(431)

An examination of Table 7.7 shows that race has only a very small influence on occupational mobility. Twenty-four percent of white women are in the upwardly mobile category compared to 22% of black women.

Table 7.8 shows the relationship between occupational mobility and IQ score. IQ tests may be viewed as measuring the individual's mastery of culturally determined skills. Individuals with these skills may be more aware of the occupational world and, therefore, more likely to succeed in their careers. Porter (1974:304) in his longitudinal study of young men found: "...more intelligent boys can more easily gain knowledge both of levels of occupations considerably removed from their origins and the means to attain them."

TABLE 7.8

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY BY IQ SCORE

Occupational Mobility	IQ Score		
	Low	Medium	High
Downwardly mobile	24%	20%	19%
No change	55%	58%	58%
Upwardly mobile	21%	22%	23%
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%
Total Cases	(229)	(384)	(464)

Table 7.8 shows that IQ score has little affect on occupational mobility. The change in the Duncan score from the first to the last job is influenced only slightly by IQ score.

In this section the importance of social factors such as race, education, and IQ score was examined. Only education was found to influence occupational mobility. Educational achievement affected career achievement. There was a 9 percent difference in the percentage of women in the upwardly mobile category between those who had not graduated from high school and those who had a college diploma or more education. Race had virtually no affect on occupational mobility. Twenty-two percent of black women were upwardly mobile compared to 24% of white women.

IQ score also showed little affect on occupational mobility. Twenty-one percent of women with low IQ scores were upwardly mobile compared to 22% of women with medium IQ scores and 23% of women with high IQ scores.

Three-Variable Analysis

The previous sections have examined the relationship of the individual variables to occupational mobility. In this section, the influence of two variables on mobility will be considered. Multivariable analysis will allow a better understanding of the occupational mobility process for these young women.

The section of background factors showed that the father's occupational status had little affect on his daughter's occupational mobility. However, the affect of the father's occupational status on his daughter's career achievement may vary by race. Because black women are more likely to be in the labor force than white women, the father's Duncan score may serve as a good measure of family SES for the white family but not for the black family. In addition, the white father may be better able to use his influence to ease his daughter's climb up the career ladder. Table 7.9 shows the relationship between a father's

occupational status and his daughter's occupational achievement, controlling for race.

TABLE 7.9

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY BY FATHER'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS BY RACE

	% Upwardly Mobile Father's Occupational Status	
Race	Low	High
Black	22% (215)	21% (56)
White	21% (436)	23% (559)

Table 7.9 shows that race does not influence the original relationship between a father's occupational status and his daughter's career mobility. For black and white women, father's occupational status does not effect the daughter's occupational achievement.

In addition to race, education may affect the relationship between the father's status and his daughter's occupational achievement. The affect of the father's status may be indirect, taking place primarily through its influence on educational achievement. Table 7.10 shows the relationship between occupational mobility and the father's job status, controlling for education.

TABLE 7.10

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY BY FATHER'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS BY EDUCATION

Education	% Upwardly Mobile Father's Occupational Status	
	Low	High
Less than high school	32% (81)	31% (13)
High school graduate	20% (332)	21% (260)
Some college	26% (103)	26% (135)
College graduate or more	20% (68)	24% (126)

An examination of Table 7.10 reveals that the addition of education to the analysis specifies the relationship between the father's occupational status and his daughter's occupational mobility. Once a woman has acquired a college degree, father's occupational status has a very small affect on daughter's occupational achievement.

An earlier section showed that the mother's occupational status did not affect her daughter's career mobility. However, this lack of influence may vary by race. Table 7.11 shows the relationship between a mother's job status and her daughter's occupational mobility.

TABLE 7.11

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY BY MOTHER'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS BY RACE

Race	Mother's Occupational Status: Low	High
Black	18% (108)	17% (23)
White	20% (120)	19% (223)

Table 7.11 shows that the addition of race to the analysis does not change the relationship between a mother's occupation and her daughter's career mobility. For women of both races, mother's job status does not influence her daughter's occupational achievement.

Educational achievement may influence the relationship between the mother's job status and her daughter's occupational mobility. Table 7.12 shows the relationship between the mother's job status and her daughter's occupational achievement, controlling for education.

TABLE 7.12

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY FOR MOTHER'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS BY EDUCATION

Education	Mother's Occupational Status: Low	High
Less than high school	33% (30)	33% (3)
High school graduate	16% (142)	16% (85)
Some college	28% (28)	18% (63)
College graduate or more	18% (11)	23% (60)

An examination of Table 7.12 shows that, for women who have not attended college, the mother's occupational status does not affect her daughter's career mobility. Once a woman has attended college, however, the situation changes. For those women who have attended college but did not graduate, 28% of those with low status mothers are upwardly mobile compared to 18% of those with high status mothers. For those women who have a college degree or more education, the opposite is true. Women with mothers in high status occupations are more likely to be upwardly mobile than women with mothers in low status occupations. These findings may be due to the small number of cases in these categories.

The previous section examined the effect of familial factors on occupational mobility. However, the effect of factors such as marital status and family size may vary by race. Epstein (1973) suggests that marriage is less important for black women than for white women. In addition, she states that black women have higher divorce and separation rates than white women. These factors may influence the black women to emphasize the importance of occupational success. Table 7.13 examines the relationship between occupational mobility and marital status, controlling for race.

TABLE 7.13

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY BY MARITAL STATUS BY RACE

	% Upwardly Mobile		
	Marital Status		
Race	Married	Separated Divorced	Never Married
Black	21% (158)	26% (65)	24% (89)
White	20% (721)	28% (109)	27% (196)

Table 7.13 shows that, for both black and white women, those who are currently married are slightly less likely to be mobile than those who are not currently married.

The relationship between occupational mobility and family size might also be influenced by race. Epstein (1973) found that the black women in her sample did not feel that child-rearing was their sole responsibility, nor did they think that having a working mother would be detrimental to the child. These attitudes toward child-rearing might permit the black woman to devote herself more fully to her career and thus influence her occupational success. Fertility, therefore, might be less of a career disadvantage for the black woman than for the white woman. Table 7.14 shows the relationship between occupational achievement and number of children, controlling for race.

TABLE 7.14

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN BY RACE

	% Upwardly Mobile			
	Number of Children			
Race	0	One	Two	Three or More
Black	16% (97)	27% (87)	18% (76)	26% (52)
White	25% (510)	21% (281)	20% (179)	19% (56)

Table 7.14 illustrates that, for black women, there is not consistent influence of family size on occupational mobility. For white women, as the number of children increases, the percentage of women in the upwardly mobile category decreases.

An earlier section showed a small relationship between occupational mobility and race. However, this relationship may be influenced by educational level. If the level of education achieved by black and white women differs, the gap in job quality may actually be due to education rather than race. The relationship between occupational mobility and race, controlling for education, is examined in Table 7.15.

TABLE 7.15

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY BY RACE BY EDUCATION

	% Upwardly Mobile	
	Race	
Education	Black	White
Less than high school	34% (55)	28% (56)
High school graduate	20% (156)	20% (501)
Some college	24% (45)	27% (207)
College graduate or more	15% (33)	24% (167)

Table 7.15 shows that, for those women who have attended college, white women are more likely to be upwardly mobile than black women. For women who have a college diploma or more education, this racial difference is quite marked. White women are 62% more likely to be upwardly mobile than black women.

Table 7.8 examined the effect of IQ on occupational achievement. However, the effect of IQ score on career mobility may take place indirectly through its influence on educational attainment. Porter (1974), in his study of male youth, found that educational attainment of both blacks and whites is strongly affected by IQ score. Table 7.16 examines the relationship between occupational mobility and IQ score, controlling for education.

TABLE 7.16

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY BY IQ BY EDUCATION

Education	Low	Medium	High
Less than high school	17% (17)	23% (17)	17% (6)
High school graduate	17% (140)	18% (212)	23% (16)
Some college	35% (39)	24% (76)	23% (98)
College graduate	33% (12)	19% (41)	33% (128)

Table 7.16 shows that education has no consistent effect on the relationship between IQ score and occupational mobility.

In this section, the relationship of two variables on occupational mobility was examined. The original relationship of the father's occupational status to his daughter's occupational mobility was examined in the light of daughter's educational achievement. It was found that the father's occupational status does not influence his daughter's career mobility unless the daughter has a college degree or more education. Among women who have graduated from college, the father's occupational status had a small effect on his daughter's occupational mobility.

When education was added to the original relationship between daughter's occupational mobility and her mother's

occupational status, similar results were found. Among women who have achieved a BA degree or more, the mother's occupational status had a small affect on her daughter's occupational mobility.

The original career disadvantage suffered by married women was found to hold true for both black and white women. However, the negative effect of family size on occupational mobility held true only for white women.

The racial gap in occupational mobility was examined in terms of educational achievement. Among women with less than a high school diploma, black women are more likely to be upwardly mobile than white women. However, once a woman has attended college, the situation changes. Now, white women are more likely to be upwardly mobile than black women. This difference is particularly strong for women who have college degrees or more education.

Multivariate Analysis

In the previous section, two- and three-variable analysis was used to illustrate the process of status attainment. This section uses multivariate analysis in order to further analyze the process of occupational mobility. The interaction of the variables and their

relative importance in influencing attainment are examined.

Tables 7.17A and B show the Pearson correlation between the variables to be entered into the regression equation. The correlation coeficient indicates the degree to which change in one variable is related to change in another variable. If the value of r is 0, it is assumed that there is little relationship between the two variables. If the value of r approaches 1, it is assumed there is a strong relationship.

The variables in the equation are as follows:

change in Duncan score between the first and last job

the Duncan score of the father's occupation

the Duncan score of the mother's occupation

marital status coded 1 if married 0 if not married

number of children

education at first job

additional education since the time of the first job

TABLE 7.17A

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF SELECTED VARIABLES

	Blacks Only							
	Change in Job Status	First Job	Father's Occupation	Mother's Occupation	Marital Status	Number of Children	Education at First Job	Additional Education
Change in job status	1.0	.33	.02	.0006	-.01	.01	.09	.02
First job	.33	1.0	.16	.40	-.04	-.26	.56	.06
Father's occupation	.02	.16	1.0	.26	-.08	-.08	.12	.10
Mother's occupation	.0006	.40	.26	1.0	-.11	-.14	.41	.10
Marital status	-.01	-.04	-.08	-.11	1.0	-.24	-.02	-.03
Number of children	.01	.26	.08	-.14	-.24	1.0	-.32	.03
Education at first job	.09	.56	.12	.41	-.02	-.32	1.0	-.25
Additional education	.02	.06	.10	.10	-.03	.03	-.25	.11

TABLE 7.17B

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF SELECTED VARIABLES

	Whites Only							
	Change in Job Status	First Job	Father's Occupation	Mother's Occupation	Marital Status	Number of Children	Education at First Job	Additional Education
Change in job status	1.0	-.91	.03	.002	.07	-.01	.017	.03
First job	.41	1.0	.18	.22	-.02	-.21	.47	.06
Father's occupation	.03	.18	1.0	.30	.02	-.14	.31	.07
Mother's occupation	.002	.22	.30	1.0	.003	-.36	.35	.16
Marital status	.07	-.02	.02	.003	1.0	-.36	.06	.05
Number of children	-.01	-.21	-.14	-.14	-.36	-.12	-.25	-.13
Education at first job	.01	.47	.31	.35	.06	-.13	1.0	.05
Additional education	.03	.06	.07	.15	.05	-.28	.05	1.0

Table 7.17A and B show a strong correlation between first job status and occupational mobility. The coefficient is stronger for white women than for black women. Neither education at the time of the first job nor additional education showed a strong relationship to occupational mobility. However, education at first job is strongly related to first job status. The familial variables, marital status, and fertility are not strongly related to occupational mobility. There is a weak correlation between the background variables, parental occupational status, and occupational mobility.

Path Analysis

In this section, path analysis is used to describe the labor force mobility process. Use of path analysis often sheds light on the possible causes of a phenomenon. It aids in the selection of causal factors and allows the analysis of the specific contribution of each variable to the phenomenon under discussion. The use of path analysis allows additional insight into the labor force mobility process. Separate models are presented for black and white women. This is done in order to ascertain the importance of factors influencing occupational mobility

for women of both races. The initial construction of the diagram included all paths both simple and compound. However, since the goal of this section is to formulate causal inference of the status attainment process only those paths that are significant at the .05 level are included in the final model. Table 7.19A shows the path model to the last job for white women. Table 7.19B shows the same information for black women.

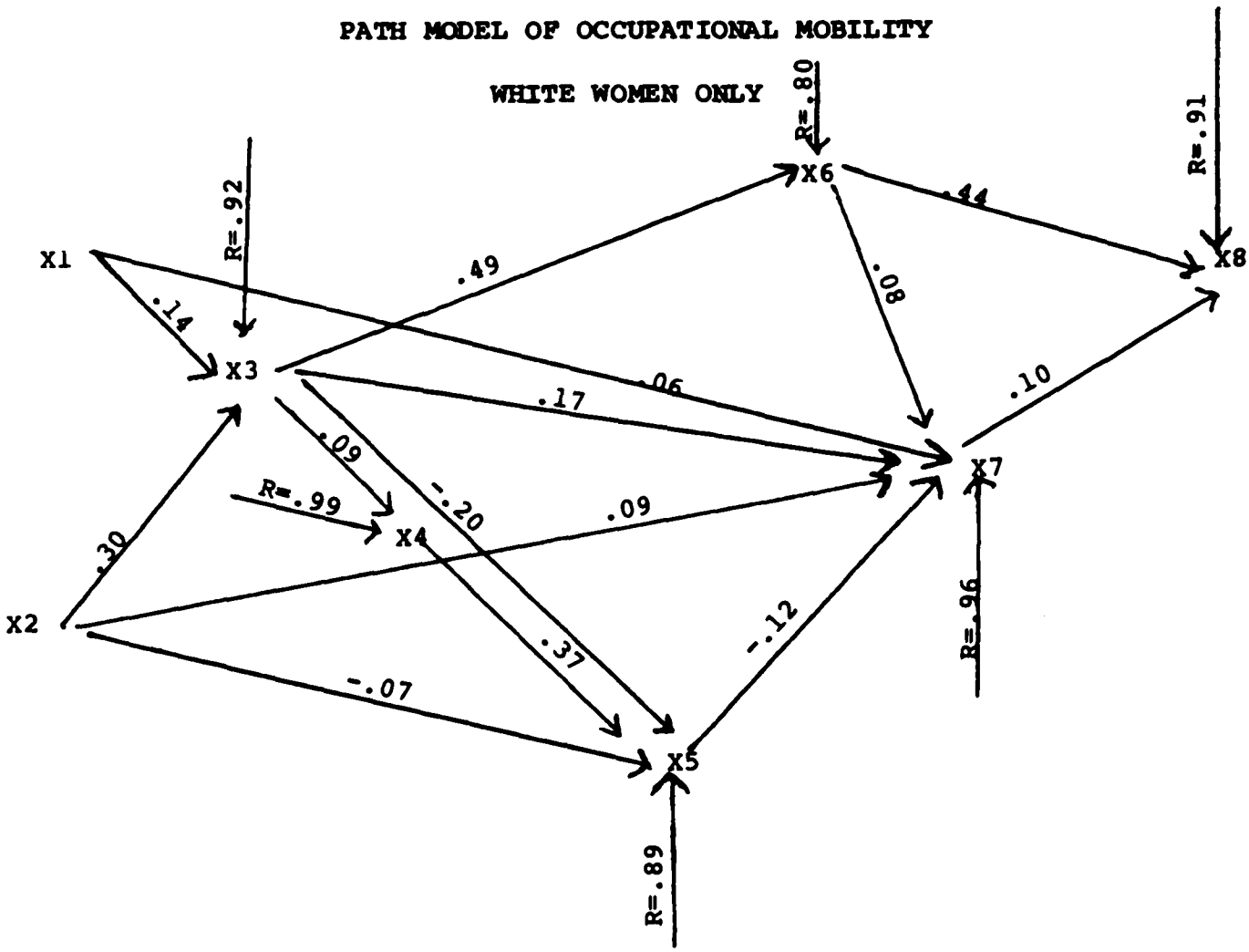
An examination of Table 7.18A shows that, for white women, the status level of the first job has the strongest effect on occupational mobility. Additional education since the time of labor force entry also has a small direct effect. The first job status is very strongly influenced by education at labor force entry. The parent's occupational status has no direct effect on first job status.

Education at labor force entry also influenced occupational mobility through its influence on both first job and additional education. The familial variables marital status and fertility do not directly influence occupational mobility. Fertility, however, does have a small influence on additional education. The effect of parental characteristics on occupational mobility is indirect, taking

TABLE 7.18A

PATH MODEL OF OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

WHITE WOMEN ONLY



X1 Father's occupation

X2 Mother's occupation

X3 Education at first job

X4 Marital status

X5 Number of children

X6 Status of first job

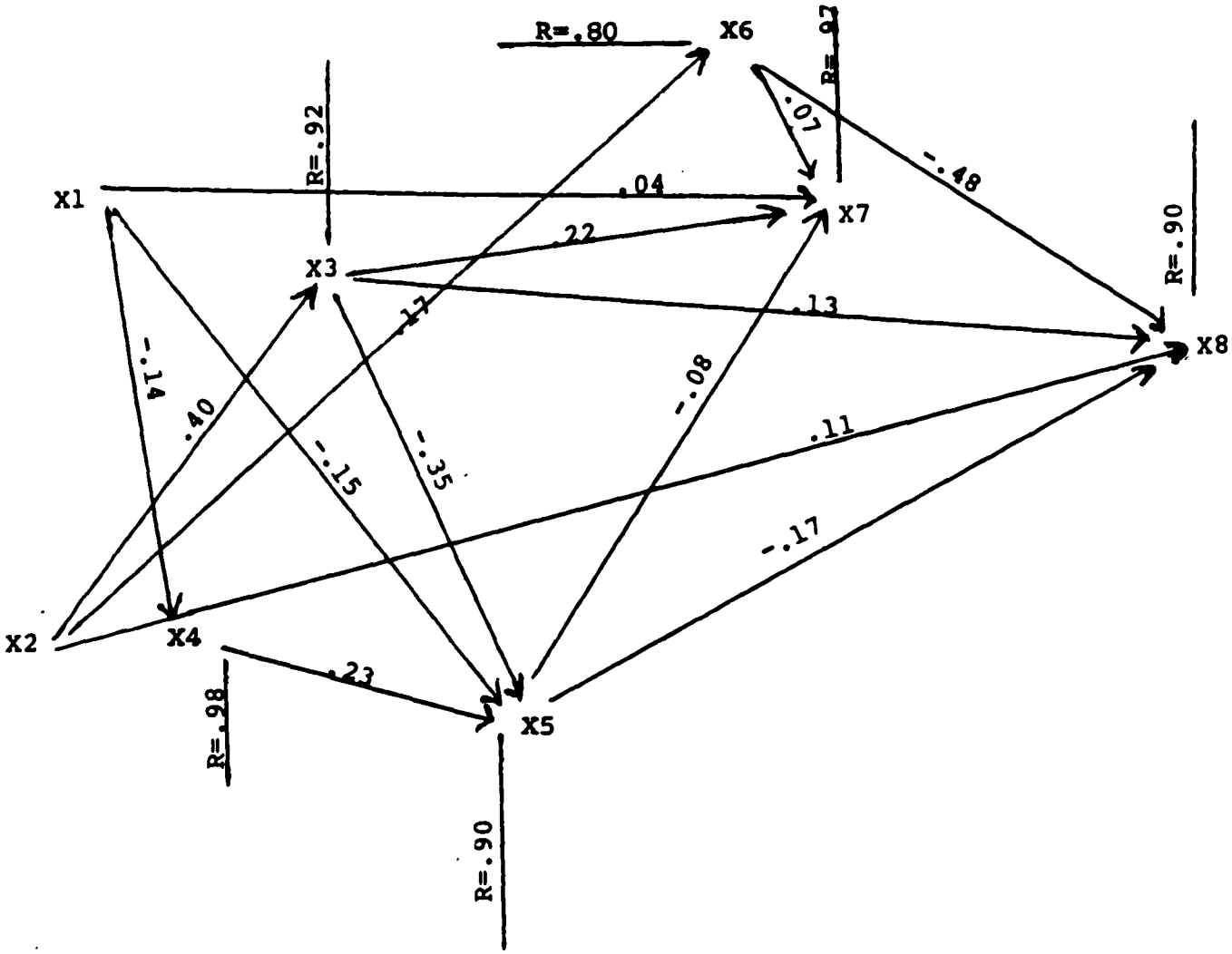
X7 Additional education

X8 Change in status from first to last job

TABLE 7.18B

PATH MODEL OF OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

BLACK WOMEN ONLY



X1 Father's occupation

X2 Mother's occupation

X3 Education at first job

X4 Marital status

X5 Number of children

X6 Status of first job

X7 Additional education

X8 Change in status from first to last job

place primarily through its influence on first job status, education at labor force entry and additional education.

Table 7.19B shows a similar pattern for black women. First job status has the strongest direct effect on occupational mobility. Fertility, the mother's occupational status, and education at labor force entry have a direct effect on occupational mobility. The first job status is very strongly affected by mother's occupational status. For black women, unlike white women, additional education after labor force entry did not effect occupational mobility. The occupational mobility of black women was negatively affected by fertility, while fertility had no effect on the occupational mobility of white women. Among black women, the mother's occupational status has a direct effect on occupational mobility. The influence of mother's occupational status on the mobility of the white woman is indirect.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that, when all factors are considered, first job status has the strongest direct effect on occupational mobility. The crucial importance of the first job in determining occupational mobility shows

that women who enter the labor force in high status positions are more likely to move up the career ladder. Fertility negatively influenced the occupational mobility of black women but not white women. Fertility also affected a woman's chance of obtaining additional education after labor force entry. This subsequent education, in turn, influences the occupational mobility of white women but not black women. The father's occupational status had no direct effect on daughter's occupational mobility. The mother's occupational status directly influenced the first job status and the occupational mobility of black women. Ascribed factors more strongly influence the occupational mobility process of black women than white women.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

Conclusion

The purpose of this study has been to focus on the labor force experience of young women. Emphasis has been put on determining the relative importance of factors influencing the quality of the jobs held in these early years and the role these play in the stratification process. Each chapter was summarized with a conclusion and the purpose of this section is to more narrowly focus on the work experiences of young women as a whole.

Racial Differences in Labor Force Experiences

Throughout this study, the labor force experiences of black and white women have been found to differ. First, black women are more likely to be in the full-time labor force than white women. This finding holds true regardless of the husband's income. More than two-thirds of black women married to husband's earning high incomes worked full-time compared to about one-third of white women. Although the percentage of women working in atypically female occupations vary little by race, the factors influencing occupational choice vary significantly. Black women's choice of atypical occupations was strongly influenced by mother's occupational innovation as well as

by respondent's sex role attitude.

The model explaining occupational innovation explained 38% of the variance in atypicality for black women but only 12% for white women. This suggests that individual characteristics may play a larger role in explaining occupational innovation for black women, while structural factors are more dominant in the decision of white women.

In terms of income, black women suffer a decided disadvantage, with almost a 10 percent difference in number of women in the high income category. However, education plays a large part here. Once the respondent has obtained a college degree or better, black women are slightly more likely to be in the high income group than white women. The impact of racism, then, seems to be somewhat mitigated by higher education.

When professional status is examined, black women are slightly more likely to be in non-professional occupations than white women. However, as was the case with income, once a college degree is acquired, black women are more likely to be in professional occupations than white women.

Black women suffer a strong disadvantage compared to white women at labor force entry. There is an almost 20% difference in the proportion of white women entering

the labor force in high status occupations compared to the number of black women. However, this disadvantage is eliminated for those women who have completed college. Once the baccalaureate or more education is obtained, there is little difference in the percentage of black and white women entering the labor force in high status occupations.

In terms of occupational mobility, the effect of racial discrimination is stronger for the last job than for the first job. This disadvantage also disappears for women who have a college education.

This study has demonstrated the importance of higher education in eliminating occupational disadvantages suffered by black women. Racial discrimination in the occupational structure seems to operate primarily against women who have not achieved a higher education. Once a college degree has been obtained, black and white women are about equally likely to hold professional, high income positions.

The Importance of Family Background

The influence of family background on occupational achievement is an important indicator of the extent to which the stratification system is open. In terms of

labor force participation, family background had virtually no influence on whether or not a woman was working full-time outside the home. When occupational atypicality was examined, the only background factor to show significance was mother's occupational innovation. Those women whose mothers were occupational innovators were more likely to be innovators themselves.

When income attainment was examined, women from high SES families were somewhat more likely to be earning high salaries. Forty percent of women from high SES families were in the high income category compared to 27% of those from low SES families. Mother's occupational status showed about a 12 percent difference in the high income category. The effect of family SES on income attainment was diminished somewhat when education was added to the analysis. Nevertheless, at every educational level except college graduates, women from high income families are slightly more likely to be in the high income category. Once a college degree is obtained, however, family SES has virtually no effect on income level.

The effect of mother's occupational status on respondent's income was shown to take place indirectly through its effect on education. Once education was added to the

analysis, mother's occupational status showed no independent effect on income attainment.

A woman's professional status was strongly influenced by both father's and mother's occupational status. Women whose fathers had high level jobs were twice as likely to be in professional positions than women whose fathers had low level jobs. The effect of mother's occupational status was even stronger. The influence of parental background on professional status was diminished somewhat when education was added to the analysis. Mother's occupation, however, maintained an effect on professional status. This effect was particularly strong for those women who had college diplomas.

The labor force entry process was strongly influenced by parental background. There is almost a 20 percent difference in first job status by father's occupation, while the effect of mother's occupation was even stronger. When education was added to the analysis of the effect of background factors on first job quality, the effect was diminished. Nevertheless, father's occupational status continues to exert a small effect on first job status at every occupational level except college graduate. Once a woman has graduated from college, her father's occupation

had almost no effect on her first job. Mother's occupation maintains a relatively strong influence on first job status at all educational levels except college graduate. Once a woman has achieved a BA, mother's occupation has only a small influence on first job status. The influence of parental background on the labor force entry process is largely indirect, taking place through its influence on education.

The effect of father's occupational status on occupational achievement diminishes somewhat over time. However, the effect of mother's occupation on career achievement remains strong over time, increasing slightly from the first to the last job.

The influence of family background factors on occupational experiences seems important at first glance. However, when education is added to the analysis, the picture changes. Once a college diploma is achieved, parental factors have very little influence on occupational achievement. Occupational achievement is, then, to some extent achieved through education and to some extent ascribed through parental influence.

Familial Factors

The familial factors, marital status, and fertility

strongly influence the labor force experiences of women. In terms of labor force participation, married women are less likely to work than single women. An increasing number of children is associated with a decrease in labor force participation.

Occupational innovation is slightly influenced by family factors. Those with three or more children are more likely to be in atypical occupations, as are those who have been separated or divorced.

When income is examined, marital status shows little influence. Fertility, however, strongly influences income achievement. There is a 25 percent difference in high income between women with no children and women with three or more children. This relationship is diminished only slightly when education is added to the analysis. The negative effect of fertility on occupational achievement remains independent of labor force experience. For women at all levels of labor force experience, as number of children increase, the percentage of women in the high income category decreases.

Fertility also negatively influences professional status. There is almost a 20 percent difference in non-professional status between women with no children and

women with three or more children.

The labor force entry process is negative effected by fertility. Women with no children are almost twice as likely to enter the labor force in high status positions than women with three or more children. This negative effect remains regardless of education. At every educational level, as number of children increase, the proportion of women in high status occupations decreases. The negative effect of fertility on occupational achievement increases over time. It is stronger at the last job than at the first job.

Number of children has been shown to negatively influence every aspect of labor force experience examined here. Since women still have the major responsibility for the care of children, they may not be able to participate in the labor force to their fullest ability. It is no surprise, therefore, that their occupational achievement is hampered by the presence of children.

Social Policy Implications

This research dealt with the labor force experiences of young women, and some of the findings have implications for social policy and programs. One finding was the

disadvantaged position of black women in the labor force. Although black women were more likely to work, they were less likely to be in high income, professional occupations. However, this held true only for women who did not graduate from college. Once a college diploma was obtained, black women's occupational achievement equaled and occasionally surpassed the achievement of white women. This illustrates the importance of programs designed to foster educational attainment. In particular, the availability of financial aid and student loans are often determinants of college attendance. Also, for some students, remedial programs designed to overcome inadequate preparation in grammar and secondary schools are essential for successful completion of college.

These facts are particularly important in light of the recent governmental trends towards cutting educational funding and limiting the availability of student loans. In order to aid women in overcoming the career disadvantages of race and low socioeconomic background, government should encourage the attainment of higher education rather than discourage it.

Another finding which has social policy implications

is the strong negative effect of fertility on career attainment. The more children a woman had, the less likely she was to be in a high income, professional occupation. Women with many children were also less likely to have had high status first jobs and were less likely to be upwardly mobile. It may be that women with many children place less importance on career attainment than women with fewer children. However, the availability of quality child care facilities may negatively influence the career achievement of even the most ambitious woman. Governmental encouragement, through tax policies, of quality child care facilities, particularly at the place of work, may lessen the moderating influence of fertility on career attainment.

In this way, society could take better advantage of the increasing proportion of the labor force made up of women.

Further Research

This study has focused on the early labor force experiences of women and thus sheds no light on mid-life occupational experiences. A true understanding of mobility must go beyond the early years and analyze the total occupational achievement process.

Also, additional measures of the respondents' occupational aspirations might be useful. Sewell et al. (1970) found that individual aspirations may influence the stratification process.

Finally, this study has concentrated on individual characteristics in analyzing labor force experience. Information on the labor market itself would increase understanding of this experience. Knowledge of the wage rates in geographic areas and among industries as well as unemployment statistics contribute to individual work experiences. The use of individual and structural factors together would allow the fullest understanding of variations in women's careers.

APPENDIX A

The additive index of sex role attitudes was based on the degree to which a woman agreed with the following statements:

A woman's place is in the home.

Working provides a woman with interesting outside contacts.

A woman does not have time to work if she has a family.

Working wives feel more useful.

Working wives cause more juvenile delinquency.

Working wives help raise the standard of living.

Working wives lose interest in home and family.

The high cost of living necessitates both parents to work.

APPENDIX B

THE DUNCAN SCORE

The Duncan score regresses a measure of average income and education on the prestige ratings of occupations. A two-digit scores is obtained ranging from 0 to 96.

Examples of occupations in the 90 to 96 range are:

doctor, lawyer, engineer.

Examples of occupations in the 50 to 54 range are:

mail carrier, bookkeeper.

Examples of occupations in the 10 to 14 ranges are:

elevator operator, hospital attendant.

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